

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

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## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The Sasak language is spoken on the island of Lombok (immediately east of Bali) by around 2.5 million speakers (roughly 85% of the population of Lombok, which was recorded as 2,950,105 in 2005). It shows great internal variation, both geographical and social, with a complex linguistic ecology (Austin 2003) that includes five ethnolinguistically named ‘dialects’ recognized by native speakers and named for the shibboleth terms for ‘like this-like that’ (eg. Ngenó-ngené, Menó-mené, etc.). The geographical varieties show variation in phonology, lexicon and morpho-syntax, especially in the areas of clitic pronouns (Austin 1996, 2006) and valence-changing processes (Austin 1996, 2000, 2001), but also in verbal morphology, including the contrast between nasal-prefix verbs and non-nasal-prefix verbs (Austin 2010a). There is also a system of speech levels (Austin 2010b, Nothofer 2000) where selection among lexical alternatives marks low-mid-high status level of the addressee in relation to the speaker (and a second humble-honorific dimension that expresses the relation between the speaker and some other referent).

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

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

## 2. Verb forms

The basic unmarked verb form in Sasak occurs as a citation form (eg. in vocabulary elicitation and dictionaries) and in non-finite contexts where tense/aspect/mood and person cannot be expressed, eg. as the complement of verbs of wanting<sup>2</sup>:

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<sup>2</sup> Sasak examples are transcribed following usual Indonesianist practices, except that *q* represents glottal stop. Note that *é* is a close-mid front vowel, *è* an open-mid front vowel, *ó* a close-mid back vowel and *ò* an open-mid

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

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

- (2) *Baruq=k gati bedait kance nie*  
 just.now=1sg very meet with 3  
 ‘I just met him (a couple of minutes ago)’ (Mn, Puyung)
- (3) *Aku laló jòk peken lèmaq aru*  
 1sg go to market tomorrow  
 ‘I will go to the market tomorrow’ (Mn, Puyung)

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

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

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

- (5) *Ah amaq teganang déndéq bélék=1sg uni=n*  
 ah father name don’t leave.behind=1sg say=3  
*inaq tegining-ganang, nangis.*  
 mother name cry  
 ‘‘Amaq Teganang, don’t leave me!’’ said Inaq Tegining-Ganang, crying’ (Mr, Penujaq)
- (6) *Néndéq laló anak=kò laun te-mpuk=ò tó=ng te-siliq=ò*  
 don’t go child=1sg later pass-hit=2 there=3 pass-scold=2  
 ‘Don’t go my child you will be hurt there, you will be scolded.’ (Mu, Ganti)

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

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

back vowel. References following the English free translation give the dialect and the village name of the speaker – Mn Menó-mené, Mr Meriaq-Meriku, Mu Menu-meni, Ng Ngenó-ngené.

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

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

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

### 3. Pronouns

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

All varieties of Sasak have both free and clitic pronouns, however this is one of the areas of morpho-syntax which shows the greatest diversity across varieties (Austin 2003a, 2003b, 2006). Table 1 sets of the pronominal forms in the main Sasak varieties<sup>3</sup>. Note that in all varieties enclitic pronouns attach to nouns to encode inalienable possession (primarily with lexical items for body parts and kinship), eg. *inaq* ‘mother’ *inaqk(u)* ‘my mother’ *inaqmèq ~ inaqbi ~ inaqò ~ inaqm* ‘your mother’. Clitic pronouns may also attach to other parts of speech to express pronominal arguments of predicates, and here there are striking differences in the functions of such pronominal clitics between the different regional forms of Sasak.

**Table 1: Sasak pronouns**

	Ngenó-Ngene		Menu-Meni		Menó-Mene		Meriq-Meriku	
1sg	<i>aku</i>	= <i>ku</i>	<i>aku</i>	= <i>kó</i>	<i>aku</i>	= <i>k</i>	<i>aku</i>	= <i>k</i>
1pl	<i>ite</i>	= <i>te</i>	<i>ite</i>	= <i>te</i>	<i>ite</i>	= <i>t</i>	<i>ite</i>	= <i>t</i>
2masc	<i>ante</i>	= <i>mèq</i>	<i>kamu</i>	=ò	<i>kamu</i>	= <i>m</i>	<i>kamu</i>	= <i>m</i>
2fem	<i>kamu</i>	= <i>bi</i>						
3	<i>ie</i>	= <i>ne</i>	<i>ie</i>	= <i>ng</i>	<i>ie</i>	= <i>n</i>	<i>ie</i>	= <i>n</i>

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

(9) *Ku=laló jòk peken*  
 1sg=go to market  
 ‘I am going to the market’ (Ng, Selong)

<sup>3</sup> These are the low speech level forms. The high, honorific and humble forms are identical in all dialects and are discussed in Austin (2010b).

