USE OF THESES

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SAWU: A LANGUAGE OF EASTERN INDONESIA

ALAN TREVOR WALKER

A thesis submitted as part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University.

JUNE 1980
Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text this thesis represents the original research of the author.

Signed

Alan Trevor Walker
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAPS AND TABLES</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABBREVIATIONS</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0. INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.1. The Language and its Speakers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.2. The Sawu Islands</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.3. Recent History</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.4. Informants and Fieldwork</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0.5. Previous Literature</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. PHONOLEGY</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0. Phoneme Inventory</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1. Description of Phonemes</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.1. Consonants</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.2. Vowels</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2. Contrasts</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.1. Consonants</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2.2. Vowels</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3. Other Views</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.1. Number of Consonants</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.2. Number of Vowels</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.3. Phonetic Semi-vowels</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4. Phonotactics</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5. Vowel Clusters</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.1. Two-vowel Clusters</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5.2. Three-vowel Clusters</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.6. Word Stress</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7. Intonation</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8. Phonological Adaptation of Loanwords</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. WORD CLASSES</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0. Introduction</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1. Nouns</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2. Verbs</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3. Pronouns</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4. Demonstratives</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5. Common Article</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6. Case Prepositions</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.7. Numerals</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.8. Counters</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.9. Non-numeral Quantifiers</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.10. Clause Modifiers</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.11. Interjections</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0. Introduction</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1. Pronouns</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2. Demonstratives</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.1. Head of NP</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2.2. Head Noun Adjuncts</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3. Common Article (ART) ne</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4. Case Prepositions</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5. Numerals</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.1. Cardinal Numerals</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.2. Ordinal Numerals</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6. Counters (COUNT)</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7. Non-numeral Quantifiers</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.0. Introduction</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.1. hari-hari 'all (with unspecified number)'</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.2. hari 'all (with specified number)'</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7.3. Other</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8. Noun Phrase Conjunction</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9. Compounding</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9.1. wo- (PROD)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9.2. ru- and ro-</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.10. Nominalisation</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.11. Nominal Reduplication (RED)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. VERBS
4.1. A-verbs and B-verbs
4.2. Verb Morphology
4.2.1. Verb Agreement
4.2.1.1. Description
4.2.1.2. Other Interpretations
4.2.2. Causative (CAUS) pe-
4.2.2.1. Description
4.2.2.2. Other Interpretations
4.2.3. Reciprocal (REC) pe-
4.2.3.1. Description
4.2.3.2. Other Interpretations
4.2.4. Verbal Reduplication
4.2.4.0. Introduction
4.2.4.1. A-verbs
4.2.4.2. B-verbs
4.3. Existential Verb era
4.4. Deictic Verbs
4.4.1. Description
4.4.2. Other Interpretations

5. EXCESSIVE ADVERBS (EXCESS)

6. PARTICLES (PART)
6.1. Stative (STAT) do
6.1.1. Description
6.1.2. Other Interpretations
6.2. Past-completive (PAST) ala ... pe-
6.2.1. Description
6.2.2. Other Interpretations
6.3. Non-past ta
6.3.1. Description
6.3.2. Other Interpretations
6.4. Direction From Speaker (DFS) la
6.4.1. Description
6.4.2. Other Interpretations
6.5. Direction Towards Speaker (DTS) ma
6.5.1. Description
6.5.2. Other Interpretations
6.6. hudi LITTLE
6.7. de
6.8. ko
6.9. nab'o SOON
6.10. (we)ri AGAIN
6.11. (he)we JUST, ONLY, QUITE
6.12. ke
6.13. we
6.14. wata EMPH
6.15. ma EMPH
6.16. le(ma) ALSO
6.17. ad'o CERTAIN
6.18. d'enge
6.19. d'enge-d'enge
6.20. meriai QUICKLY
6.21. laha FAST
6.22. loro-loro, roro-roro
6.23. mera PERHAPS
6.24. b'agi PERHAPS
6.25. lohe TOO, QUITE

7. SYNTAX
7.1. Verbal Clauses
7.1.1. Case Frames
7.1.1.0. Introduction
7.1.1.1. Transitive Case Frames
7.1.1.2. Optional Transitive Case Frames
7.1.1.3. Intransitive Case Frames
7.1.2. Word Order
7.1.2.1. NPs
7.1.2.2. Clause Modifiers (CMs)
7.2. Non-verbal Clauses
7.2.1. Interjections
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.2.2. Juxtaposed NPs</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3. Interrogative Clauses</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.0. Introduction</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.1. Yes-no Questions</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2. Question-word Questions</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2.1. naduu WHO</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2.2. ngaa (Seba), nyaa (Mesara) WHAT</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2.3. tangaa (Seba and Mesara), tanyaa (Mesara) WHY</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2.4. talaki WHY</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2.5. peri WHEN, HOW MANY</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2.6. hengaa HOW MUCH</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2.7. pi'a BE WHERE</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2.8. mii WHERE</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2.9. namii WHICH</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3.2.10. minamii HOW</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4. Imperative Clauses</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5. Reflexive Clauses</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5.1. Non-emphatic Reflexives</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5.2. Emphatic Reflexives</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6. Relative Clause Constructions</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6.1. The Construction</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6.2. Relative Clause Marker (REL) do</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6.2.1. Description</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6.2.2. Other (synchronous) Interpretations</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.7. ki Conditional Clauses</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.8. had'i Conditional Clauses</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.9. ngi, mi Purposive Clauses</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.10. (ha)ku SO Clauses</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.11. Reason Clauses</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.12. Auxiliary Verb Constructions</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.13. tade UNTIL Constructions</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.14. Negation</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.14.1. b'ole DON'T</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.14.2. (a)d'o NEG</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.14.2.1. ad'o</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.14.2.2. d'o</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.14.3</td>
<td>NOT YET: dae d’o, ad’o dae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.14.3.0</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.14.3.1</td>
<td>dae d’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.14.3.2</td>
<td>ad’o dae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.14.4</td>
<td>Comparative Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.15</td>
<td>Possession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.16</td>
<td>Comparison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.16.1</td>
<td>hela’u 'be same'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.16.2</td>
<td>mi LIKE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.16.3</td>
<td>rihi (ti)nga MORE THAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.17</td>
<td>Co-ordination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.17.0</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.17.1</td>
<td>nga AND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.17.2</td>
<td>j’e THEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.17.3</td>
<td>d’ai, d’ae THEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.17.4</td>
<td>b’ale THEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.17.5</td>
<td>ta AFTER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.17.6</td>
<td>tapulara, tapi, (wata) BUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.17.7</td>
<td>we OR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.18</td>
<td>Complementation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.18.1</td>
<td>ta Complements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.18.2</td>
<td>Clausal Complements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.19</td>
<td>Deletion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>Word Order and the Leftmost NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.20.1</td>
<td>Role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.20.2</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.20.2.1</td>
<td>Referentiality Hierarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.20.2.2</td>
<td>Definiteness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.21</td>
<td>The Distribution of Keenan's Subject Properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.21.0</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.21.1</td>
<td>The Properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.21.1.1</td>
<td>Role Properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.21.1.2</td>
<td>Reference Properties (Ref.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.21.1.3</td>
<td>Other Properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.21.2</td>
<td>Distribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.21.2.1</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.21.2.2</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8. SAWU AND NDAO

8.0. Introduction 135

8.1. Phonology 136

8.1.1. Phoneme Inventories 136

8.1.2. Phonotactics 137

8.1.3. Vowel Clusters 137

8.1.4. Word Stress 137

8.2. Noun Phrase Constituents 137

8.2.1. Pronouns 137

8.2.2. Demonstratives 138

8.2.3. Common Article ne 138

8.2.4. Case Prepositions 138

8.2.5. Numerals 139

8.2.5.1. Cardinal Numerals 139

8.2.5.2. Ordinal Numerals 139

8.2.6. Counters (COUNT) 139

8.2.7. Nominalisation 140

8.2.8. Verb Agreement 141

8.2.9. Causative 143

8.2.10. Reciprocal 143

8.2.11. Stative, Past-completive and Non-past 143

8.2.12. Directional Markers 143

8.2.13. Existential and Deictic Verbs 144

8.2.14. Clause Modifiers 144

8.2.14.1. Excessive Adverbs 144

8.2.14.2. Particles 144

8.3. Syntax 145

8.3.1. Word Order 145

8.3.2. Interrogative Clauses 145

8.3.2.1. cee WHO 146

8.3.2.2. ngaa WHAT 146

8.3.2.3. ngaa-tao WHY 146

8.3.2.4. peri WHEN, HOW MANY, HOW MUCH 146

8.3.2.5. mia WHERE 147

8.3.2.6. tasamia HOW 147

8.3.3. Imperative Clauses 147
8.3.4. Reflexive Clauses 147
8.3.4.1. Non-emphatic Reflexive 147
8.3.4.2. Emphatic Reflexive 148
8.3.5. Relative Clause Constructions 149
8.3.6. Conditional Clauses 149
8.3.7. Purposive Clauses 149
8.3.8. Reason Clauses 150
8.3.9. Auxiliary Constructions 150
8.3.10. Negation 151
8.3.11. Possession 151
8.3.12. Comparison 151
8.3.12.1. sëmi LIKE 151
8.3.12.2. risi-ele ti MORE THAN 151
8.3.13. Co-ordination 152
8.4. Lexicon 152

9. AUSTRONESIAN (AN) OR NON-AUSTRONESIAN (NAN) 155
9.0. Introduction 155
9.1. Phonology 155
9.2. Noun Phrase Constituents 156
9.2.1. Pronouns 156
9.2.2. Demonstratives 156
9.2.3. Common Article ne 156
9.2.4. Case Prepositions 156
9.2.5. Numerals 156
9.2.5.1. Cardinal Numerals 156
9.2.5.2. Ordinal Numerals 157
9.2.6. Counters 157
9.2.7. Nominal Reduplication 157
9.3. Verb 157
9.3.1. Verb Agreement 157
9.3.2. Causative pe- and Reciprocal pe- 158
9.3.3. Stative do 158
9.3.4. Past-completive elape- 158
9.3.5. Non-past ta 158
9.3.6. Direction Markers 159
MAPS AND TABLES

MAPS
1: Southern Indonesia  2
2: The Sawu Islands  2

TABLES
1: Consonant Phonemes  8
2: Vowel Phonemes  8
3: Pronouns  22
4: Demonstratives as Head of NP  23
5: Demonstrative Adjuncts  25
6: Case Prepositions  27
7: Deictic Verbs  60
8: Excessive Adverbs  62
9: Word Order of ERG and ABS NPs  124
10: Word Order of RH Referential NPs  125
11: Word Order of Definite NPs  126
12: Subject Properties  134
13: Ndao Consonant Phonemes  136
14: Ndao Vowel Phonemes  137
15: Ndao Pronouns  137
16: Ndao Demonstratives  138
17: Ndao Verb Agreement  141
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A-verbs</td>
<td>Action verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>Absolutive Case Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>Austronesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>Common Article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>Auxiliary Verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b-subjects</td>
<td>subjects of semantically basic sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-verbs</td>
<td>non-Action verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>Benefactive Case Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Clause Modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMs</td>
<td>Clause Modifiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Comitative Case Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td>Complementiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COUNT</td>
<td>Counter Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>Demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFS</td>
<td>Direction From Speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTS</td>
<td>Direction Towards Speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>Emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCESS</td>
<td>Excessive Adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excl.</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>Goal Animate Case Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GFS</td>
<td>Goal From Speaker Case Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GTS</td>
<td>Goal Towards Speaker Case Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>High vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>incl.</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>Instrument Case Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIG</td>
<td>Ligature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative Case Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Mid vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEAS</td>
<td>Measure Case Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAN</td>
<td>Non-Austronesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negative Particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.G.A.L.A.L.S.</td>
<td>New Guinea Area Languages and Language Study</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NP
NP(s)
NPs
NUM
O
ORD
PAN
PART
PAST
pl.
POSS
PREP
PROD
PURP
Q
REC
RED
Ref.
RGE
RH
S
SCE
sg.
S.I.L.
STAT
Trans.
\(u\)
V
V
VEH
/
[
(
{
+
#

Noun Phrase
One or more Noun Phrases
More than one Noun Phrase
Numeral
Object
Ordinal marker for numerals
Proto-Austronesian
Particle
Past-completive
plural
Possessive
Preposition
Produce
Purposive
Non-numeral Quantifier
Reciprocal
Reduplication
Reference property
Range Case Preposition
Referentiality Hierarchy
Subject
Source Case Preposition
singular
Summer Institute of Linguistics
Stative
Transitive
any vowel except \(u\)
Verb
Vowel
Vehicle Case Preposition
phonemic representation
phonetic representation
optional
one must be chosen
changes to
word boundary
This thesis is primarily a description of the Seba and Mesara dialects of Sawu (Chapters 1 to 7), but reference is made to other Sawu dialects. Chapters 8 and 9 place it in the wider context of eastern Indonesia.

The Introduction 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 1 is a phonology of Sawu which differs significantly from two earlier attempts by Radja Haba (1958) and Lee (ms). Chapter 2 delineates the distinctive characteristics of Sawu word classes.

The Noun Phrase (Chapter 3) 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 4) 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.

Chapters 5 and 6 identify and define the large number of Sawu Clause Modifiers which include Excessive Adverbs and Particles.

Sawu syntax (Chapter 7) 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, co-ordination, 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 8 examines this claim by comparing the grammars of Sawu and Ndao. It concludes that Ndao is now sufficiently different from Sawu to be regarded as a separate (but very closely related) language.

Chapter 9 looks at a recent claim that Sawu and Ndao are languages with a Non-Austronesian substratum and a heavy overlay of Austronesian (mainly lexicon). I discuss the Sawu data in the light of this claim and put forward the view that there is a strong case for regarding it as Austronesian.
0. INTRODUCTION

0.1. 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 Austronesian (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 Chapter 9.

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 8.

0.2. 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, 202km. away.

Sawu is 40km. long by 15km. wide. Rainjua is 11km. by 6km.
The total population in mid-1975 was about 53,000 (Sawu 47,000, Rainjua 6,000).
MAP 1: SOUTHERN INDONESIA

MAP 2: THE SAWU ISLANDS
0.3. 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 states 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 school teacher 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. Teffer 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 Raijua) 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 Raijua (=Raijua).
2. Kecamatan Sabu Timur (East Sabu) which includes the eastern part of Sawu island (Detaq 1973:5).

0.4. 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 Weti 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 Tai (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'anggu B'ole (one text), Mr Møngi 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Minutes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seba</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesara</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timu</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liae</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainjua</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>780</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
0.5. 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 (ɓ, ɗ, ɖj, ɡ) 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 1897 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 (ɓ, ɗ, ɖj, ɡ) are distinguished from plain stops and ə between consonants corresponds to present-day /a/. 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. medaũ 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 8.).

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 /a/ is consistently ë 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 1.3.2.).

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 Chapter 9.

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 thesis 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.
1. PHONOLOGY

1.0. Phoneme Inventory

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

Table 1: Consonant Phonemes (20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveo-dental</th>
<th>alveo-palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implosive stop</td>
<td>b'</td>
<td>d'</td>
<td>j'</td>
<td>g'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottal stop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill/flap</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Vowel Phonemes (6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1. Description of Phonemes

1.1.1. 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 [j] is interpreted as an allophone of /j'/ (see 1.3.3.).

The Sawu implosives are produced by simultaneous closure at the glottis and another point of articulation, with subsequent release of the non-glottalic closure, downward movement of the glottis and vibration of the vocal chords. I have yet to find any evidence to support Lee's view (ms) that the implosives are voiceless.

(5) a glottal stop /'/.  
(6) four nasals: m, n, ny and ng 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 1.3.2.

1.1.2. 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. /atu/ [ʔatːu] 'worm'; /abo/ [ʔabo] 'capture'. (Phonetic length is indicated by a colon after the consonant.)
1.2. Contrasts

1.2.1. Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p para</td>
<td>'cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b bara</td>
<td>'side, direction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b' b'ara</td>
<td>'goods, clothing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w wara</td>
<td>'white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w waru</td>
<td>'moon, month'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h haru</td>
<td>'spinning instrument'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t tulu</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d dulu</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d' d'ala</td>
<td>'stomach, belly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j jala</td>
<td>'horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j' j'ala</td>
<td>'purpose, direction'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j' j'ara</td>
<td>'to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j' j'al</td>
<td>'to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' g'ara</td>
<td>'interior'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' g'atu</td>
<td>'pluck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k katu</td>
<td>'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k kapa</td>
<td>'ship, boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h hapa</td>
<td>'house-lizard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g gapa</td>
<td>'easy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' g'ili</td>
<td>'tickle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' g'ili</td>
<td>'tickle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n nyame</td>
<td>'bite, chew (sg.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n name-name</td>
<td>'bird species'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n na'i</td>
<td>'tobacco'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d' d'a'ila</td>
<td>'base, bottom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l la'ila</td>
<td>'spouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r ra'ila</td>
<td>'dirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r rui</td>
<td>'strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d dui</td>
<td>'old'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w waru</td>
<td>'moon, month'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø øaru</td>
<td>'clay pot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k katu</td>
<td>'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l la'ila</td>
<td>'spouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m waru</td>
<td>'moon, month'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø øaru</td>
<td>'clay pot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since '/'/ does not occur at the beginning of words (see 1.4.), it is only contrastive in medial position.

<p>| | | | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>ha'e</td>
<td>'climb'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>had'e</td>
<td>'few'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>aj'e</td>
<td>'study (sg.)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>hag'e</td>
<td>'half'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>pe-nga'a</td>
<td>'feed'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>pengaha</td>
<td>'stop, rest'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>ngaka</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>ro'a</td>
<td>'hole'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>roa</td>
<td>'thin black strip of woven cloth'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.2.2. 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' |  |  |
| ø | hab'e | 'mend (sg.)' | -- | -- |  |  |
| e | mela | 'trace' | wie | 'give' |  |  |
| o | mola | 'straight' | hio | 'tear (sg.)' |  |  |
| o | hoe | 'deaf' | oto | 'chaff, husk' |  |  |
| u | hue | 'prick, sting' | atu | 'worm' |  |  |
| o | hod'a | 'sing' | -- | -- |  |  |
| ø | hod'a | 'ant species' | -- | -- |  |  |
| u | huba | 'forgive' | -- | -- |  |  |
| ø | huba | 'wound' | -- | -- |  |  |

1.3. Other Views

1.3.1. 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 /tyúga/ [tyúga] '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.

1.3.2. 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.)

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{?ʌl:a}] & \quad [\text{?e1:a}] & \quad \text{'wing'} \\
[?e1a] & \quad \text{'pupil (of eye)'} \\
[\text{həb':e}] & \quad [\text{həb':e}] & \quad \text{'mend (a mat)'} \\
[\text{həb'e}] & \quad \text{'splash (someone)'} \\
[\text{hab'e}] & \quad \text{'slice (meat)'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Radja Haba chooses the latter. He interprets the long consonants as geminates, and the mid-central vowel as an allophone of /e/. Thus: /?ella/ 'wing', /?ela/ '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 /a/ as the sixth vowel. Thus: /əala/ 'wing', /əla/ 'pupil', /əbə'e/ 'mend', /heb'e/ 'splash', /hab'e/ 'slice'.

1.3.3. Phonetic Semi-vowels

[i]

In the Seba and Mesara dialects, [i] is found in only one word: the first person singular pronoun [ja:]. Radja Haba (1958:8) and Lee (ms) therefore analyse [i] as an allophone of /j/. But as neighbouring Timu has both [j'a:] and [ja:] for the same pronoun, I prefer to regard [i] 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, interpret this semi-vowel as "part of a vowel cluster with a timing of one mora." Some of her examples include:

1. /uêka/ ['uêka] 'old'
2. /boujdu/ [bo'ujdu] 'stone'
3. /wodilu/ 'ear'
4. /heujanga/ [he'uonga] 'nose'

I find this view inadequate for several reasons:

(1) It is inconsistent with the predominant (CV)(C)V(C)V pattern (see 1.4.).
(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', /hewnga/ 'nose'.

1.4. Phonotactics

With the exception of a few words with four or five syllables (e.g. lahalae 'sand', wopəkalae 'ankle'), a root in Sawu has phonological structure: (C₁V₁)(C₂)V₂(C₃)V₃.
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 shewa. 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 shewa must immediately precede a consonant). In both disyllables and trisyllables, $a$ (30%) is most common, followed by $a$ (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 shewa. 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 shewa.

