

# *A Grammar of Sawu*

N U S A

Linguistic Studies in Indonesian  
and Languages in Indonesia

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# GRAMMAR OF SAWU

by

Alan T. Walker

1982

Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA  
Universitas Atma Jaya  
Jakarta



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\* \* \*

## A B B R E V I A T I O N S

A-verbs	Action verbs
ABS	Absolutive Case Preposition
AN	Austronesian
ART	Common Article
AUX	Auxiliary Verb
b-subjects	subjects of semantically basic sentences
B-verbs	non-Action verbs
BEN	Benefactive Case Preposition
C	Consonant
CAUS	Causative
CM	Clause Modifier
CMs	Clause Modifiers
COM	Comitative Case Preposition
COMPL	Complementiser
COUNT	Counter Noun
DEM	Demonstrative
DFS	Direction From Speaker
DTS	Direction Towards Speaker
EMPH	Emphatic
ERG	Ergative
EXCESS	Excessive Adverb
excl.	exclusive
GA	Goal Animate Case Preposition
GFS	Goal From Speaker Case Preposition
GTS	Goal Towards Speaker Case Preposition
H	High vowel
incl.	inclusive
INST	Instrument Case Preposition
LIG	Ligature
LOC	Locative Case Preposition
M	Mid vowel
MEAS	Measure Case Preposition
N	Noun
NAN	Non-Austronesian
NEG	Negative Particle
N.G.A.L.A.L.S.	New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study
NP	Noun Phrase
NP(s)	One or more Noun Phrases
NPs	More than one Noun Phrase
NUM	Numeral
O	Object
ORD	Ordinal marker for numerals
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
PART	Particle
PAST	Past-completive
pl.	plural
POSS	Possessive
PREP	Preposition
PROD	Produce
PURP	Purposive
Q	Non-numeral Quantifier
REC	Reciprocal
RED	Reduplication
Ref.	Reference property
REL	Relative Clause Marker
RGE	Range Case Preposition
RH	Referentiality Hierarchy
S	Subject
SCE	Source Case Preposition
sg.	singular
S.I.L.	Summer Institute of Linguistics
STAT	Stative
Trans.	Transitive

⊕	any vowel except u
V	Verb
V	Vowel
VEH	Vehicle Case Preposition
/ /	phonemic representation
[ ]	phonetic representation
( )	optional
{ }	one must be chosen
→	changes to
#	word boundary

\* \* \*

## ABSTRACT

This monograph is primarily a description of the Seba and Mesara dialects of Sawu (Chapters Two to Eight), but reference is made to other Sawu dialects. Chapter Nine, which gives a brief account of neighbouring Ndao, is in the nature of an appendix.

The introductory Chapter One provides a brief account of Sawu's language, speakers, islands and recent history. It also includes details of fieldwork, informants and data collected, together with a critical survey of the linguistic literature pertaining to Sawu.

Chapter Two is a phonology of Sawu which differs significantly from two earlier attempts by Radja Haba (1958) and Lee (ms). Chapter Three delineates the distinctive characteristics of Sawu word classes.

The Noun Phrase (Chapter Four) is characterised by little morphology, case prepositions and post-posed possessives and demonstratives. Common nouns are often preceded by a common article, and nouns in general can be unmarked for singular and plural. However, plural can be indicated by reduplication, and singular and plural by demonstratives. Counters are normally required for the specification of number, and quantifiers and relative clauses can precede or follow the head noun. An important section of this chapter is the detailed study of the semantic role(s) represented by each case preposition.

Verbs (Chapter Five) are divided into two semantic classes: Action verbs and non-Action verbs. Like the Noun Phrase, there is very little morphology. It is restricted to verb agreement, a causative prefix, a reciprocal prefix and reduplication.

Chapter Six and Seven identify and define the large number of Sawu Clause Modifiers which include Excessive Adverbs and Particles.

Sawu syntax (Chapter Eight) begins by classifying verbal clauses according to the case-frames of their verbs. Non-verbal clauses are of two kinds: Interjections and Juxtaposed NPs. All clauses are, then, analysed according to their functions. We also look at negation, possession, comparison, coordination, complementation and deletion. Two final sections focus on the interaction of role and reference properties in the clause. The first looks particularly at word order and seeks to discover whether it is possible to predict which NP will be the leftmost. The second examines Keenan's (1976) Subject Properties and their distribution. We are able to conclude that in an intransitive clause the Absolutive Noun Phrase will be the subject and will nearly always be leftmost and that in a transitive clause there is no clearly identifiable subject and the leftmost Noun Phrase is usually Ergative or Absolutive.

Ndao is usually regarded as a dialect of Sawu because of the large percentage of common lexicon. Chapter Nine examines this claim by comparing the grammars of Sawu and Ndao. It seems likely that Ndao is now sufficiently different from Sawu to be regarded as a separate (but very closely related) language.

\* \* \*

## INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 The language and its speakers

Sawu, a language of south-eastern Indonesia, has appeared in the literature as Sawu, Savu, Hawu and Havu. It is usually assigned to the putative Sumba-Bima group of Austro-nesian (AN), and Dyen (1965:39) includes it in his Moluccan linkage on lexicostatistic grounds. More recently, Capell (1975, 1976) has questioned Sawu's AN status. His views are discussed in Walker (forthcoming b).

Sawu speech-communities are found in the Sawu islands, the Kupang region of West-Timor, coastal regions of Sumba, Ende in Flores, and Surabaya and Jakarta in Java (see Map 1). The number of speakers probably exceeds 70,000.

These Sawunese recognise 5 dialects approximating the former kingdoms of Seba, Mesara, Timu, Liae and Rainjua (see Map 2). The differences appear to be minor - mainly lexical with some phonetic variation (see Appendix A).

Ndao (or Dao), spoken on a small island near Roti, has also been described as a dialect of Sawu (Jonker 1903:85-9; Fox 1977:268). I have some reservations about this view which I discuss in Chapter Nine.

## 1.2 The Sawu islands

The Sawu islands, Sawu, Rainjua and the uninhabited Dana, lie "midway between Sumba and Timor (121°10' - 122°0' E and 10°20' - 10°50' S)" (Fox 1972:77) in the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur. Kupang, in south-west Timor, is the provincial capital.

The largest town, Seba, is situated on the western shore of Sawu and is important for its airport and natural harbour. It is 18°SW of Kupang, 202 km away.

Sawu is 40 km long by 15 km wide. Rainjua is 11 km by 6 km. The total population in mid-1975 was about 53,000 (Sawu 47,000, Rainjua 6,000).

## 1.3 Recent history

"The Portuguese were in contact with Sawu before 1600 and made it an area of missionary activity" and trade (Fox 1972:78). They were gradually replaced by the Dutch East-India Company which obtained a trade agreement with three of the island's rulers in 1648. From then until the signing of a formal treaty in 1756, Sawu "seems to have served the Company mainly as a recruitment area for soldiers to serve in Kupang" (Fox 1977:113). Under the new arrangement, the state of Seba, Menia (see Map 2), Timu, Mesara and Liae were to provide rice, sorghum and green grams in return for luxury items (such as silk, fine linen, cutlery and gin). It was also agreed that a Company representative would reside on the island and that a schoolteacher would be

appointed.

When Captain Cook came across the island in 1770, the terms of the 1756 agreement were apparently being fulfilled. A Company Resident, Johan Lange, was there to ensure that crops were produced and sent to Timor, and a Frederick Craig was employed to teach literacy and Christianity (Hawkesworth 1773:295).

Soon after Cook's visit, however, the arrangement came to an end. From 1775 to 1862 "no Dutch officer was posted in Seba. There were no schools and no Christian mission" (Fox 1977:165).

At the end of that period, an Ambonese, Manuhutu, was appointed by the Kupang Resident to commence a school at Seba. He was succeeded by a Timorese, S. Mae, who taught from 1866 to 1867. Another Ambonese, W.Pati, arrived in 1869 (Fox 1977:165).

1869 was also the year of a devastating smallpox epidemic which reduced the Sawu-Rainjua population by a third. The tragedy led many people to adopt Christianity (Dicker 1965:23), and it was this which prompted the visits of the Kupang missionary, Donselaar, in 1870 and 1871.

As a result of his first visit, Donselaar requested the appointment of a missionary to Sawu. The Netherlands Missionary Society (Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap) obliged (Dicker 1965:23). M.Teffter arrived in 1872 and stayed until 1883. He was followed by P.Bieger (1888-1889), J.K.Wijngaarden (1889-1892), and J.H. Letterboer (1896-1903).

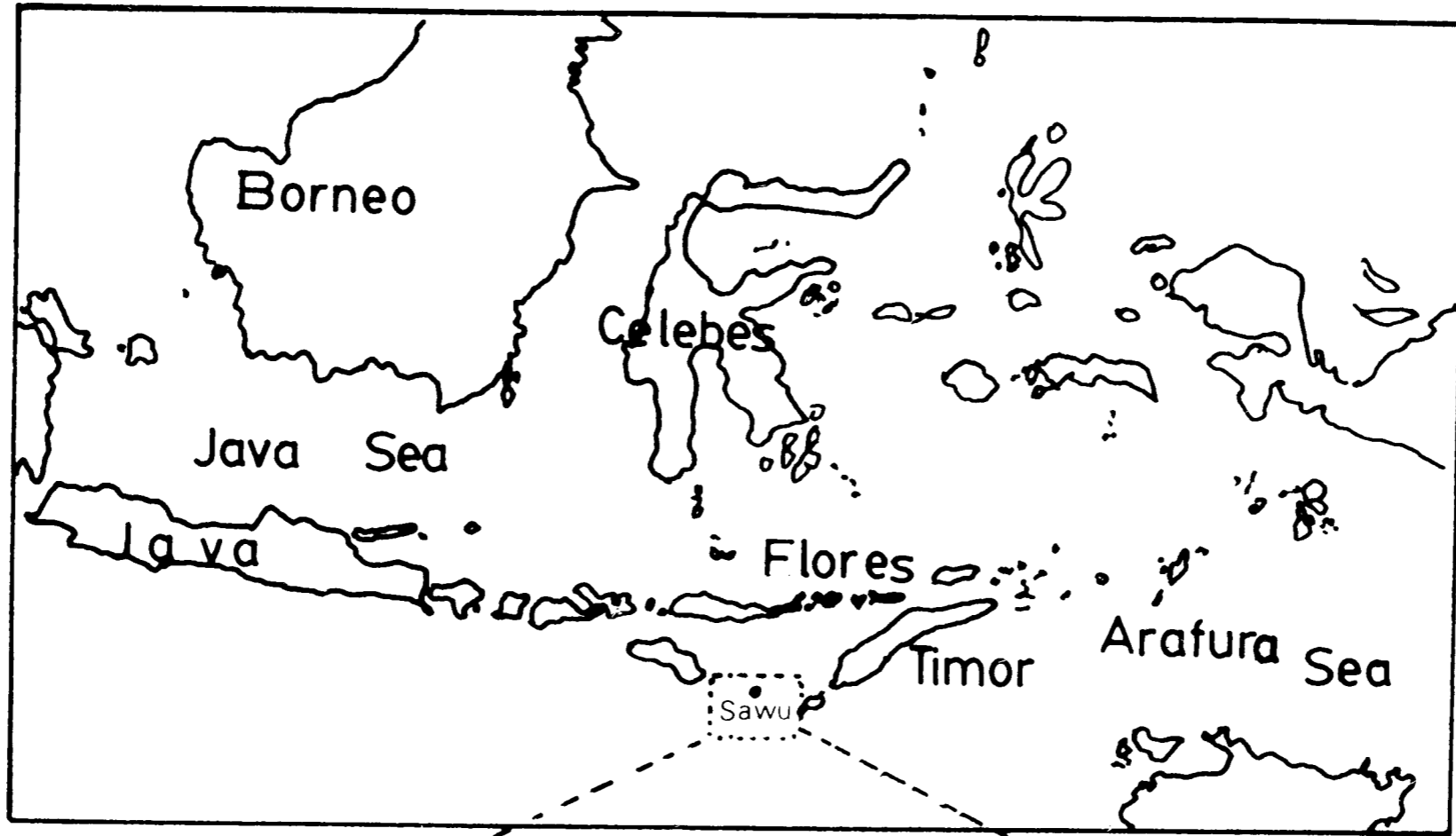
During this period, Christianity appears to have made little progress, but there was some expansion in the school system. In 1889, there were "seven schoolteachers on Savu and all of them were from Ambon. By 1903, however, there were eight schools on Savu (though none on Rainjua) with a total of 3,332 pupils. Still, all but one of the schoolteachers were from Ambon and all instruction was in Ambonese Malay" (Fox 1977:166).

At the turn of the century, each traditional kingdom, except Menia, was governed by its own raja. By 1918, however, the system of territorial rajas had been dissolved (Fox 1977:84). The Raja of Seba was appointed ruler of the Sawu islands which became part of the 'onderafdeeling' (subdivision) Roti-Sawu.

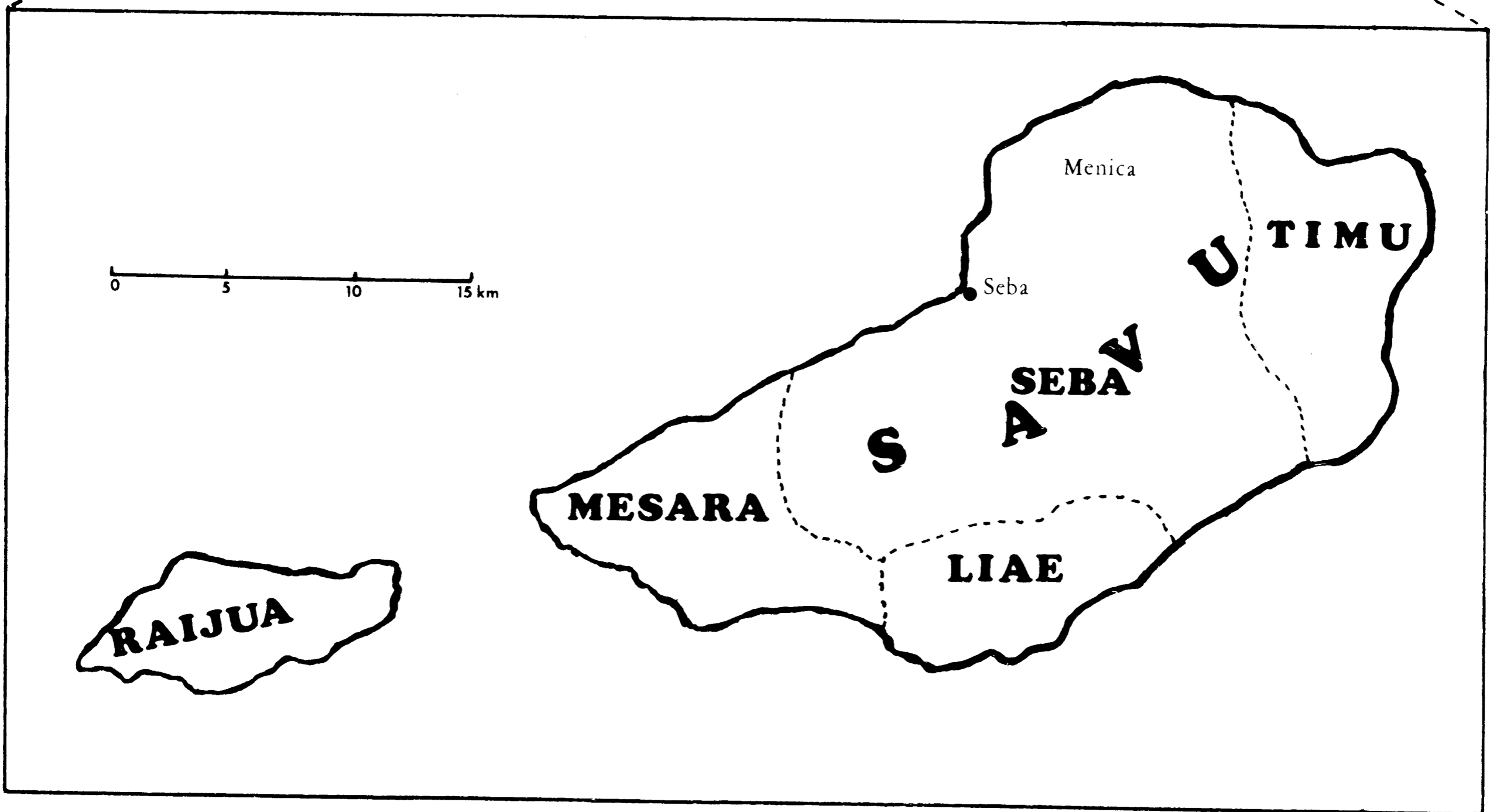
The birth of The Republic of Indonesia in 1949 saw further changes. The Province of Nusa Tenggara Timur was formed in December, 1958, and the 'wilayah' (formerly 'onderafdeeling') Roti-Sawu became part of Kabupaten Kupang. The Sawu islands were also divided into two administrative districts (kecamatan):

- (1) Kecamatan Sabu Barat (West Sabu) which includes the western part of Sawu island and all of Rainjua (= Raijua);
- (2) Kecamatan Sabu Timur (East Sabu) which includes the eastern part of Sawu island





MAP 1. Indonesia



MAP 2. The Sawu Islands

(Detaq 1973:5).

#### 1.4 Informants and fieldwork

The fieldwork on which this thesis is based was carried out between May 1975 and January 1976 in the Indonesian Province of Nusa Tenggara Timur. During that time I resided in Kupang and did the most consistent work with John Buru-Pah, Omi Raja, and Sufa.

John Buru-Pah was born on Sawu in the village of Leda Ae, Mesara. He moved to East Sumba (see map 1) when he was nine, and was educated in World Vision Orphanages. At the age of nineteen, he took a boat to Kupang, and spent the next three years training as a teacher. He was in his first year at that profession when I met him in May 1975. He was an excellent informant and by far the most significant provider of text material (30 Mesara texts).

Omi Raja was born on Sawu in Tula Ika, Seba. She lived there for 20 years before moving to Kupang to work as a domestic employee. She had been in the city for four years and was working at Ian Minto's house when we moved in. She produced no text materials, but was a valuable source of elicited material in the Seba dialect.

Sufa, the daughter of Leonard Reke, was born in Seba and moved to Kupang when she was sixteen. She had been there more than ten years when I met her and her father in the suburb of Oeba. She narrated seven texts and provided other language information on the Seba dialect.

Other people in Kupang who made significant contributions were Mr. Immanuel Wəti Leo (Timu dialect: two texts and lexicon). Mr. Raj'i Lod'o (Liae dialect: five texts and lexicon). Mr. Wila Hia (Liae dialect?: one text), Mrs. Koti Bena (Rainjua dialect: seven texts and lexicon).

I also visited Sawu island for two weeks from July 22nd to August 5th. The following people provided information on the Seba dialect: Omi Raja's mother (five texts) and brother Hendrik (data and one text), Mr. Tome (data), Mr. Jara (data), Mr. Markus Kore Ruha (data and three texts) and his sister Rene (data), Mr. Gabriel Kitu Ga (one text), Mr. Yahya Jada (two texts), Mr. B'əngu B'ole (one text), Mr. Məngi Rido (three texts), Mrs. Ratu (one text). A number of other people, whose names I omitted to write down, provided data on other dialects.

The total amount of text material is thirteen hours as follows:

Seba	210 mins
Mesara	360 mins
Timu	60 mins
Liae	60 mins
Rainjua	90 mins
<hr/>	
Total	780 mins

#### 1.5 Previous literature

The first known transcriptions of Sawu were made by members of the Endeavour crew who

visited Sawu in 1770. Beaglehole (1962) lists 73 words recorded by Banks. Parkinson (1773) lists 225 words, and Hawkesworth (1773) 66.

Then followed a number of attempts by Dutch missionaries. All fail to distinguish implosive stops from plain stops and glottal stops from zero.

- (a) Francis (1838) - 21 words.
- (b) Heijmering (1846) - numerous words, phrases, and clauses.
- (c) Müller (1857) - 362 words.
- (d) Donselaar's (1872) account is important because, in addition to 50 lexical items, it documents a period in which *s* and *h* were interchangeable.
- (e) Reidel (1889) - a text with Dutch translation and dictionary.

Kern 1892 consists of a brief grammatical introduction, example sentences and a list of over 1000 words. His information was obtained from two ex-Residents of Kupang, de Villeneuve and Riedel, and the missionary Bieger. While there is much that is accurate, there is much that is not. Kern's comparative statements, in particular, should be treated with caution.

Wijngaarden's (1896) 2,000-entry wordlist (Seba dialect) is important because he is the first to clearly distinguish implosive stops ( $\bar{b}$ ,  $\bar{d}$ ,  $\bar{d}j$ ,  $\bar{g}$ ) from plain stops, and (more often than not) glottal stop from zero. He also provides an accurate account of the penultimate stress pattern.

Jonker was by far the largest contributor to our knowledge of Sawu and Ndao. This substantial collection consists of three unpublished manuscripts (grammar, texts and wordlist) and three published articles (one on Ndao and two on Sawu).

Jonker wrote his grammar (MS) between 189 and 1899 based on data collected in Makassar (now Ujung Pandang). According to a note to the MS, he visited Sawu in 1900, became dissatisfied with what he had done and switched to Roti.

While there is no discussion of the sound system, implosive stops ( $\bar{b}$ ,  $\bar{d}$ ,  $\bar{d}j$ ,  $\bar{g}$ ) are distinguished from plain stops and  $\bar{a}$  between consonants corresponds to present-day /ə/. Intervocalic glottal stop is indicated by two like vowels (e.g. *ngaa* is *nga'a*) or two unlike vowels with a diaeresis over the second (e.g. *medaü* is *meda'u*).

The grammar is incomplete, but is much more detailed and better exemplified than that of Kern.

Jonker's collection of texts (MS) is valuable source material which deserves more attention than I have been able to give it. I have not seen his wordlist.

His 1903 article is of interest because of its brief discussion of the similarities and differences between Sawu and Ndao (see Chapter Nine).

A 1904 article contains a short Sawu text, and Dutch translation with lexical and grammatical notes, and Jonker (1919) briefly surveys the sound system and grammar. Present day /ə/ is consistently  $\bar{e}$  in both.

Onvlee (1950) provides an instrumental phonetic analysis of the implosive and non-implosive stops of Sumba and Sawu.

Radja Haba's 1958 thesis is the first

phonology of Sawu. It contains sections on the description, distribution and frequency of phonemes, stress and juncture, and also incorporates a brief text. He is the first to recognise the phonemic distinction between implosive stops and plain stops, and between glottal stop and zero. We agree that word stress falls on the penultimate syllable but disagree about the number of phonemes (see 2.3.2).

Lee's tagmemic description (MS) is based on data collected and analysed during eight weeks of an S.I.L. Summer School (1972 — 73). It includes a phonology and grammar, but as the author admits, "there are many gaps in the data and analysis and there has been no

opportunity to recheck much of the data."

Capell (1975, 1976) claims that Sawu has a "majority of AN vocabulary, but its grammar is radically NAN." (1976:708). My assessment of this view is found in Walker (forthcoming b)

The Sawu way of life has been excellently described by the anthropologist, James Fox. I simply refer readers to his 1972 article on the Sawunese, his 1979 article on 'The Ceremonial System of Sawu', and his 1977 book *Harvest of the palm*.

The present monograph is primarily a description of the Seba and Mesara dialects. It is based solely upon material I have collected myself and not upon the published accounts or unpublished notes of other workers.

\* \* \*

## PHONOLOGY

## 2.0 Phoneme inventory

Sawu has 26 phonemes: 20 consonants and 6 vowels, as per tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: Consonant phonemes (20)

	labial	alveo- dental	alveo- palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	
voiced stop	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	
voiced affricate			<i>j</i>		
implosive stop	<i>b'</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>j'</i>	<i>g'</i>	
glottal stop					'
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
lateral		<i>l</i>			
trill/flap		<i>r</i>			
fricative	<i>w</i>				<i>h</i>

Table 2: Vowel phonemes (6)

	front	central	back
high	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
low		<i>a</i>	

## 2.1 Description of phonemes

## 2.1.1 Consonants

The 20 consonant phonemes are:

- (1) three voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ with bilabial, dental and velar articulation respectively,
- (2) three plain voiced stops /b/, /d/ and /g/ with bilabial, alveolar and velar articulation respectively,
- (3) a voiced alveo-palatal affricate /j/,
- (4) four implosive voiced stops /b'/, /d'/, /j'/ and /g'/ with bilabial, alveolar, alveo-palatal and velar articulation respectively. Phonetic semi-vowel [ɨ] is interpreted as an allophone of /j'/ (see 2.3.3).
- (5) a glottal stop /'/,
- (6) four nasals: *m*, *n*, *ɲ* and *ŋ* with bilabial, alveolar, alveopalatal and velar articulation respectively,
- (7) two liquids: an alveolar lateral /l/, and an alveolar trill or flap /r/,
- (8) two fricatives: a voiced labial fricative /w/, and an aspirated glottal fricative /h/. /w/ is usually a slightly fricativised bilabial, but is sometimes realised as a semi-vowel. With some speakers, the fricative is occasionally labio-dental.

Phonetically long consonants are discussed

in 2.3.2.

## 2.1.2 Vowels

The six vowel phonemes are:

- (1) high front unrounded /i/,
  - (2) mid front unrounded /e/,
  - (3) low central unrounded /a/,
  - (4) mid central /ə/ (usually [ʌ], rarely [ə]),
  - (5) mid back rounded /o/,
  - (6) high back rounded /u/.
- In citation forms or following a pause, vowels are preceded by a non-phonemic glottal stop, e.g. /ətu/ [ʔət:u] 'worm'; /abo/ [ʔabo] 'capture'. (Phonetic length is indicated by a colon after the consonant.)

## 2.2 Contrasts

## 2.2.1 Consonants

	initial		medial	
<i>p</i>	<i>para</i>	'cut'	<i>hapa</i>	'house-lizard'
<i>b</i>	<i>bara</i>	'side, direction'	<i>haba</i>	'palm-leaf bucket'
<i>b'</i>	<i>b'ara</i>	'goods, clothing'	<i>hab'a</i>	'work (a plantation)'
<i>w</i>	<i>wara</i>	'white'	<i>kawa</i>	'wire'
<i>w</i>	<i>wəru</i>	'moon, month'	<i>awu</i>	'dust, ash'
<i>h</i>	<i>həru</i>	'spinning instrument'	<i>ahu</i>	'visit'
<i>t</i>	<i>təlu</i>	'three'	<i>ətu</i>	'worm'
<i>d</i>	<i>dəlu</i>	'egg'	<i>ədu</i>	'wild'
<i>d'</i>	<i>d'əlu</i>	'stomach, belly'	<i>əd'u</i>	'gall, bile'
<i>d'</i>	<i>d'ara</i>	'interior'	<i>kəd'i</i>	'get up'
<i>j</i>	<i>jara</i>	'horse'	<i>kəji</i>	'(to) land, perch'
<i>j'</i>	<i>j'ara</i>	'purpose, direction'	<i>kəj'i</i>	'(to) pound'
<i>j'</i>	<i>j'əru</i>	'citrus tree'	<i>aj'e</i>	'study (sg.)'
<i>g'</i>	<i>g'əru</i>	'strangle, knead'	<i>mag'e</i>	'remove'
<i>g'</i>	<i>g'ətu</i>	'pluck'	<i>ləg'a</i>	'open out to dry'
<i>k</i>	<i>kətu</i>	'head'	<i>ləka</i>	'hit, strike'
<i>k</i>	<i>kapa</i>	'ship, boat'	<i>uku</i>	'bluff, pretend'
<i>h</i>	<i>hapa</i>	'house-lizard'	<i>uhu</i>	'heart'
<i>g</i>	<i>gapa</i>	'easy'	<i>ugu</i>	'silent'
<i>g</i>	<i>gili</i>	'roll'	<i>wəga</i>	'tree species'
<i>g'</i>	<i>g'ili</i>	'tickle'	<i>əg'a</i>	'step'
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲame</i>	'bite, chew (sg.)'	<i>əɲu</i>	'turtle'
<i>n</i>	<i>name-</i>	'bird species'	<i>ənu</i>	'servant'
<i>n</i>	<i>name</i>			
<i>n</i>	<i>na'i</i>	'tobacco'	<i>nawəni</i>	'sister'
<i>d'</i>	<i>d'a'i</i>	'base, bottom'	<i>kəd'i</i>	'get up'
<i>l</i>	<i>la'i</i>	'spouse'	<i>wəli</i>	'buy'
<i>r</i>	<i>ra'i</i>	'dirty'	<i>wəri</i>	'again, more'
<i>r</i>	<i>rui</i>	'strong'	<i>b'ara</i>	'goods'
<i>d</i>	<i>dui</i>	'old'	<i>b'ada</i>	'animal'
<i>w</i>	<i>wəru</i>	'moon, month'	<i>kowa</i>	'boat'

∅ əru 'clay pot' koa 'bird species'

[hʌb':e], [həb':e] 'mend (a mat)'  
 [hɛb'e] 'splash (someone)'  
 [hab'e] 'slice (meat)'

Since /'/ does not occur at the beginning of words (see 2.4), it is only contrastive in medial position.

Radja Haba chooses the latter. He interprets the long consonants as geminates, and the mid-central vowel as an allophone of /e/. Thus: /ʔella/, 'wing', /ʔela/ 'pupil', /heb'b'e/ 'mend', /heb'e/ 'splash', /hab'e/ 'slice'.

There are, however, a number of reasons for adopting an alternative view.

- (1) Phonetically long consonants only occur after [ʌ] or [ə]. If consonant length is a significant feature of the language, one might reasonably expect it to be significant after other vowels.

- (2) The interpretation of long consonants as geminates is an unusual step when one considers that the language has no other consonant clusters. By this interpretation, the only consonant clusters are geminates, and these geminates only occur after the phoneme which represents [ʌ] and [ə].

- (3) If one did accept that consonant length after [ʌ] and [ə] is significant, one would then have to face the problem of deciding which vowel phoneme the mid-central vowel should be assigned to. Radja Haba chooses /e/, but gives no reason for his decision. In my view, it could equally be assigned to /a/.

The obvious alternative is the adoption of /ə/ as the sixth vowel. Thus: /əla/ 'wing', /ela/ 'pupil', /həb'e/ 'mend', /heb'e/ 'splash', /hab'e/ 'slice'.

'	--	--	ha'e	'climb'
d'	--	--	had'e	'few'
j'	--	--	aj'e	'study (sg.)'
g'	--	--	hag'e	'half'
'	--	--	pe-ŋa'a	'feed'
h	--	--	peŋaha	'stop, rest'
k	--	--	ŋaka	'dog'
'	--	--	ro'a	'hole'
∅	--	--	roa	'thin black strip of woven cloth'

## 2.2.2 Vowels

i	hib'e	'bite (sg.)'	had'i	'origin'
e	heb'e	'splash (sg.)'	had'e	'few'
a	hab'e	'slice (sg.)'	had'a	'tradition'
ə	həb'e	'mend (sg.)'	--	--
e	mela	'trace'	wie	'give'
o	mola	'straight'	hio	'tear'
o	hoe	'deaf'	əto	'chaff, husk'
u	hue	'prick, sting'	ətu	'worm'
o	hod'a	'sing'	--	--
ə	həd'a	'ant species'	--	--
u	huba	'forgive'	--	--
ə	həba	'wound'	--	--

## 2.3 Other views

### 2.3.1 Number of consonants

Lee (MS) includes a voiceless alveo-palatal stop /ty/ as a phoneme "on the basis of symmetry". I exclude it because I have yet to elicit a Sawu word with voiceless alveo-palatal stop (or affricate). Lee's only example /tyuga/ [tyiga] 'to do' has initial [j'] with my informants.

Radja Haba (1958:2) includes [s] and [c] as phonemes. I prefer to exclude them because:

- (1) in his own words, "they occur only in a small number of borrowed Indonesian words";
- (2) most borrowings undergo a regular sound change in which s and c become h.

### 2.3.2 Number of vowels

Lee (MS) and I recognise six vowels, while Radja Haba (1958:3) has five: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/. The difference of opinion lies in the interpretation of words with a mid-central vowel [ʌ] or [ə]. Contrasts like those below suggest that the phonemic distinction lies in either the penultimate vowel or the long consonant. (Phonetic length is indicated by a colon after the consonant.)

[ʔʌl:a], [ʔəl:a]	'wing'
[ʔɛla]	'pupil (of eye)'

### 2.3.3 Phonetic semi-vowels

[i̯]

In the Seba and Mesara dialects, [i̯] is found in only one word: the first person singular pronoun [i̯a:]. Radja Haba (1958:8) and Lee (MS) therefore analyse [i̯] as an allophone of /i/. But as neighbouring Timu has both [j'a:] and [i̯a:] for the same pronoun, I prefer to regard [i̯] as an allophone of /j'/.

[w]

In my view, /w/ can be realised as semi-vowel [w] in free variation with its fricative allophones. Lee (MS), however, interprets this semi-vowel as "part of a vowel cluster with a timing of one mora." Some of her examples include:

1. /ueka/ ['ueka] 'old'
2. /boʊadu/ [bo'uadu] 'stone'
3. /uodilu/ 'ear'
4. /heuŋa/ [he'uŋa] 'nose'

I find this view inadequate for several reasons:

- (1) It is inconsistent with the predominant (CV)(C)V(C)V pattern (see 2.4).
- (2) The /u/ in each of the above examples is often realised as a fricative as well as a semi-vowel in my data. As this behaviour is consistent with my phoneme /w/, I assign it to that phoneme, and not to /u/. Accordingly, I phonemicise the above as: /weka/ 'old', /wowadu/ 'stone', /wodilu/ 'ear', /hewəŋa/ 'nose'.

## 2.4 Phonotactics

With the exception of a few words with four or five syllables (e.g. *lahalae* 'sand', *wopəkalaē* 'ankle'), a root in Sawu has phonological structure:  $(C_1V_1)(C_2)V_2(C_3)V_3$ .

e.g.	CVCVCV	<i>ketaka</i>	'axe'
	CVCVV	<i>perai</i>	'run, flee'
	CVVCV	<i>keala</i>	'areca palm'
	CVVV	<i>keoa</i>	'low (of cattle, buffalo)'
	CVCV	<i>kowa</i>	'boat, ship'
	CVV	<i>woe</i>	'crocodile'
	VCV	<i>aka</i>	'outrigger'
	VV	<i>ie</i>	'good'

Disyllables are twice as common as trisyllables. The percentages below are calculated on a corpus of 1500 roots.

- $C_1$  can be *b, d, g, p, t; k, h, w, j', l, r, m, n*. Most common are *k* (40%), *m* (10%), *p* (10%), and *h* (10%).
- $V_1$  can be any vowel except schwa. It is usually *e* (80%), but sometimes *o* (10%).
- $C_2$  can be any consonant except glottal stop. In disyllables, it is commonly *m* (10%), *h* (10%), *w* (10%), *l* (10%), or *t* (10%). In trisyllables, it is frequently *m* (10%), *h* (10%), *w* (10%), *l* (10%), or *r* (10%).
- $V_2$  can be any vowel (although schwa must immediately precede a consonant). In both disyllables and trisyllables, *a* (30%) is most common, followed by *ə* (20%), *u* (20%), *e* (10%), *i* (10%), and *o* (10%).
- $C_3$  can be any consonant. In both disyllables and trisyllables, *k* (10%), *l* (10%), and *r* (10%) are most common.
- $V_3$  can be any vowel except schwa. In both disyllables and trisyllables, *a* (30%), is most common, followed by *i* (20%), *u* (20%), *e* (15%) and *o* (15%).

