Clause Combining in Sumbawa, Indonesia
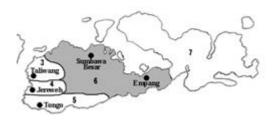
Asako Shiohara
(ILCAA, TUFS)

1. Introduction

Sumbawa is a language spoken in the Western part of Sumbawa Island in Indonesia[1]. According to Adelaar (2005), Sumbawa belongs to the Malayo-Sumbawan subgroup, which is a (western) member of the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family.

Mahsun (1999) distinguishes four main dialects (see Map 2), using lack of mutual intelligibility as a criterion:

(i) Sumbawa Besar (no. 6 on Map 2), which is widely used in Sumbawa.

(ii) Taliwan (no. 3), spoken around Taliwan Town in the northwestern part of West Sumbawa.

(iii) Jereweh (no. 4), spoken around Jereweh Town in the central-eastern part of West Sumbawa.

The Tongo dialect (Map 2, no. 5), spoken around Tongo town in the southern part of West Sumbawa.

Map 2: The distribution of the Sumbawa language and its dialects[2]

(Based on Mahsun (1999))

This study is based on the data that was obtained in my own research of the Sumbawa

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Besar dialect[3] and the written text (Jonker (1934)). (It is unknown that when and where Jonker originally obtained the text.)

This study deals with clause combining in Sumbawa. After providing an overview of the clause combining in this language, I will examine how clause combining occur in the narrative texts. We will deal with two texts, one is a relatively old narrative (Jonker 1934) and the other is a relatively recent narrative that I obtained in my own research.

2. Overview

2.1   Clause combining with a conjunction

Some adverbial clauses and relative clause is introduced by a conjunction. First I will give examples of an adverbial clause, and then those of a relative clause.

(a) Adverbial clause

(i) Temporal: *senópoka'* 'before', *sesuda'* 'after', *setela* 'after', *beru'* 'just after', *muntu* 'when'

(ii) Conditional: *lamin* 'if'

(iii) Causal: *ling* 'because', *sijar* 'because', *sebab* 'because', *apa* 'for',

(iv) Concession: *kelé'* 'though', *sedang* 'though'

(v) Purpose: *bau* + desiderative *ma* 'in order to'

Most of the adverbial clause is a finite clause, in that it may take the same set of arguments as an independent clause does, and the verb can be marked with person marker and any TAM marker. Only one exception is (v) purpose clause, which normally (but not obligatorily) occurs with the desiderative modal marker *ma*.

Most of the adverbial clauses may precede or follows the main clause. Only the exception is a clause with *apa* 'because'. It always follows the main clause.

(i) Temporal: *senópoka'* 'before', *sesuda'* 'after', *setela* 'after', *beru'* 'just after', *muntu*

'when'

(1) **senópoka'**   *ku=mangan*   *ku=maning'.*

before   1SG=have a meal   1 SG =have a shower

'I took a shower before I had breakfast.' [elicited]

(2) **sesuda'**   *ku=mangan,*   *ku=manéng'.*

after   1SG=have a meal   1SG =have a shower

'I took a shower after I had breakfast.' [elicited]

(3) **setela**   *ka*   *mo*   *ngibar*   *adè*   *enam,*

after   past   mm   fly   rel   six

batada   *kan*   *dèta.*

Remain   interj   this

"After the six (girls) flied away, this girl was left behind".   [LK 053]

(4) **muntu**   *ku=mopo,*   *datang*   *nya.*

when   1SG=launder   come   3

"When I was going my wash, he came." [elicited]

(5) **beru'**   *ka=m=tu=kukés*   *né,*

just.after   past=mm=1PL=steam   INTERJ

ba=t=tedéng   *sugan,*   *na.*

interj=1PL=put on a stove   pan   INTERJ

"Just after we steam (the rice), we will put a pan onto a stove". [Wajik]

(ii) Conditional

lamin 'if'

(6) **lamén**   *saté'*   *mu=tutét*   *ku,*   *mu=datang*   *mo.*

If   like   2sg=follow   1sg   2sg=come   MM'If

you want to follow me, just come". [LK134]

(iii) Causal

ling 'because',   *apa* 'for', *sijar* 'because', *sebab* 'because',

(7) **léng**   *nó*   *mo*   *bau'*   *tahan*

      because neg   mm   can   stand

      laló   *mo*   *si=Ijo*   *ta*.

