Tense, Aspect, Mood and Polarity in Sumbawa∗

Asako Shiohara

Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asian and Africa
Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

1 Introduction

Sumbawa is a language spoken in the Western part of Sumbawa Island in Indonesia. It is considered to be a member of the Sundic group of the Western Malayo-Polynesian Languages, in the Austronesian family (see Tryon (1995: 27)). This paper gives a survey of TAM and polarity system in Sumbawa. As Wouk (2002: 304) suggests, Sumbawa develops tense marking as a local innovation, and it also develops considerable numbers of negative marker, by forming of the complex of the negator nó, a Tense-Modal marker, and/ or a pragmatic particle.

2 Predicate Structure

The structure of the predicate in Sumbawa is as follows:

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

Negators: There are two series of negators in Sumbawa; one is nó and the other is siong. Roughly speaking, they correspond to tidak and bukan in Malay (See Sneddon (1996)). 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: two tense markers, ka ‘PAST’ and ya ‘FUT’, and two modal markers, ma ‘JUSSIVE’ and na ‘NEG.JUSSIVE’.

Among the constituents of the predicate, tense-modal markers ka ‘PAST’ and ya ‘FUT’, and ma ‘JUSSIVE’ do not have their own stress, and form a phonological unit together with the following verb. In contrast to that, the negator nó and TM marker na have their own stress. From its meaning and phonological property mentioned above, na can be analyzed as a combination of the negator nó plus ma; na may have taken over this phonological property of nó. But we will continue using the label “modal marker” for na (instead of “negator,” for

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∗ This study is based on my own research conducted in Sumbawa Besar and Empang, Sumbawa, NTB over a total of 10 months from 1996 to 2009. Most of the examples cited are from speakers’ spontaneous utterances, such as narrative texts or conversations that I gathered. I am very grateful to the Sumbawa speakers who assisted me by sharing their knowledge of their language. I am also grateful to Prof. Yasutoshi Yukawa, Yasuhiro Kojima, and other participants at the second meeting of the Society of the Mystery of Languages, which was held on October 3, 2009, at the University of Tokyo, for their comments on the previous version of a part (section 4) of this study. The transcription adopted in this paper is based on the orthography of Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia). Some characters used deviate from the IPA, that is, e [ɛ], ê [e], ô [o], o [ø], ny [ɲ], ng [ŋ], c [ʧ], and j [ʤ].

In Sumbawa, the stress is located on the final syllable of each word. Some words lexically are 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>String</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tunóng</td>
<td>“burn”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunóng</td>
<td>“sleep”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popó</td>
<td>“wash”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popó</td>
<td>“make a magic”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The marker of the first- or the second person occurs only when a dynamic verb forms the head, and that of the third person occurs only when a transitive verb forms the head.

2 In addition to its form, meaning, and phonological feature, 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.
example) for ease of description.
   nó may form other complexes with a past tense marker ka and a pragmatic particle,
   including nó poka ‘not yet’ in (1).
   For example:

   (1)    nó poka      ku=laló.
      NEG COND PAST  1SG=go
   “I haven’t depart yet.”

   This issue will be elaborated in section 5, in which polarity in Sumbawa is dealt with.

3 Tense

Sumbawa has two tense markers, ka ‘past’ and ya ‘future’.

(2)    bapa’ ta nya     ya=kakan’ ku léng’ blé’
     father this 3   FUT=eat 1SG by serpent
     ka=bawa ku léng’ gutu kóta’ léng’ PAST=bring 1SG by louse to.here word
     ‘Dad, the serpent will eat me, the louse brought me here.’

Sentence (3) is examples of ka ‘PAST’.

(3)    ka     mo datang tódé nan.
     PAST   HIGHL come child this
     ‘The child came.’

Sentence (4) and (5) are an example of the future marker ya.

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

(5)    mé     lók     ya=sia=béang’ aku mè=nan?
     Which way FUT=2=give 1SG rice=that
     ‘How will you give me the rice?’

