Tense, aspect, mood and evidentiality in Sasak, eastern Indonesia

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Sasak is typical of Austronesian languages spoken in western Indonesian in that it lacks any inflectional morphology, and does not mark tense. Rather there is a set of pre-verbal particles (which can host pronominal clitics) that encode various polarity, aspectual and modal distinctions. These particles show a range of differing forms in Sasak varieties, though they have the same syntactic behaviour (they occur as second position word-level clitics) and appear to express the same semantics across Sasak. One group of varieties spoken in eastern Lombok appears to have a realis-irrealis mood contrast for transitive verbs only that is expressed via the relative location of pronominal clitics with respect to the verb stem (proclitic or enclitic).

This paper describes the forms and functions of aspect and mood marking in Sasak, presenting examples from the extensive corpus I have been collecting since 1995. I also discuss a somewhat unusual construction that appears to be the functional equivalent of evidentiality in Sasak.

1. Introduction[1]

The Sasak language is spoken on the island of Lombok (immediately east of Bali, Indonesia) by around 2.7 million speakers, roughly 85% of the population of Lombok, which was recorded as 3,169,050 in 2010[2]. Sasak shows great internal variation, both geographical and social. Its complex linguistic ecology (Austin 2003) includes five ethnolinguistically named 'dialects' recognized by native speakers and named for the shibboleth terms for 'like that-like this' (i.e. Ngenó-ngené, Nggetó-nggeté, Menó-mené, Kutó-kuté, Meriaq-meriku). These labels do not however reflect fully the extensive geographical variation in phonology, lexicon and morphosyntax found within Sasak, especially in the areas of clitic pronouns (Austin 1996, 2006), valence-changing processes (Austin 1996, 2000, 2001), and verbal morphology, including the contrast between nasal-prefix verbs and non-nasal-prefix verbs (Austin 2012). In the examples

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[2] Population of Indonesia by Province 1971, 1980, 1990, 1995 , 2000 and 2010 Badan Pusat Statistik [http://dds.bps.go.id/eng/tab_sub/view.php?tabel=1&daftar=1&id_subyek=12&notab=1, accessed 2012-02-21]

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presented below we give both the 'dialect' label (using the five terms above plus Menu-meni) and the name of the village of the speaker who provided the example, since our data shows that speech from each village and sub-village on Lombok has its own linguistic characteristics. There is also a system of speech levels (Austin 2010, Nothofer 2000, Austin and Nothofer 2012) where selection among lexical alternatives marks low-mid-high status level of the addressee in relation to the speaker (and a second humble-honorific dimension that expresses the relation between the speaker and some other referent). The verbal syntax and morphology of non-low speech appears to be uniform across Lombok and does not show the kind of variation found in low speech that is the subject of the remainder of this paper.
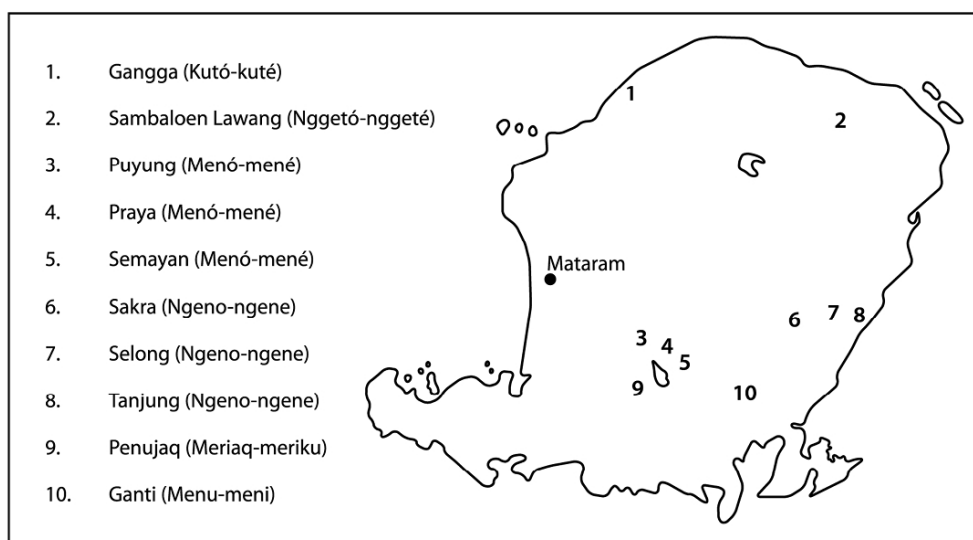

