

Tense, Aspect, Mood and Polarity in Sumbawa*

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1 Introduction

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

2 Predicate Structure

The structure of the predicate in Sumbawa is as follows:

(Negator) (Tense-Modal (TM) marker)=Subject marker¹ (A/S)=Head [verb, noun]

Negators: There are two series of negators in Sumbawa; one is *nó* and the other is *siong*. Roughly speaking, they correspond to *tidak* and *bukan* in Malay (See Sneddon (1996). In simple terms, the former is used when the head is a verb, while the latter is used when the head is a noun.

Tense-Modal (TM) markers: two tense markers, *ka* ‘PAST’ and *ya* ‘FUT’, and two modal markers, *ma* ‘JUSSIVE’ and *na* ‘NEG.JUSSIVE’.

Among the constituents of the predicate, tense-modal markers *ka* ‘PAST’ and *ya* ‘FUT’, and *ma* ‘JUSSIVE’ do not have their own stress, and form a phonological unit together with the following verb. In contrast to that, the negator *nó* and TM marker *na* have their own stress. From its meaning and phonological property mentioned above, *na* can be analyzed as a combination of the negator *nó* plus *ma*; *na* may have taken over this phonological property of *nó*². But we will continue using the label “modal marker” for *na* (instead of “negator,” for

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

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

<i>tunóng</i> ‘burn’	<i>tunóng</i> ‘sleep’
<i>popo</i> ‘wash’	<i>popo</i> ‘make a magic’

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

² In addition to its form, meaning, and phonological feature, the synchronic incompatibility of the modal marker *ma* and the negator *nó* also supports this analysis; the sequence *nó ma* is not permitted in current Sumbawa, and thus *ma* and *na* always occur in the initial position of the predicate.

example) for ease of description.

nó may form other complexes with a past tense marker *ka* and a pragmatic particle, including *nó poka* ‘not yet’ in (1).

For example:

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

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

3 Tense

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

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

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

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

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

- (4) *na sia=tomas-tomas ina’ léng.*
 NEG.JUS 2SG=noisy mother word
ta ya=ku=balawas léng
 this FUT=1SG.LOW=recite.a.poem word
 ‘“Don’t be noisy, mam. I am going to recite a poem”, he said.’
- (5) *mé lók ya=sia=bèang’ aku mèn=nan?*
 Which way FUT=2=give 1SG rice=that
 ‘How will you give me the rice?’

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

● Function of *ka* ‘PAST’

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

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

- (4) *ma=ku=tama kó’ balé=sia.*
 MA=1SG=enter to house=2SG+HON
 ‘Let me enter your house.’
- (5) *na sia=datang kóta.*
 NA 2SG=come to-here
 ‘Please don’t come here.’

- (6) *saperap ka=datang kota nya.*
yesterday PAST=come to.here 3
‘He had come here yesterday.’
- (7) *ba’ tu=setama’ mo legé=ta na,*
then 1PL=put.into HIGHL rice=this INTERJ
legé ka=tu=kukés=ta é.
rice PAST=1PL=steam=this INTERJ
‘Then put in the rice, the rice we steamed, you know.’
- (8) *beru’ ka mo tu=kukés né,*
just.after PERF HIGHL 1PL=steam INTERJ
ba=t=teding sogan, na.
then=1PL=put.on.a.stove pan INTERJ
‘Just after we steam (the rice), we put (it) onto the stove.’

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

- (9) *saperap datang kóta nya.*
yesterday come to.here 3
‘He came here yesterday.’

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

- (10) *tó’ saté ya=kututér ampó’*
now want FUT=1SG=tell more
tentang sejara uji coba
about history try.out
‘Now I would like to tell an another story, a history about ‘Uji Coba’ (Dutch’s attempt to invade Sumbawa).’
- Belanda tama lakó Samawa*
Holland enter to Sumbawa
‘Dutch entered to Sumbawa.’
- kira-kira lébé kurang telu-ratés lima-pulu tén*
about more less 350 year
- dè ka=laló ana*
NOM PAST=go over.there
- Belanda ké pasukan angkatan laut*
Holland with troop army sea
- tama lakó Samawa=ta*
enter to Sumbawa=this

saté jaja tana=Samawa=ta
 want take.over land=Sumbawa=this
 ‘About 350 years ago, Dutch army entered Sumbawa to take over it.’

karéng datu=Samawa sultan raja=Samawa
 and.then headman=Sumbawa sultan king=Sumbawa

sermén serèa tentara, kaléng anósiip ké’ kales anórawi.
 gather all army from East and from West
 ‘So Sulan of Sumbawa gathered all the armies from the east to the west’.