A specific point or domain in the timeline are indicated by the time adverb, such as tó’ ‘now’, tone ‘a little while ago’, saperap ‘yesterday’, nawar ‘tomorrow’ and so on.

• Function of ka ‘PAST’

The past tense marker ka denotes the situation prior to the reference point. The reference point is normally the point of the utterance, in which cases, the situation in the past is expressed, as in (2) and (3).

When the reference point is expressed by a linguistic form, ka indicates the situation prior to it. The reference point may be expressed by time adverb as in (6), or a matrix clause that subordinating the clause marked with ka, as in (7) and (8).

(4)    ma=ku=tama kó’ balé=sia.
     MA=1SG=enter to house=2SG+HON
     ‘Let me enter your house.’

(5)    na     sia=datang kóta.
     NA  2SG=come to.here
     ‘Please don’t come here.’
(6)  
\[\text{saperap} \quad \text{ka} = \text{datang} \quad \text{kota} \quad \text{nya.} \]
\[\text{yesterday} \quad \text{PAST} = \text{come} \quad \text{to.here} \quad 3\]
\[\text{‘He had come here yesterday.’} \]

(7)  
\[\text{ba’} \quad \text{tu} = \text{setama}’ \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{legé} = \text{ta} \quad \text{na}, \]
\[\text{then} \quad \text{1PL} = \text{put.into} \quad \text{HIGHL} \quad \text{rice} = \text{this} \quad \text{INTERJ}\]
\[\text{legé} \quad \text{ka} = \text{tu} = \text{kukés} = \text{ta} \quad \text{é}. \]
\[\text{rice} \quad \text{PAST} = \text{1PL} = \text{steam} = \text{this} \quad \text{INTERJ}\]
\[\text{‘Then put in the rice, the rice we steamed, you know.’} \]

(8)  
\[\text{beru’} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{mo} \quad \text{tu} = \text{kukés} \quad \text{né}, \]
\[\text{just.after} \quad \text{PERF} \quad \text{HIGHL} \quad \text{1PL} = \text{steam} \quad \text{INTERJ}\]
\[\text{ba} = \text{t} = \text{teding} \quad \text{sugan}, \quad \text{na.} \]
\[\text{then} = \text{1PL} = \text{put.on.a.stove} \quad \text{pan} \quad \text{INTERJ}\]
\[\text{‘Just after we steam (the rice), we put (it) onto the stove.’} \]

We could say that \text{ka} in Sumbawa has relatively weaker connection to the absolute past tense, compared to the past tense verb in other languages; absolute past tense is indicated by \text{ka} only when there are not any time linguistic/extra-linguistic indications of past tense. In other words, when there are any indications of past tense, unmarked verb form is used. When time adverb such as \text{saperap} ‘yesterday’ occurs to specify the point in the time line, the verb is not marked with \text{ka}.

(9)  
\[\text{saperap} \quad \text{datang} \quad \text{kóta} \quad \text{nya.} \]
\[\text{yesterday} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{to.here} \quad 3\]
\[\text{‘He came here yesterday.’} \]

The following examples are from a historical story, in which the events told are taken for granted to takes place in the past. Here, the default verb form is unmarked ones, not \text{ka} marked ones. (10) is the beginning of the story titled ‘Uji coba’.

(10)  
\[\text{tó’} \quad \text{saté} \quad \text{ya} = \text{katutér} \quad \text{ampó’} \]
\[\text{now} \quad \text{want} \quad \text{FUT} = \text{1SG} = \text{tell} \quad \text{more}\]
\[\text{tentang} \quad \text{sejara} \quad \text{uji coba} \]
\[\text{about} \quad \text{history} \quad \text{try.out}\]
\[\text{‘Now I would like to tell an another story, a history about ‘Uji Coba’ (Dutch’s attempt to invade Sumbawa).’} \]