1.5. Vowel Clusters

1.5.1. Two-vowel Clusters

As shewa cannot be a member of a vowel cluster, the possible combinations (with examples) are:

- ketaka 'axe'
- perai 'run, flee'
- keala 'areca palm'
- keoa 'low (of cattle, buffalo)'
- kowa 'boat, ship'
- woe 'crocodile'
- aka 'outrigger'
- ie 'good'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel Cluster</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ae laa</td>
<td>laa</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ae wae</td>
<td>wae</td>
<td>'want'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai kepai</td>
<td>kepai</td>
<td>'big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao ao</td>
<td>ao</td>
<td>'lime'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au kewau</td>
<td>kewau</td>
<td>'swat (at)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ea keala</td>
<td>keala</td>
<td>'areca palm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ea mea</td>
<td>mea</td>
<td>'red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei ei</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>'liquid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eo meo</td>
<td>meo</td>
<td>'cat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>io (no example in data)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ia kehia</td>
<td>kehia</td>
<td>'poor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ie wie</td>
<td>wie</td>
<td>'give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>io hio</td>
<td>hio</td>
<td>'(to) tear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iu wiu</td>
<td>wiu</td>
<td>'new'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oe moani</td>
<td>moani</td>
<td>'female animal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oe koa</td>
<td>koa</td>
<td>'bird species'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oe woe</td>
<td>woe</td>
<td>'crocodile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui toi</td>
<td>toi</td>
<td>'know'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou dou</td>
<td>dou</td>
<td>'person, man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua (no example in data)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua wowua</td>
<td>wowua</td>
<td>'kidneys'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ue kepue</td>
<td>kepue</td>
<td>'base, trunk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ui rui</td>
<td>rui</td>
<td>'bone'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uo (no example in data)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

1.5.2. Three-vowel Clusters

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

- eoe keoe (Mesara) '(to) low (of buffalo)'
- eoa keoa (Seba) '(to) low (of buffalo)'
- eaa meaa 'thick'
- uai ruai 'hand'
- iae j'omiae 'morning'

1.6. 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.
As the majority of Sawu words have stress on the penultimate syllable, I prefer to analyse stressed consonant plus long vowel (i.e. CV:) as disyllabic 'CVV with predictable penultimate stress. Thus:

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

Supporting evidence is found in the verb agreement markers which distinguish singular and plural (see 2.3.2.). e.g.

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

Plural forms of the verb which end 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
/gei/ ['gei] /gee/ ['ge:] 'dig'
/perei/ [pe'rei] /peree/ [pe're:] 'wake'
/puu/ ['pu:] /pue/ ['pue] 'pluck'
/pejuu/ [pe'ju:] /pejue/ [pe'jue] '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'paka'lae 'ankle'.

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

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

1.8. 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 → ə / --- #

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Sawu</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>piring</td>
<td>piri</td>
<td>'plate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahal</td>
<td>maha</td>
<td>'expensive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawat</td>
<td>kawa</td>
<td>'wire'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) [s] becomes h

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Sawu</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>setengah</td>
<td>hetenga</td>
<td>'half'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasar</td>
<td>paha</td>
<td>'market'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) a nasal before a consonant deletes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Sawu</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gampang</td>
<td>gapa</td>
<td>'easy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keranjang</td>
<td>keraja</td>
<td>'basket'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some older loans from Portuguese are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Sawu</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cadeira</td>
<td>kedera</td>
<td>'chair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenço</td>
<td>nalehu</td>
<td>'handkerchief'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gentio</td>
<td>jingitiu</td>
<td>'pagan'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most loans of Dutch origin have entered Sawu via Malay.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Sawu</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duit</td>
<td>duit</td>
<td>doi</td>
<td>'money'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kantoor</td>
<td>kantor</td>
<td>kato</td>
<td>'office'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auto</td>
<td>oto</td>
<td>oto</td>
<td>'motor-car'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potlood</td>
<td>pot(e)lot</td>
<td>potoloo</td>
<td>'pencil'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. WORD CLASSES

2.0. 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.

2.1. 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 3.10.) 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 noun-clausal heads of NPs (see 3.0.).

(2) Most NPs of verbal clauses begin with unambiguous case prepositions (see 3.4.).

(3) Only NPs include common article ne (see 3.3.).

(4) Only NPs include demonstrative adjuncts (see 3.2.2.).

(5) Only NPs include relative clauses (see 7.6.).

(6) In non-verbal clauses, only NPs are negated by Negative Particle ad'o (see 7.14.2.1.).

(7) Only referents of nouns can be counted (see 3.5.1.) or possessed (see 3.1., 7.15.).

(8) In clauses with Past-completive tense-aspect, only nouns, pronouns and particles ke and le can intervene between a1a and pe- (see 6.2.1.).
2.2. 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 a la ... 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 7.14.2.2.).

(3) Verbs are often preceded by particles ta, do, la and ma, and often followed by particles ke, we, he, (le)ma and (wa)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 4.1.).

(5) Some verbs agree in number with an Absolutive or Goal Animate NP (see 4.2.1.).

2.3. Pronouns

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

2.4. 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.

2.5. 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.
2.6. Case Prepositions

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

2.7. 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.

2.8. 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.

2.9. Non-numeral Quantifiers

Non-numeral Quantifiers are a closed class of words restricted to loro, loro-loro, had'e and hengaa-ngaa. 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.

2.10. 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'.

2.11. Interjections

Interjections are words which are usually single-word utterances (and, therefore, single-word clauses - see 7.2.1.).
3. NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

3.0. 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 7.19.).) 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 3.11.) and the numeral 'one' prefix he- (see 3.5.1.).

3.1. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>speaker</td>
<td>1 j'aa</td>
<td>1 (incl.) di' (i.e. including addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(excl.) j'ii (i.e. excluding addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>addressee</td>
<td>2 ou</td>
<td>2 muu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neither speaker</td>
<td>3 noo</td>
<td>3 roo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nor addressee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

ina di' ma, ta wabe ri j'aa  
mother POSS1sg. PART NON-PAST hit(sg.) 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 7.15.).

3.2. 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.

3.2.1. Head of NP

As heads of NPs, Sawu Demonstratives distinguish five types (degrees?) of spatial proximity.
Table 4: Demonstratives as Head of NP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEM 0 oni</td>
<td>(uhi)</td>
<td>Zero distance from speaker (who is referring to a part of his own body, or something which he is holding or touching)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 1 (na(pu))ne</td>
<td>nahe</td>
<td>near the speaker (i.e. specified point near the speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 2 (na)d'e</td>
<td>(na)hed'e</td>
<td>near the speaker (i.e. immediate vicinity of the speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 3 (na(pu))nane</td>
<td>(na(pu))here</td>
<td>near the addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 4 (na)ni</td>
<td>(na)hid'e</td>
<td>distant from speaker and addressee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DEMøsg. 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.

'ina. mai ko ma d'e. oni ru-kenana
mother come PART GTS DEM2sg. DEMøsg. leaf-pepper
wie ou
BEN 2sg.
'Mother. Come here. This is some pepper-leaf for you.'

'uhí ke hurí .... d'ue b'ëla d'ønge
DEMøpl. PART letter two COUNT 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, nane, 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 ABSOLUTIVE case. Note also that h is common to all plural forms, and that nad'o was rejected by my Seba informants.
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).

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

3.2.2. 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 punane as well as nanane and napunane.
(5) DEM 3 plural adjunct is nahare or napuhare, while its head of NP equivalent is hare, nahare or napuhare.
(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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEM 1</td>
<td>(na) (pu) ne</td>
<td>he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>near the speaker (i.e. specified point near the speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 2</td>
<td>(na) d' e</td>
<td>(na) hed' e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>near the speaker (i.e. immediate vicinity of the speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 3</td>
<td>(na) (pu) nane</td>
<td>na (pu) hore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>near the addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 4</td>
<td>(na) ni</td>
<td>nahid' e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(na) d' o</td>
<td>distant from speaker and addressee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mejad'i we μ muu hari-hari pa ne
sit PART ABS 2pl. all LOC DEM1sg.
'All of you sit here (on this bench next to me).'

mai ko μ muu ma d' e
come PART ABS 2pl. DTS DEM2sg
'You lot come over here (to my immediate vicinity).'

hei μ roo pa emu nani
be there (pl.) ABS 3pl. LOC house 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.

3.3. Common Article (ART) ne

Common nouns in Absolutive 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 ø ne huri
write(sg.) ERG 3sg. ABS ART letter 'He wrote a letter.'

Article and Possessive

ta menya'e ke ri duae ø ne jara
NON-PAST ride PART ERG king ABS ART horse noo
POSS3sg.
'The king is riding his horse.'

Article and Demonstrative

hame ri duae ø ne huri napune
accept(sg.) ERG king ABS ART letter DEM2sg.
'The king accepted this letter.'

No Article

ta ie ri j'aa ø pad'a nane
NON-PAST heal ERG lsg. ABS sickness DEM2sg.
'I will heal this sickness.'
3.4. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Preposition</th>
<th>Preposition(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSOLUTIVE (ABS)</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERGATIVE (ERG)</td>
<td>$ri$, $\emptyset$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTRUMENT (INST)</td>
<td>$ri$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOAL FROM SPEAKER (GFS)</td>
<td>$la$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOAL TOWARDS SPEAKER (GTS)</td>
<td>$ma$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOAL ANIMATE (GA)</td>
<td>$pa$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESULT</td>
<td>$ta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE (SCE)</td>
<td>$(rai)(nga)ti$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE (LOC)</td>
<td>$pa$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RANGE (RGE)</td>
<td>$d'ei$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VEHICLE (VEH)</td>
<td>$j'era$, $d'ei$, $nga$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABOUT</td>
<td>$j'era$, $(lua)$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMITATIVE (COM)</td>
<td>$nga$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEASURE (MEAS)</td>
<td>$ngara$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BENEFACTIVE (BEN)</td>
<td>$wie$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINCE</td>
<td>$rai$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) Ø

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.
   
   \[ \text{ta hala } \emptyset \text{ nyiu } \emptyset \text{ noo} \]
   
   NON-PAST plant(pl.) ABS coconut ERG 3sg.
   
   'He is planting coconuts.'

   \[ \text{ale ke pe-ate } \emptyset \text{ ne hewanga} \]
   
   PAST(sg.) PART PAST-cut off(sg.) ABS 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.
   
   \[ \text{ta b'uke } \emptyset \text{ huri ri noo} \]
   
   NON-PAST write(sg.) ABS letter ERG 3sg.
   
   'He is writing a letter.'

3. Referents to which something is given.
   
   \[ \text{wie d'o } \emptyset \text{ roo } \emptyset \text{ nga'a ri noo} \]
   
   give NEG ABS 3pl. ABS food ERG 3sg.
   
   'He did not give them food.'

   \[ \text{ta pe-ng'a'a } \emptyset \text{ wawi } \emptyset \text{ noo} \]
   
   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').

   \[ \text{ta pika ke } \text{ ri } \text{ noo pa ne ana he} \]
   
   NON-PAST tell PART ERG 3sg. GA ART child DEM1pl.
   
   \[ \emptyset \text{ ta pe-made } \emptyset \text{ roo ri wati leo} \]
   
   ABS NON-PAST CAUS-die 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).

\[ \text{ta ng\=ade ke ri duae } \partial \text{ ubu naba} \]
\[ \text{NON-PAST see(sg.) PART ERG king ABS Ubu Naba} \]
\[ \text{'The king sees Ubu Naba.'} \]

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

\[ \text{toi d'o ri j'aa } \partial \text{ ne ngara noo} \]
\[ \text{know NEG ERG lsg. ART name POSS3sg.} \]
\[ \text{'I do not know his name.'} \]

(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.

\[ \text{ta belaja } \partial \text{ j'aa} \]
\[ \text{NON-PAST shop ABS lsg.} \]
\[ \text{'I am shopping.'} \]

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

\[ \text{do meringi } \partial \text{ noo} \]
\[ \text{STAT be cold ABS 3sg.} \]
\[ \text{'He is cold.'} \]

\[ \text{bubu-d'ara } \partial \text{ noo} \]
\[ \text{be angry ABS 3sg.} \]
\[ \text{'He is angry.'} \]

\[ \text{do bej'i } \partial \text{ noo} \]
\[ \text{STAT sleep ABS 3sg.} \]
\[ \text{'She is asleep.'} \]
(3) referents to which a change of state is attributed.

\[
\text{ta meringi } \phi \text{ noo}
\]
NON-PAST be cold ABS 3sg.
'She is getting cold.'

\[
\text{ta bui ke } \phi \text{ noo}
\]
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.

\[
\text{ta perai } \phi \text{ noo la mehara}
\]
NON-PAST run ABS 3sg. GFS Mesara
'He is running to Mesara.'

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

\[
\text{ta tangi } \phi \text{ ne ana ne}
\]
NON-PAST cry ABS ART child DEM1sg.
'The child is crying.'

ERGATIVE (ERG) ri, \( \phi \)

The ERG NP is usually marked by the preposition ri, but can be unmarked when its referent is unambiguously the referent of an ERG NP. Referents of ERG NPs include:

(1) referents which do something to another referent.

\[
\text{ta d'are ke } \phi \text{ ne we\-la-hule do}
\]
NON-PAST sharpen(sg.) PART ABS ART machete REL
medera ri ubu naba
be long ERG Ubu Naba
'Ubu Naba began to sharpen a long machete.'

\[
do laka ri pad'a \phi \text{ duae}
\]
STAT strike ERG sickness ABS king
'Sickness has struck the king.'

(Note that pad'a is ERG because it can be relativised. An INST NP cannot.)
I am inviting someone to my house.
(2) referents which bring into being another referent as the result of an action.

\[ \text{ta} \ j'a\gamma a \ \phi \ \text{amu} \ \text{ri} \ \text{noo} \]
NON-PAST build ABS house ERG 3sg.
'He is building a house.'

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

\[ \text{ta} \ \text{keb'ali} \ \phi \ \text{noo} \ \text{pa} \ \text{ne} \ \text{ana} \ \text{he} \]
NON-PAST ask(pl.) ERG 3sg. GA ART child DEM1pl. \phi "\text{ta} \ \text{kako la mii}?"
ABS NON-PAST go GFS WHERE
'He asks the children, "Where are you going?".'

(4) referents which perceive another referent.

\[ \text{d'ano-d'ano} \ \text{ri} \ \text{ana} \ \text{hekola} \ \text{nane} \ \phi \ \text{ne} \ \text{lii} \]
listen-RED ERG child school DEM1sg. ABS ART word
\text{Ubu Naba}
'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', pengee 'think') is attributed.

\[ \text{tade} \ \text{d'o} \ \phi \ \text{deo} \ \text{ri} \ \text{j'ii} \]
know(sg.) NEG ABS god ERG 1pl.(excl.)
'We did not know God.'

(6) referents which secure ABS referents in LOC referents (e.g. referents of verbs like pedana 'bury', \textit{b'ado} 'enclose', kiju 'insert').

\[ \text{pedana} \ \text{pa} \ \text{mii} \ \text{ke} \ \text{ri} \ \text{dii} \ \phi \ \text{roo} \]
bury(pi.) LOC WHERE PART ERG 1pl.(incl.) 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' (see opposite and 7.1.1 for examples).
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 tab'u 'stab', ṣeba 'hit', boka 'open', ihi 'pour, fill, insert').

tab'o ō noo ri naiki he ri kepoke
stab(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG child DEM1pl. INST spear
'These children stabbed him with a spear.'

boke ō ne kelae ne ri kuhi
open(sg.) ABS ART door DEM1sg. INST key
'Open the door with a key.'

ta ihe ri noo ō gelaa ri ei
NON-PAST fill(sg.) ERG 3sg. ABS glass 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', kěhiwa 'hire', pe- nga'a 'feed animals', pe-tutu 'feed birds').

ta pale ō noo ri j'aa ri d'ue
NON-PAST present(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG 1sg. INST two
COUNT pig
'I will present him with two pigs.'

He is feeding these animals with leaves.'

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

'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).

'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'ê b'ale d'ange-d'ange ô ou ma amu d'e."
THEN return immediately ABS 2sg. GTS house DEM2sg. mi he ane ô duaê ô ne lii pa ubu naba LIKE DEM1pl. say ERG king 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 toward 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 ô duaê pa ubu naba, ô 'kako NON-PAST say PART ERG king GA Ubu Naba ABS go la ni."
GFS DEM4sg.
'The king says to Ubu Naba, "Go over there!'.'

ta wie ô doi ri j'aa pa muu NON-PAST give ABS money ERG lsg. GA 2pl.
'I will give you money.'

ta j'ala pa wawi pa manu he ô NON-PAST net-fish GA pig GA chicken DEM1pl. ABS ubu naba Ubu Naba
'Ubu Naba began to fish for pigs and for chickens.'
"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.

\[
\text{ale ta hij'i, kinga tao ta finish(sg.) RESULT male-cloth IF make RESULT hij'i male-cloth 'Finish (making it) into a male-cloth, if (you are) making (it) into a male-cloth.'}
\]

Non-past become PART ABS Ubu Naba RESULT king 'Ubu Naba becomes king.'

SOURCE (SCE) (rai)(nga)ti

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

Locative

\[
\text{ta b'ale \textcolor{red}{\hat{o}} noo raiti hekola NON-PAST return ABS 3sg. SCE school 'She is returning from school.'}
\]

Material

\[
\text{tao \textcolor{red}{\hat{o}} kebie-a\textcolor{red}{e} raiti laa due make ABS house beam SCE trunk lontar 'Make house beams out of lontar trunks.'}
\]

Stative

\[
\textcolor{red}{\hat{o}} duae merei dae-\textcolor{red}{d'o} ti baj'i ABS king wake up YET NOT SCE sleep 'The king had not yet woken up.'
\]

A SCE NP is marked by raingati, raiti, ngati, 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

\[ \text{ta hogo } \phi \text{ nga'a } \phi \text{ noo pa amu ni} \]

\text{NON-PAST cook ABS food ERG 3sg. LOC house DEM4sg.}

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

Process

\[ \text{ta meringi } \phi \text{ noo pa d'ara ei-lobo d'e} \]

\text{NON-PAST be cool ABS 3sg. LOC interior pool DEM2sg.}

'He is cooling off in the pool.'

State

\[ \text{ta mejad'i } \phi \text{ noo pa ngidi ruj'ara d'e} \]

\text{NON-PAST sit ABS 3sg. LOC side road 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 \text{waba} 'hit', \text{tab'u} 'stab', \text{loro} 'cut').

\[ \text{ta loro pa koko he } \phi \text{ j'ii} \]

\text{NON-PAST cut(pl.) LOC neck DEM1pl. ABS 1pl.(excl.)}

ri noo

ERG 3sg.

'He will cut us at the neck.'

(3) referents with which the ABS referent (of intransitive \text{laka} 'strike') makes contact.

\[ \text{do laka pa aru ne } \phi \text{ ne wowadu he} \]

\text{STAT strike LOC pot DEM1sg. ABS 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 \text{pedana} 'bury', \text{b'ado} 'enclose', \text{kiju} 'insert').
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**

The child inserts a stick in the back.

**State**

There is one house beam along the south side.

**VEHICLE (VEH) j'ara, d'ei, nga**

Referents of VEH NPs are referents which convey an ABS referent. VEH prepositions j'ara, d'ei and nga appear to be interchangeable, although nga is less acceptable before Interrogative Particle ngaa 'what'.
They set off for Seba by horse.'

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

They are talking about business matters.'

'talk about brother' (Radja Haba)

COMITATIVE (COM) nga
Referents of COM NPs include:

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

The king becomes angry with Ubu Naba.'

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

Come and stay with me.'

MEASURE (MEAS) ngara
Referents of MEAS NPs are referents for which ABS referents are exchanged.

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 wie j'aa
send(pl.) ERG 3pl. PART ABS present BEN lsg.
'They sent presents for me.'

b'uke ri noo ø ne huri wie duae
write(sg.) ERG 3sg. ABS ART letter BEN king
'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.

ta daka ø j'aa la wie ø doi pa muu
NON-PAST come ABS lsg. DFS give ABS 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.

pi'a d'o ke ø dou do heleo ø ne
be(pl.) NEG PART ABS someone REL see ABS ART
a'a ne rai made ari ne
older brother DEM1sg. SINCE death younger brother DEM1sg.
'There is no-one who has seen the older brother since the younger brother's death.'

do pe-bubu d'ara ke ø roo rai napune
STAT REC-be angry inside PART ABS 3pl. SINCE DEM1sg.
'They have been angry with each other since this time.'

3.5. Numerals

3.5.1. Cardinal Numerals

Cardinal numerals can indicate the number of an NP referent (see 3.6. for examples), or stand alone. The smaller cardinal numerals are:
The simple decimal values are: nguru 'ten', ngahu 'hundred', tab'a 'thousand'. They are multiplied by preposing a smaller number to the left. (Number one is always prefixed to the decimal value as he-.)

1. ahi, he-
2. d'ue
3. telu
4. apa
5. lami
6. ana
7. pidu
8. eru
9. heo

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

10. he-nguru
11. he-nguru ahi
20. d'ue nguru
200. d'ue ngahu
350. telu ngahu lami nguru
100. he-ngahu
2000. d'ue tab'a
1000. he-tab'a
2067. d'ue tab'a ana nguru pidu

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

tens nguru-nguru
hundreds ngahu-ngahu
thousands tab'a-tab'a

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

The initial ng in nguru and ngahu is, I suspect, a reduced (and now fossilised) form of the PAN numeral ligature nga (see 9.2.5.1.).