A disyllabic root can begin with any vowel or any consonant except glottal stop. It can end in any vowel except schwa.

## 2.5 Vowel clusters

### 2.5.1 Two-vowel clusters

The possible combinations (with examples) are:

<i>aə</i>	<i>laəba</i>	'hand'
<i>ae</i>	<i>wae</i>	'want'
<i>ai</i>	<i>kepai</i>	'big'
<i>ao</i>	<i>ao</i>	'lime'
<i>au</i>	<i>kewau</i>	'swat (at)'
<i>eə</i>	<i>keala</i>	'areca palm'
<i>ea</i>	<i>mea</i>	'red'
<i>ei</i>	<i>ei</i>	'liquid'
<i>eo</i>	<i>meo</i>	'cat'
<i>eu</i>	(no example in data)	
<i>iə</i>	<i>hiəmu</i>	'spouse'
<i>ia</i>	<i>kehia</i>	'poor'
<i>ie</i>	<i>wie</i>	'give'
<i>io</i>	<i>hio</i>	'(to) tear'
<i>iu</i>	<i>wiu</i>	'new'
<i>oə</i>	<i>moəni</i>	'female animal'
<i>oa</i>	<i>koa</i>	'bird species'

<i>oe</i>	<i>woe</i>	'crocodile'
<i>oi</i>	<i>toi</i>	'know'
<i>ou</i>	<i>dou</i>	'person, man'
<i>uə</i>	(no example in data)	
<i>ua</i>	<i>wowua</i>	'kidneys'
<i>ue</i>	<i>kepue</i>	'base, trunk'
<i>ui</i>	<i>rui</i>	'bone'
<i>uo</i>	(no example in data)	

Diphthongs [ei] and [ou] are interpreted as vowel clusters.

### 2.5.2 Three-vowel clusters

There are only a few examples of three-vowel clusters:

<i>ee</i>	<i>keee</i> (Mesara)	'(to) low (of buffalo)'
<i>ea</i>	<i>keoa</i>	'(to) low (of buffalo)'
<i>ea</i>	<i>meaa</i>	'thick'
<i>uai</i>	<i>ruai</i>	'hand'
<i>iae</i>	<i>j'əmiae</i>	'morning'

## 2.6 Word stress

Sawu has a few minimal pairs which suggest that either stress or vowel length is distinctive. Stress is indicated by ' immediately preceding the stressed syllable. Vowel length is indicated by a colon.

[ <i>me'la:</i> ]	'gold, silver'	[ <i>'mela</i> ]	'trace'
[ <i>me'a:</i> ]	'thick'	[ <i>'mea</i> ]	'red'
[ <i>pe'ke:</i> ]	'neigh'	[ <i>'peke</i> ]	'tell (sg.)'

As the majority of Sawu words have stress on the penultimate syllable, I prefer to analyze stressed consonant plus long vowel (i.e. (CV:) as disyllabic 'CVV with predictable penultimate stress. Thus:

/ <i>melaa</i> /	'gold, silver'	/ <i>mela</i> /	'trace'
/ <i>meaa</i> /	'thick'	/ <i>mea</i> /	'red'
/ <i>pekee</i> /	'neigh'	/ <i>peke</i> /	'tell (sg.)'

Supporting evidence is found in the verb agreement markers which distinguish singular and plural (see 3.3.2). e.g.

plural	singular	
<i>b'ui</i>	<i>b'ue</i>	'water (plants)'
<i>gau</i>	<i>gao</i>	'lift off (hook)'
<i>pepuru</i>	<i>pepure</i>	'lower'

Plural forms of the verb ending in *-i* have a singular in *-e*. Plural forms which end in *-u* have a singular in *-o*, unless the vowel of the preceding syllable is *-u*, in which case the singular is *-e*. Accordingly, stressed long vowels are best described as disyllabic.

plural		singular	
/ <i>gei</i> /	[ <i>'gei</i> ]	/ <i>gee</i> /	[ <i>'ge:</i> ] 'dig'
/ <i>perei</i> /	[ <i>pe'rei</i> ]	/ <i>peree</i> /	[ <i>pe'ree:</i> ] 'wake'
/ <i>puu</i> /	[ <i>'pu:</i> ]	/ <i>pue</i> /	[ <i>'pue</i> ] 'pluck'
/ <i>pejuu</i> /	[ <i>pe'ju:</i> ]	/ <i>pejue</i> /	[ <i>pe'jue</i> ] 'order'

This analysis highlights Sawu's clear preference for penultimate stress, and provides a more adequate account of the derivation of the singular verb-agreement marker.

Words of four-or-more syllables are stressed on every second syllable from the end. e.g. *wo'pəka'lae* 'ankle'.

Radja Haba (1958:27) and Lee (MS) also analyze stressed consonant plus long vowel (i.e. CV:) as disyllabic 'CVV, but do not mention the corroborating evidence of verb agreement.

## 2.7 Intonation

Declarative and imperative clauses are marked by clause-final falling intonation. Interrogative clauses are marked by rising intonation on the last stressed syllable of a clause final-word in yes-no questions, and on the last stressed syllable of a question-word in others.

## 2.8 Phonological adaptation of loanwords

Most borrowings are from Malay (examples are from Bahasa Indonesia), but there are some from Portuguese and Dutch. Loanwords usually exhibit the following sound changes:

- (1) final consonants delete  
 $C \rightarrow \emptyset$  / — #
- |               |             |             |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| Indonesian    | Sawu        |             |
| <i>piring</i> | <i>piri</i> | 'plate'     |
| <i>mahal</i>  | <i>maha</i> | 'expensive' |
| <i>kawat</i>  | <i>kawa</i> | 'wire'      |
- (2) [s] becomes h
- |                 |               |          |
|-----------------|---------------|----------|
| Indonesian      | Sawu          |          |
| <i>setengah</i> | <i>hetəŋa</i> | 'half'   |
| <i>pasar</i>    | <i>paha</i>   | 'market' |
- (3) a nasal before a consonant deletes
- |                  |               |          |
|------------------|---------------|----------|
| Indonesian       | Sawu          |          |
| <i>gampang</i>   | <i>gapa</i>   | 'easy'   |
| <i>keranjang</i> | <i>keraja</i> | 'basket' |
- Some older loans from Portuguese are:
- |                |                |                |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Portuguese     | Sawu           |                |
| <i>cadeira</i> | <i>kedera</i>  | 'chair'        |
| <i>lenço</i>   | <i>nalehu</i>  | 'handkerchief' |
| <i>gentio</i>  | <i>jinitiu</i> | 'pagan'        |

Most loans of Dutch origin have entered Sawu via Malay.

Dutch	Indonesian	Sawu	
<i>duit</i>	<i>duit</i>	<i>doi</i>	'money'
<i>kantoor</i>	<i>kantor</i>	<i>kato</i>	'office'
<i>auto</i>	<i>oto</i>	<i>oto</i>	'motor-car'
<i>potlood</i>	<i>pot(e)lot</i>	<i>potoloo</i>	'pencil'

\* \* \*

## WORD CLASSES

## 3.0 Introduction

In order to discuss morphology (and syntax), it is necessary to recognise those groups of words which differ in morphology, syntax and semantics from other groups of words. This section is an attempt to identify those criteria which collectively distinguish one class of words from another.

## 3.1 Nouns

While it is true to say that Sawu nouns constitute a word class which includes the names of persons, places and things, this criterion is not sufficient to distinguish nouns from other word classes. Other criteria which will facilitate this aim are as follows:

- (1) Only nouns, pronouns, demonstratives and clauses (see 4.10) can be heads of Noun Phrases (NPs). As pronouns and demonstratives are closed classes (i.e. with limited membership), nouns can easily be identified as non-pronominal, non-demonstrative, non-clausal heads of NPs (see 4.0).
- (2) Most NPs of verbal clauses begin with unambiguous case prepositions (see 4.4).
- (3) Only NPs include common article *ne* (see 4.3).
- (4) Only NPs include demonstrative adjuncts (see 4.2.2).
- (5) Only NPs include relative clauses (see 8.6).
- (6) In non-verbal clauses, only NPs are negated by Negative Particle *ad'o* (see 8.14.2.1).
- (7) Only referents of nouns can be counted (see 4.5.1) or possessed (see 4.1, 8.15).
- (8) In clauses with Past-completive tense-aspect, only nouns, pronouns and particles *ke* and *le* can intervene between *əla* and *pe-* (see 7.2.1).

## 3.2 Verbs

Sawu verbs (like nouns) constitute an open class "whose membership is in principle unlimited, varying from time to time and between one speaker and another" (Robins 1964:230). Criteria which serve to delineate the Sawu class of verbs include the following:

- (1) Verbs usually precede NPs, but in a clause with past-completive tense-aspect the verb may be post-nominal with *pe* of *əla ...pe-* prefixed to the verb.
- (2) As only verbs and particles can take immediately postposed NEG *d'o*, verbs are identifiable as non-particles which immediately precede *d'o* (see 8.14.2.2).
- (3) Verbs are often preceded by particles *ta*, *do*, *la* and *ma*, and often followed by particles *ke*, *we*, *he*, *(le)ma* and *(wə)ri*, but it is not obligatory for it to be

preceded or followed by any of these.

- (4) Verbs describe actions, processes or states (see 5.1).
- (5) Some verbs agree in number with an Absolutive or Goal Animate NP (see 5.2.1).

## 3.3 Pronouns

Pronouns are a closed class of words which indicate whether a referent is speaker or addressee or neither.

## 3.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are a closed class of words which indicate whether a referent is close to the speaker, addressee or neither. These distinctions are most obvious when referring to spatial location, but can also apply to discourse and temporal (?) proximity.

## 3.5 Common article

This word class has only one member in Sawu. It is similar to case prepositions in that it occurs before nouns, but differs in that it merely indicates that the noun is common.

## 3.6 Case prepositions

Case prepositions indicate the semantic role(s) of the referents of the nouns they precede.

## 3.7 Numerals

Numerals are an open class which can indicate the number of an NP referent. Unlike the common article and case prepositions, numerals can precede or follow the head noun.

## 3.8 Counters

Counters are an open class of words which are often obligatory when specifying the number of NP referents. They always occur immediately after Numerals.

## 3.9 Non-numeral quantifiers

Non-numeral Quantifiers are a closed class of words restricted to *loro*, *loro-loro*, *had'e* and *heṅaa-ṅaa*. Like Numerals, they can precede or follow the head noun, but differ in that the latter can precede Common Article *ne*, can follow Demonstratives, and do not co-occur



with Counters.

### 3.10 Clause modifiers

Clause Modifiers (CMs) constitute a closed class of words which I loosely refer to as "adverbs" and "particles". It is assumed that all CMs add to our understanding of the clause and can therefore be regarded as modifying it.

I reserve the term "adverb" for a readily

identifiable group of CMs ("Excessive Adverbs") which share certain morphological or semantic characteristics. All other CMs will be described under the heading "Particles".

### 3.11 Interjections

Interjections are words which are usually single-word utterances (and, therefore, single-word clauses - see 8.2.1 ).

\* \* \*

## NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

## 4.0 Introduction

As the head of a Sawu Noun Phrase (NP) must be a noun (N), pronoun, demonstrative or clause, we can summarise NPs accordingly;

- (1) NP = (PREP) (Q) (*ne*) (NUM) (ORD) N (POSS) (ORD) (NUM) (REL) (DEM) (Q)
- (2) NP = (PREP) PRONOUN (REL) (DEM)
- (3) NP = (PREP) DEM
- (4) NP = (PREP) (*ne*) Clause (DEM)

All elements in an NP are optional except the head. (The head can of course be coreferentially deleted (see 8.19). Cardinal Numerals (NUM) with or without counters, and Non-numeral Quantifiers (Q) can only occur once in an NP (i.e. either before or after: not both). Ordinal Numerals (ORD) occur immediately before the head noun or immediately after possessive nouns or pronouns (POSS) which must immediately follow the head noun. Pronouns as heads can only be preceded by a Nominal Preposition (PREP), and be followed by Relative Clauses (REL) and a Demonstrative Adjunct (DEM). Demonstratives as heads can also be preceded by PREP, but differ in that no other NP constituent can follow. Nominalised clauses as heads can be preceded by PREP and/or ART and be followed by DEM.

The only NP morphology is reduplication (see 4.11) and the numeral 'one' prefix *he-* (see 4.5.1).

## 4.1 Pronouns

Personal and possessive pronouns are identical in form, and "indicate whether a person is either speaker or addressee, or neither." (Lyons 1968:277-8).

Table 3: Pronouns

	Singular	Plural	
speaker	1. <i>j'aa</i>	1. (incl.) <i>dii</i>	(i.e. including addressee)
		(excl.) <i>j'ii</i>	(i.e. excluding addressee)
addressee	2. <i>ou</i>	2. <i>muu</i>	
neither speaker nor addressee	3. <i>noo</i>	3. <i>roo</i>	

Wijngaarden (1896:22) also mentions a first person singular *du* unattested in my data. I do, however, have textual evidence that *dii*, normally 1pl. (incl.), is also used as a 'polite' form for first person singular.

<i>ina</i>	<i>dii</i>	<i>ma,</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>wəbe</i>
mother	POSS1sg.	PART	NON-PAST	hit(sg.)
<i>ri</i>	<i>j'aa</i>			
ERG	1sg.			

'My mother, I hit her.'

The context clearly indicates that the speaker is referring to his own mother and not that of the addressee. There is no reason to suggest that siblings are present, thus allowing an 'our' interpretation.

As in the example above, possessive pronouns (like possessive nouns) must follow the head nouns they qualify (see 8.15).

## 4.2 Demonstratives

A demonstrative can indicate:

- (1) The spatial, temporal or discourse proximity of its referent to the speaker and addressee.
- (2) The discourse proximity of its referent to the third person referent from whose viewpoint a story is told. It can occur as head of an NP or as a head noun adjunct

## 4.2.1 Head of NP

As heads of NPs, Sawu Demonstratives distinguish five types (degrees?) of spatial proximity.

Table 4: Demonstratives as Head of NP

	Singular	Plural	
DEM $\emptyset$	<i>oni</i>	( <i>uhi</i> )	Zero distance from speaker (who is referring to a part of his own body, or something which he is holding or touching)
DEM 1	( <i>na(pu)</i> ) <i>ne</i>	<i>nahe</i>	near the speaker (i.e. specified point near the speaker)
DEM 2	( <i>na</i> ) <i>d'e</i>	( <i>na</i> ) <i>hed'e</i>	near the speaker (i.e. immediate vicinity of the speaker)
DEM 3	( <i>na(pu)</i> ) <i>nəme</i>	( <i>na(pu)</i> ) <i>həre</i>	near the addressee
DEM 4	{ ( <i>na</i> ) <i>ni</i> , <i>nad'o</i> }	( <i>na</i> ) <i>hid'e</i>	distant from speaker and addressee

DEM $\emptyset$ sg. *oni* only occurs in non-verbal clauses. *uhi* does not appear in my data, but in a conversation text provided by Radja Haba *uhi* appears twice in non-verbal clauses, and is unambiguously plural.

<i>ina.</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>d'e.</i>	<i>oni</i>
mother	come	PART	GTS	DEM2sg.	DEM $\emptyset$ sg.
<i>ru-kenana</i>	<i>wie</i>	<i>ou</i>			
leaf-pepper	BEN	2sg.			

'Mother. Come here. This is some pepper-leaf for you.'

*uhi ke huri d'ue b'əla*  
DEMØpl. PART letter .... two COUNT

*d'əŋe*  
at once

'Here are some letters .... Two at a time.'

(Example and translation from Radja Haba 1958: 28. The analysis is mine.)

With the other demonstratives, the reduced forms (*ne, d'e, hed'e, nəne, etc.*) are common as LOCATIVE, GOAL, or SOURCE, while the fuller forms (*na(pu)ne, nad'e, nahed'e, etc.*) are normal (perhaps obligatory) with ABSOLUTE case. Note also that *h* is common to all plural forms, and that *nad'o* was rejected by my Seba informants.

*ta mena'o ri noo ø napuhəre*  
NON-PAST steal ERG 3sg. ABS DEM3pl.

'He steals those near you.'

At least one of these Demonstratives, *napune*, also indicates discourse proximity (i.e. it indicates something just mentioned or referred to in the preceding discourse).

*ta taba bubu ke ø duae*  
NON-PAST add be angry PART ABS king

*ŋa ubu naba rai napune*  
COM Ubu Naba SINCE DEM1sg.

'The king becomes more and more angry with Ubu Naba from this time (just referred to).'

*mai ko we ma pe-ie ø*  
come PART PART DTS CAUS-good ERG

*ou. gapa hewe ø napune*  
2sg. be simple QUITE ABS DEM1sg.

(The king says) "You come here and heal!"  
(The addressee says) "This (which you have just mentioned) is quite simple."

#### 4.2.2 Head noun adjuncts

Demonstrative adjuncts occur at the end of an NP, and are very similar in form to demonstratives which are heads of NPs. They differ as follows:

- (1) Adjuncts distinguish four degrees of spatial proximity (instead of five). DEM Ø (*oni, uhi*) is never an adjunct.
- (2) DEM 1 singular adjunct can be *pune* as well as *nane* and *napune*.
- (3) DEM 1 plural adjunct is always *he*, never *nahe*.
- (4) DEM 3 singular adjunct can be *punəne* as well as *nanəne* and *napunəne*.
- (5) DEM 3 plural adjunct is *nahəre* or *napuhəre*, while its head of NP equivalent is *həre*, *nahəre* or *napuhəre*.

(6) DEM 4 singular adjunct is never *nad'o*.

(7) DEM 4 plural adjunct is *nahid'e*, while its head of NP equivalent is *hid'e* or *nahid'e*.

Adjunct forms indicating *spatial* proximity are summarised in the table below.

Table 5: Demonstrative Adjuncts

	Singular	Plural	
DEM 1	<i>(na)(pu)ne</i>	<i>ne</i>	near the speaker (i.e. specified point near the speaker).
DEM 2	<i>(na)d'e</i>	<i>(na)hed'e</i>	near the speaker (i.e. immediate vicinity of the speaker)
DEM 3	<i>(na)(pu)nəne</i>	<i>na(pu)həre</i>	near the addressee
DEM 4	<i>(na)ni</i>	<i>nahid'e</i>	distant from speaker and addressee

*mejəd'i we ø muu hari-hari*  
sit PART ABS 2pl. all

*pa keləga-rai ne*  
LOC bench DEM1sg.

'All of you sit here on this bench (next to me).'

*mai ko ø muu ma era d'e*  
come PART ABS 2pl. GTS place DEM2sg.

'You lot come over here to this place (in my immediate vicinity).'

*hei ø roo pa əmu*  
be there (pl.) ABS 3pl. LOC house

*nani*  
DEM4sg.

'They are over there in that house.'

As adjuncts to calendric units such as 'day', 'month' and 'year' both *(na)d'e* and *nane* indicate the time of an action, process or state which occurs within the same time unit as the moment of the speech act.

*lod'o d'e*  
day DEM2sg.

'this day'

It is not known whether adjuncts can be used to indicate degrees of discourse proximity corresponding to the distinctions made for spatial proximity.

#### 4.3 Common article (ART) *ne*

Common nouns in absolute case or common nouns in non-verbal clauses can take a preposed article *ne*. Like Fijian *na*, it "is not a definite or specific article, but rather the simple nominal article for common noun phrases" (Foley 1976:176). It is, however, normally present when the NP head has postposed possessive pronoun or demonstrative adjunct.

Article  
*b'uke ri noo ∅ ne huri*  
 write(sg.) ERG 3sg. ABS ART letter

'He wrote a letter.'

Article and possessive  
*ta meña'e ke ri duae ∅*  
 NON-PAST ride PART ERG king ABS

*ne jara noo*  
 ART horse POSS3sg.

'The king is riding his horse.'

Article and demonstrative  
*həme ri duae ∅ ne huri*  
 accept(sg.) ERG king ABS ART letter

*napune*  
 DEM2sg.

'The king accepted this letter.'

No article  
*ta ie ri j'aa ∅ pəd'a*  
 NON-PAST heal ERG 1sg. ABS sickness

*nane*  
 DEM2sg.

'I will heal this sickness.'

#### 4.4 Case prepositions

In Sawu, a case preposition indicates the semantic relationship of its NP referent to the verb, or, in verbless sentences, to the referents of other NPs. As the absence of a case preposition performs a similar function, NPs without a preposition will be treated as having a zero preposition (indicated by  $\emptyset$ ). An attempt is made to clearly delineate the function of each preposition by describing the semantic role(s) of its NP referent(s).

We can recognise 16 Case prepositions, as in Table 6.

Table 6: Case Prepositions

ABSOLUTIVE (ABS)	$\emptyset$
ERGATIVE (ERG)	<i>ri, ∅</i>
INSTRUMENT (INST)	<i>ri</i>
GOAL FROM SPEAKER (GFS)	<i>la</i>
GOAL TOWARDS SPEAKER (GTS)	<i>ma</i>
GOAL ANIMATE (GA)	<i>pa</i>
RESULT	<i>ta</i>
SOURCE (SCE)	<i>(rai)(ŋa)ti</i>
LOCATIVE (LOC)	<i>pa</i>
RANGE (RGE)	<i>d'ei</i>
VEHICLE (VEH)	<i>j'əra, d'ei, ŋa</i>
ABOUT	<i>j'əra, (lua)</i>
COMITATIVE (COM)	<i>ŋa</i>
MEASURE (MEAS)	<i>ŋara</i>
BENEFACTIVE (BEN)	<i>wie</i>
SINCE	<i>rai</i>

The terms 'Absolutive' and 'Ergative' have been adopted because Sawu can be regarded as a morphologically Ergative language, in which the NP which is transitive "subject" (Ergative) is usually marked by preposition *ri*, while the

transitive "object" and intransitive subject (both Absolutive) are indicated by  $\emptyset$  (see Dixon 1979:61).

#### ABSOLUTIVE (ABS) $\emptyset$

The referents of ABS NPs fill a different array of semantic roles according to the transitivity of the verb.

#### Transitive

In transitive clauses, referents of ABS NPs include:

(1) referents to which something is done.

*ta həla ∅ ŋiu ∅*  
 NON-PAST plant(pl.) ABS coconut ERG

*noo*  
 3sg.

'He is planting coconuts.'

*əle ke pe-əte ∅*  
 PAST(sg.) PART PAST-cut off(sg.) ABS

*ne hewəŋa jara j'aa ri dou*  
 ART nose horse POSS1sg. ERG someone

'Someone cut off my horse's nose.'

(2) referents which come into being as the result of an action.

*ta b'uke ∅ huri ri noo*  
 NON-PAST write(sg.) ABS letter ERG 3sg.

'He is writing a letter.'

(3) referents to which something is given.

*wie d'o ∅ roo ∅ ŋa'a ri noo*  
 give NEG ABS 3pl. ABS food ERG 3sg.

'He did not give them food.'

*ta pe-ŋa'a ∅ wawi ∅ noo*  
 NON-PAST CAUS-eat ABS pig ERG 3sg.

'He is giving food to some pigs.'

(4) referents which are the communication (=that which is communicated) of a communication verb (e.g. 'say', 'tell', 'ask', 'teach').

*ta pika ke ri noo pa ne*  
 NON-PAST tell PART ERG 3sg. GA ART

*ana he ∅ ta pe-made*  
 child DEM1pl. ABS NON-PAST CAUS-die

*∅ roo ri wati leo*  
 ABS 3pl. ERG Wati Leo

'He is telling the children that Wati Leo will kill them.'

(5) referents which are perceived (e.g. seen, heard).

*ta ŋəde ke ri duae ∅*  
 NON-PAST see(sg.) PART ERG king ABS

ubu naba  
Ubu Naba

'The king sees Ubu Naba.'

- (6) referents which are the content (e.g. 'that which is known') of a cognitive state verb (e.g. 'know').

toi d'ò ri j'aa ø ne nara  
know NEG ERG lsg. ABS ART name

noo  
POSS3sg.

'I do not know his name.'

- (7) referents which do not fit into the categories outlined above. e.g. the ABS referents of verbs like *pedoa* 'call, invite', *kehiwa* 'hire (someone)', *pewie* 'exchange, sell', *aj'a* 'learn, study'.

#### Intransitive

In intransitive clauses, referents of ABS NPs include:

- (1) referents which do something.

ta belaja ø j'aa  
NON-PAST shop ABS lsg.

'I am shopping.'

- (2) referents to which a non-cognitive state is attributed.

do meriŋi ø noo  
STAT be cold ABS 3sg.

'He is cold.'

bubu-d'ara ø noo  
be angry ABS 3sg.

'He is angry.'

do bæj'i ø noo  
STAT sleep ABS 3sg.

'She is asleep.'

- (3) referents to which a change of state is attributed.

ta meriŋi ø noo  
NON-PAST be cold ABS 3sg.

'She is getting cold.'

ta bui ke ø noo  
NON-PAST fall PART ABS 3sg.

'He is falling.'

- (4) referents which do something which brings about a change of state in that referent. In the example below, the ABS referent (*noo* 'he') does something (*perai* 'run') which brings about a change of locative state in that ABS referent.

ta perai ø noo la mehara  
NON-PAST run ABS 3sg. GFS Mesara

'He is running to Mesara.'

- (5) referents which 'cry, laugh', etc.

ta taŋi ø ne ana ne  
NON-PAST cry ABS ART child DEM1sg.

'The child is crying.'

ERGATIVE (ERG) *ri, ø*

The ERG NP is usually marked by the preposition *ri* but can be unmarked when the speaker assumes that (for the addressee) its referent is unambiguously the referent of an ERG NP. Referents of ERG NPs include:

- (1) referents which do something to another referent.

ta d'are ke ø ne  
NON-PAST sharpen(sg.) PART ABS ART

wela-hule do medera ri ubu naba  
machete REL be long ERG Ubu Naba

'Ubu Naba began to sharpen a long machete.'

do ləka ri pəd'a ø duae  
STAT strike ERG sickness ABS king

'Sickness has struck the king.'

(Note that *pəd'a* is ERG because it can be relativised. An INST NP cannot.)

- (2) referents which bring into being another referent as the result of an action.

ta j'ega ø əmu ri noo  
NON-PAST build ABS house ERG 3sg.

'He is building a house.'

- (3) referents which communicate (e.g. 'say', 'tell', 'ask', 'teach') something.

ta keb'ali ø noo pa ne  
NON-PAST ask(pl.) ERG 3sg. GA ART

ana he ø "ta kako la  
child DEM1pl. ABS NON-PAST go GFS

*mii?*"  
WHERE

'He asks the children, "Where are you going?"

- (4) referents which perceive another referent.

d'əno-d'əno ri ana hekola nane  
listen-RED ERG child school DEM1sg.

ø ne lii ubu naba  
ABS ART word Ubu Naba

'The school child listened intently to Ubu Naba's words.'

- (5) referents to which a cognitive state (e.g. *tade* 'know', *toi* 'know', *peŋee* 'think') is attributed.

tade d'o ø deo ri j'ii  
know(sg.) NEG ABS god ERG lpl.(excl.)

'We did not know God.'

- (6) referents which secure ABS referents in LOC referents (e.g. referents of verbs like *pedana* 'bury', *b'ədo* 'enclose', *kiju* 'insert').

pedana pa mi ke ri di  
bury(pl.) LOC WHERE PART ERG lpl.(incl.)

ø roo  
ABS 3pl.

'Where shall we bury them?'

- (7) referents which do not fit into the categories outlined above: e.g. the ERG referents of verbs like *pedoa* 'call, invite', *kehiwa* 'hire (someone)', *pewie* 'exchange, sell', *aj'a* 'learn, study'.

#### INSTRUMENT (INST) *ri*

Instrument NPs, unlike ERG NPs:

- (1) are always marked by preposition *ri*.
- (2) cannot be heads of relative clauses in which the INST NP is coreferentially deleted.
- (3) can occur in transitive and intransitive clauses.

#### Transitive

Identification of an INST NP in a transitive clause is usually determined by semantics. If there are two NPs both with preposition *ri*, the NP whose referent is most likely to be manipulated or used by the referent of the other NP will be the INST NP. We can therefore say that, in a transitive clause referents of INST NPs are referents used by an ERG referent to do something. Referents of transitive INST NPs include:

- (1) referents used by an ERG referent to do something to an ABS referent (e.g. referents of verbs like *təb'u* 'stab', *wəba* 'hit', *boka* 'open', *ihi* 'pour, fill, insert').

təb'o ø noo ri naiki he  
stab(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG child DEM1pl.

ri kepoke  
INST spear

'These children stabbed him with a spear.'

boka ø ne kelae ne ri kuhi  
open(sg.) ABS ART door DEM1sg. INST key

'Open the door with a key.'

ta ihe ri noo ø gelaa  
NON-PAST fill(sg.) ERG 3sg. ABS glass

ri ei  
INST water

'She is filling a glass with water.'

- (2) referents used by an ERG referent as something given, paid, or fed to an ABS referent (e.g. referents of verbs like *pala* 'present',

*ma'i* 'pay', *kehiwa* 'hire', *pe-ŋa'a* 'feed animals', *pe-tutu* 'feed birds').

ta pale ø noo ri  
NON-PAST present(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG

j'aa ri d'ue ŋi'u wawi  
1sg. INST two COUNT pig

'I will present him with two pigs.'

ta pe-ŋa'a ø b'ada he  
NON-PAST CAUS-eat ABS animal DEM1pl.

ri noo ri ru-aj'u  
ERG 3sg. INST leaf-plant

'He is feeding these animals with leaves.'

#### Intransitive

In an intransitive clause, the only NP with preposition *ri* will be an INST NP.

do tobo ri dei ø ne  
STAT be full INST dung ABS ART

beka kenana d'e  
basket betel DEM2sg.

'The betel basket is full of dung.'

#### GOAL

The referents of GOAL NPs are referents toward which or (in the case of *nara* 'win') against which an action is directed. Sawu has three GOAL prepositions as follows:

- (1) GOAL FROM SPEAKER (GFS) *la*

Referents of NPs with preposed *la* are inanimate referents towards which an action is directed. The direction of this action is away from the referent "from whose spatial viewpoint a story is being told" (Grimes 1975:61). As this referent is often the speaker, it seems appropriate to refer to this *la* as Goal From Speaker (GFS).

ta b'ale ke ø roo la  
NON- PAST return PART ABS 3pl. GFS

mehara  
Mesara

'They return to Mesara.'

In the discourse preceding this text example, the district of Seba is clearly the spatial viewpoint of the story's main characters. The return journey to the district of Mesara requires a movement away from that spatial viewpoint.

- (2) GOAL TOWARDS SPEAKER (GTS) *ma*

Referents of NPs with preposed *ma* are inanimate referents toward which an action is directed. As the direction of this action is also towards the speaker, it seems appropriate to refer to this *ma* as Goal Towards Speaker (GTS).

'j'e b'ale d'əŋe-d'əŋe ø ou ma  
THEN return immediately ABS 2sg. GTS

əmu d'e," mi he ane ø duae  
house DEM2sg. LIKE DEM1pl. say ERG King

∅ ne lii pa ubu naba  
 ABS ART word GA Ubu Naba

'"Then you return immediately to this house", said the king to Ubu Naba.'

The context of this text example makes it clear that 'this house' is the king's house (i.e. the place where the speaker and the addressee are at the time of the utterance). Ubu Naba is being sent on an errand, and the direction of his return journey must be toward the speaker, the king.

(3) GOAL ANIMATE (GA) pa

Referents of GA NPs with preposed pa are animate referents forward which or (in the case of nara 'win') against which an action is directed. They differ from the referents of GFS and GTS NPs in that the latter are inanimate.

ta lii ke ∅ duae pa ubu naba,  
 NON-PAST say PART ERG king GA Ubu Naba

∅ "kako la ni."  
 ABS go GFS DEM4sg.

'The king says to Ubu Naba, "Go over there!"'

ta wie ∅ doi ri j'aa pa muu  
 NON-PAST give ABS money ERG 1sg. GA 2pl.

'I will give you money.'

ta j'ala pa wawi pa manu  
 NON-PAST net-fish GA pig GA chicken

he ∅ ubu naba  
 DEM1pl. ABS Ubu Naba

'Ubu Naba began to fish for pigs and for chickens.'

nara d'o ∅ duae pa ubu naba  
 win NEG ABS king GA Ubu Naba

'The king did not win against Ubu Naba.'

RESULT ta

Referents of RESULT NPs are referents which come into being as the result of an action or process.

∅ ta hij'i kiŋa tao  
 finish(sg.) RESULT male-cloth IF make

ta hij'i  
 RESULT male-cloth

'Finish (making it) into a male-cloth, if (you are) making (it) into a male-cloth.'

ta jad'i ke ∅ ubu naba  
 NON-PAST become PART ABS Ubu Naba

ta duae  
 RESULT king

'Ubu Naba becomes king.'

SOURCE(SCE) (rai) (ŋa) ti

Referents of SCE NPs are referents which indicate a locative, material, or stative source of an action or process.

Locative

ta b'ale ∅ noo raiti  
 NON-PAST return ABS 3sg. SCE

hekola  
 school

'She is returning from school.'

Material

tao ∅ kebie-ae raiti laa due  
 make ABS house beam SCE trunk lontar

'Make house beams out of lontar trunks.'

Stative

∅ duae merei dae-d'o ti bəj'i  
 ABS king wake up YET NOT SCE sleep

'The king had not yet woken up.'

A SCE NP is marked by rainati, raiti, ŋati, or ti. It is not yet clear what factors affect the choice of one in preference to another.

LOCATIVE (LOC) pa

Referents of LOC NPs include:

(1) referents which indicate the location of an action, process or state.

Action

ta hogo ∅ ŋa'a ∅ noo pa  
 NON-PAST cook ABS food ERG 3sg. LOC

əmu ni  
 house DEM4sg.

'She is cooking food at that house over there.'

Process

ta meriŋi ∅ noo pa  
 NON-PAST be cool ABS 3sg. LOC

d'ara ei-lobo d'e  
 interior pool DEM2sg.

'He is cooling off in the pool.'

State

mejəd'i ∅ noo pa ŋidi ruj'ara  
 sit ABS 3sg. LOC side road

d'e  
 DEM2sg.

'She is sitting at the side of the road.'

(2) referents which specify the location on the ABS referent where the INST referent makes contact (e.g. the referents of verbs like wəba 'hit', təb'u 'stab', loro 'cut').

ta loro pa koko he  
 NON-PAST cut(pl.) LOC neck DEM1pl.

∅ j'ii ri noo  
 ABS 1pl.(excl.) ERG 3sg.

'He will cut us at the neck.'

(3) referents with which the ABS referent

(of intransitive *laka* 'strike') makes contact.

*do laka pa eru ne ø*  
STAT strike LOC pot DEM1sg. ABS

*ne wowadu he*  
ART rock DEM1pl.

'The rocks have landed on the pot.'

(4) referents in which ABS referents are secured by an ERG referent (e.g. referents of verbs like *pedana* 'bury', *b'edo* 'enclose', *kiju* 'insert').

*ta kiju ke ø*  
NON-PAST insert(sg.) PART ABS

*ana-menari pa kej'una ø ana*  
stick LOC back ERG child

*ne*  
DEM1sg.

'The child inserts a stick in the back.'

RANGE (RGE) *d'ei*

Referents of RGE NPs are referents which indicate an area over which, alongside which, or through which an action or state ranges.

Action

*ta roi ke ri noo ø*  
NON-PAST realise PART ERG 3sg. ABS

*ta era ø dou do kako*  
COMPL be ABS someone REL go

*d'ei ruj'ara*  
RGE path

'He began to realise that there was someone walking along the path.'