1. Gangga (Kutó-kuté)
2. Sambaloen Lawang (Nggetó-nggeté)
3. Puyung (Menó-mené)
4. Praya (Menó-mené)
5. Semayan (Menó-mené)
6. Sakra (Ngeno-ngene)
7. Selong (Ngeno-ngene)
8. Tanjung (Ngeno-ngene)
9. Penujaq (Meriaq-meriku)
10. Ganti (Menu-meni)

Figure 1: Location of villages and Sasak varieties mentioned in the text

Verbs in Sasak are not inflected for tense, aspect or mood categories. All Sasak varieties have pre-verbal auxiliary particles that encode polarity, aspect and mood semantics, and can serve as the host for pronominal enclitics. The lexical forms of these particles differ between varieties but it appears that the semantics of each category is similar. This paper explores the forms and functions of pre-verbal auxiliary particles in Sasak using data from elicitation and an extensive text corpus or narratives and conversations, as well as 'pear story' and 'frog story' prompted texts.

Another characteristic of Sasak is the occurrence of both transitive and intransitive verbs in complex constructions to express quotative and evidential meanings. Such constructions have not been reported for other Indonesian languages and are unusual in Sasak in that they appear to violate the strong left-headed tendency of Sasak phrases at all levels. Their forms and meanings are explored in section 5.

2. Verb forms

The basic unmarked verb form in Sasak occurs as a citation form (eg. in vocabulary elicitation and dictionaries) and in non-finite contexts where tense/aspect/mood and person cannot be expressed, eg. as the complement of verbs of wanting[3]:

(1) *Aku   mélé   laló   jòk   peken*
     1sg   want   go   to   market
     'I want to go to the market' (Mn, Puyung)

Note that unmarked verbs do not express tense distinctions and so can co-occur with adverbs or adjunct prepositional phrases with a range of temporal semantics, such as *ònèq* 'earlier today', *baruq* 'just now', *uiq* 'yesterday', *nani* 'now', *lèmaq* 'later', *lèmaq aru* 'tomorrow', *jam telu* 'three o'clock', *rebó* 'Wednesday', as in:

(2) *Baruq=k   gati   be-dait   kance   nie*
     just.now=1sg   very   INTR-meet   with   3
     'I just met him (a couple of minutes ago)' (Mn, Puyung)

(3) *Aku   laló   jòk   peken   lèmaq aru*
     1sg   go   to   market   tomorrow
     'I will go to the market tomorrow' (Mn, Puyung)

The unmarked verb form is also used to express commands in Sasak; note that the addressee subject of such commands is not normally expressed overtly:

(4) *Laló   jòk   peken*
     go   to   market
     'Go to the market!' (Mn, Puyung)

Unmarked verb forms are also used in hortative sentences where the addressee is normally first person plural (and polite particles like *tèh* 'please', or *mah* 'please' – see example (10) below, can be included):

(5) *Tèh   ta   laló   baq   bangket*
     please   1pl   go   ALLAT   wet.rice.field
     'Let's go to the rice field' (Kt, Gangga)

A negative command uses the invariant particle *déndéq* (*néndéq* in Mu, *néndèq* in Kt) plus the unmarked verb form (in that order), as in:

(6) *Ah   amaq   teganang   déndéq   bélén=k   uni=n*
     ah   father name   don't   leave.behind=1sg say=3

     inaq   tegining-ganang,   nangis.
     mother   name   cry
     '"Amaq Teganang, don't leave me!" said Inaq Tegining-Ganang, crying'   (Mr, Penujaq)

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[3] Sasak examples are transcribed following usual Indonesianist practices, except that *q* represents glottal stop. Note that *é* is a close-mid front vowel, *è* an open-mid front vowel, *ó* a close-mid back vowel and *ò* an open-mid back vowel.   References following the English free translation give the dialect and the village name of the speaker – Kt Kutó-kuté, Mn Menó-mené, Mr Meriaq-Meriku, Mu Menu-meni, Ng Ngenó-ngené. In the examples clitics are separated from their hosts by equals (=) signs, segmentable suffixes or prefixes are separated by hyphens (-), and non-segmentable prefixes are indicated with a period (.) in the glosses.

(7) *Néndéq   laló   anak=kò   laun   te-mpuk=ò   tó=ng   te-siliq=ò*
don't   go   child=1sg   later   PASS-hit=2   there=3   PASS-scold =2
'Don't go my child you will be hurt there, you will be scolded.'   (Mu, Ganti)

(8) *Néndèq   buang   dedóró   ónó*
don't   throw   rubbish   that
'Don't throw that rubbish!'   (Kt, Gangga)

These particles can be used with a first person plural subject to express negative hortative mood:

(9) *Mu=ng   meni   jaq   néndéq=te   bait   òngkòs   ayòh   riski   ni*
then=3   like.this   TOP   don't=1pl   take   cost   let's   wealth   this

uni=ng   pade
say=3   plural
'"If it's like that let's not take the fare, this is good luck" they all said.'   (Mu, Ganti)

In Menu-meni there is a polite negative imperative particle *kendéq*, as in:

(10) *Mah   cóbaq   tegen-ang=kò   mah,   laguq   kendéq   baé   lepas=è*
please   try   hold-APPL=1sg   please   but   please.don't   only   set.free=3p
'Here hold it for me but please don't let it go.'   (Mu, Ganti)

3. Pronouns

In order to continue with investigating the expression of polarity, aspect and mood in Sasak, it is necessary to make a short detour and look at the expression of pronominal categories and functions.

