A GRAMMAR OF SAWU

by

Alan T. Walker
A Grammar of Sawu
EDITORIAL

The present volume is the thirteenth of the Series NUSA, Linguistic Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia.

This Series publishes, in volumes appearing at irregular intervals, linguistic articles and monographs, original, revised, translated or reprinted, on Indonesian and local vernaculars in Indonesia. We also publish first results of field work, in the form of mainly data or texts with word-for-word translations, as well as squibs and discussions, all of them in volumes not monographs. We have no review section, but we do consider review articles, brief or long, including unsolicited ones.

Vernaculars outside Indonesia will be considered only in so far as there is an obvious relevance to any language or dialect in Indonesia. Local forms of Malay are included, but not local forms of Chinese, as these are perhaps more aptly dealt with in sinological media.

NUSA is not a journal, and even collective volumes bibliographically take the form of books. (See also information for librarians, page iv.)

Though the material for NUSA is areally restricted to Indonesia, we consider it our editorial duty to make NUSA relevant also from a point of view of general linguistics, so that NUSA is relevant beyond the range of typological and areal specialization alone. More particularly, we like to imagine that NUSA thus also serves the cause of deoccidentalization of general linguistics.

We should like to invite contributions from any linguist active in the study of the languages relevant to NUSA.

Especially, though each collective volume is to have its own Editor, that Editor need not be a member of our Board, and offers to edit a volume will be gratefully considered.

Editorial address:

Editorial Board NUSA
Lembaga Bahasa
Universitas Atma Jaya
Jalan Jenderal Sudirman 49A
Kotak Pos 2639
JAKARTA, Indonesia

The editors:

Amran Halim (Jakarta)
Bambang Kaswanti Purwo (Jakarta)
Soenjono Dardjowidjojo (Jakarta)
Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo (Yogyakarta)
I. Suharno (Surakarta)
John W.M. Verhaar (Spokane)
BEGINNING VOLUME 12, 1982, SERIES NUSA WILL BE PUBLISHED APPROXIMATELY THREE TIMES A YEAR AT A FIXED RATE. INDIVIDUALS RESIDING IN INDONESIA ARE TO MAKE A ONE-YEAR-PREPAYMENT OF Rp 5,500.00; THOSE RESIDING ABROAD ARE TO PAY US$ 13.00.

PAYMENTS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES ARE TO BE MADE BY

(a) BANK TRANSFER TO THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK, N.A., JALAN MEDAN MERDEKA BARAT 6, P.O. BOX 311, JAKARTA, INDONESIA, TO THE ORDER OF YAYASAN ATMA JAYA (NUSA), ACC. NO.: 665-0-10403-5,

OR

(b) BANK OR PERSONAL CHECK PAYABLE TO YAYASAN ATMA JAYA (NUSA), BUT MUST BE SENT TO LEMBAGA BAHASA UNIVERSITAS ATMA JAYA, JALAN JENDERAL SUDIRMAN 49A, KOTAK POS 2639, JAKARTA, INDONESIA.

SUBSCRIBERS RESIDING IN INDONESIA ARE TO SEND MONEY ORDERS TO YAYASAN ATMA JAYA (NUSA), JALAN JENDERAL SUDIRMAN 49A, KOTAK POS 2639, JAKARTA.

BACK VOLUMES (2 TO 11) ARE STILL AVAILABLE AT A TOTAL COST OF Rp 14,500.00 (FOR INDIVIDUALS IN INDONESIA), US$ 40.00 (FOR INDIVIDUALS OUTSIDE INDONESIA). SINGLE ISSUES ARE ALSO AVAILABLE AT DIFFERENT COSTS (SEE OUTSIDE BACK COVER).

MANUSCRIPTS FOR PUBLICATION, INCLUDING REVIEWS, SHOULD BE SENT TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD, NUSA, LEMBAHA BAHASA UNIVERSITAS ATMA JAYA, JALAN JENDERAL SUDIRMAN 49A, KOTAK POS 2639, JAKARTA, INDONESIA.

INFORMATION FOR LIBRARIANS: THE OUTSIDE FRONT COVERS OF VOLUMES 1 THROUGH 5 WERE, ALSO BIBLIOGRAPHICALLY, THE TITLE PAGE. BEGINNING WITH VOLUME 6, THE OUTSIDE FRONT COVER IS JUST THAT, AND FRONT MATTER WILL COMPRISIE A REGULAR TITLE PAGE, IN THE ORDINARY MANNER.

ALL RIGHTS ARE RESERVED.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITORIAL...........................................................................................................................................iii
INFORMATION ABOUT NUSA .................................................................................................................iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS ..............................................................................................................................v
MAPS AND TABLES .................................................................................................................................vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .........................................................................................................................xi
ABBREVIATIONS .....................................................................................................................................xii
ABSTRACT ..................................................................................................................................................xiii

Chapter
1 INTRODUCTION
   1.1 The Language and its speakers ......................................................................................................1
   1.2 The Sawu islands ..........................................................................................................................1
   1.3 Recent history ................................................................................................................................1
   1.4 Informants and fieldwork .............................................................................................................3
   1.5 Previous literature .........................................................................................................................3

2 PHONOLOGY
   2.0 Phoneme inventory ......................................................................................................................5
   2.1 Description of phonemes .............................................................................................................5
      2.1.1 Consonants ............................................................................................................................5
      2.1.2 Vowels ..................................................................................................................................5
   2.2 Contrasts .........................................................................................................................................5
      2.2.1 Consonants ............................................................................................................................5
      2.2.2 Vowels ..................................................................................................................................6
   2.3 Other views ......................................................................................................................................6
      2.3.1 Number of consonants ..........................................................................................................6
      2.3.2 Number of vowels ................................................................................................................6
      2.3.3 Phonetic semi-vowels ............................................................................................................6
   2.4 Phonotactics .....................................................................................................................................7
   2.5 Vowel clusters ..............................................................................................................................7
      2.5.1 Two-vowel clusters .................................................................................................................7
      2.5.2 Three-vowel clusters .............................................................................................................7
   2.6 Word stress .....................................................................................................................................7
   2.7 Intonation .........................................................................................................................................8
   2.8 Phonological adaptation of loanwords .........................................................................................8

3 WORD CLASSES
   3.0 Introduction .....................................................................................................................................9
   3.1 Nouns .............................................................................................................................................9
   3.2 Verbs .............................................................................................................................................9
   3.3 Pronouns .........................................................................................................................................9
   3.4 Demonstratives ...............................................................................................................................9
   3.5 Common article ...............................................................................................................................9
   3.6 Case prepositions ............................................................................................................................9
   3.7 Numerals .........................................................................................................................................9
   3.8 Counters .........................................................................................................................................9
   3.9 Non-numeral quantifiers ...............................................................................................................9
   3.10 Clause modifiers ...........................................................................................................................10
   3.11 Interjections ..................................................................................................................................10

4 NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS
   4.0 Introduction ...................................................................................................................................11
   4.1 Pronouns .........................................................................................................................................11
   4.2 Demonstratives ..............................................................................................................................11
      4.2.1 Head of NP .............................................................................................................................11
      4.2.2 Head noun adjuncts .................................................................................................................12
   4.3 Common article (ART) ne ............................................................................................................12
   4.4 Case prepositions ...........................................................................................................................13
   4.5 Numerals .......................................................................................................................................18
      4.5.1 Cardinal numerals ..................................................................................................................18
      4.5.2 Ordinal numerals ..................................................................................................................18
   4.6 Counters (COUNT) .......................................................................................................................18
   4.7 Non-numeral quantifiers ...............................................................................................................21
      4.7.0 Introduction ............................................................................................................................21
      4.7.1 hari-hari 'all (with unspecified number)'

vii
4.7.2 hari 'all (with specified number)'
4.7.3 Other
4.8 Noun phrase conjunction
4.9 Compounding
  4.9.1 wo- (PROD)
  4.9.2 ru- and ro-
4.10 Nominalisation
4.11 Nominal reduplication (RED)

5 VERBS
5.1 A-verbs and B-verbs
5.2 Verb morphology
  5.2.1 Verb agreement
    5.2.1.1 Description
    5.2.1.2 Other interpretations
  5.2.2 Causative (CAUS) pe-
    5.2.2.1 Description
    5.2.2.2 Other interpretations
  5.2.3 Reciprocal (REC) pe-
    5.2.3.1 Description
    5.2.3.2 Other interpretations
  5.2.4 Verbal reduplication
    5.2.4.0 Introduction
    5.2.4.1 A-verbs
    5.2.4.2 B-verbs
5.3 Existential verb era
5.4 Deictic verbs
  5.4.1 Description
  5.4.2 Other interpretations

6 EXCESSIVE ADVERBS (EXCESS)

7 PARTICLES (PART)
  7.1 Stative (STAT) do
    7.1.1 Description
    7.1.2 Other interpretations
  7.2 Past-completive (PAST) a\(a\) ... pe-
    7.2.1 Description
    7.2.2 Other interpretations
  7.3 Non-past ta
    7.3.1 Description
    7.3.2 Other interpretations
  7.4 Direction from speaker (DFS) la
    7.4.1 Description
    7.4.2 Other interpretations
  7.5 Direction towards speaker (DTS) ma
    7.5.1 Description
    7.5.2 Other interpretations
  7.6 hudi LITTLE
  7.7 de
  7.8 ko
  7.9 n\(\)b\(\)o 'SOON'
  7.10 (wo)ri 'AGAIN'
  7.11 (he)we 'JUST, ONLY, QUITE'
  7.12 ke
  7.13 we
  7.14 wata EMPH
  7.15 ma EMPH
  7.16 la(ma) 'ALSO'
  7.17 ad'o 'CERTAIN'
  7.18 d'age
  7.19 d'age-d'age
  7.20 mar\(\)ai 'QUICKLY'
  7.21 lah\(\)a 'FAST'
  7.22 loro-loro, roro-roro
  7.23 mara 'PERHAPS'
  7.24 b'agi 'PERHAPS'
  7.25 lohe 'TOO, QUITE'

8 SYNTAX
  8.1 Verbal clauses
    8.1.1 Case frames
      8.1.1.0 Introduction
      8.1.1.1 Transitive case frames
8.1.1.2 Optional transitive case frames

8.1.1.3 Intransitive case frames

8.1.2 Word order

8.1.2.1 NPs

8.1.2.2 Clause modifiers (CMSs)

8.2 Non-verbal clauses

8.2.1 Interjections

8.2.2 Juxtaposed NPs

8.3 Interrogative clauses

8.3.0 Introduction

8.3.1 Yes-no questions

8.3.2 Question-word questions

8.3.2.1 naduu 'WHO'

8.3.2.2 qaa (Seba), ḳa (Mesara) 'WHAT'

8.3.2.3 taqaa (Seba and Mesara), ṭaʔaa (Mesara) 'WHY'

8.3.2.4 ḳalaki 'WHY'

8.3.2.5 Ḳaʔi 'WHEN, HOW MANY'