*naru d'ene ø noo d'ei emu*  
go naturally ABS 3sg. RGE house

*duae*  
king

'Naturally he went past the king's house.'

*mahu-ani d'ei nanene ke ø*  
go out RGE DEM3sg. PART ABS

*dii*  
lpl.(incl.)

'We will go out through this (hole near you).'

State

*era ø he-wue kebie*  
be ABS one-count(sg.) house-beam

*d'ei b'olou*  
RGE south

'There is one house beam along the south side.'

VEHICLE (VEH) *j'era, d'ei, na*

Referents of VEH NPs are referents which convey an ABS referent. VEH prepositions

*j'era, d'ei* and *na* appear to be interchangeable although *na* is less acceptable before interrogative particle *naa* 'what'.

*ta kako ke ø roo la*  
NON-PAST go PART ABS 3pl. GFS

*hab'a j'era jara*  
Seba VEH horse

'They set off for Seba by horse.'

ABOUT *j'era, (lua)*

ABOUT referents indicate that which the ABS referent is talking about. In my data, the preposition is always *j'era* but I notice that Radja Haba (1958:18) uses *lua*

*pedai ø roo j'era lai j'ega*  
talk ABS 3pl. ABOUT matters work

'They are talking about business matters.'

*pedai lua a'a*  
talk about brother

'talk about brother' (Radja Haba)

COMITATIVE (COM) *na*

Referents of COM NPs include:

(1) referents with whom another referent is angry, happy, etc.

*ta b'ani ke ø duae na*  
NON-PAST be angry PART ABS king COM

*ubu naba*  
Ubu Naba

'The king becomes angry with Ubu Naba.'

(2) referents with whom another referent stays, etc.

*mai la pee na j'aa we*  
come DFS stay COM 1sg. PART

'Come and stay with me.'

MEASURE (MEAS) *na*

Referents of MEAS NPs are referents for which ABS referents are exchanged.

*ta pewie ke ri noo ø*  
NON-PAST exchange PART ERG 3sg. ABS

*ne keb'ao ne naara doi*  
ART buffalo DEM1sg. MEAS money

'He is exchanging the buffalo for money.'

BENEFACTIVE (BEN) *wie*

Referents of BEN NPs are referents which are an intended recipient or beneficiary of an action.

*moa ø roo ke ø b'ara*  
send(pl.) ERG 3pl. PART ABS present

*wie j'aa*  
BEN 1sg.

'They sent presents for me.'

*b'uke ri no ø ne huri wie du*  
write(sg.) ERG 3sg. ABS ART letter BEN Ki



'He wrote a letter for the king.'

The BEN preposition *wie* is clearly related to the verb *wie* 'give'. However, the latter is distinguished from the former by having preposed verbal particles like *ta*, *la*, and *ma*.

<i>ta</i>	<i>dəka</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>j'aa</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>wie</i>	$\emptyset$
NON-PAST	come	ABS	1sg.	DFS	give	ABS

<i>doi</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>muu</i>
money	GA	2pl.

'I am coming to give money to you.'

SINCE *rai*

Referents of SINCE NPs indicate the time when the action, process or state began.

<i>pi'a</i>	<i>d'o</i>	<i>ke</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>dou</i>	<i>do</i>
be(pl.)	NEG	PART	ABS.	someone	REL

<i>heleo</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>ne</i>	<i>a'a</i>	<i>ne</i>
see	ABS	ART	older brother	DEMLsg.

<i>rai</i>	<i>made</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>ne</i>
SINCE	death	younger brother	DEMLsg.

'There is no-one who has seen the older brother since the younger brother's death.'

<i>do</i>	<i>pe-bubu</i>	<i>d'ara</i>	<i>ke</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>roo</i>
STAT	REC-be angry	inside	PART	ABS	3pl.

<i>rai</i>	<i>napune</i>
SINCE	DEMLsg.

'They have been angry with each other since this time.'

## 4.5 Numerals

### 4.5.1 Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals can indicate the number of an NP referent (see 4.6 for examples), or stand alone. The smaller cardinal numerals are:

- |                            |                |                |
|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. <i>əhi</i> , <i>he-</i> | 4. <i>əpa</i>  | 7. <i>pidu</i> |
| 2. <i>d'ue</i>             | 5. <i>ləmi</i> | 8. <i>əru</i>  |
| 3. <i>təlu</i>             | 6. <i>əna</i>  | 9. <i>heo</i>  |

The simple decimal values are: *ɳuru* 'ten', *ɳahu* 'hundred', *təb'a* 'thousand'. They are multiplied by preposing a smaller number to the left. (Number one is always prefixed to the decimal value as *he-*.)

10.	<i>he-ɳuru</i>	20.	<i>d'ue ɳuru</i>
100.	<i>he-ɳahu</i>	200.	<i>d'ue ɳahu</i>
1000.	<i>he-təb'a</i>	2000.	<i>d'ue təb'a</i>

The simple decimal values are added to by postposing a smaller number to the right.

11.	<i>he-ɳuru əhi</i>
350.	<i>təlu ɳahu ləmi ɳuru</i>
2067.	<i>d'ue təb'a əna ɳuru pidu</i>

Decimal values can also be reduplicated to indicate an unspecified multiplicative number.

tens	<i>ɳuru-ɳuru</i>
hundreds	<i>ɳahu-ɳahu</i>
thousands	<i>təb'a-təb'a</i>

One can also say 'tens of thousands' *ɳuru-ɳuru təb'a* where the first part ('tens') is reduplicated and the second part ('thousands') is not.

The initial  $\eta$  in *ɳuru* and *ɳahu* is, I suspect, a reduced (and now fossilised) form of the PAN numeral ligature *ɳa*.

### 4.5.2 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed by prefixing *ke-*(ORD) to cardinal numerals.

<i>ke-əhi</i>	<i>ke-d'ue</i>	<i>ke-təlu</i>
ORD-one	ORD-two	ORD-three

'first'    'second'    'third'

They can immediately precede the head noun or can occur immediately after the head noun or a possessive which immediately follows the head noun.

<i>d'ai</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ke-təlu</i>	<i>lod'o</i>	<i>ne</i> ,
THEN	LOC	ORD-three	day	DEMLsg.

<i>ta</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>pee</i>	<i>ke</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>ne</i>
NON-PAST	DFS	stay	PART	ABS	ART

<i>ana</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ru-koko</i>	<i>əmu</i>
child	DEMLsg.	LOC	leaf-neck	house

'Then on the third day, the child goes and hides in the *ru-koko əmu*.' (The *ru-koko əmu* is the top part of the traditional lontar-leafed house.)

<i>ta</i>	<i>kako</i>	<i>ke</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>ne</i>	<i>ana-mone</i>
NON-PAST	go	PART	ABS	ART	child-male

<i>ke-d'ue</i>	<i>ne</i>
ORD-two	DEMLsg.

'The second male-child goes.'

<i>do</i>	<i>kaja</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>ne</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>noo</i>
STAT	be rich	ABS	ART	child	POSS3sg.

<i>ke-təlu</i>
ORD-three

'His third oldest child is rich.'

## 4.6 Counters (COUNT)

With most Sawu NPs, Counters must be used to specify the number of a referent. The cardinal numeral always immediately precedes the Counter.

<i>d'ue</i>	<i>b'əla</i>	<i>nalehu</i>
two	COUNT	handkerchiefs

'two handkerchiefs'

Numeral + Counter can, however, precede or follow the head noun. Thus *nalehu d'ue b'əla* is equally acceptable.

The Sawu Counters (which often have a meaning independent of their function as Counters) can be described as: (1) classifying; (2) partitive; (3) container; and (4) others. This list does not claim to be exhaustive. (1) Classifying Counters classify the referents being counted. *dou* is used to count human referents.

he-dou ana hekola  
one-COUNT child school

'One school child'

As an independent noun, *dou* can mean  
'person, human, someone, somebody'

*ŋi'u* is used to count animals, birds, fish,  
crabs, eels, etc.

jara he'ŋi'u  
horse one-COUNT

'one horse'

As an independent noun, *ŋi'u* can mean  
'animal, human torso'.

*b'əla* is used to count referents made of cloth,  
paper (excluding letters), palm-leaf, etc.

heo b'əla b'aj'u  
nine COUNT blouse

'nine blouses'

As an independent noun, *b'əla* means  
'cloth'.

*b'əŋu* is used to count pencils, pens, sticks,  
crowbars, knives, machetes, spoons, rings,  
bracelets, etc.

he-b'əŋu potoloo  
one-COUNT pencil

'one pencil'

tud'i d'ue b'əŋu  
knife two COUNT

'two knives'

As an independent noun, *b'əŋu* (*əmu*) means  
'the centre beam at the top of a tradi-  
tional house'.

*əta* is used to count letters, string, rope.

he-əta dari  
one-COUNT string

'a length of string'

he-əta huri  
one-COUNT letter

'one letter'

*he-əta* can also mean 'half (a sack)',  
'a quarter of (a kilogram)', 'a quarter  
of (a pig)'.  
As an independent verb, *əta* means 'cut  
off', or 'slice'.

*kepue* is used to count whole trees. (Compare  
*laa* which is used to count tree trunks, etc.).

he-kepue helag'i  
one-COUNT tamarind tree

'a tamarind tree'

As an independent noun, *kepue* means  
'tree'.

*kewudi* is used to count rifles.

d'ue kewudi kepo  
two COUNT rifle

'two rifles'

*laa* is used to count tree trunks, poles, limbs  
(of humans, animals). Compare *kepue* which is  
used to count whole trees.

he-laa gerii  
one-COUNT pole

'one pole'

aj'u təlu laa  
wood three COUNT

'three logs'

d'ue laa kae-ŋa'a  
two COUNT HAND

'two hands'

As an independent noun, *laa* means 'tree  
trunk', 'pole', 'limb'.

*wue* (sg.) and *b'ue* (pl.) are used to count  
(a) fruits, eggs, round vegetables, stones,  
money, lontar syrup toffees (all round?).  
(b) buildings, building beams, furniture,  
boats, baskets, pots (all made).  
(c) places, plantations, enclosures, beaches,  
sea(s) (all locations).  
(d) weeks, years (time).

wo-kerəb'o d'ue b'ue  
PROD-pumpkin two COUNT

'two pumpkins'

he-wue kowa  
one-COUNT boat

'one boat'

b'ədo təlu b'ue  
enclosure three COUNT

'three enclosures'

təlu b'ue migu  
THREE COUNT week

'three weeks'

As an independent noun, *wue* means 'fruit'.

(2) Partitive counters count the parts of a  
whole.

*g'uti* is used to count pieces of cloth.

he-g'uti b'əla  
one-COUNT cloth

'one piece of cloth'

As an independent noun, *g'uti* means  
'scissors'. As an independent verb, it  
means 'to cut with scissors'.

*kedəli* is used to count pieces of meat, cake,  
etc.

d'ue kedəli hed'ai  
two COUNT meat

'two pieces of meat'

*he-kedəli koki*  
one-COUNT cake

'one piece of cake'

(Note: To count whole cakes one would use the counter *wue* as in *he-wue koki* 'one (whole) cake')

As an independent verb, *kedəli* means 'to cut (off)'

*lamuhi* is used to count grains of sand.

*he-lamuhi wo-lahalae*  
one-COUNT PROD-sand

'one grain of sand'

As an independent noun, *lamuhi* means 'seed'.

*lua* is used to count cotton, hair, thin strips of lontar leaf, etc.

*he-lua wəŋu*  
one-COUNT cotton

'one thread of cotton'

*təlu lua ru-kətu*  
three COUNT hair-head

'three strands of hair'

As an independent noun, *lua* means 'thread'.

*wiŋa* is used to count salt, pepper, etc.

*meŋəhi he-wiŋa*  
salt one-COUNT

'one pinch of salt'

As an independent noun, *wiŋa* means 'small thorns or hairs of plants'.

*hemelore* = 'half (a container)'.  
*hemewui* = 'quarter (of a container)'.

To my knowledge, one cannot say *d'ue melore*, *d'ue mewui*, or *təlu mewui*, nor do *melore* and *mewui* have independent meaning.

(3) Container counters count the number of containers of a referent.

*boto* is used to count the number of bottles containing a referent.

*ei-məñi wo-rai he-boto*  
liquid-oil PROD-earth one-COUNT  
kerosine

'one bottle of kerosine'

As an independent noun, *boto* means 'bottle'.

*əru* is used to count the number of pots containing a referent.

*donahu he-əru*  
lontar syrup one-COUNT

'one pot of lontar syrup'

As an independent noun, *əru* means 'pot'.

*hoke* is used to count the number of pods of a referent (e.g. tamarinds, green grams, peanuts).

*he-hoke wo-helag'i*  
one-COUNT PROD-tamarind

'one pod of tamarinds'

*hoke* does not appear as an independent noun in my data.

*kab'a-huru* is used to count the number of spoonfuls of a referent.

*he-kab'a-huru donahu*  
one-spoonful lontar-syrup

'one spoonful of lontar syrup'

To count hardened lumps of lontar syrup one would use the counter noun *wue* as in *he-wue donahu* 'one (hardened) lump of lontar syrup'.

As an independent noun, *kab'a-huru* means 'coconut-shell spoon'.

(4) Other counters include:

*hubi* which is used to count the number of bananas by clusters.

*he-hubi wo-mu'u*  
one-COUNT PROD-banana

'one cluster of bananas' (i.e. all the bananas on a cluster - usually about 5 or 6 hands).

*jəpi*, which is used to count the number of bananas by hands.

*he-jəpi wo-mu'u*  
one-COUNT PROD-banana

'one hand of bananas'

*j'ara*, which is used to count rows of string (=rope).

*əna j'ara dari*  
six COUNT string

'six rows of string'(as in weaving)

Some Sawu NPs which, in my data, never use a counter and which themselves are not used as counters are:

(a) the following units of time

*lod'o* 'day'  
*rəmi* 'night'  
*wəru* 'month'

(Compare *migu* 'week' and *tou* 'year' which often occur with counter *wue*, *b'ue*.)

(b) non-traditional units of length

*mete* 'metre'  
*kilomete* 'kilometre'  
*kilo* 'kilometre'

(c) non-traditional unit of weight

*kilo* 'kilogram'

(d) traditional units of quantity

*wo'a* 'torch (of dead leaves, stalks, etc.)'  
*kerab'a* 'bunch of 15-20 *wo'a*'  
*ŋutu* 'three threads of cotton'  
*hie* '30 *ŋutu*'  
*rore* '5 or 6 *hie*'

## 4.7 Non-numeral quantifiers

### 4.7.0 Introduction

Non-numeral Quantifiers, like Numeral Quantifiers can occur before or after the head noun, but differ in that they precede Common Article *ne* and follow DEM.

### 4.7.1 *hari-hari* 'all (with unspecified number)'

*hari-hari* 'all' can precede or follow the head noun. Unlike the *hari* construction (4.7.2), it cannot specify the number of the referent quantified.

*ta*            *peuwu*        *ke*     $\emptyset$     *hari-hari*  
NON-PAST    assemble    PART    ABS    all

*dou*  
people

'All the people are assembling.'

*ta*            *kelatu*     $\emptyset$     *muu*    *hari-hari*  
NON-PAST    behead    ABS    2pl.    all

*ri*    *j'aa*  
ERG    1sg.

'I will behead you all.'

(1) When *hari-hari* precedes the head noun, it also precedes the Common Article, *ne*, if present.

*belaja*    *ke*        *ri*    *noo*     $\emptyset$     *hari-hari*  
spend    PART    ERG    3sg.    ABS    all

*ne*    *doi*  
ART    money

'He spent all the money.'

(2) When *hari-hari* follows the head noun, it occurs at the end of the NP (i.e. after possessives, relative clauses and demonstrative adjuncts).

*meŋəlu-d'ara*    *ke*     $\emptyset$     *noo*    *ŋa*  
happy            PART    ABS    3sg.    COM

*hiŋa*    *noo*            *he*            *hari-hari*  
friend    POSS3sg.    DEM1pl.    all

'He is happy with all his friends.'

*ta*            *pe-məhu*                    *ke*     $\emptyset$   
NON-PAST    CAUS-go outside    PART    ABS

*ne*    *ana*    *do*    *kepai*    *hed'e*  
ART    child    REL    be large    DEM1pl.

*hari-hari*  
all

'All of the large children are being expelled.'

### 4.7.2 *hari* 'all (with specified number)'

The *hari* construction specifies the number of a referent quantified by *hari* 'all'. The construction is as follows:

*hari* (do) Numeral (Counter)  
As the function of *do* here is unlike that of REL (8.6.2) or STAT (7.1), I shall refer to it as a Ligature (LIG). Like Counters, the presence or absence of *do* is to some degree predictable according to the referent of the head noun (see also 8.3.2.5). *do* is:

(1) obligatory with human referents

*pedoa*         $\emptyset$         *ne*    *hiəmu*    *hari*    *do*  
call(pl.)    ABS    ART    spouse    all    LIG

*pidu*    *dou*  
seven    COUNT

'Call all seven wives.'

(2) optional with non-human animates

The examples below are taken from the same text, and refer to the same (animal) referent. *do* is present in the first example, and absent from the second.

*maŋa*    *ke*         $\emptyset$         *roo*    *hari*    *do*    *d'ue*  
play    PART    ABS    3pl.    all    LIG    two

'They are both playing.'

*maŋa-maŋa*     $\emptyset$         *roo*    *hari*    *d'ue*  
play-RED    ABS    3pl.    all    two

'They both play a lot.'

(3) absent with inanimates (including body parts)

*hari*    *d'ue*    *laa*  
all    two    COUNT

'Both (hands).'

(This is a text example in which the NP head has been deleted because readily identifiable by the context. *laa* is the counter for 'hands, etc.')

The distribution of the *hari* construction parallels that of *hari-hari*.

(a) It is like *hari-hari* in that it can precede or follow the head noun, but unlike it in that it almost always follows.

(b) Like *hari-hari*, when it precedes the head noun it also precedes the common article *ne*, if present.

*pedoa*        *ke*         $\emptyset$         *hari*    *do*    *d'ue*  
coll(pl.)    PART    ABS    all    LIG    two

*ne*    *ana*    *mone*                    *ari*  
ART    child    male person    younger sibling

*ŋa*    *ana*    *mone*                    *a'a*  
AND    child    male person    older sibling

*hed'e*  
DEM2pl.

'(They) are calling the younger brother and older brother.'

(c) Like *hari-hari*, when it follows the head noun, it occurs at the end of the NP (i.e. it is known to occur after possessives and demonstrative adjuncts).

*pake ri ubu naba ∅ ne hiəmu*  
took ERG Ubu Naba ABS ART spouse

*duae he hari do pidu dou*  
king DEM1pl. all LIG seven COUNT

'Ubu Naba took all seven of the king's wives.'

#### 4.7.3 Other

The only other candidates for Non-numeral Quantifiers are *had'e* and *heŋaa-ŋaa* both meaning 'few, several'. Both were elicited as part of a wordlist, and do not appear again in my data. Wijngaarden (1896:29) includes *had'e* 'sommigen' (= 'some') in his list, but does not mention *heŋaa-ŋaa*.

#### 4.8 Noun phrase conjunction

Noun phrases are conjoined by placing *ŋa* 'AND' between the two NPs.

*era ∅ keb'ao ŋa wawi pa ni*  
be ABS buffalo AND pig LOC DEM4sg.

'There are buffalo and pigs over there.'

#### 4.9 Compounding

4.9.1 *wo-* (PROD) is the bound form of *wue* 'fruit, produce'. When compounded with a root which has a botanical referent, *wo-* indicates the produce of that item. e.g.

*pau wo-pau*  
mango tree PROD-mango tree  
'mango fruit'

*menila wo-menila*  
peanut plant PROD-peanut plant  
'peanut'

With non-botanical referents, *wo-* represents (a) a part (produce?) of a larger part. e.g.

*lahalae wo-lahalae*  
expanse of sand, beach PROD-expanse of sand  
'grain(s) of sand'

*rai wo-rai*  
earth, land PROD-earth, land  
'grain(s) of earth'

(b) a fruit-like or produce-like shape. e.g.

*(wo-)juli 'clam'*  
*(wo-)kepui 'shellfish, scallop'*  
In these two examples *wo-* is optional, while in others - all body parts - it has fossilised.  
*wodilu 'ear'*  
*wodəto 'heel'*  
*wopəkəlae 'ankle'*  
*wowua 'kidney'*

4.9.2 *ru-* and *ro-* are the bound forms of *rou* 'leaf', 'hair', 'feather', 'blade (of grass)'. *ru-* is more common than *ro-*. e.g.

*mu'u ro-mu'u*  
banana tree leaf-banana tree  
'banana leaf'  
*kətu ru-kətu*  
head hair-head  
'head-hair'  
*əla ru-əla*  
wing feather-wing  
'feathered wing'

#### 4.10 Nominalisation

A Sawu nominalised clause is one which is the head of a Noun Phrase (see also 8.18.1). In the example below it is underlined.

*mate ∅ ne dəka j'aa ti*  
wait(sg.) ABS ART come POSS1sg. SCE

*d'oka* *ri ou*  
plantation ERG 2sg.

'You wait for my return from the plantation.'

#### 4.11 Nominal reduplication (RED)

Nominal reduplication indicates plural and perhaps also variety. In the text example below, plural is certainly conveyed by the Indonesian translation *kepala-kepala* 'heads'. At the same time a 'variety' interpretation (e.g. 'various heads of government') is not unreasonable.

*i'a d'o ∅, j'aa lolo-lii ŋa*  
CAN NEG ABS 1sg. converse COM

*dou kətu-kətu pa kota*  
person head-RED LOC Kupang

'I can not converse with the (various) heads (of government) in Kupang.'

\* \* \*

## VERBS

## 5.1 A-verbs and B-verbs

In the discussion below (5.1. to 5.3.) reference is made to Sawu A-verbs and B-verbs. This distinction is made primarily on semantic grounds. A-verbs can be described as Action verbs (i.e. they indicate that something is being done). B-verbs are non-Action verbs (they describe states - that which is - and processes - that which is coming to be). Formal support is provided by the past-completive which only occurs with A-verbs.

## 5.2 Verb morphology

Sawu has very little verb morphology. It is restricted to verb agreement, causative prefix *pe-*, reciprocal prefix *pe-* and reduplication.

## 5.2.1 Verb agreement

## 5.2.1.1 Description

There is a class of Sawu verbs (nearly all of which are transitive) which have two forms: 'singular' and 'plural'. (Some speakers use both forms indiscriminately, perhaps due to the influence of Indonesian which does not make this distinction.) With most of these verbs, agreement is with the Absolutive NP, but a few like *keb'ali* 'ask' (which have a quotation as Absolutive) agree with the Goal Animate.

The plural form is regarded as unmarked for the following reasons:

- (a) The plural form agrees with plural, generic and mass NPs, while the singular can only agree with singular NPs.  
 (b) Only the plural form is used as a nominal.

*uj'u* 'tie up (pl.); bundle'  
*uj'e* 'tie up (sg.)'  
*ŋa'a* 'eat (pl.); food'  
*ŋa'e* 'eat (sg.)'

(c) The final vowels *-i*, *-a* and *-u* of plural forms regularly reflect the *\*i*, *\*a* and *\*u* reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian. It is therefore assumed that *-i*, *-a* and *-u* are historically prior, and that *e* and *o* are later developments consistent with a commonly attested Austronesian pattern (see Reid 1973, Dahl 1973:14).

(d) The phonological shape of the singular forms can be predicted from the plural forms as follows:

(1) If the plural form ends in  $\alpha(C)u$  (where  $\alpha$  = any vowel except *u*, and C = any consonant), the singular form will end in *-o*.

*təb'u* (pl.) 'pierce, stab'  
*təb'o* (sg.)  
*hiu* (pl.) '(to) tear'  
*hio* (sg.)  
*ked'agu* (pl.) 'hold'  
*ked'ago* (sg.)

(2) All other singular forms end in *-e*. (See Appendix B which lists all known Agreement Verbs.)

*b'uju* (pl.) 'touch, feel'  
*b'uje* (sg.)  
*hib'i* (pl.) 'bite'  
*hib'e* (sg.)  
*hero'o* (pl.) 'carry on arm'  
*hero'e* (sg.)  
*ñəka* (pl.) 'push forward'  
*ñəke* (sg.)

However, if the plural form ends in HCa (where H = high vowel *i*, *u*, then the singular will end in M<sub>C</sub>e (where M = mid vowel *e*, *o*) respectively.

*hib'a* (pl.) 'splash'  
*heb'e* (sg.)  
*peluja* (pl.) 'take care of'  
*peloje* (sg.)

The function of Agreement Verbs in clauses is exemplified below.

*əgu*, *əgo* 'fetch, take, carry'

*əgu*                     $\emptyset$     *ei-loko*                    *ri*    *ou*  
 fetch(pl.)    ABS    liquid-river    ERG    2sg.

'You fetch fresh-water!'

*əgu*                    *ri*    *noo*     $\emptyset$     *wo-kerəb'o*  
 fetch(pl.)    ERG    3sg.    ABS    PROD-pumpkin

*d'ue*    *b'ue*  
 two    COUNT(pl.)

'He fetched two pumpkins.'

*əgo*                    *ri*    *roo*     $\emptyset$     *ei-məñi*  
 fetch(sg.)    ERG    3pl.    ABS    liquid-oil

*wo-rai*                    *he-boto*  
 PROD-earth    one-COUNT

'They fetched a bottle of kerosine.'

*əgu* agrees with the mass Absolutive noun 'fresh water', and with the plural Absolutive 'pumpkins'. *əgo* agrees with the singular Absolutive noun 'a bottle of kerosine'.

*ila*, *ele* 'disappear'

*ila*                                    *ke*     $\emptyset$     *ne*    *ki'i*  
 disappear(pl.)    PART    ABS    ART    goat

*he*  
 DEM1pl.

'The goats disappeared.'

*ta* *ele*  $\emptyset$  *noo*  
NON-PAST disappear(sg.) ABS 3sg.

*raiti* *rai-wawa* *d'e*  
SCE earth-below DEM2sg.

'He will disappear from this earth.'

Intransitive *ila* agrees with the plural Absolutive NP 'goats', while *ele* agrees with the Absolutive third person singular pronoun.

*keb'ali*, *keb'ale* 'ask'

*ta* *keb'ali* *ke* *ri* *duae* *pa*  
NON-PAST ask(pl.) PART ERG king GA

*dou* *he*  $\emptyset$  "ta *kako*  
person DEM1pl. ABS NON-PAST go

*la* *mi*  $\emptyset$  *muu?*"  
GFS WHERE ABS 2pl.

'The king asks the people, "Where are you going?"'

*ta* *keb'ale* *ke* *ri* *dou*  
NON-PAST ask(sg.) PART ERG person

*he* *pa* *noo*  $\emptyset$  "naduu *duae*  
DEM1pl. GA 3sg. ABS WHO king

*pa* *d'e?*"  
LOC DEM2sg.

'The people ask him, "Who is the king here?"'

*keb'ali* agrees with the plural Goal Animate NP 'people', while *keb'ale* agrees with the Goal Animate third person singular pronoun.

#### 5.2.1.2 Other interpretations

My data does not support Lee's view (MS) that the singular/plural forms represent the Passive/Active distinction. In my view, the latter is not identifiable in Sawu (see 7.20).

Jonker's view is closer to my own. In a 1919 article (p.713), he states that the unmarked form is used when "het object onbepaald of wel bepaald doch meervoudig is" (i.e. when the object is indefinite, or is definite and plural), while the marked form is used when "het bepaald en enkelvoudig is" (i.e. when it is definite and singular). My description differs in that definiteness or indefiniteness is not considered a relevant factor, and that with some verbs agreement is with the Goal Animate. Note that Deictic Verbs represent another kind of Agreement Verb with plural *h-* and singular *n-* (see 5.4.1).

#### 5.2.2 Causative (CAUS) *pe-*

##### 5.2.2.1 Description

Causative *pe-* can be prefixed to transi-

itive and intransitive verbs. It acts as a transitiviser when prefixed to intransitive verbs, and it is with these and the transitive perception verb *ηədi* 'see' that the description 'causative' is most appropriate. However, with optional transitives *ηa'a* 'eat' and *ηinu* 'drink', *pe-ηa'a* and *pe-ηinu* do not mean 'cause to eat' and 'cause to drink', but rather 'give to eat' and 'give to drink'.

*toto* 'be full' *puru* 'descend'  
*pe-tobo* 'make full' *pe-puru* 'lower'  
CAUS-be full CAUS-descend

*ηədi* 'see' *ηa'a* 'eat'  
*pe-ηədi* 'show' *pe-ηa'a* 'give to eat'  
CAUS-see CAUS-eat

*ηinu* 'drink'  
*pe-ηinu* 'give to drink'  
CAUS-drink

#### 5.2.2.2 Other interpretations

Only Jonker (1904:287) appears to be aware of Causative *pe-*. I can find no mention of it in Lee (MS), Kern (1892) or Wijngaarden (1896).

#### 5.2.3 Reciprocal (REC) *pe-*

##### 5.2.3.1 Description

Reciprocal *pe-* is prefixed to transitive and intransitive verbs. The resultant reciprocal verb is intransitive (i.e. never takes an ERG NP) and the plural form of an agreement verb is obligatory.

*ta* *təb'o*  $\emptyset$  *noo* *ri* *noo*  
NON-PAST stab(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG 3sg.

*ri* *tud'i*  
INST knife

'He is stabbing him with a knife.'

*ta* *pe-təb'u*  $\emptyset$  *roo* *ri*  
NON-PAST REC-stab(pl.) ABS 3pl. INST

*tud'i*  
knife

'They are stabbing each other with knives.'

*ta* *pe-ηa'a*  $\emptyset$  *ne* *ana*  
NON-PAST CAUS-eat ABS ART child

*ne* *ri* *noo*  
DEM1sg. ERG 3sg.

'He is feeding the child.'

*ta* *pe-pe-ηa'a*  $\emptyset$  *ne*  
NON-PAST REC-CAUS-eat(pl.) ABS ART

*ana* *he*  
child DEM1pl.

'The children are feeding each other.'

ta hiana ∅ noo na  
NON-PAST be friends ABS 3sg. COM

noo  
3sg.

'He is becoming friends with her.'

ta pe-hiana ∅ roo  
NON-PAST REC-be friends ABS 3pl.

'They are becoming friends.'

ta lii ∅ j'aa pa noo ∅  
NON-PAST say ERG lsg. GA 3sg. ABS

"oo"  
YES

'I will say to him, "Yes".'

ta pe-lii ke ∅ j'ii  
NON-PAST REC-say PART ABS lpl.excl.

nəb'o  
later

'We will talk together later.'

d'ida 'be high'  
d'ida-d'ida 'be very high'  
be high-RED

b'əku 'be rotten'  
b'əku-b'əku 'be very rotten'  
be rotten-RED

With other B-verb roots, the reduplicated form has a non-intensive adverbial function to another verb.

ie 'be good'  
kako ie-ie 'go carefully, go well'  
go be good-RED

### 5.3 Existential verb *era*

The Sawu verb *era* simply indicates that its indefinite ABS referent exists. (Note that negative existentials include *pi'a-d'o*, *pe'e-d'o*, *b'ule-d'o*, but never *era d'o*.)

era ∅ deo  
exist ABS god

'There is a god.'

era ∅ wawi pa rai hawu  
exist ABS pig LOC island Sawu

'There are pigs on Sawu island.'

### 5.2.3.2 Other interpretations

Only Jonker (1904:287) appears to be aware of Reciprocal *pe-*. Like Causative *pe-*, I can find no mention of it in Lee (MS), Kern (1892) or Wijngaarden (1896).

### 5.2.4 Verbal reduplication

#### 5.2.4.0 Introduction

The form of Sawu reduplication is the repetition (after the root) of the last two syllables of a root. It has different functions according to whether the verb is an A-verb or a B-verb.

In the examples below, the two parts of the reduplication are separated by a hyphen. The English translation appears next to the first part, and RED next to the second.

#### 5.2.4.1 A-verbs

Reduplication of an A-verb root indicates repetitive or continuous action.

wəbe 'hit'  
wəbe-wəbe 'hit again and again'  
hit(sg.)-RED

pedute 'follow'  
pedute-dute 'keep on following'  
follow(sg.)-RED

#### 5.2.4.2 B-verbs

With some B-verb roots, reduplication has an intensive function.

### 5.4 Deictic verbs

#### 5.4.1 Description

Deictic verbs have intransitive case frames with obligatory ABS NP and optional LOC. They indicate:  
(1) the spatial proximity of the ABS NP with respect to the speaker (and the addressee?)  
(2) present tense  
They differ from other verbs in that they are deictic, and from other Agreement Verbs (see 5.2.1.1) in that the singular and plural distinction is not made in the final vowel, but in the initial consonant. The presence of *n* indicates agreement with a singular ERG NP or intransitive ABS NP, and *h* with a plural. See also the demonstratives (4.2) which distinguish singular and plural in this manner.

Table 7: Deictic verbs

Singular	Plural	
<i>nee</i>	<i>hee</i>	(1) be near the speaker (2) present
<i>nei</i>	<i>hei</i>	(1) be distant from the speaker (2) present
<i>nəne</i>	<i>həre</i>	(1) near the addressee (2) present

As *nəne* and *həre* both indicate proximity to the addressee when used as nouns, or adjuncts to nouns it is suggestive that this is (or was) also their function here.

(1) *nee* ∅ *noo* *pa* *d'əmu*  
be here(sg.) ABS 3sg. LOC loft  
'He is here in the loft (where I am).'



- (2) *hee*  $\emptyset$  *muu pa .əmu* *ei-loko ko  $\emptyset$  ne dou*  
 be here(pl.) ABS 2pl. LOC house liquid-river PART ABS ART person  
 -water  
 'Are you here in the house?'
- (3) *nei*  $\emptyset$  *noo la j'iu-ei* *do hape  $\emptyset$  j'aa*  
 be there(sg.) ABS 3sg. DFS bathe REL carry ABS 1sg.  
 'He is some distance away going to bathe.'
- (4) *do hei pa ni  $\emptyset$*   
 STAT be there(pl.) LOC DEM4sg. ABS  
 (1) "There is a key on top of this iron cage. (2) You fetch it, (and) quickly open this door", (he) said. (3) "The men who carry me are close by getting a drink of water."

*roo*  
 3pl.  
 'They are there.'

- (5) (1) "*nəne ma  $\emptyset$  ne kuhi pa*  
 be(sg.) EMPH ABS ART key LOC  
*d'ida keraja b'əhi nad'e*  
 top cage iron DEM2sg.
- (2) *əgo we ri ou. boke*  
 fetch(sg.) PART ERG 2sg. open(sg.)  
*məriai  $\emptyset$  ne kelae d'e"*  
 quickly ABS ART door DEM2sg.  
*mi he ane*  
 LIKE DEM1pl. say
- (3) *do həre la ŋinu  $\emptyset$*   
 STAT be(pl.) DFS drink ABS

In 5(1) it could be argued that *nəne* represents 'near the addressee'. The speaker is inside the locked cage without a key, while the addressee is outside with access to the key at the top. In 5(3) *həre* refers to the men who had gone to get a drink at a nearby house. The context indicates that the men were not in sight at the time of the utterance which suggests that *hei* 'be distant from the speaker (and addressee?)' would be more appropriate. However, it is also arguable that the speaker uses *həre* here to suggest that the men are close to the addressee in order to encourage his haste in opening the cage.

#### 5.4.2 Other interpretations

Lee (MS), Kern (1892), Jonker (MSs, 1904, 1914) and Wijngaarden (1896) are aware of the present tense function of some of the Deictic verbs, but to my knowledge none mention their deictic function.

