

Tense, Aspect, Mood and Polarity in the Sumbawa Besar Dialect of Sumbawa

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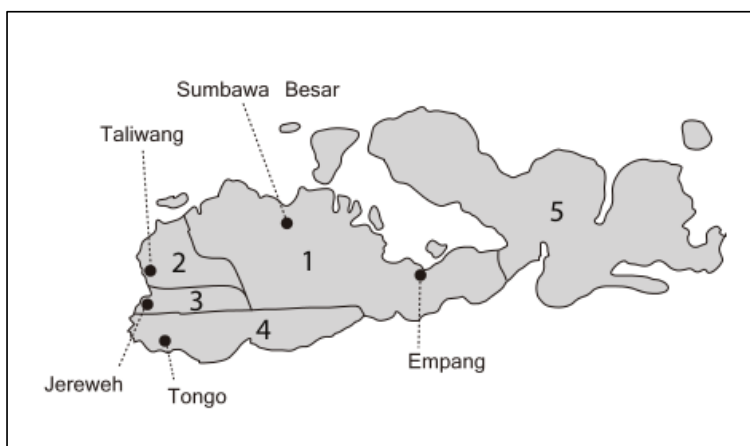
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Sumbawa is a language spoken in the western part of Sumbawa Island in Indonesia. Sumbawa exhibits three tense distinctions (past /present /future), which is unusual among languages in the Malayo-Sumbawan subgroup. It also has devices to mark inchoative aspect and several modal meanings. These tense, aspectual and modal distinctions are mainly achieved by two morpho-syntactic categories, namely the tense-modal (TM) marker and the aspect-modal (AM) clitic, which are considered to be independently occurring developments; no PAn verbal morphology is retained in this language. The negator *nó* appears in eight combinations with the tense marker *ka* 'past' and/or the aspect-modal clitics. This, too, is considered to be a local development.

1. Introduction¹

Sumbawa is a language spoken in the western part of Sumbawa Island in Indonesia. According to Adelaar (2005), Sumbawa belongs to the Malayo-Sumbawan subgroup, which is a (western) member of the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family.

Within the Sumbawa language, Mahsun (1999) distinguishes four main dialects on the basis of basic vocabulary. The Sumbawa dialects are illustrated in map one.



Map 1: Distribution of Sumbawa language and dialects² (Based on Mahsun (1999))

¹ This study is based on conversational data gathered in Sumbawa Besar and Empang, Sumbawa, NTB between 1996 and 2013. I am very grateful to the Sumbawa speakers who assisted me by sharing their knowledge of their language, especially Dedy Mulyadi (Edot), Papin Agang Patawari (Dea Papin Dea Ringgi), and the late Pin Awak (Siti Hawa).

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1. Sumbawa Besar dialect, which is widely spoken in Central Sumbawa.
2. Taliwan dialect, spoken near Taliwan in the northwestern part of West Sumbawa.
3. Jereweh dialect, spoken near Jereweh in the central-eastern part of West Sumbawa.
4. Tongo dialect, spoken near Tongo in the southern part of West Sumbawa.

Note that in the eastern part of Sumbawa island (area 5), Bimanese is spoken.

This paper gives a survey of tense-aspect-mood marking (TAM) and polarity in the Sumbawa Besar dialect³, which functions as a means of communication for speakers of different dialects throughout the Sumbawa-speaking area. It has TAM marking devices that are not observed in other languages of the Malayo-Sumbawan subgroup. It has two morpho-syntactic categories, namely the TM (tense-modal) markers and the AM (aspect-modal) clitics, which indicate tense, aspect, and mood. The emergence of these appears to be a local innovation. Negation is achieved through the negator *nó* and *siong*; the former appears in eight combinations with the tense marker *ka* ‘past’ and/or the aspect-modal clitics.

2. Predicate structure and constituent indicating TAM

The structure of the predicate in Sumbawa is as follows:

(Negator) (Tense-Modal (TM) marker) (Subject prefix (A/S)-) Head [verb, noun]

Only the predicate head (a verb or a noun) is an obligatory element in the predicate. In addition to the constituents above, a clitic that indicates an aspectual or modal meaning may occur after the first constituent of the predicate. We will henceforth refer to this type of clitic as an ‘AM clitic’.

Subject prefixes: Table 1 shows a list of independent pronouns and the corresponding subject pronominal prefixes.

	Independent pronoun		Subject pronominal prefix	
	unmarked	honorific	unmarked	honorific
1SG	<i>aku</i>	<i>kaji</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>kaji-</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>kita</i>		<i>tu-</i>	
1PL.EXCL	<i>kami</i>			
2SG	<i>kau</i>	<i>sia</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>sia-</i>
2PL	<i>nene</i>		<i>nene-</i>	
3	<i>nya</i>		<i>ya-</i>	

Table 1. Sumbawa personal prefixes and pronouns

A subject prefix normally occurs when a dynamic verb is the predicate head. (Its occurrence with a stative verb is optional.) The first and the second person prefix occur with an intransitive verb to indicate the person of an argument, or with a transitive verb to indicate the actor. The third person prefix occurs only when a

² Number 5 on the map indicates the Bima-speaking community in East Sumbawa.