8.3.2.6 Ḳegaa 'HOW MUCH'

8.3.2.7 pi'a 'BE WHERE'

8.3.2.8 Ḳaʔi 'WHERE'

8.3.2.9 namii 'WHICH'

8.3.2.10 minamii 'HOW'

8.4 Imperative clauses

8.5 Reflexive clauses

8.5.1 Non-emphatic reflexives

8.5.2 Emphatic reflexives

8.6 Relative clause constructions

8.6.1 The construction

8.6.2 Relative clause marker (REL) do

8.6.2.1 Description

8.6.2.2 Other (synchronic) interpretations

8.7 ki conditional clauses

8.8 had'i conditional clauses

8.9 qi, mi purposive clauses

8.10 (ha)ku SO clauses

8.11 Reason clauses

8.12 Auxiliary verb constructions

8.13 tade'UNTIL' constructions

8.14 Negation

8.14.1 b'ole 'DON'T'

8.14.2 (a)d'o NEG

8.14.2.1 ad'o

8.14.2.2 d'o

8.14.3 'NOT YET': dae d'o, ad'o dae

8.14.3.0 Introduction

8.14.3.1 dae d'o

8.14.3.2 ad'o dae

8.14.4 Comparative notes

8.15 Possession

8.16 Comparison

8.16.1 hela'u 'be same'

8.16.2 mi 'LIKE'

8.16.3 rihi (ti)qa'MORE THAN'

8.17 Coordination

8.17.0 Introduction

8.17.1 qa 'AND'

8.17.2 j'e'THEN'

8.17.3 d'ai, d'ae'THEN'

8.17.4 b'ale'THEN'

8.17.5 ta'AFTER'

8.17.6 tapulara, tapi, (wata) 'BUT'

8.17.7 we'OR'

8.18 Complementation

8.18.1 ta complements

8.18.2 Clausal complements

8.19 Deletion

8.20 Word order and the leftmost NP

8.20.1 Role

8.20.2 Reference

8.20.2.1 Referentiality hierarchy

8.20.2.2 Definiteness

8.21 The distribution of Keenan's subject properties

8.21.0 Introduction

8.21.1 The properties
# Maps and Tables

**Maps**
1. Indonesia  
2. The Sawu Islands

**Tables**
1. Consonant phonemes  
2. Vowel phonemes  
3. Pronouns  
4. Demonstratives as head of NP  
5. Demonstrative adjuncts  
6. Case prepositions  
7. Deictic verbs  
8. Excessive adverbs  
9. Word order of ERG and ABS NPs  
10. Word order of RH referential NPs  
11. Word order of definite NPs  
12. Subject properties  
13. Ndao consonant phonemes  
14. Ndao vowel phonemes  
15. Ndao pronouns  
16. Ndao demonstratives  
17. Ndao verb agreement
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I extend my deep and sincere gratitude to the many people who were patient enough to teach me their language (see 1.4). Particularly, I wish to mention John Buru Pah whose enthusiasm and tireless energy made him an ideal informant; and Omi Nod'i Raja who was always a cheerful and immediate source of information.

Of course, this research would not have been possible without the finance and facilities provided by an A.N.U. Ph.D. Scholarship and the sponsorship and support of the Lembaga Ilmu-ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (The Indonesian Institute of Science) and other government agencies. My wife and I thoroughly enjoyed our Indonesian experience and are grateful for the pleasant and courteous manner in which our administrative requirements were met.

I would also like to thank Rev. Ian Minto and The Australian Baptist Missionary Society for the use of their house in Kupang. It was a privilege that we cannot repay.

The same is true of Omi Raja's parents who let us share their house on Sawu. We will never forget their hospitality and friendship.

For a very stimulating undergraduate training in Linguistics, I express my appreciation to the staff of the Linguistics Department of the A.N.U.'s School of General Studies, especially Professor R.M.W. Dixon, Dr. Karl Rensch, Dr. Anna Wierzbicka, Dr. John Haiman (now of University of Manitoba) and Dr. Harold Koch. More recently, I have benefitted from the innovative views of Dr. William Foley.

For technical supervision and guidance, I thank firstly my supervisors in the Linguistics Department of the A.N.U.'s Research School of Pacific Studies: Dr. Bert Voorhoeve and Dr. Don Laycock. Dr. Voorhoeve was particularly helpful in the awesome task of wading through Jonker's handwritten Dutch. Dr. Darrell Tryon has also read drafts of the monograph and made valuable and informative comments. Of course, these persons are absolved of any responsibility for any imperfections which may remain.

The administrative guidance of Professor Stephen Wurm has at all times been an essential element in the successful completion of this work. His outstanding support and encouragement is worthy of the highest praise.

I am grateful to Natalie Kickbush for typing a pre-final draft of this monograph in the trying conditions of a Northern Territory wet season, and also to Sue Tys who made an excellent job of typing the final draft in the very tight schedule I gave her.

Finally and most significantly, I express deep and heartfelt respect for my wife, our parents and many friends. It is their encouragement and support which has made this monograph possible.

***
### ABBREVIATIONS

<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>
<td>COM</td>
<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>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP(s)</td>
<td>One or more Noun Phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPs</td>
<td>More than one Noun Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM</td>
<td>Numerals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORD</td>
<td>Ordinal marker for numerals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>Proto-Austronesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>Particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAST</td>
<td>Past-completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROD</td>
<td>Produce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>Purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Non-numeral Quantifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RED</td>
<td>Reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref.</td>
<td>Reference property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>Relative Clause Marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RGE</td>
<td>Range Case Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RH</td>
<td>Referentiality Hierarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCE</td>
<td>Source Case Preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.I.L.</td>
<td>Summer Institute of Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>Stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans.</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
any vowel except u
Verb
Vowel
VEH Vehicle Case Preposition
/ / phonemic representation
[ ] phonetic representation
( ) optional
{} one must be chosen
+ changes to
# word boundary

***
ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sawu syntax (Chapter Eight) begins by classifying verbal clauses according to the case-frames of their verbs. Non-verbal clauses are of two kinds: Inte-
jections and Juxtaposed NPs. All clauses are, then, analysed according to their functions. We also look at negation, possession, comparison, coordination, comple-
mentation 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 Absolute 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 Absolute.

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

* * *

xv
INTRODUCTION

1.1 The language and its speakers

Sawu, a language of south-eastern Indonesia, has appeared in the literature as Sawu, Savu, Hawu and Havu. It is usually assigned to the putative Sumba-Bima group of 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 Walker (forthcoming b).

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

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

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

1.2 The Sawu islands

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

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

Sawu is 40 km long by 15 km wide.

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

1.3 Recent history

"The Portuguese were in contact with Sawu before 1600 and made it an area of missionary activity" and trade (Fox 1972:78). They were gradually replaced by the Dutch East-India Company which obtained a trade arrangement with three of the island's rulers in 1648. From then until the signing of a formal treaty in 1756, Sawu "seems to have served the Company mainly as a recruitment area for soldiers to serve in Kupang" (Fox 1977:113).

Under the new arrangement, the state of Seba, Menia (see Map 2), Timu, Mesara and Liae were to provide rice, sorghum and green grams in return for luxury items (such as silk, fine linen, cutlery and gin). It was also agreed that a Company representative would reside on the island and that a schoolteacher would be appointed.

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

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

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

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

As a result of his first visit, Donselaar requested the appointment of a missionary to Sawu. The Netherlands Missionary Society (Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap) obliged (Dicker 1965:23). M. 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 Sawu and all of them were from Ambon. By 1903, however, there were eight schools on Savu (though none on Rainjua) with a total of 3,332 pupils. Still, all but one of the schoolteachers were from Ambon and all instruction was in Ambonese Malay" (Fox 1977:166).

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

The birth of The Republic of Indonesia in 1949 saw further changes. The Province of Nusa Tenggara Timur was formed in December, 1958, and the 'wilayah' (formerly 'onderafdeeling') Roti-Sawu became part of Kabupaten Kupang. The Sawu islands were also divided into two administrative districts (kecamatan): (1) Kecamatan Sabu Barat (West Sabu) which includes the western part of Sawu island and all of Rainjua (= Raijua); (2) Kecamatan Sabu Timur (East Sabu) which includes the eastern part of Sawu island.
MAP 1. Indonesia

MAP 2. The Sawu Islands
1.4 Informants and fieldwork

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

John Buru-Pah was born in 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 Wati Leo (Timu dialect: two texts and lexicon), Mr. Raj'i Lod'o (Liae dialect: five texts and lexicon), Mr. Wila Hia (Liae dialect: one text), Mrs. Koti Bena (Rainjua dialect: seven texts and lexicon).

I also visited Sawu island for two weeks from July 22nd to August 5th. The following people provided information on the Seba dialect: Omi Raja's mother (five texts) and brother Hendrik (data and one text), Mr. Tome (data), Mr. Jara (data), Mr. Markus Kore Ruha (data and three texts) and his sister Rene (data), Mr. Gabriel Kitu Ga (one text), Mr. Yahya Jada (two texts), Mr. B'sangu B'oile (one text), Mr. Mangi 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>

1.5 Previous literature

The first known transcriptions of Sawu were made by members of the Endeavour crew who visited Sawu in 1770. Beaglehole (1962) lists 73 words recorded by Banks. Parkinson (1773) lists 225 words, and Hawkesworth (1773) 66.

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

(a) Francis (1838) - 21 words.
(b) Helmering (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 manuscript was 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 ($\ddot{\theta}$, $\ddot{\alpha}$) 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 ($\ddot{\theta}$, $\ddot{\alpha}$, $\ddot{\delta}$, $g$) are distinguished from plain stops and $\alpha$ 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. meda'U is meda'u).

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

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

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

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

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

Radja Haba's 1958 thesis is the first
phonology of Sawu. It contains sections on
the description, distribution and frequency
of phonemes, stress and juncture, and also
incorporates a brief text. He is the first
to recognise the phonemic distinction between
implosive stops and plain stops, and between
glottal stop and zero. We agree that word
stress falls on the penultimate syllable but
disagree about the number of phonemes (see
2.3.2).

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

opportunity to recheck much of the data."

Capell (1975, 1976) claims that Sawu has
a "majority of AN vocabulary, but its grammar
is radically NAN." (1976:708). My assessment
of this view is found in Walker (forthcoming b)
The Sawu way of life has been excellently
described by the anthropologist, James Fox.
I simply refer readers to his 1972 article on
the Sawunese, his 1979 article on 'The Ceremo-
nial System of Sawu', and his 1977 book Harvest
of the palm.
The present monograph is primarily a
description of the Seba and Mesara dialects.
It is based solely upon material I have collect-
ed myself and not upon the published accounts
or unpublished notes of other workers.
Chapter Two

PHONOLOGY

2.0 Phoneme inventory

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

Table 1: Consonant phonemes (20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveo-</th>
<th>Alveo-</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced affricate</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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill/flap</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Vowel phonemes (6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1 Description of phonemes

2.1.1 Consonants

The 20 consonant phonemes are:

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

Phonetically long consonants are discussed in 2.3.2.