All varieties of Sasak have both free and clitic pronouns, however this is one of the areas of morphosyntax which shows the greatest diversity across varieties (Austin 2003a, 2003b, 2006). Table 1 sets of the pronominal forms in the main Sasak varieties[4]. Note that in all varieties enclitic pronouns attach to nouns to encode inalienable possession (primarily with lexical items for body parts and kinship), eg. *inaq* 'mother' *inaqk(u)* 'my mother' *inaqmèq ~ inaqdiq ~ inaqbi ~ inaqò ~ inaqm* 'your mother'. Clitic pronouns may also attach to other parts of speech to express pronominal arguments of predicates, and here there are striking differences in the functions of such pronominal clitics between the different regional forms of Sasak.

In the absence of any other potential host (see section 3 below), in Ngenó-ngené a pronominal clitic may occur with a verb to express the highest semantic argument in its predicate-argument frame (typically the agent or experiencer if there is one, otherwise the theme). For one-place verbs the pronoun will occur as a proclitic, as in (11).

(11) *Ku=laló   aning   peken*
1sg=go   to   market
'I am going to the market' (Ng, Selong)

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[4] These are the low speech level forms. The high, honorific and humble forms are identical in all dialects and are discussed in Austin (2010). For each 'dialect' free pronouns are in the left column and clitic pronouns are on the right column.

	Kutó-kuté		Ngenó-ngené		Menu-meni		Menó-mené		Meriaq-meriku	
1sg	*aku*	*ku*	*aku*	*ku*	*aku*	*kó*	*aku*	*k*	*aku*	*k*
1plINCL	*kami*	*kami*	*ite*	*te*	*ite*	*te*	*ite*	*t*	*ite*	*t*
1plEXCL	*ita*	*ta*								
2MASC	*kamu*	*diq*	*ante*	*mèq*	*kamu*	*ò*	*kamu*	*m*	*kamu*	*m*
2FEM			*kamu*	*bi*						
2POL	*épé*	*pé*	*épé*	*pé*						
3	*ia*	*nya*	*ie*	*ne*	*ie*	*ng*	*ie*	*n*	*ie*	*n*

Table 1: Sasak pronouns

If the verb is two-place then the highest argument can appear as a proclitic or an enclitic on the verb. Occurrence as an enclitic expresses a realis situation while occurrence as a proclitic expresses an irrealis situation, as in[5]:

(12) *Balé   beli-ng=ku*
      house   buy-LINK=1sg
      'I buy/bought a house' (Ng, Selong)

(13) *Balé   ku=beli*
      house   1sg=buy
      'I will/want to/should buy a house' (Ng, Selong)

Note that there is a correlation between pronominal proclitic and enclitic and a realis/irrealis interpretation of the clause reported for some Sulawesi languages (see Kikusawa 2012 for detailed discussion of such 'mixed-position pronoun sets').

In other Sasak dialects the highest semantic argument of a one-place verb can occur as an enclitic on the verb if there is no other possible host, as in:

(14) *Laló=k jòk   peken*
      go=1sg to   market
      'I am going to the market' (Mn, Puyung)

In Menó-mené and Meriaq-meriku, for two place predicates the highest pronominal argument is expressed as an enclitic on a dummy particle placed in clause-initial position while the second highest pronominal argument appears as an enclitic on the verb, as in:

(15) *Mu=k   gitaq=m*
      part=1sg   see=2
      'I saw you' (Mn, Puyung)

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[5] The element glossed 'LINK' here is a homorganic nasal linker that occurs between roots ending in a vowel and clitics that begin with a stop.

(16) *Eh   cemòh   macan   cerite=n   bi=n   kaken   anak   gagak   étó*
      eh   pleased tiger   tell.story=3 part=3 eat   child crow   that
      'The tiger was really pleased, according to the story, and she ate the baby crow'
      (Mr, Penujaq)

Finally, in Menu-meni, two-place verbs, in the absence of any other possible host, can bear a portmanteau enclitic complex that expresses the person-number of the two arguments.[6] Note that this is the only Sasak variety which allows expression of both arguments via a single affix (see also example (72) below):

(17) *Gitaq=kem*
      see=1a>2p
      'I/we saw you' (Mu, Ganti)

We are now in a position to further examine the expression of polarity, aspectual and modal categories in Sasak.