³ See Shiohara (2012) on the status of this dialect.

transitive verb forms the head, and it indicates that the actor is third person. (For details of the conditions in which the person marker occurs, see Shiohara 2012: 149.)

Negators: There are two types of negator in Sumbawa; one is *nó* and the other is *siong*. Roughly speaking, they correspond to *tidak* and *bukan* in Malay (See Sneddon 2010). In simple terms, the former is used when the head is a verb, while the latter is used when the head is a noun.

Tense-Modal (TM) markers; there are four TM markers.

- ka* past tense (section 3)
- ya* future tense (section 3)
- ma* request, invitation (5.2)
- na* polite prohibition (5.2)

Aspect-Mood (AM) clitics; there are three AM clitics

- mo* ‘inchoative (section 4), imperative, highlighting (5.2)’
- si* ‘yes-no question, unexpected situation (5.3)’
- po* ‘necessity (5.4)’

An AM clitic may occur after a negator and the past tense marker *ka*, or after the predicate head. It does not occur after other TM markers.

The phonological property of each category is as follows. In Sumbawa, the stress is located on the final syllable of each word (e.g., *kawa* ‘coffee’, *nginom* ‘drink’, in which stressed syllables are underlined)⁴. A subject prefix and an AM clitic are always pronounced without stress. The former is attached to the predicate head (e.g., *ku-laló* ‘I go’, *sia-kakan* ‘you eat’), while the latter may phonologically attach to the subsequent constituent, if any, to form a stress unit. Below, the equal sign (=) is used to indicate that two constituents form a stress unit.

- (1) *rango* **mo=nya**
 big INC=3
 ‘He/ she got big’.

Among the four TM markers, the future tense marker *ya* is always unstressed, and it attaches to the main verb.

- (2) **ya=ujan**
 FUT=rain
 ‘It will rain’
- (3) **ma=ku=tama** *kó’* *balé* *sia*.
 IVT=1SG=enter to house 2SG.HON
 ‘Let me enter your house.’

⁴ Some words are lexically stressed more strongly than other words, and in some cases, the existence or absence of such stress may cause a distinction in meaning. Such stronger lexical stress is indicated by an apostrophe, as in the following examples:

tunóng’ ‘sleep’ *tunóng* ‘burn’
popo’ ‘make a magic’ *popo* ‘wash’

The past tense marker *ka* and the mood marker *ma* ‘request, invitation’ are not normally stressed.

- (4) *ka=ujang*
PST=rain
‘It rained.’
- (5) *ma=tu-lalo*
inv=1PL.INCL-go
‘Let’s go.’

However, these markers are stressed when followed by an AM marker.

- (6) *ka mo=ujang*
PST ICT=rain
‘It started raining.’
- (7) *ma mo=tu-lalo*
inv IMP=1PL.INCL-go
‘Let’s go.’

The negators (*nó* and *siong*) and the mood marker *na* ‘polite prohibition’ are always stressed.

- (8) *nó ku-sadu’*
NEG 1SG-believe
‘I don’t believe.’
- (9) *siong guru nya*
NEG teacher 3
‘He/she is not a teacher or They are not teachers.’
- (10) *na sia-datang kota.*
NA 2SG.HON=come to.here
‘Please don’t come here.’

Based on its meaning and phonological properties mentioned above, *na* can be analyzed as a combination of *ma* ‘request/invitation’ and the negator *nó*, whose stress patterns *na* may have inherited. The synchronic incompatibility of the modal marker *ma* and the negator *nó* also supports this analysis; the sequence *nó ma* is not permitted in current Sumbawa, and thus *ma* and *na* always occur in the initial position of the predicate.

- (11) *na (*noma) sia=datangkota.*
NA (NEG MA) 2SG=come to.here
‘Please don’t come here.’

In spite of the analysis above, we will continue using the label ‘modal marker’ for *na* (instead of ‘negator’) for ease of description.

The negator *nó* may form other negative combinations with the past tense marker *ka* and an AM clitic. Some of the combinations produce meanings that cannot be explained by their individual constituents. This issue will be elaborated in section 6, which deals with polarity in Sumbawa.

In the following part of this paper, we will see how semantic categories of tense, aspect, mood and polarity are indicated in Sumbawa.

3. Tense

Sumbawa exhibits three tense distinctions (past /present /future). It marks past tense using the tense marker *ka*, while future tense is indicated by the marker *ya*. In the next part of this section, the function of the two tense markers will be examined. The present tense is expressed by the unmarked form of a predicate. Examples of the present tense are given in the following section, which deals with aspect.

(12) *ka=datang kóta nya Sapèrap.*
 PST=come to.here 3 yesterday
 ‘He came here yesterday.’

(13) *ya=laló kó Jepang Pak Iwan nawar*
 FUT=go to Japan title Iwan tomorrow
 ‘Iwan will go to Japan tomorrow.’

Sentences (14) and (15) present examples of the past tense marker *ka* in spontaneous utterances⁵.