\* \* \*

## EXCESSIVE ADVERBS (EXCESS)

Excessive adverbs (EXCESS) indicate that the action or the quality of the state of the verb is in excess of the norm. They follow the verb they modify and only particle *ke* can intervene.

With A-verbs (5.1) reduplication of the verb root is the most common method of expressing multiplicity of action (see 5.2.4.1). There are, however, a few verbs which take postposed reduplicated adverbs to perform the same function.

*uj'e kerəde-rəde*  
tie(sg.) EXCESS

'tie many times'

With some B-verbs (5.1), excess (or 'intensity') is expressed by reduplication of the verb root (5.2.4.2). With others, it is indicated by an adverb as in Table 8 below.

Table 8: Excessive adverbs

B-verb	Adverb	
1. <i>pana</i>	<i>(pe)tuu-tuu</i>	'really hot'
2. <i>wo-ie</i>	<i>təra-təra</i>	'really good'
3. <i>mədi</i>	<i>guru-guru</i>	'very black'
4. <i>kerəba</i>	<i>guru-guru</i>	'very dark'
5. <i>mea</i>	<i>gou-gou</i>	'very red'
6. <i>pudi</i>	<i>gari-gari</i>	'very white'
7. <i>kelara</i>	<i>mu'a-mu'a</i>	'very yellow'
8. <i>mira</i>	<i>jod'e-jod'e</i>	'very flat'
9. <i>mejəni</i>	<i>duru-duru</i>	'very heavy'
10. <i>məku</i>	<i>eb'o-eb'o</i>	'very soft'
11. <i>nəta</i>	<i>kee-kee</i>	'very sweet'
12. <i>meriŋi</i>	<i>b'ei-b'ei</i>	'very cold'
13. <i>marə</i>	<i>huu-huu</i>	'very tired'

14. <i>mae</i>	<i>tei-tei</i>	'very crushed'
15. <i>kaja</i>	<i>kete'e</i>	'very rich'
16. <i>kehia</i>	<i>gehara</i>	'very poor'
17. <i>kehii</i>	<i>kejid'o</i>	'very quiet'
18. <i>mou</i>	<i>megala</i>	'very clear'
19. <i>bəj'i</i>	<i>luu</i>	'sound asleep'
20. <i>laha</i>	<i>məriai</i>	'very fast'

Adverbs *(pe)tuu-tuu* and *təra-təra* can modify most, if not all, B-verbs, while *guru-guru* can qualify at least two (i.e. *mədi* 'black', *kerəba* 'dark'). Every other excessive adverb in Table 8 is restricted to one verb (i.e. *b'ei-b'ei* only qualifies *meriŋi* 'cold', and *huu-huu* only *marə* 'tired').

*təra-təra* and *(pe)tuu-tuu* are reduplicated forms of the B-verb roots *təra* and *petuu* which both mean 'true, real'. The latter is probably a borrowing of Malay *betul* 'true, real' particularly since the reduplicated form is occasionally *petuu-petuu*.

Some of the unreduplicated adverbs in Table 8 also function as B-verbs which are semantically similar to the verbs they modify. Both *kehia* and *gehara* mean 'poor', *mou* and *megala* 'clear', and *laha* and *məriai* 'fast'. *bəj'i* means 'sleep', while *luu* means 'unconscious'. It is also clear that one of the reduplicated adverbs *kee-kee* modifying *nəta* 'sweet' is related to Ndao verb *kee* 'sweet' which, interestingly enough, has an Excessive Adverb *nəta*. This suggests that there was once a (more?) productive system of semantic reduplication with some B-verbs analagous to the formal reduplication found with other verbs.

\* \* \*

## PARTICLES (PART)

7.1 Stative (STAT) *do*

## 7.1.1 Description

Stative particle *do* always precedes the verb root. Only Non-past *ta* and Negative Particle *d'o* (NEG) can intervene between *do* and the verb, but not in the same clause. The three possibilities are (1) *do* Verb, (2) *do ta* Verb, or (3) *do d'o* Verb.

When *do* precedes a B-verb (see 5.1), it unambiguously describes a state.

## Intransitive

*do*    *pəd'a*     $\emptyset$     *ne*    *hiəmu*    *j'aa*  
STAT   be sick   ABS   ART   spouse   POSS1sg.

'My spouse is sick.'

## Transitive

*do*    *toi*    *ri*    *duae*    *ta*    *dou*  
STAT   know   ERG   king   COMPL   person

*do*    *tao*     $\emptyset$     *napune*    *ne*    *hiana*  
REL   do    ABS   DEM1sg.   ART   friend

*noo*  
POSS3sg.

'The king knows that the person who does this is his friend.'

When *do* immediately precedes an A-verb (see 5.1), or immediately precedes a NEG which is immediately followed by an A-verb, it describes either:

(1) a present state which, because of the nature of the verb, is the result of a past action. It appears to be like Comrie's (1976:52) description of the perfect which (a) "indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation", and (b) "expresses a relation between two time points, on the one hand the time of the state resulting from a prior situation and on the other the time of the prior situation." In my view, however, *do* should not be described as a perfect. While it clearly describes a present state, its relation to a past event is incidental.

## Intransitive

*do*    *perai*     $\emptyset$     *ubu*    *naba*  
STAT   flee    ABS   Ubu   Naba

'Ubu Naba has fled' (i.e. Ubu Naba is still at large)

## Transitive

*do*    *helote*    *ri*    *bəla*    *dilu*     $\emptyset$   
STAT   lock(sg.)   ERG   Bəla   Dilu   ABS

*ne*    *kelae*    *ne*    *raiti*    *tele*  
ART   door    DEM1sg.   SCE   outside

'Bəla Dilu has locked the door from the

outside.' (i.e. the door is still locked)

(2) an action which is habitual, customary, usual, or generic (i.e. an action which is stative-like).

## Habitual, customary, usual

*do*    *lii*     $\emptyset$     *dii*     $\emptyset$     *ta*  
STAT   say   ERG   1pl.(incl.)   ABS   COMPL

*do*    *made-made*    *he*     $\emptyset$     *ne*    *dou*  
STAT   be dead-RED   PART   ABS   ART   person

*he*  
DEM1pl.

'We have always said that they are well and truly dead.'

## Generic

$\emptyset$     *keb'ao*    *do*    *keoa*  
ABS   buffalo   STAT   bellow

'Buffaloes bellow.'

$\emptyset$     *keb'ao*    *do*    *ŋa'a*     $\emptyset$     *ruj'u'u*  
ERG   buffalo   STAT   eat    ABS   grass

'Buffaloes eat grass.'

When *do* immediately precedes non-past *ta*, it describes an action which is certain to take place.

*kiŋa*    *wiki*    *ta*    *hou*     $\emptyset$     *ei-tele*  
IF    TRY    NON-PAST   pass   ABS   urine

*do*    *ta*    *loro*    *pa*    *koko*  
STAT   NON-PAST   cut off   LOC   neck

*he*     $\emptyset$     *j'ii*    *ri*    *ubu*    *naba*  
DEM1pl.   ABS   1pl.(excl.)   ERG   Ubu   Naba

'If we try to pass urine, Ubu Naba will certainly behead us.'

## 7.1.2 Other interpretations

Jonker (MS) is in partial agreement with my own view. He describes *do* as fulfilling perfect and durative functions. While durative approximates one of the functions of *do* which I have outlined for A-verbs, I do not accept perfect for reasons outlined above. He does not discuss the use of *do* with B-verbs.

Lee (MS) adopts a position which has little agreement with my perception of *do*. She suggests that *do* "in a clause" may have a similar function to the Relator *do* of a Modifier Phrase, and may therefore mean "(is) the one who" ... thus emphasising the subject." She also claims that "*do* in some cases serves as a copula in a stative clause." I attribute these remarks to insufficient data.

Neither Kern nor Wijngaarden discuss 'stative' *do*.

## 7.2 Past-completive (PAST) *əla ... pe-*

### 7.2.1 Description

The Past-completive is a discontinuous morpheme, *əla ... pe-*, which indicates that an action had its completion in the past. In my data, only the particle *ke* and an ERG or ABS NP can intervene between *əla* and *pe-* which is prefixed to the verb. However, a Jonker text example (1904:287) *ta əla le pe-kəj'i* 'after (the rice) has also been pounded' suggests that the particle *le* should also be included.

*əle*            *ke*         $\emptyset$         *j'aa*    *pe-pelue*  
PAST(sg.)    PART    ABS    1sg.    PAST-deceive

*ri*    *ubu*    *naba*    *ta*                    *maho*    *ma*  
ERG    Ubu    Naba    NON-PAST    enter    GTS

*d'ara*    *keraja*    *b'əhi*    *nad'e*  
inside    cage        iron        DEM2sg.

'I was deceived by Ubu Naba to come inside this iron cage.' (i.e. the speaker was deceived, but is no longer deceived)

*əla*             $\emptyset$         *ma*    *bura*    *tohi*  
PAST(pl.)    ERG    Mr    Bura    Tohi

*pe-kehəb'a*     $\emptyset$         *b'ada*,    *wie*    *d'o*  
PAST-butcher    ABS    animal    give    NEG

*ri*    *ma*    *hab'a*    *maru*     $\emptyset$         *ne*    *ɲaa-ɲaa*.  
ERG    Mr    Hab'a    Maru    ABS    ART    anything

'Mr Bura Tohi finished butchering the animals but Mr Hab'a Maru did not give (him) anything (for it).'

The Past-completive is clearly related to the verb *əla*, *əle* 'finish, complete'. This verb and the tense-aspect both vary according to the plurality, etc. of the Absolute. In the two examples above, *əle ... pe-* agrees with the singular Absolute pronoun *j'aa*, while *la ... pe-* agrees with the plural Absolute *b'ada* 'animals'.

The origin and function of *pe-* is uncertain. It may have something to do with Uma Jaman *pə* which "appears to (redundantly) indicate completed action" - because it is preceded by *aw* 'already' (Blust 1977:62 - Uma Jaman is an AN language of Borneo). Capell (1976:545) assumes it to be the Sawu causative marker *pe-*. He gives no reason for this view, and I can find none to support it. As the primary function of causative *pe-* is to derive a transitive verb from an intransitive verb, the putative causative function of *pe-* in *əla ... pe-* is clearly redundant when it occurs with derived transitive verbs (as *pe-mou* in the example below).

*əla*            *pe-pe-mou*                     $\emptyset$   
PAST(pl.)    PAST-CAUS-clean(pl.)    ABS

*ne*    *dudu*    *nahəre*    *ta*                    *əgu*  
ART    thorn    DEM3pl.    NON-PAST    take(pl.)

*ke*    *la*    *əmu*    *la*    *nono*    *pa*    *pana*  
PART    GFS    house    DFS    dry    LOC    warmth

*lod'o*.  
sun

'Having finished removing the thorns, they take (the pandanus leaves) to the house (and) dry (them) in the heat of the sun.'

### 7.2.2 Other interpretations

Lee (MS) and I share the view that *əla ... pe-* conveys both past tense and completed action.

I do not accept Jonker's view (1904:287) that *əla ... pe-* marks perfect aspect, because I do not believe that *əla ... pe-* "expresses a relation between present state and past situation" (Comrie 1976:53). It simply indicates that an action or process was completed in the past.

For similar reasons, I reject Kern's (1892:127) claim that the perfect and pluperfect are characterised by *əla* and *əla ke*. He does not mention the *pe-* prefix.

In Capell's view (1976:545), "the completive particle *əla* requires the following verb to assume the causative form". I accept the completive interpretation, but have yet to be convinced that *pe-* is a causative form in this context (see 7.2.1).

## 7.3 Non-past *ta*

### 7.3.1 Description

Non-past *ta* occurs with A-verbs and B-verbs, and indicates present continuous or future tense with the implication that the action or process is incomplete. This interpretation assumes that the frequent occurrence of *ta* in narrative indicates that it functions as a historic or narrative present. It always precedes the verb, and only DFS *la* (7.4) or DTS *ma* (7.5) can intervene.

B-verb

*ta*                    *kemaŋu*     $\emptyset$         *ne*    *ei*        *ne*  
NON-PAST    be dry    ABS    ART    sarong    DEM1sg.

'The sarong is { drying  
beginning to dry  
will dry }

A-verb

*ta*                    *d'are*                    *ke*     $\emptyset$         *ne*  
NON-PAST    sharpen(sg.)    PART    ABS    ART

*wela-hule*    *ri*    *noo*  
machete    ERG    3sg.

'He { begins to sharpen  
is sharpening  
will sharpen } a machete.'

### 7.3.2 Other interpretations

Both Jonker (1919:712-13) and Capell

(1975:676; 1976:545) regard *ta* as a particle which identifies the morpheme it immediately precedes as a verb. In my view, while *ta* often does signal a following verb, it is not a necessary, or an only factor in determining whether a certain part of an utterance is a verb (3.2). Moreover, it seems that Jonker and Capell fail to recognise the existence of complementiser *ta* (8.18.1) and case preposition *ta* (4.4) which clearly do not identify verbs.

Kern's view (1892:166) is different again. He claims that *ta* can be future, or it can indicate "dat iemand of iets in zekeren toestand gekomen is" (i.e. that someone or something has come into a certain state of affairs). I agree with the first part, but not with the second (see 7.3.1).

Lee (MS) and Wijngaarden (1896:101) share a view which approximates my own. According to Lee, *ta* "implies a future action or one that has not been completed or fulfilled". In similar fashion, Wijngaarden translates *ta* by "zullen" 'shall, will', and writes that *ta* "geeft te kennen een komen in een toestand" (i.e. tells us that something or someone is coming into a certain state of affairs).

In fairness to Capell, he does mention the possibility that *ta* "may mark a future" (1976:545).

#### 7.4 Direction from speaker (DFS) *la*

##### 7.4.1 Description

DFS preposition *la* occurs immediately before the verb. It indicates that the ERG referent or the intransitive ABS referent of this verb moves away from a position which it occupies immediately prior to the action, process or state of this verb. As this referent is either the speaker or the one(s) "from whose spatial viewpoint a story is being told" (Grimes 1975:61), it seems appropriate to refer to this *la* as Direction From Speaker (DFS).

*ta*            *kəd'i*    *ke*         $\emptyset$         *noo*,    *j'e*  
NON-PAST    get up    PART    ABS    3sg.    THEN

*la*    *heŋəd'u*    *he-dou*        *he-dou*  
DFS    kiss(pl.)    one-person    one-person

$\emptyset$     *ne*    *hiəmu*    *duae*  
ABS    ART    spouse    king

'He gets up, then goes (away from this position) and kisses the king's wives one by one.'

##### 7.4.2 Other interpretations

Lee, Kern and Wijngaarden ascribe a purposive function to pre-verbal *la*. Lee (MS) describes "*la* 'to'" as the "Relator" of a "Reason Phrase" as in *la kəpa nadu'u* below.

*ta*            *kako*    *la*        *kəpa*     $\emptyset$         *nadu'u*  
NON-PAST    go        "to"    catch    ABS    fish

$\emptyset$     *noo*  
ERG    3sg.

'He goes to catch fish.'

In similar fashion, Kern (1892:532) and Wijngaarden (1896:60,61) translate pre-verbal *la* as 'to', 'in order to'. These descriptions are inadequate because:

(1) They fail to recognise that *la* can only be used when the ERG or intransitive ABS referent of the verb moves away from a position which it occupies immediately prior to the action, process or state of the verb.

(2) There is no evidence in my data that *la* has a purposive function. Purpose is usually indicated by a *mi* or *ŋi* purposive clause (8.9).

Jonker's (1904:286) view approximates my own in this regard. He describes *la*'s function as direction away from the speaker, and often translates it by "gaan" 'to go'.

#### 7.5 Direction towards speaker (DTS) *ma*

##### 7.5.1 Description

DTS preposition *ma* occurs immediately before the verb. It indicates that prior to the action, process or state of this verb, the ERG referent or the intransitive ABS referent of this verb moves towards the position it occupies for the action, process or state of this verb. As this referent is either the speaker or the one(s) "from whose spatial viewpoint a story is being told" (Grimes 1975:61), it seems appropriate to refer to this *ma* as Direction Towards Speaker (DTS).

*pejuu*            *ri*        *duae*     $\emptyset$         *j'ii*  
order(pl.)    ERG    king    ABS    pl.(excl.)

*ta*                *ma*        *po'e*            *ma*        *kelaga-rai*  
NON-PAST    DTS    defecate    GTS    verandah

*əmu*        *ubu*    *naba*  
house    Ubu    Naba

'The king ordered us to come here and defecate on(to) the verandah of Ubu Naba's house.'

(The textual context makes it clear that the speaker and his accomplices are standing near or sitting on the verandah of Ubu Naba's house.)

##### 7.5.2 Other interpretations

Both Kern (1892:535) and Wijngaarden (1896:60,61) ascribe a purposive function to pre-verbal *ma*. I do not accept this view because:

(1) Kern fails to recognise that *ma* can only be used when prior to the action, process or state of the verb, the ERG or intransitive ABS referent of this verb moves towards the position it occupies for the action, process or state of this verb.

(2) There is no evidence in my data that *ma* has a purposive function. Purpose is usually indicated by a *mi* or *ŋi* purposive clause (8.9). Wijngaarden (1896:70) does also, however, attribute a directional function to pre-verbal *ma* which I can accept. He translates it by "herwaarts" 'hither' which approximates my 'direction towards speaker'.

But Jonker (1904:286) is closest to my own view. He describes pre-verbal *ma* as the

reverse of *la* (i.e. 'direction towards the speaker' and often translated by "komen" 'to come').

Lee (MS) does not seem to be aware of pre-verbal *ma*.

## 7.6 *hudi* 'LITTLE'

*hudi* refers to a small measure of temporal or non-temporal quantity. It always follows the verb. Only Particles *ko* (7.8) and *we* (7.13) are known to intervene.

### Temporal quantity

*ta*            *tui*                            *hudi*,  
NON-PAST   be length of time   LITTLE

*ta*            *ŋa'a*   *ke*     $\emptyset$     *roo*  
NON-PAST   eat    PART   ABS   3pl.

'A brief period of time passes, (and) they eat.'

*mata*            *ko*            *we*            *hudi*.    *ta*  
wait(pl.)   PART   JUST   LITTLE   NON-PAST

*d'are*                     $\emptyset$             *wela*            *ko*             $\emptyset$   
SHARPEN(sg.)   ABS   machete   PART   ERG

*j'aa*  
1sg.

'Wait just a minute! I am going to sharpen a machete.'

### Non-temporal quantity

*ina*            *j'aa*                    *do*            *melaka*,    *haku*  
mother   POSS1sg.   REL   thin            RESULT

*nara*   *hudi*    *we*     $\emptyset$     *j'aa*    $\emptyset$     *ne*  
get   LITTLE   PART   ERG   1sg.   ABS   ART

*doi*    *d'e*.  
money   DEM2sg.

'My mother was a thin person, so I only got a small amount of money.' (The speaker is claiming that he obtained his money by selling his mother.)

## 7.7 *de*

*de* indicates 'time prior to' (i.e. a period of time before some other action, process or state). It always occurs immediately after the verb.

*ta*            *ami*    $\emptyset$             *naiki*   *he*             $\emptyset$   
NON-PAST   ask   ERG   child   DEM1pl.   ABS

*nadu'u*,   *b'ole*   *wie*    *de*.    *mate*  
fish        DON'T   give   PART   wait(sg.)

$\emptyset$     *dəka*   *j'aa*                    *ti*    *d'oka*,  
ABS   come   POSS1sg.   SCE   plantation

*j'e*    *wie*.  
THEN   give

'If these children ask for fish, don't give (it to them) prior to (my return). Wait for my return from the plantation, then (you can) give (it to them).'

*mata*            *de*  
wait(pl.)   PART

'Wait a moment!'

## 7.8 *ko*

With A-verbs, *ko* indicates 'time prior to' (i.e. a period of time before some other action, process or state). With B-verbs, it is possible that it means 'the unexpected continuation of a state'. *ko* always follows the verb, and an NP or the Particle (*we*)*ri* can intervene. Apparent synonyms *ko* and *de* do not occur in the same clause.

### A-verbs

*mai*    *ko*    *we*     $\emptyset$     *dii*                    *ma*  
come   PART   PART   ABS   1pl.(incl.)   DTS

*mama*    $\emptyset$     *kenana*  
chew   ABS   betel

'Let us chew betel first.'

*mata*            *ko*  
wait(pl.)   PART

'Wait first!', 'Wait a moment!'

### B-verbs

*do*            *bəj'i*                    *ko*             $\emptyset$             *duae*  
STAT   be asleep   PART   ABS   king

'The king is still asleep.'

## 7.9 *nəb'o* 'SOON'

*nəb'o* indicates an unspecified time in the near future (i.e. 'soon'). In my data, it is always clause final.

*made*   *ke*             $\emptyset$             *noo*    *nəb'o*  
die    PART   ABS   3sg.   SOON

'He will die soon.'

*əgu*                     $\emptyset$             *hed'ai*    *raiti*    *ni*  
fetch(pl.)   ABS   meat        SCE        DEM4sg.

*ke*             $\emptyset$             *j'aa*    *nəb'o*  
PART   ERG   1sg.   SOON

'I will fetch some meat from there soon.'

## 7.10 (*wə*)*ri* 'AGAIN'

(*wə*)*ri* indicates a repetition of the action, process or state. It usually occurs immediately after the verb in either its abbreviated or unabbreviated form. Unabbreviated, it can also occur immediately after the NP following the verb.

Abbreviated *ri*  
*pəhe ri ke ø ne*  
 toss(sg.) AGAIN PART ABS ART

*wo-wue d'e ø bəla dilu*  
 PROD-bengkuak DEM2sg. ERG Bəla Dilu

*la kej'unə d'e*  
 GFS back DEM2sg.

'Again Bəla Dilu tossed the bengkuak  
 (a kind of yam?) just behind him.'

Unabbreviated *wəri*  
*ta pe-bui wəri ke*  
 NON-PAST CAUS-fall(pl.) AGAIN PART

*ø wowadu ri noo*  
 ABS stone ERG 3sg.

'He is dropping stones again.'

After ABS NP  
*ta pe'mu ø dou wəri*  
 NON-PAST order(pl.) ABS person AGAIN

*ke ø duae ta la*  
 PART ERG king NON-PAST GFS

*pedoe ø ubu naba*  
 call(sg.) ABS Ubu Naba

'The king again orders people to go and  
 call Ubu Naba.'

After ERG NP  
*keb'ali ke ri bəla dilu wəri*  
 ask(pl.) PART ERG Bəla Dilu AGAIN

*ø "d'ei ta ŋa'a ø neŋaa*  
 ABS like NON-PAST eat ABS WHAT

*ø muu?"*  
 ERG 2pl.

'Bəlu Dilu asked (them) again, "What  
 would you like to eat?"'

#### 7.11 (*he*)*we* 'JUST, ONLY, QUITE'

(*he*)*we* has a similar function to English  
 'just', 'only' and 'quite' as exemplified  
 below. In non-verbal clauses, it occurs  
 immediately after the NP it refers to. In  
 verbal clause, only particle *hudi* can in-  
 tervene between (*he*)*we* and the verb. There  
 appears to be no difference in function be-  
 tween the abbreviated (*we*) and the unabbrev-  
 iated form (*hewe*).

Non-verbal clause  
*j'aa ana hekola hewe*  
 lsg. child school JUST

'I am just a school child.'

Verbal clause  
*had'i ta pe-hiana we*  
 IF NON-PAST CAUS-be friends ONLY

*ø noo ŋa j'aa*  
 ABS 3sg. COM lsg.

'Only if he befriends me.'

*gapa hewe ø napune*  
 be simple QUITE ABS DEM1sg.

'This is quite simple.'

*i'a hudi we ø j'aa ø*  
 know LITTLE JUST ERG lsg. ABS

*lii hawu*  
 language Sawu

'I know just a little Sawu.'

#### 7.12 *ke*

*ke* is a particle of high frequency of oc-  
 currence which can occur in verbal and non-  
 verbal clauses.

In verbal clauses, it seems to add little  
 to our understanding of the action, process or  
 state of the verb, but it is known to occur in  
 declarative and interrogative clauses, but nev-  
 er in imperative (see *we* 7.13). It also oc-  
 curs with A-verbs and B-verbs.

A-verb declarative  
*ta kəd'i ke ø ubu naba*  
 NON-PAST get up PART ABS Ubu Naba

'Ubu Naba gets up.'

B-verb declarative  
*do pe-bubu ke ø ubu naba*  
 STAT REC-be angry PART ABS Ubu Naba

*ŋa duae*  
 AND king

'Ubu Naba and the king are angry with  
 each other.'

Interrogative  
*minami ke ø dii j'e*  
 HOW PART ABS lpl.(incl.) THEN

*nara pa ubu naba d'e*  
 win GA Ubu Naba DEM2sg.

'What can we do to win against this Ubu  
 Naba?'

In a verbal clause with Past-completive  
*əla ... pe* and particle *ke*, the latter must  
 occur immediately after *əla*.

*əle ke pe-əte ø*  
 PAST(sg.) PART PAST-cut off(sg.) ABS

*ne hewəŋa jara j'aa ri*  
 ART nose horse POSS1sg. ERG

*dou*  
 someone

'Someone cut off my horse's nose.'

In other verbal clauses, it occurs after the  
 verb, but an NP (usually ERG or ABS), an Ex-  
 cessive Adverb, or Particles *wəri* ('AGAIN')  
*le* (abbreviated form of *lema* 'ALSO'), *ma* (EMPH),

and *d'o* (NEG) can intervene.

ERG NP

*ta ləka ri pəd'a ke*  
NON-PAST be struck ERG sickness PART

*∅ hiəmu duae*  
ABS spouse king

'The king's wife becomes sick.'

ABS NP and *wəri*

*ta pejuu ∅ dou wəri*  
NON-PAST order(pl.) ABS person AGAIN

*ke ∅ duae ta la pedoe*  
PART ERG king NON-PAST DFS call(sg.)

*∅ ubu naba*  
ABS Ubu Naba

'The king again orders the people to go and call Ubu Naba.'

Excessive Adverb (EXCESS)

*b'ani petuu-petuu ke ∅ duae*  
be angry EXCESS PART ABS king

*ŋa ubu naba*  
COM Ubu Naba

'The king is really angry with Ubu Naba.'

*le* 'ALSO'

*ta lii le ke ∅ ubu*  
NON-PAST say ALSO PART ERG Ubu

*naba ∅ ta kako la hab'e*  
Naba ABS NON-PAST go DFS cut off

*∅ ne hewəŋa jara duae*  
ABS ART nose horse king

'Ubu Naba also says to (his servants) to go and cut off the king's horse's nose.'

*ma* EMPH

*do kerəba ma ke ∅ namada*  
STAT be dark EMPH PART ABS eye

*j'aa*  
POSS1sg.

'My eyes are dim (i.e. it is difficult to see)!'

*d'o* NEG

*ie d'o ke ∅ noo*  
be well NEG PART ABS 3sg.

'He is not well.'

*d'o* and *ma*

*o'o d'o ma ke ∅ muu*  
WANT NEG EMPH PART ABS 2pl.

'You(pl.) do not want to.'

*ke* can also be immediately postposed to non-verbals, again without any apparent change of meaning.

*lod'o nad'e ke, ta rorē*  
day DEM2sg. PART NON-PAST cut(sg.)

*∅ ne koko ou*  
ABS ART throat POSS2sg.

'Today, your throat will be cut.'

*nad'e ke ne unu-pala ou*  
DEM2sg. PART ART happiness POSS2sg.

'This is your happiness.'

7.13 *we*

*we* apparently replaces *ke* (7.12) in Imperative clauses. Particle *ko* or an ERG NP can intervene.

*əgo we ri ou ∅ ne*  
fetch(sg.) PART ERG 2sg. ABS ART

*kuhi d'e*  
key DEM2sg.

'You fetch the key!'

*ko*

*mai ko we ma pe-ie*  
come FIRST PART DTS CAUS-be well

'Come here first and heal!'

ERG

*kiŋa wae ∅ ou, mai gate*  
IF WANT ABS 2sg. come replace(sg.)

*ri j'aa we*  
ERG 1sg. PART

'If you want, let me replace you.'

7.14 *wata* EMPH

*wata* is a non-imperative emphatic particle which can precede or follow the verb it emphasises. It often occurs with, but is not as common as, emphatic particle *ma* (7.15). When they co-occur *ma* immediately follows *wata*.

*ki wata d'ei ∅ ama muu*  
IF EMPH WANT ABS father 2pl.

*ta kəd'i, kəd'i*  
NON-PAST get up get up

'If your father really wants to get up, (he will) get up.'

*ie lema wata ma ke ∅ ne*  
good ALSO EMPH EMPH PART ABS ART

*həpo ri muu ta do era ∅*  
decide ERG 2pl. COMPL STAT be ABS

*ana jara do nara ta huhu*  
child horse REL CAN NON-PAST suckle

*pa rena keb'ao*  
LOC female buffalo

'Your decision that there is a foal which can suckle at a female buffalo is also definitely quite O.K.'



7.15 *ma* EMPH

*ma* is a non-Imperative emphatic Particle (EMPH). It usually occurs immediately after the verb or noun it modifies.

*ŋəde ma ri j'aa, tapi*  
saw(sg.) EMPH ERG lsg. BUT

*pid'e d'o ri j'aa*  
pick up(sg.) NEG ERG lsg.

'I definitely saw (it), but did not pick it up.'

*dou do tao napune duae ma*  
person REL do DEM1sg. king EMPH

*miha*  
self

'The person who did this was the king himself.'

7.16 *le(ma)* 'ALSO'

*le(ma)* (ALSO) always follows the verb. An ABS NP can intervene.

*duae raiti mehara ŋa ubu naba*  
king SCE Mesara AND Ubu Naba

*kako lema*  
go ALSO

'The king from Mesara and Ubu Naba went also.'

*ki mejəd'i ø ou pa kedera*  
IF sit ABS 2sg. LOC chair

*d'e, ie lema*  
DEM2sg. be good ALSO

'If you sit on this chair, that's good too.'

*ta nara ø j'əga do*  
NON-PAST get ABS work REL

*wala lema ø j'ii*  
be other ALSO ERG lpl.(excl.)

'We (excl.) will get other work also.'

*bəlo le ke ri j'aa*  
forgot(sg.) ALSO PART ERG lsg.

'I forgot (it) also.'

7.17 *ad'o* 'CERTAIN'

*ad'o* (CERTAIN) means 'certainly' or 'definitely', and must be distinguished from the NEG Particle *ad'o*.

*ina ou he ama ou*  
mother 2sg. DEM1pl. father 2sg.

*he ad'o do hei*  
DEM1pl. CERTAIN STAT be there(pl.)

*pa ni ma, pa d'ara*  
LOC DEM4sg. EMPH LOC interior

*rae pa ni*  
village LOC DEM4sg.

'Your ancestors are definitely there, in a village there.'

The text makes it plain that the speaker is trying to convince the addressee that his deceased ancestors are still alive in a village beneath the sea.

7.18 *d'əŋe*

*d'əŋe* means 'naturally, of course'. It is possible to have one or two *d'əŋe*'s per clause. One *d'əŋe* will always occur immediately after the verb, and if there is a second it will occur immediately after the NP which immediately follows the first *d'əŋe*.

*kako d'əŋe ø noo la əmu duae*  
go PART ABS 3sg. GFS house king

'Naturally, he went to the king's house.'

*kəpa d'əŋe ri noo ø ne*  
catch(pl.) PART ERG 3sg. ABS ART

*manu he*  
chicken DEM1pl.

'Of course, he caught the chickens.'

*dəb'o d'əŋe d'ei əmu duae d'əŋe*  
go PART RGE house king PART

*ø noo*  
ABS 3sg.

'Of course, he went past the king's house.'

7.19 *d'əŋe-d'əŋe*

*d'əŋe-d'əŋe* seems to mean 'quickly', or 'immediately'. It occurs immediately after the verb, and is hyphenated because it appears to be a reduplication of *d'əŋe*.

*j'e b'ale d'əŋe-d'əŋe ø ou*  
THEN return immediately ABS 2sg.

*ma əmu d'e*  
DTS house DEM2sg.

'Then you return immediately to this house.'

7.20 *məriai* 'QUICKLY'

*məriai* means 'quickly' when it follows a verb other than *laha* 'be fast' (see 6). In my data, only Particle *ke* (7.12) can intervene.

*boke məriai ø ne kelae*  
open(sg.) QUICKLY ABS ART door

*d'e*  
DEM2sg.

'Quickly open this door.'

*ta*            *b'ale*    *ke*        *məriai*     $\emptyset$   
NON-PAST    return    PART    QUICKLY    ABS

*noo*    *la*    *təbi*    *dahi*  
3sg.    GFS    edge    sea

'He is returning quickly to the sea-shore.'

#### 7.21 *laha* 'FAST'

*laha* means 'fast', and occurs immediately after the verb it modifies.

*perai*    *laha*  
run        FAST

'Run fast!'

#### 7.22 *loro-loro*, *roro-roro*

*loro-loro* (and its Mesara equivalent *roro-roro*) appears to be the reduplicated form of *loro* (Mesara *roro*) 'often'. Accordingly, it means 'very often' or 'always'. It follows the verb and an ABS NP can intervene.

*do*    *pote*    *loro-loro*     $\emptyset$     *noo*  
STAT    lie        OFTEN-RED    ABS    3sg.

'He is always lying.'

*ta*            *əgo*                     $\emptyset$         *kepoo*  
NON-PAST    carry(sg.)    ABS    gun

*loro-loro*     $\emptyset$         *noo*  
OFTEN-RED    ERG    3sg.

'He always carries a gun.'

*dou*        *do*        *timo*                    *do*        *mawo*  
person    REL    be Timorese    STAT    drunk

*loro*  
OFTEN

'Timorese people are often drunk.'

#### 7.23 *məra* 'PERHAPS'

*məra* (PERHAPS) follows the verb, and an NP and Particle *ke* can intervene.

*nəne*                                    *do*        *bəj'i*  
be near you(sg.)    STAT    be asleep

*məra*         $\emptyset$         *noo*  
PERHAPS    ABS    3sg.

'He (near you) is perhaps asleep.'

*ta*            *kako*    *la*        *əmu*        *noo*  
NON-PAST    go        GFS    house    POSS3sg.

*məra*         $\emptyset$         *j'ii*  
PERHAPS    ABS    1pl.(excl.)

'We are going to his house, perhaps.'

*hei*                                    *ke*        *la*        *mi-mi*  
be there(pl.)    PART    GFS    WHERE-RED

*məra*  
PERHAPS

'Wherever could they have gone to?'

#### 7.24 *b'agi* 'PERHAPS'

*b'agi* (PERHAPS) appears twice in my data. On both occasions, it is clause initial (i.e. it immediately precedes NON-PAST *ta* which immediately precedes the verb).

*b'agi*        *ta*                    *mena'o*    *ri*        *do*  
PERHAPS    NON-PAST    steal        ERG        REL

*weka*        *hed'e*  
be old        DEM2pl.

'Perhaps, (they) are being stolen by the old people?'

*b'ole*    *wəbe-wəbe.*        *b'agi*        *ta*  
DON'T    hit(sg.)-RED    PERHAPS    NON-PAST

*era*     $\emptyset$         *d'ue*    *wari*    *hewe*    *ke*  
be        ABS    two        time    JUST    PART

'Don't repeatedly hit him. Perhaps just twice.'

#### 7.25 *lohe* 'TOO, QUITE'

*lohe* (TOO, QUITE) is like particles *ta* and *do* in that it precedes a verb, and can take postposed negative Particle *d'o*. It differs in that *d'o* appears to be obligatory. The meaning of *lohe d'o* is 'not too, not quite' as illustrated below.