      Go   mm   title=Ijo this

      "Because she couldn't stand any more, Ijo went out". [IJO]

(8) *ada'*   *pitu'*   *pégó,*   **apa**   *pitu'*   *tau*.

      Exist   seven   pot   because seven   person

      "There are seven pots, for there are seven people". [LK022]

(iv) Concession

kelé' 'although', *walaupon* 'although', *sedang* 'although'

(9) *béló'*   *gama*   *umir*   *tu,*   *Edot,*

      long   INTERJ (I hope) age   1PL   Edot

      kele'   *ta*   *lók-lók* *rabuya* *bibi*   *mu=ta*   *é..*   *nanta.*

      although this   way   live   aunt   2sg=this INTERJ INTERJ

      "I hope we could live long, although our life is like this". [PA125]

(10) *dadi*   *lalu=Sangkilang*   *ta*   *nongka* *samaté'*

      then   title=Sangkilang   this   NEG.PERF   kill

      walaupón   *ka=nyongong*

      although   PAST=look.up

      sedang *lamin*   *tau=lin=nan*   *nyongong* *mesti*   *samaté'*

      although if   people=other=that look.up surely   kill

      ling'   *datu=Basangè-Jaran*   *ta.*

      By   headman=Basangè-Jaran   this

"Then, Lalu Sangkilang was not killed, although he looked up (to the king), although if other people had looked up, they must have been killed by the Horse Headed King." [History 058]

(v) Purpose

As mentioned above, a purpose clause is indicated by the conjunction *bau*, and the verb is normally marked with the desiderative marker *ma=*.

In an independent clause, the clause with *ma=* indicates request or invitation.

(11) **ma=ku=pukél**   *boat*   *nya.*
      MA=1SG=hit   mouth   3
      "May I hit his mouth?" or "Let me hit his mouth."

(12) **ma=sia=datang**   *kota.*
      MA=2SG+HON=come   to-here
      "Please come here."

Sentence (13) and (14)　is an example of a purpose clause.

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

      saté *ya=racén* *si=Ijo=ta,* ***bau*** ***ma****=dapat* *selaki'.*
      want IRR=poison TITLE=Ijo=this can MA=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[4]."

(14) *ai'*   *gula,*   *nó*   *si,*   ***bau***   ***ma****=lèma'* *gat*
      water   sugar   NEG   AMP   can   MA=early concentrated
      (when being asked if much sugared water should be put in the pan when beginning to cook rice pudding) "Not (so much) sugared water (is put in), so that it is concentrated earlier."

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[4] This example is cited from a folktale. A storyline of the folktale, which is normally told in the past tense in English, as in English translation here, is often told without the past-tense marker *ka* in Sumbawa.

(b) Relative clause

A relative clause is introduced by the conjunction *adè* (*dè*). Its function is similar to *yang* in Malay. Sentence (15) is an example of a relative clause observed in spontaneous utterance of a native speaker.

(15)   *ta*   *nya*   [*alat*   ***dè***   *ya=kenang*]
        This   3   tool   rel   3=use

        ya nan si   *berang*   *atawa*   *lading.*
        that is   sward   or   knife
        'This is **a tool that is used** (for the purpose), that is, a sward or a knife.
        [Palm leaf sugar]

S of an intransitive clause or A, P, or a recipient NP of a transitive clause may be relativized by the clause of *adè*. Sentence (16) and (17) are examples of an intransitive relative clause.

(16)   *tau*   [*adè*   *balong*   *ké*   *aku*]
        person   REL   good   com   1sg
        "A person who is good (kind) to me"

(17)   *tau*   [*adè*   *lalo*   *kona'*]
        person   REL   go   there
        "A person who went there"

     Sentence (18)b-(18)c are examples of a relative clause, which corresponds to a transitive clause (18)a. In example (18b), P is relativised, while in example (18c), A is relativised.

(18)a   *ya=tari*   *anak*   *nya*   *ling*   *ina*   *nan*
        3=wait   child   3   by   mother   that
        "The mother waits for her child".