3.5.2. Ordinal Numerals

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

ke-ahi ke-d'ue ke-telu
ORD-one ORD-two ORD-three
'first' 'second' 'third'
do kaja φ ne ana noo ke-tolu stat be rich ABS ART child assAss 35g ord-third

'This third oldest child is rich.'
They can immediately precede the head noun or can occur immediately after a possessive which must immediately follow the head noun.

\[ \text{d'ai pa ke-telu lod'o ne, ta la pee} \]
THEN LOC ORD-three day DEM1sg. NON-PAST DFS stay
\[ \text{ke ø ne ana ne pa ru-koko ømu} \]
PART ABS ART child DEM1sg. LOC leaf-neck house
'Then on the third day, the child goes and hides in the ru-koko ømu.' (The ru-koko ømu is the top part of the traditional lontar-leafed house.)

\[ \text{ta kako ke ø ne ana mone ke-d'ue} \]
NON-PAST go PART ABS ART child male person ORD-two
\[ \text{ne la maa} \]
DEM1sg. GFS field
'The second male child goes to the field.'

3.6. 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.

\[ \text{d'ue b'ala nalehu} \]
two COUNT handkerchief
'two handkerchiefs'

Numeral + Counter can, however, precede or follow the head noun. Thus nalehu d'ue b'ala 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.

\[ \text{he-dou ana hekola} \]
one-COUNT child school
'one school child'
As an independent noun, *dou* can mean 'person, human, someone, somebody'.

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

```
jara he'ngi'u
horse one-COUNT
'one horse'
```

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

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

```
heo b'ala b'aj'u
nine COUNT blouse
'nine blouses'
```

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

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

```
he-b'angu potoloo
one-COUNT pencil
'one pencil'
```

```
tud'i d'ue b'angu
knife two COUNT
'two knives'
```

As an independent noun, *b'angu (amu)* means 'the centre beam at the top of a traditional house'.

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

```
he-ata hari
one-COUNT string
'a length of string'
```

```
he-ata huri
one-COUNT letter
'one letter'
```
he-ata can also mean 'half (a sack)', 'a quarter of (a kilogram)', 'a quarter of (a pig)'.
As an independent verb, ata 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 kepoo
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 talu laa
wood three COUNT
'three logs'

d'ue laa kae-nga'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-kerabo  d'ue b'ue
PROD-pumpkin  two  COUNT
'two pumpkins'

he-wue  kowa
one-COUNT  boat
'one boat'

b'ado  talu  b'ue
enclosure  three  COUNT
'three enclosures'

talu  b'ue  migu
three  COUNT  week
'three weeks'

As an independent noun, wue means 'fruit'. As an independent verb it means 'to load'.

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

g'uti is used to count pieces of cloth.

he-g'uti  b'ala
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'.

kedali is used to count pieces of meat, cake, etc.

d'ue kedali  hed'ai
two  COUNT  meat
'two pieces of meat'

he-kedali  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, kedali 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  wengu
one-COUNT  cotton
'one thread of cotton'

telu  lua  ru-katu
three  COUNT  hair-head
'three strands of hair'
As an independent noun, lua means 'thread'.

winga is used to count salt, pepper, etc.

mengahi  he-winga
salt  one-COUNT
'one pinch of salt'
As an independent noun, winga means 'small thorns or hairs or plants'.

hemelore = 'half (a container)'.

hemewui = 'quarter (of a container)'.

To my knowledge, one cannot say d'ue melore or d'ue 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-manyi  wo-rai  he-boto
liquid-oil  PROD-earth  one-COUNT
'one bottle of kerosine'
As an independent noun, boto means 'bottle'.
aru is used to count the number of pots containing a referent.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{donahu} & \quad \text{he-aru} \\
\text{lontar syrup} & \quad \text{one-COUNT} \\
\text{'one pot of lontar syrup'} & \\
\text{As an independent noun, aru means 'pot'.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{he-hoke} & \quad \text{wo-helag'i} \\
\text{one-COUNT} & \quad \text{PROD-tamarind} \\
\text{'one pod of tamarinds'} & \\
\text{hoke does not appear as an independent noun in my data.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{he-kab'a-huru} & \quad \text{donahu} \\
\text{one-spoonful} & \quad \text{lontar-syrup} \\
\text{'one spoonful of lontar syrup'} & \\
\text{To count hardened lumps of lontar syrup one would use the counter noun, wue as in he-wue donahu 'one (hardened) lump of lontar syrup'.} \\
\text{As an independent noun, kab'a-huru means 'coconut-shell spoon'.}
\end{align*}
\]

(4) Other counters include:

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{he-hubi} & \quad \text{wo-mu'u} \\
\text{one-COUNT} & \quad \text{PROD-banana} \\
\text{'one cluster of bananas'} & \quad \text{(i.e. all the bananas on a cluster - usually about 5 or 6 hands).}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{he-japi} & \quad \text{wo-mu'u} \\
\text{one-COUNT} & \quad \text{PROD-banana} \\
\text{'one hand of bananas'} & \\
\end{align*}
\]
j'ara, which is used to count rows of string (=rope).

\[\text{ana j'ara dari} \]
\[\text{six COUNT string} \]
\[\text{'six rows of string'} \text{ (as in weaving)} \]

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

\[\text{lod'o 'day'} \]
\[\text{remi 'night'} \]
\[\text{waru 'month'} \]
\[\text{(Compare migu 'week' and tou 'year' which often occur with counter wue, b'ue.)} \]

(b) non-traditional units of length

\[\text{mete 'metre'} \]
\[\text{kilomete 'kilometre'} \]
\[\text{kilo 'kilometre'} \]

(c) non-traditional unit of weight

\[\text{kilo 'kilogram'} \]

(d) traditional units of quantity

\[\text{wo'a 'torch (of dead leaves, stalks, etc.)'} \]
\[\text{kerab'a 'bunch of 15-20 wo'a '} \]
\[\text{ngutu 'three threads of cotton'} \]
\[\text{hie '30 ngutu '} \]
\[\text{rore '5 or 6 hie'} \]

3.7. Non-numeral Quantifiers

3.7.0. 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.
3.7.1. hari-hari 'all (with unspecified number)'

hari-hari 'all' can precede or follow the head noun. Unlike the hari construction (3.7.2.), it cannot specify the number of the referent quantified.

\[
\text{ta peuwu ke } \emptyset \text{ hari-hari dou}
\]
\[
\text{NON-PAST assemble PART ABS } \rightarrow \text{ all } \rightarrow \text{ people}
\]
\[
\text{'All the people are assembling.'}
\]

\[
\text{ta kelatu } \emptyset \text{ muu hari-hari ri j'aa}
\]
\[
\text{NON-PAST behead ABS 2pl. } \rightarrow \text{ all } \rightarrow \text{ ERG 1sg.}
\]
\[
\text{'I will behead you all.'}
\]

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

\[
\text{belaja ke ri noo } \emptyset \text{ hari-hari ne doi}
\]
\[
\text{spend PART ERG 3sg. ABS } \rightarrow \text{ all } \rightarrow \text{ ART money}
\]
\[
\text{'He spent all the money.'}
\]

(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).

\[
\text{mengelu-d'ara ke } \emptyset \text{ noo nga hianga noo}
\]
\[
\text{←← happy → PART ABS 3sg. COM friend POSS3sg.}
\]
\[
\text{he hari-hari}
\]
\[
\text{DEM1pl. } \rightarrow \text{ all } \rightarrow
\]
\[
\text{'He is happy with all his friends.'}
\]

\[
\text{ta pe-mohu ke } \emptyset \text{ ne ana do}
\]
\[
\text{NON-PAST CAUS-go outside PART ABS ART child REL}
\]
\[
\text{kepa'i hed'e hari-hari}
\]
\[
\text{be large DEM1pl. } \rightarrow \text{ all } \rightarrow
\]
\[
\text{'All of the large children are being expelled.'}
\]

3.7.2. hari 'all (with specified number)'

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

\[
\text{hari (do) Numeral (Counter)}
\]
As the function of do here is unlike that of REL (7.6.2.) or STAT (6.1.), 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 7.3.2.5.). do is:

1) obligatory with human referents

```
pedoa $ ne hiamu hari do pidu dou
call(pl.) ABS ART spouse all LIG 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.

```
manga ke $ roo hari do d'ue
play PART ABS 3pl. all LIG two
'They are both playing.'
manga-manga $ 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.
(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).

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

The only other candidates for Non-numeral Quantifiers are had'e and hengaa-ngaa 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 hengaa-ngaa.

3.8. Noun Phrase Conjunction

Noun Phrases are conjoined by placing nga AND between the two NPs.

'er a ø keb'ao nga wawi pa ni
be ABS buffalo AND pig LOC DEM4sg.
'There are buffalo and pigs over there.'

3.9. Compounding

3.9.1. 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'
wodato 'heel'
wopokalae 'ankle'
wowua 'kidney'

3.9.2. 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'
kōtu ru-kōtu
head hair-head
'head-hair'
3.10. Nominalisation

A Sawu nominalised clause is one which is the head of a Noun Phrase (see also 7.18.1.). In the example below it is underlined.

\[
\begin{align*}
m & \text{ ate} & \phi & \text{ ne} & \text{ daka j'aa ti d'oka} \\
\text{wait}(\text{sg.}) & \text{ ABS} & \text{ ART} & \text{ come} & \text{ POSSlsg.} & \text{ SCE plantation} \\
\text{ ri} & \text{ ou} \\
\text{ ERG} & \text{ 2sg.} \\
'\text{You wait for my return from the plantation.}'
\end{align*}
\]

3.11. 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
i'a & \text{ d'o } \phi & \text{ j'aa} & \text{ lolo-lii nga dou katu-ketu} \\
\text{CAN} & \text{ NEG} & \text{ ABS lsg.} & \text{ converse} & \text{ COM person head-RED} \\
pa & \text{ kota} \\
\text{LOC} & \text{ Kupang} \\
'I \text{ can not converse with the (various) heads (of government)} \text{ in Kupang.}'
\end{align*}
\]
4. VERBS

4.1. A-verbs and B-verbs

In the discussion below (6.1. to 6.3.) 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.

4.2. Verb Morphology

Sawu has very little verb morphology. It is restricted to verb agreement, Causative prefix pe-, Reciprocal prefix pe- and reduplication.

4.2.1. Verb Agreement

4.2.1.1. 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.

\begin{align*}
  uj'u & \quad 'tie up (pl.); bundle' \\
  uj'e & \quad 'tie up (sg.)' \\
  nga'a & \quad 'eat (pl.); food' \\
  nga'e & \quad 'eat (sg.)'
\end{align*}
(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 u(C)u (where u = any vowel except u, and C = any consonant), the singular form will end in -o.

\[
\begin{align*}
tab'u & \text{ (pl.) 'pierce, stab'} \\
tab'o & \text{ (sg.)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
hiu & \text{ (pl.) '(to) tear'} \\
hio & \text{ (sg.)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
ked'agu & \text{ (pl.) 'hold'} \\
ked'ago & \text{ (sg.)}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
b'uju & \text{ (pl.) 'touch, feel'} \\
b'uje & \text{ (sg.)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
hib'i & \text{ (pl.) 'bite'} \\
hib'e & \text{ (sg.)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
hero'o & \text{ (pl.) 'carry on arm'} \\
hero'e & \text{ (sg.)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
nyaka & \text{ (pl.) 'push forward'} \\
nysake & \text{ (sg.)}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
hib'a & \text{ (pl.) 'splash'} \\
heb'e & \text{ (sg.)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
peluja & \text{ (pl.) 'take care of'} \\
peloje & \text{ (sg.)}
\end{align*}
\]
The function of Agreement Verbs in clauses is exemplified below.

**agu, ago 'fetch, take, carry'**

agu i > ei-loko r i ou
fetch(pl.) ABS liquid-river ERG 2sg.
'You fetch fresh-water!'

agu r i noo ϕ wo-kerəb' o d'ue b'ue
fetch(pl.) ERG 3sg. ABS PROD-pumpkin two COUNT(pl.)
'He fetched two pumpkins.'

ago r i roo ϕ ei-manyi wo-rai he-boto
fetch(sg.) ERG 3pl. ABS liquid-oil PROD-earth one-COUNT
'They fetched a bottle of kerosine.'

agu agrees with the mass Absolutive noun 'fresh-water', and with the plural Absolutive 'pumpkins'. ago agrees with the singular Absolutive noun 'a bottle of kerosine'.

**ila, ele 'disappear'**

ila ke ϕ ne ki'i he
disappear(pl.) PART ABS ART goat DEM1pl.
'The goats disappeared.'

Ta ele ϕ noo raiti rai-wawa
NON-PAST disappear(sg.) ABS 3sg. SCE earth-below d'e
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 dou he
NON-PAST ask(pl.) PART ERG king GA person DEM1pl.
ϕ "ta kako la mii ϕ muu?"
ABS NON-PAST go GFS WHERE ABS 2pl.
'The king asks the people, "Where are you going?".'
4.2.1.2. 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 4.4.1.).

4.2.2. Causative (CAUS) pe-

4.2.2.1. Description

Causative pe- can be prefixed to transitive and intransitive verbs. It acts as a transitiviser when prefixed to intransitive verbs, and it is with these and the transitive perception verb nga'di 'see' that the description 'causative' is most appropriate. However, with optional transitives nga'a 'eat' and nginu 'drink', pe-nga'a and pe-nginu do not mean 'cause to eat' and 'cause to drink', but rather 'give to eat' and 'give to drink'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tobo</td>
<td>'be full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-tobo</td>
<td>'make full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS-be</td>
<td>CAUS-be full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puru</td>
<td>'descend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-puru</td>
<td>'lower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS-descend</td>
<td>CAUS-descend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
They revealed themselves.

'He is giving drinks to his friends.'
4.2.2.2. 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).

4.2.3. Reciprocal (REC) pe-

4.2.3.1. 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 tab'o ø noo ri noo ri tud'i
  NON-PAST stab(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG 3sg INST knife
  'He is stabbing him with a knife.'

- ta pe-tab'u ø roo ri tud'i
  NON-PAST REC-stab(pl.) ABS 3pl. INST knife
  'They are stabbing each other with knives.'

- ta pe-nga'a ø ne ana ne ri noo
  NON-PAST CAUS-eat ABS ART child DEM1sg. ERG 3sg.
  'He is feeding the child.'

- ta pe-pe-nga'a ø ne ana he
  NON-PAST REC-CAUS-eat(pl.) ABS ART child DEM1pl.
  'The children are feeding each other.'

- ta hianga ø noo nga noo
  NON-PAST be friends ABS 3sg. COM 3sg.
  'He is becoming friends with her.'
b'ole wabe-wabe φ noo ri ou
'Don't hit (sg) - RED ABS 3sg. ERG 2psg.
'You keep on hitting him.'
pedute-dute φ j'aa ri muu
follow (sg) - RED ABS 1sg. ERG 2pl.
'You (pl.) keep following me.'
4.2.3.2. 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).

4.2.4. Verbal Reduplication

4.2.4.0. 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.

4.2.4.1. A-verbs

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

- *wøbe*  'hit'
- *wøbe-wøbe*  'hit again and again'
- *hit*(sg.)-RED

- *pedute*  'follow'
- *pedute-dute*  'keep on following'
- follow(sg.)-RED
do d'ida-d'ida φ ne gerii əmu ne  
stat be-high-RED ABS ART pole house DEM 1sg.
'This house pole is very tall'

do b'akul b'akul φ ne wo-mu'um he 
stat rotten-RED ABS ART Prod-banana DEM 1pl.
'These bananas are extremely rotten.'

pi'ā-d'o φ ne wo-wue napuhere  
exist(pl)-NEG ABS ART Prod-bengkuak DEM 3pl.
'There are no bengkuaks.'

pe'e-d'o φ ne wo-wue nanane  
exist(sg)-NEG ABS ART Prod-bengkuak DEM 3sg.
'There is no bengkuak.'

b'ule-d'o φ ne wo-wue napuhere  
exist-NEG ABS ART Prod-bengkuak DEM 3pl.
'There are no bengkuaks.'

b'ule-d'o φ ne wo-wue nanane  
exist-NEG ABS ART Prod-bengkuak DEM 3sg.
'There is no bengkuak.'
4.2.4.2. B-verbs

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d'ida} & \quad \text{'be high'} \\
\text{d'ida-d'ida} & \quad \text{'be very high'} \\
\text{be high-RED} \\
\text{b'aku} & \quad \text{'be rotten'} \\
\text{b'aku-b'aku} & \quad \text{'be very rotten'} \\
\text{be rotten-RED}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ie} & \quad \text{'be good'} \\
\text{kako} & \quad \text{ie-ie} \quad \text{'go carefully, go well'} \\
\text{go} & \quad \text{be good-RED}
\end{align*}
\]

4.3. 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.)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{era} & \quad \phi \quad \text{deo} \\
\text{exist} & \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{god} \\
\text{'There is a god.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{era} & \quad \phi \quad \text{wawi pa rai hawu} \\
\text{exist} & \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{pig LOC island Sawu} \\
\text{'There are pigs on Sawu island.'}
\end{align*}
\]

4.4. Deictic Verbs

4.4.1. 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 4.2.1.1.) 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 (3.2.) which distinguish singular and plural in this manner.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>(1) be near the speaker</th>
<th>(2) present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nee</td>
<td>hēe</td>
<td>(1) be distant from the speaker</td>
<td>(2) present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nei</td>
<td>hēi</td>
<td>(1) near the addressee</td>
<td>(2) present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As nēne and hēre 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 6 noo pa d'omu
be here(sg.) ABS 3sg. LOC loft
'He is here in the loft (where I am).'</n
(2) hēe 6 muu pa əmu
be here(pl.) ABS 2pl. LOC house
'Are you here in the house?'

(3) nei 6 noo la j'iu-ei
be there(sg.) ABS 3sg. DFS bathe
'He is some distance away going to bathe.'

(4) do hei pa ni 6 roo
STAT be there(pl.) LOC DEM4sg. ABS 3pl.
'They are there.'
(5)(1) "nane ma φ ne kuhi pa d'ida keraja
be(sg.) EMPH ABS ART key LOC top cage
b'əhi nad'e.
iron DEM2sg.

(2) ago we ri ou. boke marial φ
fetch(sg.) PART ERG 2sg. open(sg.) quickly ABS
ne kelaee d'e' mi he ane
ART door DEM2sg. LIKE DEM1pl. say

(3) do hare la nginu φ ei-loko ko φ
STAT be(pl.) DFS drink ABS liquid-river PART ABS
ne dou do hape φ j'aa
ART person REL carry ABS 1sg.

(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."

In 5(1) it could be argued that nane represents 'near the address­
see'. 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) hare 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 appropri­
ate. However, it is also arguable that the speaker uses hare
here to suggest that the men are close to the addressee in order
to encourage his haste in opening the cage.

4.4.2. 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.
5. 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 (4.1.) reduplication of the verb root is the most common method of expressing multiplicity of action (see 4.2.4.1.). There are, however, a few verbs which take postposed reduplicated adverbs to perform the same function.

\[
\text{uj'\text{e} kerade-rade} \\
\text{tie(sg.) EXCESS} \\
\text{'tie many times'}
\]

With some B-verbs (4.1.), excess (or 'intensity') is expressed by reduplication of the verb root (4.2.4.2.). With others, it is indicated by an adverb as in Table 8 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B-verb</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. pana</td>
<td>(pe)tuu-tuu</td>
<td>'really hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. wo-ie</td>
<td>tara-tara</td>
<td>'really good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. mædi</td>
<td>guru-guru</td>
<td>'very black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. keraba</td>
<td>guru-guru</td>
<td>'very dark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. mea</td>
<td>gou-gou</td>
<td>'very red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. pudi</td>
<td>gari-gari</td>
<td>'very white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. kelara</td>
<td>mu'a-mu'a</td>
<td>'very yellow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. mira</td>
<td>jod'e-jod'e</td>
<td>'very flat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. mejani</td>
<td>duru-duru</td>
<td>'very heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. maku</td>
<td>eb'o-eb'o</td>
<td>'very soft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. neta</td>
<td>kee-kee</td>
<td>'very sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. meringi</td>
<td>b'ei-b'ei</td>
<td>'very cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. mara</td>
<td>huu-huu</td>
<td>'very tired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. mae</td>
<td>tei-tei</td>
<td>'very crushed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. kaja</td>
<td>kete'e</td>
<td>'very rich'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. kehia</td>
<td>gehara</td>
<td>'very poor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. kehi</td>
<td>kejid'o</td>
<td>'very quiet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. mou</td>
<td>megala</td>
<td>'very clear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. baj'i</td>
<td>luu</td>
<td>'sound asleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. laha</td>
<td>məriai</td>
<td>'very fast'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adverbs (pe)tuu-tuu and tara-tara can modify most, if not all, B-verbs, while guru-guru can qualify at least two (i.e. mədî 'black', kerəba 'dark'). Every other Excessive Adverb in Table 8 is restricted to one verb (i.e. b'ei-b'ei only qualifies meringi 'cold', and huu-huu only mara 'tired').

-tara-tara and (pe)tuu are reduplicated forms of the B-verb roots tara 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 kehía and gehara mean 'poor', mou and megala 'clear', and laha and mərîai 'fast'. baj'i means 'sleep', while luu means 'unconscious'. It is also clear that one of the reduplicated adverbs kee-kee modifying nata 'sweet' is related to Ndao verb kee 'sweet' which, interestingly enough, has an Excessive Adverb nata. This suggests that there was once a (more?) productive system of semantic reduplication with some B-verbs analogous to the formal reduplication found with other verbs.
6. PARTICLES (PART)

6.1. Stative (STAT) do

6.1.1. 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 4.1.), it unambiguously describes a state.