If the verb is two-place then the highest argument can appear as a proclitic or an enclitic on the verb. Occurrence as an enclitic expresses a realis situation while occurrence as a proclitic expresses an irrealis situation, as in<sup>4</sup>:

(10) *Balé beli-ng=ku*  
 house buy-link=1sg  
 ‘I buy/bought a house’ (Ng, Selong)

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

Note that there is a similar correlation between pronominal proclitic and enclitic and a realis/irrealis interpretation of the clause reported for some South Sulawesi languages.

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

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

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

(13) *Mu=k gitaq=m*  
 part=1sg see=2  
 ‘I saw you’ (Mn, Puyung)

In Menu-meni two-place verbs, in the absence of any other possible host, can bear an enclitic complex that expresses the person-number of the two arguments<sup>5</sup>:

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

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

#### 4. Auxiliary particles

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

<sup>4</sup> The element glossed ‘link’ here is a homorganic nasal linker that occurs between roots ending in a vowel and clitics that begin with a stop.

<sup>5</sup> For further details see Austin (2003a) – note that when both first person and second person are involved the singular/plural contrast in the first person is collapsed.

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

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

(15) *Iaq=k laló jòk peken*  
 fut=1sg go to market  
 ‘I will go to the market’ (Mn, Puyung)

(16) *Gen=ku laló aning peken*  
 fut=1sg go to market  
 ‘I will go to the market’ (Ng, Selong)

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

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

If the object of a preposition is questioned then the whole PP is fronted and the order of preposition and object NP is ‘flipped’ to give [wh-NP—P]<sub>PP</sub>. The auxiliary particle may then follow the larger PP constituent or else the initial NP constituent, as in:

(18) *Sai kance=m iaq bedait léq peken?*  
 who with=2 fut meet loc market  
 ‘Who will you meet at the market?’ (Mn, Puyungu)

(19) *Sai iaq=m kance bedait léq peken?*  
 who fut=2 with meet loc market  
 ‘Who will you meet at the market?’ (Mn, Puyung)

As mentioned above in section 2, Sasak varieties have pronominal clitics. In all dialects auxiliary particles serve as hosts for pronominal clitics that express the highest semantic argument of a predicate, as in examples (15), (16), (17) above. Subordinating conjunctions, adverbial phrases and prepositions can also host these clitics and if one of these potential hosts precedes the auxiliary particle then it will carry the pronominal clitic instead, as in (cf. also example (18)):

### Subordinate Conjunction

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

### Adverbial phrase

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

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

### Prepositional phrase

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

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

## 4.1 Negative polarity

In all dialects of Sasak clausal and verbal predicate negation is indicated by the auxiliary particle *ndéq* which occurs before the predicate (recall from section 2 that negative commands such as example (5) take *déndéq*)<sup>6</sup>. This particle hosts pronominal enclitics, as in:

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

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

- (25) *Ndéq=k uah gitaq=n*  
neg=1sg prfc see=3  
'I have not seen him yet' (Mn, Puyung)

- (26) *Ndéq=k taó gitaq=n*  
neg=1sg can see=3  
'I cannot see him' (Mn, Puyung)

## 4.2 Aspect

Sasak has two main auxiliary particles with aspectual semantics (Dahl 1985, Chung and Timberlake 1985, Comrie 1976, Frawley 1992) namely *uah* (high *sampun*) which I propose

<sup>6</sup> There is also a negative copula *ndaraq* 'not exist' which occurs clause initially.

marks perfect aspect, and *kenyengke ~ kenyeke ~ nyengke ~ nyingke ~ nyeke ~ jangke* which marks continuous aspect (for a similar contrast in Bahasa Indonesia see Sneddon 1996).