\[\text{Belanda} \quad \text{tama} \quad \text{lakó} \quad \text{Samawa} \]
\[\text{Holland} \quad \text{enter} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{Sumbawa} \]
\[\text{‘Dutch entered to Sumbawa.’} \]
\[\text{kira-kira} \quad \text{lébé} \quad \text{kurang} \quad \text{telu-ratés} \quad \text{lima-pulu} \quad \text{tén} \]
\[\text{about} \quad \text{more} \quad \text{less} \quad 350 \quad \text{year}\]
\[\text{dè} \quad \text{ka} = \text{laló} \quad \text{ana} \]
\[\text{NOM} \quad \text{PAST} = \text{go} \quad \text{over.there}\]

\[\text{Belanda} \quad \text{ké} \quad \text{pasukan} \quad \text{angkatan} \quad \text{laut} \]
\[\text{Holland} \quad \text{with} \quad \text{troop} \quad \text{army} \quad \text{sea}\]
\[\text{tama} \quad \text{lakó} \quad \text{Samawa} = \text{ta} \]
\[\text{enter} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{Sumbawa} = \text{this} \]
About 350 years ago, Dutch army entered Sumbawa to take over it.

So Sultan of Sumbawa gathered all the armies from the east to the west.

In contrast to that, *ka* is sensitive to the indication of relative past. When subordinate clause express the situation prior to that of the main clause, *ka* occurs obligatorily, as in (7) and (8).

### 4 Aspect

In Sumbawa, basically, unmarked form of the verbs indicates perfective aspect with an inherently dynamic verb, and imperfective aspect with an inherently stative verb.

Progressive of the dynamic situation is indicated by the equational sentence, one argument of which is a demonstrative *ta* ‘this’, and the other is a phrase with the noun *muntu* ‘time, when’.

(11)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{muntu} & \text{ku=} & \text{mópó} & \\
\text{this} & \quad \text{time} & 1\text{SG} & \text{wash} & (N-\text{pópó})
\end{align*}
\]

‘Now I am doing the washing.’

Inception of the state is normally indicated by the verb *dadi* ‘become’. In addition to that, the attachment of person marker and/or pragmatic particle *mo* ‘highlight, occurrence’ may indicate the similar meaning.

3 *muntu* is also used as a conjunction that introduces time adverbial phrase.

(a)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nya} & \quad \text{datang}, & \text{muntu} & \text{ku=} & \text{mópó} & \\
3 & \quad \text{come \ when} & 1\text{SG} & \text{wash}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He came when I was washing.’

(b)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muntu} & \quad \text{ya=} & \text{ginà} & \text{inà} & \text{lèng} & \text{tau} & \\
\text{when} & \quad 3 & \text{look} & \text{mother \ by} & \text{people}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ka} & \quad \text{mo} & \text{terì} & \text{bao} & \text{sejada} & \text{ramanèng} & \text{getì} & \text{mo} & \\
\text{past} & \quad \text{HIGHL} & \text{fall.\ down \ on} & \text{prayer.rug} & \text{bathe} & \text{blood} & \text{HIGHL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘When people saw her, the mother has already felt down on the prayer rug, bathing in the blood.’

4 The primary function of mood particle *mo* is highlighting the occurrence of an event. It is used to mark the important events that can be treated as a key point in the discourse.
(12) dadi gera kau.
become beautiful 2SG ‘You became beautiful.’

(13) gera mo kau.
PAST HIGHL 2SG ‘You became beautiful.’

(14) mu=gera kau.
2SG=beautiful 2SG ‘You became beautiful.’

5 Mood

Some auxiliaries indicate modal: mesti ‘must’, harós ‘must, need’, perlu ‘need’, bau ‘be able to’, to ‘be able to’, sate ‘want’. In addition to these auxiliaries, two of the TM markers, ma and na indicates mood\(^5\). They

mo may indicates some illocutionary force in the sentence in which interlocutor is the subject. When the subject is the addresser, the sentence may indicate agreement, as in (d) below.

(d) aku mo.
1SG HIGHL ‘I will.’

When the subject is the addressee, the sentence may be used as an imperative, as in (e) below.