Intransitive

do pəd'a ø ne hiəmu j'aa
STAT be sick ABS ART spouse POSS1sg.
'My spouse is sick.'

Transitive

do toi ri duae ta dou do tao ø napune
STAT know ERG king COMPL person REL do ABS DEM1sg.
ne hianga noo
ART friend POSS3sg.
'The king knows that the person who does this is his friend.'

When do immediately precedes an A-verb (see 4.1.), 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 pərai ø ubu naba
STAT flee ABS Ubu Naba
'Ubu Naba has fled' (i.e. Ubu Naba is still at large)
Transitive

do helote ri bala dilu ꦗ ne kela ꦗ ne
STAT lock(sg.) ERG Bala Dilu ABS ART door DEM1sg.
raiti tele
SCE outside
'Bala 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 ꦗ di ꦗ ꦗ ta do made-made
STAT say ERG 1pl.(incl.) ABS COMPL STAT be dead-RED
he ꦗ ne dou he
PART ABS ART person DEM1pl.
'We have always said that they are well and truly dead.'

Generic

 ꦗ keb'ao do keoa
ABS buffalo STAT bellow
'Buffaloes bellow.'

 ꦗ keb'ao do nga'a ꦗ 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.

kings wiki ta hou ꦗ ei-tele do ta
IF TRY NON-PAST pass ABS urine STAT NON-PAST
loro pa koko he ꦗ j'ii ꦗ ri ubu naba
cut off LOC neck DEM1pl. ABS 1pl.(excl.) ERG Ubu Naba
'If we try to pass urine, Ubu Naba will certainly behead us.'

6.1.2. 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 \( \beta \)-verbs, I do not accept perfect for reasons outlined above. He does not discuss the use of \( \beta \) with \( \beta \)-verbs.

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

Neither Kern nor Wijngaarden discuss 'stative' \( \beta \).

6.2. Past-completive (PAST) \( \alpha \)l... pe-

6.2.1. Description

The Past-completive is a discontinuous morpheme, \( \alpha \)l... 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 \( \alpha \)l and pe- which is prefixed to the verb. However, a Jonker text example (1904:287) ta \( \alpha \)l le pe-kaj'i 'after (the rice) has also been pounded' suggests that the particle le should also be included.

\[
\begin{align*}
\alpha l & \quad ke \quad 0 \quad j'aa \quad pe-pelue \quad ri \quad ubu \quad naba \\
PAST(sg.) \quad PART \quad ABS \quad lsg. \quad PAST-deceive \quad ERG \quad Ubu \quad Naba \\
ta & \quad maho \quad ma \quad d'ara \quad keraja \quad b'ahi \quad nad'e \\
NON-PAST \quad enter \quad GTS \quad inside \quad cage \quad iron \quad DEM2sg. \\
'I was deceived by Ubu Naba to come inside this iron cage.' (i.e. the speaker was deceived, but is no longer deceived)
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\alpha l & \quad 0 \quad ma \quad bura \quad tohi \quad pe-kehhab'a \quad 0 \quad b'ada, \\
PAST(pl.) \quad ERG \quad Mr \quad Buru \quad Tohi \quad PAST-butcher \quad ABS \quad animal \\
wie \quad d'o \quad ri \quad ma \quad hab'a \quad maru \quad 0 \quad ne \quad ngaa-ngaa. \\
give \quad NEG \quad ERG \quad Mr \quad Hab'a \quad Maru \quad ABS \quad ART \quad 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 \( \alpha l \), \( \alpha l \) 'finish, complete'. This verb and the tense-aspect both vary according to the plurality, etc. of the Absolutive. In the two
examples above, a1e ... pe- agrees with the singular Absolutive pronoun j'aa, while a1al ... pe- agrees with the plural Absolutive b'ada 'animals'.

The origin and function of pe- is uncertain. It may have something to do with Uma Jaman pe 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 a1al ... pe- is clearly redundant when it occurs with derived transitive verbs (as pe-mou in the example below).

a1al pe-pe-mou ø ne dudu nahøre,
PAST(pl.) PAST-CAUS-clean(pl.) ABS ART thorn DEM3pl. ta øgu ke la ømu la nono pa
NON-PAST take(pl.) PART GFS house DFS dry LOC pana lodd'o.
warmth sun
'Having finished removing the thorns, they take (the pandanus leaves) to the house (and) dry (them) in the heat of the sun.'

6.2.2. Other Interpretations

Lee (ms) and I share the view that a1al ... pe- conveys both past tense and completed action.

I do not accept Jonker's view (1904:287) that a1al ... pe- marks perfect aspect, because I do not believe that a1al ... 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 a1al and a1al ke. He does not mention the pe- prefix.

In Capell's view (1976:545), "the completive particle a1al 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 6.2.1.).

6.3. Non-past ta

6.3.1. Description

Non-past ta occurs with A-verbs and B-verbs, and indicates present continuous or future tense with the implication that the action 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 (6.4.) and DTS ma (6.5.) can intervene.

β

A-verb

ta kemangu 6 ne ei ne
NON-PAST be dry ABS ART sarong DEM1sg.
'The sarong is {drying

{beginning to dry

{will dry

A

B-verb

ta d'are ke 6 ne wela-hule ri noo
NON-PAST sharpen(sg.) PART ABS ART machete ERG 3sg.
'He {begins to sharpen

{is sharpening

{will sharpen

6.3.2. 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 (2.2.). Moreover, it seems that Jonker and Capell fail to recognise the existence of complementiser ta (7.18.1.) and case preposition ta (3.4.) 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 6.3.1.).

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).

6.4. Direction From Speaker (DFS) 1a

6.4.1. Description

DFS preposition 1a 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 1a as Direction From Speaker (DFS).

\[
\text{ta} \quad \text{kød'i} \quad \text{ke} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{noo}, \quad j'e \quad \text{la} \quad \text{hengød'u}
\]

NON-PAST get up PART ABS 3sg. THEN DFS kiss(pl.)

\[
\text{he-dou} \quad \text{he-dou} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{hiæmu} \quad \text{duae}
\]

one-person one-person ABS ART spouse king

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

6.4.2. Other Interpretations

Lee, Kern and Wijngaarden ascribe a purposive function to pre-verbal 1a. Lee (ms) describes "la 'to'" as the "Relator" of a "Reason Phrase" as in la kəpə nadu'u below.

\[
\text{ta} \quad \text{kako} \quad \text{la} \quad \text{kəpə} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{nadu'u} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{noo}
\]

NON-PAST go "to" catch ABS fish 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 ngi purposive clause (7.9.).

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'.

6.5. Direction Towards Speaker (DTS) ma

6.5.1. 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 ñ j'ii ta ma
order(pl.) ERG king ABS 1pl.(excl.) NON-PAST DTS
po'e ma kelaga-rai amu ubu naba
defecate GTS verandah 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.)
6.5.2. 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 ngi purposive clause (7.9.). 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.

6.6. hudi LITTLE

hudi refers to a small measure of temporal or non-temporal quantity. It always follows the verb. Only Particles ko (6.8.) and we (6.13.) are known to intervene.

Temporal quantity

\[
\begin{align*}
ta & \quad tui & \quad hudi, & \quad ta & \quad nga'a & \quad ke \\
\end{align*}
\]

NON-PAST be length of time LITTLE NON-PAST eat PART

\[
\begin{align*}
\phi & \quad roo \\
ABS & \quad 3\text{pl.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
mata & \quad ko & \quad we & \quad hudi. & \quad ta & \quad d'are & \quad \phi \\
\end{align*}
\]

wait(pl.) PART JUST LITTLE NON-PAST sharpen(sg.) ABS

\[
\begin{align*}
wela & \quad ko & \quad \phi & \quad j'aa \\
machete & \quad PART & \quad ERG & \quad 1\text{sg.}
\end{align*}
\]

'Wait just a minute! I am going to sharpen a machete.'
Non-temporal quantity

ina j'aa do melaka, haku nara hudi we
mother POSS1sg. REL thin RESULT get LITTLE PART
Ø j'aa Ø ne doi d'e.
ERG 1sg. ABS ART 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.)

6.7. de

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

ta ami Ø naiki he Ø nadu'u, b'ole
NON-PAST ask ERG child DEM1pl. ABS fish DON'T
wie de . mate Ø daka j'aa ti d'oka,
give PART wait(sg.) 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 planta­
tion, then (you can) give (it to them).'

mata de
wait(pl.) PART
'Wait a moment!'

6.8. 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
(wa)ri can intervene. Apparent synonyms ko and de do not
occur in the same clause.

A-verbs

mai ko we Ø dii ma mama Ø kenana
come PART PART ABS 1pl.(incl.) DTS chew ABS betel
'Let us chew betel first.'
mata ko
wait(pl.) PART
'Wait first!', 'Wait a moment!'

B-verbs
do bøj’i ko ø duae
STAT be asleep PART ABS king
'The king is still asleep.'

6.9. nob’o SOON

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

made ke ø noo nob’o
die PART ABS 3sg. SOON
'He will die soon.'

øgu ø hed’ai raiti ni ke ø j’aa
fetch(pl.) ABS meat SCE DEM4sg. PART ERG 1sg.
nob’o
SOON
'I will fetch some meat from there soon.'

6.10. (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

pøhe ri ke ø ne wo-wue d’e
toss(sg.) AGAIN PART ABS ART PROD-bengkuak DEM2sg.
ø bøla dilu la kej’unga d’e
ERG Bøla Dilu GFS back DEM2sg.
'Again Bøla Dilu tossed the bengkuak (a kind of yam?) just behind him.'
Unabbreviated \( \text{war\text{i}} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{pe-bui} & \quad \text{war\text{i} ke} & \quad \emptyset & \quad \text{wowadu ri noo} \\
\text{NON-PAST CAUS-fall(pl.) AGAIN PART ABS stone ERG 3sg.}
\end{align*}
\]

'He is dropping stones again.'

After ABS NP

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{pejuu} & \quad \emptyset & \quad \text{dou} & \quad \text{war\text{i} ke} & \quad \emptyset & \quad \text{duae} \\
\text{NON-PAST order(pl.) ABS person AGAIN PART ERG king}
\end{align*}
\]

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

After ERG NP

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{keb'ali ke} & \quad \text{ri} & \quad \text{bola dilu} & \quad \text{war\text{i}} & \quad \emptyset & \quad \text{"d'ei ta} \\
\text{ask(pl.) PART ERG Bola Dilu AGAIN ABS like NON-PAST}
\end{align*}
\]

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

6.11. (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 clauses, only Particle hudi can intervene between (he)we and the verb. There appears to be no difference in function between the abbreviated (we) and the unabbreviated form (hewe).

Non-verbal clause

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{j'aa ana hekola hewe} \\
\text{lsg. child school JUST}
\end{align*}
\]

'I am just a school child.'

Verbal clause

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{had'i ta} & \quad \text{pe-hianga} & \quad \emptyset & \quad \text{noo nga j'aa} \\
\text{IF NON-PAST CAUS-be friends ONLY ABS 3sg, COM lsg.}
\end{align*}
\]

'Only if he befriends me.'
gapa hewe $ napune
be simple QUITE ABS DEM1sg.
'This is quite simple.'

i'a hudi we $ j'aa $ lii hawu
know LITTLE JUST ERG 1sg. ABS; language Sawu
'I know just a little Sawu.'

6.12. ke

ke is a particle of high frequency of occurrence 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 never in imperative (see we 6.13.). It also occurs with A-verbs and B-verbs.

A-verb declarative

ta kad'i ke $ ubu naba
NON-PAST get up PART ABS Ubu Naba
'Ubu Naba gets up.'

B-verb declarative

do pe-bubu ke $ ubu naba nga duae
STAT REC-be angry PART ABS Ubu Naba AND king
'Ubu Naba and the king are angry with each other.'

Interrogative

minamii ke $ dii j'e nara pa ubu naba
HOW PART ABS 1pl.(incl.) THEN win GA Ubu Naba
d'e
DEM2sg.
'What can we do to win against this Ubu Naba?'

In a verbal clause with Past-completive a1a ... pe and particle ke, the latter must occur immediately after a1a.
Someone cut off my horse's nose.

In other verbal clauses, it occurs after the verb, but an NP (usually ERG or ABS), an Excessive Adverb, or Particles wāri (AGAIN), le (abbreviated form of lema ALSO), ma (EMPH), and d'o (NEG) can intervene.

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In other verbal clauses, it occurs after the verb, but an NP (usually ERG or ABS), an Excessive Adverb, or Particles wāri (AGAIN), le (abbreviated form of lema ALSO), ma (EMPH), and d'o (NEG) can intervene.
d'o NEG
    ie  d'o ke  ø  noo
    be well NEG PART ABS 3sg.
    'He is not well.'

d'o and ma
    o'o  d'o ma  ke  ø  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  rore  ø  ne  koko
day  DEM2sg.  PART  NON-PAST  cut(sg.)  ABS  ART  throat
ou
POSS2sg.
'Today, your throat will be cut.'

nad'e  ke  ne  unu-pala  ou
DEM2sg.  PART  ART  happiness  POSS2sg.
'This is your happiness.'

6.13. we

we replaces ke (6.12.) in Imperative clauses. Particle ko
or an ERG NP can intervene.

ago  we  ri  ou  ø  ne  kuhi  d'e
fetch(sg.)  PART  ERG  2sg.  ABS  ART  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

kinga  wae  ø  ou,  mai  gate  ri  j'aa  we
IF  WANT  ABS  2sg.  come  replace(sg.)  ERG  1sg.  PART
'If you want, let me replace you.'
6.14. wata EMPH

wata is a non-imperative emphatic particle which precedes the verb it emphasises. It often occurs with, but is not as common as, emphatic particle ma (6.15.). When they co-occur ma immediately follows wata.

ki wata d'ei  getSource(0x7f8ac4) ama muu ta  $k'ed'i, $k'ed'i
IF EMPH WANT ABS father 2pl. NON-PAST get up get up
'If your father really wants to get up, (he will) get up.'

ie lema wata ma ke  $o ne hapo ri muu
good ALSO EMPH EMPH PART ABS ART decide ERG 2pl.
ta  $do era  $o ana jara $do nara ta
COMPL STAT be ABS child horse REL CAN NON-PAST
huhu pa rena keb'ao
suckle LOC female buffalo
'Your decision that there is a foal which can suckle at a female buffalo is also definitely quite O.K.'

6.15. ma EMPH

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

ngade ma ri j'aa, tapi pid'e d'o ri
saw(sg.) EMPH ERG 1sg. BUT pick up(sg.) NEG ERG
j'aa
1sg.
'I definitely saw (it), but did not pick it up.'

dou do tao napune duae ma miha
person REL do DEM1sg. king EMPH self
'The person who did this was the king himself.'

6.16. le(ma) ALSO

le(ma) (ALSO) always follows the verb. An ABS NP can intervene.
duae raiti mehara nga ubu naba kako lema
king SCE Mesara AND Ubu Naba go ALSO
'The king from Mesara and Ubu Naba went also.'

ki mejad'i 0 ou pa kedera d'e, ie lema
IF sit ABS 2sg. LOC chair ;DEM2sg. be good ALSO
'If you sit on this chair, that's good too.'

ta nara 0 j'aga do wala lema 0
NON-PAST get ABS work REL be other ALSO ERG
j'ii
lpl.(excl.)
'We (excl.) will get other work also.'

balo le ke ri j'aa
forgot(sg.) ALSO PART ERG 1sg.
'I forgot (it) also.'

6.17. 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 he ad'o do
mother 2sg. DEM1pl. father 2sg. DEM1pl. CERTAIN STAT
hei pa ni ma, pa d'ara rae
be there(pl.) LOC DEM4sg. EMPH LOC interior village
pa ni
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.

6.18. d'ange

d'ange means 'naturally, of course'. It is possible to have
one or two d'ange's per clause. One d'ange 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'ange.
kako d'ange φ noo la amu duae
  go PART ABS 3sg. GFS house king
'Naturally, he went to the king's house.'

kapa d'ange ri noo φ ne manu he
  catch(pl.) PART ERG 3sg. ABS ART chicken DEM1pl.
'Of course, he caught the chickens.'

dab'o d'ange d'ei amu duae d'ange φ noo
  go PART RGE house king PART ABS 3sg.
'Of course, he went past the king's house.'

6.19. d'ange-d'ange

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

j'e b'ale d'ange-d'ange φ ou ma amu d'e
  THEN return immediately ABS 2sg. DTS house DEM2sg.
'Then you return immediately to this house.'

6.20. mariai QUICKLY

mariai means 'quickly' when it follows a verb other than laha
'be fast' (see 5.). In my data, only Particle ke (6.12.) can
intervene.

boke mariai φ ne kelae d'e
  open(sg.) QUICKLY ABS ART door DEM2sg.
'Quickly open this door.'

sta b'ale ke mariai φ noo la tabi dahi
  NON-PAST return PART QUICKLY ABS 3sg. GFS edge sea
'He is returning quickly to the sea-shore.'

6.21. laha FAST

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

perai laha
run FAST
'Run fast!'
6.22. 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 ³ noo
STAT lie OFTEN-RED ABS 3sg.
'He is always lying.'

ta ¹ ago ³ kepoo loro-loro ³ noo
NON-PAST carry(sg.) ABS gun OFTEN-RED ERG 3sg.
'He always carries a gun.'

dou do timo do mawo loro
person REL be Timorese STAT drunk OFTEN
'Timorese people are often drunk.'

6.23. mëra PERHAPS

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

nane . do bej'i mëra ³ noo
be near you(sg.) STAT be asleep PERHAPS ABS 3sg.
'He (near you) is perhaps asleep.'

ta kako la amu noo mëra ³
NON-PAST go GFS house POSS3sg. PERHAPS ABS j'ii
lpl.(excl.)
'We are going to his house, perhaps.'

hei ke la mii-mii mëra
be there(pl.) PART GFS WHERE-RED PERHAPS
'Wherever could they have gone to?'

6.24. 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 weka hed'e
PERHAPS NON-PAST steal ERG REL be old DEM2pl.
'Perhaps, (they) are being stolen by the old people?'

b'ole wəbe-wəbe. b'agi ta era ø d'ue
DON'T hit(sg.)-RED PERHAPS NON-PAST be ABS two
wari hewe ke
time JUST PART
'Don't repeatedly hit him. Perhaps just twice.'

6.25. 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 ø ne ei loko ne
TOO NEG be clear ABS ART water river DEM1sg.
'This river water is not too clear.'

lohe d'o tada ø noo
QUITE NEG understand ABS 3sg.
'He does not quite understand.'
7. SYNTAX

7.1. Verbal Clauses

7.1.1. Case Frames

7.1.1.0. Introduction

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

As we saw in 3.4., 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 waba 'hit', loru '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'edo 'enclose' from [ERG ABS] verbs like toi 'know', huba 'forgive'. In the third, [ABS {LOC}], LOC distinguishes laka 'strike' from [ABS] verbs like mejad'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 laka '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', dab'o 'go past', mahu '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:

7.1.1.1. 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', ngadi 'see, spot', d'ano 'hear', heleo 'see, look'.

\[
\text{do toi ri ubu naba } \varnothing \text{ ne dou ne STAT know ERG Ubu Naba ABS ART person DEM1sg. 'Ubu Naba knows this person.'}
\]
(b) non-perception verbs

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

huba ke ø noo ri ama
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.

ta aj'e ri j'aa ø ne hurí ne
NON-PAST read(sg.) ERG 1sg. ABS ART letter DEM1sg.
'I am reading this letter.'

ta aj'e ri j'aa ø ne lii hawu
NON-PAST teach(sg.) ERG 1sg. ABS ART language Sawu
ø noo
ABS 3sg.
'I am teaching him Sawunese.'

ta aj'e ri j'aa ø ne lii hawu
NON-PAST study(sg.) teach(sg.) ERG 1sg. ABS 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'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta pe-ie} & \quad \text{ri j'aa} \quad \text{duae ri ru-aj'u} \\
\text{NON-PAST CAUS-good} & \quad \text{ERG lsg. ABS king} \quad \text{INST leaf-wood}
\end{align*}
\]

'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-nga'a 'feed (non-birds)', pe-tutu 'feed (birds)', pe-nginu 'provide water', kehiwa 'hire'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta pe-tutu} & \quad \text{duae ri j'aa ri} \\
\text{NON-PAST CAUS-eat(of birds)} & \quad \text{ABS chicken} \quad \text{ERG lsg. INST ani}
\end{align*}
\]

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. tab'u 'stab', waba 'hit', loro 'cut'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta waba} & \quad \text{ri j'aa pa katu} \\
\text{NON-PAST hit(sg.)} & \quad \text{ABS 3sg. ERG lsg. LOC head ne} \quad \text{ri aj'u ne} \\
\text{DEMlsg. INST stick} & \quad \text{DEMlsg.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(5) [ERG ABS (\{\text{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:
(1) the container which is filled by the INST referent,
(2) that which is poured into the GOAL referent.

\[
\text{ihe ri dei } \phi \text{ ne beka kenana d'e fill(sg.) INST dung ABS ART basket betel DEM2sg.}
\]
\[
\text{ri ubu naba ERG Ubu Naba 'Ubu Naba filled the betel basket with dung.'}
\]
\[
\text{ihe } \phi \text{ ne dei ne la d'ara beka pour(sg.) ABS ART dung DEM1sg. GFS interior basket}
\]
\[
\text{kenana d'e ri ubu naba betel DEM2sg. ERG Ubu Naba 'Ubu Naba poured the dung into the betel basket.'}
\]

(6) \([\text{ERG ABS (SCE) } [\{\text{GFS} \}\{\text{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', golo 'release', hora 'throw'.

\[
\text{ta ped'ule ke ri noo } \phi \text{ ne kerogo NON-PAST lower(sg.) PART ERG 3sg. ABS ART cage}
\]
\[
b'ahi ne raiti kowa ne la d'ara ei iron DEM1sg. SCE boat DEM1sg. GFS interior liquid
dahi
\]
\[
\text{sea 'He will lower the iron cage from the boat into the sea.'}
\]

(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)', agu 'fetch, take, bring, carry'.
ta ago ø noo ri dii rait!
NON-PAST bring(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG lpl.(incl.) SCE
amu noo ma d'e
house POSS3sg. GTS 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 ø "pa mii
ask(pl.) ERG king GA person DEM1pl. ABS LOC WHERE
ne hiømu j'aa?"
ART spouse POSS1sg.
'The king asks the people, "Where is my wife?".'