2.1.2 Vowels

The six vowel phonemes are:

1. high front unrounded /i/,
2. mid front unrounded /e/,
3. low central unrounded /a/ (usually [a], rarely [a]),
4. mid central /ə/ (usually [a], rarely [a]),
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/ [2at:u] 'worm' /abo/ [?abo] 'capture'. (Phonetic length is indicated by a colon after the consonant.)

2.2 Contrasts

2.2.1 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'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b' b'ara</td>
<td>'goods'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w wara</td>
<td>'white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w waru</td>
<td>'moon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h haru</td>
<td>'spinning instrument'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t t[a]</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d d[a]u</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d' d'alu</td>
<td>'stomach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h haru</td>
<td>'spinning instrument'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t t[a]</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d d[a]u</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d' d'alu</td>
<td>'stomach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h hapa</td>
<td>'house-lizard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b' b'ar</td>
<td>'goods'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j j ava</td>
<td>'horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j' j'ar</td>
<td>'purpose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j' jeru</td>
<td>'citrus tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' garo</td>
<td>'strangle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' g'etu</td>
<td>'pluck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k katu</td>
<td>'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k kap</td>
<td>'ship, boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h hapa</td>
<td>'house-lizard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g g'ili</td>
<td>'tickle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' g'ili</td>
<td>'tickle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h hapa</td>
<td>'house-lizard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n name-</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n na'ti</td>
<td>'tobacco'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d' d'a'ti</td>
<td>'base, kad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z la'ti</td>
<td>'spouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r ra'ti</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>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2 Vowels

The six vowel phonemes are:

1. high front unrounded /i/,
2. mid front unrounded /e/,
3. low central unrounded /a/ (usually [a], rarely [a]),
4. mid central /ə/ (usually [a], rarely [a]),
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/ [2at:u] 'worm' /abo/ [?abo] 'capture'. (Phonetic length is indicated by a colon after the consonant.)
Since /i/ does not occur at the beginning of words (see 2.4), it is only contrastive in medial position.

/ha'b'e/ 'mend (a mat)'
/[ha'b'e]/ 'splash (someone)'
/[ha'b'e]/ 'slice (meat)'

Radja Haba chooses the latter. He interprets the long consonants as geminates, and the mid-central vowel as an allophone of /æ/. Thus: /'tyuga/ [tyiga], '/et/e', '/heb'e/', '/mend', '/heb'e/' 'splash', '/habo/e/ 'slice'.

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

(1) Phonetically long consonants only occur after [A] or [a]. 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 [A] and [a].

(3) If one did accept that consonant length after [A] and [a] 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 /æ/, but gives no reason for his decision. In my view, it could equally be assigned to /a/.

The obvious alternative is the adoption of /æ/ as the sixth vowel. Thus: /æl'a/ 'wing', /æla/ 'pupil', /heb'e/'mend', /heb'e/ 'splash', /habo/e/ 'slice'.

2.3.3 Phonetic semi-vowels

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

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

1. /'u:ka/ ['u:ka] 'old'
2. /?'a:du/ ['b?a:du] 'stone'
3. /u:ditu/ 'ear'
4. /'hewaqa/ ['he?waqa] 'nose'

I find this view inadequate for several reasons:

(1) It is inconsistent with the predominant (CV)(C)V(C) pattern (see 2.4).

(2) The /u/ in each of the above examples is often realised as a fricative as well as a semi-vowel in my data. As this behaviour is consistent with my phoneme /u/, I assign it to that phoneme, and not to /u/.

Accordingly, I phonemicise the above as: /'u:ka/ 'old', /'u:wa:du/ 'stone', /u:ditu/ 'ear', /'heuwaqa/ 'nose'.

2.2.2 Vowels

2.3 Other views

2.3.1 Number of consonants

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

Radja Haba (1958:2) includes [s] and [z] 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 k.

2.3.2 Number of vowels

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

/?'a:i:, ?o:i:/ 'wing'
/?'e:i/ 'pupil (of eye)'

5.6.0 'clay pot' koa 'bird species'

6
2.4 Phonotactics

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

- e.g. CVCCV *keteka* 'axe'
- CVCCV *keala* 'areca palm'
- CVVV *keoa* 'low (of cattle, buffalo)'
- CVCV *kowa* 'boat, ship'
- CVV *woe* 'crocodile'
- VCV *aka* 'outrigger'
- VV *te* 'good'

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

- \(C_1\) can be *b*, *d*, *g*, *p*, *t*, *k*, *h*, *w*, *j*, *l*, *r*, *m*, or *n*. Most common are *k* (40%), *m* (10%), *p* (10%), and *h* (10%).
- \(V_1\) can be any vowel except schwa. It is usually *a* (80%), but sometimes *o* (10%).
- \(C_2\) can be any consonant except glottal stop. In disyllables, it is commonly *m* (10%), *h* (10%), *w* (10%), *l* (10%), or *t* (10%). In trisyllables, it is frequently *m* (10%), *h* (10%), *w* (10%), *l* (10%), or *r* (10%).
- \(V_2\) can be any vowel (although schwa must immediately precede a consonant). In both disyllables and trisyllables, *a* (30%) is most common, followed by *e* (20%), *u* (20%), *a* (10%), *i* (10%), and *o* (10%).
- \(C_3\) can be any consonant. In both disyllables and trisyllables, *k* (10%), *l* (10%), and *r* (10%) are most common.
- \(V_3\) can be any vowel except schwa. In both disyllables and trisyllables, *a* (30%), is most common, followed by *i* (20%), *u* (20%), *e* (15%) and *o* (15%).

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

2.5 Vowel clusters

2.5.1 Two-vowel clusters

The possible combinations (with examples) are:

- *ae* *laaba* 'hand'
- *ae* *waa* 'want'
- *ai* *kepa* 'big'
- *ao* *ao* 'lime'
- *au* *kewau* 'swat (at)'
- *ea* *keala* 'areca palm'
- *ea* *mea* 'red'
- *ei* *ei* 'liquid'
- *eo* *meo* 'cat'
- *eu* (no example in data)
- *ia* *hiamu* 'spouse'
- *ia* *kehta* 'poor'
- *ie* *wae* 'give'
- *io* *hio* '(to) tear'
- *iu* *iu* 'new'
- *oa* *moeni* 'female animal'
- *oa* *koa* 'bird species'

Diphthongs \([ai]\) and \([ou]\) are interpreted as vowel clusters.

2.5.2 Three-vowel clusters

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

- *eoe* *koeo* (Mesara) '(to) low (of buffalo)'
- *eoa* *keoa* '(to) low (of buffalo)'
- *eao* *meaa* 'thick'
- *eaa* *ruai* 'hand'
- *iae* *j'amiae* 'morning'

2.6 Word stress

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

- *me'la:* 'gold, silver' [me'la] 'trace'
- *me'a:* 'thick' [me'a] 'red'
- *pe'ka:* 'neigh' [pe'ka] 'tell (sg.)'

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

- /mela/ 'gold, silver'
- /mea/ 'red'
- /peke/ 'tell (sg.)'

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

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

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

- plural /get/ ['get] /gee/ ['ge:] 'dig'
- singular /peri [pe'rei] /peree [pe'ree:] 'wake'
- /puu/ [pu:]/puu/ [pu:] 'pluck'
- /pejue/ [pe'jue]/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 analyze stressed consonant plus long vowel (i.e. CVℓ) as disyllabic 'CVV, but do not mention the corroborating evidence of verb agreement.

### 2.7 Intonation

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

### 2.8 Phonological adaptation of loanwords

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) final consonants delete</th>
<th>C→Ø</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian</td>
<td>Sawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piriq</td>
<td>piri 'plate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahal</td>
<td>maha 'expensive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawat</td>
<td>kawa 'wire'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2) [ø] becomes h</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seteqah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3) a nasal before a consonant deletes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gampaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keranjag</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some older loans from Portuguese are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Sawu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cadeira</td>
<td>kedera 'chair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenço</td>
<td>nalehu 'handkerchief'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gentio</td>
<td>jigitiu '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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>duit</td>
<td>duit</td>
<td>doi  'money'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kantoor</td>
<td>kantor</td>
<td>koto 'office'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>auto</td>
<td>oto</td>
<td>oto  'motor-car'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potlood</td>
<td>pot(e)lot</td>
<td>potoloo 'pencil'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Three

WORD CLASSES

3.0 Introduction

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

3.1 Nouns

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

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

3.2 Verbs

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

1. Verbs usually precede NPs, but in a clause with past-completive tense-aspect the verb may be post-nominal with pe of ela ...pe- prefixed to the verb.
2. As only verbs and particles can take immediately postposed NEG d'o, verbs are identifiable as non-particles which immediately precede d'o (see 8.14.2.2).
3. Verbs are often preceded by particles ta, do, la and ma, and often followed by particles ke, we, he, (le)ma and (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 5.1).
5. Some verbs agree in number with an Absolutive or Goal Animate NP (see 5.2.1).

3.3 Pronouns

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

3.4 Demonstratives

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

3.5 Common article

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

3.6 Case prepositions

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

3.7 Numerals

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

3.8 Counters

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

3.9 Non-numeral quantifiers

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

3.10 Clause modifiers

Clause Modifiers (CMs) constitute a closed class of words which I loosely refer to as "adverbs" and "particles". It is assumed that all CMs add to our understanding of the clause and can therefore be regarded as modifying it. I reserve the term "adverb" for a readily identifiable group of CMs ("Excessive Adverbs") which share certain morphological or semantic characteristics. All other CMs will be described under the heading "Particles".

3.11 Interjections

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

NOUN PHRASE CONSTITUENTS

4.0 Introduction

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

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

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

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

4.1 Pronouns

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

Table 3: Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( j'aa )</td>
<td>1. ( j'aa )</td>
<td>1. (incl.) ( dit ) (i.e. including addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excl.) ( j'ii )</td>
<td>(excl.) ( j'ii ) (i.e. excluding addressee)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ou )</td>
<td>2. ( ou )</td>
<td>2. ( muu )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( roo )</td>
<td>3. ( roo )</td>
<td>3. ( roo )</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 \( dii, \) normally lpl. (incl.), is also used as a 'polite' form for first person singular.

\( ina \) \( dii \) \( ma \), \( ta \) \( webe \)
mother POSS1sg. PART NON-PAST hit(sg.)
\( ri \) \( j'aa \)
ERG lsg.

4.2 Demonstratives

A demonstrative can indicate:

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

4.2.1 Head of NP

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

Table 4: Demonstratives as Head of NP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEM ( \emptyset ) 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) near the speaker (i.e. specified point near the speaker) near the speaker (i.e. immediate vicinity of the speaker) distant from speaker and addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 1 (( na(pu) ))( ne ) nahe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 2 (( na ))( d'e ) (( ma ))( hed'e )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 3 (( na(pu) ))( noo ) (( na(pu) ))( hare )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 4 (( na ))( ni ) (( na ))( hid'e ) (( ru ))( d'e )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DEM\( \emptyset \) 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.