(e) mu=laló kó ban? laló mo.
2SG=go to bank go HIGHL ‘Are you going to the bank? Go ahead!’

(f) nó mo bolang diri kó lét.
NEG HIGHL throw.away oneself to sea ‘Don’t throw yourself into the sea.’

\(^5\) Modal markers ma and na are used as purposive markers in subordinate clauses, cooccurring to the the auxiliary bau ‘can, be able to’.

(20) ada’ rasu iri ina=ta kó’ 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 JUS=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.’

(21) tódé=Siti=ta barari’ mo ya=bolang mo gunténg=ta
child=Siti=this run HIGHL 3=cast-away HIGHL scissors=this kó’ dalam brang
to inside river bau na to’ léng tau
can NEGJUS know by man sai baèng’ ka=samaté’ ina’
who responsible PAST=kill mother
indicate the jussive, or more precisely, the illocutionary force of a request or an invitation.

Below are examples of ma. ma occurs when the subject of the clause is in the first or the second person. Examples (15) and (16) contain 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.

(15) \textit{ma}=ku=pukèl \textit{boat nya}.
\text{JUS=1SG=hit mouth 3}
‘May I hit his mouth?’ or ‘Let me hit his mouth.’

(16) \textit{ma}=ku=ènèng \textit{tolóng sia}.
\text{JUS=1SG=ask.for help 2SG}
‘May I ask for your help?’ or ‘Let me ask for your help.’

Examples (17) and (18) contain subjects in the first person plural (inclusive). In this case, the clause expresses the invitation for the addressee to join the action referred to in the clause.

(17) \textit{ma}=tu=lálo \textit{ko} \textit{Lapè kita}.
\text{JUS=1PL=go to Lape 1PL.INCL}
‘Let’s go to Lape.’

(18) bléng \textit{ko’} bapa=Mina=ta
\text{say to father=Mina=this}
iè’ bapa=Mina \textit{ma}=tu=tunónó mo bulù otak si=Mina=ta
\text{yes father=Mina JUS=1PL=burn HIGHL hair head TITLE=Mina=this}
\textit{ma}=bau matè sarèa’ gutu.
\text{JUS=can die all louse}
‘(Mina’s Mother) said to Mina’s father, “Mina’s Father, let’s burn Mina’s hair, so that all the lice die.”’

Examples (19)-(21) contain subjects in the second person. In this case, the clauses express a request for the addressee to do the action referred to in the clause.

(19) \textit{ma}=sia=datang \textit{kota}.
\text{JUS=2SG=come to.here}
‘Please come here.’

(20) \textit{ma}=mu=tedu \textit{pang’ Samawa=ta mo}.
\text{JUS=2SG=stay at Sumbawa=this HIGHL}
‘Please stay at Sumbawa.’

(21) \textit{ma}=nènè=talat mo tódè=Siti=nan, telas-telas \textit{ko’ ina=nan}.
\text{JUS=2-3PL=bury HIGHL child=Siti=that live with mother=that}
‘Please bury the girl, Siti, who will share her fate with her mother.’

The subject marker may not appear in the predicate when the referent of the subject is clear from the context, as in (22).

(22) wa ina’ \textit{ma}=sakena \textit{ko’ ima=kaku}
\text{INTERJ JUS=apply to hand=1SG+GEN}
mata ya=gerà’ ima ku pè
\text{extremely FUT=beautiful hand 1SG INTERJ}

‘Siti ran away and cast the scissors into the river, so that people wouldn’t know who had killed her mother.’
‘Wow, (would you) please put (the ring) on my hand. My hand will be extremely beautiful if I wear the ring of the king who rules this village.’

Examples (23) show *na*, the negative form of *ma*. It indicates a “prohibitive request” in main clauses. It is used only when the subject is in the second person.

(23) *na* sia=tomas-tomas, *ina*.  
NEG.JUS 2SG=noisy mother  
‘Don’t be noisy, Mother.’

In this case, too, the subject marker often does not appear when it is clear from the context, as in examples (15) and (16).