(8) [ERG ABS {GA]
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 ø j'aa ø ne doi ri roo
give ABS lsg. ABS ART money ERG 3pl.
'They gave me money.' OR 'They gave money to me.'

(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'ado 'enclose', kiju 'insert'.

ta wie ø nga'a pa muu ri noo
NON-PAST give ABS food GA 2pl. ERG 3sg.
'He will give you food.' OR 'He will give food to you.'
"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 ex­
changes the ABS referent for the MEAS referent. e.g. pewie 'exchange', pehuru 'change, exchange'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{pewie} & \text{ke} & \text{ri} & \text{noo} & \text{\textbackslash o} & \text{ne} & \text{keb'ao} \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \quad \text{exchange} & \text{PART} & \text{ERG} & \text{3sg.} & \text{ABS} & \text{ART} & \text{buffalo} \\
\text{ne} & \quad \text{ngara} & \text{doi} \\
\text{DEM1sg.} & \quad \text{MEAS} & \text{money} \\
\text{\'He will exchange the buffalo for money.'}
\end{align*}
\]

(11) [ERG ABS (RESULT)]
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', anyu 'plait', məhu 'make (clay pot)'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{tao} & \text{\textbackslash o} & \text{ne} & \text{lua} & \text{wəngu} & \text{d'e} & \text{ri} \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \quad \text{make} & \text{ABS} & \text{ART} & \text{thread} & \text{cotton} & \text{DEM2sg.} & \text{ERG} \\
\text{noo} & \quad \text{ta} & \text{hij'\textbackslash i} \\
\text{3sg.} & \quad \text{RESULT} & \text{male-cloth} \\
\text{\'She will make this cotton into a male-cloth.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{tao} & \text{\textbackslash o} & \text{hij'\textbackslash i} & \text{ri} & \text{noo} & \text{raithi} & \text{ne} \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \quad \text{make} & \text{ABS} & \text{male-cloth} & \text{ERG} & \text{3sg.} & \text{SCE} & \text{ART} \\
\text{lua} & \quad \text{wəngu} & \text{d'e} \\
\text{thread} & \text{cotton} & \text{DEM2sg.} \\
\text{\'She will make a male-cloth out of this cotton.'}
\end{align*}
\]
7.1.1.2. 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) \([\text{ABS (ERG)}]\)

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', nga'a 'eat', ngi'nù 'drink', hou 'make emerge, emerge'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{mari} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{noo} \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \quad \text{laugh} \quad \text{ABS} \quad 3\text{sg.}
\end{align*}
\]

'He is laughing.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{mari} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{ana} \quad \text{he} \quad \text{ri} \quad \text{noo} \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \quad \text{mock} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{DEM}1\text{pl.} \quad \text{ERG} \quad 3\text{sg.}
\end{align*}
\]

'He is mocking the children.'

(2) \([\text{ABS } \{^\text{ERG}\}]\)

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).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{j'ala} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{nadu'u} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{j'aa} \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \quad \text{net} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{fish} \quad \text{ERG} \quad 1\text{sg.}
\end{align*}
\]

'I am netting fish.'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{j'ala} \quad \text{pa} \quad \text{manu} \quad \text{he} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{j'aa} \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \quad \text{fish} \quad \text{GA} \quad \text{chicken} \quad \text{DEM}1\text{pl.} \quad \text{ABS} \quad 1\text{sg.}
\end{align*}
\]

'I am fishing for chickens.'

(3) \([\text{ABS } \{^\text{ERG}\}_\text{LOC}]\)

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'.

\[
\begin{align*}
l\text{aka} \quad \emptyset \quad \text{ama} \quad \text{ri} \quad \text{worena-woana} \\
\text{strike} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{father} \quad \text{ERG} \quad \text{bullet}
\end{align*}
\]

'Father was struck down by a bullet.'

(Note that worena-woana is ERG because it can be relativised An INST NP cannot.)
strike LOC pot indigo ABS ART rock DEM1sg.
'The rock landed on an indigo pot.'

7.1.1.3. 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 3  noo
STAT be fat ABS 3sg.
'He is fat.'
ta kad'i 3  noo
NON-PAST get up ABS 3sg.
'She is getting up.'
mehaka 3  ne wihu ne
burst ABS ART boil DEM1sg.
'The boil burst.'

(2) [ABS (SCE) (RGE) (GFS) (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 3  noo raiti ha'ba la dimu j'ara
NON-PAST go ABS 3sg. SCE Seba GFS Dimu VEH
jara
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 3.4. However, 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* 'can, be able').

\[
\text{nara } \emptyset \text{ ubu naba pa duae}
\]
\[
\text{win } \text{ ABS Ubu Naba GA king}
\]
'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', *merei* 'wake up'.

\[
\text{ta } \text{ ele } \emptyset \text{ noo ti rai-wawa}
\]
\[
\text{NON-PAST disappear(sg.) ABS 3sg. SCE land-beneath d'e}
\]
DEM2sg.
'He will disappear from this earth.'

\[
\text{merei dae-d'o ti b'aj'i } \emptyset \text{ duae}
\]
\[
\text{get up YET-NOT SCE sleep ABS king}
\]
'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'.

\[
\text{bubu ke } \emptyset \text{ duae nga ubu naba}
\]
\[
\text{be angry PART ABS king COM Ubu Naba}
\]
'The king is angry with Ubu Naba.'

\[
\text{ta } \text{ pee nga j'aa } \emptyset \text{ roo}
\]
\[
\text{NON-PAST stay COM lsg. ABS 3pl.}
\]
'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 nga j'aa ø noo  
NON-PAST help COM 1sg. ABS 3sg. 
'He will help me.'
```

```
do  pad'u nga noo ø 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  ømu  ri  donahu  
be full  PART  ABS  house  INST  lontar syrup  
'The house is full of lontar syrup.'
```