(14) *Tapi Alhamdulillah, ka si tu=bau lulus*
 but fortunately PST UEPTD 1PL=can pass
dalam tès=nan.
 in test=that
 ‘But fortunately we could pass the examination.’

(15) *jadi saya⁶ mula-mula ka=saya=menong rungan*
 then 1SG first PST=1SG=listen news
kaling kakak kelas saya
 from elder.sibling class 1SG
 ‘So, first I heard the news from a senior [student] at school.’

Sentence (16) is an example of the future marker *ya* in a spontaneous conversation .

(16) *ya=pina=wajik?*
 FUT=make=rice.pudding
 ‘Will (you) make *wajik* (rice cake)?’ (Shiohara (2006))

Examples (17) and (18) are conversations taken from folktales.

(17) *na sia=tomas-tomas ina’ léng.*
 PROH 2SG=noisy mother word
ta ya=ku-balawas léng
 this FUT=1SG=recite.a.poem word
 ‘“Don’t be noisy, ma’am. I am going to recite a poem,” he said.’

⁵ Examples (14) and (15) are cited from a video recording that is published on the following website: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ObCTwSW1E04> and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gfxPaA_DX8A, respectively.

I am grateful to the following people who assisted me to make the recordings and make a transcription and translation with recording, transcribing, and translating the data: to it by themselves. Syamsul Bahri (SMU 3 Sumbawa), Syamsul Bahri (SMK1 Sumbawa), Ade Erma Lestari (SMU 3 Sumbawa), Iwan Irawansyah (SMA telu), Sambahadi Kurniawan (SMU 3 Sumbawa), Nyoman Purayasa (SMU 3 Sumbawa).

⁶ A loan from Indonesian *saya* is used here instead of the indigenous first person singular pronoun *kaji* or *aku*.

- (18) *mé lók ya=sia=bèang' aku mè=nan?*
 which way FUT=2=give 1SG rice=that
 'How will you give me the rice?'

The past tense marker *ka* may co-occur with any type of predicate head. It may co-occur with a dynamic verb as in examples (12), (13) and (15), with a stative verb as in (19), and with a noun as in (20). When a stative verb is marked with *ka*, the predicate denotes a situation that was true in the past, but is not true in the present.

- (19) *ka=rango balé nya*
 PST=big house 3
 'His / her house was large, (but is not so anymore).'
- (20) *ka=manjing-kaku nya.*
 PST=boyfriend/girlfriend-1SG.GEN 3
 'He/ She was my boyfriend/ girlfriend (but not now).'

The future tense marker *ya* may co-occur with a dynamic verb as in (13) and a stative verb as in (21), but it may not co-occur with a noun as shown in (22).

- (21) *ya=rango balé nya*
 FUT= big house 3
 '(intended meaning) His / her house will be large.'
- (22) **ya=guru nya.*
 FUT=teacher 3
 '(intended meaning) He/ She will be a teacher.'

Instead, the future realization of a status denoted by a noun must be expressed by *ya* in combination with the verb *dadi*.

- (23) *ya=dadi guru nya.*
 FUT=become teacher 3
 'He/ She will be a teacher.'

Both of the tense markers may be used to indicate 'tense', that is, a location in time that is prior or subsequent to a contextual reference point (Comrie 1985: 56). Examples (24)-(25) are passages from a cooking recipe. The past tense marker *ka* is attached to a verb that expresses a prior process in (24), while the future tense marker *ya* is attached to a verb expressing a subsequent process in example (25).

- (24) *beru' ka mo tu=kukis né,*
 just.after PST HLT 1PL=steam INTERJ
ba=t=teding sugan, na.
 then=1PL=put.on.a.stove pan INTERJ
 'Just after we steam (the rice), we put (it) onto the stove.' (Shiohara (2006))
- (25) *lótó nan né, suda mo tu=óló amir*
 rice that INTERJ finish HLT 1PL=put blaze
karéng ya=dadi minyak
 blaze FUT=become oil
dalam ana santan nan na.
 inside over.there coconuts.milk that INTERJ
 'We take the rice off a fire (lit. stop putting the rice over the fire), then the coconuts' milk **will** become oil inside (of the pot).' (Shiohara (2006))

Tense marking is not typical in Malayo-Sumbawan languages. Wouk (2002) offers a survey of voice in the languages of Sumbawa, as well as Sasak and Bima. She points out the notable presence of the past tense marker *ka* and the future tense marker *ya*. Among the forms, the cognate the future tense marker *ya* has a cognate in some dialects of Sasak (see Austin, this volume)⁷. However, cognates of the past tense marker *ka* are not observed in any languages of the subgroup.

4. Aspect

The aspectual property of a predicate varies depending on the inherent aspectual property of the head verb and the presence or absence of the past tense marker *ka* and the AM clitic *mo*, which indicate an inception of a situation.

First, in examples (26) and (27), we will examine predicates with neither the tense marker *ka* nor the AM clitic *mo*. In (26), a dynamic verb expresses a habit, while in (27), a stative verb expresses a present state or property.