*lohe*    *d'o*    *teleo*                     $\emptyset$         *ne*        *ei*  
TOO        NEG    be clear        ABS    ART    water

*loko*        *ne*  
river        DEM1sg.

'This river water is not too clear.'

*lohe*    *d'o*    *tada*                     $\emptyset$         *noo*  
QUITE    NEG    understand    ABS    3sg.

'He does not quite understand.'

\* \* \*

## SYNTAX

## 8.1 Verbal clauses

## 8.1.1 Case frames

## 8.1.1.0 Introduction

Sawu clauses can be classified according to the case frames of their verbs.

As we saw in 4.4, Sawu has an unusually large number of NP prepositions. Each preposition indicates the semantic role or the range of semantic roles of its NP referent, and is therefore referred to as a Case preposition. The NP of which it is a constituent is said to be in a certain Case (i.e. that case represented by the preposition). A Case frame encodes the Cases of NPs which occur obligatorily (ignoring anaphoric deletion and the like) or optionally with a particular verb.

Case frames are represented by square brackets, [ ]. The order of Cases has no relation to clause word order, and parentheses ( ) indicate optional elements. Curly brackets { } indicate that only one of the Cases in question will occur in any one clause.

LOC referents which specify the location of the action, process or state of a verb can occur in any clause, and are, therefore, not characteristic of any of them. LOC is, however, characteristic of three classes of verbs, and is represented only in those Case frames. In the first, [ERG ABS (INST) (LOC)], optional LOC distinguishes verbs like *wəba* 'hit', *loro* 'cut off' from [ERG ABS (INST)] verbs like *boka* 'open', *helote* 'lock'. In the second, [ERG ABS (LOC)], optional LOC distinguishes verbs like *pedana* 'bury', *b'ədo* 'enclose' from [ERG ABS] verbs like *toi* 'know', *huba* 'forgive'. In the third, [ABS {ERG} {LOC}], LOC distinguishes *ləka* 'strike' from [ABS] verbs like *mejəd'i* 'sit' and *titu* 'stand'. In all three Case frames, LOC specifies a location with particular relevance to the ABS referent. In the first, it specifies the location on the ABS referent where the INST referent makes contact. In the second, it specifies the location in which the ABS referent is secured by the ERG referent. In the third, it specifies the LOC referent with which the ABS referent (of intransitive *ləka* 'strike') makes contact.

RGE has been tentatively included in the (intransitive) Case frame for motion verbs because it is known to occur with verbs like *kako* 'go', *dəb'o* 'go past', *məhu* 'exit, go outside'. It has not, however, been included in any transitive Case frame although it does occur with transitive verbs, *hib'i* 'bite', *hane* 'leave', and *moko* 'prepare'. More data of this kind might justify another case frame, [ERG ABS (RGE)], or more likely the modification of ERG ABS (LOC) to [ERG ABS ( {LOC} {RGE} )].

BEN has not been included in any Case frame because I have yet to be convinced that it is characteristic of any verb. The same

is true of 'SINCE' and temporal nouns (e.g. *mid'a* 'yesterday', *lod'o* 'today').

The transitivity of a verb can be determined from its Case frame. A verb whose Case frame has:

- (1) obligatory ERG is obligatory transitive,
- (2) optional ERG is optional transitive,
- (3) no ERG is obligatory intransitive.

Within the limitations of present knowledge, Sawu is reckoned to have at least eleven obligatory transitive Case frames, three optional transitives, and seven obligatory intransitives as follows:

## 8.1.1.1 Transitive case frames

## (1) [ERG ABS]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP. We can recognise two groups:

## (a) perception verbs

With perception verbs, the ERG referent perceives the ABS referent. e.g. *toi* 'know', *ḡədi* 'see, spot', *d'əno* 'hear', *heleo* 'see, look'.

<i>do</i>	<i>toi</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ubu</i>	<i>naba</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>ne</i>
STAT	know	ERG	Ubu	Naba	ABS	ART

<i>dou</i>	<i>ne</i>
person	DEMLsg.

'Ubu Naba knows this person.'

## (b) non-perception verbs

With non-perception verbs, ERG referents 'sniff, forgive, call,' etc. the ABS referent. e.g. *heḡəd'u* 'sniff' (as a greeting), *huba* 'forgive', *pedoa* 'call, invite'.

<i>huba</i>	<i>ke</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>noo</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ama</i>
forgive	PART	ABS	3sg.	ERG	father

'Father forgave him.'

## (2) [ERG ABS (ABS)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP and may have an additional ABS NP. The only verb known to have this Case frame is *aj'a* 'read, study, learn, teach'. The ERG referent is the one who reads, studies, learns, teaches. When there are two ABS NPs, one referent is the one taught, and the other is that which is taught. A clause with two ABS NPs must be translated by English 'teach', but a clause with one ABS NP is potentially ambiguous.

<i>ta</i>	<i>aj'e</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>j'aa</i>	$\emptyset$	<i>ne</i>
NON-PAST	read(sg.)	ERG	1sg.	ABS	ART

<i>huri</i>	<i>ne</i>
letter	DEMLsg.

'I am reading this letter.'

ta aj'e ri j'aa ø  
NON-PAST teach(sg.) ERG lsg. ABS

ne lii hawu ø noo  
ART language Sawu ABS 3sg.

'I am teaching him Sawunese.'

ta aj'e ri j'aa ø  
NON-PAST {study(sg.)  
teach(sg.)}

ne lii hawu  
ART language Sawu

'I am studying Sawunese.'" or 'I am  
teaching Sawunese.'

(3) [ERG ABS (INST)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP and may have an INST NP. We can recognise two groups:

(a) Clauses in which ERG referents use an INST referent to do something to an ABS referent.

e.g. boka 'open', d'ari 'sharpen', d'ede 'lift', helote 'lock', pe-ie 'heal'.

ta pe-ie ri j'aa ø  
NON-PAST CAUS-good ERG lsg. ABS

duae ri ru-aj'u  
king INST leaf-wood

'I will heal the king with leaves.'

(b) Clauses in which ERG referents provide ABS referents with edible, drinkable or monetary INST referents. e.g. pe-ŋa'a 'feed (non-birds)', pe-tutu 'feed (birds)', pe-ŋinu 'provide water', kehiwa 'hire'.

ta pe-tutu ø  
NON-PAST CAUS-eat(of birds) ABS

manu ri j'aa ri ani  
chicken ERG lsg. INST chicken feed

'I will feed the chicken with chicken feed.'

(4) [ERG ABS (INST) (LOC)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP. It may also have an INST NP and/or a LOC NP. The ERG referent wields the INST referent. The LOC referent specifies the location on the ABS referent where the INST referent makes contact. e.g. təb'u 'stab', wəba 'hit', loro 'cut'.

ta wəbe ø noo ri j'aa  
NON-PAST hit(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG lsg.

pa kətu ne ri aj'u ne  
LOC head DEM1sg. INST stick DEM1sg.

'I will hit him on the head with this stick.'

(5) [ERG ABS ({INST  
GOAL})]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame

must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP. It may also have one of an INST NP or a GOAL NP. The only verb known to have this Case frame is *ihi* 'fill, pour'. The ERG referent is always the one who fills or pours but the ABS referent can be either:

(a) the container which is filled by the INST referent,

(b) that which is poured into the GOAL referent.

ihe ri dei ø ne beka  
fill(sg.) INST dung ABS ART basket

kenana d'e ri ubu naba  
betel DEM2sg. ERG Ubu Naba

'Ubu Naba filled the betel basket with dung.'

ihe ø ne dei ne la  
pour(sg.) ABS ART dung DEM1sg. GFS

d'ara beka kenana d'e ri  
interior BASKET BETEL DEM2sg. ERG

ubu naba  
Ubu Naba

'Ubu Naba poured the dung into the betel basket.'

(6) [ERG ABS (SCE) ({GFS  
GTS})]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP. It may also have a SCE NP and/or a non-animate GOAL NP (i.e. one of GFS and GTS). The ERG referent does something to the ABS referent which causes it to change location. We can recognise two groups:

(a) Clauses in which the ABS referent moves away from the ERG referent and the SCE referent towards a non-animate GOAL referent. e.g. ped'uli 'lower', pebui 'drop', gole 'release', hora 'throw'.

ta ped'ule ke ri noo  
NON-PAST lower(sg.) PART ERG 3sg.

ø ne kerogo b'əhi ne raiti  
ABS ART cage iron DEM1sg. SCE

kowa ne la d'ara ei dahi  
boat DEM1sg. GFS interior liquid sea

'He will lower the iron cage from the boat into the sea.'

(b) Clauses in which the ABS referent moves with the ERG referent away from the SCE referent towards a non-animate GOAL referent. e.g. merei 'carry (by two or more people)', d'ui 'carry (with stick across shoulders)', əgu 'fetch, take, bring, carry'.

ta əgo ø noo ri  
NON-PAST bring(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG

dii raiti əmu noo ma  
lpl.(incl.) SCE house POSS3sg. GTS

d'e  
DEM2sg.

'We will bring him from his house to here.'

## (7) [ERG ABS (GA)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP, and may also have a GA NP. As all verbs with this Case frame are 'speech' verbs, the ABS referent is usually an utterance of the ERG referent directed at a GA referent (the addressee), e.g. *ane* 'say', *lii* 'say', *keb'ali* 'ask'.

*keb'ali ri duae pa dou he*  
ask(pl.) ERG king GA person DEM1pl.

$\emptyset$  "pa mii ne hiəmu j'aa?"  
ABS LOC WHERE ART spouse POSS1sg.

'The king asks the people, "Where is my wife?"'

(8) [ERG ABS {<sup>GA</sup><sub>ABS</sub>}]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP and one of a GA NP or an additional ABS NP. The verb *wie* 'give' is the only verb known to have this Case frame. The ERG referent gives the ABS referent to the referent of a GA or ABS NP.

*wie  $\emptyset$  j'aa  $\emptyset$  ne doi ri*  
give ABS 1sg. ABS ART money ERG

*roo*  
3pl.

'They gave me money.' OR 'They gave money to me.'

*ta wie  $\emptyset$  ŋa'a pa muu*  
NON-PAST give ABS food GA 2pl.

*ri noo*  
ERG 3sg.

'He will give you food.' OR 'He will give food to you.'

## (9) [ERG ABS (LOC)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP. It may also have a LOC NP which will specify the location of the ABS referent secured by the ERG referent. e.g. *pedane* 'bury', *b'ədu* 'enclose', *kiju* 'insert'.

*b'ədo  $\emptyset$  duae pa d'ara*  
enclose(sg.) ABS king LOC interior

*kerogo b'əhi ri roo*  
cage iron ERG 3pl.

'They put the king in an iron cage.'

## (10) [ERG ABS (MEAS)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG and an ABS NP and may also have a MEAS NP. The ERG referent exchanges the ABS referent for the MEAS referent. e.g. *pewie* 'exchange', *pehuru* 'change, exchange'.

*ta pewie ke ri noo  $\emptyset$*   
NON-PAST exchange PART ERG 3sg. ABS

*ne keb'ao ne ŋara doi*  
ART buffalo DEM1sg. MEAS money

'He will exchange the buffalo for money.'

(11) [ERG ABS ({<sup>RESULT</sup><sub>SCE</sub>})]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP. It may also have one of a RESULT NP or a SCE NP. The ERG referent makes the ABS referent into a RESULT referent or out of a SCE referent. e.g. *tao* 'make', *mane* 'weave', *əñu* 'plait', *məhu* 'make (clay pot)'.

*ta tao  $\emptyset$  ne lua wəŋu*  
NON-PAST make ABS ART thread cotton

*d'e ri noo ta hij'i*  
DEM2sg. ERG 3sg. RESULT male-cloth

'She will make this cotton into a male-cloth.'

*ta tao  $\emptyset$  hij'i ri*  
NON-PAST make ABS male-cloth ERG

*noo raiti ne lua wəŋu d'e*  
3sg. SCE ART thread cotton DEM2sg.

'She will make a male-cloth out of this cotton.'

## 8.1.1.2 Optional transitive case frames

An optional transitive Case frame in Sawu is one which has an optional ERG. A clause is transitive if it includes an ERG NP, and intransitive if it does not.

## (1) [ABS (ERG)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP, and may also have an ERG NP. e.g. *mari* 'mock, laugh', *ŋa'a* 'eat', *ŋinu* 'drink', *hou* 'make emerge, emerge'.

*ta mari  $\emptyset$  noo*  
NON-PAST laugh ABS 3sg.

'He is laughing.'

*ta mari  $\emptyset$  ne ana he*  
NON-PAST mock ABS ART child DEM1pl.

*ri noo*  
ERG 3sg.

'He is mocking the children.'

(2) [ABS {<sup>ERG</sup><sub>GA</sub>}]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP and one of either an ERG NP or a GA NP. The only verb known to have this Case frame is *j'ala* 'net-fish' (i.e. fish with a net).

*ta j'ala  $\emptyset$  nadu'u  $\emptyset$  j'aa*  
NON-PAST net ABS fish ERG 1sg.

'I am netting fish.'

*ta j'ala pa manu he*  
NON-PAST fish GA chicken DEM1pl.

∅ j'aa  
ABS lsg.

'I am fishing for chickens.'

(3) [ABS {<sup>ERG</sup><sub>LOC</sub>}]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP and one of either an ERG NP or a LOC NP. The only verb known to have this Case frame is *laka* 'strike'.

*laka* ∅ *ama* *ri* *worena-woana*  
strike ABS father ERG bullet

'Father was struck down by a bullet.'

(Note that *worena-woana* is ERG because it can be relativised. An INST NP cannot.)

*laka* *pa* *aru* *dao* ∅ *ne*  
strike LOC pot indigo ABS ART

*wowadu* *ne*  
rock DEM1sg.

'The rock landed on an indigo pot.'

8.1.1.3 Intransitive case frames

(1) [ABS]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP. e.g. *keb'ab'u* 'be fat, become fat', *kad'i* 'get up', *mehaka* 'burst'.

*do* *keb'ab'u* ∅ *noo*  
STAT be fat ABS 3sg.

'He is fat.'

*ta* *kad'i* ∅ *noo*  
NON-PAST get up ABS 3sg.

'She is getting up.'

*mehaka* ∅ *ne* *wihu* *ne*  
burst ABS ART boil DEM1sg.

'The boil burst.'

(2) [ABS (SCE) (RGE) ({<sup>GFS</sup><sub>GTS</sub>}) (VEH)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP. It may also have a SCE NP, a RGE NP, a VEH NP, and one of a GFS or GTS NP. Verbs of this class are motion verbs in which the ABS referent moves from a SCE referent to an inanimate GOAL referent (GFS or GTS) traversing a RGE referent by means of a VEH referent. e.g. *daka* 'come, arrive', *lodo* 'go', *maho* 'enter', *perai* 'run, flee', *kako* 'go'.

*ta* *kako* ∅ *noo* *raiti* *heb'a*  
NON-PAST go ABS 3sg. SCE Seba

*la* *dimu* *j'ara* *jara*  
GFS Dimu VEH horse

'He will go from Seba to Dimu by horse.'

That RGE belongs in the Case frame of motion verbs is evidenced by examples in 4.4. How-

ever, I have yet to find an example in my data where RGE co-occurs with either a SCE or inanimate GOAL NP. If further checking fails to reveal such a co-occurrence, it will be necessary to revise the above Case frame formula accordingly.

(3) [ABS (GA)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP, and may also have a GA NP. The only verb known to have this Case frame is *nara* 'win' (Which should be distinguished from the verb *nara* 'get, obtain', and the auxiliary *nara* 'con, be able').

*nara* ∅ *ubu* *naba* *pa* *duae*  
win ABS Ubu Naba GA king

'Uba Naba won against the king.'

(4) [ABS (SCE)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP, and may also have a SCE NP. e.g. *ila* 'disappear', *merai* 'wake up'.

*ta* *ele* ∅ *noo* *ti*  
NON-PAST disappear(sg.) ABS 3sg. SCE

*rai-wawa* *d'e*  
land-beneath DEM2sg.

'He will disappear from this earth.'

*merai* *dae-d'o* *ti* *baj'i* ∅ *duae*  
get up YET-NOT SCE sleep ABS king

'The king was still asleep.'

(5) [ABS (COM)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP and may also have a COM NP. e.g. *b'ani* 'be angry', *bubu* 'be angry', *pee* 'stay, live'.

*bubu* *ke* ∅ *duae* *na* *ubu* *naba*  
be angry PART ABS king COM Ubu Naba

'The king is angry with Ubu Naba.'

*ta* *pee* *na* *j'aa* ∅ *roo*  
NON-PAST stay COM lsg. ABS 3pl.

'They will stay with me.'

(6) [ABS COM]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP and a COM NP. e.g. *tulu* 'help', *pad'u* 'hate'.

*ta* *tulu* *na* *j'aa* ∅ *noo*  
NON-PAST help COM lsg. ABS 3sg.

'He will help me.'

*do* *pad'u* *na* *noo* ∅ *roo*  
STAT hate COM 3sg. ABS 3pl.

'They hate him.'

(7) [ABS (INST)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP, and may also have an INST NP. The only verb known to have this case frame is *tobo* 'full'.

*tobo ke ø əmu ri*  
 be full PART ABS house INST

*donahu*  
 lontar syrup

'The house is full of lontar syrup.'

*do tobo ri ei ø ne*  
 STAT be full INST water ABS ART

*kab'a-huru d'e*  
 coconut-spoon DEM2sg.

'The coconut spoon is full of water.'

(8) [ABS (ABOUT)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP, and may also have an ABOUT NP. e.g. *ped'iri* 'talk', *pedai* 'talk'.

*pedai ø noo j'əra lai nani*  
 talk ABS 3sg. ABOUT matter DEM4sg.

'He talked about that matter.'

8.1.2 Word order

8.1.2.1 NPs

NPs usually follow the verb, but one of ERG and ABS NPs can precede. Word order of NPs after the verb is relatively free, although it is statistically more common for an ERG or ABS NP to be the leftmost NP (see 8.20 ).

8.1.2.2 Clause modifiers (CMs)

Temporal nouns and NEG *d'o* can precede or follow the verb. Particles *do* (STAT), *əla* ... *pe-* (PAST), *ta* (NON-PAST), *ad'o* (CERTAIN), *b'agi* (PERHAPS), *lohe* (TOO, QUITE), *b'ole* (DON'T), always precede the verb. Excessive adverbs and all other particles follow the verb.

8.2 Non-verbal clauses

We can recognise two kinds of non-verbal clauses in Sawu:

8.2.1 Interjections

Interjections are words which are often single-word utterances. They are here analysed as single-word clauses, and include: *oo* 'Yes.', *woo* 'Yes.', *ad'o* 'No', *ayo* 'Come on.' (probably Indonesian *ayo* 'Come on.'), *hee* 'Hey (expressing surprise).', *ee* 'Hey (attention grabbing).'

Q. *ta b'ale la əmu, ina?*  
 NON-PAST return GFS house mother

A. *oo. ta la nono ø*  
 Yes NON-PAST DFS dry(pl.) ABS

*lua wənu we*  
 thread cotton JUST

Q. 'Are you returning home, Mother?'

A. 'Yes. (I) am just going (home) to dry

some cotton thread.'

*ayo. kəpe ø noo*  
 come on catch(sg.) ABS 3sg.

'Come on. Catch him.'

*hee. ta kei-kei ø j'aa,*  
 Hey NON-PAST dig(pl.)-RED ERG 1sg.

*j'e pəhe ma kepeŋe d'e,*  
 THEN toss(sg.) DTS rear DEM2sg.

*pe'e d'o ø ne wowue d'e*  
 be NEG ABS ART bengkuak DEM2sg.

'Hey (what's going on?). I dig and dig, then toss this bengkuak (a kind of yam?) to the rear, (but now) there is no bengkuak.'

*ee. mai ma d'e*  
 Hey come DTS DEM2sg.

'Hey. Come over here.'

8.2.2 Juxtaposed NPs

In Sawu, other non-verbal clauses consist of two juxtaposed NPs.

*dou nani ubu naba*  
 person DEM4sg. Ubu Naba

'That person is Ubu Naba.'

*nad'e əmu j'aa*  
 DEM2sg. house POSS1sg.

'This is my house.'

*j'aa he-dou nalalu-naletu*  
 1sg. one-COUNT orphan

'I am an orphan.'

*ma bura tohi dou do kehia*  
 Mr Bura Tohi person REL be poor

'Mr Bura Tohi is a poor person.'

Negation of non-verbals is exemplified in 8.14.2.1.

8.3 Interrogative clauses

8.3.0 Introduction

Interrogative clauses are characterised by rising intonation. It is on the ultimate stressed syllable of a clause-final word in yes-no questions, and on the ultimate stressed syllable of a question-word in others.

8.3.1 Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions request a 'yes' answer

or a 'no' answer.

*keloe ke ∅ muu*  
be tired PART ABS 2pl.

'Are you tired?'

### 8.3.2 Question-word questions

#### 8.3.2.1 *naduu* 'WHO'

A *naduu* interrogative requests the identity of a human referent. *naduu* can be an NP of a non-verbal clause, or the head of an ERG, ABS or GA NP.

*naduu muu*  
WHO 2pl.

'Who are you?'

*muu naduu*  
2pl. WHO

'Who are you?'

*kəpe ∅ noo ri naduu*  
catch(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG WHO

'Who caught him?'

*kəpe ∅ naduu ri noo*  
catch(sg.) ABS WHO ERG 3sg.

'Who did he catch?'

*wie ∅ nad'e pa naduu*  
give ABS DEM2sg. GA WHO

'Give this to whom?'

The possible historical origin of *naduu* may be found in the Raijua equivalent: *nadou* 'Who?'. This form suggests that Raijua *nadou* and Sawu island *naduu* are present day equivalents of an earlier \**ḡaa dou* 'What person?, Who?'.  
 8.3.2.2 *ḡaa* (Seba), *ḡaa* (Mesara) 'WHAT'

A *ḡaa* or *ḡaa* interrogative requests the identity of a non-human referent.

*ne ḡaa nad'e*  
ART WHAT DEM2sg.

'What is this?'

*d'ei ta ḡa'a ∅ ne ḡaa*  
LIKE NON-PAST eat ABS ART WHAT

*∅ muu*  
ERG 2pl.

'What would you like to eat?'

*ta wəbe ∅ noo ri ḡaa*  
NON-PAST hit(sg.) ABS 3sg. INST WHAT

'Hitting him with what?'

*era ke mi ḡaa he ∅*  
be PART LIKE WHAT DEM1pl. ABS

*ade muu*  
liver POSS2pl.

'Your livers are like what?'

#### 8.3.2.3 *taḡaa* (Seba and Mesara), *taḡaa* (Mesara) 'WHY'

A *taḡaa* or *taḡaa* interrogative requests a reason for a specified action, process or state. In intransitive clauses, *taḡaa* is always clause-initial, while in transitive clauses it is usually clause-initial but can also occur immediately after the verb. A clause-final particle *ri* REASON is optional (cf. *ri* of REASON clauses, 8.11).

Intransitive

*taḡaa ∅ noo ta i'a*  
WHY ABS 3sg. NON-PAST be clever

'Why is he clever?'

Transitive

*taḡaa ∅ noo ta wəbe ∅*  
WHY ERG 3sg. NON-PAST hit(sg.) ABS

*dou nani*  
person DEM4sg.

'Why is he hitting that person?'

*ta wəbe taḡaa ri noo ∅*  
NON-PAST hit(sg.) WHY ERG 3sg. ABS

*ne dou nani*  
ART person DEM4sg.

'Why is he hitting that person?'

#### 8.3.2.4 *taləki* 'WHY'

A *taləki* interrogative requests a reason for a specified action, process or state. In my data, *taləki* is always clause initial, and the clause always includes particle *ri* which indicates REASON (cf. *ri* of Reason clauses, 8.11).

*taləki ne tao ou ri*  
WHY ART purpose POSS2sg. REASON

*ta ihe. ri dei ∅*  
NON-PAST fill(sg.) INST dung ABS

*ne beka kenana d'e ri*  
ART basket betel DEM2sg. REASON

'What was your purpose in filling the betel basket with dung?'

*taləki ∅ noo ta wəbe*  
WHY ERG 3sg. NON-PAST hit(sg.)

*∅ dou nani ri*  
ABS person DEM4sg. REASON

'Why is he hitting that person?'



### 8.3.2.5 *pəri* 'WHEN, HOW MANY'

A *pəri* interrogative requests specification of time or number.

#### (1) WHEN

*pəri* (WHEN) is always clause initial. It is often immediately followed by particle *ke* which immediately precedes an NP. The verb is always preceded by *ne* which has an unknown function.

*pəri ke ∅ dii ne kako*  
WHEN PART ABS 1pl.(incl.) ? go

'When are we going?'

*pəri ∅ wəti leo ne dəka*  
WHEN ABS Wəti Leo ? come

'When is Wəti Leo coming?'

#### (2) 'HOW MANY'

*pəri* (HOW MANY), as a constituent of an NP, requests the number of its head noun referent. While it is not restricted to sentence-initial position, it must always precede its head noun.

*pəri b'ue tou ke*  
HOW MANY COUNT(pl.) year PART

*pemuri ou*  
age POSS2sg.

'How old are you?' (i.e. How many years your age?)

*pewie ∅ pəri ŋi'u keb'ao*  
sell ABS HOW MANY COUNT buffalo

*ri ou*  
ERG 2sg.

'How many buffalo did you sell?'

With human referents, *do pəri* is extremely common, if not obligatory. It seems likely that this *do* is related to *dou* 'human being, person' and that *do pəri* derives from an earlier *dou pəri*. I will refer to it as Ligature (LIG) as in 4.7.2.

*do pəri dou wobəni pa*  
LIG HOW MANY COUNT woman LOC

*d'ara əmu*  
interior house

'How many women are inside the house?'

Historically *pəri* is clearly derivable from PAN \**pira* (Capell in Wurm and Wilson 1975). There is sufficient evidence in the Sawu data to suggest that final \*-a became \*-ə, and that the development of a rule preventing final \*-ə precipitated metathesis of the two vowels. See Walker (forthcoming a).

\**pira* -->\**pirə*      \*-a -->\*-ə  
\**pirə* --> *pəri*      metathesis

### 8.3.2.6 *heŋaa* 'HOW MUCH'

*heŋaa* interrogatives request information

about the measure (i.e. distance, height, length, etc.) or price of a referent.

#### Measure

*heŋaa ke ne j'ou ti*  
HOW MUCH PART ART distance SCE

*d'e*  
DEM2sg.

'What is the distance from here?' (OR 'How far (is it) from here?')

*heŋaa ke ne tui pəd'a*  
HOW MUCH PART ART length illness

'What is the length of the illness?' (OR 'How long was the illness?')

#### Price

*heəaa keb'ue napune*  
HOW MUCH price DEM1sg.

'What price is this?' (OR 'How much does this cost?')

### 8.3.2.7 *pi'a* 'BE WHERE'

*pi'a* interrogative clauses request information as to the location of a specified referent. *pi'a* is an Agreement verb with singular form, *pe'e*. It is always clause initial and often followed by particle *ke*.

*pi'a ∅ ne potoloo he*  
BE WHERE(pl.) ABS ART pencil DEM1pl.

'Where are the pencils?'

*pe'e ke ∅ nalehu*  
BE WHERE(sg.) PART ABS handkerchief

*j'aa*  
POSS1sg.

'Where is my handkerchief?'

### 8.3.2.8 *mii* 'WHERE'

Interrogative *mii* is the head of a NP which requests information as to the location, locative source, or inanimate goal of a referent.

#### Location

*do pee pa mii ∅ ou*  
STAT live LOC WHERE ABS 2sg.

'Where do you live?'

*wəbe ∅ noo pa mii*  
hit(sg.) ABS 3sg. LOC WHERE

'Where did you hit him?' (i.e. "Where did your hitting of him take place?" OR 'What part of his body did you hit?')

#### Locative source

*dəka raiti mii ∅ ou*  
come SCE WHERE ABS 2sg.

'Where have you come from?'

Inanimate goal  
*ta kako la mi ∅ ou*  
 NON-PAST go GFS WHERE ABS 2sg.

'Where are you going?'

### 8.3.2.9 *namii* 'WHICH'

Interrogative *namii* requests the identification of a particular referent from among a number of possible referents. It can be an adjunct to a head noun or stand alone.

*wobəni namii nakue noo*  
 woman WHICH aunt POSS3sg.

'Which woman is her aunt?'

*namii ne buku ou*  
 WHICH ART book POSS2sg.

'Which is your book?'

*mena'o ri noo ∅ keb'ao namii*  
 steal ERG 3sg. ABS buffalo WHICH

'He stole which buffalo?' (OR 'Which buffalo did he steal?')

### 8.3.2.10 *minamii* 'HOW'

A *minamii* interrogative requests information as to how (i.e. by what means) an action or process takes place

*minamii ∅ ama ou, womone,*  
 HOW ERG father POSS2sg. man

*jad'i ta metana ∅*  
 become NON-PAST give birth to ABS

*ana*  
 child

'How did your father, a man, come to give birth to a child?'

*ta j'əga minamii ke ∅*  
 NON-PAST do HOW PART ERG

*dii ∅ ane ou*  
 1pl.(incl.) ABS word POSS2sg.

'How will we do your words?' (i.e. How will we carry out your suggestions?)

## 8.4 Imperative clauses

An imperative clause is characterised by:

- (1) absence of tense-aspect markers,
- (2) particle *we* which is found only in imperative clauses (see 8.13),
- (3) non-obligatory addressee pronoun,
- (4) clause-final lowering of intonation.

Intransitive

*b'ale d'əŋe-d'əŋe ∅ ou*  
 return IMMEDIATELY ABS 2sg.

'You return immediately.'

*kako we ∅ ou*  
 go PART ABS 2sg.

'You go.'

Transitive

*əgo we ri ou ∅ ne*  
 take(sg.) PART ERG 2sg. ABS ART

*boto nad'e*  
 bottle DEM2sg.

'You take this bottle.'

*kəpe ∅ noo*  
 grab(sg.) ABS 3sg.

'Grab him.'

The negative imperative particle, *b'ole* 'DON'T', is always clause initial.

*b'ole wiki ta nuhu ∅ əmu*  
 DON'T TRY NON-PAST enter ABS house

*noo*  
 POSS3sg.

'Don't try to enter his house.'

## 8.5 Reflexive clauses

We can recognise two kinds of reflexives in Sawu:

### 8.5.1 Non-emphatic reflexives

Non-emphatic reflexive clauses are transitive with *əni* 'self' as ABS NP having the same referent as the ERG NP. *əni* usually occurs immediately after the verb, and Agreement verbs are always plural.

*ta pe-umu ∅ əni ke*  
 NON-PAST CAUS-be near ABS self PART

*∅ ne ana hekola napune*  
 ERG ART child school DEM1sg.

'The school child moves himself closer.'

*b'ole petala we ∅ ou ∅*  
 DON'T separate PART ERG 2sg. ABS

*əni ti. j'aa*  
 self SCE 1sg.

'Don't you separate yourself from me.'

*ta wəba ∅ əni ∅ ne*  
 NON-PAST hit(pl.) ABS self ERG ART

*ana mone telora ne*  
 child male middle DEM1sg.

'The second oldest boy is hitting himself.'

### 8.5.2 Emphatic reflexives

Emphatic reflexive clauses are character-

ised by particles *ma miha* which are ordered immediately after the emphasised NP.

*dou do tao ∅ napune duaē*  
person REL do ABS DEM1sg. king

*ma miha*  
EMPH SELF

'The person who did this was the king himself.'

*laka pa aru kabo noo ma*  
strike LOC pot red-dye 3sg. EMPH

*miha*  
SELF

'(It) landed on his own red-dye pot.'

*ḡinu ∅ ei do*  
drink ABS water REL

*ḡine ne*  
be mentioned earlier DEM1sg.

'The river to which he went and drank water, which was mentioned earlier.'

Without REL *do*

*b'əhu ke ḡaka melaka*  
be sated PART dog be thin

'The thin dog is sated.'

*era ri ke pa he-wue təbi*  
be ALSO PART LOC one-COUNT bank

*loko ∅ nadu'u meḡadi ∅*  
river ABS fish catch with hook ERG

*dou*  
someone

'There was also on the river bank some fish which someone had caught (with a hook).'

Without head noun

*ta nono ∅ do*  
NON-PAST dry in sun(pl.) ABS REL

*əla pe-b'əka ke*  
PAST(pl.) PAST-cut open(pl.) PART

'The ones (i.e. fish) which were cut open are drying in the sun.'

## 8.6 Relative clause constructions

### 8.6.1 The construction

Relative clause constructions consist of:

- (1) usually a head noun,
- (2) usually a relative clause marker *do*,
- (3) a postposed relative clause with deleted ERG, ABS or GOAL NP (whichever is coreferential with the head NP)  
i.e. (N) (*do*) relative clause

In the examples below the relative clause constructions are underlined.

Deleted ERG

*ne dou do hape ∅ j'aa*  
ART person REL carry ABS 1sg.

*hed'e*  
DEM2pl.

'These people who carry me.'

Deleted ABS (transitive)

*kee ∅ ro'a na'i pa*  
dig(sg.) ABS hole tobacco LOC

*d'ara d'oka do*  
interior plantation REL

*pe-moo do*  
CAUS-clear(sg.) REL

*ḡine ne*  
be mentioned earlier DEM1sg.

'Dig a tobacco hole in the plantation which (you) cleared, which was mentioned earlier.'

Deleted ABS (intransitive)

*dou do kako d'ei ruj'ara*  
person REL walk RGE path

'the person who is walking along the path'

Deleted GOAL

*ne loko do kako ∅ noo la*  
ART river REL go ABS 3sg. DFS

### 8.6.2 Relative clause marker (REL) *do*

#### 8.6.2.1 Description

As we saw above, Sawu relative clauses are usually introduced by a Relative Clause Marker *do*. This marker is not obviously Austronesian, but it may reflect a pattern of development common to other Indonesian languages.

Manggarai, a language of West Flores, has a form *ata* which functions both as a nominal (meaning 'person, human being') and as a relative clause marker. e.g.

*ite ata*  
1pl.(incl.) person

'we people' (Verheijen 1967:19)

*mbaru ata radak ho'o*  
house REL low this

'this low house' (Verheijen MS:3)

According to Kähler (1974:270), Manggarai *ata* 'human being, man' was used as a Relative Clause Marker in sentences where "human beings were the point in question, and only later it referred to things too." He also notes parallel cases of such a shift in function in Javanese (*woḡ* 'human being, man') and Omong Jakarta (*oraḡ* 'man').

The word for 'human being, person, man' in Sawu and Ndao is *dou*, and the Relative Clause Markers in each are, respectively, *do* and *du*. This data is, in itself, suggestive that a language common to Sawu and Ndao once had a form *dou* with the dual function attributed to Manggarai *ata*. Corroborating evidence for the historical development of *-ou* to *-o* and *-u* is provided by the data below:

(1) Sawu *rou* 'leaf, hair, etc.' becomes *ro-* or *ru* when compounded with another noun (see 4.9.2 ).

(2) Sawu and Ndao *duae* 'king, noble' is probably derived from *dou ae* 'important person'.

#### 8.6.2.2 Other (synchronic) interpretations

Jonker (1919:713), Kern (1892:171) and Wijngaarden (1896:21) agree that *do* is a "betrekkelijk voornaamwoord" (i.e. relative pronoun). Lee (MS) describes it as filling "the Relator slot of a Modifier Phrase" and translates it by 'the one who' and 'which'. These views approximate my own.