(18)b *anak* [*adè* *ya=tari* *φ* *ling* *ina* *nan*]
person REL 3=wait by mother that

"A child whom his mother waits for"

(18)c *ina* [*adè* *φ=tari* *anak* *nya*]
mother that 0=wait child 3

"A mother who waits for her child"

An NP that corresponds to the relativized (head) NP does not appear within a relative clause itself in Sumbawa. Examples (18)d-(18)g that do not fill the condition are not accepted by a native speaker.

(18)d **anak* [*adè* *ya=tari* **anak** **nya** *ling* *ina* *nan*]
person REL 3=wait child 3 by mother that
(Intended meaning) "A child whom his mother waits for"

(18)e **anak* [*adè* *ya=tari* **nya** *ling* *ina* *nan*]
person REL 3=wait 3 by mother that
(Intended meaning)   "A child whom his mother waits for"

(18)f **ina* [*adè* *φ=tari* *anak* *nya* **ling** **ina** *nya*]
mother that 0=wait child 3 by mother 3
(Intended meaning) "A mother who waits for her child"

(18)g **ina* [*adè* *φ=tari* *anak* *nya* **ling** **nya**]
mother that 0=wait child 3 by 3
(Intended meaning) "A mother who waits for her child"

In Sumbawa, a person marker indicating the person of A precedes to a verb, as *ya=* 'third person' in (18)a. When A is relativised, the person marker, as well as an independent NP indicating A, may not occur within a relative clause. Example (18)f, therefore, is not accepted by a native speaker.

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(18)f *ina   [adè   ya=tari anak   nya]

mother that   3=wait   child   3

(Intended meaning) "A mother who waits for her child"

Sentences (20)-(22) are examples of a relative clause, which corresponds to a semantically ditransitive clause (19). In this case, a recipient NP is relativized as in example (20), as well as A, as in (21), and P (theme-NP), as in (22).

(19) ya=bèang' lamong ling   ina   nan   lakó   anak   nya

3=wait   clothes by   mother that   to   child   3

"The mother gave a clothes to her child".

(20) ina   [adè   φ=bèang lamong lakó   anak   nya]

person REL   0=give   clothes to   child   3

"A mother who gives clothes to her child"

(21) lamong [adè   φ=bèang ling   ina   lakó   anak   nya]

person REL   0=give   by   mother to   child   3

"Clothes that the mother gives to her child"

(22) anak   [adè   ya=bèang   φ   ling   ina   nan]

person REL   3=give   by   mother that

"A child to whom his mother gives clothes"

2.2 Clause combining without a conjunction

Various semantic relations are expressed by a combined clause without a conjunction in Sumbawa. It may be grouped into subordinated type or coordinated type.

2.2.1 Subordinated type

This type can be grouped into the following subgroups.

(a) Complementation

(b) Movement and its device

(c) Sentiment and stimulus

(d) Manner and action

(e) Instrumental or Commitative

(a) Complementation

(i) Full clause complement type

Some verbs take a full clause as a complement. Such verbs include the speech-act verbs, such as *bling* 'say', *bada* 'tell' and the cognitive verbs, such as *gita* 'see' and *to'* 'know'. Sentences (23)a and b are examples of the verb *to'* 'know'. A complement clause may either follow the other argument, as in sentence (23)a or may precede it, as in sentence (23)b.

  to' 'know'

  (23)a *to'*   *ling*   *nya=Amén*   [*mólé' si=Siti*].

         know   by   title=Amén   go.home title=Siti

         "Amin knew that Siti went home."

  (23)b *to'*   [*si=Siti mólé'*]   *ling*   *nya=Amén*.

         know   go.home title=Siti   by   title=Amén

         'Amin knew that Siti went home.'

In this case, the property of the complement clause is same as an ordinary independent clause, and there are not any marking of complementation between the main clause and the compliment clause. Only the possibility of insertion as seen in (23)b exhibits its dependence to the main clause.

(ii) non-full clause complement type

Some verbs, such as *suru* 'order'or a permission *beang* 'permit' take this type of complement clause. In this case, the actor NP of the compliment clause is expressed as an undergoer NP of a main clause, and the content of the command or permission occurs as a non-full clause complement.