(26) *tau=Jepang kakan mè.*
 person=Japan eat rice
 ‘Japanese people (generally) eat rice.’

(27) *rango balé nya*
 big house 3
 ‘His / her house is large.’

The present progressive of the dynamic situation is indicated by an equative sentence in which one argument is a demonstrative *ta* ‘this’, and the other is a phrase with the noun *muntu*⁸ ‘time, when’.

(28) *ta muntu ku=mópó’*
 this time 1SG=wash
 ‘Now I am doing the washing.’ (lit. This is the time when I do my washing.)

When the AM clitic *mo* co-occurs with a stative verb without a tense marking, it indicates the inception of the state.

(29) *gera’ mo kau.*
 beautiful ICT 2SG
 ‘You became beautiful.’

As mentioned in section 3, when *ka* is directly attached to a stative verb, the predicate denotes a situation that was true in the past, but is no longer true at the time of the utterance.

⁷ Each Sasak dialect has a ‘projective (future)’ auxiliary clitic whose form exhibits wide dialectal variation. Among the seven variations, the forms *iaq* (Meno-mene variety) and *éaq* (Munu-meni variety) can be considered to be cognates of the Sumbawa future marker *ya*. Based on the stronger modal semantics of the form – such as counterfactual conditionals, hypotheticals, intentions, and predictions – Austin analyzes the Sasak clitic as a mood marker rather than as a future tense marker.

⁸ *muntu* is also used as a conjunction that introduces time in an adverbial phrase.

ka=sia=dating muntu ku=mopo sapèrap
 PAST=2HON=come when 1SG=wash yesterday
 ‘You came when I was washing’.

- (30) *ka=rango balé nya*
 PST=big house 3
 ‘His/her house was large, (but is not so any more).’

In contrast, when *mo* is inserted, the predicate denotes an inception of a situation that occurred in the past, i.e., a change of the state occurring in the past. This sentence is neutral as to whether the situation is still true at the point of the utterance, though the natural interpretation is that the situation is still true.

- (31) *ka mo rango balé nya*
 PST ICT big house 3
 ‘His/ her house became large.’

A similar distinction applies to a verb that denotes a dynamic situation with durative aspect; the *ka* form denotes a situation that was realized and terminated before the moment of utterance.

- (32) *ka=ujan*
 PST=rain
 ‘It rained (but the rain has already stopped).’

In contrast, when *mo* is inserted, the predicate denotes the inception of the situation. In example (33), while it is clear that it began to rain at some point in the past, the sentence does not comment on whether it is still raining at the point of utterance.

- (33) *ka mo ujan*
 PST ICT rain
 ‘It started raining.’

A similar contrast is observed in the following pair. Example (34), in which the predicate is marked only by the past tense marker *ka*, denotes that the agent completed his meal by the point of the utterance, while example (35), in which the predicate is marked by both the past tense marker *ka* and the AM marker *mo*, denotes only that the agent started the meal by the point of the utterance. Whether or not the meal was completed is not clear.

- (34) *ka=mangan nya*
 PST=eat 3
 ‘He/She had a meal.’
- (35) *ka mo mangan nya*
 PST ICT eat 3
 ‘He/She started a meal.’

When a verb denotes a punctual situation (i.e., a situation without time duration), the existence or absence of *mo* does not cause a semantic difference. Both sentences denote the same past situation.

- (36) *ka=mentepo’ balon=nan.*
 PST=explode balloon=that
 ‘That balloon exploded.’
- (37) *ka mo mentepo’ balon=nan.*
 PST ICT exploded balloon=that
 ‘That balloon exploded.’

- (38) *ka=jempung ling nya batir ta*
 PST =jump by 3 brick this
 'He jumped over this brick.'
- (39) *ka mo jempung ling nya batir ta*
 PST ICT jump by 3 brick this
 'He jumped over this brick.'

5. Mood

5.1. Mood auxiliaries

Some auxiliaries are used to indicate modality: *mesti* 'must', *harós* 'must, need', *perlu* 'need', *bau* 'be able to', *saté* 'want'. They normally occur before the predicate.

- (40) *mesti tu=datang kebalí*
 must 1PL=come again
 'We have to come again.'
- (41) *bau sia=datang kóta ké'*
 can 2SG.HON=come to.here INTERR
 'He can come here.'
- (42) *saté ya=ku=kakan janggan=ta*
 want FUT=1SG=eat fish=this
 'I want to eat this fish.'

5.2. Imperatives and Prohibitives

The AM clitic *mo* indicates an imperative, while prohibitive sentences are indicated by the combination of the negator *nó* and the AM clitic *mo*. A subject prefix is optional in an imperative sentence, as in (43) and (44).

- (43) *(sia=)datang mo kota.*
 (2SG)=come IMP to.here
 'Come here.'
- (44) *nó mo (mu=)inóm bir.*
 NEG.IMP (2SG)=drink beer
 'Don't drink beer anymore.'