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

uhi ke huri d'ue b'elag
DEMøpl. PART letter .... two COUNT

'd'age
at once

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

(Example and translation from Radja Haha 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEM 1</td>
<td>(na(pu)ne) ne nahid'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 2</td>
<td>(na)d'e (na)hed'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 3</td>
<td>(na)(pu)nane na(pu)hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 4</td>
<td>(na)ni nahid'e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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.
Article
buke ri noo & ne huri
write(sg.) ERG 3sg. ABS ART letter

'He wrote a letter.'

Article and possessive
me'R'a ke ri duae &
NON-PAST ride PART ERG king ABS
ne jara noo
ART horse POSS3sg.

'The king is riding his horse.'

Article and demonstrative
hame ri duae & ne huri
accept(sg.) ERG king ABS ART letter
napune
DEM2sg.

'The king accepted this letter.'

No article
ie ri j'aa & pad'a
NON-PAST heal ERG 1sg. ABS sickness
nane
DEM2sg.

'I will heal this sickness.'

4.4 Case prepositions

In Sawu, a case preposition indicates the semantic relationship of its NP referent to the verb, or, in verbless sentences, to the referents of other NPs. As the absence of a case preposition performs a similar function, NPs without a preposition will be treated as having a zero preposition (indicated by Ø). 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>Table 6: Case Prepositions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABSOLUTIVE (ABS)</strong> Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ERGATIVE (ERG)</strong> ri, Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INSTRUMENT (INST)</strong> ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GOAL FROM SPEAKER (GFS)</strong> ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GOAL TOWARDS SPEAKER (GTS)</strong> ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GOAL ANIMATE (GA)</strong> pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RESULT</strong> ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SOURCE (SCE)</strong> (rai)(qa)ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOCATIVE (LOC)</strong> pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RANGE (RGE)</strong> d'et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VEHICLE (VEH)</strong> j'ara, d'et, qa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ABOUT</strong> j'ara, (lua)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>COMATIVE (COM)</strong> qa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEASURE (MEAS)</strong> wia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BENEFACTIVE (BEN)</strong> ra</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 Ø (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.

| ta hala & nioi Ø |
| NON-PAST PART PAST-cut off(sg.) ABS |
| ne hewuqa jara j'aa ri dou |
| ART nose horse POSS1sg. ERG someone |

'Someone cut off my horse's nose.'

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

| ta b'uke & huri ri noo Ø |
| NON-PAST write(sg.) ABS letter ERG 3sg. |
| 'He is writing a letter.' |

3) referents to which something is given.

| wie d'o & roo Ø qa'a ri noo |
| give NEG ABS 3p1. ABS food ERG 3sg. |
| 'He did not give them food.' |

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

| ta pika ke ri noo pa ne Ø |
| NON-PAST tell PART ERG 3sg. GA ART |
| ana he Ø ta pe-made child DEM1pl. ABS NON-PAST CAUS-die |
| Ø roo ri wati leo |
| ABS 3pl. ERG Wati Leo |
| 'He is telling the children that Wati Leo will kill them.' |

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

| ta qade ke ri duae Ø |
| NON-PAST see(sg.) PART ERG king ABS |
ubu naba
Ubu Naba
'The king sees Ubu Naba.'

(6) referents which are the content (e.g. 'that which is known') of a cognitive state verb (e.g. 'know').
noo NEG 1sg. ABS ART name

'to know NEG ERG Isg. ABS AR'

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)', peusi 'exchange, sell', aj'a 'learn, study'.

Intransitive
In intransitive clauses, referents of ABS NPs include:
(1) referents which do something.

'ta NON-PAST shop ABS 1sg. '
'I am shopping.'

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

'do NON-PAST be cold ABS 3sg. '
'He is cold.'

'bubu-d'ara be angry ABS 3sg. '
'He is angry.'

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

'ta NON-PAST be cold ABS 3sg. '
'She is getting cold.'

(4) referents which do something which brings about a change of state in that referent.

'ta NON-PAST fall PART ABS 3sg. '
'He is falling.'

ERGATIVE (ERG) ri,'-
The ERG NP is usually marked by the preposition ri but can be unmarked when the speaker assumes that (for the addressee) its referent is unambiguously the referent of an ERG NP. Referents of ERG NPs include:
(1) referents which do something to another referent.

'ta NON-PAST sharpen(sg.) PART ABS ART '
'Ubu Naba began to sharpen a long machete.'

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

'do NON-PAST build ABS house ERG 3sg. '
'He is building a house.'

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

'ta NON-PAST ask(pl.) ERG 3sg. GA AR '
'He asks the children, "Where are you going?"'

(4) referents which perceive another referent.

'd'ano-d'ano listen-RED ERG child school DENlsg. '
'The school child listened intently to Ubu Naba's words.'

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

'ta NON-PAST cry ABS ART child DEMlsg. '
'The child is crying.'
We did not know God.

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

pedana pa mii ke ri dii
bury(pl.) LOC WHERE PART ERG 1pl.(incl.)

Where shall we bury them?

(7) referents which do not fit into the categories outlined above: e.g. the ERG referents of verbs like pedana 'bury', b'edo 'enclose', kiju 'insert'.

pedana pa mii ke ri dii
bury(pl.) LOC WHERE PART ERG 1pl.(incl.)

Where shall we bury them?

Intransitive

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

GOAL

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

(1) GOAL FROM SPEAKER (GFS) la

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

ta b'ale ke ri dr noo ri
NON-PAST CAUS-eat ABS animal DEMlpl.

'me hara lesara
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

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

'J'e b'ale d'age-d'age ou ma
THEN return immediately ABS 2sg. GTS

emu d'e, mi he ane d' du
house DEM2sg. LIKE DEMlpl. say ERG King
"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.

Referring to this house, the king makes it clear to Ubu Naba that he must return, that is, move toward the speaker and the addressee, that is, the king.

AAP ART word GA Ubu Naba

"Then you return immediately to this house", said the king to Ubu Naba.'
(of intransitive leka 'strike') makes contact.

do leka pa eru ne ʃ
STAT strike LOC pot DEM1sg. ABS

ne wowadu he
ART rock DEM1pl.
'The rocks have landed on the pot.'

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

ta kijo ʃ NON-PAST insert(sg.) PART ABS
ana-meşi pa kej'uga ʃ ana
stick LOC back ERG child

ne DEM1sg.
'The child inserts a stick in the back.'

RANGE (RGE) d'ei
Referents of RGE NPs are referents which indicate an area over which, alongside which, or through which an action or state ranges.

Action
ta roi ke ri noo ʃ NON-PAST realise PART ERG 3sg. ABS
ta era ʃ dou do kako COMPL be ABS someone REL go
d'ei ruj'ara RGE path
'He began to realise that there was someone walking along the path.'
naru d'oe ʃ noo d'ei emu go naturally ABS 3sg. RGE house
duae king
'Naturally he went past the king's house.'

mehu-ʃi d'ei nanane ke ʃ go out RGE DEM3sg. PART ABS
dii 1pl.(incl.)
'We will go out through this (hole near you).'

State
era ʃ he-ue kebie
be ABS one-count(sg.) house-beam
d'ei b'olou RGE south
'There is one house beam along the south side.'

VEHICLE (VEH) j'era, d'ei, ʃa
Referents of VEH NPs are referents which convey an ABS referent. VEH prepositions

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

ta kako ke ʃ roo la NON-PAST go PART ABS 3pl. GFS
heb'a j'era jara Seba VEH horse
'They set off for Seba by horse.'

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

pedai ʃ roo j'era lai j'aga talk ABS 3pl. ABOUT matters work
'They are talking about business matters.'

pedai luo a'a talk about brother
'talk about brother' (Radja Haba)

COMITATIVE (COM) ʃa
Referents of COM NPs include:
(1) referents with whom another referent is angry, happy, etc.

ta b'ani ke ʃ duae ʃa NON-PAST be angry PART ABS king COM
ubu naba
Ubu Naba
'The king becomes angry with Ubu Naba.'

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

mai la pee ʃa j'aa we come DFS stay COM 1sg. PART
'Come and stay with me.'

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

ta peusi ke ri noo ʃ NON-PAST exchange PART ERG 3sg. ABS
ne keb'ao ne ʃara doi ART buffalo DEM1sg. MEAS money
'He is exchanging the buffalo for money.'

BENEFACTIVE (BEN) ʃie
Referents of BEN NPs are referents which are an intended recipient or beneficiary of an action.

moa ʃ roo ke ʃ b'ara send(pl.) ERG 3pl. PART ABS present
ʃie j'aa BEN 1sg.
'They sent presents for me.'

b'uke ri no ʃ ne huri ʃie duəe 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 prepended verbal particles like ta, la, and ma.

\[ \text{ta d\k{e}ka } j\acute{a}a \text{ la wie } \] NON-PAST come ABS lsg. DFS give ABS
da j\acute{a}a \text{ pa muu 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.

\[ \text{pì'a } d'o \text{ ke } \emptyset \text{ dou } \] non-PAST
\[ \text{do(1pl.) NEG PART ABS. someone REL} \]
\[ \text{hele\`o } ne \text{ a'a ne} \] see ABS ART older brother DEMlsg.
\[ \text{rai made arì ne SINCE death younger brother DEMlsg.} \]

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

do pe-bubu d'ara ke \emptyset \text{ roo} STAT REC-be angry inside PART ABS 3pl.
\[ \text{rai napune SINCE DEMlsg.} \]

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

4.5 Numerals

4.5.1 Cardinal numerals

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

1. ahi, he-
2. d'ue
3. talu
4. apa
5. kaki
6. ana
7. pidu
8. h\acute{a}nu
9. he-
10. he-guru
20. d'ue guru
200. he-gahu
2000. he-d'ue tab'a
10000. he-tab'a
3000. he-tab'a
350. he-gahu
2067. d'ue tab'a

The simple decimal values are: guru 'ten', qahu 'hundred', tab'a 'thousand'. They are multiplied by prepending a smaller number to the left. (Number one is always prefixed to the decimal value as he-.)

10. he-guru
20. d'ue guru
200. he-gahu
2000. d'ue qahu
20000. d'ue tab'a

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

11. he-guru
350. he-gahu
2067. d'ue tab'a

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

Tens

- he-guru
- gahu
- tab'a

Hundreds

- qahu-gahu

Thousands

- tab'a-tab'a

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

The initial q in guru and qahu is, I suspect, a reduced (and now fossilised) form of the PAN numeral ligature qa.

