

OBJECT MARKING IN MANADONESE

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0. Introduction

Manadonese is spoken in the northern part of Sulawesi. It is basically a creolised form of Malay differing from the typical vernaculars of the area in having numerous borrowings from European languages such as Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English, and in lacking most of the extensive derivational morphology characteristic of western Malayo-Polynesian languages.

Direct objects as well as indirect objects in Manadonese may be marked by the preposition *pa*. The distribution of *pa* with direct objects is sensitive to the pronoun-animacy hierarchy. It is very common for languages to use case markers or adpositions to mark direct objects, and it is especially common for such marking to be sensitive to the pronoun-animacy hierarchy, but it is not common for western Malayo-Polynesian languages to have such marking. The distribution of *pa* is described in section 1, and in section 2 it is suggested that *pa* may have been borrowed from sixteenth century Portuguese or calqued on a Portuguese model.

1. Distribution of 'pa'

The occurrence of *pa* to mark direct objects depends on the level of animacy of the object, which can be a pronoun, a proper noun, a kin noun, a human, an animate or inanimate noun. The distribution corresponds to Silverstein's (1976) hierarchy:

- (1) 1,2 >> personal/kin > human > animate > inanimate

According to this hierarchy, objects that occur to the left on the hierarchy have a greater chance of undergoing marking. In Manadonese this indicates that there is a greater possibility that the marker *pa* will appear in marking the object on the left position of the hierarchy. Based on the theory, the occurrence of object marking in this language may be observed in the following stages:

- (2) a. compulsory object marking
b. optional object marking
c. zero marking.

1.1 Compulsory marking of objects

This obligatory marking occurs when the direct object is a word that occupies a high position on the hierarchy mentioned above. This type of word basically denotes a human referent, which consists of a personal pronoun, a personal name or a kin term. The compulsory marking of these types of object is presented below.

1.1.1 Compulsory marking of pronouns

In Manadonese, personal pronouns, both singular and plural, are always marked by *pa*. The marking of these types of object and the position they take can be observed in the following range of examples:

- (3) *Utu da skop pa kita.*
Utu PAST kick to 1SG
Utu kicked me.
- (4) *Utu da skop pa ngana.*
Utu PAST kick to 2SG
Utu kicked you.

- (5) *Utu da skop pa dia.*
 Utu PAST kick to 3SG
 Utu kicked him.
- (6) *Utu da skop pa torang.*
 Utu PAST kick to 1PL
 Utu kicked us.
- (7) *Utu da skop pa ngoni.*
 Utu PAST kick to 2PL
 Utu kicked you.
- (8) *Utu da skop pa dorang.*
 Utu PAST kick to 3PL
 Utu kicked them.

The following example is unacceptable, as it omits the marker:

- (9) *Utu da skop dia.*
 Utu kicked him.

1.1.2 Compulsory marking of proper names

Like personal pronouns, personal names also take compulsory marking. There is no discrimination between male and female human names.

- (10) *Kita da tampeleng pa John.*
 1SG PAST slap to John
 I slapped John.
- (11) *John da tampeleng pa Maria.*
 1SG PAST slap to John
 John slapped Mary.

As the presence of the marker is obligatory, to mark proper name objects, it is unacceptable to have a sentence like:

- (12) *Dia da garo Ita.*
 3SG PAST scratch Ita
 She scratched Ita.

1.2 Optional marking of objects

The optional use of *pa* may occur with a set of objects. These objects range from human to animate, including some inanimate objects. The marking of this type of object is discussed below.

1.2.1 Optional marking of human objects

The term 'human objects' in this section refers to kin nouns, like *om* 'uncle' and *mami* 'mum', as well as other human nouns such as *anak* 'child'. This kind of object may or may not take marking, though marking occurs more often than not. The following example illustrates this optional marking:

- (13) *Dorang da kuti (pa) itu anak.*
 3PL PAST flick to the child
 They flicked the child.

1.2.2 Optional marking of animate objects

Animate objects are nouns like *burung* ‘bird’ and *meong* ‘cat’, which basically refer to animals. The use of *pa* to mark this sort of object is optional, although it is commonly left out. The following example illustrates this situation:

- (14) *Dorang da pukul (pa) itu meong.*
3PL PAST hit to the cat
They hit the cat.

1.2.3 Optional marking of inanimate objects

Along with human and animate objects, some inanimate nouns such as *oto* ‘car’, *kapal* ‘plane’, and *robot* ‘robot’, may take marking when they function as objects. Although they are inanimate, these ‘motor’ words are treated as animate, and therefore they may take *pa* with them. This probably results from the assumption that they move like humans or are animate, and therefore may be personalised. The illustration of this type of marking follows:

- (15) *Kita da dusu (pa) itu oto.*
1SG PAST chase to the car
I chased the car.

Although the marker *pa* may be used with the motor words, this preposition is very often left out. However, it is interesting to note that in English motor entities like ‘car’ and locomotive’ are treated differently from other inanimate nouns in that they can be referred to as ‘she’ rather than it’.