The mood marker *ma* indicates a request or an invitation, while *na* indicates polite prohibition.⁹

⁹ Modal markers *ma* and *na* are used as purposive markers in subordinate clauses, co-occurring with the auxiliary *bau* 'can, be able to'.

ada' rasa iri ina=ta ké' adi=ta.
 exist feel jealous mother=this with younger.sibling=this

saté ya=racén si=Ijo=ta, bau ma=dapat selaki'.
 want IRR=poison TITLE=Ijo=this can PURP=get husband

'The mother and the younger sister (of Ijo) felt jealous, and they wanted to poison Ijo, so that the sister could get her (Ijo's) husband.'

tódé=Siti=ta barari' mo ya=bolang mo gunténg=ta
 child=Siti=this run HIGHL 3=cast-away HIGHL scissors=this

Below are examples of *ma*, which occurs when the subject of the clause is in the first or the second person. Example (45) contains a subject in the first person singular. In this case, *ma* indicates the speaker's request for permission to do the action referred to in the clause.

- (45) *ma=ku=ngènèng tolóng ko sia.*
 REQ=1SG=ask.for help to 2SG.HON
 'May I ask for your help?' or 'Let me ask for your help.'

Example (46) contains subjects in the first person plural (inclusive). In this case, the clause expresses an invitation for the addressee to join the action referred to in the clause.

- (46) *ma=tu=laló kó Lapé kita.*
 INV=1PL=go to Lape 1PL.INCL
 'Let's go to Lape.'

Example (47) contains subjects in the second person. In this case, the clause expresses a request for the addressee to do the action referred to in the clause.

- (47) *ma=mu=tedu pang' Samawa=ta mo.*
 REQ=2SG=stay at Sumbawa=this IMP
 'Please stay at Sumbawa.'

The subject marker may not appear in the predicate when the referent of the subject is clear from the context, as in (48).

- (48) *wa ina' ma=sakena kó' ima-kaku*
 INTERJ REQ=apply to hand-1SG+GEN
 'Wow, (would you) please put (the ring) on my hand.'

Example (49) shows *na*, the negative form of *ma*. It indicates a "polite prohibition" in main clauses. It is used only when the subject is in the second person.

- (49) *na sia=tomas-tomas, ina.*
 P.PROH 2SG=noisy mother
 'Don't be noisy, Mother.'

The subject marker often does not appear when it is clear from the context, as in Example (50).

- (50) *na balangan pang burét jaran, kena nyungkèk.*
 P.PROH walk at back horse affected kick
 'Don't walk near the rump of the horse. You might be kicked.'

As mentioned above, the imperative is indicated by the clitic *mo*, and an ordinary prohibitive is indicated by the combination of the negator *nó* and the clitic *mo*.

kó' dalam brang
 to inside river

bau na to' léng tau
 can NEG.PURP know by man

sai baèng' ka=samaté' ina'
 who responsible PAST=kill mother

'Siti ran away and cast the scissors into the river, so that people wouldn't know who had killed her mother.'

The essential semantic difference between ordinary imperative clauses and invitations, requests, or prohibitions expressed by *ma* or *na* clauses is that the latter imply that the speaker recognizes the addressee's authority to decide if the situation referred to will be realized, and therefore the speaker has to ask for the addressee's permission, while the ordinary imperatives in (43) and (44) are unmarked in this regard.

We have seen various functions of the clitic *mo*. It can indicate inception of a situation (section 4), and it can form a negative combination (section 3; this issue will be further elaborated in section 6). The clitic *mo* also has various functions in discourse.

When the subject is the speaker, the sentence may indicate agreement, as in (51b) below.

- (51) a. *sai' dè=ajar tau=Jepang nan?*
 who NMZ=teach person=Japan that
 'Who will teach the Japanese?'
 b. *aku mo.*
 1sg AGR
 'I will.'

In narrative, *mo* functions to highlight the occurrence of an event. It is used to mark important events that can be treated as a key point in the discourse. Example (52) is a passage from the life history of an old woman. Here, she is talking about one of her children who was given up for adoption. After she explains the reasons (i.e., she was sick, and there was no milk to give the baby) in the preceding clauses, the clitic *mo* is used in the last sentence where she tells the fact that the child was adopted.

- (52) *m.m...aku né*
 yes 1sg interj
ka=ku=sakét ka=ku=naré
 PST=1SG=sick PST=1SG=sick.after.childbirth
aku né, sakét telu tén.
 1SG you.know sick three tahun
siong' ada' susu
 not exist milk
siong' ada' ya=t=bèang' tau=dunóng' rua
 NEG exist FUT=1PL=give people=before it.seems
selén' ké' ai-susu-susu ina' baè
 besides with milk mother only
ètè' mo léng tau=ana.
 take HLT by people=over.there
 'Yes, I was ill. I got ill after childbirth. I had been ill for three years. I was not able to give milk to the baby. Before, there was not anything other than mother's milk to give a baby. So, people over there **adopted** him.' (Shiohara (2006))

Sentence (53) is a passage from a recipe for a rice cake. The clitic *mo* occurs in the predicate that describes the main process of the cooking that should be taken.