4.5.2 Ordinal numerals

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

ke-s\acute{h}i ke-d'ue ke-talu
ORD-one ORD-two ORD-three

'first' 'second' 'third'

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

d'\acute{a}i pa ke-talu lodo ne,
THEN LOC ORD-three day DEMlsg.
\[ \text{ta la pee ke } \emptyset \text{ ne} \] non-PAST DFS stay PART ABS ART
\[ \text{ana ne pa ru-koko } \text{ smu child DEMlsg.} \]
\[ \text{LOC leaf-neck house} \]

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

do pe-bubu d'ara ke d'oo
STAT REC-be angry inside PART ABS
\[ \text{Эр} \]
1.
\[ \text{rai made arì ne SINCE death younger brother DEMlsg.} \]

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

do kaja ke t\acute{a}mone
STAT be rich ABS ART child POSS3sg.
\[ \text{ke-d'ue ne} \]
ORD-two DEMlsg.

'The second male-child goes.'

do kaja \emptyset \text{ ne ana n\acute{o}o}
STAT be rich ABS ART child POSS3sg.
\[ \text{ke-talu} \]
ORD-three

'His third oldest child is rich.'

4.6 Counters (COUNT)

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

d'\acute{u}e b'\acute{a}la nalehu
two COUNT handkerchiefs

'two handkerchiefs'

Numeral + Counter can, however, precede or follow the head noun. Thus nalehu d'\acute{u}e b'\acute{a}la 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. dow is used to count human referents.
he-dou  ana  hekola
one-COUNT  child  school

'One school child'
As an independent noun, dou can mean
'person, human, someone, somebody'

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

jara  he'qi'u
horse one-COUNT

'one horse'
As an independent noun, qi'u can mean
'animal, human torso'.

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

heo  b'ela  b'aj'u
nine  COUNT  blouse

'nine blouses'
As an independent noun, b'ela means
'cloth'.

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

he-b'equ  potoloo
one-COUNT  pencil

'one pencil'

tud'i  d'ue  b'equ
knife two  COUNT

'two knives'
As an independent noun, b'equ (emu) means
'the centre beam at the top of a traditional house'.

sta is used to count letters, string, rope.

he-sta  dari
one-COUNT  string

'a length of string'

he-sta  huri
one-COUNT  letter

'one letter'
he-sta can also mean 'half (a sack)',
'a quarter of (a kilogram)', 'a quarter
of (a pig)'.
As an independent verb, sta 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  kepoon
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  tsalu  laa
wood three  COUNT

'three logs'

d'ue  laa  kea-na'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-kereb'o  d'ue  b'ue
PROD-pumpkin two  COUNT

'two pumpkins'

he-wue  kowa
one-COUNT  boat

'one boat'

b'edo  telu  b'ue
enclosure three  COUNT

'three enclosures'

telu  b'ue  migu
THREE  COUNT  week

'three weeks'
As an independent noun, wue means 'fruit'.

(2) Partitive counters count the parts of a whole,
g'uti is used to count pieces of cloth.

he-g'uti  b'ela
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'
'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)'.

Iamuhi is used to count grains of sand.

he-lamuhi wo-lahala ae
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 waju
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'.

Wiqa is used to count salt, pepper, etc.

megahi he-wiqa
salt one-COUNT

'one pinch of salt'
As an independent noun, wiqa means 'small thorns or hairs of plants'.

Hemelore = 'half (a container)'.
Hemewui = 'quarter (of a container)'.
To my knowledge, one cannot say d'ue melore, d'ue meuwui, nor do melore and meuwui 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-ma'ni 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.

Donahu he-aru
lontar syrup one-COUNT

'one pot of lontar syrup'
As an independent noun, aru means 'pot'.

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

He-hoke wo-helagi
one-COUNT PROD-tamarind

'one pod of tamarinds'
Hoke does not appear as an independent noun in my data.

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

He-kab'a-huru donahu
one-spoonful lontar-syrup

'one spoonful of lontar syrup'
To count hardened lumps of lontar syrup one would use the counter noun wue as in he-wue donahu 'one (hardened) lump of lontar syrup'.
As an independent noun, kab'a-huru means 'coconut-shell spoon'.

(4) Other counters include:
Hubi which is used to count the number of bananas by clusters,

He-hubi wo-mu'u
one-COUNT PROD-banana

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

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

He-japi wo-mu'u
one-COUNT PROD-banana

'one hand of bananas'

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

Ema j'ara dari
six COUNT string

'six rows of string' (as in weaving)

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

(a) the following units of time
Lo'do 'day'
Rami 'night'
Waru 'month'
(Compare migu 'week' and tou 'year' which often occur with counter wue, b'ue.)

(b) non-traditional units of length
Mete 'metre'
Kilomete 'kilometre'
Kilo 'kilometre'

(c) non-traditional unit of weight
Kilo 'kilogram'

(d) traditional units of quantity
Wo'a 'torch (of dead leaves, stalks, etc.).'
Kerab'a 'bunch of 15-20 wo'a'
Gutu 'three threads of cotton'
Hie '30 gutu'
Rore '5 or 6 hie'
4.7 Non-numeral quantifiers

4.7.0 Introduction

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

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

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

\[ \text{ta pewu ke } \ne \text{ hari-hari NON-PAST assemble PART ABS all dou people} \]

'All the people are assembling.'

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

'I will behead you all.'

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

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

'He spent all the money.'

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

\[ \text{mequu-d'ara ke } \ne \text{ noo qa happy PART ABS 3sg. COM} \]

\[ \text{hiza noo he hari-hari friend POSS3sg. DEM1pl. all} \]

'He is happy with all his friends.'

\[ \text{ta pe-mehu ke } \ne \text{ NON-PAST CAUS-go outside PART ABS ne ana do kepai hed'e ART child REL be large DEM1pl. hari-hari all} \]

'All of the large children are being expelled.'

4.7.2 hari 'all (with specified number)'

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

\[ \text{hari (do) Numeral (Counter) } \]

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

(1) obligatory with human referents

\[ \text{pedoa } \ne \text{ ne htemu hari do call(pl.) ABS ART spouse all LIG} \]

\[ \text{pidu dou seven COUNT} \]

'Call all seven wives.'

(2) optional with non-human animates

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

\[ \text{maqa ke } \ne \text{ roo hari d'ue play PART ABS 3pl. all LIG two} \]

'They are both playing.'

\[ \text{maqa-maqa } \ne \text{ roo hari d'ue play-RED ABS 3pl. all two} \]

'They both play a lot.'

(3) absent with inanimates (including body parts).

\[ \text{hari d'ue las all two COUNT} \]

'Both (hands).'

(This is a text example in which the NP head has been deleted because readily identifiable by the context. las 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.

\[ \text{pedoa ke } \ne \text{ hari do d'ue coll(pl.) PART ABS all LIG two ne ana mone ari ART child male person younger sibling qa ana mone a'a AND child male person older sibling} \]
4.7.3 Other

The only other candidates for Non-numeral Quantifiers are had'e and hepaa 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 'so mm igen' (= 'some') in his list, but does not mention hepaa.

4.8 Noun phrase conjunction

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

era $ keb'ao qa wawi pa ni be ABS buffalo AND pig LOC DEM4sg.

'There are buffalo and pigs over there.'

4.9 Compounding

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Sawu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mango tree</td>
<td>wo-pau mango tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peanut plant</td>
<td>wo-menila peanut plant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sawu</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lahalae expanson of sand, beach</td>
<td>wo-lahalae PROD-expansion of sand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.10 Nominalisation

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

mate $ ne daka j'aa ti wait(sg.) ABS AR come POSS1sg. SCE
d'oka ri ou plantation ERG 2sg.

'You wait for my return from the plantation.'

4.11 Nominal reduplication (RED)

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

i'a d'lo $ j'aa lolo-lili qa CAN NEG ABS lsg. converse COM
dou katu katu pa kota person head-RED LOC Kupang

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

VERBS

5.1 A-verbs and B-verbs

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

5.2 Verb morphology

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

5.2.1 Verb agreement

5.2.1.1 Description

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

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

(a) The plural form agrees with plural, generic and mass NPs, while the singular can only agree with singular NPs.

(b) Only the plural form is used as a nominal.

uj'u 'tie up (pl.); bundle'
uj'sa 'tie up (sg.)'
qa'a 'eat (pl.); food'
qa'sa 'eat (sg.)'

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

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

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

5.3 Other singular forms end in -e. (See Appendix B which lists all known Agreement Verbs.)

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

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.

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

The function of Agreement Verbs in clauses is exemplified below.

egu, ego 'fetch, take, carry'

egu ri -lok o ri ou
fetch(pl.) ABS liquid-river ERG 2sg.

You fetch fresh-water!

d'ue b'ue
two COUNT(pl.)

'He fetched two pumpkins.'

ego ri noo w o-kereb'o
fetch(sg.) ERG 3pl. ABS PROD-pumpkin

They fetched a bottle of kerosine.'

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

ila, ele 'disappear'

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

ta
NON-PAST
disappear(sg.)
ABS
3sg.

ele

raiti
SCE
d'e
earth-below
DEM2sg.

'He will disappear from this earth.'

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

kab'ali, kab'ale 'ask'

ta
NON-PAST
ke
PART
ri
erg
duas
king
GA

ekab'ali
ke
ri
dou

person
DEMpl.
ABS
3sg.

pa
GO

NON-PAST

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

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

5.2.2 Causative (CAUS) pe-

5.2.2.1 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 qadi 'see' that the description 'causative' is most appropriate. However, with optional transitives qa'a 'eat' and qinu 'drink', pe-qa'a and pe-qinu do not mean 'cause to eat' and 'cause to drink', but rather 'give to eat' and 'give to drink'.

toto
CAUS-be full
puru
CAUS-descend

to
CAUS-see
p RCMP
p RCMP

5.2.2.2 Other interpretations

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

5.2.3 Reciprocal (REC) pe-

5.2.3.1 Description

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

ta
NON-PAST
stab(sg.)
ABS
3sg.

pe-

roo

ri

inst
knife

'the children are feeding each other.'
5.2.3.2 Other interpretations

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

5.2.4 Verbal reduplication

5.2.4.0 Introduction

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

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

5.2.4.1 A-verbs

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

wabe 'hit'

wabe-wabe 'hit again and again'

hit(sg.)-RED

pedute 'follow'

pedute-dute 'keep on following'

follow(sg.)-RED

5.2.4.2 B-verbs

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

\[ \text{ta } \text{hiåqa} \quad \ & \text{noo} \quad \text{qa} \\
\text{NON-PAST be friends ABS 3sg. COM} \]

\[ \text{ta } \text{pe-hiåqa} \quad \ & \text{roo} \\
\text{NON-PAST REC-be friends ABS 3pl.} \]

'He is becoming friends with her.'

\[ \text{ta } \text{pe-lìii ke } \ & \text{ji} \text{ii} \\
\text{NON-PAST REC-say PART ABS 1pl.excl.} \]

\[ \text{mèb'o later} \]

'We will talk together later.'

\[ \text{ta } \text{pe-lìii ke } \ & \text{ji} \text{ii} \\
\text{NON-PAST REC-say PART ABS 1pl.excl.} \]

\[ \text{mèb'o later} \]

5.3 Existential verb era

The Sawu verb era simply indicates that its indefinite ABS referent exists. (Note
that negative existentials include \[ \text{pi'a-d'o}, \ \text{pe'e-d'o}, \ \text{b'ue-d'o}, \] but never \[ \text{era d'o}. \])

\[ \text{era } \ & \text{dso exist ABS god} \]

'There is a god.'

\[ \text{era } \ & \text{wasi pa rai havu exist ABS pig LOC island Sawu} \]

'There are pigs on Sawu island.'