  (24)a *ya=suru' aku*   *léng*   *nya=Amén*   [*beli*   *jangan=nan*]

         3=order 1SG   by   title=Amén   buy   fish=that

         "Amin tells me to buy the fish."

(25)a *ya=beangsi=Siti léng nya=Amén   [beli jangan=nan]
      order   title=Siti by   title=Amén   buy   fish=that
      "Amin has/ allows Siti to buy the fish."

The complement clause may either precedes the other complement(s) or follow it/ them.

(24)b *ya=suru' [beli   jangan=nan]   aku   léng   nya=Amén
      3=order buy   fish=that   1SG   by   title=Amén
      "Amin tells me to buy the fish."

(25)b *ya=beang   [beli jangan=nan] si=Siti   léng nya=Amén
      3=order   buy fish=that   title=Siti   by title=Amén
      "Amin has/ allows Siti to buy the fish."

The complement clause is non-full clause, in that the constituent that is cross-referent to the undergoer NP of the main clause does not occur in the complement clause. Sentence (24)c and (25)c, which does not fill the condition, is not accepted by a native speaker. The constituent which is cross-referent to the undergoer NP cannot occur in a complement clause either as an independent NP or pronominal clitic.

(24)c *ya=suru'   aku léng   nya=Amén   [ku=beli jangan=nan]
       3=order   1SG by   title=Amén   1SG=buy fish=that
       (Intended meaning) "Amin tells me to buy the fish."

(25)c *ya=beang   si=Siti léng   nya=Amén
       3=order   title=Siti by   title=Amén

       [ya=beli ling   si=Siti (nya)   jangan=nan]
       3=buy   buy   title=Siti (3)   fish=that
       (Intended meaning) "Amin has/ allows Siti to buy the fish."

  Some verbs may function as a main verb in both types of construction. Such verbs

include *sadu'* 'believe', *gita'* 'see', *angóp* 'guarantee', *setuju* 'agree', *bajangi* 'promise' , *bada'* 'tell', *totang'* 'remember', *kalupa'* 'forgot'

The same proposition can be denoted by a different construction when one of these verbs occurs as a main verb.

(26) *ya=gita' si=Siti   léng   nya=Amén   [kakan' tepóng=nan]*.
      3=see   title=Siti by   title=Amén   eat   cake=that
      "Amin sees Siti eating the cake".

(27) *ya=gita'léng nya=Amén   [ya=kakan' tepóng=nan ling Si   Siti]*.
     3=see   by   title=Amén   3=eat   cake=that   by   title Siti
     "Amin sees that Siti eats cake".

In the following four types, the situation expressed by the main clause and that by the subordinate clause shares the actor, and the subordinate clause occurs as a non-full clause; the constituent expressing the actor may not occur in a subordinate clause.

(b) Movement and its device

When the main verb denotes a movement (e.g., *laló* 'go', *molé* 'go home'), the non-full clause expressing its device may follow the main verb.

(28) *ku=laló [φ=entèk ojèk=nan]   Aku*.
      1SG =go   0=ride bike-taxi=that   1SG
      "I go by ojek (bike-taxi)".

(c) Emotion and the cause

When the main verb denotes an emotion (e.g., *ketakit* 'scared', *bosan* 'bored'), the non-full clause expressing its cause may follow the main verb.

(29) *ku=ketakit   aku   [φ=lés   mèsa']*.
      1SG =scared   1SG   0=go   alone.
      "I go out alone with fear".

(d)   Manner and action

When the main verb denotes a state (e.g., *sibuk* 'busy', *lè* 'slowly'), the non-full clause

expressing an action may follow the main verb. In this subtype, too, the main clause and the complement clause share the actor, and the constituent to express it does not occur in the complement clause.

(30) *ku=sibók [φ=pina' tepóng=nan]*   *aku*
      1sg=busy make   cake=that   1SG
      "I am busy makng the cake."

(e)   instrumental and commitative

The verb *berma* 'do something with' and *kènang'* 'use' may form a non-full clause, and may play a role similar to commutative NP and instrumental NP, respectively. In this subtype, too, the main clause and the complement clause share the actor, and the constituent to express it does not occur in the complement clause.