#### 8.7 *ki* conditional clauses

The *ki* conditional clause (i.e. a clause which begins with *ki*) is a subordinate clause which usually precedes the main clause. It often specifies one of the possible prerequisites for the resultant performance of the main clause. *kiŋa* and *kiri* are unexplained variants.

*kiŋa wae*  $\emptyset$  *ou,* *mai gate ri*  
IF WANT ABS 2sg. let replace ERG

*j'aa we*  
1sg. PART

'If you want, let me take your place.'

*ki məd'a,* *kiri merei*  $\emptyset$   
IF night IF be awake ABS

*ari* *ou,* *ki era*  $\emptyset$   
younger sibling POSS2sg. IF be ABS

*ei donahu,* *pe-ŋino*  
syrup lontar CAUS-drink(sg.)

'If it is night, if your younger brother is awake, (and) if there is lontar syrup, give (him some to drink).'

*əle ta hij'i,* *kiŋa*  
finish(sg.) RESULT male-cloth IF

*tao ta hij'i*  
make RESULT male-cloth

'Finish (making it) into a male-cloth, if (you) are making (it) into a male-cloth.'

#### 8.8 *had'i* conditional clauses

The *had'i* conditional clause is a subordinate clause which (unlike *ki*) is the neces-

sary condition for the performance of the action of the main clause. It can occur before or after the main clause.

*"ie ri j'aa*  $\emptyset$  *pəd'a nane"*,  
heal ERG 1sg. ABS sickness DEM1sg.

*mi he ane,* *"had'i ta*  
LIKE DEM1pl. say IF NON-PAST

*pe-hiaŋa we ŋa j'aa."*  
CAUS-be friend ONLY COM 1sg.

'"I will heal this sickness", (he) said, "only if he will be friends with me."'

*had'i ta petee*  $\emptyset$  *donahu*  
IF NON-PAST boil ABS gula

*hewe*  $\emptyset$  *dou wie j'ii,*  
ONLY ERG someone BEN 1pl.(excl.)

*j'e təke pa wadu-b'oro əmu*  
THEN place(sg.) LOC wadu-b'oro house

*d'e, boka ma*  $\emptyset$  *j'aa*  
DEM2sg. open(pl.) EMPH ERG 1pl.(excl.)

$\emptyset$  *kelae*  
ABS door

'Provided that someone cooks some gula (like treacle) for us, then places it in the wadu-b'oro of this house, we will most certainly open the doors.'

#### 8.9 *ŋi, mi* purposive clauses

The *ŋi, mi* (PURP) clause is a subordinate clause which always follows the main clause. The purposive marker is either *ŋi* or *mi*. It immediately precedes the subordinate clause, and *ŋi* or *mi* is always immediately followed by either NON-PAST *ta* or NEG *d'o*. There appears to be no difference in function between *ŋi* and *mi*

*ta lie*  $\emptyset$  *kemou ke*  $\emptyset$   
NON-PAST soak ABS yaws sore PART ERG

*j'aa ŋi ta mou*  
1sg. PURP NON-PAST clean

'I am bathing my yaws sores so that they will become clean.'

*kiŋa era ta ami do mura,*  
IF be NON-PAST ask REL cheap

*wie we mi ta era ta*  
give PART PURP NON-PAST be NON-PAST

*wəli*  $\emptyset$  *ei ŋa'a*  
buy ABS drink food

'If there is (someone who) requests a cheap price, give it so that there will be (money) to buy food and drink.'

*b'ole titu pa d'ara ei nii*  
DON'T stand LOC inside water DEM4sg.

*ŋi d'o melara ∅ ihi ou*  
PURP NEG sting ABS body POSS2sg.

'Don't stand in the water there, lest your body sting.'

#### 8.10 (ha)ku SO clauses

The (ha)ku SO clause is a subordinate clause which indicates the consequence of the action, process or state of the preceding main clause. There appears to be no difference in meaning between *ku* and *haku*

*ta kehia ke ∅ j'aa haku*  
NON-PAST be poor PART ABS lsg. SO

*wəbe ri j'aa ∅ ne do*  
kill(sg.) ERG lsg. ABS ART REL

*weka ne, j'e əgo ri*  
be old DEM1sg. THEN take(sg.) ERG

*j'aa la pewie la həb'a ŋara*  
lsg. DFS exchange GFS Seba MEAS

*doi nahed'e*  
coins DEM2pl.

'I became poor, so I killed the old woman, then took her to Seba and exchanged her for these coins.'

*ta nara ke ∅ j'ii*  
NON-PAST get PART ERG lpl.(excl.)

*∅ he-ŋi'u wawi haku ta*  
ABS one-COUNT pig SO NON-PAST

*ma ami ∅ tulu*  
DTS request ABS assistance

'We got a pig, so (we) came here to request assistance.'

#### 8.11 Reason clauses

A Reason Clause is a subordinate clause which can precede or follow the main clause. It provides a reason for the action, process or state of the main clause. In the Seba and Mesara dialects, it is introduced by one of the following: *ri*, *rido*, *rowi*, *taga* or *taga ri*.

*pe-moko ∅ əni, ana*  
CAUS-be ready(pl.) ABS self child

*j'aa, rido ta la*  
POSS1sg. REASON NON-PAST DFS

*hora la lede la b'oj'o ∅*  
throw(pl.) GFS hill GFS hill ABS

*muu*  
2pl.

'Get yourselves ready, kids, because I'm going (to the hills) to throw you into the hills.'

*taga ∅ nadu'u do wie ∅*  
REASON ABS fish STAT give ABS

*ou ke ŋine, ana, ta*  
2sg. PART earlier child NON-PAST

*la kale ∅ nadu'u ko ∅*  
DFS look for ABS fish PART ERG

*j'aa*  
lsg.

'Because I gave you the fish earlier, child, I am going to look for (more) fish.'

#### 8.12 Auxiliary verb constructions

Sawu Auxiliary Verbs include: *wae* 'want', *o'o* 'want', *d'ei* 'like', *nara* 'can, be able', *i'a* 'can, be clever at', *ie* 'can, be allowed to', *wiki* 'try'. Auxiliary Verbs share only two characteristics in common with other verbs:

- (1) Auxiliary Verbs precede all NPs in the clause. Other verbs usually do.
  - (2) Both Auxiliary Verbs and other verbs can take postposed NEG Particle *d'o*.
- Unlike other verbs, Auxiliary Verbs are obligatorily clause initial, and they do not take preposed stative or tense-aspect markers nor postposed non-Negative particles.

An Auxiliary Verb Construction consists of an Auxiliary Verb (AUX) followed by:

- (1) optional NEG Particle *d'o*
- (2) an ERG or ABS NP of non-AUX verb (it can precede or follow the verb)
- (3) usually NON-PAST *ta*
- (4) Verb
- (5) (other) NPs

i.e. AUX (NEG) ( $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \text{ERG} \\ \text{ABS} \end{matrix} \right\}$ ) (*ta*) Verb NP(s)

Transitive

*wae d'o ∅ j'ii ta*  
WANT NEG ERG lpl.(excl.) NON-PAST

*wəbe ∅ noo*  
hit(sg.) ABS 3sg.

'We do not want to hit him.'

*wae ∅ j'aa ta gate ri*  
WANT ABS lsg. NON-PAST replace ERG

*ou*  
2sg.

'I want you to replace me.'

*d'ei ta ŋa'a ∅ ne ŋaa*  
LIKE NON-PAST eat ABS ART WHAT

*∅ muu*  
ERG 2pl.

'What would you like to eat?'

Intransitive

*ie ∅ j'aa ta kako la*  
CAN ABS lsg. NON-PAST go GFS

*kota*  
Kupang

'I am allowed to go to Kupang.'

### 8.13 *tade* 'UNTIL' constructions

*tade* 'UNTIL' can immediately precede a clause or temporal noun. It indicates that an action, state or process continues until the state or time specified in the *tade* construction is reached.

*nono*             $\emptyset$         *ne*    *ei*            *nahed'e*  
lay in sun    ABS    ART   sarong    DEM1pl.

*tade*    *kemaŋu*  
UNTIL   be dry

'Lay the sarongs in the sun until (they) are dry.'

*hegure*    *tade*  
lay face downwards(sg.)    UNTIL

*məd'a-lod'o*  
evening

'Lay it face downward until evening.'

### 8.14 Negation

Negation is indicated by the following:

*b'ole*            'DON'T'  
(*a*)*d'o*        'NO, NOT'  
*dae d'o*        } 'NOT YET'  
*ad'o dae*      }

#### 8.14.1 *b'ole* 'DON'T'

*b'ole* is the negative-imperative particle, and is always clause initial. See Imperative clauses (8.4).

#### 8.14.2 (*a*)*d'o* NEG

(*a*)*d'o* is the non-imperative negative (NEG) particle.

##### 8.14.2.1

The unabbreviated *ad'o* negates non-verbals (including 'YET' in 'NOT YET' - see below); e.g.

*ad'o*    *j'aa*    *ubu*    *naba*  
NEG    1SG.    Ubu    Naba

'I am not Ubu Naba.'

*ad'o*    *duae*    *do*    *tao*     $\emptyset$     *napune*  
NEG    king    REL    do    ABS    DEM1sg.

'It was not the king who did it.'

*ad'o*    *he-wari*    *wata*    *he-ŋahu*            *wari*  
NEG    one-time    BUT    one-hundred    time

'Not once, but a hundred times.' (Kern 1892:180)

*ad'o* can also be a single word response to an imperative, or yes-no interrogative.

#### 8.14.2.2 *d'o*

The abbreviated form *d'o* negates verbs (and 'YET' in 'NOT YET' - see below). It usually occurs immediately after the verb (i.e. nothing can intervene).

*pid'e*                    *d'o*    *ri*        *ubu*    *naba*     $\emptyset$   
pick up(sg.)    NEG    ERG    Ubu'    Naba    ABS

*ne*    *nalehu*                    *pune*  
ART   handkerchief    DEM1sg.

'Ubu Naba did not pick up the handkerchief.'

*wae*    *d'o*    *ke*        *ta*                    *pe-hiana*  
WANT   NEG   PART   NON-PAST   REC-be friends

$\emptyset$     *roo*  
ABS   3pl.

'They do not want to be friends.'

Particle *d'o* can immediately precede the verb if it also occurs immediately after *ki(ri)* CONDITIONAL, *haku* (SO), STATIVE *do*, Relative Clause Marker *do*, or *lohe* 'TOO, QUITE' (see 7.25).

*ki(ri)* CONDITIONAL

*ki(ri)*    *d'o*    *tao*     $\emptyset$         *j'aa*    *mi*  
IF        NEG    do        ABS    1sg.    LIKE

*nahed'e*,    *jad'i*    *d'o*    *ta*                    *ie*  
DEM2pl.    become    NEG    NON-PAST   be good

$\emptyset$     *ne*    *wihu*    *ne*  
ABS   ART   boil    DEM1sg.

'If I had not done these things the boil would not have got better.'

*haku* RESULT

*do*    *pəd'a*     $\emptyset$         *j'aa*,    *haku*    *d'o*  
STAT   be sick    ABS    1sg.    RESULT   NEG

*j'əga*    *lod'o*    *d'e*  
work    day        DEM2sg.

'I am sick, so I'm not working today.'

STATIVE *do*

*ta*                    *keloe*            *tuu-tuu*    *ke*         $\emptyset$   
NON-PAST   be tired    EXCESS    PART    ABS

*j'aa*,    *haku*    *do*        *d'o*    *kako*     $\emptyset$         *j'aa*  
1sg.    RESULT   STAT    NEG    go        ABS    1sg.

*la*    *dimu*  
GFS   Dimu

'I became very tired, so I have not gone to Dimu.'

REL *do*

*ne*    *hubi*            *due*        *do*    *d'o*    *jad'i*  
ART   blossom    lontar    REL    NEG    become

*ta*                    *ŋape*  
NON-PAST   squeeze(sg.)

'the lontar blossoms which cannot be squeezed'

### 8.14.3 'NOT YET': *dae d'o*, *ad'o dae*

#### 8.14.3.0 Introduction

*dae d'o* and *ad'o dae* also perform a non-imperative negative function, meaning 'not now, but possible later' (i.e. 'not yet'). *ad'o* is the negative particle 'NO, NOT'. The particle *dae* 'YET' is only known to occur in *dae d'o* and *ad'o dae*.

#### 8.14.3.1 *dae d'o*

*dae d'o*, which may or may not be used in response to a question, always occurs immediately after the verb it negates. e.g. Response to a question

Question: *bəj'i*       $\emptyset$       *muu?*  
be asleep    ABS    2pl.

'Are you(pl.) asleep?'

Response: *bəj'i*      *dae d'o*     $\emptyset$   
be asleep    YET    NOT    ABS

*j'ii*  
lpl.(excl.)

'We are not asleep yet.'

#### Observation

*duae merei*      *dae d'o ti*      *bəj'i*  
king wake up    YET    NOT    SCE    sleep

'The king is not awake yet.'

#### 8.14.3.2 *ad'o dae*

*ad'o dae*, which is only used in response to a question, also negates verbs, but only occurs alone.

Question: *merei*      *ke*       $\emptyset$       *noo?*  
wake up    PART    ABS    3sg.

'Is he awake?'

Response: *ad'o dae. nəne*      *do*  
NOT    YET    be near(sg.)    STAT

*bəj'i*      *ko*  
be asleep    PART

'Not yet. (He) is still asleep.'

#### 8.14.4 Comparative notes

Like Sawu, Ndao has a non-imperative negative particle *ad'o*. It is possible that both are related to:

(1) Sumba Kodi negative particle *ndjadoe* (Wielenga 1909:171) which can be interpreted as /*njad'u*/. Wielenga's *ndj* is a voiced prenasalised palatal affricate /*nj*/; *oe* is consistently /*u*/, and it is likely that *d* is implosive /*d'*/ as in other Sumba languages/dialects.

(2) Sumba Kampera post-verbal particle *d'u*, which appears to be restricted to clauses with negative-imperative particle *əmbu* 'DON'T' (writer's fieldnotes). e.g.

*əmbu uhuk d'u*  
DON'T sit PART

'Don't sit.'

#### 8.15 Possession

Sawu indicates possession by postposing a pronoun, possessor noun, or possessive relative clause.

- (1) possessive pronouns (see 4.1 )
- (2) possessor nouns

e.g. *əmu duae*  
house king

'king's house'

This Sawu construction, where the possessed precedes the possessor, is typical of Indonesian languages to the west of the Brandes Line (Capell 1965; Cowan 1965). It differs from those east of the line (e.g. Roti, Helong, Timor), where the possessor precedes the possessed.

Timor: *fafi' tusaf*  
pig hoof

'pig's hoof' (author's fieldnotes)

(3) possessive relative clauses with verbs *la'a*, *unu* and *oha* (all meaning 'own' or 'possess').

*j'e made ke*       $\emptyset$       *ne nadu'u*  
THEN die    PART    ABS    ART    fish

*la'a*       $\emptyset$       *j'aa hari-hari*  
possess    ERG    lsg      ←all→

'Then, all the fish I possess die.'

*ŋa'a unu*       $\emptyset$       *dii*      *ke*  
food possess    ERG    lpl.(incl.)    PART

*nad'e*  
DEM2sg.

'This is our food.'

*nad'e ne, əmu oha*       $\emptyset$       *noo*  
DEM2sg. ART house own    ERG    3sg.

'This is (the) house he owns.'

My data does not support Wijngaarden's belief (1896:89) that *oha* is restricted to inanimate possessions and *unu* to animate. Neither Wijngaarden nor Kern appear to be familiar with *la'a* 'possess, own'; while Lee (MS) is only aware of *oha*.

#### 8.16 Comparison

Sawu has three types of comparison.

8.16.1 *hela'u* 'be same'

The verb *hela'u* 'be same' indicates that two or more referents are the same. Its Case frame appears to be [ABS (COM)].

*pe-əla d'o hari do d'ue.*  
REC-finish(pl.) NEG ALL LIG two

*hela'u ø ne rui*  
be same ABS ART strength

'Neither can finish off the other. They are equal in strength.'

*hela'u ø nad'e ŋa nani*  
be same ABS DEM2sg. COM DEM4sg.

'This is the same as that.'

8.16.2 *mi* 'LIKE'

Similarity is indicated by a *mi* clause, which follows the verb it refers to. In both transitive and intransitive clauses, the verb of the *mi* clause can be deleted. In transitive clauses, the NP which is not the standard of comparison can be deleted.

Transitive verb deleted

*minami ŋi ta nara ø j'aa*  
HOW PURP NON-PAST get ERG 1sg.

*ø ne doi do ae mi ø*  
ABS ART coin REL be many LIKE ERG

*noo nahid'e*  
3sg. DEM4pl.

'How can I get lots of coins like he got?'

Intransitive verb deleted

*kako ø noo mi ø nadu'u*  
go ABS 3sg. LIKE ABS fish

'He {moves  
goes along} like a fish.'

Transitive NP deleted

*ha'o ø noo mi ha'o*  
nurse(sg.) ABS 3sg. LIKE nurse(sg.)

*ri mama*  
ERG mother

'Nurse him like mother does!'

8.16.3 *rihi (ti)ŋa* 'MORE THAN'

*rihi (ti)ŋa* indicates that a certain referent has more of something than another. *rihi* 'MORE' always precedes the first clause. *ŋa* 'THAN' immediately precedes the clause which is the standard of comparison, if it is the first clause. If it is the second, it can be preceded by *tiŋa* or *ŋa*. It is usual for the intransitive verb of the second clause to be deleted.

*do rihi keb'əb'u ø ina*  
STAT MORE be fat ABS mother

*ou (ti)ŋa ø ina j'aa*  
POSS2sg. THAN ABS mother POSS1sg.

'Your mother is fatter than my mother.'

*do rihi ŋa keb'əb'u ø ina*  
STAT MORE THAN be fat ABS mother

*j'aa ø ina ou*  
POSS1sg. ABS mother POSS2sg.

'Your mother is fatter than my mother.'

8.17 Coordination

8.17.0 Introduction

Coordination of non-sequential clauses is indicated by a conjunction placed between the two clauses. With three or more clauses indicating a sequence, the conjunction is only obligatory between the last two clauses (see 8.17.2 ).

8.17.1 *ŋa* 'AND'

*ŋa* conjoins two clauses which represent the same time span. Unlike *j'e* (8.17.2 ) and *d'ai/d'ae* (8.17.3 ), it does not indicate that the action, process or state of the second clause is subsequent to that of the former.

*b'ale ø noo ŋa peŋee*  
return ABS 3sg. AND think

'He returns thinking'

*ta kako ke ø bəla dilu*  
NON-PAST go PART ABS Bəla Dilu

*ŋa əgo ø uda la*  
AND carry(sg.) ABS crow-bar GFS

*d'ara d'oka ne*  
interior plantation DEM1sg.

'Bəla Dilu goes into the plantation carrying a crow-bar.'

*uru ti d'o kako ø noo,*  
before SCE NEG go ABS 3sg.

*b'uke ri noo ø ne huri*  
write(sg.) ERG 3sg. ABS ART letter

*wie duae ŋa əgu wo-kerəb'o*  
BEN king AND fetch(pl.) PROD-pumpkin

*d'ue b'ue*  
two COUNT

'Before he left, he wrote a letter for the king and fetched two pumpkins.'



### 8.17.2 *j'e* 'THEN'

*j'e* indicates a temporal relation between two clauses such that the action, process or state of the second is subsequent to the former. *j'e* can immediately precede any clause after the first clause, but must precede the last clause in a sequence.

*puru*     $\emptyset$     *ubu naba, da'o*  
descend ABS Ubu Naba scrape up(sg.)

$\emptyset$     *ne dei jara ne, j'e*  
ABS ART dung horse DEM1sg. THEN

*ihe*    *la d'ara beka kenana*  
put(sg.) GFS interior basket betel

*duae*  
king

'Ubu Naba gets down, scrapes up the horse dung, then drops it into the king's betel basket.'

*uj'e*     $\emptyset$     *ubu naba, j'e*  
tie up(sg.) ABS Ubu Naba THEN

*b'ado*    *pa d'ara kerogo*  
enclose(sg.) LOC interior cage

*b'ahi, j'e merec*  
iron THEN carry(sg.)

'(They) tie up Ubu Naba, then enclose him in an iron cage, then carry (him).'

### 8.17.3 *d'ai, d'ae* 'THEN'

*d'ai* and *d'ae* indicate a temporal relation between two clauses such that the action, process or state of the second is subsequent to the former. *d'ai* or *d'ae* immediately precedes the second clause.

There appears to be no difference in function between *d'ai* and *d'ae*. It is possible that the conjunctions are historically related to the verb *d'ai* 'arrive', and that *d'ae*, *d'ai* reflect an earlier 'singular' versus 'plural' verb agreement distinction (see 5.2.1).

The difference in function between *j'e* and *d'ai/d'ae* is characterised by the examples in 8.17.2 and below. *j'e* is typically used as a conjunction in the description of a sequence of actions, processes or states, while *d'ai, d'ae* typically occur in descriptions of conversation and accordingly often precede speech verbs *ane* 'say', *keb'ali* 'ask', etc.

"*wie ko we*     $\emptyset$     *j'aa*     $\emptyset$   
give PART PART ABS lsg. ABS

*he-wue*    *rupia ... ta*  
one-COUNT(sg.) rupiah NON-PAST

*wali*     $\emptyset$     *na'a lod'o d'e", mi*  
buy ABS food day DEM2sg. LIKE

*he*    *ane*     $\emptyset$     *ne lii, d'ae ane*  
DEM1pl. say ABS ART say THEN say

$\emptyset$     *naiki napune, "pi'a d'o*     $\emptyset$   
ERG child DEM1sg. be(pl.) NEG ABS

*doi ta*    *wie*     $\emptyset$     *ou."*  
money NON-PAST give ABS 2sg.

"Give me one rupiah to buy food today," (the blind man) says. Then the child says, "There isn't any money to give you."

### 8.17.4 *b'ale* 'THEN'

*b'ale* 'THEN' performs the same function as *d'ai, d'ae*. It is possible that this conjunction is historically related to the verb *b'ale* 'return'.

*b'ale ane*     $\emptyset$     *ina ne*     $\emptyset$   
THEN say ERG mother DEM1sg. ABS

"*pee pa emu*"  
stay LOC house

'Then the mother says, "Stay in the house."

### 8.17.5 *ta* 'AFTER'

*ta* 'AFTER' occurs before Past-completive *ela ... pe-*, and temporal nouns. Accordingly, it indicates the time after a completed action or specified time.

*ta*    *ela*    *pe-nono,*    *ta*  
AFTER PAST(pl.) PAST-dry(pl.) NON-PAST

*b'ale ke la tabi dahi*  
return PART GFS edge sea

'Having dried (the cotton thread), she returns to the beach.'

*d'ai ta j'emiae, ta ha'e*  
THEN AFTER sunrise NON-PAST climb

*ke*     $\emptyset$     *ne do weka ne la*  
PART ABS ART REL be old DEM1sg. GFS

*d'emu emu ne*  
loft house DEM1sg.

'Then after sunrise, the old man climbs up to the house loft.'

### 8.17.6 *tapulara, tapi, (wata)* 'BUT'

*tapulara* and *tapi* both indicate a contrastive relationship between two clauses. *tapulara* or *tapi* precedes the second clause (*tapi* is a Malay loanword - from Malay *tapi, tetapi* 'but').

*nde*    *ma ri j'aa, tapi*  
see(sg.) EMPH ERG lsg. BUT

*pid'e*    *d'o ri j'aa*  
pick up(sg.) NEG ERG lsg.

'I did see (it), but did not pick (it) up.'

*əñe ta ləka pa dii*  
 think COMPL strike LOC lpl.(incl.)

*ke tapulara do ləka pa əru*  
 PART BUT STAT strike LOC pot

*kəbo noo ma miha*  
 red dye POSS3sg. EMPH SELF

'He thinks that (the boulders) struck us,  
 but they have struck his own red-dye  
 pots.'

Kern (1892:80) and Wijngaarden (1896:112)  
 attribute a contrastive function to *wata*.

*ad'o he-wari wata he-ŋahu wari*  
 NEG one-time BUT one-hundred time

'Not once, but a hundred times' (Kern)

In my data, it only occurs as an infrequent  
 particle, (see 7.14 ).

### 8.17.7 *we* 'OR'

*we* indicates an alternative relationship  
 between two clauses. It always precedes the  
 second clause.

*toi d'o ri j'aa ø ta do*  
 know NEG ERG lsg. ABS COMPL STAT

*toi ri noo we ad'o*  
 know ERG 3sg. OR NOT

'I do not know whether he knows or not.'

*era ø meo we ŋaka pa ni*  
 be ABS cat OR dog LOC DEM4sg.

'Is there a cat or a dog over there?'

## 8.18 Complementation

### 8.18.1 *ta* complements

A *ta* complement is a nominalised clause  
 in which complementiser *ta* immediately pre-  
 cedes the clause. *ta* complements are always  
 clause final, and occur as ABS NPs of psy-  
 chological state verbs (e.g. 'know, think'),  
 perception verbs (e.g. 'see, hear') and verbs  
 like *həpo* 'decide' (see example at 7.14 ).

#### Psychological state verbs

*do toi ri bəla dilu ø ta*  
 STAT know ERG Bəla Dilu ABS COMPL

*do bəj'i ke ø med'o*  
 STAT be asleep PART ABS med'o

*kepəlu ŋa lobo kepəlu*  
 Kepəlu AND Lobo Kepəlu

'Bəla Dilu knows that Med'o Kepəlu and  
 Lobo Kepəlu are asleep.'

*toi d'o ri noo ø ta j'aa*  
 know NEG ERG 3sg. ABS COMPL lsg.

*ne duae pa rai d'e*  
 ART king LOC region DEM2sg.

'He doesn't know that I am king in this  
 region.'

#### Perception verbs

*ŋəde ri dou he ø*  
 see(sg.) ERG person DEM1pl. ABS

*ta dou pa d'ara karo*  
 COMPL person LOC interior bag

*d'e*  
 DEM2sg.

'The people saw that there was somebody  
 inside the bag.'

### 8.18.2 Clausal complements

Clausal Complements are clauses which  
 stand as complements to speech verbs (e.g.  
 'order, say, ask') and verbs like *məd'e*  
 'choose'. Each Clausal Complement follows the  
 clause it complements, and begins with NON-  
 PAST *ta*. Its ERG or intransitive ABS NP (which  
 is coreferential with the ABS NP of the verb  
 it complements) is deleted.

*ta pejuu ø dou ø*  
 NON-PAST order(pl.) ABS person ERG

*duae ta kako la pedoe ø*  
 king NON-PAST go DFS call(sg.) ABS

*noo*  
 3sg.

'The king orders the people to go and  
 call her.'

*ø j'aa d'e ta məd'e*  
 ABS lsg. DEM2sg. NON-PAST choose

*ta jad'i ta kətu*  
 NON-PAST become RESULT head

'I am chosen to become the head (of gov-  
 ernment).'

### 8.19 Deletion

When it is assumed that the hearer(s)  
 will be able to identify the referent(s), the  
 Sawu speaker can omit verbs, NPs (ERG, ABS and  
 GA) and heads of NPs. This assumption can be  
 based on linguistic (i.e. previous mention in  
 discourse) and extra-linguistic (e.g. common  
 knowledge, visible to both, etc.) factors.

#### Verb

*kako ø noo mi ø nadu'u*  
 go ABS 3sg. LIKE ABS FISH

'She moves along like a fish (moves  
 along).'

#### ERG and ABS

*puru ø noo, da'o ø*  
 get down ABS 3sg. scrape up(sg.) ABS

ne dei jara ne, j'e  
ART dung horse DEM1sg. THEN

ihe la d'ara beka kenana  
fill(sg.) GFS interior basket betel

duae  
king

'He got down, (he) scraped up the horse dung, then (he) dropped (it) into the king's betel basket.'

GA

əla ø ma bura tohi  
PAST(pl.) ERG Mr Bura Tohi

pe-kehəb'a ø b'ada, wie d'o  
PAST-butcher ABS animal give NEG

ri ma hab'a maru ø ne ŋaa-ŋaa  
ERG Mr Hab'a Maru ABS ART anything

'Mr Bura Tohi finished butchering the animals, (and) Mr Hab'a Maru did not give (him) anything.'

Head of NP

"reke ri ou ø ne kolo-ku'u  
count ERG 2sg. ABS ART top-finger

pa kae ŋa'a ou." d'ae  
LOC hand/foot food POSS2sg. THEN

ane ø ana ne wəri ø  
say ERG child DEM1sg. again ABS

ne keb'ali, "he-laa we we  
ART question one-COUNT ONLY OR

hari d'ue laa?"  
ALL two COUNT

'(The father said,) "You count the fingers on your hand(s)." Then once again the child asked, "only one (hand) or both (hands)?"'

## 8.20 Word order and the leftmost NP

In many languages, the clause's leftmost NP has special significance. In some, it represents a particular role (e.g. Actor or Experiencer and not Patient or Goal). In some it represents the most highly referential NP. It is, therefore, the aim of this section to examine whether role and reference factors in any way influence the Sawu speakers choice of leftmost NP.

### 8.20.1 Role

Each Sawu case represents a particular semantic role or range of semantic roles (4.4, 8.1.1). Therefore, an analysis of the relative word order of the case of NPs will highlight any preference of a particular role or range of roles for the leftmost position.

#### Intransitive

In an intransitive clause, the ABS NP

is almost without exception the leftmost NP. There is, thus, a strong correlation between role and word order.

#### Transitive

A thorough examination of eight lengthy texts revealed that the leftmost NP in a transitive clause is usually ERG or ABS. Using a data base of 75 clauses from these eight texts, it was also discovered that the leftmost ABS NP precedes the ERG NP almost as often as the leftmost ERG NP precedes the ABS (see table 9).

Table 9: Word order of ERG and ABS NPs

Relative word order			NO.	%
Verb	ERG	ABS	39	52
Verb	ABS	ERG	36	48
Totals:			75	100

We can, therefore, conclude that role is significant in a transitive clause in that ERG and ABS NPs usually precede other NPs, but is not significant with regard to the relative order of ERG and ABS within the same clause.

### 8.20.2 Reference

In Sawu, referents of NPs can be unambiguously rated as being more highly referential than the referents of other NPs on the basis of (1) their position on the Referentiality Hierarchy, and (2) whether they are definite or indefinite.

#### 8.20.2.1 Referentiality hierarchy

It is clear that in some languages, the word order of NPs in a clause is determined by a referential hierarchy. For example, in Navajo (Hale 1972), the NP whose referent is higher on the Navajo referential hierarchy will be the leftmost. Thus 'human' would precede 'other animate', and 'animate' would precede 'inanimate'.

human > other inanimate > inanimate

Furthermore, Foley and Van Valin (1977) observe that "there appears to be a universal hierarchy of inherent topic-worthiness called variously the Natural Topic Hierarchy (Hawkinson and Hyman 1974), Inherent Lexical Content Hierarchy (Silverstein 1977) and Referentiality Hierarchy (Foley 1976b)." The Hierarchy in universal terms is (Foley 1976b):

speaker > hearer > human proper >  
human common > animate > inanimate

An NP whose referent is higher on the Referentiality Hierarchy (RH) will be referred to as more highly RH referential.

#### Intransitive

In an intransitive clause the more highly RH referential NP is almost without exception the leftmost NP. There is thus a strong correlation between RH referentiality and word order.

#### Transitive

In a transitive clause, a more highly RH

referential NP precedes a lower NP by a ratio of 3:2.

Table 10: Word order of RH Referential NPs

Relative word order			NO.	%
Verb	High	Low	45	60
Verb	Low	High	28	37
Verb	Same	Same	2	3
Totals:			75	100

The statistics in Table 10 indicate that while a more highly RH referential NP is preferred in leftmost position, it is not always in that position. We can only conclude that if RH referentiality is a factor in determining the leftmost NP in a transitive clause, it is clearly not the only factor.

#### 8.20.2.2 Definiteness

A definite NP is one whose referent is identifiable. In Chafe's words, 'The assumption in this case is not just "I assume you already know this referent", but also "I assume you can pick out, from all the referents that might be categorized in this way the one I have in mind"' (1976:39). Definite NPs are therefore more highly referential than indefinite NPs.

In a Sawu transitive clause, the most common pattern (see Table 11) is the verb followed by two definite NPs (60%). Of the remainder, Verb-Indefinite NP-Definite NP (23%) is slightly more common than Verb-Definite NP-Indefinite NP (13%). As intransitive clauses reveal a similar pattern, we must conclude that there is no obvious link between definiteness and the leftmost NP.

Table 11: Word order of Definite NPs

Relative word order			No.	%
Verb	Definite	Definite	45	60
Verb	Definite	Indefinite	10	13
Verb	Indefinite	Definite	17	23
Verb	Indefinite	Indefinite	3	4
Totals:			75	100

### 8.21 The distribution of Keenan's subject properties

#### 8.21.0 Introduction

Keenan (1976) has devised a list of subject properties which, he claims, will enable one to identify the subject in the basic clause of any language. He admits that no property in itself is sufficient to identify the subject. Rather, the NP with the most subject properties is the subject. It is, therefore, the aim of this section to analyse the distribution of some of these subject properties in the Sawu clause.

#### 8.21.1 The properties

The properties to be discussed are as follows:

##### 8.21.1.1 Role properties

1. "The semantic role (Agent, Experiencer,

etc.) of the referent of a b-subject is predictable from the form of the main verb" (p.321). b-subjects are the subjects of "semantically basic sentences" (p.306).

2. "b-subjects normally express the agent of the action, if there is one." (p.321)
3. "Subjects normally express the addressee phrase of imperatives." (p.321)
4. "Independent existence. The entity that a b-subject refers to (if any) exists independently of the action or property expressed by the predicate. This is less true for non-subjects." (pp.312-13)

##### 8.21.1.2 Reference properties (Ref.)

1. The NPs which can be coreferentially deleted across coordinate conjunctions include b-subjects. (p.317)
2. b-subjects are among the possible controllers of coreferential deletions and pronominalizations. (p.315)
3. Topic. b-subjects are normally the topic of the b-sentence, i.e. they identify what the speaker is talking about. (p.318)
4. The NPs which can be relativized ... include b-subjects. (p.320)
5. "Highly Referential" NPs, e.g. personal pronouns, proper nouns, and demonstratives can always occur as subjects. (p.319)
6. b-subjects are normally the leftmost occurring NP in b-sentences.
7. The NPs which can be ... questioned ... include b subjects.

##### 8.21.1.3 Other properties

1. b-subjects of intransitive sentences are usually not case marked if any of the NPs in the language are not case marked. (p.320)
2. The NPs which control verb agreement, if any, include b-subjects. (p.316)

#### 8.21.2 Distribution

The distribution of Keenan's subject properties in Sawu differs according to the transitivity of the verb.

##### 8.21.2.1 Intransitive

If we accept Keenan's hypothesis, the subject of a Sawu intransitive clause must be the ABS NP because it has more of the role, reference and other properties of subjects than any other NP.

##### Role properties

- (1) Role 1. In Sawu, the semantic role of the ABS referent is weakly predictable from the form of the main verb, if it is one of the few intransitive agreement verbs. As we saw in 4.4, referents of intransitive ABS NPs are:
  - (a) referents which do something,
  - (b) referents to which a non-cognitive state is attributed,
  - (c) referents to which a change of state is attributed,
  - (d) referents which do something which

brings about a change of state in that referent,  
(e) referents which cry, laugh, etc.

- (2) Role 2. If the agent of the action can be described as 'the referent which does something', then intransitive ABS NPs express the agent of the action, if there is one.
- (3) Role 3. In intransitive clauses, ABS NPs always express the addressee phrase of imperatives.

*j'e b'ale d'əŋe-d'əŋe ø ou*  
THEN return IMMEDIATELY ABS 2sg.