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

4 Aspect

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

Progressive of the dynamic situation is indicated by the equational sentence, one argument of which is a demonstrative *ta* ‘this’, and the other is a phrase with the noun *muntu*³ ‘time, when’.

- (11) *ta muntu ku=mópó’*
 this time 1SG=wash (*N-pópó’*)
 ‘Now I am doing the washing.’

Inception of the state is normally indicated by the verb *dadi* ‘become’. In addition to that, the attachment of person marker and/or pragmatic particle *mo* ‘highlight, occurrence’ may indicate the similar meaning⁴.

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

- (a) *nya datang, muntu ku=mópó’*
 3 come when 1SG=wash
 ‘He came when I was washing.’
- (b) *muntu ya=gita’ ina’ léng tau*
 when 3=look mother by people
- ka mo teri’ bao sejada ramanéng geti mo*
 past HIGHL fall.down on prayer.rug bathe blood HIGHL
 ‘When people saw her, the mother has already felt down on the prayer rug, bathing in the blood.’

⁴ The primary function of mood particle *mo* is highlighting the occurrence of an event. It is used to mark the important events that can be treated as a key point in the discourse.

- (48)
- (a) *m.m... aku né*
 yes 1SG you.know
- ka=ku=sakét ka=ku=naré*
 PERF=1SG=sick PERF=1SG=sick.after.childbirth
- aku né, sakét telu tén. siong’ ada’ susu*
 1SG you.know sick three tahun not exist milk
- siong’ ada’ ya=t=bèang’ tau=dunóng’ rua*
 NEG exist FUT=1PL=give people=before it.seems
- selén’ ké’ ai-susu-susu ina’ baè*
 besides with milk mother only

- (12) *dadi* *gera* *kau*.
become beautiful 2SG ‘You became beautiful.’
- (13) *gera* *mo* *kau*.
PAST HIGHL 2SG ‘You became beautiful.’
- (14) *mu=gera* *kau*.
2SG=beautiful 2SG ‘You became beautiful.’

5 Mood

Some auxiliaries indicate modal: *mesti* ‘must’, *harós* ‘must, need’, *perlu* ‘need’, *bau* ‘be able to’, *to* ‘be able to’, *sate* ‘want’.

In addition to these auxiliaries, two of the TM markers, *ma* and *na* indicates mood⁵. They

- (b) *ètè’* *mo* *léng* *tau=ana*.
take HIGHL by people=over.there
‘Yes, I was ill. I got ill after child birth. I had been ill for three years. I was not able to give milk to the baby. Before, there are not anything other than mother’s milk to give a baby. So, people over there **adopted** him.’

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

- (c) *sai’* *dè=ajar* *tau=Jepang* *nan?*
who NOM=teach person=Japan that
‘Who will teach the Japanese?’
- (d) *aku* *mo*.
1SG HIGHL
‘**I will.**’

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

- (e) *mu=laló* *kó* *ban?* *laló* *mo*.
2SG=go to bank go HIGHL
‘Are you going to the bank? **Go ahead!**’
- (f) *nó* *mo* *bolang* *diri* *kó* *lét*.
NEG HIGHL throw.away onself to sea
‘Don’t throw yourself into the sea.’

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

- (20) *ada’* *rasa* *iri* *ina=ta* *ké’* *adi=ta*.
exist feel jealous mother=this with younger.sibling=this

saté *ya=racén* *si=Ijo=ta*, *bau* *ma=dapat* *selaki’*.
want IRR=potion TITLE=Ijo=this can JUS=get husband
‘The mother and the younger sister (of Ijo) felt jealous, and they wanted to poison Ijo, so that the sister could get her (Ijo’s) husband.’
- (21) *tódé=Siti=ta* *barari’* *mo* *ya=bolang* *mo* *gunténg=ta*
child=Siti=this run HIGHL 3=cast-away HIGHL scissors=this

kó’ *dalam* *brang*
to inside river

bau *na* *to’* *léng* *tau*
can NEG.JUS know by man

sai *baèng’* *ka=samaté’* *ina’*
who responsible PAST=kill mother

indicate the jussive, or more precisely, the illocutionary force of a request or an invitation.

Below are examples of *ma*. *ma* occurs when the subject of the clause is in the first or the second person. Examples (15) and (16) contain a subject in the first person singular. In this case, *ma* indicates the speaker's request for permission to do the action referred to in the clause.