4. Auxiliary particles

Sasak has a set of uninflecting elements that precede the predicate and have semantic scope over it, expressing a range of clause level meanings in the areas of polarity (negative), aspect and mood. As Adelaar and Himmelmann (2004:159) point out:

> Elements termed *auxiliaries* are widely attested in descriptions of Western Austronesian languages. Such elements usually convey notions of tense, aspect, mood, negation or manner. Some of them are clearly clitics and hence do not qualify as phonologically independent predicates in multi-predicate constructions. But others are phonologically independent and also often have some other characteristics of independent predicates.

In Sasak these auxiliary particles are phonologically independent words but they have the distribution of clause-level clitics (as argued in Austin 2006). They must precede the predicate and can be in clause-initial position if nothing precedes them, as in:

(18) *Iaq=k   laló   jòk   peken*
      PROJ=1sg   go   to   market
      'I will go to the market' (Mn, Puyung)

(19) *Gen=ku   laló   aning   peken*
      PROJ=1sg   go   to   market
      'I will go to the market' (Ng, Selong)

(20) *Jaga-n=ku   maca   buku   ónó*
      PROJ-LINK=1sg read   book   that
      'I will read that book' (Kt, Gangga)

However, if there is material that must occur before the auxiliary particle (such as a clausal adverb or a fronted topic or wh-phrase) then the auxiliary particle will occur in second position in the clause (in so-called Wackernagel's position) following the first phrasal constituent, as in:

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[6] For further details see Austin (2003a) – note that when both first person and second person are involved the singular/plural contrast in the first person is collapsed, thus in example (17) =*kem* expresses first person (singular or plural) agent acting on second person patient.

(21) *Kance   guru=m   iaq=k   bedait   lèmaq aru*
      with   teacher=2   fut=1sg meet   tomorrow
      'It's with your teacher that I will meet tomorrow' (Mn, Puyung)

If the object of a preposition is questioned then the whole PP is fronted and the order of preposition and object NP is 'flipped' to give [wh-NP—P]_{PP}. The auxiliary particle may then follow the larger PP constituent or else the initial NP constituent, as in:

(22) *Sai   kance=m   iaq   bedait   léq   peken?*
      who   with=2   FUT   meet   LOC   market
      'Who will you meet at the market?' (Mn, Puyungu)

(23) *Sai   iaq=m   kance   bedait   léq   peken?*
      who   FUT=2   with   meet   LOC   market
      'Who will you meet at the market?' (Mn, Puyung)

As mentioned above in section 2, Sasak varieties have pronominal clitics. In all dialects auxiliary particles serve as hosts for pronominal clitics that express the highest semantic argument of a predicate, as in examples (18)-(23) above. Subordinating conjunctions, adverbial phrases and prepositions can also host these clitics and if one of these potential hosts precedes the auxiliary particle then it will carry the pronominal clitic instead, as in (cf. also example (21)):

Subordinate Conjunction

(24) *Guru   iaq=n   tulak   malik   sèngaq=m   mpuk=k*
      teacher PROJ=3 return   again   because=2   hit=1
      'The teacher will come back again because you hit me' (Mn, Puyung)

Adverbial phrase

(25) *Terus=k   iaq   bedait   kance   guru   nó*
      then=1sg   PROJ   meet   with   teacher   that
      'Then I will meet that teacher' (Mn, Puyung)

(26) *Telu   jam=k   uah   antih=m*
      three   hour=1   PERF   wait=2
      'I have waited for you for three hours' (Mn, Puyung)

Prepositional phrase[7]

(27) *Mbé   éléq=m   tulak*
      where   from=2   return
      'Where did you come back from? (Mn, Puyung)

(28) *Mbé   kòn=diq   ngetóan*
      where   LOC=2   N[1].ask
      'Where did you ask? (Kt, Gangga)

In the following sections I discuss the forms and semantics of these auxiliary particles.

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[7] Examples (26) and (27) show fronted and flipped prepositional phrases (cf. (22) and (22) above) with the preposition hosting the pronominal clitic.