'Then you return immediately.'

#### Reference properties

- (1) Ref. 1. Intransitive ABS NPs can be coreferentially deleted across coordinate conjunctions.

*kako ø noo la təbi dahi j'e*  
go ABS 3sg. GFS edge sea THEN

*j'iu-ei*  
bathe

'He goes to the sea-shore, then (he) bathes.'

- (2) Ref. 2. Only the ABS NP can control coreferential deletion across clauses.

*ta kako ø roo la hore*  
NON-PAST go ABS 3pl. DFS throw(sg.)

*ø noo la d'ara dahi*  
ABS 3sg. GFS inside sea

'They will go and (they will) throw him into the sea.'

- (3) Ref. 3. ABS NPs usually identify what the speaker is talking about.

*ta kako ke ø roo la*  
NON-PAST go PART ABS 3pl. GFS

*həb'a*  
Seba

'They go to Seba.'

In the preceding clauses, the two main characters of the story have been introduced. The journey to Seba is the first of a series of events about these two characters, here represented by *roo* 'they'.

- (4) Ref. 4. The ABS NP is one of three intransitive NPs which can be relativised (see 8.6.1).

*dou do kako d'ei ruj'ara*  
person REL walk RCE path

'Someone who is walking along the path.'

- (5) Ref. 5. The ABS NP can be highly RH referential, and can be definite (see 8.20.2).

- (6) Ref. 6. The intransitive ABS NP is almost invariably the leftmost NP (see 8.20.1).

- (7) Ref. 7. The ABS NP is among those which can be questioned.

*ta mari ø naduu*  
NON-PAST laugh ABS WHO

'Who is laughing?'

#### Other properties

There is no clear indication that the two properties below should be regarded as either role-related or reference-related. They do, however, confirm the choice of intransitive ABS as subject.

- (1) Other 1. Unlike other intransitive NPs, the ABS is always unmarked for Case (see 4.4).
- (2) Other 2. With a few intransitive verbs, the ABS NP controls verb agreement.

*ta pekəŋu ø ne ŋaka*  
NON-PAST yelp(pl.) ABS ART dog

*he*  
DEM1pl.

'The dogs are yelping.'

*ta pekəŋo ø ne ŋaka*  
NON-PAST yelp(sg.) ABS ART dog

*ne*  
DEM1sg.

'The dog is yelping.'

*ta ila ø roo*  
NON-PAST disappear(pl.) ABS 3pl.

'They will disappear.'

*ta ele ø noo*  
NON-PAST disappear(sg.) ABS 3sg.

'He will disappear.'

#### 8.21.2.2 Transitive

In Sawu transitive clauses, ERG and ABS NPs have more of Keenan's subject properties than other NPs.

#### Role properties

##### ERG

- (1) Role 1. The semantic role of the ERG referent is not predictable from the form of the main verb. Referents of ERG NPs are usually:
- referents which do something to another referent,
  - referents which bring into being another referent as the result of an action,
  - referents which communicate something,
  - referents which perceive another referent,
  - referents to which a cognitive state is attributed,
  - referents which secure ABS referents in LOC referents.

(2) Role 2. If the agent of the action can be described as 'the referent which does something', then ERG NPs express the agent of the action, if there is one.

(3) Role 3. Since ERG referents include those which do something, ERG NPs always express the addressee phrase of imperatives.

*əgo ri ou ø ne boto*  
take(sg.) ERG 2sg. ABS ART bottle

*nad'e*  
DEM2sg.

'You take this bottle.'

(4) Role 4. Since ERG referents can bring into being an ABS referent as the result of an action, we can say that "independent existence" is truer of an ERG referent than it is for an ABS referent.

*b'uke ri noo ø ne huri*  
write(sg.) ERG 3sg. ABS ART letter

'He wrote a letter.'

ABS

(1) Role 1. The semantic role of the ABS referent is predictable from the form of the main verb if it is an agreement verb. Referents of transitive ABS NPs are usually:  
(a) referents to which something is done,  
(b) referents which come into being as the result of an action,  
(c) referents to which something is given,  
(d) referents which are the communication of a communication verb,  
(e) referents which are perceived,  
(f) referents which are the content of a cognitive state verb.

(2) Role 2. Since the referents of transitive ABS NPs never do anything, they never express the agent of the action.

(3) Role 3. For the same reason as (2), transitive ABS NPs never express the addressee phrase of imperatives.

(4) Role 4. Since ABS referents include those which come into being as the result of an action, "independent existence" is less true of an ABS referent than it is for an ERG referent.

Reference properties

ERG and ABS NPs share the following referential properties.

(1) Ref. 1. Only ERG and ABS NPs can be coreferentially deleted across clauses.

*həme ri duae ø ne*  
receive(sg.) ERG king ABS ART

*huri napune, j'e aj'e*  
letter DEM1sg. THEN read

'The king received the letter, then (he) read (it).'

(2) Ref. 2. It follows that ERG and ABS NPs are among the possible controllers of coreferential deletions and pronominalisations.

(3) Ref. 3. Either ERG or ABS NPs can be what the speaker is talking about.

ERG *ta kako ke ø noo la*  
NON-PAST go PART ABS 3sg. GFS

*dahi ŋa hape ø j'ala.*  
sea AND carry ABS net

*j'ala-j'ala ø noo ø nadu'u*  
(to) net-RED ERG 3sg. ABS fish

*rai j'əmiae tade məd'a*  
SINCE morning UNTIL night

'He goes to the sea carrying a fish-net. He nets fish from morning until night.'

The clauses above occur in a text about a fisherman. In two clauses, he is represented by the third person singular pronoun, *noo*, which is in ABS Case in the first clause, and ERG Case in the second clause.

ABS *pe'e ke ø nalehu*  
BE WHERE(sg.) PART ABS handkerchief

*j'aa. ŋede le d'o ri*  
POSS1sg. see(sg.) ALSO NEG ERG

*ou ø ne nalehu j'aa*  
2sg. ABS ART handkerchief POSS1sg.

*do bui ŋine ne pa*  
REL fall earlier DEM1sg. LOC

*ruj'ara ne*  
road DEM1sg.

'(The king said) "Where is my handkerchief? Did you also miss seeing my handkerchief which fell on the road earlier."'

These two clauses occur in a text about the king's handkerchief. In both clauses, the handkerchief is in ABS case.

(4) Ref. 4. Both ERG and ABS NPs can be relativised (see 8.6).

(5) Ref. 5. Both ERG and ABS NPs can be highly RH referential, and can be definite (see 8.20.2).

(6) The leftmost NP is normally either the ERG or the ABS NP (see 8.20.1).

(7) Both ERG and ABS NPs are among those which can be questioned.

ERG *heleo ø noo ri naduu*  
see ABS 3sg. ERG WHO

'Who saw him?'

ABS *wae ta ŋa'a ø ne ŋaa*  
WANT NON-PAST eat ABS ART WHAT

*ri ou*  
ERG 2sg.

'What do you want to eat?'

Other properties

Other 2. Only transitive ABS NPs and CA NPs can control verb agreement. The distribution of Keenan subject properties in Sawu transi-

tive clauses are summarized in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Subject properties

subject properties	ERG	ABS
role properties		
1. semantic role from verb		1
2. expresses the agent	1	
3. imperative addressee	1	
4. independent existence	1	
referential properties		
1. can be coreferentially deleted	1	1
2. can control coreferential deletion	1	1
3. what the speaker is talking about	1	1
4. can be relativised	1	1
5. RH referential and definite	1	1
6. leftmost NP	1	1
7. can be questioned	1	1
other property		
verb agreement		1
Totals	10	9

- We can, therefore, observe that:
- (1) the role properties most of which are Agent (=Actor) oriented, favour ERG as subject.
  - (2) the referential properties, which are evenly distributed among the ERG and ABS NPs, do not favour either as subject.
  - (3) the verb agreement property supports the choice of ABS as subject.

Overall, the properties are fairly evenly distributed among ERG and ABS. Neither candidate has "a clear preponderance of the subject properties" which Keenan (1976:312) claims will enable us to identify subject.

Sawu, therefore, joins a number of other languages (e.g. Philippine languages - Schachter 1976; Barai, P.N.G. - Olson 1976; Lakhota - Foley and Van Valin 1977) which do not have a clearly discernable transitive subject. All, however, do have clearly recognisable role and reference properties which interact in language specific ways.

\* \* \*

## SAWU AND NDAO

## 9.0 Introduction

Ndao is the language of more than 2,000 people who live on the islands of Ndao and Nuse within 12 kms of the west coast of Roti, but some 90 kms from Sawu. Ndao is larger than Nuse "with a habitable area of 9 sq.km." "The soil is poor, and the land is bare and given over largely to coconut palms." Thus, the "island supports only a limited amount of house garden agriculture." The "chief domesticated animals are pigs, chickens and dogs" and the major exports "copra and coconut oil." "The men of Ndao are gold-and-silver smiths who travel throughout the Timor Archipelago." Most are multilingual. (This account is taken from Fox 1972.)

The Ndao people claim that their ancestors came from Sawu, that for a long period of time there was extensive trade between the two, and that the Ndao were able to resist the cultural influences of neighbouring Roti. But in the last ten to twenty years there have been a number of significant changes. Their "communal ceremonies that followed an ancient lunar calendar" have been abandoned, and their traditional Sawu-like cloth patterns have been replaced by those of Roti (Fox - personal communication). Many Ndao now speak Roti, wear distinctive Roti hats, and betray Roti influence in their Ndao lexicon.

My own research on Ndao was carried out in Kupang from November 1975, to January 1976. My informants were Mr. Petrus Lodoh (then, a 21 year old schoolteacher) and Paulus Fatu (then, a 32 year old silver craftsman and shipping agent). Both were valuable sources of elicited material, and Paulus narrated eight texts (a total of 30 minutes).

To my knowledge, the only literature on the language of Ndao is as follows:

- (1) Jonker (1903) provides a text, Dutch translation, and grammatical and comparative notes. He is the first to observe that "De taal bleek een Sawunesch dialect te zijn" (i.e. the language is clearly a Sawu dialect).
- (2) Fox (1972) notes "considerable lexical borrowing from Western Rotinese", and that it "is syntactically closely related to Savunese."
- (3) A list of over 200 words by Jacobis Fatu (part of the James Fox collection).
- (4) Fox (1977: 268) writes, "Ndaonese can be considered as a dialect of Savunese. Both the Savunese and Ndaonese people assure me that despite certain differences, they can understand one another."

There is little doubt that the two languages/dialects have much in common (particularly in the lexicon), but there are important differences which may justify the description of Ndao as a separate language.

This chapter is, then, an attempt to outline some of the similarities and differences.

## 9.1 Phonology

## 9.1.1 Phoneme inventories

The phoneme inventories are very similar. Ndao has 21 consonants and six vowels, while Sawu has 20 and six respectively. Ndao and Sawu are unique in that they are the only languages of eastern Indonesia to have four implosive stops. Ndao has /s/ and /c/ which Sawu does not. Sawu has /w/ which Ndao does not. The vowel phonemes are identical (compare 2.0).

Table 13: Ndao Consonant Phonemes

	labial	alveo-dental	alveo-palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	
voiced stop	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>	
voiceless affricate			<i>c</i>		
voiced affricate			<i>j</i>		
implosive stop	<i>b'</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>j'</i>	<i>g'</i>	
glottal stop					<i>ʔ</i>
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
lateral		<i>l</i>			
trill/flap		<i>r</i>			
fricative		<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>

Table 14: Ndao Vowel Phonemes

	front	central	back
high	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
mid	<i>e</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>
low		<i>a</i>	

## 9.1.2 Phonotactics

With the exception of a few words which have four or more syllables, an Ndao root has the same phonological structure as Sawu, i.e.  $(C_1V_1)(C_2)V_2(C_3)V_3$ . I have not done a count of disyllables and trisyllables but the latter seem to be much more common in Ndao than Sawu.

Like Sawu, Ndao  $C_3$  can be any consonant, and  $C_2$  any consonant except glottal stop. Similarly,  $V_2$  can be any vowel, and  $V_3$  any vowel except shewa. Ndao  $V_1$  is almost invariably *a*. This corresponds to 80% of Sawu  $V_1$  being *e*.

## 9.1.3 Vowel clusters

The range of Ndao disyllabic clusters approximates that of Sawu. I have as yet been unable to find an example with *io*.

## 9.1.4 Word stress



Ndao word stress is penultimate.

## 9.2 Noun phrase constituents, verbs, clause modifiers

### 9.2.1 Pronouns

Table 15: Ndao pronouns

Singular		Plural	
1	{ <i>ja'a</i> } (most people) { <i>jaa</i> } (Sawu <i>j'aa</i> ) <i>ja'o</i> (older people)	1	(incl.) <i>ədi</i> (Sawu <i>dii</i> ) (excl.) <i>ji'i</i> (Sawu <i>j'ii</i> )
2	<i>ou</i> (Sawu <i>ou</i> )	2	<i>miu</i> (Sawu <i>muu</i> )
3	{ <i>nəŋu</i> } (Sawu <i>noo</i> ) <i>nuu</i>	3	{ <i>rəŋu</i> } (Sawu <i>roo</i> ) <i>ruu</i>

*jaa* (sg.), *nuu* (3sg.) and *ruu* (3pl.) usually occur in rapid speech, and may be indicative of the kinds of processes involved in the development of the Sawu equivalents /*j'aa*/, /*noo*/, and /*roo*/. Like Sawu, Ndao Possessive Pronouns occur immediately after the head noun, and before Numerals, Relative Clauses and Demonstrative Adjuncts. Normally, Ndao Independent and Possessive Pronouns are (like Sawu) identical in form, but the Ndao Reflexives give some indication of another set of Possessive Pronouns (see 9.3.4 for *ku* (1sg.), *mu* (2sg.), *na* (3sg.))

### 9.2.2 Demonstratives

Table 16: Ndao Demonstratives

	Singular	Plural
near speaker	<i>ne'e</i>	<i>ne'e</i>
distant from speaker	<i>əna</i> (most people) <i>nəna</i> (older people)	{ <i>nei</i> } { <i>se'e</i> }

Ndao does not have the range of distinctions as found in Sawu, but the forms have some similarity.

### 9.2.3 Common article *ne*

Unlike Sawu, Ndao seems to lack a common article.

### 9.2.4 Case prepositions

Ndao Case Prepositions are as follows:

LOCATIVE	(1) <i>ətu, tu</i> (Sawu <i>pa</i> ) (2) <i>ma</i> (3) <i>b'uli</i> (4) <i>ka</i>
GOAL (INANIMATE)	<i>sa</i> (Sawu <i>la, ma</i> )
SOURCE	<i>ŋəti, nəti, ti</i> (Sawu ( <i>rai</i> ) ( <i>ŋa</i> ) <i>ti</i> )
{ INSTRUMENT } { COMITATIVE }	<i>d'əŋe</i> (Sawu INST <i>ri</i> , COM <i>ŋa</i> )
{ GOAL (ANIMATE) } { BENEFACTIVE }	<i>hia</i> (Sawu GA <i>pa</i> , BEN <i>wie</i> )

Only the SOURCE prepositions, and the BENEFACTIVE have any resemblance to the Sawu forms, (*rai*) (*ŋa*)*ti* and *wie* respectively. The equivalent of Sawu ERG and ABS NPs are not marked, since they are easily determined by what appears to be a rigid ERG Verb ABS word order.

## 9.2.5 Numerals

### 9.2.5.1 Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals are essentially the same as the Sawu forms which are in parentheses below (see also 4.5.1).

1. <i>əci, ca-</i> ( <i>əhi, he-</i> )	6. <i>əna</i> ( <i>əna</i> )
2. <i>d'ua</i> ( <i>d'ue</i> )	7. <i>pidu</i> ( <i>pidu</i> )
3. <i>təlu</i> ( <i>təlu</i> )	8. <i>aru</i> ( <i>aru</i> )
4. <i>əpa</i> ( <i>əpa</i> )	9. <i>ceo</i> ( <i>heo</i> )
5. <i>ləmi</i> ( <i>ləmi</i> )	10. <i>ca-ŋuru</i> ( <i>he-ŋuru</i> )

### 9.2.5.2 Ordinal numerals

Ndao ordinal numerals are formed by prefixing *ka-*, the equivalent of Sawu *ke-* (see 4.5.2). e.g.

Ndao: <i>ka-əci</i>	Sawu: <i>ke-əhi</i>
ORD-one	ORD one
'first'	'first'

### 9.2.6 Counters (COUNT)

Ndao counters include:

- (1) *ci'u* (sg.), *ŋi'u* (pl) for animals, birds, fish, crabs, eels, etc. (Sawu *ŋi'u*). *ci'u* appears to be a reduction of *ca-ŋi'u* (i.e. one-COUNT).
- (2) *bəla* for counting number of traditional woven cloths and pandanus mats, but not trousers and paper (Sawu *b'əla*).
- (3) *b'əŋu* for rings and spoons (Sawu *b'əŋu*).
- (4) *kapua* for whole trees (Sawu *kepue*).
- (5) *mada* for rifles (Sawu *kewudi*).
- (6) *cue* (sg.), *bua* (pl.) for botanical produce, houses, plantations, etc. (Sawu *wue, b'ue*).
- (7) *kədəli* for slices of bread, meat, and (cut) lengths of string, rope (Sawu *kədəli*).
- (8) *lamusi* for grains of salt, sand or sugar, and peanuts (Sawu *lamuhi*).
- (9) *paku'u* just for pieces of cake (Sawu *kədəli*).
- (10) *katəŋa* for hardened lumps of lontar syrup (Sawu *wue, b'ue*).
- (11) *b'əka* for counting plates, cakes(?), and bracelets (not by pairs).
- (12) *ai* for counting bracelets by pairs.
- (13) *lai* for counting paper (Sawu *b'əla*).
- (14) *pacuru* for spoonfuls (Sawu *kab'a-huru*).
- (15) *əru* for pots (Sawu *əru*).
- (16) *sageri* for bunches of bananas (Sawu *hubi, jəpi*).
- (17) *ii* for bunches of bananas (Sawu *hubi, jəpi*).

In my data, Ndao Numeral plus Counter always follows the head noun, whereas the Sawu construction can occur before or after. About half the forms are similar to those in Sawu (see 4.6).

### 9.2.7 Nominalisation

Ndao has a technique for converting disyllabic verb roots to nouns which is unknown in Sawu. The rule can be summarised as follows:

$$(C_1)V_1C_2V_2 \longrightarrow (C_1)a-(C_1)V_1C_2V_2$$

Verb  Noun

- e.g. (1) *ŋa'a* (to) eat → *ŋa-ŋa'a'* food  
 (2) *ŋinu* (to) drink → *ŋa-ŋinu* drink  
 (3) *ŋee* (to) think → *ŋa-ŋee* thought  
 (4) *goe* (to) lock → *ga-goe* lock  
 (5) *sab'a* (to) work → *sa-sab'a* work  
 (6) *dui* (to) carry w. a stick → *da-dui* carrying stick  
 (7) *mou* be clean → *ma-mou* intelligence  
 (8) *abu* get, obtain → *a-abu* opinion

### 9.2.8 Verb agreement

Both Sawu and Ndao have Agreement verbs but the systems are quite different. In Sawu, a large number of verbs have two forms which differ primarily in the final vowel. One form agrees with the singular ABS or GA NP, and the other with the plural. While there are a number of verbs in Ndao with two forms which differ according to the final vowel, the available evidence suggests that they are free variants and not indicators of verb agreement.

- e.g. Ndao: *əta, əte* 'cut' (Sawu *əta, əte*)  
*pahia, pahie* 'sell' (Sawu *pewie*)  
*manahu, manaho* 'fall' (Sawu *menawu*)

There are, however, nine Ndao verbs in my data which do show verb agreement. These verbs agree in number and person with the Ndao equivalents of a Sawu ERG or intransitive ABS NP; and with the exception of the verb 'to go', primary distinctions are indicated by changes in the initial consonant as follows:

Singular	1	k-	Plural	1 (incl.)	t-
				1 (excl.)	ŋ-
	2	m-		2	m-
	3	n-		3	r-

(note the resemblance of *k-*, *m-* and *n-* to the possessive pronouns *ku*, *mu* and *na* mentioned in 9.2.1)

- e.g. 'to drink' (Sawu *ŋinu*)  
 Singular 1 *kinu* Plural 1 (incl.) *tinu*  
 (excl.) *ŋinu*  
 2 *minu* 2 *minu*  
 3 *ninu* 3 *rinu*

Other verbs *kədi* 'see' (Sawu *ŋədi*), *kədu* 'hold', *kəti* 'carry', *ke'a* 'know', *ko'o*

'want' (Sawu *o'o*) also show alternation in the initial consonant. The verbs for 'eat' and 'fetch' also show variation in the first vowel and final vowel, as follows:

- 'eat' (Sawu *ŋa'a*)  
 Singular 1 *ku'a* Plural 1 (incl.) *ta'a*  
 (excl.) *ŋa'a*  
 2 {*mu'a*} 2 *mi'a*  
 {*mu'e*}  
 3 {*na'a*} 3 {*ra'a*}  
 {*na'e*} {*ra'e*}

- 'fetch' (Sawu *nara*)  
 Singular 1 *kore* Plural 1 (incl.) *tare*  
 (excl.) *ŋare*  
 2 *more* 2 *mere*  
 3 {*nare*} 3 {*rare*}  
 {*nara*} {*rara*}

The verb 'go' varies in the medial consonant and final vowel as follows.

- Singular 1 *laku* Plural 1 (incl.) *lati*  
 (excl.) *la'a*  
 2 *lamu* 2 *lami*  
 3 *la'e* 3 *lasi*

The final CV pattern is remarkably similar to that of Austronesian possessive suffixes (e.g. \*-ŋku, \*-mu, \*-miw: Capell in Wurm and Wilson 1975).

### 9.2.9 Causative

Ndao can indicate a Causative function in three ways.

- (1) It can simply prefix Causative *pa-* (like Sawu Causative *pe-*) as in *pa-made* 'CAUSE-be dead, kill, murder' (Sawu *pe-made*).
- (2) Causative *pa-* can co-occur with verb *tao* 'make' as in *tao pa-be'a* meaning 'repair, make good' from *ne'a* 'be good'.
- (3) *tao* can simply precede another verb as in *tao hiu* 'replace' from *hiu* 'be new'. Sawu is, of course, restricted to using the causative *pe-* prefix (see 5.2.2). The use of *tao* in Ndao is probably attributable to the influence of other languages, particularly Bahasa Kupang (the non-standard Indonesian variant spoken in the region).

### 9.2.10 Reciprocal

The Ndao Reciprocal prefix is *pa-*, and functions just like Sawu *pe-*. e.g.

- kabao pa-təbu*  
 buffalo REC-bang head

'The buffalo are fighting' (i.e. butting each other)

### 9.2.11 Stative, past-completive and non-past

To my knowledge, Ndao has no equivalent to Sawu Stative marker *do*, Past-completive *əla* ... *pe-*, nor Non-past *ta*.

### 9.2.12 Directional markers

Ndao does not have directional markers *la* and *ma* like those in Sawu, but it does have

'verbs' *laku*, etc. 'go' and *mai* 'come' which immediately precede other verbs and indicate direction. It seems distinctly possible that the 1pl.(excl.) form of 'go' *la'a* (see 9.2.8) and *mai* 'come' are the historical antecedents of Sawu *la* and *ma*.

Ndao: Text 7

*ou lamu da'u kab'a kapui,*  
2sg. go(sg.) pick up shell oyster

*ka ou mai udu ma əmu ne'e*  
THEN 2sg come stack LOC house this

'You go and pick up oyster shells, then you come and stack (them) at this house.'

### 9.2.13 Existential and deictic verbs

I am not aware of an Ndao existential verb, or Ndao deictic verb. Perhaps the most likely candidate for the former is Ndao *era* which is identical in form to the Sawu existential verb *era*. In the few examples I have available, *era* appears to be some kind of non-obligatory present tense marker (PRES). e.g.

*ja'a kinu era*  
1sg. drink(1sg.) PRES

'I am drinking.'

*nəŋu sab'a era*  
3sg. work PRES

'He is (still) working.'

### 9.2.14 Clause modifiers

#### 9.2.14.1 Excessive adverbs

Ndao has at least one Excessive Adverb, *nəta*, which probably only applies to *kee* 'sweet'.

#### 9.2.14.2 Particles

I have been able to identify the following particles in Ndao.

(1) *ka* occurs immediately after the verb in both imperative and non-imperative clauses. It is possibly related to the Sawu Particle *ke* (see 7.12).

*əle ka*  
finish PART

'(It is) finished.'

*lamu ka, ana ja'a*  
go(2sg.) PART child POSS1sg.

'Go (home), my child.'

(2) *ku* occurs in imperative clauses, and is post-verbal. Compare Sawu *ko* (see 7.8).

*pa-na'i uru ku ana nei*  
CAUS-medicine FIRST PART child that

'Treat that child first.'

(3) *uru* as in the example above, means 'first', or 'before' some other action, process, or state. *uru* occurs in Sawu as a noun or verb meaning 'the time before', 'be before', or 'go before'.

(4) *di* means, 'just, only' as in the examples below.

*a'a di la'e*  
older sibling ONLY go(3sg.)

'Only (my) older sibling (will) go.'

*d'ua hari di*  
two times JUST

'Just twice.'

### 9.3 Syntax

#### 9.3.1 Word order

As mentioned in 9.2.4, the word orders of ERG Verb ABS and ABS Verb are the norm for transitive and intransitive clauses respectively. This contrasts sharply with the clearly preferred verb-initial pattern of Sawu.

$\emptyset$  *nuu nare*  $\emptyset$  *are*  
ERG 3sg. take(3sg.) ABS rice-plant

'He took the rice-plant.'

$\emptyset$  *manu kokotoo*  
ABS cock crow

'The cock crows.'

#### 9.3.2 Interrogative clauses

Most of the question words below are similar in form and function to their Sawu equivalents. *cee* 'WHO' and *tasamia* 'HOW' are the most divergent in form.

##### 9.3.2.1 *cee* 'WHO' (Sawu *naduu*, *nadou*)

*cee miu*  
WHO you(pl.)

'Who are you?'

*mai d'əŋe cee*  
come COM WHO

'(you) came with whom?'

*rou sasuri cee*  
← book → WHO

'Whose book?'

##### 9.3.2.2 *ŋaa* 'WHAT' (Sawu *ŋaa*)

*ŋaa ŋara lii dao*  
WHAT name language Ndao

'What's its name in Ndao?'

nəŋu tao ŋaa  
3sg. make WHAT

'He is making what?'

### 9.3.2.3 ŋaa-tao 'WHY' (Sawu taŋaa)

ŋaa-tao ke nəŋu pea ətu ne'e  
WHY PART 3sg. stay LOC here

or: nəŋu pea ətu ne'e ŋaa-tao  
3sg. stay LOC here WHY

'Why is he staying here?'

### 9.3.2.4 pəri 'WHEN, HOW MANY, HOW MUCH' (Sawu pəri)

pəri lodo nəŋu mai  
HOW MANY day 3sg. come

'When is he coming?'

pəri ne'e  
HOW MUCH this

'How much is this?' (i.e. How much,  
does it cost?)

### 9.3.2.5 mia 'WHERE' (Sawu mi)

ətu mia nəŋu  
LOC WHERE 3sg.

'Where is he?'

ŋəti mia nəŋu  
SCE WHERE 3sg.

'Where is he from?'

### 9.3.2.6 tasamia 'HOW' (Sawu minami)

tasamia nəŋu  
HOW 3sg.

'How is he?'

### 9.3.3 Imperative clauses

Sawu and Ndao imperative clauses share the following characteristics:

- (1) non-obligatory addressee
  - (2) clause-final lowering of intonation
- Sawu imperative clauses prefer Particle *we*, and it is possible that Ndao prefers *ku* and to a lesser extent *ka*.

The Ndao negative imperative particle *b'aku*, like Sawu *b'ole* (8.4) is always clause initial; e.g.

b'aku made  
DON'T die

'Don't die.' (Sawu *b'ole made*)

b'aku nasa  
DON'T be angry

'Don't be angry.' (Sawu *b'ole bubu*)

### 9.3.4 Reflexive clauses

#### 9.3.4.1 Non-emphatic reflexive

There are three Ndao non-emphatic reflexives which are quite different to the Sawu construction with ABS *əni* 'self'. We can summarize the former as follows:

- (1) ERG<sub>1</sub> Verb ABS(= *hari* ŋi'u PRONOUN<sub>1</sub>)

I do not know what function *hari* has here but *ŋi'u* can be translated as 'body', 'torso' or 'self'. The pronoun is coreferential with the ERG.

nəŋu game hari ŋi'u nəŋu  
3sg. hit ? self POSS3sg.

'He hit himself.'

- (2) ERG<sub>1</sub> Verb ABS(= *mesa* PRONOUN<sub>1</sub>)

*mesa* 'self' is immediately followed by what appears to be a possessive pronominal form coreferential with the ERG.

nəŋu game mesa na  
3sg. hit self POSS3sg.

'He hit himself.'

ou pa-əra mesa mu  
2sg. CAUSE-be ready self POSS2sg.

'You get yourself ready.'

- (3) ERG<sub>1</sub> Verb ABS(= *unu* PRONOUN<sub>1</sub>)

*unu* usually means 'possess', but here it appears to mean 'self'.

ja'a game unu ku  
1sg. hit self 1sg.

'I hit myself.'

ou game unu mu  
2sg. hit self POSS2sg.

'You hit yourself.'

#### 9.3.4.2 Emphatic reflexive

I have only a few examples of this construction in Ndao, but it appears to have the following pattern:

NP<sub>1</sub> mesa PRONOUN<sub>1</sub>

ja'a mesa ku pea ətu ne'e  
1sg. self 1sg. stay LOC here

'I (will) stay here by myself.'

The Sawu pattern is similar in that it also consists of NP followed by *miha* 'self', but differs in that the emphatic particle *ma* must intervene.

i.e. NP *ma miha*

#### 9.3.5 Relative clause constructions

Ndao Relative Clause Constructions are

essentially the same as those in Sawu. The non-obligatory Relative Clause Marker is *du* corresponding to Sawu *do*.

*era du b'e'a*  
place REL be good

'a good place'

*lolo-bani du ra'e*  
pawpaw REL eat(3pl.)

'The pawpaw which they ate.'

### 9.3.6 Conditional clauses

The only type of Ndao conditional clause known to me is that which begins with *lade* 'IF'. The Sawu equivalents are *ki* and *had'i*.

*lade ja'a sala boe; nəŋu segi boe*  
IF lsg. wrong NEG 3sg. win NEG

'If I am not wrong, he will not win.'

*lade ja'a pəda, laku boe*  
IF lsg. sick go(lsg.) NEG

'If I am sick, (I will) not go.'

### 9.3.7 Purposive clauses

Ndao *səna ka* immediately precedes the purposive subordinate clause. Its function is the same as that of Sawu *ŋi* or *mi*.

*nəŋu kəpe kacui-ai ina na*  
3sg. grab hand mother POSS3sg.

*səna ka nəŋu b'əbe boe*  
PURP 3sg. fall NEG

'He grabbed his mother's hand so that he would not fall.'

*ja'a laku sa kota ho səna ka*  
lsg. go(lsg.) GOAL Kupang ? PURP

*aj'a lii dao*  
study language Ndao

'I went to Kupang in order to study Ndao.'

### 9.3.8 Reason clause

Ndao *ŋəti* (and perhaps also *kəti*) introduces a subordinate reason clause. Once again, it has a similar function to that of Sawu *ri*, *rido*, *rowi*, *taga*, or *taga ri*.

*ja'a bəj'i ŋəti ja'a roe*  
lsg. be asleep REASON lsg. be tired

'I was asleep because I was tired.'

*ja'a pəd'a ŋəti ja'a ku'a*  
lsg. be sick REASON lsg. eat(lsg.)

*busa*  
dog

'I am sick because I ate a dog.'

### 9.3.9 Auxiliary constructions

Ndao *neo* 'want, desire' and *ko'o* (etc.) 'want' (compare Sawu *o'o* 'want') function as auxiliaries. The Sawu construction is similar in that the auxiliary precedes the verb but differs in that the Sawu auxiliary must be clause initial.

*ja'a neo laku*  
lsg. WANT go(lsg.)

'I want to go.'

*ja'a neo kinu*  
lsg. WANT drink(lsg.)

'I want to drink.'

*busa no'o rai*  
dog WANT flee

'The dog wants to run away.'

### 9.3.10 Negation

Ndao *ado* or *ad'o* negates non-verbals (as does Sawu *ad'o*).

*nəŋu ado dou dao*  
3sg. NEG person Ndao

'He is not Ndao.'

Ndao *boe* (like Sawu *d'o*) negates verbals.

*nəŋu ne'a boe dou dao*  
3sg. know(3sg.) NEG person Ndao

'He does not know Ndao people.'

Ndao *dae* indicates 'NOT YET'. It differs from the Sawu form in the absence of a NEG particle (compare Sawu *ad'o dae* and *dae d'o*, 8.14).

The Ndao negative imperative *b'aku* is discussed in 9.3.3.

### 9.3.11 Possession

Like Sawu, Ndao possessive pronouns and nouns follow the head noun. I do not have any data on Ndao possessive relative clauses (see also 9.2.1).

### 9.3.12 Comparison

#### 9.3.12.1 *səmi* 'LIKE'

*nəŋu ŋaa-ŋaa ad'o səmi ja'a*  
3sg. poor LIKE lsg.

'He is poor like me.'

*nəŋu bəni-ia səmi hela aj'u*  
3sg. beautiful LIKE flower wood

*du be'a*  
REL be good

'She is pretty like a beautiful flower.'

Sawu makes use of *hela'u* 'be same', and the

particle *mi* LIKE.

### 9.3.12.2 *risi-ele ti* 'MORE THAN'

Ndao *risi-ele ti* is not unlike Sawu *rihi (ti)ŋa* (8.16.3), and the functions are the same.

<i>nəŋu</i>	<i>mou</i>	<i>risi-ele</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ja'a</i>
3sg.	be clever	MORE	THAN	1sg.

'He is cleverer than I.'

### 9.3.13 Coordination

The two most common Ndao clausal conjunctions are *ka* 'THEN', and *hia* 'THEN'. The Sawu equivalents are: *j'e*, *d'ai*, *d'ae* and *b'ale*.

<i>ka</i>	<i>nuu</i>	<i>nare</i>	<i>are</i>
THEN	3sg.	take(3sg.)	rice-plant

<i>ka</i>	<i>la'e</i>	<i>maj'u</i>
THEN	go(3sg.)	pound

'Then he took the rice-plants... then went and pound (then).'

<i>manu</i>	<i>no'o</i>	<i>boe</i>	<i>rai</i> ,	<i>hia</i>	<i>nuu</i>
fowl	WANT	NEG	flee	THEN	3sg.

<i>nasa</i>	<i>ke</i>
be angry	PART

'The fowl did not want to flee, (and) then he became angry.'

The contrastive conjunction is *te* 'BUT'. Sawu forms are: *tapi*, *tapulara*.

<i>dou</i>	<i>dua</i>	<i>həli</i>	<i>kahib'i</i>	<i>ədi</i>
person	two	buy	goat	lpl.(incl.)

<i>te</i>	<i>ja'a</i>	<i>ko'o</i>	<i>boe</i>
BUT	1sg.	WANT(1sg.)	NEG

'Two people (wanted) to buy our goat but I did not want (to sell it).'

The alternative conjunction is *do* 'OR'. Sawu has *we*, and Roti *do*.

<i>nəŋu</i>	<i>pəd'a</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>mou</i>
3sg.	be sick	OR	be clever

'He is either sick or clever.'