(15) *na* boat dèan  
NEG.JUS make that  
‘Please don’t do that.’

(16) *na* balangan pang burét jaran, kena nyungkèk.  
NEG.JUS walk at back horse affected kick  
‘Don’t walk near the rump of the horse. You might be kicked.’

In Sumbawa, ordinary imperative sentences are indicated by the pragmatic particle *mo*, and ordinary prohibitive sentences are indicated by the combination of the negator *nó* and *mo*, as mentioned in the footnote 4.

(24) (*sia*)=datang *mo* kota.  
(2SG=)come HIGHL to.here  
‘Come here.’

(25) *nó mo* mu=inóm *bir*.  
NEG HIGHL 2SG=drink beer  
‘Don’t drink beer anymore.’

The essential semantic difference between ordinary imperative clauses and jussive *ma* or *na* clauses is that the latter imply that the speaker considers that the addressee has the authority to decide if the situation referred to will be realized, and therefore the speaker has to ask for the addressee’s permission, while sentences (24) and (25) are unmarked in this regard.

### 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.

*nó* may form (often irregular) combinational forms with a TM marker and a pragmatic particle to distinguish semantic distinctions related to the tense, pragmatic status of the utterance.

List of the variation of *nó* and their use are shown below.

- *nó*: negation of an irrealis situation (6.1)
- *na* (< *nó* + *ma* ‘JUSSIVE’): prohibitive request (section 5)
- *nó si* (< *nó* + *si* ‘EMPHASIS ’): negation of the future and general situation (6.2)
- *nongka* (< *nó* + *ka* ‘PAST’): negation of the non-future situation (6.3)
- *nó soka* (< *nó* + *si* ‘EMPHASIS ’ + *ka* ‘PAST’): emphatic form of *nongka* (6.4)
- *nó mo* (< *nó* + *mo* ‘inception, occurrence’): ‘not any more’ (6.6)
nó mongka (<nó + mo ‘inception, occurrence’ + ka ‘PAST’): ‘not any more’ (6.6)
nó po (<nó + po ‘necessary condition’): ‘not yet’ (6.5)
nó poka (<nó + po ‘necessary condition’ + ka ‘past’): ‘not yet’ (6.5)

6.1 Use of nó when it stands alone

nó, when it stands alone, is used to negate some irrealis situations as follows.

(i) In conditional clause
(ii) With the cognitive verbs or modal auxiliary
(iii) With modal auxiliary

(26) and (27) are examples of conditional clause.

(26) ma mo panéng’ berma,
JUS HIGHL take.shower together
nó ku=roa manéng’,
NEG 1SG=want bathe
nó berma ké nya lèng’.
NEG together with 3 word
‘Let me take shower with him. I don’t want to take shower, if I am not with him.’

(27) ampa datu=ta é,
unexpectedly general=this INTERJ
engka itóng’ permisi lakó’ raja=Samawa’,
NEG.PAST consider ask.for.permission to king=Sumbawa
raja=dunóng’ raja... apa singén...
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 to ask permission to the king of Sumbawa, the king at that time …. what’s his name? ... King Kalibela, if I am not wrong.’

(28) jarang ada’ sumér apa rua brang tu=turés,
rarely exist well anything way river 1PL=be.frequent
lamén nó brang=nan, brang Peria=nan.
if NEG river=that river Peria=that
‘(Before) Since there are not something like well, we frequently go to river to do wash. When we didn’t use that river, we went to the Peria river.’

(29)-(30) are examples of cognitive verbs. (29) and (30) are examples of the verb sadu ‘believe’, and to ‘know’, respectively.

(29) a, nó ku=sadu’ kau,
oh NEG 1SG=trust 2SG
siong’ kau ka=samaté
NEG 2SG PAST=kill
‘Oh, I don’t believe you. It’s not you who killed (him).’
Next examples show the negation of sentences with a modal auxiliary
(31) and (32) are examples of the verb bau ‘be able to’, and roa ‘want’, respectively.