- (15) *ma=ku=pukél* *boat* *nya*.
 JUS=1SG=hit mouth 3
 'May I hit his mouth?' or 'Let me hit his mouth.'
- (16) *ma=ku=ènèng* *tolóng* *sia*.
 JUS=1SG=ask.for help 2SG
 'May I ask for your help?' or 'Let me ask for your help.'

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

- (17) *ma=tu=laló* *kó* *Lapé* *kita*.
 JUS=1PL=go to Lape 1PL.INCL
 'Let's go to Lape.'
- (18) *bléng* *kó'* *bapa=Mina=ta*
 say to father=Mina=this
iè' *bapa=Mina* *ma=tu=tunóng* *mo* *bulu* *otak* *si=Mina=ta*
 yes father=Mina JUS=1PL=burn HIGHL hair head TITLE=Mina=this
ma=bau *maté* *sarèa'* *gutu*.
 JUS=can die all louse
 '(Mina's Mother) said to Mina's father, "Mina's Father, let's burn Mina's hair, so that all the lice die."'

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

- (19) *ma=sia=datang* *kota*.
 JUS=2SG=come to.here
 'Please come here.'
- (20) *ma=mu=tedu* *pang'* *Samawa=ta* *mo*.
 JUS=2SG=stay at Sumbawa=this HIGHL
 'Please stay at Sumbawa.'
- (21) *ma=nènè=talat* *mo* *tódé=Siti=nan*, *telas-telas* *ké'* *ina=nan*.
 JUS=2-3PL=bury HIGHL child=Siti=that live with mother=that
 'Please bury the girl, Siti, who will share her fate with her mother.'

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

- (22) *wa ina'* *ma=sakena* *kó'* *ima=kaku*
 INTERJ JUS=apply to hand=1SG+GEN
mata *ya=gera'* *ima* *ku* *pè*
 extremely FUT=beautiful hand 1SG INTERJ

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

ya=kena sisén datu baèng' dèsa
 FUT=apply ring king owner village
 'Wow, (would you) please put (the ring) on my hand. My hand will be extremely beautiful if I wear the ring of the king who rules this village.'

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

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

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

- (15) *na boat dèan*
 NEG.JUS make that
 'Please don't do that.'
- (16) *na balangan pang burét jaran, kena nyungkèk.*
 NEG.JUS walk at back horse affected kick
 'Don't walk near the rump of the horse. You might be kicked.'

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

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

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

6 Polarity

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

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

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

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

nó mongka (< *nó* + *mo* ‘inception, occurrence’ + *ka* ‘PAST’): ‘not any more’ (6.6)

nó po (< *nó* + *po* ‘necessary condition’): ‘not yet’ (6.5)

nó poka (< *nó* + *po* ‘necessary condition’ + *ka* ‘past’): ‘not yet’ (6.5)

6.1 Use of *nó* when it stands alone

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

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

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

- (26) *ma mo panéng’ berma,*
JUS HIGHL take.shower together

nó ku=roa manéng’,
NEG 1SG=want bathe

nó berma ké nya léng’.
NEG together with 3 word

‘Let me take shower with him. I don’t want to take shower, if I am **not** with him.’

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

engka itóng’ permissi lakó’ raja=Samawa’,
NEG.PAST consider ask.for.permission to king=Sumbawa

raja=dunóng’ raja... apa singén...
king=before king... what name

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

‘Unexpectedly, the general didn’t consider to ask permission to the king of Sumbawa, the king at that time what’s his name? ... King Kalibela, if I am not wrong.’

- (28) *jarang ada’ sumér apa rua brang tu=turés,*
rarely exist well anything way river 1PL=be.frequent

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

‘(Before) Since there are not something like well, we frequently go to river to do wash. When we didn’t use that river, we went to the Peria river.’

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

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

siong’ kau ka=samaté
NEG 2SG PAST=kill

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

(30)

- (a) *kira-kira umér sia pida mo tó', pén?*
 about age 2SG how.many HIGHL now grand.parent
 'How old are you now, GrandMa?'
- (b) *nó ku=to'*
 NEG 1SG=know
 'I don't know.'

Next examples shows the negation of sentences with a modal auxiliary

(31) and (32) are examples of the verb *bau* 'be able to', and *roa* 'want', respectively.

- (31) *nó bau' datang kóta nya.*
 NEG can come to.here 3
 'He is not able to come here.'
- (32) *nó roa datang kóta nya.*
 NEG want come to.here 3
 'He doesn't want to come here.'