As in Sawu, the conjunction occurs between the two coordinate clauses.

## 9.4 Lexicon

Using a modified Swadesh 200-word list it was found that the percentage of cognates between Sawu and Ndao was 75 %. Regular x:y sound correspondences are as follows:

- (1) Ndao *h* corresponds to Sawu *w*
- |              |              |              |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>hahi</i>  | <i>wawi</i>  | 'pig'        |
| <i>həru</i>  | <i>wəru</i>  | 'moon'       |
| <i>he'o</i>  | <i>we'o</i>  | 'tongue'     |
| <i>hela</i>  | <i>wela</i>  | 'machete'    |
| <i>horo</i>  | <i>woro</i>  | '(to) froth' |
| <i>huj'u</i> | <i>wuj'u</i> | 'be mad'     |

- (2) Ndao *c* corresponds to Sawu *h*
- |               |               |         |
|---------------|---------------|---------|
| <i>ca'e</i>   | <i>ha'e</i>   | 'climb' |
| <i>cab'u</i>  | <i>hab'u</i>  | 'soap'  |
| <i>əci</i>    | <i>əhi</i>    | 'one'   |
| <i>ceo</i>    | <i>heo</i>    | 'nine'  |
| <i>catəŋa</i> | <i>hetəŋa</i> | 'half'  |

- (3) Ndao *s* corresponds to Sawu *h*
- |               |               |                |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>sa'u</i>   | <i>ha'u</i>   | 'lap'          |
| <i>səmi</i>   | <i>həmi</i>   | 'receive'      |
| <i>sahəŋa</i> | <i>hewəŋa</i> | 'nose'         |
| <i>dəsi</i>   | <i>dəhi</i>   | 'sea'          |
| <i>susu</i>   | <i>huhu</i>   | 'breast'       |
| <i>silu</i>   | <i>hilu</i>   | 'wear a cloth' |

Some less regular vowel correspondences are:

- (4) Ndao *a* often corresponds to Sawu *e*
- |                |              |         |
|----------------|--------------|---------|
| <i>lia</i>     | <i>lie</i>   | 'coral' |
| <i>hua</i>     | <i>wue</i>   | 'fruit' |
| <i>kapua</i>   | <i>kepue</i> | 'tree'  |
| { <i>hia</i> } | <i>wie</i>   | 'give'  |
| { <i>hie</i> } |              |         |

Note: A conditioning factor, in a proposed historical change from \*-a to -e, may have been the penultimate high vowel.

- (5) Ndao *o* sometimes corresponds to Sawu *u*
- |                  |                  |                               |
|------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>j'ole</i>     | <i>j'ula</i>     | 'offer'                       |
| <i>lag'ora</i>   | <i>lag'ura</i>   | 'iguana'                      |
| <i>kabalo</i>    | <i>kebalu</i>    | 'ant species'                 |
| <i>loa həŋu</i>  | <i>lua wəŋu</i>  | 'thread'                      |
| <i>sota</i>      | <i>huta</i>      | 'waste'                       |
| <i>ca-palosa</i> | <i>he-peluha</i> | 'first day of lunar calendar' |

- (6) Ndao *u* sometimes corresponds to Sawu *o*
- |               |               |                |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| <i>saru'u</i> | <i>hero'o</i> | 'carry on arm' |
| <i>nuu</i>    | <i>noo</i>    | 3sg.           |
| <i>ruu</i>    | <i>roo</i>    | 3pl.           |
| <i>du</i>     | <i>do</i>     | REL            |

- (7) However, in the majority of cases, Ndao *o* corresponds to Sawu *o*.

For regular x:x correspondences and diachronic phonology see Walker (forthcoming a).

## 9.5 Concluding remarks

Such a high percentage of cognates has led some observers (e.g. Jonker 1903) to regard Ndao and Sawu as dialects of the same language. In my view, however, there is always a need to be cautious about the value of lexicostatistics considered in isolation. Wherever possible lexical and phonological evidence should be supported by documentation from other parts of the grammar.

In this section, we have presented the skeleton of an Ndao grammar in order to highlight the similarities and differences between Sawu and Ndao. Having, therefore, examined this additional data, I am now of the opinion that, despite a large area of common ground in the lexicon and phonology, grammatical differences between the two are sufficient to indicate that Ndao is a separate language.

\* \* \*

## D I A L E C T A L   V A R I A T I O N

The Sawu dialects show minor variation in the lexicon. I list some of the apparent differences below.

	Seba	Mesara	Timu	Liae	Rainjua	
1.	<i>ya:</i>	<i>ya:</i>	<i>j'a:</i>	<i>ya:</i>	<i>ja'u, ja'o</i> <i>jo, j'o</i>	lsg.
2.	<i>j'i:</i>	<i>j'i:</i>	<i>j'i:</i>	<i>j'i:</i>	<i>ji:</i>	lpl.(incl.)
3.	<i>ri</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>li</i>	ERG
4.	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	-	-	<i>ro</i>	REL
5.	<i>ŋa:</i>	<i>ŋa:, ña:</i>	<i>ŋa:</i>	-	<i>ña:</i>	WHAT?
6.	<i>lara</i>	<i>rara</i>	<i>lara</i>	<i>lara</i>	<i>lara</i>	'house-fly'
7.	<i>keəla</i> <i>kəla</i>	<i>keləla</i> <i>keəla</i>	<i>keəla</i>	<i>keləla</i>	<i>keləla</i>	'areca palm'
8.	<i>keoa</i>	<i>keoe</i>	<i>kehoa</i>	-	<i>keoe</i>	'low (of buffalo)'
9.	<i>himu</i>	<i>hiəmu</i>	<i>ihi-əmu</i>	-	<i>la'i</i>	'spouse'
10.	<i>terae</i>	<i>terae</i>	<i>terae</i>	<i>terae</i>	<i>kerae</i>	'sorghum'
11.	<i>meŋəhi</i>	<i>maŋəhi</i>	<i>meŋəhi</i>	<i>meŋəhi</i>	<i>meŋəhi</i>	'salt'

Some lexical items are diagnostic of a particular dialect, e.g. Timu [*j'a:*] 'lsg.'; Seba *himu* 'spouse'; Rainjua *la'i* 'spouse'. Correspondences which apply to more than one lexical item include the following:

- (1) Mesara has rVrV# where other dialects have lVrV#, e.g. *rara* 'house-fly' (other dialects: *lara*); *kerara* 'yellow' (other dialects: *kelara*).
- (2) Mesara trisyllables commencing in *ma* correspond to trisyllables in other dialects which begin with *me*, e.g. *maŋəhi* 'salt' (other dialects: *meŋəhi*); *mahara* 'Mesara' (other dialects: *mehara*).
- (3) Rainjua trisyllables commencing in *ke*, correspond to trisyllables in other dialects which begin with *te*, e.g. *kerae* 'sorghum' (other dialects: *terae*).

\* \* \*

## AGREEMENT VERBS

Plural	Singular	
<i>bəla</i>	<i>bəle</i>	'extend, stretch out'
<i>bəlu</i>	<i>bəlo</i>	'forget'
<i>boka</i> }	<i>boke</i>	'open'
<i>buka</i> }		
<i>b'aha</i>	<i>b'ahē</i>	'wash'
<i>b'əd'i</i>	<i>b'əd'e</i>	'choose, pick up'
<i>b'əga</i> }	<i>b'əge</i> }	'chase away'
<i>bəga</i> }		
<i>b'əka</i>	<i>b'əke</i>	'split'
<i>b'əta</i>	<i>b'əte</i>	'tend (sheep, goats, etc.)'
<i>b'ita</i>	<i>b'ete</i>	'pull out'
<i>b'ud'u</i>	<i>b'ud'e</i>	'cut into small pieces (fish, etc.)'
<i>b'ui</i>	<i>b'ue</i>	'pour'
<i>b'uju</i>	<i>b'uje</i>	'touch, feel'
<i>b'uki</i>	<i>b'uke</i>	'write'
<i>dai</i>	<i>dāe</i>	'sieve (rice)'
<i>da'u</i>	<i>da'o</i>	'grasp with fist'
<i>dau</i>	<i>dao</i>	'lower (tuak only)'
<i>dəla</i>	<i>dəle</i>	'swallow'
<i>duri</i>	<i>dure</i>	'drink (soup)'
<i>d'aba</i>	<i>d'abē</i>	'throw'
<i>d'ab'a</i>	<i>d'ab'e</i>	'baptize, sprinkle'
<i>d'ai</i>	<i>d'ae (?)</i>	'arrive'
<i>d'ari</i>	<i>d'are</i>	'sharpen'
<i>d'əja</i>	<i>d'əje</i>	'kick'
<i>abu</i>	<i>abo</i>	'capture, catch'
<i>ahu</i>	<i>aho</i>	'visit'
<i>aj'a</i>	<i>aj'e</i>	'study, read, teach'
<i>aŋi</i>	<i>aŋe</i>	'wash (hair)'
<i>əba</i>	<i>əbe</i>	'fetch'
<i>əgu</i>	<i>əgo</i>	'fetch, carry'
<i>əki</i>	<i>əke</i>	'tie (humans, animals)'
<i>əla</i>	<i>əle</i>	'finish'
<i>əmi</i>	<i>əme</i>	'hold on to'
<i>əñu</i>	<i>əño</i>	'plait'
<i>əta</i>	<i>əte</i>	'cut off'
<i>ela</i> }	<i>ele</i>	'disappear'
<i>ila</i> }		
<i>ihi</i>	<i>ihe</i>	'fill'
<i>iu</i>	<i>io</i>	'tie spur(s) on cock'
<i>ubu</i>	<i>ube</i>	'flatter'
<i>uj'u</i>	<i>uj'e</i>	'tie (with string)'
<i>gari</i>	<i>gare</i>	'draw a straight line'
<i>gati</i>	<i>gate</i>	'substitute'
<i>gau</i>	<i>gao</i>	'lift (off hook)'
<i>gəri</i>	<i>gəre</i>	'scratch'
<i>gei</i>	<i>gee</i>	'scratch, turn over soil'
<i>gi'i</i>	<i>gi'e</i>	'peel, open'
<i>golo</i>	<i>gole</i>	'free, let loose'
<i>g'əru</i>	<i>g'əro</i>	'strangle, knead, choke'
<i>g'ətu</i>	<i>g'əto</i>	'pluck'
<i>g'uti</i>	<i>g'ute</i>	'cut (with scissors)'
<i>hab'i</i>	<i>hab'e</i>	'slice up (meat)'
<i>ha'u</i>	<i>ha'o</i>	'nurse (on lap)'
<i>hahi</i>	<i>hahe</i>	'shave (tree trunk)'
<i>hali</i>	<i>hale</i>	'fill'
<i>hani</i>	<i>hane</i>	'leave' (trans.V.)
<i>həb'i</i>	<i>həb'e</i>	'mend'
<i>həb'u</i>	<i>həb'o</i>	'dye'
<i>həku</i>	<i>həko</i>	'try, test'
<i>həla</i>	<i>həle</i>	'plant (rice, coconuts)'
<i>həmi</i>	<i>həme</i>	'receive'
<i>həŋi</i>	<i>həŋe</i>	'fry'
<i>həpi</i>	<i>həpe</i>	'pull'



Plural	Singular	
<i>həpu</i>	<i>həpo</i>	'break, decide'
<i>heb'ili</i>	<i>heb'ile</i>	'carry (on back)'
<i>heb'oro</i>	<i>heb'ore</i>	'brush'
<i>heguru</i>	<i>hegure</i>	'cover'
<i>heneb'i</i>	<i>heneb'e</i>	'shut, cover'
<i>heŋəd'u</i>	<i>heŋəd'o</i>	'sniff, kiss'
<i>heŋəpi</i>	<i>heŋəpe</i>	'pinch, squeeze'
<i>hero'o</i>	<i>hero'e</i>	'carry (on arm)'
<i>hib'a</i>	<i>heb'e</i>	'splash (far)'
<i>hib'i</i>	<i>hib'e</i>	'bite'
<i>hiu</i>	<i>hio</i>	'tear'
<i>hogo</i>	<i>hoge</i>	'cook'
<i>hora</i>	<i>hore</i>	'throw away'
<i>hub'i</i>	<i>hub'e</i>	'insert'
<i>hud'i</i>	<i>hud'e</i>	'pursue, chase'
<i>huru</i>	<i>hure</i>	'spoon'
<i>jaga</i>	<i>jage</i>	'watch'
<i>j'ani</i>	<i>j'ane</i>	'leave behind'
<i>j'ari</i>	<i>j'are</i>	'begin'
<i>j'əga</i>	<i>j'əge</i>	'work, make, build'
<i>j'əja</i>	<i>j'əje</i>	'kick, stamp (feet)'
<i>j'əli</i>	<i>j'əle</i>	'trample down, tread under foot'
<i>kaj'a</i>	<i>kaj'e</i>	'take, fetch'
<i>kəj'i</i>	<i>kəj'e</i>	'pound, throw (far)'
<i>kəña</i>	<i>kəñe</i>	'dive, plunge, duck, bathe'
<i>kəpa</i>	<i>kəpe</i>	'catch, capture'
<i>keb'ali</i>	<i>keb'ale</i>	'ask'
<i>keb'əla</i>	<i>keb'əle</i>	'open out (mat)'
<i>kedəli</i>	<i>kedəle</i>	'cut off'
<i>ked'agu</i>	<i>ked'ago</i>	'hold on to'
<i>kehiwa</i>	<i>kehewe</i>	'hire'
<i>kei</i>	<i>kee</i>	'dig'
<i>keləti</i>	<i>keləte</i>	'shoot (with bow, slingshot)'
<i>keliji</i>	<i>kelije</i>	'peel off'
<i>ketəri</i>	<i>ketəre</i>	'peer'
<i>kewau</i>	<i>kewao</i>	'wave away (flies, etc.)'
<i>kewuru</i>	<i>kewure</i>	'whisper'
<i>kiju</i>	<i>kijo</i>	'insert, stab'
<i>kud'u</i>	<i>kud'e</i>	'punch, box'
<i>ləpa</i>	<i>ləpe</i>	'fold'
<i>ləta</i>	<i>ləte</i>	'shake, dust (mat, etc.)'
<i>liba</i>	<i>lebe</i>	'scatter (seed, food, etc.)'
<i>ligu</i>	<i>ligo</i>	'throw (near)'
<i>liŋu</i>	<i>liŋo</i>	'guard (food, corpse)'
<i>lolo</i>	<i>lole</i>	'talk'
<i>loro</i>	<i>lore</i>	'slit throat'
<i>ma'i</i>	<i>ma'e</i>	'pay'
<i>mari</i>	<i>mare</i>	'laugh (at), mock'
<i>mata</i>	<i>mate</i>	'wait for'
<i>məka</i>	<i>məke</i>	'be strong'
<i>menənu</i>	<i>menəno</i>	'tighten woven thread'
<i>meñaru</i>	<i>meñaro</i>	'sweep'
<i>meŋəhi</i>	<i>meŋəhe</i>	'salt'
<i>meriŋi</i>	<i>meriŋe</i>	'be cold, make cold'
<i>mod'a</i>	<i>mod'e</i>	'twist, swivel'
<i>nono</i>	<i>none</i>	'dry in sun'
<i>nuni</i>	<i>nune</i>	'pull, drag along'
<i>ñami</i>	<i>ñame</i>	'gnaw, chew, bite at'
<i>ñəka</i>	<i>ñəke</i>	'push forward'
<i>ŋa'a</i>	<i>ŋa'e</i>	'eat'
<i>ŋapi</i>	<i>ŋape</i>	'pinch, squeeze'
<i>ŋədi</i>	<i>ŋəde</i>	'spot, sight, see'
<i>ŋiru</i>	<i>ŋino</i>	'drink'
<i>pala</i>	<i>pale</i>	'give'
<i>pəhi</i>	<i>pəhe</i>	'throw (close), toss'
<i>pəku</i>	<i>pəko</i>	'pluck (flower, etc.)'
<i>pəlu</i>	<i>pəlo</i>	'immerse'
<i>pəñi</i>	<i>pəñe</i>	'press, squeeze'
<i>pəru</i>	<i>pəro</i>	'hold on to'
<i>pe-bui</i>	<i>pe-bue</i>	'drop'
<i>pedana</i>	<i>pedane</i>	'bury'
<i>pedai</i>	<i>pedae</i>	'tell'
<i>pedoa</i>	<i>pedoe</i>	'call, invite'

Plural	Singular	
<i>pedutu</i>	<i>pedute</i>	'follow'
<i>ped'ulu</i>	<i>ped'ule</i>	'lower'
<i>pe-əla</i>	<i>pe-əle</i>	'finish'
<i>pe-iu</i>	<i>pe-io</i>	'make (cock) fight'
<i>pe-g'uti</i>	<i>pe-g'ute</i>	'(give to) cut'
<i>pehəli</i>	<i>pehəle</i>	'squeeze, milk'
<i>pehod'o</i>	<i>pehod'e</i>	'peer'
<i>pe-huhu</i>	<i>pe-huhe</i>	'suckle, breast-feed'
<i>pehuru</i>	<i>pehure</i>	'exchange, change'
<i>pejuu</i>	<i>pejue</i>	'order, command'
<i>pe-j'iu</i>	<i>pe-j'io</i>	'bathe'
<i>pe-kad'u</i>	<i>pe-kad'o</i>	'give to place inside cloth'
<i>pekəŋu</i>	<i>pekəŋo</i>	'yelp, whine, whimper'
<i>pe-kemaŋu</i>	<i>pe-kemaŋo</i>	'dry, make dry'
<i>pe-ləpa</i>	<i>pe-ləpe</i>	'tack, sail back and forth'
<i>peluja</i>	<i>peluje</i>	'take care of'
<i>pe-moko</i>	<i>pe-moke</i>	'prepare, make ready'
<i>pe-mou</i>	<i>pe-moo</i>	'clear, clean'
<i>peñi'u</i>	<i>peñi'o</i>	'spit'
<i>pe-ŋa'a</i>	<i>pe-ŋa'e</i>	'feed, give to eat'
<i>peŋaha</i>	<i>peŋahe</i>	'stop'
<i>pe-ŋədi</i>	<i>pe-ŋəde</i>	'show'
<i>pe-puru</i>	<i>pe-pure</i>	'lower, cause descend'
<i>pera'u</i>	<i>pera'o</i>	'lead (animal)'
<i>perei</i>	<i>peree</i>	'wake up'
<i>pe-tobo</i>	<i>pe-tobe</i>	'fill up, make full'
<i>pe-tunu</i>	<i>pe-tune</i>	'give (to s.o.) to roast'
<i>pid'i</i>	<i>pid'e</i>	'choose, pick up'
<i>pi'a</i>	<i>pe'e</i>	'be, be where?'
<i>pihi</i>	<i>pihe</i>	'gently splash water'
<i>pij'i</i>	<i>pij'e</i>	'pick up'
<i>pika</i>	<i>peke</i>	'tell'
<i>pili</i>	<i>pile</i>	'pick up'
<i>puu</i>	<i>pue</i>	'pluck, pick'
<i>ra'u</i>	<i>ra'o</i>	'pick up with fist'
<i>rəŋi</i>	<i>rəŋe</i>	'hear'
<i>riu</i>	<i>rio</i>	'sharpen (point)'
<i>roho</i>	<i>rohe</i>	'rub'
<i>taba</i>	<i>tabe</i>	'add, increase'
<i>tada</i>	<i>tade</i>	'know, understand'
<i>tali</i>	<i>tale</i>	'tie with rope, etc.'
<i>təb'a</i>	<i>təb'e</i>	'slap, box (ears)'
<i>təb'u</i>	<i>təb'o</i>	'stab'
<i>təd'a</i>	<i>təd'e</i>	'ladle (water)'
<i>təd'u</i>	<i>təd'o</i>	'carry on head'
<i>təka</i>	<i>təke</i>	'place, store'
<i>tuku</i>	<i>tuke</i>	'throw'
<i>tunu</i>	<i>tune</i>	'cook, roast, burn'
<i>wəba</i>	<i>wəbe</i>	'hit, (kill)'
<i>wəla</i>	<i>wəle</i>	'spread out, open out'
<i>wəli</i>	<i>wəle</i>	'buy'
<i>woka</i>	<i>woke</i>	'turn over soil (with hand)'
<i>wuni</i>	<i>wune</i>	'hide'
<i>wutu</i>	<i>wute</i>	'wrap up'

\* \* \*

## S A W U T E X T

## The child who turned into a turtle

1. *era he-dou ina ŋa he-dou ama.*  
be one-CLASS mother AND one-CLASS father  
'There is a mother and a father.'
2. *ama ne əle ke pe-made.*  
father DEMlsg. PAST(sg.) PART PAST-be dead  
'The father has passed away.'
3. *ana ne do kemou ai-mou-ku'u.*  
child DEMlsg. STAT have yaws sores all over body  
'The child has yaws sores all over his body.'
4. *ina do bəni menənu ø b'ara dou ta kale ø doi, kale*  
mother REL female weave ABS clothes person NON-PAST pursue ABS money pursue  
*ŋa'a ta wie ø ne ana ne.*  
food NON-PAST give ABS ART child DEMlsg.  
'The mother is a woman who makes clothes to obtain money, to obtain food to give to the child.'
5. *d'ai pa d'ara lod'o, ta pe-məñi ø lua wəŋu ke.*  
THEN LOC interior day NON-PAST CAUS-be greasy ABS thread cotton PART  
'Then, one day, (she) is greasing cotton thread.'
6. *ta kemaŋu ø lua wəŋu, ta la b'aha la d'ara dahi ke.*  
NON-PAST be dry ABS thread cotton NON-PAST DFS wash(pl.) GFS interior sea PART  
'The cotton thread dries, (and she) goes to the sea to wash them.'
7. *b'ale ane ø ina ne, "pee pa əmu, ana j'aa", mi he ane,*  
THEN say ERG mother DEMlsg. stay LOC house child POSSlsg. LIKE DEMlpl. say  
*"ŋi d'o ləka ø ihi ou ri wo-rai, ŋi d'o melara."*  
PURP NEG strike ABS body POSS2sg. ERG PROD-earth PURP NEG sting  
'Then the mother says, "Stay in the house, my child, so that your body does not hit the ground, so that it won't sting."
8. *wae d'o ø ne ana ne.*  
WANT NEG ABS ART child DEMlsg.  
'The child does not want to.'
9. *pedutu ma ŋa ina ne.*  
follow EMPH COM mother DEMlsg.  
'The child goes with the mother.'
10. *pee. b'ole pedutu. rəja d'o ø j'aa. la b'aha ø lua wəŋu he*  
stay DON'T follow be long NOT ABS lsg. DFS wash(pl.) ABS thread cotton DEMlpl.  
*ø j'aa la d'ara dahi ni.*  
ERG lsg. GFS interior sea DEM4sg.  
'Stay. Don't follow. I will not be long. I am going to the sea to wash some cotton thread.'

11. *taŋi-taŋi*  $\emptyset$  *ne ana ne,* *ta* *pedute.*  
cry-RED ABS ART child DEM1sg. NON-PAST follow(sg.)  
'The child cries and cries, (and) follows (his mother).'
12. *ta* *ego* *ke ri ina d'e.*  
NON-PAST carry(sg.) PART ERG mother DEM2sg.  
'Then the mother carries (him).'
13. *d'ai* *la dahi, la tæbi dahi ne.*  
arrive GFS sea GFS shore sea DEM1sg.  
'They arrive at the sea, at the sea shore.'
14. *"titu pa wo-lahalae d'e. b'ole titu pa d'ara ei ni ŋi d'o*  
stand LOC PROD-sand DEM2sg. DON'T STAND LOC interior water DEM4sg. PURP NEG  
*melara*  $\emptyset$  *ihi ou."*  
sting ABS body POSS2sg.  
'Stand on this piece of sand. Don't stand in the water lest your body sting.'
15. *ta* *j'iu ei dahi*  $\emptyset$  *j'aa, mama.*  
NON-PAST bathe water sea ABS 1sg. mother  
'I want to bathe in the sea, Mother.'
16. *b'ole* *ŋi d'o melara*  $\emptyset$  *ihi ou. ræja d'o*  $\emptyset$  *j'aa, mi he ane.*  
DON'T PURP NEG sting ABS body POSS2sg. be long NEG ABS 1sg. LIKE DEM1pl. say  
'Don't lest your body sting. I will not be long.' (She) says.
17. *taŋi-taŋi* *ke, ta* *j'iu-j'iu* *ke*  $\emptyset$  *ne ana ne.*  
cry-RED PART NON-PAST bathe-RED PART ABS ART child DEM1sg.  
'(The child) cries and cries, (and then) the child bathes.'
18. *lohe* *d'o ae, ta* *b'aha-b'aha hewe* *ke*  $\emptyset$  *ne ina d'e.*  
TOO NEG be much NON-PAST wash-RED JUST PART ABS ART mother DEM2sg.  
'There wasn't too much to wash, (and) the mother just kept on washing.'
19. *æla* *pe-b'aha-b'aha, ta* *peŋædu* *ke*  $\emptyset$  *hag'e.*  
PAST(pl.) PAST-wash-RED NON-PAST take PART ABS half  
'Having finished washing, (she) takes half.'
20. *b'ale* *ane*  $\emptyset$  *ina d'e, "pee* *ko*  $\emptyset$  *ou, ana j'aa, heleo* *ko* *ri*  
THEN say ERG mother DEM2sg. stay PART ABS 2sg. child POSS1sg. watch PART ERG  
*ou*  $\emptyset$  *ne lua wæŋu do* *hag'e hed'e. kiŋa meriŋi, ha'e* *la* *kolo lede.*  
2sg. ABS ART thread. cotton REL be half DEM2pl. IF cold climb GFS top hill  
*la nono* *ko* *ri j'aa*  $\emptyset$  *hag'e.*  
DFS dry in sun PART ERG 1sg. ABS half  
'Then the mother says, "You stay, my child, and watch over the (other) half of the cotton thread. If you get cold, go ashore. I am going to dry this half."
21. *"oo."* *ane*  $\emptyset$  *ana d'e. "b'ole* *ræja, mama."*  
YES say ERG child DEM2sg. DON'T be long mother  
'O.K.', says the child. "Don't be long, Mother."
22. *"oo."* *ane*  $\emptyset$  *ina d'e*  
YES say ERG mother DEM2sg.  
'O.K.' says the mother.
23. *ta* *kako* *ke*  $\emptyset$  *ne ina ne* *la* *æmu. nono*  $\emptyset$  *ne*  
NON-PAST go PART ABS ART mother DEM1sg. GFS house dry in sun(pl.) ABS ART

lua wəŋu hed'e ri ina ne. ta əla pe-nono,  
 thread cotton DEM2pl. ERG mother DEM1sg. NON-PAST PAST(pl.) PAST-dry in sun(pl.)

ta b'ale ke məriai la heleo ø ana ne la təbi dahi ne  
 NON-PAST return PART QUICKLY DFS see ABS child DEM1sg. GFS shore sea DEM1sg.

la b'aha ø ne lua wəŋu do hag'e he.  
 DFS wash(pl.) ABS ART thread cotton REL half DEM1pl.

'The mother goes to the house. The mother dries the cotton threads. When (they) are dry, she quickly returns to the sea shore to see the child and to wash the rest of the cotton thread.'

24. d'ai la təbi dahi. era ma ø ne ana ne do j'iu-j'iu ei,  
 arrive GFS shore sea be EMPH ABS ART child DEM1sg. STAT bathe-RED water

lua wəŋu era ma pa era ne.  
 thread cotton be EMPH LOC place DEM1sg.

'She reaches the sea shore. The child is there bathing, and the cotton thread is in its place.'

25. əgu ri ke ø hag'e ne lua wəŋu nahəre, ta la  
 fetch(pl.) AGAIN PART ABS half ART thread cotton DEM3pl. NON-PAST DFS

b'aha-b'aha ke.  
 wash(pl.)-RED PART

'(She) fetches the rest of the cotton threads and washes (them).'

26. b'ale ane ø ne lii pa ana ne, "b'ole kako la do ei ae.  
 THEN say ABS ART word GA child DEM1sg. DON'T go GFS REL water be much

j'iu pa do ei iki we. j'iu-j'iu pa ei iki we  
 bathe LOC REL water be little ONLY bathe-RED LOC water be little ONLY

'Then (she) says to the child, "Don't go into deep water. Bathe only in the shallow water. Bathe only in the shallow water."'

27. "oo", ane ø ana ne.  
 YES say ABS child DEM1sg.

'Yes", says the child.'

28. b'ale ane ø ina ne, "ta la nono ø lua wəŋu ri,  
 THEN say ABS mother DEM1sg. NON-PAST DFS dry in sun ABS thread cotton AGAIN

ana j'aa, la əmu. ki meriŋi ke ø ou, penaha, ta b'ale ke  
 child POSS1sg. GFS house IF be cold PART ABS 2sg. stop NON-PAST return PART

ø dii.  
 ABS 1pl.(incl.)

'Then the mother says, "(I) am going to the house to dry cotton threads again, my child. If you are cold, stop and we will return (home)."'

29. "uru we, mama."  
 be before JUST mother

"Just go ahead, Mother."

30. "b'ole." ane ø ina ne.  
 DON'T say ERG mother DEM1sg.

'"Don't", says the mother.'

31. ta mate-mate ke ri ina ne.  
 NON-PAST wait-RED PART ERG mother DEM1sg.

'The mother waits and waits.'

32. "meriŋi dae d'o ø ou?", ane ø ina ne.  
 be cold YET NEG ABS 2sg. say ERG mother DEM1sg.

'Aren't you cold yet?', says the mother.'

33. "ad'o dae. ta lie ø kemou ke ø j'aa ŋi ta mou,  
 NOT YET NON-PAST soak ABS yaws sores PART ERG lsg. PURP NON-PAST be clean  
 ŋi ta la tao ri ru-aj'u la əmu."  
 PURP NON-PAST DFS treat INST leaf-wood DFS house

'Not yet. I am soaking (my) yaws sores so that they will become clean, so that I can go to the house and treat them with leaves.'

34. ta mate ma ri ina ne. d'ai ta tui hudi.  
 NON-PAST wait(sg.) EMPH ERG mother DEMlsg. THEN NON-PAST be length of time PART  
 b'ale ane ø ina ne, "j'iu ko we ø ou. la nono  
 THEN say ERG mother DEMlsg. bathe PART PART ABS 2sg. DFS dry in sun(pl.)  
 ko ri j'aa."  
 PART ERG lsg.

'The mother waits. A short time passes. Then the mother says, "You go on bathing. I will go and dry (some more cotton thread)."'

35. b'ale ane ø ana ne, "ta la əmu, mama?"  
 THEN say ERG child DEMlsg. NON-PAST GFS house mother

'Then the child says, "Are (you) going to the house, mother?"'

36. "oo. ta la nono ø lua wəŋu we, j'e b'ale ma əgo  
 YES NON-PAST DFS dry in sun ABS thread cotton JUST THEN return DTS fetch(sg.)  
 ø ana j'aa."  
 ABS child POSSlsg.

'"Yes. I am just going to dry some cotton thread, then I will return here to fetch my child."'

37. "ee. kiri kətu la kolo lede, jad'i ta dob'oho-ligu-manu ø j'aa. kiri  
 Hey IF head GFS top hill become RESULT snake species ABS lsg. IF  
 kətu la d'ara dahi", mi he ane, "jad'i ta iu, ta ana əño  
 head GFS inside sea LIKE DEMlpl. SAY become RESULT shark RESULT child turtle  
 ø j'aa."  
 ABS lsg.

'"Hey. If (my) head goes ashore, I will become a snake. If (my) head goes into the water", (he) says, "I will become a shark or young turtle."'

38. "b'ole. taŋaa ta lii mi nahəre ø ou ri. rəja d'o ø j'aa.  
 DON'T WHY NON-PAST talk LIKE DEM3pl. ERG 2sg. REASON be long NEG ABS lsg.  
 ta la nono ø lua wəŋu hed'e we", mi he ane.  
 NON-PAST DFS dry in sun ABS thread cotton DEM2pl. JUST LIKE DEMlpl. say

'"Don't. Why are you talking like that. I will not be long. I am just going to dry these cotton threads", (she) says.

39. "oo. ta lii pe-moko-moko ke j'aa pa mama", mi he ane, ø  
 YES NON-PAST say CAUS-be ready-RED PART lsg. GA mother LIKE DEMlpl. say ABS  
 kiŋa b'ale ø mama, j'e d'o pe'e ø j'aa, b'ole kale ma we".  
 IF return ABS mother THEN NEG be(sg.) ABS lsg. DON'T look for EMPH PART  
 əle ke ri j'aa pe-lii pa mama, kətu la kolo lede jad'i ta  
 PAST(sg.) PART ERG lsg. PAST-say GA mother head GFS top hill become RESULT  
 dob'oho-ligu-manu. kətu la d'ara dahi jad'i ta iu, ta ana əño."  
 <-snake species-> head GFS inside sea become RESULT shark RESULT child turtle

'Yes. I will definitely say to mother, 'If mother returns, and I am not here, don't look for (me)'. I have already told mother, 'Head to shore becomes a snake. Head to sea becomes a shark or baby turtle.'"

40. o'o d'o ø ne ana ne ta ha'e la kolo lede. b'ale ane ø  
 WANT NEG ABS ART child DEM1sg. NON-PAST climb GFS top hill THEN say ERG  
 ina ne. "uru ke ø j'aa la əmu."  
 mother DEM1sg. go ahead PART ABS 1sg. GFS house

'The child does not want to go ashore. Then the mother says, "I will go ahead to the house."'

41. "b'ole rəja", mi he ane ø ana ne.  
 DON'T be long LIKE DEM1pl. say ABS child DEM1sg.

'"Don't be long", says the child.'

42. ta d'ai ø ina ne, la nono-nono ø ne lua wəŋu  
 NON-PAST arrive ABS mother DEM1sg. DFS dry in sun(pl.)-RED ABS ART thread cotton  
 he. lua wəŋu ma ke do ae. nono-nono pa əmu ne.  
 DEM1pl. thread cotton EMPH PART STAT be many dry in sun(pl.)-RED LOC house DEM1sg.

'The mother arrives (home), (then) goes and lays the cotton threads out to dry in the sun. The cotton threads are many. (She) dries (them) at the house.'

43. ta əla pe-nono, ta b'ale ke la dahi la əgo ø ana  
 AFTER PAST(pl.) PAST-dry NON-PAST return PART GFS sea DFS fetch(sg.) ABS child  
 d'e. d'ai la dahi, la təbi lahalae. heleo ø ana pe'e d'o ke.  
 DEM2sg. arrive GFS sea GFS edge sand see ABS child be(sg.) NEG PART

pedoe-doe, pedoe-doe. pe'e d'o ke ta hou ø ne lii ana  
 call(sg.)-RED call(sg.)-RED be(sg.) NEG PART NON-PAST emerge ABS ART word child  
 ne.  
 DEM1sg.

'When they are dried, (the mother) returns to the sea to fetch the child. She arrives at the sea, at the sand's edge, and sees that the child is not there. (She) calls out again and again, (but) there is no answer.'

44. d'ai la kətu-ragi ø ne ana ne, ta pebu'u ø kətu ke təlu  
 arrive GFS deep water ABS ART child DEM1sg. NON-PAST appear ABS head PART three  
 təkə ta pelaŋu ŋa ina ne. jad'i ke ta əño pa  
 time NON-PAST bid farewell COM mother DEM1sg. become PART RESULT turtle LOC  
 d'ara dahi.  
 inside sea

'The child reaches deep-water and the head appears three times to bid farewell to the mother. (The child) has become a turtle in the sea.'

\* \* \*

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