(31) 
\[
\text{nó bau’ datang kóta nya.}
\]
\[
\text{NEG can come to.here 3}
\]
‘He is not able to come here.’

(32) 
\[
\text{nó roa datang kóta nya.}
\]
\[
\text{NEG want come to.here 3}
\]
‘He doesn’t want to come here.’

6.2 nó si

nó si is a combination of nó NEG and the pragmatic particle si. It is used for the negation of the future situation or a general situation.

(33) and (35) express the future state; the corresponding the present state will be expressed by a clause with the negator nongka, as in (34) and (36).

(33) 
\[
\text{nó si panas navar.}
\]
\[
\text{NEG.EMPH hot tomorrow}
\]
‘It will not be hot tomorrow.’

(34) 
\[
\text{nongka panas anó=ta.}
\]
\[
\text{NEG.PAST hot day=this}
\]
‘It is not hot today.’

(35) 
\[
\text{nó si rango’ balé=kaji.}
\]
\[
\text{NEG.EMPH big house=1SG}
\]
‘My house (under construction) won’t be big.’

(36) 
\[
\text{nongka rango’ balé=kaji.}
\]
\[
\text{NEG.PAST big house=1SG}
\]
‘My house isn’t big.’

(37) expresses negation of the future event and habit.

(37) 
\[
\text{nó si datang nya kó’ balé=kaji.}
\]
\[
\text{NEG.HIGH come 3 to house=1SG}
\]
‘He won’t come to my house (in the future).’

‘He never come to my house (in any time).’

The corresponding past situation is expressed by a clause with the negator nongka, as in (42) in the next section.

Prgmatic particle si is normally used in the following environments.

(i) in a Yes-No question and a reply to it

(38) (a) 
\[
\text{masi sí tedu pang ta?}
\]
\[
\text{still EMPH stay at this}
\]
(b) *masi*  
still EMPH

(a) Does he/she/they still stay here?  
(b) Yes, he/she does/they do.

(39)  
(a) \(tau=\text{Empang} \; \text{dèan?} \)  
person=Empang EMPH

(b) \(tau=\text{Empang} \; \text{si}\)  
person=Empang EMPH

(a) ‘Is that a man from Empang?’  
(b) ‘Yes he is a man from Empang.’

(ii) Facts contrary to the expectation is expressed.

(40) \( \text{nya} \; \text{tedu} \; \text{pang’} \; \text{Lombok, tapi} \; \text{tau=Samawa’} \; \text{si}. \)

3 stay at Lombok but person=Sumbawa EMPH

‘He lives in Lombok but he is a Sumbawanese.’

Semantic function of *nò si* cannot be directly explained by the function of *nò* and *si*, as environments in which *nò si* occurs is not limited to those of *si*.

6.3 *nongka*

The negator *nò* and tense marker *ka* ‘PAST’ forms an irregular form *nongka*. *nongka* is used for negation of the non-future situation.

(41) and (42) are example of the past event.

(41) \( \text{nongka} \; \text{ku=ketawa’}. \)

NEG.PERF 1 SG=laugh

‘I didn’t laugh (in a specific time in the past).’

(42) \( \text{sapèrap} \; \text{nongka} \; \text{datang kò’} \; \text{balé=kaji} \; \text{nya}. \)

yesterday NEG.PAST come to house=1 SG 3

‘Yesterday he didn’t come to my house.’

(43), (44), and (34), (36) above, are examples of the present state.

(43) \( \text{tau=nan} \; \text{nongka} \; \text{pang} \; \text{Samawa’}. \)

person=that NEG.PAST at Sumbawa

‘That person isn’t/wasn’t in Sumbawa.’

(44) \( \text{tau=nan} \; \text{nongka} \; \text{kalés} \; \text{Samawa’}. \)

person=that NEG.PAST from Sumbawa

‘That person isn’t/was’t from Sumbawa.’

6.4 *nò soka* ‘emphatic form of *nongka*’

The constituents of *nò soka* are the negator *nò*, pragmatic particle *si*, and tense marker *ka* ‘PAST’. It is used as an emphatic form of *nongka*, the negator for the non-future situation.