(31) **ku**=*pina' tepóng=nan*   [φ=*berma   ké'   ina'   ku*]
      1SG=make cake=the   accompany   with   mother 1SG
      "I make the cake with my mother"

(32) *ku=mongka'*   [φ=*kènang'   pamongka=ta*]   *aku.*
      1SG=cook.rice   use   cooker=this   1SG
      "I cook rice with this rice cooker."

2.2.2 Coordinated type

Parataxis of this type expresses various semantic relations. Such semantic relation includes the following category. This list is not exhaustive one. Only the typical semantic relations indicated by parataxis are given here. (The labels of the relations are based on the notional catalogue that is suggested in Longacre (2007: 377-386), which he calls 'notions that encode within sentence structure'.)

3.2.1   Coupling

Parataxis is often observed, when two situations are considered to be a pair in some way, as in sentence (33).

(33)

sópó' waktu ina' tuja'=padé,

one   time   mother pound=rice

anak   ya=satokal   mo   pang'   bao batu=Langléló=ta

child   cons=sit   MM   at   on *stone=Langléló=this*

"One day, the mother was pouding rice, and the children was made sat on the Langlelo Stone." [flat stone]

3.2.2   Introducion ('Deixis' in Longacre (2007: 377-386))

(34)

Ada   sopo   tau,   Pomponge   singin,

Exist   one   person   Pomponge   name

Pasang kodong ling   tënga   rau,

Set   trap   at   middle   field.

"There was once a man called Pomponge, [who] set a trap in the middle of a dry field"

3.2.3   Paraphrase

(35)
(One day, the mother was pounding rice, and the children was made sat on the Langlelo Stone.)

nó.poka' basebo,   nó.poka' mangan
neg.yet   have.breakfast   neg.yet   eat
"They had not had breakfast, they had not had a meal"

(36)

sedang   lè'   malóm   tódé'   anak=ta   kan
although long   as.you.know   infant   child=this   INTERJ

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masi   tódé'
still   child

nó po   to'   berpikér nó po to'   apa
NEG MM know think   NEG MM know anything

"Although it takes more time to cook rice, as you know, the children were infant, (they) didn't have sense, they didn't know anything, (they continued to ask their mother for food.)"

3.2.4   Succession (Successive events)

(37)

ètè'   péné'   api=ta ba'   kakan' mo
take   short   fire=this so   eat   mm

sentèk mo   pamongka'   lakó'   bao=senikan
put.onto MM   rice.cooker   to   on=stove

bakala' mo pamongka=ta
boil   MM rice.cooker=this

"To make a long story short, the fire was made, (the mother) put a rice cooker onto the stove, then the cooker was boiled."

(38)

ètè' péné' masak mè   ya=óló' mo kó' piréng ya=óló' mo kó' talang
take short cooked rice CONS=put MM to dish   cons=put MM to   dish

  "To make a long story short, the rice was cooked, and she (the mother) put it on a dish…"

4   Combined clauses that is observed in two narratives

   In this section, I will examine how combined clauses actually appear in narratives. I used two narratives as a data; one is an oral folklore titled "the story of a flat stone", which is collected by the present author, the other is a written text ("text I", tentatively titled as "the story of Salam" here), which is selected from Jonker (1935).
   "The story of a flat stone" is obtained by my own research in Empang city in 1996. The storyteller is a man called Dea Ringgi, born in 1930's. "The story of Salam" is one

of Sumbawa folktales that Jonker gathered. It cited it from Jonker (1935), which is published with introduction written by P. Voorhoeve after Jonker' death. According to the introduction, this story had been published in 1907 before it is published as a collection of folktales in Jonker (1935). It is not known when and where Jonker originally obtained the text, but it is clear that it reflects the Sumbawa language no later than 1907. In the following part of this section, I will examine how clause combining occurs in each textst to find the difference between the two texts, and between the language of relatively younger age, which we can see in the elicited data seen in this study.

Text type	The year of the speaker's birth
The story of Salam (Jonker (1935))	(estimated) before 1890's, at the latest
The story of a flat stone (Shiohara (2006))	1930's
Ellicited sentences	1975

First, we will examine the frequency of a combined clause with/ without a conjunction.