6.2 *nó si*

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

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

- (33) *nó si panas nawar.*
 NEG.EMPH hot tomorrow
 'It will not be hot tomorrow.'
- (34) *nongka panas anó=ta.*
 NEG.PAST hot day=this
 'It is not hot today.'
- (35) *nó si rango' balé=kaji.*
 NEG.EMPH big house=1SG
 'My house (under construction) won't be big.'
- (36) *nongka rango' balé=kaji.*
 NEG.PAST big house=1SG
 'My house isn't big.'

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

- (37) *nó si datang nya kó' balé=kaji.*
 NEG.HIGH come 3 to house=1SG
 'He won't come to my house (in the future).'
 'He never come to my house (in any time).'

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

Prgmatic particle *si* is normally used in the following environments.

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

- (38) (a) *masi si tedu pang ta?*
 still EMPH stay at this

- (b) *masi si.*
 still EMPH
 (a) Does he/ she/ they still stay here?
 (b) Yes, he/she does / they do.

- (39) (a) *tau=Empang dèan?*
 person=Empang that

- (b) *tau=Empang si*
 person=Empang EMPH
 (a) 'Is that a man from Empang?'
 (b) 'Yes he is a man from Empang.'

(ii) Facts contrary to the expectation is expressed.

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

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

6.3 *nongka*

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

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

- (41) *nongka ku=ketawa'.*
 NEG.PERF 1SG=laugh
 'I didn't laugh (in a specific time in the past).'
- (42) *sapèrap nongka datang kó' balé=kaji nya.*
 yesterday NEG.PAST come to house=1SG 3
 'Yesterday he didn't come to my house.'

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

- (43) *tau=nan nongka pang Samawa'.*
 person=that NEG.PAST at Sumbawa
 'That person isn't/wasn't in Sumbawa.'
- (44) *tau=nan nongka kalés Samawa'.*
 person=that NEG.PAST from Sumbawa
 'That person isn't/ was't from Sumbawa.'

6.4 *nó soka* 'emphatic form of *nongka*'

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

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

- (45)
- (a) *nó soka gentomas ké'?*
 NEG EMPH.PAST noisy INTERR
- (b) *nó soka*
 NEG EMPH.PAST

- ‘Don’t you feel noisy?’ ‘I don’t.’
- (46) *ya=perasa’ ina’ nó soka kuda-kuda’*
 3=feel mother NEG EMPH.PAST what-what
walaupun ka mo bakat né.
 though PAST HIGHL injured INTERJ
 ‘Mother didn’t feel anything, though she had injured.’

6.5 *nó po* and *nó poka* ‘not yet’

The constituents of these two forms are as follows.

nó po: *nó* NEG + pragmatic particle *po* ‘condition’

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

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

- (47) *nó po laló nya.*
 NEG COND come 3 ‘He isn’t departing yet.’
- (48) *nó po ka datang nya*
 NEG COND PAST come 3 ‘He hasn’t departed yet.’

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

- (49) *karna roko tau=dunóng=nan ka=jontal*
 because cigarette people=before=that from=palm.leaf
dadi mesti tu=atór po
 so necessity 1PL=prepare COND
tu=isi jontal=nan ké’ mako
 1PL=put palm.leaf=that with tobacco
 ‘Before, cigarettes were made of palm leaf (jontal), so we have to prepare it, filling tobacco into a palm leaf.’

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

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

6.6 *nó mo* and *nó mongka* ‘not anymore’

Constituents of these two forms are as follows.

nó mo: *nó* NEG + pragmatic particle *mo* ‘highlighting’

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

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

- (42) *nó mo datang kóta nya.*
 NEG HIGHL come to.here 3
 ‘He won’t come here anymore.’

- (43) *nó mongka datang kóta nya.*
 NEG.HIGHL.PAST come to.here 3
 ‘He hasn’t come here anymore.’

As mentioned in section 3, *mo* indicates the inception of the state. We could say that the meaning of *nó mo* and *nó mongka* can be explained as this meaning of *mo*; both *nó mo* and *nó mongka* can be analyzed to indicate the inception of the negative situation. *nó mo* indicates the inception of the negative situation in the non-past, and *nó mongka*, in the past. As mentioned in footnote 4, *mo* may indicate illocutionary force of request, so *nó mo* may express the prohibition as shown in section 4.

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

7. Conclusion

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

Abbreviations

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

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