4.1 Negative polarity

In all dialects of Sasak, except Kutó-kuté, clausal and verbal predicate negation is indicated by the auxiliary particle *ndéq* (Kt *dèq*) which occurs before the predicate (recall from section 2 that negative commands such as example (6) take *déndéq*). This particle hosts pronominal enclitics, as in:

(29)   *Ndéq=k   laló   jòk   peken*
        NEG=1sg   go   to   market
        'I am not going to the market' (Mn, Puyung)

(30)   *Dèq=ku   men-dóé   buku*
        NEG=1sg   N⁴-have   book
        'I do not have a book' (Kt, Gangga)

The negative can precede and have scope over other auxiliary particles (see 4.2, 4.3), as in:

(31)   *Ndéq=k   uah   gitaq=n*
        NEG=1sg   PERF   see=3
        'I have not seen him yet' (Mn, Puyung)

(32)   *Ndéq=k   taó   gitaq=ò*
        NEG=1sg   can   see=2
        'I cannot see you' (Mu, Ganti)

4.2 Aspect

Sasak has two main auxiliary particles with aspectual semantics (Dahl 1985, Chung and Timberlake 1985, Comrie 1976, Frawley 1992) namely *uah* (high level *sampun*) which I propose marks perfect aspect, and a form with variants *kenyakaq ~ kenyengke ~ kenyeke ~ nyekaq~ nyengke ~ nyingke ~ nyeke ~ jangke* which marks continuous aspect (for a similar contrast in Bahasa Indonesia see Sneddon 1996).

The core prototypical meaning of a perfect as laid out in Dahl (1985:133) is expressing some event in relation to another event that has relevance to a reference point, typically the present. As Frawley (1992:347) points out, the perfect is: 'a complex event frame … judged as prior to, or temporally up to, a projected reference point'.

According to Dahl, the perfect in English is said to have a very wide range of uses, typically the following (Dahl 1985:132):

(i) perfect of result (also called 'stative perfect')

(ii) experiential (or 'existential')

(iii) perfect of persistent situation

(iv) perfect of recent past (also called 'hot news' perfect)

Jordan 1998 shows in detail that Sasak *uah* expresses a sub-set and not all of these meanings, namely:

1. perfect of result, as in:

(33)   *Uah=n   bace   buku   ni*
        PERF=3   read   book   this
        'He has read this book'   (Mn, Puyung)

(34) *Raje   uah=n   maté*
      king   PERF=3   die
      'The king has died'   (Mn, Puyung)

Notice that Sasak does not distinguish what in English would be perfect from pluperfect, in line with the lack of any tense contrast. This *uah* is used in past contexts such as the following:

(35) *Kenyeke=k   dateng   uiq   uah=n   tulis   due   surat*
       CONT=1sg   arrive   yesterday   PERF=3   write   two   letter
       'When I came home yesterday, he had written two letters.'   (Mn, Puyung)

2. experience of some situation, as in:

(36) *Uah=m   bedait   kance   semetòn=k*
       PERF=2   meet   with   brother=1sg
       'Have you (ever) met my brother?' (Mn, Puyung)

As Jordan (1998) points out:

> Sasak differs from the Western Austronesian systems described by Dahl, as it does not mark the 'experiential' category as independent of Perfect tense. According to Dahl, 'experiential' is marked in Indonesian, Sundanese and Javanese; however, in Sasak there is no distinction between experiential clauses and other Perfect tense clauses

3. perfect of recent past ('hot news'), as in:

(37) *Raje   uah=n   dateng*
       king   PERF=3   come
       'The king has arrived (after being expected for weeks)'   (Mn, Puyung)

Note that Dahl's 'perfect of persistent situation' is not expressed in Sasak using *uah* but rather requires the quotative construction discussed in section 5 below, as in:

(38) *Raje   dateng   uni=n*
       king   come   say=3
       'The king has arrived (they say)'   (Mn, Puyung)

The auxiliary particle *jangke* (and its variants) expresses a dynamic event which is on-going over an interval which includes a reference point and thus fits with Dahl's (1985) definition of continuous aspect. Sasak *jangke* is found in all the prototypical contexts for a continuous as laid out in Dahl's questionnaire (see Jordan 1998). Examples are (35) above and:

(39) *Nie   jangke=n   tulis   surat*
       3   CONT=3   write   letters
       'He is writing letters/a letter.'   (Mn, Puyung)

(40) *Aku   kenyekaq   baca   buku   sekólah*
       1sg   CONT   read   book   school
       'I am reading a school book' (Kt, Kandangkao)

Note that in Sasak only dynamic events can co-occur with *jangke*.

4.3 Mood

There are a number of Sasak auxiliary particles that express modal semantic distinctions, including deontic modality (connoting the speaker's degree of requirement or

commitment to the realization of a proposition expressed by an utterance) and epistemic modality (connoting the degree of certainty a speaker has for the proposition expressed by an utterance[8]). Table 2 sets out the modal items that are found in the current corpus[9]:

Deontic modals

iaq (Mn) ~ *éaq* (Mu) ~ *aq* ~ *jaq* (Mr)   *gen*   ~ *gin* (Ng) *jaga* (Kt) 'projective' (future)

harus 'must'

mesti 'must'

kadi (Mu) 'must'

seharus 'should'

perlu 'need, necessary'

Epistemic modals

taó   (Mn) *tau* (Ng, Kt)   *iniq* (Mr) 'can'

bau 'can'

mau 'can'

Table 2. Sasak modals

We will now discuss and exemplify each of these in turn.