```
do  tobo  ri  ei  ø  ne  kab'a-huru  d'e  
STAT  be  full  INST  water  ABS  ART  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'ora  lai  nani 
talk  ABS  3sg.  ABOUT  matter  DEM4sg.  
'He talked about that matter.'
```

7.1.2. Word Order
7.1.2.1. 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 7.20.).
7.1.2.2. Clause Modifiers (CMs)

Time CMs can precede or follow the verb. Particles do (STAT), əla ... pe- (PAST), ta (NON-PAST), ad'o (CERTAIN), b'ag'i (PERHAPS), lohe (TOO, QUITE), b'ole (DON'T), always precede the verb. Excessive Adverbs and all other Particles (including NEC d'o) follow the verb.

7.2. Non-verbal Clauses

We can recognise two kinds of non-verbal clauses in Sawu:

7.2.1. 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 ə lua wəŋu we
Yes NON-PAST DFS dry(pl.) ABS thread cotton JUST

Q. 'Are you returning home, Mother?'
A. 'Yes. (I) am just going (home) to dry some cotton thread.'

ayo. kape ə noo
come on catch(sg.) ABS 3sg.
'Come on. Catch him.'

hee. ta kei-kei ə j'aa, j'e pohe
Hey NON-PAST dig(pl.)-RED ERG 1sg. THEN toss(sg.)
ma kepenge d'e, pe'e d'o ə ne wowue d'e
DTS rear DEM2sg. 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.'
7.2.2. 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 amu j'aa
DEM2sg. house POSS1sg.
'This is my house.'

j'aa he-dou nalalu-naleto
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 7.14.2.1.

7.3. Interrogative Clauses

7.3.0. Introduction

Interrogative clauses are characterised by rising intonation. It is on the stressed syllable of a clause-final word in yes-no questions, and on the ultimate stressed syllable of a question-word in others.

7.3.1. Yes-no Questions

Yes-no questions request a 'yes' answer or a 'no' answer.

keloe ke ø muu
be tired PART ABS 2pl.
'Are you tired?'
7.3.2. Question-word Questions

7.3.2.1. 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?'

kape ø noo ri naduu
catch(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG WHO
'Who caught him?'

kape ø naduu ri noo
catch(sg.) ABS WHO ERG 3sg.
'Who did he catch?'

wie ø. 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 *ngaa dou 'What person?, Who?'.

7.3.2.2. ngaa (Seba), nyaa (mesara) WHAT

A ngaa or nyaa interrogative requests the identity of a non-human referent.

ne ngaa nad'e
ART WHAT DEM2sg.
'What is this?'
LIKE NON-PAST eat ABS ART WHAT ERG 2pl.
'What would you like to eat?'

NON-PAST hit(sg.) ABS 3sg. INST WHAT
'Hitting him with what?'

be PART LIKE WHAT DEM1pl. ABS liver POSS2pl.
'Your livers are like what?'

7.3.2.3. tangaa (Seba and Mesara), tanyaa (Mesara) WHY

A tangaa or tanyaa interrogative requests a reason for a specified action, process or state. In intransitive clauses, tangaa 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, 7.11.).

Intransitive

\[ \text{tangaa} \quad \phi \quad \text{noo} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{i'a} \quad (\text{\textsc{ri}}) \]

WHY ABS 3sg. NON-PAST be clever
'Why is he clever?'

Transitive

\[ \text{tangaa} \quad \phi \quad \text{noo} \quad \text{ta} \quad \text{wabe} \quad \phi \quad \text{dou} \quad \text{nani} \quad (\text{\textsc{ri}}) \quad (\text{\textsc{reason}}) \]

WHY ERG 3sg. NON-PAST hit(sg.) ABS person DEM4sg.
'Why is he hitting that person?'

\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{wabe} \quad \text{tangaa} \quad \text{ri} \quad \text{noo} \quad \phi \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{dou} \quad \text{nani} \quad (\text{\textsc{ri}}) \quad (\text{\textsc{reason}}) \quad \text{DEM}4\text{sg.} \]

WHY ERG 3sg. ABS ART person
'Why is he hitting that person?'

7.3.2.4. 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, 7.11.).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{taloki ne tao ou ri ta ihe} & \\
\text{WHY ART purpose POSS2sg. REASON NON-PAST fill(sg.)} & \\
\text{ri dei beka kenana d'e ri} & \\
\text{INST dung ABS ART basket betel DEM2sg. REASON} & \\
\text{What was your purpose in filling the betel basket with dung?}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{taloki o noo ta wabe o dou nani} & \\
\text{WHY ERG 3sg. NON-PAST hit(sg.) ABS person DEM4sg.} & \\
\text{ri} & \\
\text{REASON} & \\
\text{Why is he hitting that person?}
\end{align*}
\]

7.3.2.5. pari WHEN, HOW MANY

A pari interrogative requests specification of time or number.

(1) WHEN

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pari (WHEN) is always clause initial. It is often immediately followed by Particle ke which immediately precedes an NP. The verb is always preceded by ne which has an unknown function.} & \\
\text{pari ke o dii ne kako} & \\
\text{WHEN PART ABS lpl.(incl.) ? go} & \\
\text{When are we going?}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pari o wati leo ne daka} & \\
\text{WHEN ABS Wati Leo ? come} & \\
\text{When is Wati Leo coming?}
\end{align*}
\]

(2) HOW MANY

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pari (HOW MANY), as a constituent of an NP, requests the number of its head noun referent. While it is not restricted to sentence-initial position, it must always precede its head noun.} & \\
\text{pari b'ue tou ke pemuri ou} & \\
\text{HOW MANY COUNT(pl.) year PART age POSS2sg.} & \\
\text{'How old are you?' (i.e. How many years your age?)}
\end{align*}
\]
sell ABS HOW MANY COUNT buffalo ERG 2sg.

'How many buffalo did you sell?'

With human referents, do pari is extremely common, if not obligatory. It seems likely that this do is related to dou 'human being, person' and that do pari derives from an earlier dou pari. I will refer to it as Ligature (LIG) as in 3.7.2.

do pari dou wobani pa d'ara amu
LIG HOW MANY COUNT woman LOC interior house

'How many women are inside the house?'

Historical

pari 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 *-o, and that the development of a rule preventing final *-o precipitated metathesis of the two vowels.

\[ *pira \rightarrow *pira \quad *-a \rightarrow *-o \]
\[ *pira \rightarrow pari \quad \text{metathesis} \]

7.3.2.6. hengaa HOW MUCH

hengaa interrogatives request information about the measure (i.e. distance, height, length, etc.) or price of a referent.

Measure

hengaa ke ne j'ou ti d'e
HOW MUCH PART ART distance SCE DEM2sg.

'What is the distance from here?' (OR 'How far (is it) from here?)

hengaa 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

hengaa keb'ue napune
HOW MUCH price DEM1sg.
'What price is this?' (OR 'How much does this cost?')

7.3.2.7. 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 sentence-initial and often followed by Particle ke.

pi'a ɒ ne potoloo he
BE WHERE(pl.) ABS ART. pencil DEM1pl.
'Where are the pencils?'

pe'e ke ɒ nalehu j'aa
BE WHERE(sg.) PART ABS handkerchief POSS1sg.
'Where is my handkerchief?'

7.3.2.8. 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 ɒ ou
STAT live LOC WHERE ABS 2sg.
'Where do you live?'

wabe ɒ 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

daka raiti mii ɒ ou
come SCE WHERE ABS 2sg.
'Where have you come from?'
Inanimate goal

\[
\text{ta kako la mii } \emptyset \text{ ou}
\]

'Where are you going?'

7.3.2.9. 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.

\[
wobani namii nakue noo
\]

'Which woman is her aunt?'

\[
namii ne buku ou
\]

'Which is your book?'

\[
mena'o ri noo } \emptyset \text{ keb'ao namii}
\]

'He stole which buffalo?' (OR 'Which buffalo did he steal?')

7.3.2.10. minamii HOW

A minamii interrogative requests information as to how (i.e. by what means) an action or process takes place.

\[
\text{ta j'aga minamii ke } \emptyset \text{ dii } \emptyset
\]

'How will we do your words?' (i.e. How will we carry out your suggestions?)
7.4. 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 7.13.),
(3) non-obligatory addressee pronoun,
(4) clause-final lowering of intonation.

Intransitive

b'ale d'ange-d'ange φ ou
return IMMEDIATELY ABS 2sg.
'You return immediately.'

kako we φ ou
go PART ABS 2sg.
'You go.'

Transitive

ago we ri ou φ ne boto nad'e
take(sg.) PART ERG 2sg. ABS ART bottle DEM2sg.
'You take this bottle.'

kape φ noo
grab(sg.) ABS 3sg.
'Grab him.'

The negative imperative Particle, b'ole DON'T, is always clause initial.

b'ole wiki ta nuhu φ emu noo
DON'T TRY NON-PAST enter ABS house POSS3sg.
'Don't try to enter his house.'

7.5. Reflexive Clauses

We can recognise two kinds of Reflexives in Sawu:
7.5.1. 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 (i.e. unmarked - see 4.2.1).

\[
\text{ta pe-umu } əni \text{ ke } əni \text{ ne anu}
\]
NON-PAST CAUS-be near ABS self PART ERG ART child
hekola napune
school DEM1sg.
'The school child moves himself closer.'

\[
b'ole petala we əni ou əni ti j'aa
\]
DON'T separate PART ERG 2sg. ABS self SCE 1sg.
'Don't you separate yourself from me.'

\[
\text{ta waba } əni \text{ ne anu mone}
\]
NON-PAST hit(pi.) ABS self ERG ART child male
telora ne
middle DEM1sg.
'The second oldest boy is hitting himself.'

7.5.2. Emphatic Reflexives

Emphatic reflexive clauses are characterised by Particles ma miha which are ordered immediately after the emphasised NP.

\[
dou do tao əni napune duae ma miha
\]
person REL do ABS DEM1sg. king EMPH SELF
'The person who did this was the king himself.'

\[
laka pa āru kabo noo ma miha
\]
strike LOC pot red-dye 3sg. EMPH SELF
'(It) landed on his own red-dye pot.'

7.6. Relative Clause Constructions

7.6.1. 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 ō j'aa hed'e
ART person REL carry ABS 1sg. DEM2pl.
'These people who carry me.'

Deleted ABS (transitive)

kee ō ro'a na'i pa d'ara d'oka
dig(sg.) ABS hole tobacco LOC interior plantation
do pe-moo do ngine ne
REL CAUS-clear(sg.) REL 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 ō noo la ngingu ō ei
ART river REL go ABS 3sg. DFS drink ABS water
do ngine ne
REL be mentioned earlier DEM1sg.
'The river to which he went and drank water, which was mentioned earlier.'

Without REL do

b'ahu ke ngaka melaka
be sated PART dog be thin
'The thin dog is sated.'
era ri ke pa he-wue təbi loko ø nadu'u
be ALSO PART LOC one-COUNT bank river ABS fish
mengadi ø dou
catch with hook ERG someone
'There was also on the river bank some fish which someone had caught (with a hook).'

Without head noun

ta nono ø do pela
NON-PAST dry in sun(pl.) ABS REL PAST(pl.)
pe-b'aka ke
PAST-cut open(pl.) PART
'The ones (i.e. fish) which were cut open are drying in the sun.'

7.6.2. Relative Clause Marker (REL) do

7.6.2.1. 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
lpl.(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 (wong 'human being, man') and Omong Jakarta (orang '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 -ù is provided by the data below:

(1) Sawu rou 'leaf, hair, etc.' becomes ro- or ru when compounded with another noun (see 3.9.2.).

(2) Sawu and Ndao duae 'king, noble' is probably derived from dou ae 'important person'.

7.6.2.2. Other (synchronic) Interpretations

Jonker (1919:713), Kern (1892:171) and Wijngaarden (1896:21) agree that do is a "bettrekkelijk 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.

7.7. 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. kinga and kiri are unexplained variants.

kinga wae ô ou, mai gate ri j'aa we
IF WANT ABS 2sg. let replace ERG lsg. PART
'If you want, let me take your place.'

ki mèd'a, kiri merei ô ari ou,
IF night IF be awake ABS younger sibling POSS2sg.
ki era ô ei donahu, pe-ngino
IF be ABS syrup lontar CAUS-drink(sg.)
'If it is night, if your younger brother is awake, (and) if there is lontar syrup, give (him) to drink.'
 Finish (making it) into a male-cloth, if (you) are making (it) into a male-cloth.

7.8. had'i Conditional Clauses

The had'i Conditional Clause is a subordinate clause which (unlike ki) is the necessary condition for the performance of the action of the main clause. It can occur before or after the main clause.

"'i e r i j'aa p a d'a n a n e", m i h e a n e, heal ERG lsg. ABS sickness DEM lsg. LIKE DEM lpl. say "h a d'i t a p e - h i a n g a w e n g a j'a a." IF NON-PAST CAUS-be friend ONLY COM lsg. "'I will heal this sickness", (he) said, "only if he will be friends with me."

h a d'i t a p e t e e d o n a h u h e w e d o u IF NON-PAST boil ABS gula ONLY ERG someone w i e j'i i, j'e t a k e p a w a d u - b' o r o a m u BEN lpl.(excl.) THEN place(sg.) LOC wadu-b'oro house d'e, b o k a m a j'a a k e l a e DEM 2sg. open(pl.) EMPH ERG lpl.(excl.) 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.'

7.9. ngi, mi Purposive Clauses

The ngi, mi (PURP) clause is a subordinate clause which always follows the main clause. The purposive marker is either ngi or mi. It immediately precedes the subordinate clause, and ngi or mi is always immediately followed by either NON-PAST ta or NEG d'o. There appears to be no difference in function between ngi and mi.
'I am bathing my yaws sores so that they will become clean.'

'If there is (someone who) requests a cheap price, give it so that there will be (money) to buy food and drink.'

'Don't stand in the water there, lest your body sting.'

7.10. (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.

'I became poor, so I killed the old woman, then took her to Seba and exchanged her for these coins.'

'We got a pig, so (we) came here to request assistance.'
7.11. 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 ə ni, ana j'aa, rido
CAUS-be ready(pl.) ABS self child POSSls. REASON

Non-Past DFS throw(pl.) GFS hill GFS hill ABS 2pl.
'Get yourselves ready, kids, because I'm going (to the hills) to throw you into the hills.'

taga ə nadu'u do wie ə ou ke ngine,
REASON ABS fish STAT give ABS 2sg. PART earlier

ana, ta la kale ə nadu'u ko ə j'aa
child NON-PAST DFS look for ABS fish PART ERG lsg.
'Because I gave you the fish earlier, child, I am going to look for (more) fish.'

7.12. 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) (\textsuperscript{\text{ABS}}) (ta) Verb NP(s)

Transitive
\begin{verbatim}
  wae  d'o  \textquotesingle j'ii  \textquotesingle  ta  wabe  \textquotesingle  \textquotesingle  noo
  WANT  NEG  ERG  lpl.(excl.)  NON-PAST  hit(sg.)  ABS  3sg.
  'We do not want to hit him.'

  wae  \textquotesingle  j'aa  \textquotesingle  ta  gate  ri  ou
  WANT  ABS  lsg.  NON-PAST  replace  ERG  2sg.
  'I want you to replace me.'

  d'ei  ta  nga'a  \textquotesingle  ne  ngaa  \textquotesingle  muu
  LIKE  NON-PAST  eat  ABS  ART  WHAT  ERG  2pl.
  'What would you like to eat?'
\end{verbatim}

Intransitive
\begin{verbatim}
  i e  \textquotesingle  j'aa  \textquotesingle  ta  kako  la  kota
  CAN  ABS  lsg.  NON-PAST  go  GFS  Kupang
  'I am allowed to go to Kupang.'
\end{verbatim}

7.13. \textit{tade} UNTIL Constructions

\textit{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 \textit{tade} Construction is reached.
\begin{verbatim}
  nono  \textquotesingle  \textquotesingle  ne  ei  nahed'e  tade  kemangu
  lay in sun  ABS  ART  sarong  DEM1pl.  UNTIL  be dry
  'Lay the sarongs in the sun until (they) are dry.'

  hegure  \textquotesingle  \textquotesingle  tade  mad'a-lod'o
  lay face downwards(sg.)  UNTIL  evening
  'Lay it face downward until evening.'
\end{verbatim}
7.14. Negation

Negation is indicated by the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b'ole</td>
<td>DON'T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)d'o</td>
<td>NO, NOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dae d'o</td>
<td>NOT YET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad'o dae</td>
<td>NOT YET</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.14.1. b'ole DON'T

b'ole is the negative-imperative particle, and is always clause initial. See Imperative clauses (7.4.).

7.14.2. (a)d'o NEG

(a)d'o is the non-imperative negative (NEG) particle.

7.14.2.1. ad'o

The unabbreviated ad'o negates non-verbals (including YET in NOT YET - see below). e.g.

ad'o j'aa ubu naba
NEG lsg. Ubu Naba
'I am not Ubu Naba.'

ad'o duae do tao ø napune
NEG king REL do ABS DEM lsg.
'It was not the king who did it.'

ad'o he-wari wata he-ngahu 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.

7.14.2.2. 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).
'Ubu Naba did not pick up the handkerchief.'

'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 6.25.).

'If I had not done these things the boil would not have got better.'

'I am sick, so I'm not working today.'

'I became very tired, so I have not gone to Dimu.'

'the lontar blossoms which cannot be squeezed'
7.14.3. NOT YET: dae d'o, ad'o dae

7.14.3.0. Introduction

dae d'o and ad'o dae also perform a non-imperative negative function, meaning 'not now, but possibly 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.

7.14.3.1. 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: baj'i ṣ muu?
be asleep ABS 2pl.
'Are you(pl.) asleep?'

Response: baj'i dae d'o ṣ j'i'i
be asleep YET NOT ABS 1pl.(excl.)
'We are not asleep yet.'

Observation

duae merei dae d'o ti baj'i
king wake up YET NOT SCE sleep
'The king is not awake yet.'

7.14.3.2. ad'o dae

ad'o dae, which is only used in response to a question, also negates verbs, but only occurs alone. e.g.

Question: merei ke ṣ noo?
wake up PART ABS 3sg.
'Is he awake?'

Response: ad'o dae. nane do baj'i ko
NOT YET be near(sg.) STAT be asleep PART
'Not yet. (He) is still asleep.'

7.14.4. 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 /ndjad'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 Kambera post-verbal particle d'u, which appears to be restricted to clauses with negative-imperative particle ambu DON'T (writer's fieldnotes). e.g.

ambu uhuk d'u
DON'T sit PART
'Don't sit.'

7.15. Possession

Sawu indicates possession by postposing a pronoun, possessor noun, or possessive relative clause.

(1) possessive pronouns (see 3.1.)

(2) possessor nouns

e.g. amu 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 ô ne nadu'u la'a ô j'aa
THEN die PART ABS ART fish possess ERG lsg
hari-hari
<— all —> •
'Then, all the fish I possess die.'
This is our food.

This is (the) house he owns.

My data does not support Wijngaarden's belief (1896:89) that oha is restricted to inanimate possessions and una to animate. Neither Wijngaarden nor Kern appear to be familiar with la'a 'possess, own'; while Lee (ms) is only aware of oha.

7.16. Comparison

Sawu has three types of comparison.

7.16.1. hela'u 'be same'

The verb hela'u 'be same' indicates that two or more referents are the same. It's Case frame appears to be [ABS (COM)].

Neither can finish off the other. They are equal in strength.

This is the same as that.

7.16.2. 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 ngi ta nara φ j'aa φ ne doi
HOW PURP NON-PAST get ERG 1sg. ABS ART coin
do ae mi φ noo nahid'e
REL be many LIKE ERG 3sg. DEM4pl.
'How can I get lots of coins like he got?'

Intransitive verb deleted

kako φ noo mi φ nadu'u
go ABS 3sg. LIKE ABS fish
'He {moves} goes along} like a fish.'

Transitive NP deleted

ha'o φ noo mi ha'o ri mama
nurse(sg.) ABS 3sg. LIKE nurse(sg.) ERG mother
'Nurse him like mother does!'

7.16.3. rihi (ti)nga MORE THAN

rihi (ti)nga indicates that a certain referent has more of something than another. rihi MORE always precedes the first clause. nga 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 tinga or nga. It is usual for the intransitive verb of the second clause to be deleted.

do rihi keb'ab'u φ ina ou (ti)nga φ
STAT MORE be fat ABS mother POSS2sg. THAN ABS
ina j'aa
mother POSS1sg.
'Your mother is fatter than my mother.'

do rihi nga keb'ab'u φ ina j'aa φ
STAT MORE THAN be fat ABS mother POSS1sg. ABS
ina ou
mother POSS2sg.
'Your mother is fatter than my mother.'
7.17. Co-ordination

7.17.0. Introduction

Co-ordination 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 7.17.2.).

7.17.1. nga AND

nga conjoins two clauses which represent the same time span. Unlike j'e (7.17.2.) and d'ai/d'ae (7.17.3.), 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 nga pengee
return ABS 3sg. AND think
'He returns thinking'

ta kako ke ø bêla dilu nga øgo
NON-PAST go PART ABS Bêla Dilu AND carry(sg.)
ø uda la d'ara d'oka ne
ABS crow-bar GFS interior plantation DEM1sg.
'Bêla Dilu goes into the plantation carrying a crow-bar.'

uru ti d'o kako ø noo, b'uke ri noo
before SCE NEG go ABS 3sg. write(sg.) ERG 3sg.
ø ne huri wie duae nga øgu wo-kerab'o
ABS ART letter 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.'

7.17.2. 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.
'Ubu Naba gets down, scrapes up the horse dung, then drops it into the king's betel basket.'

'They' tie up Ubu Naba, then enclose him in an iron cage, then carry (him).'

7.17.3. 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 4.2.1.).

The difference in function between j'e and d'ai/d'ae is characterised by the examples in 7.17.2. 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 j'aa he-wue rupia..."
"Give me one rupiah to buy food today," (the blind man) says. Then the child says, "There isn't any money to give you."

7.17.4. 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  ø  ina  ne  ø  "pee  pa  ømu" THEN say ERG mother DEM1sg. ABS stay LOC house 'Then the mother says, "Stay in the house."'

7.17.5. ta AFTER

ta AFTER occurs before Past-completive əla ... pe-, and temporal nouns. Accordingly, it indicates the time after a completed action or specified time.

ta  əla  pe-nono,  ta  b'ale  ke AFTER PAST(pl.) PAST-dry(pl.) NON-PAST return PART la  tabi  dahi GFS edge sea 'Having dried (the cotton thread), she returns to the beach.'

d'ai  ta  j'aminae,  ta  ha'e  ke  ø  ne  do THEN AFTER sunrise NON-PAST climb PART ABS ART REL weka  ne  la  d'ømu  ømu  ne be old DEM1sg. GFS loft house DEM1sg. 'Then after sunrise, the old man climbs up to the house loft.'
7.17.6. *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 loan — from Malay *tapi*, *tetapi* 'but').

\[ \text{ngade ma ri j'aa, tapi pид'е d'o ri} \]
\[ \text{see(sg.) EMPH ERG lsg. BUT pick up(sg.) NEG ERG} \]
\[ j'aa \]
\[ lsg. \]
'I did see (it), but did not pick (it) up.'

\[ \text{anye ta laka pa ди} \]
\[ \text{ke tapulara} \]
\[ \text{think COMPL strike LOC 1pl.(incl.) PART BUT} \]
\[ \text{do laka pa аru kabo noo ma miha} \]
\[ \text{STAT strike LOC pot red dye POSS3sg. EMPH SELF} \]
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*.

\[ \text{ad'o he-wari wata he-ngahu wari} \]
\[ \text{NEG one-time BUT one-hundred time} \]
'Not once, but a hundred times' (Kern)

In my data, it only occurs as an infrequent *post-verbal* particle (see 6.14.).

7.17.7. *we OR*

*we* indicates an alternative relationship between two clauses. It always precedes the second clause.

\[ \text{toi d'o ri j'aa ø ta do toi ri noo we} \]
\[ \text{know NEG ERG lsg. ABS COMPL STAT know ERG 3sg. OR} \]
\[ \text{ad'o} \]
\[ \text{NOT} \]
'I do not know whether he knows or not.'

\[ \text{era ø meo we ngaka pa ni} \]
\[ \text{be ABS cat OR dog LOC DEM4sg.} \]
'Is there a cat or a dog over there?'
7.18. Complementation

7.18.1. ta Complements

A ta complement is a nominalised clause in which complementiser ta immediately precedes the clause. ta complements are always clause final, and occur as ABS NPs of psychological state verbs (e.g. 'know, think'), perception verbs (e.g. 'see, hear') and verbs like həpo 'decide' (see example at 6.14.).

Psychological state verbs

do toi ri bəla dilu ø ta do bəj'i
STAT know ERG Bala Dilu ABS COMPL STAT be asleep
ke ø med'o kepəlu nga lobo kepəlu
PART ABS Med'o Kepəlu AND Lobo Kepəlu
'Bala Dilu knows that Med'o Kepəlu and Lobo Kepəlu are asleep.'

 toi d'o ri noo ø ta j'aa ne duae pa
know NEG ERG 3sg. ABS COMPL lsg. ART king LOC
rai d'e
region DEM2sg.
'He doesn't know that I am king in this region.'

Perception verbs

ngode ri dou he ø ta dou pa
see(sg.) ERG person DEM1pl. ABS COMPL person LOC
d'ara karə d'e
interior bag DEM2sg.
'The people saw that there was somebody inside the bag.'

7.18.2. Clausal Complements

Clausal Complements are clauses which stand as complements to speech verbs (e.g. 'order, say, ask') and verbs like məd'en '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.
7.19. 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

\[ \text{go ABS 3sg. LIKE ABS fish} \]

'She moves along like a fish (moves along).'

ERG and ABS

\[ \text{get down ABS 3sg. scrape up(sg.) ABS ART dung horse} \]

'He got down, (he) scraped up the horse dung, then (he) dropped (it) into the king's betel basket.'

GA

\[ \text{PAST(pl.) ERG Mr Bura Tohi PAST-butcher ABS animal} \]
'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 pa kae
count ERG 2sg. ABS ART top-finger LOC hand/foot
nga'a ou."   d'ae ane ø ana ne warì ø
food POSS2sg. THEN say ERG child DEM1sg. again ABS
ne keb'ali, "he-laab we we hari d'ue laa?"
ART question one-COUNT ONLY OR 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)?"

7.20. Word Order and the Leftmost NP

In many languages, the clause's leftmost NP has special signifi­
cance. 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.

7.20.1. Role

Each Sawu Case represents a particular semantic role or range
of semantic roles (3.4., 7.1.1.). Therefore, an analysis of the
relative word order of the case of NPs will highlight any prefer­
ence 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative Word Order</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb ERG ABS</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb ABS ERG</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

7.20.2. 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.

7.20.2.1. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative Word Order</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb High Low</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Low High</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Same Same</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

7.20.2.2. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative Word Order</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Definite</td>
<td>Indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Indefinite</td>
<td>Definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Indefinite</td>
<td>Indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.21. The Distribution of Keenan's Subject Properties