5.4 Deictic verbs

5.4.1 Description

Deictic verbs have intransitive case frames with obligatory ABS NP and optional
LOC. They indicate:
(1) the spatial proximity of the ABS NP with
respect to the speaker (and the addressee?)
(2) present tense

They differ from other verbs in that they are
deictic, and from other Agreement Verbs (see
5.2.1.1 ) in that the singular and plural
distinction is not made in the final vowel,
but in the initial consonant. The presence
of \[ \text{n} \] indicates agreement with a singular ERG
NP or intransitive ABS NP, and \[ \text{h} \] with a plural.
See also the demonstratives (4.2 ) which dis-
tinguish singular and plural in this manner.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7: Deictic verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{nee}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{net}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\text{nene}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As \text{nene} and \text{here} 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) \text{nee } \ & \text{noo pa d'amu}

be here(sg.) ABS 3sg. LOC loft

'He is here in the loft (where I am).'

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

\[ \text{is } \ & \text{be good} \]

\[ \text{kako is-te } \ & \text{go carefully, go well} \]

\[ \text{go be good-RED} \]

\[ \text{b'aku } \ & \text{b'aku-RED be rotten-RED} \]

\[ \text{b'aku-b'aku } \ & \text{be very rotten} \]

\[ \text{be rotten-RED} \]
'Are you here in the house?'

"He is some distance away going to bathe."

"They are there."

5.4.2 Other interpretations

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

EXCESSIVE ADVERBS (EXCESS)

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

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

\[ \text{uj'e} \quad \text{kerede-redo} \]
\[ \text{tie(sg.) EXCESS} \]

'tie many times'

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

Table 8: Excessive adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B-verb</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Description</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. medi</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. mire</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. moku</td>
<td>eb'oo-eb'o</td>
<td>'very soft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. mata</td>
<td>'kee-kee'</td>
<td>'very sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. merig</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. ma</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>gebara</td>
<td>'very poor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. kehii</td>
<td>kejido'o</td>
<td>'very quiet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. mou</td>
<td>megalu</td>
<td>'very clear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. bej'</td>
<td>luu</td>
<td>'sound asleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. laha</td>
<td>meriai</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. medi 'black', keraba 'dark'). Every other excessive adverb in Table 8 is restricted to one verb (i.e. b'ei-b'ei only, qualifies meri 'cold', and huu-huu only mara 'tired').

tara-tara and (pe)atu-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 kehia and gebara mean 'poor', mou and megalu 'clear', and laha and meriai 'fast'. bej' means 'sleep', while luu means 'unconscious'. It is also clear that one of the reduplicated adverbs kee-kee modifying neta 'sweet' is related to Ndau verb kee 'sweet' which, interestingly enough, has an Excessive Adverb neta. 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.

***
7.1 Stative (STAT) do

7.1.1 Description

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

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

Intransitive

\[\text{do } \text{pad'a } \neq \text{hiemu } j'aa\]

\[\text{STAT be sick ABS ART spouse POSS1sg.}\]

"My spouse is sick."

Transitive

\[\text{do } \text{toi } \text{ri } \text{duae } \text{ta } \text{dou}\]

\[\text{STAT know ERG king COMPL person}\]

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

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

Intransitive

\[\text{do } \text{perai } \neq \text{ubu naba}\]

\[\text{STAT flee ABS Ubu Naba}\]

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

Transitive

\[\text{do } \text{helote } \text{ri } \text{bela dilu } \neq\]

\[\text{STAT lock(sg.) ERG Bala Dilu ABS}\]

\[\text{ne } \text{kelae } \neq \text{raiti } \text{tele}\]

\[\text{ART door DEM1sg. SCE outside}\]

"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

\[\text{do } \text{lii } \neq \text{dii } \neq \text{ta}\]

\[\text{STAT say ERG 1pl.(incl.) ABS COMPL}\]

\[\text{do } \text{made-made } \text{he } \neq \text{ne } \text{dou}\]

\[\text{STAT be dead-RED PART ABS ART person}\]

\[\text{he DEM1pl.}\]

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

Generic

\[\text{\text{\textit{keb'ao do keoa}}}\]

\[\text{ABS buffalo STAT bellow}\]

"Buffaloes bellow."

\[\text{\textit{keb'ao do qa'a } \neq \text{ruj'wu'w}}\]

\[\text{ERG buffalo STAT eat. ABS grass}\]

"Buffaloes eat grass."

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

\[\text{kiqa wiki } \text{ta } \text{hou } \neq \text{ei-tele}\]

\[\text{IF TRY NON-PAST pass ABS urine}\]

\[\text{do } \text{ta } \text{lоро } \text{pa } \text{koko}\]

\[\text{STAT NON-PAST cut off LOC neck}\]

\[\text{he } \neq \text{j'ii } \text{ri } \text{ubu naba}\]

\[\text{DEM1pl. ABS 1pl.(excl.) ERG Ubu Naba}\]

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

7.1.2 Other interpretations

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

Lee (MS) adopts a position which has little agreement with my perception of do. She suggests that do "in a clause" may have a similar function to the Relator do of a Modifier Phrase, and may therefore mean "'(is) the one who' ... thus emphasising the subject." She also claims that "do in some cases serves as a copula in a stative clause." I attribute these remarks to insufficient data.
Neither Kern nor Wijngaarden discuss 'stative' do.

7.2 Past-completive (PAST) \( \text{\texttt{ela ... pe-}} \)

7.2.1 Description

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\texttt{ela ke} } & \text{\texttt{a} } \text{\texttt{j'aa pe-pelu}} \\
\text{PAST(sg.) PART ABS } & \text{\texttt{a} } \text{\texttt{PAST-deceive}} \\
\text{rti ubu naba ta} & \text{\texttt{maho ma}} \\
\text{ERG Ubu Naba NON-PAST enter GTS} \\
\text{d'ara keraja b'ishi nad'e} & \text{\texttt{inside cage iron DEM2sg.}}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\texttt{ela} } & \text{\texttt{ma buraha tohi}} \\
\text{PAST(pl.) ERG Mr Bura Tohi} \\
\text{pe-kehab'a } & \text{\texttt{b'ada, wiel d'o}} \\
\text{PAST-butcher ABS animal give NEG} \\
\text{rti ma hab'a maru } & \text{\texttt{ne gaa-qaa}}. \\
\text{ERG Mr Hab'a Maru ABS ART anything} \\
\text{\texttt{Mr Bura Tohi finished butchering the}} & \text{\texttt{animals but Mr Hab'a Maru did not give (him) anything (for it).}}\]
\]

The Past-completive is clearly related to the verb \( \text{\texttt{ela}} \), \( \text{\texttt{ele 'finish, complete'}} \). This verb and the tense-aspect both vary according to the plurality, etc. of the Absolute. In the two examples above, \( \text{\texttt{ela ... pe-}} \) agrees with the singular Absolute pronoun \( \text{\texttt{j'aa}} \), while \( \text{\texttt{la ... pe-}} \) agrees with the plural Absolute \( \text{\texttt{b'ada 'animals'}} \).

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\texttt{ela}} & \text{\texttt{pe-pe-mou}} \\
\text{PAST(pl.) PART CAUS-clean(pl.) } & \text{\texttt{ABS}} \\
\text{ne dudu mahere ta} & \text{\texttt{egu}} \\
\text{ART thorn DEM3pl. NON-PAST take(pl.)}
\end{align*}
\]

7.2.2 Other interpretations

Lee (MS) and I share the view that \( \text{\texttt{ela ... pe-}} \) conveys both past tense and completed action. I do not accept Jonker's view (1904:287) that \( \text{\texttt{ela ... pe-}} \) marks perfect aspect, because I do not believe that \( \text{\texttt{ela ... pe-}} \) "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 (1992:127) claim that the perfect and pluperfect are characterised by \( \text{\texttt{ela}} \) and \( \text{\texttt{ela ke.}} \) He does not mention the \( \text{\texttt{pe-}} \) prefix.

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

7.3 Non-past \( \text{\texttt{ta}} \)

7.3.1 Description

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

B-verb

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\texttt{ta}} & \text{\texttt{kemaqu } } \text{\texttt{ne eti ne}} \\
\text{NON-PAST be dry ABS ART sarong DEM3sg.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

A-verb

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\texttt{ta}} & \text{\texttt{d'are ke } } \text{\texttt{ne}} \\
\text{NON-PAST sharpen(sg.) PART ABS ART} \\
\text{wela-hule ri noo} & \text{\texttt{machete ERG 3sg.}} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'He \{begins to sharpen\} a machete.' \{will sharpen \}'

7.3.2 Other interpretations

Both Jonker (1919:712-13) and Capell
7.4 Direction from speaker (DFS) la

7.4.1 Description

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

In similar fashion, Kern (1892:535) 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 ñi purposive clause (8.9).

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

7.5 Direction towards speaker (DTS) ma

7.5.1 Description

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

In similar fashion, Kern (1892:535) 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 ñi purposive clause (8.9).

Jonker's (1904:286) view approximates my own in this regard. He describes la's function as direction away from the speaker, and often translates it by "gaan" 'to go'.
If these children ask for fish, don't give (it to them) prior to (my return). Wait for my return from the plantation, then (you can) give (it to them).'

mata de wait(pl.) PART

'Wait a moment!'

7.6 hudi 'LITTLE'

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

Temporal quantity

\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{tui} \quad \text{hudi}, \]

\[ \text{NON-PAST be length of time LITTLE} \]

\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{qa'a ke} \quad \text{\# roo} \]

\[ \text{NON-PAST eat PART ABS 3pl.} \]

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

\[ \text{mata ko we hudi. ta} \]

\[ \text{wait(pl.) PART JUST LITTLE NON-PAST} \]

\[ \text{d'are \# wala ko \#} \]

\[ \text{SHARPN(sg.) ABS machete PART ERG} \]

\[ \text{j'aal} \]

\[ \text{lsg.} \]

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

Non-temporal quantity

\[ \text{ina} \quad \text{j'aal} \quad \text{do melaka, haku} \]

\[ \text{mother POSSlsg. REL thin RESULT} \]

\[ \text{nara hudi we \# j'aal \# ne} \]

\[ \text{get LITTLE PART ERG 1sg. ABS ART} \]

\[ \text{dai d'e.} \]

\[ \text{money DE} \]

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

7.7 de

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

\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{ami \# naiki he} \quad \text{\#} \]

\[ \text{NON-PAST ask ERG child DEM1pl. ABS} \]

\[ \text{nadu'u, b'ole wie de, mate} \]

\[ \text{fish DON'T give PART wait(sg.)} \]

\[ \text{\# daka j'aal ti d'oka,} \]

\[ \text{ABS come POSSlsg. SCE plantation} \]

\[ \text{j'e wie.} \]

THEN give

7.8 ko

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

A-verbs

\[ \text{maf} \quad \text{ko we \# d'it} \quad \text{ma} \]

\[ \text{come PART PART ABS lpl.(incl.) DTS} \]

\[ \text{mama \# kenana} \]

\[ \text{chew ABS betel} \]

'Let us chew betel first.'

\[ \text{mata ko} \]

\[ \text{wait(pl.) PART} \]

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

B-verbs

\[ \text{do bai'it} \quad \text{ko \# d'ue} \]

\[ \text{STAT be asleep PART ABS king} \]

'The king is still asleep.'