The modal glossed as 'projective' shows wide dialect variation in form in Sasak. In semantics it is close to the prototype FUTURE of Dahl (1985:107) in that it expresses intention, prediction and future time reference. It often translates into English as a future, however it seems to have stronger modal semantics than being a pure future tense marker. Examples containing it always have an element of intention or prediction, as in:

Intention:

(41) *Lamun=k   uah   beléq   iaq=k   beli   balé*
      when=1sg   PERF   big   PROJ=1sg   buy   house
      'When I am older I will buy a big house.'   (Mn, Puyung)

(42) *Iaq=k   tulis   surat*
      PROJ=1sg   write   letters
      'I (am about to) write letters' (answer to question, what are you planning to do right now?)   (Mn, Puyung)

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8 For evidentiality see section 5 below.

[9] Most of my data comes from Menó-mené, Menu-meni and Meriaq-meriku speakers. I have not yet been able to check the full set of modals for Ngenó-ngené and Kutó-kuté. Note that Sasak also has the Arabic loan *wajib* 'must, obligation' which speakers identify as stronger than *harus* and *mesti*. It appears to be a noun in Sasak and not an auxiliary particle.

Prediction:

(43) *Lamun=n   iaq   terimaq   képéng   nó   iaq=n   beli=an*
     if=3   PROJ   receive   money   that   PROJ=3   buy=APPL.3

    dedare   nó   hadiah
    girl   that   present
    'If he receives the money, he will buy a present for the girl.'   (Mn, Puyung)

Counterfactual conditionals also contain the projective mood marker, even when clearly set in the past, as in the following example:

(44) *Andé=n   iaq   ndéq   mauq   kèpèng   nó   uiq*
    COUNTER=3   PROJ   NEG   obtain   money   that   yesterday

    ndéq=n   iaq   beli=an   dedare   nó   hadiah
    NEG=3   PROJ   buy=APPL.3   girl   that   present
    'If he had not got the money yesterday, he would not have bought a present for the girl.'
    (Mn, Puyung)

Hypotheticals not marked for time also contain the projective:

(45) *Ape-ape   iaq=m   ketuan   iaq=n   tedóq   dòang*
    whatever   PROJ=2   ask   PROJ=3   silent   only
    'Whatever you ask him, he remains silent.'   (Mn, Puyung)

For this reason, I prefer to analyse this auxiliary particle as a mood marker rather than a future tense marker.

To express necessity there are three modal particles in Sasak that appear to be synonymous, although future research may uncover some semantic differences between them. Examples of their use are:

(46) *Nie   harus=n   tókól*
    3   MUST=3   sit
    'He must sit down.' (Mn, Puyung)

(47) *Dende   napi=pun   juaq=n   iaq   te-baòs   kun   lace-lace*
    fine   what=also   ever=3   PROJ   PASS-talk.about   LOC   wedding.place

    mesti=n   pade   ke-beléq-an   ató   harus=n   be-standar
    MUST=3   PL   NOM-big-NOM   or   MUST=3   INTR-standard
    'Whatever fine we will talk about at the wedding place must be the same size or must be standardized.'   (Mr, Penujaq)

Note that *harus* and *mesti* can co-occur with the projective, as in:

(48) *Harus=m   iaq   ber-ajah   nani*
    MUST=2   PROJ   INTR-study   now
    'You have to study now.'   (Mn, Puyung)

(49) *Mesti-ng=k   iaq   ber-ajah   nani*
    MUST-LINK=1sg   PROJ   INTR-study   now
    'I must study now.'   (Mn, Puyung)

The form *kadi* only occurs in Menu-meni, as in:

(50) *Nané kadi=ò   taòq   silat   léq   bawó=ng   jaran,   ie   ntan*
      now   MUST=2 know self.defence LOC on.top=3 horse   3   manner
      "Now you must learn self defence on top of a horse, that's the way." (Mu, Ganti)

The auxiliary *seharus* expresses the speaker's evaluation that contrary to fact some situation should hold or have held, as in:

(51) *Seharus=m   kamu   ber-ajah   lebih   bagus*
      =2   2   INTR-study   more   good
      'You should have studied harder.'   (Mn, Puyung)

Necessity is indicated by *perlu*:

(52) *Laguq   ini   nani   perlu-n=t   laló   péte   sarat   datu-n=t*
      but   this now   NEED-LINK=1pl go   find   cure   king-LINK=1pl
      "But now I have to go to look for the cure of our King." (Mr, Penujaq)

(53) *Ite   perlu=t   buaq-buaq-an   léq   balé*
      1pl   NEED=1pl REDUP-fruit-nom   LOC house
      'We need fruit at home.'   (Mn, Puyung)

For the expression of epistemic modality in Sasak there are three separate expressions that translate into English as 'can'. The auxiliary particle *taó* (Mn) *tau* (Ng) *iniq* (Mr) expresses ability to perform some action because of a internal physical state or knowledge on the part of an actor, as in:

(54) *Aku   taó=k   taèk   sepéde*
      1sg   CAN=1sg go.up   bicycle
      'I am able to ride a bicycle.' (= I know how to ride a bicycle)   (Ms, Puyung)

Note that this particle can fall within the scope of negation, as in:

(55) *Maqap   ndéq=k   taó   nge-raòs   base   Sasak*
      sorry   NEG=1sg CAN   N[1]-speak language   Sasak
      'Sorry, I cannot speak Sasak.'   (Mn, Puyung)

(56) *Papuq=ne   ndéq=ne   taó   be-bace*
      grandparent=3   NEG=3   CAN   INTR-read
      'His grandmother cannot read.'   (Ng, Selong)

The particle *bau* 'can' expresses ability because of an external state of affairs, eg. because some entity has appropriate characteristics or the appropriate effort has been made:

(57) *Andé=ng   be-dóé   anak   timaq=ng   nine   masih   bau=ng   jari   datu*
      counter=3 INTR-have child even.if=3   female   still   CAN=3   become   king
      'If she were to have a child, even if she is female, she can still become Queen' (Mu, Ganti)

(58) *Mu=ng   bitek=è   se-angen-angen   isiq   dòyan   medaran   bau=ng*
      then=3 pull=3p   one-REDUP-feeling by   prefer eat   CAN=3

      sugun   terus   bangké=ng   Raksase   nu-q=ng   isiq=ng
      come.out   then   corpse=3   Raksasa   that-SPEC=3   by=3
      'Doyan Medaran pulled with all his might and then the corpse of Raksasa could come out because of him.' (Mu, Ganti)

Again, negation can occur before and have scope over this auxiliary particle:

(59) *Ndéq=k   bau   taèk   sepéde   tie,   beléq   lalòq=n*
     NEG=1sg CAN go.up bicycle that big very=3
     'I cannot ride this bicycle, it's too big.'   (Mn, Puyung)

This particle is also used to ask for or give permission, as in the following sentence (note the presence of the projective modal particle here). It makes sense that the 'external circumstances' modal should be used in this context since the speaker assigns or asks about the circumstances which would allow or deny permission:

(60) *Bau=k   iaq   cóbaq   sepéde=m   se-beraq*
     CAN=1sg PROJ try bicycle=2 one-while
     'Can I try your bicycle for a while?'   (Mn, Puyung)

Finally *mau* 'can' expresses ability to do some action or for some event to occur because time is available for it to happen (eg. one is not in a rush, has no guests arriving at home, etc.). An example is:

(61) *Aku   mau=k   taèk   sepéde   ni*
     1sg CAN=1sg go.up bicycle this
     'I can ride this bicycle (because I have time to do so).'   (Mn, Puyung)

Negation is also possible, as in:

(62) *Ndéq=k   mau   atòng   buku   ni   jòk   Ali   uiq*
     NEG=1sg CAN take book this to Ali yesterday
     'I couldn't take these books to Ali yesterday (because I didn't have time).'
     (Mn, Puyung)

5. Quotatives and evidentiality

Sasak has a special construction that is used to express quotation in which the quoted clause is followed by a verb of locution, typically *uni* 'speak, say', *base* 'speak, say' (high) or *cerite* 'tell a story'. This verb carries a clitic pronoun identifying the speaker while the material preceding the verb has the form of a full clause, including its own clitic pronouns, as appropriate, i.e. the structure is […]$_S$ *uni*=Clitic$_{speaker}$. This structure is unusual for Sasak because the language is otherwise left-headed (nouns precede relative clauses and other modifiers, prepositions precede their objects, verbs precede their complements, and subordinating conjunctions precede adverbial clauses). Examples from texts are (see also (16) above):

(63) *Ndéq=kò   éaq   uléq   uni=ng   inaq   kanak   nu*
     NEG=1sg PROJ return say=3 mother child that
     "I will not go home" said the child's mother."   (Mu, Ganti)