7.21.0. 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.

7.21.1. The Properties

The properties to be discussed are as follows:

7.21.1.1. 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)

7.21.1.2. 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.

7.21.1.3. 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)

7.21.2. Distribution

The distribution of Keenan's subject properties in Sawu differs according to the transitivity of the verb.

7.21.2.1. 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 3.4., 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'al e  d' ə nge-d' ə nge  ø  ou
THEN return IMMEDIATELY ABS 2sg.
'Then you return immediately.'

Reference properties

(1) Ref. 1. Intransitive ABS NPs can be coreferentially deleted across co-ordinate conjunctions.

kako ø  noo  la  tabi  dahi  j' e  j'iu-ei
go ABS 3sg. GFS edge sea THEN bathe
'He goes to the sea-shore, then (he) bathes.'

(2) Ref. 2. Only the ABS NP can control coreferential deletion across clauses.
They will go and (they will) throw him into the sea.

(3) Ref. 3. ABS NPs usually identify what the speaker is talking about.

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 7.6.1.).

Someone who is walking along the path.

(5) Ref. 5. The ABS NP can be highly RH referential, and can be definite (see 7.20.2.).

(6) Ref. 6. The intransitive ABS NP is almost invariably the leftmost NP (see 7.20.1.).

(7) Ref. 7. The ABS NP is among those which can be questioned.

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 3.4.).

(2) Other 2. With a few intransitive verbs, the ABS NP controls verb agreement.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{pekangu} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{ngaka} \quad \text{he} \\
& \quad \text{NON-PAST} \quad \text{yelp(pl.)} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{dog} \quad \text{DEM1pl.} \\
& \quad '\text{The dogs are yelping.}' \\
\text{ta} & \quad \text{pekango} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{ngaka} \quad \text{ne} \\
& \quad \text{NON-PAST} \quad \text{yelp(sg.)} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{ART} \quad \text{dog} \quad \text{DEM1sg.} \\
& \quad '\text{The dog is yelping.}' \\
\text{ta} & \quad \text{ila} \quad \text{roo} \\
& \quad \text{NON-PAST} \quad \text{disappear(pl.)} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{3pl.} \\
& \quad '\text{They will disappear.}' \\
\text{ta} & \quad \text{ele} \quad \text{noo} \\
& \quad \text{NON-PAST} \quad \text{disappear(sg.)} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{3sg.} \\
& \quad '\text{He will disappear.}'
\end{align*}
\]

7.21.2.2. 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:

(a) referents which do something to another referent,
(b) referents which bring into being another referent as the result of an action,
(c) referents which communicate something,
(d) referents which perceive another referent,
(e) referents to which a cognitive state is attributed,
(f) 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.

\[
\text{take(sg.) ERG 2sg. ABS ART bottle DEM2sg.} \\
\text{'You take this bottle.'}
\]

(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.

\[
\text{write(sg.) ERG 3sg. ABS ART letter} \\
\text{'He wrote a letter.'}
\]

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.

home ri duae φ ne huri napune, j'e receive(sg.) ERG king ABS ART letter DEM1sg. THEN aj'e read
'The king received the letter, then (he) read (it).'</n
(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 φ noo la dahi nga hape φ NON-PAST go PART ABS 3sg. GFS sea AND carry ABS j'ala j'ala-j'ala φ noo φ nadu'u rai j'omiaε net (to) net-RED ERG 3sg. ABS fish SINCE morning tade med'a UNTIL night
'He goes to the sea carrying a fish-net. He nets fish from morning until night.'

The two clauses above occur in a text about a fisherman. In both 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 φ nalezhu j'aa. ngede BE WHERE(sg.) PART ABS handkerchief POSS1sg. see(sg.)
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 7.6.).

(5) Ref. 5. Both ERG and ABS NPs can be highly RH referential, and can be definite (see 7.20.2.).

(6) The leftmost NP is normally either the ERG or the ABS NP (see 7.20.1.).

(7) Both ERG and ABS NPs are among those which can be questioned.

ERG

heleo ʘ noo ri naduu
see ABS 3sg. ERG WHO
'Who saw him?'

ABS

wae ta nga'a ʘ ne ngaa ri ou
WANT NON-PAST eat ABS ART WHAT ERG 2sg.
'What do you want to eat?'

Other properties

Other 2. Only transitive ABS NPs and GA NPs can control verb agreement. The distribution of Keenan subject properties in Sawu transitive clauses are summarised in Table 12 below.
### Table 12: Subject Properties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Properties</th>
<th>ERG</th>
<th>ABS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>role properties</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. semantic role from verb</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. expresses the agent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. imperative addressee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. independent existence</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>referential properties</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. can be coreferentially deleted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. can control coreferential deletion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. what the speaker is talking about</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. can be relativised</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. RH referential and definite</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. leftmost NP</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. can be questioned</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other property</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb agreement</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
8. SAWU AND NDAO

8.0. Introduction

Ndao is the language of more than 2,000 people who live on the islands of Ndao and Nuse within 12kms. of the west coast of Roti, but some 90kms. from Sawu. Ndao is larger than Nuse "with a habitable area of 9sq.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 school teacher) 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 Sawuneesch 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.

8.1. Phonology

8.1.1. 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 1.0.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveo-dental</th>
<th>alveo-palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implosive stop</td>
<td>b'</td>
<td>d'</td>
<td>j'</td>
<td>g'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottal stop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill/flap</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14: Ndao Vowel Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.1.2. 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 \(e\).

8.1.3. Vowel Clusters

The range of Ndao disyllabic clusters approximates that of Sawu. I have as yet been unable to find an example with \(io\).

8.1.4. Word Stress

Ndao word stress is penultimate.

8.2. Noun Phrase Constituents, Verbs and Clause Modifiers

8.2.1. Pronouns

Table 15: Ndao Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>{ja'\a} (most people)</td>
<td>1 (incl.) (edi) (Sawu dii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(jaa) (Sawu j'aa)</td>
<td>(excl.) (ji'i) (Sawu j'ii)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ja'o) (older people)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(ou) (Sawu ou)</td>
<td>2 (miu) (Sawu muu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>{(nangu) (nuu)} (Sawu noo)</td>
<td>3 {(rangu) (ruu)} (Sawu roo)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
jaa (sg.), nnu (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 8.3.4. for ku (lsg.), mu (2sg.), na (3sg.)).

8.2.2. Demonstratives

Table 16: Ndao Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>近者</th>
<th>远者</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>近者</td>
<td>ne 'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>远者</td>
<td>ana (most people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nana (older people)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ndao does not have the range of distinctions as found in Sawu, but the forms have some similarity.

8.2.3. Common Article ne

Unlike Sawu, Ndao seems to lack a Common Article.

8.2.4. Case Prepositions

Ndao Case Prepositions are as follows:

**LOCATIVE**

(1) atu, tu (Sawu pa)
(2) ma
(3) b'uli
(4) ka

**GOAL (INANIMATE)**

sa (Sawu la, ma)

**SOURCE**

ngati, nati, ti (Sawu (rai) (nga)ti)

**INSTRUMENT**

{d'ange (Sawu INST ri, COM nga)}

**COMITATIVE**

{GOAL (ANIMATE)}

hia (Sawu GA pa, BEN wie)
Only the SOURCE prepositions, and the BENEFACTIVE have any resem­
blance to the Sawu forms, (rai) (nga)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.

8.2.5. Numerals
8.2.5.1. Cardinal Numerals

The cardinal numerals are essentially the same as the Sawu
forms which are in parentheses below (see also 3.5.1.).

1. aici, ca- (ahi, he-)  6. ana (ana)
2. d’ua (d’ue)       7. pidu (pidu)
3. telu (telu)       8. aru (aru)
4. apa (apa)        9. ceo (heo)
5. lambi (lambi)   10. ca-nguru (he-nguru)

8.2.5.2. Ordinal Numerals

Ndao ordinal numerals are formed by prefixing ka-, the equiv­
alent of Sawu ke- (see 3.5.2.). e.g.

Ndao: ka-aci        Sawu: ke-ahi
     ORD-one        ORD-one
     'first'

8.2.6. Counters (COUNT)

Ndao counters include:

(1) ci'u (sg.), ngi'u (pl.) for animals, birds, fish, crabs,
eels, etc. (Sawu ngi'u). ci'u appears to be a reduction of
ci-ngi'u (i.e. one-COUNT).

(2) b'ela for counting number of traditional woven cloths and
pandanus mats, but not trousers and paper (Sawu b'ela).

(3) b'engu for rings and spoons (Sawu b'engu).

(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) kadali for slices of bread, meat, and (cut) lengths of string, rope (Sawu kedali).

(8) lamusi for grains of salt, sand or sugar, and peanuts (Sawu lamuhi).

(9) paku'u just for pieces of cake (Sawu kedali).

(10) katenga for hardened lumps of lontar syrup (Sawu wue, b'ue).

(11) b'aka for counting plates, cakes(?), and bracelets (not by pairs).

(12) ai for counting bracelets by pairs.

(13) lai for counting paper (Sawu b'ala).

(14) pacuru for spoonfuls (Sawu kab'a-huru).

(15) eru for pots (Sawu eru).

(16) sageri for bunches of bananas (Sawu hubi, japi).

(17) ii for bunches of bananas (Sawu hubi, japi).

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 3.6.).

8.2.7. Nominalisation

Ndao has a technique for converting disyllabic verb roots to nouns which is unknown in Sawu. The rule can be summarised as follows:

\[(C_1)V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow (C_1)a-(C_1)V_1C_2V_2\]

Verb Noun

e.g. (1) nga'a \[\rightarrow\] nga-nga'a
(to) eat food

(2) nginu \[\rightarrow\] nga-nginu
(to) drink drink

(3) ngee \[\rightarrow\] nga-nggee
(to) think thought
8.2.8. 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: ata, ate 'cut' (Sawu ata, ate)
      pahia, pahle '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:

Table 17: Ndao Verb Agreement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular 1</th>
<th>Plural 1 (incl.)</th>
<th>Plural 1 (excl.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 k-</td>
<td>2 m-</td>
<td>3 n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 m-</td>
<td>3 r-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note the resemblance of k-, m- and n- to the possessive pronouns ku, mu and na mentioned in 8.2.1)
e.g. 'to drink' (Sawu ngingu)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kinu</td>
<td>(incl.) tinu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>minu</td>
<td>(excl.) ngingu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ninu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other verbs kadi 'see' (Sawu ngađi), kādu 'hold', kēti '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 nga'a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ku'a</td>
<td>(incl.) ta'a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 2          | {mua}
|            | {mu'e}   |         |
| 3          | {na'a}
|            | {na'e}   |         |

'fetch' (Sawu nara)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kore</td>
<td>(incl.) tare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>more</td>
<td>(excl.) ngare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3          | {nare}
|            | {nara'}  |         |

The verb 'go' varies in the medial consonant and final vowel as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>laku</td>
<td>(incl.) lati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>lamu</td>
<td>(excl.) la'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>la'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final CV pattern is remarkably similar to that of Austro-Nesian possessive suffixes (e.g. *-ngku, *-mu, *-miw: Capell in Wurm and Wilson 1975).
8.2.9. 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 be'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 4.2.2.). 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).

8.2.10. Reciprocal

The Ndao Reciprocal prefix is pa-, and functions just like Sawu pe-. e.g.

kabao pa-tabu
buffalo REC-bang head
'The buffalo are fighting.' (i.e. butting each other)

8.2.11. Stative, Past-completive and Non-past

To my knowledge, Ndao has no equivalent to Sawu Stative marker do, Past-completive ela ... pe-, nor Non-past ta.

8.2.12. 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 lpl.(excl.) form of 'go' la'a (see 8.2.8.) and mai 'come' are the historical antecedents of Sawu la and ma.

Ndao: Text 7

ou lamu da'u kab'a kapui, ka ou mai
2sg. go(sg.) pick up shell oyster THEN 2sg come
udu ma əmu ne'e
stack LOC house this
'You go and pick up oyster shells, then you come and stack (them) at this house.'

8.2.13. Existential and Deictic Verbs

I am not aware of an Ndao existential verb, or Ndao deictic verbs. 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ja'a kinu er}a \\
\text{1sg. drink(lsg.) PRES} \\
'I am drinking.'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nængu sab'a er}a \\
\text{3sg. work PRES} \\
'He is (still) working.'
\end{align*}
\]

8.2.14. Clause Modifiers

8.2.14.1. Excessive Adverbs

Ndao has at least one Excessive Adverb, næta, which probably only applies to kee 'sweet'.

8.2.14.2. 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 6.12.).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ale ka} \\
\text{finish PART} \\
'(It is) finished.'
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lamu ka, ana j'a'a} \\
go(2sg.) PART child POSSlsg. \\
'Go (home), my child.'
\end{align*}
\]
(2) ku occurs in imperative clauses, and is post-verbal. Compare Sawu ko (see 6.8.).

\[ \text{pa-na'i uru ku ana nei} \]
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.

\[ \text{a'a di la'e} \]
older sibling ONLY go(3sg.)
'Only (my) older sibling (will) go.'

\[ \text{d'ua hari di} \]
two times JUST
'Just twice.'

8.3. Syntax

8.3.1. Word Order

As mentioned in 8.2.4., 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.

\[ \text{a uu nare a are} \]
ERG 3sg. take(3sg.) ABS rice-plant
'He took the rice-plant.'

\[ \text{a manu kokotoo} \]
ABS cock crow
'The cock crows.'

8.3.2. Interrogative Clauses

Most of the question words below are similar in form and function to their Sawu equivalents. tasamia HOW is the most divergent in form.
8.3.2.1. cee WHO (Sawu naduu, nadou)

cee miu
WHO you(pl.)
'Who are you?'

mai d'ænge cee
come COM WHO
'(You) came with whom?'

rou sasuri cee
← book → WHO
'Whose book?'

8.3.2.2. ngaa WHAT (Sawu ngaa)

ngaa ngara lii dao
WHAT name language Ndao
'What's its name in Ndao?'

nængu tao ngaa
3sg. make WHAT
'He is making what?'

8.3.2.3. ngaa-tao WHY (Sawu tangaa)

ngaa-tao ke nængu pea atu ne'e
WHY PART 3sg. stay LOC here

OR: nængu pea atu ne'e ngaa-tao
3sg. stay LOC here WHY
'Why is he staying here?'

8.3.2.4. pari WHEN, HOW MANY, HOW MUCH (Sawu pari)

pari lodo nængu mai
HOW MANY day 3sg. come
'When is he coming?'

pari ne'e
HOW MUCH this
'How much is this?' (i.e. How much, does it cost?)
8.3.2.5. mia WHERE (Sawu mi)

atu mia nêngu
LOC WHERE 3sg.
'Where is he?'

ngâti mia nêngu
SCE WHERE 3sg.
'Where is he from?'

8.3.2.6. tasamia HOW (Sawu minami)

tasamia nêngu
HOW 3sg.
'How is he?'

8.3.3. 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 (7.4.) 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)

8.3.4. Reflexive Clauses

8.3.4.1. Non-emphatic Reflexive

There are three Ndao non-emphatic reflexives which are quite different to the Sawu construction with ABS âni 'self'. We can
summarise the former as follows:

(1) ERG₁ Verb ABS(= hari ngi'u PRONOUN₁)
I do not know what function hari has here but ngi'u can be translated as 'body', 'torso' or 'self'. The pronoun is coreferential with the ERG.

nängu game hari ngi'u nängu
3sg. hit ? self POSS3sg.
'He hit himself.'

(2) ERG₁ Verb ABS(= mesa PRONOUN₁)
mesa 'self' is immediately followed by what appears to be a possessive pronominal form coreferential with the ERG.

nängu game mesa na
3sg. hit self POSS3sg.
'He hit himself.'

ou pa-ara mesa mu
2sg. CAUSE-be ready self POSS2sg.
'You get yourself ready.'

(3) ERG₁, Verb ABS(= unu PRONOUN₁)
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.'

8.3.4.2. Emphatic Reflexive

I have only a few examples of this construction in Ndao, but it appears to have the following pattern:

NP mesa PRONOUN₁
ja'a mesa ku pea atu 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

8.3.5. 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-bang'i du ra'e
pawpaw REL eat(3pl.)
'The pawpaw which they ate.'

8.3.6. 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, nanguardi segi boe
IF 1sg. wrong NEG 3sg. win NEG
'If I am not wrong, he will not win.'

lade ja'a pëda, laku boe
IF 1sg. sick go(lsg.) NEG
'If I am sick, (I will) not go.'

8.3.7. Purposive Clauses

Ndao sëna ka immediately precedes the purposive subordinate clause. Its function is the same as that of Sawu ngi or mi.

nanguardi kape kacui-ai ina na sëna ka nanguardi
3sg. grab hand mother POSS3sg. PURP 3sg.
b'øbe boe
fall NEG
'He grabbed his mother's hand so that he would not fall.'
8.3.8. Reason Clauses

Ndao ngati (and perhaps also kati) introduces a subordinate Reason clause. Once again, it has a similar function to that of Sawu ri, rido, rowi, taga, or taga ri.

\[ \text{lsg. be asleep REASON lsg. be tired} \]
\[ 'I was asleep because I was tired.' \]

\[ \text{lsg. be sick REASON lsg. eat(lsg.) dog} \]
\[ 'I am sick because I ate a dog.' \]

8.3.9. 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.

\[ \text{lsg. WANT go(lsg.)} \]
\[ 'I want to go.' \]

\[ \text{lsg. WANT drink(lsg.)} \]
\[ 'I want to drink.' \]

\[ \text{dog WANT flee} \]
\[ 'The dog wants to run away.' \]
8.3.10. Negation

Ndao ado or ad'o negates non-verbals (as does Sawu ad'o).

\[ \text{nəngu ado dou dao} \]
3sg. NEG person Ndao
'He is not Ndao.'

Ndao boe (like Sawu d'o) negates verbals.

\[ \text{nəngu ne'a boe dou dao} \]
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, 7.14.).

The Ndao negative imperative b'aku is discussed in 8.3.3.

8.3.11. 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 8.2.1).*

8.3.12. Comparison

8.3.12.1. səmi LIKE

\[ \text{nəngu ngaa-ngaa ad'o səmi ja'a} \]
3sg. poor LIKE 1sg.
'He is poor like me.'

\[ \text{nəngu bəni-ia səmi hela aj'u du be'a} \]
3sg. beautiful LIKE flower wood REL be good
'She is pretty like a beautiful flower.'

Sawu makes use of hela'u 'be same', and the Particle mɪ LIKE.

8.3.12.2. risi-ele ti MORE THAN

Ndao risi-ele ti is not unlike Sawu rihi (ti)nga (7.16.3.), and the functions are the same.
8.3.13. Co-ordination

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.

\[
\text{ka nuu nare are} \quad \ldots \quad \text{ka la'e maj'u}
\]

THEN 3sg. take(3sg.) rice-plant THEN go(3sg.) pound
'Then he took the rice-plants ... then went and pound (them).'

\[
\text{manu no'o boe rai, hia nuu nasa ke}
\]
fowl WANT NEG flee THEN 3sg. 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.

\[
\text{dou dua hal'i kahib'i ed} \quad \text{te ja'a}
\]

person two buy goat 1pl.(incl.) BUT 1sg.

\[
\text{ko'o boe}
\]
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.

\[
\text{nangu pae'd'a do mou}
\]
3sg. be sick OR be clever
'He is either sick or clever.'

As in Sawu, the conjunction occurs between the two co-ordinate clauses.

8.4. Lexicon

Using a modified Swadesh 200-word list it was found that the percentage of cognates between Sawu and Ndao was 75%. Regular sound correspondences are as follows:
(1) Ndao h corresponds to Sawu w
  hahi           wawi           'pig'
  həru           wəru           'moon'
  he'o           we'o           'tongue'
  hela           wela           'machete'
  horo           woro           '(to) froth'
  huj'u          wuj'u          'be mad'

(2) Ndao c corresponds to Sawu h
  ca'e           ha'e           'climb'
  cab'u          hab'u          'soap'
  aci            ahi            'one'
  ceo            heo            'nine'
  catenga        hetenga        'half'

(3) Ndao s corresponds to Sawu h
  sa'u           ha'u           'lap'
  səmi           həmi           'receive'
  sahanga        hewanga        'nose'
  dəsi           dahi           'sea'
  susu           hu hu           'breast'
  silu           hilu           'wear a cloth'

Some less regular vowel correspondences are:

(4) Ndao a often corresponds to Sawu e
  lia             lie             'coral'
  hua             wue             'fruit'
  kapua           kepue          'tree'
  {hia}           wie             'give'

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
  j'ole           j'ula           'offer'
  lag'ora         lag'ura         'iguana'
  kabalo          kabalo         'ant species'
loa høngu
lua wøngu
'sthread'
sota
huta
'waste'
ca-palosa
he-peluha
'first day of lunar calendar'

(6) Ndao u sometimes corresponds to Sawu o

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sawu'u</th>
<th>hero'o</th>
<th>'carry on arm'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nuu</td>
<td>noo</td>
<td>3sg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruu</td>
<td>roo</td>
<td>3pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>REL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) However, in the majority of cases, Ndao o corresponds to Sawu o.

Such a high percentage of cognates would compel some observers to automatically 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, and remembering that some of my informants (from both Sawu and Ndao) had difficulty in understanding Ndao and Sawu respectively and would prefer to use Malay, I am now of the opinion that, despite a large area of common ground in the lexicon and phonology, differences between the two are sufficient to indicate that Ndao is a separate language.
9. AUSTRONESIAN (AN) OR NON-AUSTRONESIAN (NAN)?

9.0. Introduction

In two papers, Capell (1975, 1976) discusses the status of Sawu as an AN language. His assessment is best represented by the following quotations:

(1) "Hawu (or Sawu) has certainly a majority of AN vocabulary, but its grammar is radically NAN." (1975:708)

(2) "Sawu ... has been classed by everybody since Kern's work, as belonging to the Bima-Sumba subgroup, when in point of fact, it is no more Austronesian than English is Romance. There is a whole pre-AN linguistic world swamped beneath the later AN flood, only parts of which it may be possible to recover now." (1975:709)

I certainly agree with Capell (and Kern 1892) that Sawu has a large percentage of AN vocabulary, but I have yet to be convinced that the grammar is radically NAN. In the discussion below I present the evidence for the AN status of Sawu.

9.1. Phonology

The phoneme inventory of Sawu is of a kind found in other AN languages. Admittedly, implosive stops are unusual but are clearly attested in other AN languages (Blust 1973, Greenberg 1970:9,30). Capell suggests that Manggarai alveo-palatal affricate tj is borrowed directly from AN. Since Ndao also preserves AN *tj, it is at least equally plausible that Ndao c and Manggarai tj are AN retentions. Four vowels are attributed to PAN, and it is not uncommon for AN languages to develop two more (usually e, o - Reid 1973) as in Sawu.

In its preference for disyllables, loss of final consonants, and its avoidance of final shewa, Sawu's phonotactics follow a clear AN pattern. The total absence of consonant clusters does occur in other AN languages (e.g. Samoan, Hawai'an), and the Sawu vowel clusters are common AN.

Penultimate word stress is found in other AN languages (e.g. Timor, Helong).
9.2. Noun Phrase Constituents

9.2.1. Pronouns

The Sawu pronouns, except first person plural exclusive j'ii, are clearly AN. Personal and possessive pronouns are identical in form. There is no evidence in Sawu of short forms of pronouns suffixed to nouns as in many AN languages, but there is in Ndao (see 8.2.1. and 8.3.4.).

9.2.2. Demonstratives

The spatial degrees indicated by Sawu demonstratives are typical of other AN languages, e.g. Tagalog (Schachter and Otanes 1976), Tondano (Sneddon 1975:120), Uma Jaman (Blust 1977:45).

9.2.3. Common Article ne

Sawu common article ne is similar in form and function to Fijian na and can be attributed to AN.

9.2.4. Case Prepositions

Case is usually marked by preposition in AN languages (e.g. Tagalog, Murut, Malay). It is also not uncommon for AN languages to have a large number of case prepositions as in Sawu (e.g. Malay).

9.2.5. Numerals

9.2.5.1. Cardinal Numerals