7.9 neb'o 'SOON'

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

\[ \text{made ke \# noo neb'o} \]

\[ \text{die PART ABS 3sg. SOON} \]

'He will die soon.'

\[ \text{egu \# hed'ai raiti ni} \]

\[ \text{fetch(pl.) ABS meat SCE DEM4sg.} \]

\[ \text{ke \# j'aal neb'o} \]

\[ \text{PART ERG 1sg. SOON} \]

'I will fetch some meat from there soon.'

7.10 (we)ri 'AGAIN'

(we)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 pehe ri ke ∅ ne toss(sg.) AGAIN PART ABS ART
wo-wue d'e ∅ bela dilu PROD-bengkuak DEM2sg. ERG Bala Dilu
la kej'uga d'e GFS back DEM2sg.

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

Unabbreviated warī ta pe-bui warī ke NON-PAST CAUS-fall(pl.) AGAIN PART
∅ wowadu ri noo ABS stone ERG 3sg.

'He is dropping stones again.'

After ABS NP ta pejwu ∅ dou warī NON-PAST order(pl.) ABS person AGAIN
ke ∅ duas la PART ERG king NON-PAST GFS
pedoe ∅ ubu naba call(sg.) ABS Ubu Naba

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

After ERG NP keb'ali ke ri bala dilu warī ask(pl.) PART ERG Bala Dilu AGAIN
∅ "d'e ta qa'a ∅ neqaa ABS like NON-PAST eat ABS WHAT
∅ muu?" ERG 2pl.

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

7.12 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 7.13). 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 STAT REC-be angry PART ABS Ubu Naba

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

Interrogative
minami ke ∅ dii j'e HOW PART ABS 1pl.(incl.) THEN
nara pa ubu naba d'e win GA Ubu Naba DEM2sg.

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

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

sla ke pe-ete ∅ PAST(sg.) PART PAST-cut off(sg.) ABS
ne hewa qa j'aa ri ART nose horse POSS1sg. ERG
dou someone

'Someone cut off my horse's nose.'

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

ERG NP

```

≠ hišmu duae
ABS spouse king

'The king's wife becomes sick.'
```

ABS NP and wərí

```

≠ hùmuna dua
ABS wife king

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

Excessive Adverb (EXCESS)

```

≠ tejuu ≠ dou wərí
NON-PAST order(pl.) ABS person AGAIN

ke ≠ dua ≠ ta ≠ la pedoe
PART ERG king NON-PAST DFS cut off

ABS Ubu Naba

'The king is really angry with Ubu Naba.'
```

le 'ALSO'

```

≠ le ≠ ke ≠ ≠ ube
NON-PAST say ALSO PART ERG Ubu

Naba ≠ ta ≠ kako ≠ la hab's
Naba ABS NON-PAST go DFS cut off

ABS ART nose horse king

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

ma EMPH

```

≠ j'aa
POSSLsg.

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

7.13 we

```

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

```

≠ goto ≠ ri ≠ ou ≠ ≠ ne
fetch(sg.) PART ERG 2sg. ABS ART

kuhi ≠ d'e
key DEM2sg.

'You fetch the key!'
```

ko ≠ ma ≠ ko ≠ we ≠ ma ≠ pe-je
come FIRST PART DTS CAUS-be well

'Come here first and heal!'
```

ERG

```

kiq a ≠ ou, ≠ ma ≠ gate
IF WANT ABS 2sg. come replace(sg.)

≠ ri ≠ j'aa ≠ we
ERG 1sg. PART

'If you want, let me replace you.'
```

7.14 wata EMPH

```

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

```

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

≠ ta ≠ kod'i, ≠ kod'i
NON-PAST get up get up

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

```

≠ le ≠ le ≠ wata ≠ ma ≠ ≠ ne
good ALSO EMPH PART ABS ART

≠ j'aa
POSSLsg.

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

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

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

pid'e d'o ri j'aa pick up(sg.) NEG ERG lsg.
'I definitely saw (it), but did not pick it up.'
dou do tao napune duas ma person REL do DEM1sg. king EMPH

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

7.16 le(ma) 'ALSO'

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

duas raiti mehara ga ubu naba king SCE Mesara AND Ubu Naba

kako lema
go ALSO
'The king from Mesara and Ubu Naba went also.'

ki majed'i ou pa kedera IF sit ABS 2sg. LOC chair

d'e, is lema DEM2sg. be good ALSO
'If you sit on this chair, that's good too.'

ta nara j'ega do NON-PAST get ABS work REL

wala lema j'ii be other ALSO ERG 1pl.(excl.)
'We (excl.) will get other work also.'

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

7.17 ad'o 'CERTAIN'

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

ina ou he ama ou mother 2sg. DEM1pl. father 2sg.
he ad'o do he'i DEM1pl. CERTAIN STAT be there(pl.)

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

rae pa ni village LOC DEM4sg.

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

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

7.18 d'øge

d'øge means 'naturally, of course'. It is possible to have one or two d'øge's per clause. One d'øge 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'øge.

kako d'øge noo la emu duas go PART ABS 3sg. GPS house king

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

kapa d'øge ri noo no ne
catch(pl.) PART ERG 3sg. ABS ART

manu he chicken DEM1pl.

'Of course, he caught the chickens.'

dob'o d'øge di emu duas d'øge go PART RGE house king PART

ABS 3sg.

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

7.19 d'øge-d'øge

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

j'e b'ale d'øge-d'øge ou THEN return immediately ABS 2sg.

ma emu d'e

DTS house DEM2sg.

'Then you return immediately to this house."

7.20 moriai 'QUICKLY'

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

boke moriai no kele open(sg.) QUICKLY ABS ART door

d'e DEM2sg.
'Quickly open this door.'

ta b'ale ke mariai ♄
NON-PAST return PART QUICKLY ABS

mara ♄ j'iti
PERHAPS ABS 1pl.(excl.)

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

7.21 laha 'FAST'

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

perai laha
run FAST

'Run fast!

7.22 loro-loro, roro-roro

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

di pote loro-loro ♄ noo
STAT lie OFTEN-RED ABS 3sg.

'He is always lying.'

ta ago ♄ kepoo
NON-PAST carry(sg.) ABS gun

lоро-lоро ♄ noo
OFTEN-RED ERG 3sg.

'He always carries a gun.'

dou do timo do mawo
person REL be Timorese STAT drunk

loro
OFTEN

'Timorese people are often drunk.'

7.23 mara 'PERHAPS'

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

mara ♄ noo
PERHAPS ABS 3sg.

'He (near you) is perhaps asleep.'

7.21 laha 'FAST'

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

perai laha
run FAST

'Run fast!

7.22 loro-loro, roro-roro

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

di pote loro-loro ♄ noo
STAT lie OFTEN-RED ABS 3sg.

'He is always lying.'

ta ago ♄ kepoo
NON-PAST carry(sg.) ABS gun

lоро-lоро ♄ noo
OFTEN-RED ERG 3sg.

'He always carries a gun.'

dou do timo do mawo
person REL be Timorese STAT drunk

loro
OFTEN

'Timorese people are often drunk.'

7.23 mara 'PERHAPS'

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

mara ♄ noo
PERHAPS ABS 3sg.

'He (near you) is perhaps asleep.'

7.21 laha 'FAST'

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

perai laha
run FAST

'Run fast!

7.22 loro-loro, roro-roro

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

di pote loro-loro ♄ noo
STAT lie OFTEN-RED ABS 3sg.

'He is always lying.'

ta ago ♄ kepoo
NON-PAST carry(sg.) ABS gun

lоро-lоро ♄ noo
OFTEN-RED ERG 3sg.

'He always carries a gun.'

dou do timo do mawo
person REL be Timorese STAT drunk

loro
OFTEN

'Timorese people are often drunk.'

7.23 mara 'PERHAPS'

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

mara ♄ noo
PERHAPS ABS 3sg.

'He (near you) is perhaps asleep.'
8.1 Verbal clauses

8.1.1 Case frames

8.1.1.0 Introduction

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

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

Case frames are represented by square brackets, [ ]. The order of Cases has no relation to clause word order, and parentheses ( ) indicate optional elements. Curly brackets { } indicate that only one of the Cases in question will occur in any one clause. LOC referents which specify the location of the action, process or state of a verb can occur in any clause, and are, therefore, not characteristic of any of them. LOC is, however, characteristic of three classes of verbs, and is represented only in those Case frames. In the first, [ERG ABS (INST) (LOC)], optional LOC distinguishes verbs like waba 'hit', lori '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'ado 'enclose' from [ERG ABS] verbs like toi 'know', huba 'forgive'. In the third, [ABS (LOC)] verbs like laka 'strike' from [ABS] verbs like mejad'i 'sit' and titbu '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 location of the ABS referent with which 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', maku '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))].

BEN has not been included in any Case frame because I have yet to be convinced that it is characteristic of any verb. The same is true of 'SINCE' and temporal nouns (e.g. mid'a 'yesterday', lod'o 'today').

The transitivity of a verb can be determined from its Case frame. A verb whose Case frame has:
(1) obligatory ERG is obligatory transitive,
(2) optional ERG is optional transitive,
(3) no ERG is obligatory intransitive.

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

8.1.1.1 Transitive case frames

(1) [ERG ABS]

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

(a) perception verbs
With perception verbs, the ERG referent perceives the ABS referent. e.g. toi 'know', godi 'see, spot', d'ano 'hear', helelo 'see, look'.

do toi ri ubu naba \& ne

STAT know ERG Ubu Naba ABS ART

dou ne

person DEMsg.

'Ubu Naba knows this person.'

(b) non-perception verbs
With non-perception verbs, ERG refers to the ABS referent. e.g. hepad'i 'sniff' (as a greeting), huba 'forgive', pedoa 'call, invite'.

huba ke \& 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. 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 \& ne

NON-PAST read(sg.) ERG lsg. ABS ART

huri ne

letter DEMsg.