(64) *Masih=ò   aran   idup   uni=ng   peng-ulu   Alim*
     still=2 name live say=3 agent-head Alim
     '"You are still alive!" said Bodyguard Alim.'   (Mu, Ganti)

Sasak has several verbs of sensory perception and cognitive states that can be used in this same construction to express evidential-type meanings, i.e. to express the source of evidence that supports a particular utterance. The verbs that occur in this construction are:

ambu 'smell'

rase 'taste'

idap 'feel'

rue 'appear'

inde 'suppose, guess based on contextual evidence'

Examples from texts are the following[10]:

(65) *Jangke=ne   buéq   se-arit,   masih   ndéq   man   baé*
     CONT=3   finished   one-hand.of.banana   still   NEG   yet   only

     keruan   rase=ne
     ready   taste=3
     'He finished a hand of bananas, but they still didn't taste ready.'   (Ng, Selong)

(66) *Iaq=n   ujan   rue=n*
     PROJ=3   rain   appear=3
     'It looks like it will rain.'   (Mn, Puyung)

(67) *Oh   uah=ng   maté-q   mónsóh=ng   rue=ng,   anak=kò   ni*
     oh   PERF=3   dead-CAUS   enemy=3   appear=3   child=1sg   this
     'Oh, it looks as if he has killed his enemy, this child of mine (has).'   (Mu, Ganti)

(68) *Mòlah=kò   angen=kò   inde=ng,   nganjeng*
     easy=1sg   feeling=1sg   suppose=3   stand.up
     'It seems that I felt at ease, and I stood up.'   (Mu, Ganti)

(69) *Laló=ò   cóbaq=è   inde=ng*
     go=2   try=3p   suppose=3
     'Is it that you went and tried it?'   (Mu, Ganti)

(70) *Mu=k   inem=è,   lèilah   kòtòng   béwéh=kò   idap=ng*
     then=1sg   drink =3   oh.God!   burn   mouth=1sg   feel=3
     'Then I drank it (the hot water), and my God, it felt like my mouth was burning.'
     (Mu, Ganti)

(71) *Iaq=n   ujan   idap=n   nani*
     PROJ=3   rain   feel=3   now
     'Now it feels like it will rain (later).'   (Mn, Puyung)

Note that these verbs can occur after and take scope over the locutory verbs used for
reported speech. Consider the following report of a conversation on an aeroplane in one
Sasak text:

(72) *éé,   kebetulan   bis   kupi   uni=ng   inde=ng,   "aiq   tèh*
     hey   coincidence   finished   coffee   say=3   guess=3   water   tea

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[10] Most of the text examples have a third person enclitic, although first person is found in (66); it is not clear
if other person forms can occur with these verbs. Note that most of the text data I have is from Menu-meni
and information on other Sasak varieties needs further checking.

> *méléq=òkè   uni=ng   méléq=tè   uni=kò*
> want=2a>3p   say=3   want=1pla>3p   say=1sg
> "Well, the coffee has just finished" it seems he said. "Do you want some tea?" he said.
> "I want it" I said.   (Mu, Ganti)

It may also be the case that these verbs can occur inside the scope of the locutory verbs as well (eg. 'I said it seems he is sick'), however there are no examples of this in my corpus.

What I would like to suggest is that this construction is the functional equivalent of evidentials in other languages, though Sasak expresses this semantics differently from modals and does not have a grammaticalised morphosyntactic category of evidentials or quotatives.

6. Conclusions

This paper is a preliminary outline of the expression of polarity, aspect, mood and evidentiality in the Sasak language spoken on the island of Lombok. It is based on analysis of elicited and textual materials from several Sasak varieties and illustrates the formal and semantic differences between them. There are several other varieties of Sasak, especially for Nggetó-nggeté and Kutó-kuté, which have been little studied to date. Further in depth research on these varieties is needed to determine the full picture of Sasak morphosyntax.

Abbreviations

1sg	first person singular	1pl	first person plural
1ple	first person plural exclusive	2	second person
2a	second person agent	3	third person
3p	third person patient	ALLAT	allative
APPL	applicative	ART	article
AUX	auxiliary	COUNTER	counterfactual
CONT	continuous aspect	DEF	definite
DETR	detransitiviser	EXCL	exclusive
FEM	feminine	IMPER	imperative
INCL	inclusive	INTR	intransitiviser
LINK	linking suffix	LOC	locative preposition
MASC	masculine	N^1	nasal prefix creating intransitive verbs from nouns
N^4	nasal prefix in Kutó-kuté (see Austin 2012: 31)	NEG	negative
NOMIN	nominaliser	PL	plural
POL	polite	REDUP	reduplication
REL	relativiser	PASS	passive
PERF	perfect aspect	PROJ	projective mood
SPEC	specific		

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