As for parataxis, it is difficult to make a totally objective judgment as to if more than one clause is combined (make a unit) or not. But I tried to make as objective judgment as possible using a phonological unit and punctuation as a clue. As to the oral text that I gathered (Shiohara (2006)), I judged the more than one clause form a unit, when they make a phonological unit, and can be considered to have some semantic relation.

I will give an examples from each texts. This is the beginning of the story "Flat Stone". The first two clauses can safely be judged as a unit, as the two clauses that are included here makes a phonological unit, and make a semantic relation of 'introducing'. Similarly, the next two clauses can be considered to form a unit, indicating a semantic relation of 'coupling'.

(38)

(a) *saman dunóng' ana ada' sópó' keluarga,*
     time   before   over.there exist one   family

(b) *dua   anak*
     two   child

     "There is a family with two children,

(c) *soai   sa-kodèng,*
     female   one-person

(d) *salaki   sa-kodèng*
     male   one-person

   "One girl and one boy."

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As for a written text ("The story of Salam), I made a judgment according to Jonker's punctuation. (39) is the beginning of the story of Salam. Three clauses are combined with a comma and form a sentence, which could be called 'a unit' [5].

(39)
Ada   sanompo tau   miskin,
Exist   one   person   poor

ada   anak   sopo   basingin Salam,   ia=antat ngaji.
Exist   child   one   named   Salam,   3=take   *ngaji*

"There was once a poor man who had a son by the name of Salam, whom he sent to school (*ngaji*)."

(lit. There was once a poor man, there was a child named Salam, he took (the son) *ngaji*.)

Table 1 presents the number of clauses and units with/ without a conjunction in each text. The frequency of the conjunction is higher in the more recent text than the older one.

Table 1 number of clauses and units

	Story of a flat stone (Shiohara 2012)	Story of Salam (Jonker 1934)
Clause	177	267
Units of combined clause	92	133
Units with a conjunction	33	19
Units without a conjunction	59	114
Dependent type	10	25
Independent type	49	89

Table 2 shows a list of conjunctions and its frequency.

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[5]In citing from Jonker (1935), the original orthography is retained. The text is translated by Stuart Robson from the original Dutch and is glossed by the present author.

Table 2 Conjunctions observed in each text

	Story of a flat stone (Shiohara 2012)	Story of Salam (Jonker 1934)
Units with conjunction	33	19
lamin (condition) 'if'	7	1
narang (overlap) 'the more… the more'	6	0
tapi (reversal expectation) 'but'	6	0
apa (reason) 'because'	3	7
karena (reason) 'because'	2	0
bau (purpose) 'so that'	2	0
mutu/ muntu (overlap) 'when'	2	1
sebab (reason) 'because'	1	0
sedang (concession) 'though'	1	0
makin (overlap) 'the more… the more'	1	0
beru (successive)	1	0
seolaola (simile) 'like'	1	0
ame (purpose/ result) 'so that'	0	8
mana (concession) 'even'	0	1
mengka (successive) 'just after'	0	1

What we could say from the list is as follows.

(1) The conjunction *lamin* and *narang* is frequently occurs in the story of a flat stone[6].

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[6] The outline of the story of a flat stone is as follows.

Long time ago, there was a flat stone called Batu Langlelo. The mother was cooking, while the children were playing on the stone. In the meantime, the stone went higher and the mother was not able to give her children food. The mother visited a couple of quail. They recited a charm many times, and the stone recovered to its original height.

The conjunction *lamin* occurs in a charm that the quails recited. The charm is repeated three times in the whole story.

*bét   bélo'   bét   péné'   **lamén**=bélo'*
bét   long   bét   short   if=long

*ya=ku=jengkal   **lamén**=péné'*

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But that is brought about the contents of the story, not by the style of the language itself.

(2) The higher frequency of the conjunction indicating 'reason' is remarkable in both text.

(3) The variety of conjunction in the older text is relatively small. For example, it is only one conjunction indicating reason (*apa* 'beause)) that is attested there, while the two conjunctions, *karena* and *sebab*,nwhich may be a relatively recent loan from Indonesian, are observed in the relatively recent text, in addition to *apa*.