- (53) *kela' mo gula=ta pang' sugan na*
 boil HLT sugar=this at metal.pan INTERJ
kela' pang' sugan né
 boil at metal.pan INTERJ
kira-kira endi gat gula né
 roughly later melt sugar INTERJ
ka mo sementa né
 PST ICT like.this INTERJ
lè' teri' né setama' lóto
 long fall.down INTERJ put.in rice
tu=gér mo na
 1PL=stir HLT you.see

'We **heat** the sugar (and the rice) in the pan. We heat them in the pan, then the sugar is melt. If the sugar **become like this**—taking time to fall (because it is sticky), we put the rice and **stir** (the sugar).' (Shiohara (2006))

5.3 Yes-no questions or unexpected situations

The mood clitic *si* is normally used in two environments. Examples (54) and (55) show its function in yes-no questions and in responses to them.

- (54) a. *tedu si pang ta?*
 stay YN at this
 b. *tedu si.*
 stay YN
 (a) 'Does he/she / do they stay here?'
 (b) 'Yes, he/she does/they do.'
- (55) a. *tau=Empang dèan?*
 person=Empang that
 b. *tau=Empang si*
 person=Empang YN
 (a) 'Is that a man from Empang?'
 (b) 'Yes, he is a man from Empang.'

A second function of *si* is to express the unexpectedness of a situation, as in (56).

- (56) *nya tedu pang'Lombok, tapi tau=Samawa' si.*
 3 stay at Lombok but person=Sumbawa UEPTD
 'He lives in Lombok but he is a Sumbawan.'

We could say that *si* is used when the speaker chooses one proposition from among the limited number of potential possibilities that are shared to the addressee, and asserts its truth.

5.4 Necessity

The clitic *po* indicates a situation that is necessary for the other situation to be realized.

- (57) *karna roko tau=dunóng=nan ka=jontal*
 because cigarette people=before=that PST=palm.leaf
dadi mesti tu=atór po
 so necessity IPL=prepare NEC
tu=isi jontal=nan ké' mako
 IPL=put palm.leaf=that with tobacco
 'Before, cigarettes were made of palm leaf (jontal), so we had to prepare it, filling tobacco into a palm leaf (to smoke a cigarette).' (Shiohara (2006))
- (58) a. *gula mira ké' legé baè si?*
 sugar red and glutinous.rice only AMC
- b. *engka balong wajék gula=puti*
 NEG.PST good rice.pudding sugar=white
gula=mira po
 sugar=red NEC
- (a) '(Are the ingredients for cooking rice cake) only brown sugar and rice?'
 (b) 'White sugar is not good. (We need) brown sugar (in order to make a rice cake).' (Shiohara 2006))
- (59) a. *misal sa=gantang legé*
 for.example one=2.5kg glutinous.rice
pida peno' gula
 how.many many sugar
- b. *dua kilo-kilo po gula*
 two kilo gram NEC sugar
- (a) 'If we use two and a half kilograms of rice, how much sugar shall we use?'
 (b) 'We need about two kilogram of sugar (to make a rice cake).' (Shiohara (2006))

6. Polarity

As mentioned in section 2, Sumbawa has two negators, *nó* and *siong*. Roughly speaking, they correspond to *tidak* and *bukan* in Malay. In simple terms, the former is used when the head is a verb, while the latter is used when the head is a noun.

In Examples (60)-(62), the negator *siong* is used for negation of a nominal predicate.

- (60) *dèta siong mèjang*
 this NEG table
 'This is not a table.'
- (61) *tau=nan siong tau=Samawa.*
 person=that NEG person=Sumbawa
 'That person is not from Sumbawa.'
- (62) *dèan siong tau=soai*
 that NEG person=female
 'That (person) is not a woman.'

As mentioned in section 3, *nó* forms a variety of combinations with a TM marker and/or an AM clitic to make distinctions related to tense and mood. A list of the all the forms (including *nó* itself) and their meanings is shown below.

Form	Constituent	Meaning	Section in which it is discussed
<i>nó</i>		negation in conditional clause, negation of cognitive verb, or modal auxiliary	6.1
<i>na</i>	<i>nó + ma</i> ‘invitation, request’ (5.2)	polite prohibition	section 5 above
<i>nó si</i>	<i>nó + si</i> ‘yes-no question, unexpected situation’ (5.3)	negation of the future situation, habit of not doing x	6.2
<i>nongka</i> (<i>engka</i>)	<i>nó + ka</i> ‘past tense’ (section 3)	negation of a non-future situation	6.2
<i>nó soka</i>	<i>nó + si</i> ‘yes-no question, unexpected situation’ + <i>ka</i> ‘past tense’ (section 3)	a marked variation of <i>nongka</i>	6.3
<i>nó mo</i>	<i>nó + mo</i> ‘inception, imperative, highlighting’ (section 5)	prohibition	section 5 above
<i>nó po</i>	<i>nó + po</i> ‘necessity’ (5.4)	‘not yet’	6.4
<i>nó poka</i>	<i>nó + po</i> ‘necessity’ (5.4) + <i>ka</i> ‘past tense’ (section 3)	‘not yet’	6.4
<i>nó mongka</i>	<i>nó + mo</i> ‘inception, imperative’ (section 4, 5.2) + <i>ka</i> ‘past tense’ (section 3)	‘not any more’	6.5

Table 2. Negator *nó* and its combinations

6.1 *nó* occurring alone

When it stands alone, *nó* is used for negations as follows:

- In conditional clauses
- With cognitive verbs
- With modal auxiliaries

Examples (63) - (65) show *nó* occurring in a conditional clause.