1.3 Zero marking

In general, zero marking occurs when the object of a sentence belongs to the inanimate group of words, such as *pohon* ‘tree’, *buku* ‘book’ and *batu* ‘stone’. It is absolutely unacceptable to use the marker *pa* in the following sentence:

- (16) **Itu om ja bapotong pa itu pohon*
the man PRES cut to the tree

This unacceptability results from the inanimacy of the object *pohon*, which does not belong to the group mentioned in section 1.2.3 either. However, the sentence becomes acceptable, when the marker is omitted. This zero marking is shown below:

- (17) *Itu om ja bapotong itu pohon.*
The man cuts the tree.

So, in Manadonese, object marking depends on animacy of the object and accords with the hierarchy in Silverstein (1976).

Although definiteness is relevant to object marking in some languages, it is not relevant to *pa*. Though the demonstrative *itu*, which modifies the objects as exemplified above, is omitted, the occurrence of the marker *pa* is not affected. This is shown below:

- (18) *Dorang da kuti (pa) anak.*
3PL PAST flick to child
They flicked a child.
- (19) *Dorang da pukul (pa) meong.*
3PL PAST hit to cat
They hit a cat.

- (20) *Kita da dusu (pa) oto.*
 I SC PAST chase to car
 I chased a car
- (21) *Itu om ja bapotong mangga.*
 the man PRES cut mango
 The man cuts a tree.

2. Origin of 'pa'

As noted above, it is common for languages to have case markers or adpositions to mark direct object that are sensitive to the pronoun-animacy hierarchy (Comrie 1989:1231, Mallinson & Blake 1981:82). In fact it is not uncommon for the direct object marker to be the same as the indirect object marker as in Manadonese. Spanish provides a good example. In this language the preposition *a* marks indirect objects as in (22) and specific, human direct objects as in (23):

- (22) *Mandaron un mensajero a al coronel.*
 send-3PL a messenger to the colonel
 They sent *a* messenger to the colonel.
- (23) *Celia quiere mirar a un bailarín.*
 Celia want watch to a dancer
 Celia wants to watch a (certain) ballet dancer.

(Hopper & Thompson 1980:256)

In modern Portuguese direct objects are marked by *a* only where there is the possibility of ambiguity as in some sentences that depart from the standard subject-verb-object order (as in the well-known example *Matou Cain a Abel* 'Cain killed Abel' - Isabel Moutinho, personal communication), but in sixteenth century Portuguese *a* was used more generally for direct as well as indirect object, and in South Asian Creole Portuguese the preposition *pera* (modern *para*) 'for' was used to mark the direct object under much the same conditions as Spanish *a* (Baxter 1988:167). Some modern Portuguese-derived creoles still have object markers. In Kristang, the creole of Malacca, for instance, a direct object is marked by the preposition *ku* from *corn*, and in Sri-Lankan Portuguese, the object is marked by *pa* from *pera* (Smith 1979:217).

In Bazaar Malay the preposition *sama* 'with' (24) has been extended to mark indirect object (25-27) and direct object (28) (Baxter 1988:168).

- (24) *Gua pergi ke Manado sama dia.*
 1SG go to Manado 3SG
 I went to the jungle with him.
- (25) *Dia pergi sama bomoh.*
 3SG go faith healer
 He went to a faith healer.
- (26) *Gua cakap sama dia.*
 1SG speak 3SG
 I spoke to him.
- (27) *Dia kasi duit sama gua.*
 3SG give money 1SG
 He gave money to me.

- (28) *Gua jotos sama lu.*
 1SG punch 2SG
 I punch you.

Similarly in the Hokkien of Singapore and Malaysia the preposition *kap* with' has been extended to cover direct object. Compare (29) with (30-31) (Baxter 1988:168).

- (29) *Gua kap i khua.*
 1SC 3SC look
 I saw him.

- (30) *Gua yong chha kap i phha.*
 1SC use stick 3SC hit
 I hit him with a stick.

- (31) *Gua kap i khhi khia.*
 1SC 3SC go walk
 I went for a walk with him.

Since there is no object marking in the Hokkien of China it seems likely that this system has been borrowed in southeast Asia, and south-Asian Portuguese is a likely source. This would be an example of indirect diffusion where a Hokkien word is extended to match the distribution of a Portuguese word. The same thing has happened with Malay *sama*.

With Manadonese *pa* there are two possibilities. It may be that there has been direct diffusion with *pera/para* being borrowed from Portuguese and abbreviated. Or it may be that *pada*, the indirect object marker in various dialects of Malay, was extended to cover direct object under the influence of Portuguese and then abbreviated. The fact that Malay *pada* resembles Portuguese *para* may have been a factor. Watuseke (1981) reports *pada* as a marker of indirect object and direct object in Manado Malay and north Maluccan Malay, but I have not observed *pada* in contemporary Manadonese; it is Indonesian.

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