(4) The conjunction *ame* (purpuse/ result) 'so that' is most frequently observed in the older text. The conjunction is not attested in my data that is obtained in Sumbawa Besar dialect speaking area.

(40) "*Lalo ete sampi ode nan*,
go take cow small that

ame tu-semele"
so.that 1pl-kill
"Go and take the small cow, so that we can kill it".

Table 3 shows the frequency of complementation.

---

cons=1sg.low.affix=measure.in.span.of.the.hand   if=short

ya=ku=depa
cons=1sg.low.affix=measure.with.arms

The conjunction *narang* 'the more' occurs in the points in which the storyteller tells the way in which the stone went higher. The similar expression is repeated four times in the whole story.

ba' batu=ta ina' é **narang** *lè' kan* **narang** *tinggi*
so stone=this mother you.know the.more long isn't.it? the.more high

"Mother, the stone becomes higher as time goes by."

Table 3 Occurrence of complementation

	Story of a flat stone (Shiohara 2012)	Story of Salam (Jonker 1934)
Complementation	10	25

Most of the complementation has a verb of speech-act as its main verb, and most of them are a full-clause type seen in 2.2.

(41) *karéng* ***bléng*** *mo* *anak*
       and.then say mm child

  [*ina'* *ina'* *ènèng=mè* *gama* *ina'*]
  mother mother beg=rice please mother

  "Then, the children said, "Mother, mother give us food!"

The character's words often appear without a speech-act verb in both texts.

(41) *ia-pukil: "Loka* *dadi* *tau* *dadara",*
       3-hit old become person young
       sampe *mate* *sowai* *guru.*
       Until die woman teacher
       "He hit her (saying) 'The old (woman) become young girl', until the female teacher (his wife) died". (Jonker (1935: 220))

Table 4 shows the list and its frequency of semantic relations that are indicated by coordination type of juxtaposition.

Table 4 Semantic relations that are indicated by coordination type of juxtaposition

	Story of a flat stone (Shiohara 2012)	Story of Salam (Jonker 1934)
Units without a conjunction	49	56
successive event	10	42
paraphrase	9	0
relativization	8	8
reversal expectation (the relation of 'but')	5	1
repetition	5	1
reason	4	1
coupling	4	0
introduction	2	1
contrast	2	2

What we could say from the list is as follows.

(1) Successive evens

Successive events are most frequently observed in both of the story.

(41)   *Turin-mo nja*   *Salam,*
        go down MM   title Salam

        ia-ete   *bulaeng*   *sarea,*
        3-take   gold   all

        ia-bawa   *mule.*
        3-bring   go.home
        "Salam climbed down, took all the gold and brought it home".
        (Jonker 1935: 218)

We could say that Sumbawa prefers to indicate the time relation between the successive events only by the order of the clauses, and rarely expressed by a conjunction. But there are some devices other than conjunction observed to indicate the time relation in juxtaposed clauses.

(i) use of time adverbial

(42)　　*Ia-langka këban*　　*pang*　　*nja*　　*Salam,*
　　　　3-enter　garden　place　title　Salam

　　　　dunung *bagita*　*nja*　　*Salam,*
　　　　before　see　title　Salam

　　　　mudi　*guru*　　*bagita.*
　　　　Later　teacher　see

　　　　"They entered the garden where Salam was, Salam saw the master before he saw him". (Jonker (1935: 220))

(ii) use of the verb *suda* 'finish'

(43)　　*ka*　　*mo*　　***suda***　*tu=tuja' padé=ta*
　　　　perf　mm　finish　1pl=pound　　rice=this

　　　　ta　　*muntu*　*tu=tepé*
　　　　this　time　1pl =winnow

　　　　"We are winnowing rice, after pounding it."
　　　　(lit. "We already finished pouding rice, now we are winnowing (it)".) (Shiohara 2012)

(44)　　***Ka=suda***　　*ia-djëlit bale*　*nan,*　　*datang*　*nja Salam,*
　　　　Past=finish　　3-burn　house　that　come　title Salam

　　　　ia-sapëda　　*api*　　*nan,*

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3-put.out fire   that

ia-pili   arang   bale   nan,
3-gather chacoal house   that

ia-isi   lako   bosang.
3-put.in   to   basket

"When he had finished burning the house, Salam came, put out the fire, gathered up the charcoal from the house and put it in a basket".