(63) *ma mo panéng’ berma’*
 REQ IPT take.shower together

nó ku=roa manéng'
NEG 1SG=want bathe

nó berma ké nya léng'
NEG together with 3 word

'Let me take a shower with him. I don't want to take a shower, if I am **not** with him.' (Shiohara (2006))

- (64) *ampa datu=ta é,*
unexpectedly general=this INTERJ

engka itung' permisi lakó' raja=Samawa'
NEG.PST consider ask.for.permission to king=Sumbawa

raja=dunóng' raja... apa singin...
king=before king... what name

Kalibela lamén nó ku=sala' dean né.
Kalibela if NEG 1SG=mistaken that INTERJ

'Unexpectedly, the general didn't consider asking permission of the king of Sumbawa, the king at that time....what's his name? ... King Kalibela, if I am not wrong.' (Shiohara (2006))

- (65) *jarang ada' sumir apa rua*
rarely exist well something look.like

brang tu=turés,
river 1PL=be.frequent

lamén nó brang=nan, brang Peria=nan.
if NEG river=that river Peria=that

'(Before) since there was not something like a well, we frequently went to the river (to wash). When (we did) not (use) that river, (we went to) the Peria river.' (Shiohara (2006))

Sentences (66) and (67) are examples of cognitive verbs.

- (66) *a, nó ku=sadu' kau,*
oh NEG 1SG=trust 2SG

siong' kau ka=samaté
NEG 2SG PST=kill

'Oh, I don't believe you. It's not you who killed (him).'

 (Shiohara (2006))

- (67) a. *kira-kira umir sia pida mo tó', pén?*
about age 2SG how.many HLT now grand.parent
'How old are you now, Grandma?'

- b. *nó ku=to'*
NEG 1SG=know
'I don't know.' (Shiohara 2006))

Examples (68) and (69) show the negation of sentences with the modal auxiliaries *bau* 'be able to' and *roa* 'want', respectively.

- (68) *nó bau' datang kóta nya.*
NEG can come to.here 3
'He is not able to come here.'

- (69) *nó roa datang kóta nya.*
 NEG want come to.here 3
 'He doesn't want to come here.'

6.2 *nó si* and *nongka (engka)*

Table 3 shows the situations in which *nó si* and *nongka* are used.

<i>nó si</i>	<i>nó + si</i> 'yes-no question, unexpected situation' (5.3)
<i>nongka</i>	<i>nó + ka</i> 'past tense' (section 3)

Table 3. The use of *nó si* and *nongka*

When the predicate head is a stative verb, *nó si* negates a future situation.

- (70) *nó si panas nawar.*
 NEG. ASS hot tomorrow
 'It will not be hot tomorrow.'
- (71) *nó si rango' balé=kaji.*
 NEG ASS big house=1SG
 'My house (under construction) will not be made big.'

When the predicate head is a dynamic verb, it indicates negation of a future situation or a habit of not doing the action.

- (72) *nó si datang nya kó' balé=kaji.*
 NEG. ASS come 3 to house=1SG
 'He won't come to my house (in the future).'
 OR 'He never comes to my house (as a habit).'

The form *nongka* is used to indicate negation for the past or present situation. When the predicate head is a stative verb, it indicates negation of the past and present states.

- (73) *nongka panas anó=ta.*
 NEG.non-future hot day=this
 'It is not hot today.'
- (74) *nongka panas sapèrap.*
 NEG.non-future hot yesterday
 'It was not hot yesterday.'
- (75) *nongka rango' balé=kaji.*
 NEG. non-future big house=1SG
 'My house is not big.'

When the predicate head is a dynamic verb, it indicates negation of a past or present event.

- (76) *nongka ujan to'.*
 NEG. non-future rain now
 'It is not raining now.'

- (77) *nongka* *ujan sapèrap*.
 NEG. non-future rain yesterday
 ‘I didn’t laugh (at a specific time in the past).’
- (78) *nongka* *datang kó’ balé=kaji nya sapèrap*.
 NEG. non-future come to house=1SG 3 yesterday
 ‘Yesterday he didn’t come to my house.’

The meaning of *nó si* and *nongka* cannot be directly explained by their individual constituents. As mentioned in section 5.3, *si* is used in (a) yes-no questions and replies, or (b) for expressing a situation that is contrary to expectations. The semantic function of *nó si* cannot be directly explained by the function of *si*, as environments in which *nó si* occurs are not limited to those of *si*. Similarly, as mentioned in section 4, *ka* is the past tense marker, but the combination *nongka* is used for the negation of present situations as well as past situations.

6.3 *nó soka*, a marked variation of *nongka*

Table 4 shows when *nó soka* is used.