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

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

- (i) perfect of result (also called ‘stative perfect’)
- (ii) experiential (or ‘existential’)
- (iii) perfect of persistent situation
- (iv) perfect of recent past (also called ‘hot news’ perfect)

Jordan 1998 shows in detail that Sasak *uah* expresses a sub-set of these meanings, namely:

1. perfect of result, as in:

(27) *Uah=n bace buku ni*  
 pfct=3 read book this  
 ‘He has read this book’ (Mn, Puyung)

(28) *Raje uah=n maté*  
 king pfct=3 die  
 ‘The king has died’ (Mn, Puyung)

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

(29) *Kenyeke=k dateng uiq uah=n tulis due surat*  
 when=1sg arrive yesterday pfct=3 write two letter  
 ‘When I came home yesterday, he had written two letters.’ (Mn, Puyung)

2. experience of some situation, as in:

(30) *Uah=m bedait kance semetòn=k.*  
 pfct=2 meet with brother=1sg  
 ‘Have you (ever) met my brother?’ (Mn, Puyung)

As Jordan (1998) points out:

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

3. ‘hot news’, as in:

- (31) *Raje*            *uah=n*    *dateng*  
pfct=2            pfct=3    come  
‘The king has arrived (after being expected for weeks)’ (Mn, Puyung)

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

- (32) *Raje*            *dateng*    *uni=n*  
pfct=2            come        say=3  
‘The king has arrived (they say)’ (Mn, Puyung)

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

- (33) *Nie*            *jangke=n*    *tulis*    *surat*.  
3            prog=3        write    letters  
‘He is writing letters/a letter.’ (Mn, Puyung)

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

### 4.3 Mood

There are a number of Sasak auxiliary particles that express modal semantic distinctions, including deontic modality (connoting the speaker’s degree of requirement or commitment to the realization of a proposition expressed by an utterance) and epistemic modality (connoting the degree of certainty a speaker has for the proposition expressed an utterance<sup>7</sup>). Table 2 sets out the modal items that are found in the current corpus<sup>8</sup>:

**Table 2. Sasak Modals**

#### Deontic modals

*iaq* (Mn) ~ *éaq* (Mu) ~ *aq* ~ *jaq* (Mr) *gen* ~ *gin* (Ng) ‘projective’ (future)

*harus* ‘must’

*mesti* ‘must’

*kadi* (Mu) ‘must’

*seharus* ‘should’

*perlu* ‘need, necessary’

<sup>7</sup> For evidentiality see section 5 below.

<sup>8</sup> Most of my data comes from Menó-mené, Menu-meni and Meriaq-meriku speakers. I have not yet been able to check the full set of modals for Ngenó-ngené. Note that Sasak also has the Arabic loan *wajib* ‘must, obligation’ which speakers identify as stronger than *harus* and *mesti*. It appears to be a noun in Sasak and not an auxiliary particle.

## Epistemic modals

*taó* (Mn) *tau* (Ng) *iniq* (Mr) ‘can’

*bau* ‘can’

*mau* ‘can’

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

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

Intention:

(34) *Lamun=k uah beléq iaq=k beli balé*  
when=1sg pfct big proj=1sg buy house  
‘When I am older I will buy a big house.’ (Mn, Puyung)

(35) *Iaq=k tulis surat.*  
proj=1sg write letters  
‘I (am about to) write letters’ (answer to question, what are you planning to do right now?) (Mn, Puyung)

Prediction:

(36) *Lamun=n iaq terimaq kèpéng nó iaq=n beli=an*  
if=3 proj receive money that proj=3 buy=appl.3

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

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

(37) *Andé=n iaq ndéq mauq kèpèng nó uiq*  
counterfac=3 proj neg obtain money=def that yesterday

*ndéq=n iaq beli=an dedare nó hadiah*  
neg=3 proj buy=appl.3 girl that present  
‘If he had not got the money yesterday, he would not have bought a present for the girl.’ (Mn, Puyung)

Hypotheticals not marked for time also contain the projective:

- (38) *Ape-ape iaq=m ketuan iaq=n tedóq dðang*  
 whatever proj=2 ask proj=3 silent only  
 ‘Whatever you ask him, he remains silent.’ (Mn, Puyung)

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

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

- (39) *Nie harus=n tókól*  
 3 must=3 sit  
 ‘He must sit down.’ (Mn, Puyung)

- (40) *Dende napi=pun juaq=n iaq te-baðs kun lace-lace*  
 fine what=also ever=3 proj pass-talk.about loc wedding.place

*mesti=n pade ke-beléq-an ató harus=n be-standar*  
 must=3 pl nom-big-nom or must=3 intr-standard

‘Whatever fine we will talk about at the wedding place must be the same size or must be standardized.’ (Mr, Penujaq)

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

- (41) *Harus=m iaq ber-ajah nani*  
 must=2 proj intr-study now  
 ‘You have to study now.’ (Mn, Puyung)

- (42) *Mesti-ng=k iaq ber-ajah nani*  
 must-link=1sg proj intr-study now  
 ‘I must study now.’ (Mn, Puyung)

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

- (43) *Nané kadi=ò taðq silat léq bawó=ng jaran, ie ntan*  
 now must=2 know self.defence loc on.top=3 horse 3 manner  
 ‘Now you must learn self defence on top of a horse, that’s the way.’ (Mu, Ganti)