(iii) *nan po*

'*nan po*' is the combination of the demonstrative and mood marker indicating condition. This form is used as a fixed expression to show the time relation between irrealis plural events in the future.

(45)

na   mudi anak, ta   muntu ku=nuja'
you.see later   child   this   when 1SG=pound

"All right. Wait for a while, children. I am now pounding rice".

nan po *tu=mongka'*   *mongka'*   *masak mo mè*
that   MM 1PL=cook.rice   cook.rice   cook   MM rice

"Then, we will cool rice".

nan   po   *ku=bau'*   *bèang' nènè   mè*
that   MM   1SG=can give   2-3.pl   rice

"Then I can give you food."

(2) Paraphrase and Repetition

The frequency of paraphrase in the Story of Flat stone is remarkable. This use is not observed in the Story of Salam at all. The frequency, therefore, may be due to this specific storyteller's preference. (But it is not uncommon cross-linguistically that these

relations are expressed by juxtaposed clauses.)

(46)

sedang	*lè'*	*malóm*	*tódé'*	*anak=ta*	*kan*	*masi*	*tódé'*
although	long	as.you.know	infant	child=this	isn't.it?	still	child

nó	*po*	*to'*	*berpikér*	*nó*	*po*	*to'*	*apa*
NEG	MM	know	think	NEG	MM	know	anything

   "Although it takes more time to cook rice, as you know, the children were infant,
(they) didn't have sense, they didn't know anything, (they continued to ask their mother
for food.)"

(3) Reversal expression

The conjunction *tapi*, which indicates reversal expression (the equivalent of *but* in
English) is not observed in the story of Salam. Some juxtaposed clauses exhibit a
semantic relation which could be considered as reversal expression as English
translation show, but the conjunction to indicate the relation is not used here.

(47)

Lalo	*tau*	*ode*	*buja*	*Salam,*
Go	person	child	look.for	Salam

∅	*Salam*	*no*	*monda.*
	Salam	NEG	MM.exist

"A servant went to look for Salam, **but** Salam wasn't there".

(48)

Lalo	*ina*	*Salam,*
Go	mother	Salam

ia-eneng	*lako*	*guru*	*pa*	*satue;*
3=ask.for	to	teacher	leg	one.side

$\emptyset$	*nongka*	*ia-beang*	*ling*	*guru.*
	Neg.past	3-give	by	teacher

"Salam's mother went to ask for a leg, **but** the master did not give it".

(4) Relativization

It is also noteworthy that a relative clause with *ade,* which is a common device to form a relative clause in the contemporary Sumbawa, is not observed in both texts. A verb phrase directly modifies the head noun in all the relativized NP, as seen in the following examples.

(49)

batu=nampar	*Batu=Langléló=ta*	*pang'*	*ka=sia=satokal*	*kami=ta*
stone=flat	stone=Langléló=this	place	past=2sg=sit	1pl=this

"The flat stone, the Langlelo stone on which you make us sit" (Shiohara (2006))

beling	*tau*	*gita*	*tau:*
say	person	look	people

(50)

"Aku	*nam*	*ratis,*	*apa*	*aku*	*boat*	*gita*	*tau."*
1sg	six	hundred	because	1sg	work	look	people

"The one who had kept watch said: 'Six hundred for me, because it was my job to be on the lookout." (Jonker 1935: 216)

4. Final remarks

In this study, we have dealt with clause combining in Sumbawa. In Section 2 and 3, a survey of the clause combining was given. In Section 4, I examined two narrative texts, and show how clause combining occurs there. The comparison of two texts tells us that there are some language changes as long as clause combining is concerned from 1900's (or earlier) to 1990's. Examining the two texts also shows the language change from 1990's to the present.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 the first person, the second person, the third person
MM   mood marker
INTERJ interjection
IRR   irrealis
NEG   negator
NOM   nominalizer
PASS passive
PAST past
PROG progressive
PROH prohivitive
SG   singular
TITLE particle introducing a personal name

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