Sawu cardinal numerals, one to ten, are unambiguously AN. The numeral one, like AN, has an independent form ahi (< PAN *itja) and a prefixed form he- (< PAN *sa-). The Sawu numeral heo 'nine' (< PAN *s2wa?) (Dyen and McFarland in Wurm and Wilson 1975) is a little irregular, but perfectly acceptable AN. The numeral nguru 'ten' is presumably a reduction of an earlier numeral ligature *nga (PAN Blust 1972:15) and *puluw 'ten' (PAN Dempwolff) - Capell, in fact, reconstructs PAN *nga + puluh (Wurm and Wilson 1975). Sawu ngahu 'hundred' is probably borrowed from Sumba Kambera ngasu 'hundred' which may reflect PAN *yatus 'hundred' (Capell in Wurm and Wilson 1975:106). The sound change *t → s
occurs in Sumba but not in Sawu. The only numeral which cannot (yet) be attributed to AN is \( \text{tab}'a \) 'thousand'. The Sawu pattern of forming other numerals (see 3.5.1.) is typically AN (e.g. Murut, Malay, Uma Jaman).

9.2.5.2. Ordinal Numerals

Sawu ordinal numerals (see 3.5.2.) are formed from cardinal numerals by prefixing ke- which reflects the PAN 'ordinal marker for numerals' \(*ka\) (Blust 1972:8).

9.2.6. Counters

The use of counters is typically AN. e.g.

Malay

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{se-orang guru} & \text{ one-COUNT teacher} \\
\text{'one teacher'} & \\
\text{(Compare Sawu: he-dou guru} & \text{ one-COUNT teacher)} \\
\text{dua buah rumah} & \text{ two COUNT house} \\
\text{'two houses'} & \\
\text{(Compare Sawu: d'ue b'ue amu} & \text{ two COUNT house)}
\end{align*}
\]

9.2.7. Nominal Reduplication

It is usual for Sawu noun roots to be unspecified for singular versus plural. However, reduplication of the last two syllables of a root indicates plural and perhaps also variety. This pattern is found in other AN languages (e.g. Malay).

9.3. Verb

9.3.1. Verb Agreement

Sawu and Ndai exhibit two kinds of verb agreement. In a few Ndai verbs (see 8.2.8.) there is pronominal agreement with the 'subject'. This pattern is clearly AN, and is also attested in Sumba Kambera (writer's fieldnotes). On the other hand, Sawu
agreement verbs vary according to the plurality of the ABS or GA NP (i.e. a 'non-subject' NP). This kind of agreement is also attested in Sumba Kambera.

9.3.2. Causative pe- and Reciprocal pe-

Sawu Causative pe- and Reciprocal pe- are reflexes of PAN *pa- 'Causative' (Dempwolff in Wurm and Wilson 1975:32) and PAN *bayi- 'Reciprocal' (Capell in Wurm and Wilson 1975:166). The two prefixes also have identical forms in other AN languages (e.g. Nakanai, New Britain - Johnston 1978).

9.3.3. Stative do

Stative do is not obviously AN. It is, however, important to observe that 70% of all the Sawu trisyllables which begin with me are stative. With regular sound change of PAN *a to Sawu e, this me is undoubtedly a reflex of PAN stative *ma-. That it was once productive in Sawu is supported by the occurrence of ha'e 'climb, mount', menya'e 'ride, be astride (a horse)' and riu 'sharpen (of point)'; meriu 'be sharp (of point)'. As there is no evidence of stative do in Ndao, it appears that Sawu has innovated.

9.3.4. Past-completive ala pe-

The Sawu Past-completive ala pe- is found in Sumba Kambera as hela pa- (writer's fieldnotes), but does not occur in Ndao. We have already made reference to the similar construction in the AN language of Uma Jaman (see 6.2.1.). It appears to be an acceptable AN development.

9.3.5. Non-past ta

Sawu Non-past ta may be related to conditional ta which occurs in other AN languages (Codrington 1885:183-4). Certainly, Capell's example (1976:571) of da 'future' (in the AN language Bare'e) has obvious similarities in form and function. In my view, Non-past ta is not clearly NAN.
9.3.6. Direction Markers

Sawu Direction Markers la and ma are absent in Ndao, but a similar function is performed by placing the verbs 'go' (laku, lamu, la'a, etc.) and 'come' (mai) before other verbs. As Malay also has this latter construction (e.g. Dia pergi mandi 'He go bathe') it can be regarded as an AN feature of Proto-Sawa-Ndao. The Sawu direction markers can then be interpreted as reduced forms of the verbs 'go' and 'come' which reflect PAN *lakaw and *ma(y)i (Capell in Wurm and Wilson 1975:91,40) respectively.

9.3.7. Verbal Reduplication

Like other AN languages (e.g. Malay) Sawu verb reduplication has an intensive function with B-verbs and indicates repetitive or continuous action with A-verbs.

9.4. Clause Modifiers

It is not uncommon for AN languages to have a large number of CMs (e.g. Malay).

9.5. Syntax

9.5.1. Word Order

The relative word order of NPs in the Sawu clause is usually either Verb ERG ABS (VSO) or Verb ABS ERG (VOS), and occasionally ERG Verb ABS (SVO). Ndao has obligatory SVO, and Sumba Kambera has SVO and what appears to be a passive construction with preposition paria (perhaps related to Sawu ri) preceding the non-clause initial 'subject'. As AN languages can have SVO (Timor, Helong), VOS (Fijian) and VSO (Samoan, Fijian) word orders, it is plain that both Sawu and Ndao patterns are AN.

9.5.2. Negation

Like other AN languages, the Sawu NEG particle ad'o precedes the NP it negates (7.14.2.1.). Compare Malay:
bukan saya ubu naba
NEG 1sg. Ubu Naba
'I am not Ubu Naba.'
(Compare Sawu: ad'o j'aa ubu naba
NEG 1sg. Ubu Naba)

ubu naba bukan guru
Ubu Naba NEG teacher
'Ubu Naba is not a teacher.'
(Compare Sawu: ubu naba ad'o guru
Ubu Naba NEG teacher)

Sawu NEG particle d'o can precede or follow the verb (7.14.2.2.). In some AN languages, the negative particle always precedes the verb. Consider Malay tidak.

saya tidak makan
1sg. NEG eat
'I have not eaten.'
(Compare Sawu: nga'a d'o j'aa
eat NEG 1sg.
OR do d'o nga'a j'aa
STAT NEG eat 1sg.)

Capell (1975:676) writes that the post-verbal "position of the negative" d'o is "peculiar (as well as the word itself)". We have already noted (7.14.4.) that (a)d'o may be related to similar forms in Sumba, and we can add here that Sumba Kambera post-verbal particle d'u (which is not a NEG particle) may explain the frequent post-verbal position of Sawu d'o. If we assume that (the AN language) Sumba Kambera and Sawu share a common ancestor language, then it is not unlikely that this proto-language had a (non-NEG) post-verbal particle *d'u restricted to negative imperative clauses which was subsequently reinterpreted as the Sawu non-imperative NEG particle. Alternatively, Sawu could have borrowed Sumba d'u, but if so the source would have been AN, not NAN. Therefore, since Sawu d'o can precede as well as follow, and that there is a possible explanation of the latter, I am at this stage reluctant to interpret it as NAN.
The Sawu negative imperative particle is b'ole which Capell compares with Buton bola 'don't' (Capell 1975:677 - Buton is an AN language of Sulawesi).

The Ndao post-verbal NEG particle is b'oe, which may be a reflex of PAN *buke(nN) 'not' (Blust in Wurm and Wilson 1975:137). It seems unlikely that the negative imperative b'aku is derived from *buke(nN), and is therefore not obviously AN. It does, however, precede the verb.

9.6. Absence of AN Features

Capell posits the absence of AN features in Sawu as an argument for its NAN status.

9.6.1. Absence of AN 'Formatives'

Capell, following Jonker (1903), observes that Sawu has "a couple of grammatical features, principally the stative prefix ma- and the causative pa- (with variations in their uses)" but it contains no other AN grammatical features at all." (1975:683). That ma- was once productive but now fossilised in Sawu has been argued in 9.3.3. Causative pa- (Sawu pe-) was discussed at 9.3.2. Of course, "variations in their uses" do not threaten their AN status.

Capell also mentions the absence in Sawu of Brandstetter's 'active formatives' ma-, n-, ma-ng-, ba-, -um-, 'passive formatives' -in-, ka- and ta-, and transitivising suffix -i. Capell adds the "remoter transitive -akan suffix" to this list (1976:542). Of these, there is some evidence for fossilised active formative ma- (Sawu me) and passive formative ka- (Sawu ke). Thirty percent of Sawu trisyllables are active (e.g. melari 'transplant', merei 'carry'). That there was once a productive active prefix me- is evidenced by menawu 'fall' and penawu 'anchor' which suggest an earlier root *nawu with verb-forming prefix *me- and noun-forming prefix pe-. Forty percent of Sawu trisyllables commencing with ke are stative. It is likely that this is also a fossilised AN prefix.
ka- is the only one of Brandstetter's 'noun formatives' (i.e. ka--...-an-, -an) which occurs in Sawu. ke, the Sawu equivalent, once formed nouns from verbs as the following examples indicate.

kiu 'scrape'  kekiu 'scaper' (see also Capell 1976: 546)

kuj'a 'dig'  kekuj'a 'digging instrument'

9.6.2. Absence of Other Features

Capell is correct to observe that Sawu also lacks the AN focus/voice structure (1976:533), short forms of pronouns suffixed to nouns (1976:538-9), a passive construction (1976:544), and normal AN markers for tense and mood (1976:545). This is also true of Ndao with the exception of short forms of pronouns (see 8.2.1. and 8.3.4.).

9.7. Conclusion

It is now evident that there are very few characteristics of the language which cannot be attributed to AN or at least explained in terms of internal development. Nor is the fact that Sawu lacks some of the features reconstructed for PAN sufficient ground for disclaiming its AN status. Sawu and its neighbours have been rarely consulted in such reconstructions, and besides there is no present-day AN language which has all the features (commonly) attributed to the proto-language. The weight of linguistic evidence presented here is clearly in favour of the AN status of Sawu.

This conclusion, however, does not exclude the existence of NAN substratum features in the languages of this area. The languages of Flores clearly contain NAN elements (the non-decimal numeral system of Ngad'a is an obvious example) which require further study before any definitive decision as to their status can be made.
APPENDIX A: DIALECTAL VARIATION

The Sawu dialects show minor variation in the lexicon. I list some of the apparent differences below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seba</th>
<th>Mesara</th>
<th>Timu</th>
<th>Liae</th>
<th>Rainjua</th>
</tr>
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<td>meng}</td>
<td>meng}</td>
<td>'salt'</td>
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</table>

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 \text{rVrV}\# where other dialects have \text{lvVrV}\#, e.g. rara 'house-fly' (other dialects: lara); kerara 'yellow' (other dialects: kelara; telora); terora 'middle' (other dialects: telora).

2. Mesara \text{trisyllables} commencing in ma correspond to \text{trisyllables} in other dialects which begin with me, e.g. mang\}h\}i 'salt' (other dialects: meng\}h\}i); mahara 'Mesara' (other dialects: mehara).

3. Rainjua \text{trisyllables} commencing in ke, correspond to \text{trisyllables} in other dialects which begin with te, e.g. kerae 'sorghum' (other dialects: terae).
## APPENDIX B: AGREEMENT VERBS

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'll disappear'  
'fill'  
'tie spur(s) on cock'  
'flatter'  
'tie (with string)'  
'draw a straight line'  
'substitute'  
'lift (off hook)'  
'scratch'  
'scratch, turn over soil'  
'peel, open'  
'free, let loose'  
'strangle, knead, choke'  
'pluck'  
'cut (with scissors)'  
'slice up (meat)'  
'nurse (on lap)'  
'shave (tree trunk)'  
'fill'  
'leave' (trans.V.)  
'mend'  
'dye'  
'try, test'  
'plant (rice, coconuts)'  
'receive'  
'fry'  
'pull'  
'break, decide'  
'carry (on back)'  
'brush'  
'cover'  
'shut, cover'  
'sniff, kiss'  
'pinch, squeeze'  
'carry (on arm)'  
'splash (far)'  
'bite'
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<td>ngadi</td>
<td>ngade</td>
<td>'spot, sight, see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nginu</td>
<td>ngino</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pala</td>
<td>pale</td>
<td>'give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahi</td>
<td>pafe</td>
<td>'throw (close), toss'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paku</td>
<td>pakoe</td>
<td>'pluck (flower, etc.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palu</td>
<td>palo</td>
<td>'immerse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panyi</td>
<td>panye</td>
<td>'press, squeeze'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paru</td>
<td>para</td>
<td>'hold on to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-bui</td>
<td>pe-bue</td>
<td>'drop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedana</td>
<td>pedane</td>
<td>'bury'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedai</td>
<td>pedae</td>
<td>'tell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedoa</td>
<td>pedoe</td>
<td>'call, invite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedutu</td>
<td>pedute</td>
<td>'follow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ped'ulu</td>
<td>ped'ule</td>
<td>'lower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-ala</td>
<td>pe-ale</td>
<td>'finish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-iu</td>
<td>pe-io</td>
<td>'make (cock) fight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-g'uti</td>
<td>pe-g'ute</td>
<td>'(give to) cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pehali</td>
<td>pehale</td>
<td>'squeeze, milk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pehod'o</td>
<td>pehod'e</td>
<td>'peer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-huhu</td>
<td>pe-huhe</td>
<td>'suckle, breast-feed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pehureu</td>
<td>pehure</td>
<td>'exchange, change'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pejuu</td>
<td>pejue</td>
<td>'order, command'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-j'iu</td>
<td>pe-j'io</td>
<td>'bathe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-kad'u</td>
<td>pe-kad'o</td>
<td>'give to place inside cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pekangu</td>
<td>pekango</td>
<td>'yelp, whine, whimper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-kemangu</td>
<td>pe-kemango</td>
<td>'dry, make dry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-lapa</td>
<td>pe-lape</td>
<td>'tack, sail back and forth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peluja</td>
<td>peloje</td>
<td>'take care of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-moko</td>
<td>pe-moke</td>
<td>'prepare, make ready'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-mou</td>
<td>pe-moo</td>
<td>'clear, clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penyi'u</td>
<td>penyi'o</td>
<td>'spit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-nga'a</td>
<td>pe-nga'e</td>
<td>'feed, give to eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pengaha</td>
<td>pengahe</td>
<td>'stop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-ngadi</td>
<td>pe-ngade</td>
<td>'show'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-puru</td>
<td>pe-pure</td>
<td>'lower, cause descend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pera'u</td>
<td>pera'o</td>
<td>'lead (animal)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perei</td>
<td>peree</td>
<td>'wake up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-toboi</td>
<td>pe-tobe</td>
<td>'fill up, make full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-tunu</td>
<td>pe-tune</td>
<td>'give (to s.o.) to roast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pid'i</td>
<td>pid'e</td>
<td>'choose, pick up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi'a</td>
<td>pe'e</td>
<td>'be, be where?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pihi</td>
<td>pihe</td>
<td>'gently splash water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pij'i</td>
<td>pij'e</td>
<td>'pick up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pika</td>
<td>peke</td>
<td>'tell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pili</td>
<td>pile</td>
<td>'pick up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puu</td>
<td>pue</td>
<td>'pluck, pick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra'u</td>
<td>ra'o</td>
<td>'pick up with fist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rangi</td>
<td>range</td>
<td>'hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riu</td>
<td>rio</td>
<td>'sharpen (point)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roho</td>
<td>rohe</td>
<td>'rub'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taba</td>
<td>tabe</td>
<td>'add, increase'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tada</td>
<td>tade</td>
<td>'know, understand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tali</td>
<td>tale</td>
<td>'tie with rope, etc.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tab'a</td>
<td>tab'e</td>
<td>'slap, box (ears)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tab'u</td>
<td>tab'o</td>
<td>'stab'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tad'a</td>
<td>tad'e</td>
<td>'ladle (water)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tad'u</td>
<td>tad'o</td>
<td>'carry on head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taka</td>
<td>take</td>
<td>'place, store'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuku</td>
<td>tuke</td>
<td>'throw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunu</td>
<td>tute</td>
<td>'cook, roast, burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waaba</td>
<td>waabe</td>
<td>'hit, (kill)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wala</td>
<td>wale</td>
<td>'spread out, open out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wali</td>
<td>wale</td>
<td>'buy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woka</td>
<td>woke</td>
<td>'turn over soil (with hand)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuni</td>
<td>wune</td>
<td>'hide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wutu</td>
<td>wute</td>
<td>'wrap up'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX C: SAWU TEXT

The Child Who Turned Into a Turtle

1. *era he-dou ina nga he-dou ama.*
   be one-CLASS mother AND one-CLASS father
   'There is a mother and a father.'

2. *ama ne ale ke pe-made.*
   father DEM1sg. PAST(sg.) PART PAST-be dead
   'The father has passed away.'

3. *ana ne do kemou ai-mou-ku'u.*
   child DEM1sg. STAT have yaws sores all over body
   'The child has yaws sores all over his body.'

4. *ina do bani menanu & b'ara dou ta*
   mother REL female weave ABS clothes person NON-PAST
   kale & do, kale nga'a ta wie & ne
   pursue ABS money pursue food NON-PAST give ABS ART
   ana ne.
   child DEM1sg.
   '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-menyi &*
   THEN LOC interior day NON-PAST CAUS-be greasy ABS
   lua wangu ke.
   thread cotton PART
   'Then, one day, (she) is greasing cotton thread.'

6. *ta kemangu & lua wangu, ta la*
   NON-PAST be dry ABS thread cotton NON-PAST DFS
   b'aha la d'ara dahi ke.
   wash(pl.) GFS interior sea PART
   'The cotton thread dries, (and she) goes to the sea to wash
   them.'

7. *b'ale ane & ina ne, "pee pa emu, ana*
   THEN say ERG mother DEM1sg. stay LOC house child
   j'aa", mi he ane, "ngi d'o laka & ihi*
   POSS1sg. LIKE DEM1pl. say PURP NEG strike ABS body
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."

'The child does not want to.'

'The child goes with the mother.'

'Stay. Don't follow. I will not be long. I am going to the sea to wash some cotton thread.'

'The child cries and cries, (and) follows (his mother).'

'Then the mother carries (him).'

'They arrive at the sea, at the sea shore.'

"Stand on this piece of sand. Don't stand in the water lest your body sting."
15. ta j'iu ei dahi ò j'aa, mama.
NON-PAST bathe water sea ABS 1sg. mother
"I want to bathe in the sea, Mother."

16. b'ole ngi d'o melara ò ihi ou. reja d'o
DON'T PURP NEG sting ABS body POSS2sg. be long NEG
ò j'aa, mi he ane.
ABS 1sg. LIKE DEM1pl. say
"Don't lest your body sting. I will not be long." (She) says.

17. tangi-tangi ke, ta j'iu-j'iu ke ò ne ana
cry-RED PART NON-PAST bathe-RED PART ABS ART child
ne.
DEM1sg.
"(The child) cries and cries, (and then) the child bathes.'

18. lohe d'o ae, ta b'aha-b'aha hewe ke ò
TOO NEG be much NON-PAST wash-RED JUST PART ABS
ne ina d'e.
ART mother DEM2sg.
'There wasn't too much to wash, (and) the mother just kept
on washing.'

19. ëla pe-b'aha-b'aha, ta pengadu ke ò hag'e.
PAST(pl.) PAST-wash-RED NON-PAST take PART ABS half
'Having finished washing, (she) takes half.'

20. b'ale ane ò ina d'e, "pee ko ò ou,
THEN say ERG mother DEM2sg. stay PART ABS 2sg.
anà j'aa, heleo ko ri ou ò ne lua
child POSS1sg. watch PART ERG 2sg. ABS ART thread
waŋu do hag'e hed'e. kinga meringi, ha'e la
cotton REL be half DEM2pl. IF cold climb GFS
kolo lede. la nono ko ri j'aa ò hag'e.
top hill 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."'
173

21. "oo." ane ø ana d'e. "b'ole raja, mama."
YES say ERG child DEM2sg. DON'T be long mother
"O.K.", says the child. "Don't be long, Mother."

22. "oo." ane ø ina d'e
YES say ERG mother DEM2sg.
"O.K." says the mother.

23. ta kako ke ø ne ina ne la emu.
NON-PAST go PART ABS ART mother DEM1sg. GFS house
nono ø ne lua wengu hed'e ri
dry in sun(pl.) ABS ART thread cotton DEM2pl. ERG
ina ne. ta ala pe-nonono,
mother DEM1sg. NON-PAST PAST(pl.) PAST-dry in sun(pl.)
ta b'ale ke mariai la heleo ø ana
NON-PAST return PART QUICKLY DFS see ABS child
ne la tabi dahi ne la b'aha ø ne
DEM1sg. GFS shore sea DEM1sg. DFS wash(pl.) ABS ART
lua wengu do hag'e he.
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 tabi dahi. era ma ø ne ana ne
arrive GFS shore sea be EMPH ABS ART child DEM1sg.
do j'iu-j'iu ei, lua wengu era ma pa
STAT bathe-RED water thread cotton be EMPH LOC
era ne.
place DEM1sg.
'She reaches the sea shore. The child is there bathing, and
the cotton thread is in its place.'

25. øgu ri ke ø hag'e ne lua wengu
fetch(pl.) AGAIN PART ABS half ART thread cotton
nahare, ta la b'aha-b'aha ke.
DEM3pl. NON-PAST DFS wash(pl.)-RED PART
'(She) fetches the rest of the cotton threads and washes
(them).'
26. b'ale ane ə ne lii pa ana ne, "b'ole kako THEN say ABS ART word GA child DEM1sg. DON'T go la do ei ae. j'iu pa do ei iki GFS REL water be much bathe LOC REL water be little we. j'iu-j'iu pa ei iki we. 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 ə ana ne. YES say ABS child DEM1sg. "Yes", says the child.

28. b'ale ane ə ina ne, "ta la nono THEN say ABS mother DEM1sg. NON-PAST DFS dry in sun ə lua wangu ri, ana j'aa, la amu. ABS thread cotton AGAIN child POSS1sg. GFS house ki meringi ke ə ou, pengaha, ta b'ale IF be cold PART ABS 2sg. stop NON-PAST return ke ə dii. PART 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 ə 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. "meringi dae d'o ə ou?", ane ə 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 o kemou ke o
NOT YET NON-PAST soak ABS yaws sores PART ERG j'aa ngi ta mou, ngi ta la tao
lsg. PURP NON-PAST be clean PURP NON-PAST DFS treat ri ru-aj'u la amu."
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
NON-PAST' wait(sg.) EMPH ERG mother DEM1sg. THEN
ta tui hudi. b'ale ane o ina
NON-PAST be length of time PART THEN say ERG mother ne, "j'iu ko we o ou. la nono DEM1sg. bathe PART PART ABS 2sg. DFS dry in sun(pl.)
ko ri j'aa."
PART ERG 1sg.
'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 o ana ne, "ta la amu, mama?"
THEN say ERG child DEM1sg. NON-PAST GFS house mother
'Then the child says, "Are (you) going to the house, mother?"

36. "oo. ta la nono o lua wengu we,
YES NON-PAST DFS dry in sun ABS thread cotton JUST j'e b'ale ma ego o ana j'aa."
THEN return DTS fetch(sg.) ABS child POSS1sg.
"'Yes. I am just going to dry some cotton thread, then I will return here to fetch my child."

37. 'ee. kiri katu la kolo lede, jad'i ta
Hey IF head GFS top hill become RESULT
dob'oho-ligu-manu o j'aa. kiri katu la d'ara dahi',
snake species ABS 1sg. IF head GFS inside sea
mi he ane, "jad'i ta iu, ta ana
LIKE DEM1pl. say become RESULT shark GC child
anyo o j'aa."
turtle ABS 1sg.
"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. -tangaa ta lii mi nahere ø ou DON'T WHY NON-PAST talk LIKE DEM3pl. ERG 2sg. ri. reja d'o ø j'aa. ta la nono REASON be long NEG ABS 1sg. NON-PAST DFS dry in sun ø lua wongu hed'e we", mi he ane. ABS thread cotton DEM2pl. JUST LIKE DEM1pl. 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 YES NON-PAST say CAUS-be ready-RED PART 1sg. GA mama", mi he ane, ø kinga b'ale ø mama, mother LIKE DEM1pl. say ABS IF return ABS mother j'e d'o pe'e ø j'aa, b'ole kale ma we". THEN NEG be(sg.) ABS 1sg. DON'T look for EMPH PART olo ke ri j'aa pe-lii pa mama, katu la PAST(sg.) PART ERG 1sg. PAST-say GA mother head GFS kolo lede jad'i ta dob'oho-igu-manu. katu la top hill become RESULT → snake species ← head GFS d'ara dahi jad'i ta iu, ta ana anyo."' 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 WANT NEG ABS ART child DEM1sg. NON-PAST climb GFS kolo lede. b'ale ane ø ina ne. "uru ke top hill THEN say ERG mother DEM1sg. go ahead PART ø j'aa la ñmu." ABS 1sg. GFS house 'The child does not want to go ashore. Then the mother says, "I will go ahead to the house."'
"b'ole raja", mi he ane ϕ ana ne. DON'T be long LIKE DEM1pl. say ABS child DEM1sg. "Don't be long", says the child.'

't a d'ai ϕ ina ne, la nono-nono NON-PAST arrive ABS mother DEM1sg. DFS dry in sun(pl.)-RED ϕ ne lua wangu he. lua wangu ma ke ABS ART thread cotton DEM1pl. thread cotton EMPH PART do ae. nono-nono pa amu ne. 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.'

t a ela pe-nonono, ta b'ale ke la dahi AFTER PAST(pl.) PAST-dry NON-PAST return PART GFS sea la ago ϕ ana d'e. d'ai la dahi, la DFS fetch(sg.) ABS child DEM2sg. arrive GFS sea GFS təbi lahala'æ, heleo ϕ ana pe'e d'o ke. edge sand see ABS child be(sg.) NEG PART pedoe-doe, pedoe-doe. pe'e d'o ke ta call(sg.)-RED call(sg.)-RED be(sg.) NEG PART NON-PAST hou ϕ ne lili ana ne. emerge ABS ART word child 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.'

d'ai la katu-ragi ϕ ne ana ne, ta arrive GFS deep water ABS ART child DEM1sg. NON-PAST pebu'u ϕ katu ke tælu taka ta pelangup appear ABS head PART three time NON-PAST bid farewell nga ina ne. jad'i ke ta anyo pa 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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