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

- (44) *Seharus=m kamu ber-ajah lebih bagus*  
 should=2 2 intr-educate more good  
 ‘You should have studied harder.’ (Mn, Puyung)

Necessity is indicated by *perlu*:

(45) *Laguq ini nani perlu-n=t laló péte sarat datu-n=t*  
 but this now need-link=1pl go find cure king-link=1pl  
 ‘But now I have to go to look for the cure of our King.’ (Mr, Penujaq)

(46) *Ite perlu=t buaq-buaq-an léq balé*  
 1pl need=1pl redup-fruit-nom loc house  
 ‘We need fruit at home.’ (Mn, Puyung)

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

(47) *Aku taó=k taèk sepéde*  
 1sg can=1sg go.up bicycle  
 ‘I am able to ride a bicycle.’ (= I know how to ride a bicycle) (Ms, Puyung)

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

(48) *Maqap ndéq=k taó nge-raòs base Sasak*  
 sorry not=1sg can tr-speak language Sasak  
 ‘Sorry, I cannot speak Sasak.’ (Mn, Puyung)

(49) *Papuw=ne ndéq=ne taó be-bace*  
 grandparent=3 not=3 can redup-read  
 ‘His grandmother cannot read.’ (Ng, Selong)

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

(50) *Andé=ng be-dóé anak timaq=ng nine masih bau=ng jari datu*  
 if=3 intr-have child even.if=3 female still can=3 become king  
 ‘If has a child, even if she is female, she can still become Queen’ (Mu, Ganti)

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

*sugun terus bangké=ng Raksase nu-q=ng isiq=ng*  
 come.out then corpse=3 Raksasa that-spec=3 by=3

‘Doyan Medaran pulled with all his might and then the corpse of Raksasa could come out because of him.’ (Mu, Ganti)

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

(52) *Ndéq=k bau taèk sepéde tie, beléq lalòq=n*  
 not=1sg can climb bicycle that big very=3  
 ‘I cannot ride this bicycle, it’s too big.’ (Mn, Puyung)

This particle is also used to ask for or give permission, as in the following sentence (note the presence of the projective modal particle here). It makes sense that the ‘external circumstances’ modal should be used since these are the circumstances which determine permission:

- (53) *Bau=k iaq cóbaq sepéde=m se-beraq*  
 can=1sg proj try bicycle=2 one-while  
 ‘Can I try your bicycle for a while?’ (Mn, Puyung)

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

- (54) *Aku mau=k taèk sepéde ni*  
 1sg can=1sg climb bicycle this  
 ‘I can ride this bicycle (because I have time to do so).’ (Mn, Puyung)

Negation is also possible, as in:

- (55) *Ndéq=k mau atòng buku ni jòk Ali uiq*  
 not=1sg can take book this to Ali yesterday  
 ‘I couldn’t take these books to Ali yesterday (because I didn’t have time).’ (Mn, Puyung)

## 5. Quotatives and evidentiality

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

- (56) *Ndéq=kò éaq uléq uni=ng inaq kanak nu*  
 not=1sg fut return say=3 mother child that  
 ‘‘I will not go home’’ said the child’s mother.’’ (Mu, Ganti)

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

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

<i>ambu</i>	‘smell’
<i>rase</i>	‘taste’
<i>idap</i>	‘feel’
<i>rue</i>	‘appear’
<i>inde</i>	‘suppose, guess based on contextual evidence’

Examples from texts are the following<sup>9</sup>:

(58) *Jangke=ne buéq se-arit, masih ndéq man baé*  
 cont=3 finished one-hand.of.banana still not yet only

*keruan rase=ne*  
 ready taste=3

‘He finished a hand of bananas, but they still didn’t taste ready.’ (Ng, Selong)

(59) *Iaq=n ujan rue=n*  
 proj=3 rain appear=3

‘It looks like it will rain.’ (Mn, Puyung)

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

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

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

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

(64) *Iaq=n ujan idap=n nani*  
 proj=3 rain feel=3 now  
 ‘Now it feels like it will rain (later).’ (Mn, Puyung)

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

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

<sup>9</sup> Most of the text examples have a third person enclitic, although first person is found in (65); it is not clear if other person forms can occur with these verbs. Note that most of the text data I have is from Menu-meni and information on other Sasak varieties needs further checking.

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

It may also be the case that these verbs can take scope over the locutory verbs as well (eg. ‘I said it seems he is sick’).

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

## 6. Conclusions

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

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