It occurs in the same environments to which pragmatic particle *si* occurs in, (i) in a Yes-No question and a reply to it, (ii) facts contrary to the expectation is expressed (see 6.2).

(45)

(a) \( \text{nò soka} \; \text{gentomasi kò’?} \)

NEG.EMPH.PAST noisy INTERRUPT

(b) \( \text{nò soka} \)

NEG.EMPH.PAST
‘Don’t you feel noisy?’ ‘I don’t.’

(46) ya=perasa’ ina’ nó soka kuda-kuda’
3=feel mother NEG EMPH.PAST what-what

walaupón ka mo bakat né.
though PAST HIGHL injured INTERJ

‘Mother didn’t feel anything, though she had injured.’

6.5 nós po and nó pokा ‘not yet’

The constituents of these two forms are as follows.

nós po: nó NEG + pragmatic particle po ‘condition’
nós po ka: nó NEG + pragmatic particle po ‘condition’ + ka ‘PAST’

Both forms indicate the situation which is expected to realize, but has not realized yet.

(47) nós po laló nya.
NEG COND come 3 ‘He isn’t departing yet.’

(48) nós po ka datang nya
NEG COND PAST come 3 ‘He hasn’t departed yet.’

When the pragmatic particle po occurs alone, it indicates a necessary condition. It occurs in the clause final position as in (49).

(49) karna roko tau=dunóng=nan ka=jontal
because cigarette people=before=that from=palm.leaf
dadi mesti tu=atór po
so necessity 1PL=prepare COND

tu=isi jontal=nan kó’ mako
1PL=put palm.leaf=that with tobacco

‘Before, cigarettes were made of palm leaf (jontal), so we have to prepare it, filling tobacco into a palm leaf.’

Semantic relation between this conditional use of po and the meaning of nós po and nós po ka is not clear, as both nós po and nós po ka does not have the meaning related to a condition.

The two forms, nós po and nós po ka, indicate almost the same meaning, but nós po has rather specific use of describing an ongoing situation. For example, the sentence (1) with nós po is used when we are observing a person who is about to depart, while the sentence (2) with nós po ka is used to indicate more general situation of ‘not yet’. This semantic difference can be explained by the absence/ existence of the past tense marker ka.

6.6 nós mo and nós mongka ‘not anymore’

Constituents of these two forms are as follows.

nós mo: nó NEG + pragmatic particle mo ‘highlighting’
nós mongka: nó NEG + pragmatic particle mo + ka ‘PAST’

Both forms indicate the situation which was realized before but not realized anymore. nós mo is used when the stop occurs in the point of the utterance, or in the future, while nós mongka is use when the stop occurs in the past.

(42) nós mo datang kóta nya.
NEG HIGHL come to.here 3

‘He won’t come here anymore.’
As mentioned in section 3, mo indicates the inception of the state. We could say that the meaning of nó mo and nó mongka can be explained as this meaning of mo; both nó mo and nó mongka can be analyzed to indicate the inception of the negative situation. Nó mo indicates the inception of the negative situation in the non-past, and nó mongka, in the past. As mentioned in footnote 4, mo may indicates illocutionary force of request, so nó mo may express the prohibition as shown in section 4.

7. Conclusion

This paper gives a survey of TAM and polarity system in Sumbawa. Tense-Modal (TM) markers and pragmatic particle, which Sumbawa has developed as local innovations, indicates tense, aspect, and mood distinctions. TM markers and pragmatic particles also used as a devices to distinguish semantic differences in the negative situation, forming a negative complex with the negator nó.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 the first person, the second person, the third person
COND condition
EMPH emphasize
EXCL exclusive form of 1PL
FUT future
GEN genitive
HIGHL highliting
INCL inclusive form of 1PL
INTERJ interjection
INTERR interrogative
JUS jussive
NOM nominalizer
NEG negator
PAST past
PL plural
SG singular
TITLE particle occurring immediately before a personal name

References