<i>nó soka</i>	<i>nó + si</i> ‘yes-no question, unexpected situation’ + <i>ka</i> ‘past tense’ (section 3)
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Table 4. The use of *nó soka*

The phrase *nó soka* is used as a marked variation of *nongka*, the negator for non-future situations. It occurs in the same environments in which the AM clitic *si* occurs, that is, (i) in yes-no questions and replies, and (ii) situations contrary to expectations.

- (79) a. *nó soka gentomas ké’?*
 NEG AST.PST noisy INTERR
 ‘Don’t you feel noisy?’
- b. *nó soka*
 neg emph.pst
 ‘I don’t.’
- (80) *ya=perasa’ina’ nó soka kuda-kuda’*
 3=feel mother NEG UEPT.PST what-what
walaupón ka mo bakat né.
 though PST ICT injured INTERJ
 ‘(Siti) thought her mother was OK, though her mother had been injured.’
 (Shiohara 2006)
- (81) *ada tau lucu, tapi no soka ku=ketawa’.*
 exist person funny but NEG.UEPT.PST 1SG=laugh
 ‘There was a funny guy, but I didn’t laugh.’

6.4 *nó po* and *nó poka* ‘not yet’

The use of *nó po* and *nó poka* is illustrated in table 5.

<i>nó po</i>	<i>nó + po</i> ‘necessity’ (5.4)
<i>nó poka</i>	<i>nó + po</i> ‘necessity’ (5.4)+ <i>ka</i> ‘past tense’ (section 3)

Table 5. Use of *nó po* and *nó poka*

Both *nó po* and *nó poka* indicate a situation which is expected to occur, but has not occurred yet.

(82) *nó po laló nya.*
NEG NEC come 3
‘He isn’t departing yet.’

(83) *nó po ka datang nya*
neg.nec.pst come 3
‘He hasn’t departed yet.’

The two forms, *nó po* and *nó po ka*, indicate almost the same meaning, but *nó po* has the rather specific function of describing a situation before one’s eyes. For example, sentence (82) with *nó po* is used when we are observing a person who is about to depart, while the sentence (83) with *nó po ka* is used to indicate the more general situation of ‘not yet’.

When the pragmatic clitic *po* occurs alone, it indicates a necessity (5.4). The semantic relation between this meaning of *po* and the meaning of *nó po* and *nó po ka* is not clear, as neither *nó po* and *nó po ka* have a meaning related to necessity.

6.5 *nó mongka* ‘not anymore’

Table 6 shows when *nó mongka* is used.

<i>nó mongka</i>	<i>nó + mo</i> ‘inception, imperative’ (section 4, 5.2) + <i>ka</i> ‘past tense’ (section 4)
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Table 6. Use of *nó mongka*

This form indicates a situation that was true before but is not true anymore.

(84) *nó mongka datang kóta nya.*
NEG.ICT.PST come to.here 3
‘He will not come here anymore.’

(85) *nó mongka gera nya.*
NEG.ICT.PST beautiful 3
‘She is not beautiful anymore.’

As mentioned in section 3, *mo* indicates an inception of a state. We could say that the meaning of *nó mongka* can be explained as the inception of a negative situation, that is, the cessation of a situation.

7. Conclusion

Sumbawa has two morpho-syntactic categories that function as tense, aspect, and mood markers, namely, the TM (tense-modal) markers and the AM (aspect-modal) clitics. In negation using the negator *nó*, one of the tense markers, *ka* ‘past’, appears alone or with aspect-modal clitics to form eight negative combinations with distinct meanings in terms of tense, aspect, and mood.

None of the TM markers or AM clitics reflect Ross’s reconstruction of PAN morphology (Ross 2002: 49). All these forms, therefore, are considered to have developed independently in Sumbawa, with the exception of the future tense marker, *ya*, which is shared with some of the Sasak dialects. Adelaar (this volume) gives another example of a tense-marking innovation observed in Malagasy and attributes it to contact with African languages. Sumbawa may be a case in which a TAM system has developed independently, because the language has had no apparent contact with non-Austronesian languages in its history.

Abbreviations and conventions

The transcription adopted in this paper is based on the orthography of Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia). Some characters deviate from IPA conventions, that is, *e* [ə], *é* [e], *è* [ɛ], *ó* [o], *o* [ɔ], *ny* [ɲ], *ng* [ŋ], *c* [tʃ], and *j* [dʒ].

1, 2, 3	first, second, third persons	NEG	negator
AGR	agreement	NMZ	nominalizer
EXCL	exclusive	PASS	passive
FUT	future tense	PL	plural
GEN	genitive	PROG	progressive
HLT	highlighting	P.PROH	polite prohibitive
HON	honorific form of personal pronouns/ prefixes	PROH	prohibitive
ICT	inchoative	PST	past tense
INCL	inclusive form of 1PL	PUR	purpose
IMP	imperative	REQ	request
INTERJ	interjection	SG	singular
INTERR	interrogative	TITLE	particle introducing a personal name
INV	invitation	UEPTD	unexpected situation
NEC	necessity	YN	a yes-no question and response to it

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