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

(a) Clauses in which the ERG referent uses an INST referent to do something to an ABS referent. E.g. boka 'open', d'ari 'sharpen', d'e 'lift', helote 'lock', pe-ie 'heal'.

(b) Clauses in which the ERG referent provides an ABS referent with edible, drinkable or monetary INST referents. E.g. pe-pa'a 'feed (non-birds)', pe-tutu 'feed (birds)', pe-ke 'provide water', kehiwa 'hire'.

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 'ihe 'fill, pour'. The ERG referent is always the one who fills or pours but the ABS referent can be either:

(a) the container which is filled by the INST referent,
(b) that which is poured into the GOAL referent.

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. We can recognise two groups:

(a) Clauses in which an INST referent is used to do something to an ABS referent. E.g. boka 'open', d'ari 'sharpen', d'e 'lift', helote 'lock', pe-ie 'heal'.

(b) Clauses in which the ABS referent is provided with edible, drinkable or monetary INST referents. E.g. pe-pa'a 'feed (non-birds)', pe-tutu 'feed (birds)', pe-ke 'provide water', kehiwa 'hire'.

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

(a) Clauses in which the ERG referent uses an INST referent to do something to an ABS referent. E.g. boka 'open', d'ari 'sharpen', d'e 'lift', helote 'lock', pe-ie 'heal'.

(b) Clauses in which the ERG referent provides the ABS referent with edible, drinkable or monetary INST referents. E.g. pe-pa'a 'feed (non-birds)', pe-tutu 'feed (birds)', pe-ke 'provide water', kehiwa 'hire'.

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. We can recognise two groups:

(a) Clauses in which the ABS referent moves away from the ERG referent and the INST referent towards a non-animate GOAL referent. E.g. ped'uli 'lower', pebui 'drop', gore 'release', hora 'throw'.

(b) Clauses in which the ABS referent moves with the ERG referent away from the INST referent towards a non-animate GOAL referent. E.g. merei 'carry (by two or more people)', d'ui 'carry (with stick across shoulders)', gatu 'fetch, take, bring, carry'.

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. We can recognise two groups:

(a) Clauses in which the ABS referent moves away from the ERG referent and the INST referent towards a non-animate GOAL referent. E.g. ped'uli 'lower', pebui 'drop', gore 'release', hora 'throw'.

(b) Clauses in which the ABS referent moves with the ERG referent away from the INST referent towards a non-animate GOAL referent. E.g. merei 'carry (by two or more people)', d'ui 'carry (with stick across shoulders)', gatu 'fetch, take, bring, carry'.
8.1.1.2 Optional transitive case frames

An optional transitive Case frame in Sawu is one which has on optional ERG. A clause is transitive if it includes an ERG NP, and intransitive if it does not.

(1) [ABS (ERG)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP, and may also have an ERG NP. e.g. mari 'mock, laugh', pa'а 'eat', piп 'drink', hou 'make emerge, emerge'.

'ta mari σ noo
NON-PAST laugh ABS 3sg.

'He is laughing.'

ta mari σ ne ana he
NON-PAST mock ABS ART child DEM1pl.

ri noo
ERG 3sg.

'He is mocking the children.'

(2) [ABS (ERG)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP, and may also have an ERG NP, and may also have one of either an ERG NP or a GA NP. The only verb known to have this Case frame is j'ala 'net-fish' (i.e. fish with a net).

'ta j'ala σ madu'u σ j'aa
NON-PAST net ABS fish ERG 1sg.

'I am netting fish.'

ta j'ala pa manu he
NON-PAST fish GA chicken DEM1pl.

38
I am fishing for chickens.

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 leka strike.

'Father was struck down by a bullet.'

(Note that worena-wona is ERG because it can be relativised. An INST NP cannot.)

The rock landed on an indigo pot.

8.1.1.3 Intransitive case frames

(1) [ABS] A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP. e.g. keb'eb'u 'be fat', ked'li 'get up', mehska 'burst'.

do keb'eb'u pa duae
STAT be fat ABS 3sg.

'He is fat.'

ta ked'li pa duae
NON-PAST get up ABS 3sg.

'She is getting up.'

mehska pa duae
burst ABS ART boil DEMlsg.

'The boil burst.'

(2) [ABS (SCE) (RGE) (GFS) (GTS) (VEH)] A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP, and may also have a SCE NP, a RGE NP, a GFS NP, a GTS NP, a VEH 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. doka 'come, arrive', lordi 'go', maho 'enter', perai 'run, flee', kaki 'go'.

ta kaki pa duae
NON-PAST go ABS 3sg. SCE Seba

'He will go from Seba to Dimu by horse.'

That RGE belongs in the Case frame of motion verbs is evidenced by examples in 4.4. How-

ever, I have yet to find an example in my data where RGE co-occurs with either a SCE or inanimate GOAL NP. If further checking fails to reveal such a co-occurrence, it will be necessary to revise the above Case frame formula accordingly.

(3) [ABS (GA)] A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP, and may also have a GA NP. The only verb known to have this Case frame is nara 'win' (Which should be distinguished from the verb nara 'get, obtain', and the auxiliary nara 'con, be able').

nara pa duae
win ABS Ubu Naba GA king

'Ubu 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', merae 'wake up'.

ta ila pa duae
NON-PAST disappear ABS 3sg. SCE

'He will disappear from this earth.'

marae pa duae
get up YET-NOT SCE sleep ABS king

'The king was still asleep.'

(5) [ABS (COM)] A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP and may also have a COM NP. e.g. b'ani 'be angry', bubu 'be angry', pee 'stay, live'.

bubu kepa duae
be angry PART ABS king Ubu Naba

'The king is angry with Ubu Naba.'

ta pee pa duae
NON-PAST stay COM 3sg. 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. tuulu 'help', pad'u 'hate'.

ta tuulu pa duae
NON-PAST help COM 3sg. ABS 3sg.

'He will help me.'

do pad'u pa duae
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'.

39
tobo ke amu ri
be full PART ABS house INST

donahu
lontar syrup

'The house is full of lontar syrup.'

do toboto ri ei ne
STAT be full INST water ABS ART

kab'a-huru d'e
coconut-spoon DEM2sg.

'The coconut spoon is full of water.'

(8) [ABS (ABOUT)]
A clause with a verb of this Case frame
must have an ABS NP, and may also have an
ABOUT NP. e.g. ped'iri 'talk', pedai 'talk'.

pedai ne j'aa lai nani
talk ABS 3sg. ABOUT matter DEM4sg.

'He talked about that matter.'

8.1.2 Word order

8.1.2.1 NPs

NPs usually follow the verb, but one
of ERG and ABS NPs can precede. Word order
of NPs after the verb is relatively free,
although it is statistically more common for
an ERG or ABS NP to be the leftmost NP (see
8.20).

8.1.2.2 Clause modifiers (dMs)

Temporal nouns and NEG d'o can precede
or follow the verb. Particles do (STAT),
sla ... pe- (PAST), ta (NON-PAST), ad'o
(CERTAIN), b'agi (PERHAPS), lohe (TOO, QUITE),
b'ole (DON'T), always precede the verb.
Excessive adverbs and all other particles
follow the verb.

8.2 Non-verbal clauses

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

8.2.1 Interjections

Interjections are words which are often
single-word utterances. They are here ana-
ysed 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)', se 'Hey
(attention grabbing).'

Q. ta b'ale la amu, ina?
NON-PAST return GPS house mother

A. oo. ta la mono
Yes NON-PAST DPS dry(pl.) ABS

lua wagu we
thread cotton JUST

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

some cotton thread.'

ayo. kepe ne noo
come on catch(sg.) ABS 3sg.

'Come on. Catch him.'

hee. ta kei-kei j'aa
Hey NON-PAST dig(pl.)-RED ERG 1sg.

j'e pahs ma kepege d'e,
THEN toss(sg.) DTS rear DEM2sg.

pe'e d'o ne wowue d'e
be NEG ABS ART bengkuak DEM2sg.

'Hey (what's going on?). I dig and dig,
then toss this bengkuak (a kind of yam?)
to the rear, (but now) there is no
bengkuak.'

ee. mai ma d'e
Hey come DTS DEM2sg.

'Hey. Come over here.'

8.2.2 Juxtaposed NPs

In Sawu, other non-verbal clauses consist
of two juxtaposed NPs.

dou nani ubu naba
person DEM4sg. Ubu Naba

'That person is Ubu Naba.'

nad'e amu j'aa
DEM2sg. house POSSlsg.

'This is my house.'

j'aa he-dou nalalu-naleto
lsg. one-COUNT orphan

'I am an orphan.'

ma bura tohi dou do kehia
Mrbura Tohi person REL be poor

'Mr Bura Tohi is a poor person.'

Negation of non-verbals is exemplified in
8.14.2.1.

8.3 Interrogative clauses

8.3.0 Introduction

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

8.3.1 Yes-no questions

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

keloe ke $ muu
be tired PART ABS 2pl.

'Are you tired?'

8.3.2 Question-word questions

8.3.2.1 naduu 'WHO'

A naduu interrogative requests the identity of a human referent. naduu can be an NP of a non-verbal clause, or the head of an ERG, ABS or GA NP.

naduu muu
WHO 2pl.

'Who are you?'

naduu muu
2pl. WHO

'Who are you?'

kape $ noo ri naduu
catch(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG WHO

'Who caught him?'

kape $ naduu ri noo
catch(sg.) ABS WHO ERG 3sg.

'Who did he catch?'

wie $ nad'e pa naduu
give ABS DEM2sg. GA WHO

'Give this to whom?'

The possible historical origin of naduu may be found in the Raijua equivalent: nadou 'Who?'. This form suggests that Raijua nadou and Sawu island naduu are present day equivalents of an earlier *qaa dou 'What person?, Who?'

8.3.2.2 qaa (Seba), Raa (Mesara) 'WHAT'

A qaa or Raa interrogative requests the identity of a non-human referent.

ne qaa nad'e
ART WHAT DEM2sg.

'What is this?'

d'ei ta qaa $ ne qaa
LIKE NON-PAST eat ABS ART WHAT

& muu
ERG 2pl.

'What would you like to eat?'

ta wabe $ noo ri qaa
NON-PAST hit(sg.) ABS 3sg. INST WHAT

'Hitting him with what?'

era ke mi qaa he
be PART LIKE WHAT' DEM1pl. ABS

ade muu
liver POSS2pl.

'Your livers are like what?'

8.3.2.3 taqaa (Seba and Mesara), tanaa (Mesara) 'WHY'

A taqaa or tanaa interrogative requests a reason for a specified action, process or state. In intransitive clauses, taqaa is always clause-initial, while in transitive clauses it is usually clause-initial but can also occur immediately after the verb. A clause-final particle ri REASON is optional (cf. ri of REASON clauses, 8.11).

Intransitive
taqaa $ noo ta i'a
WHY ABS 3sg. NON-PAST be clever

'Why is he clever?'

Transitive
taqaa $ noo ta wabe $ WHY
ERG 3sg. NON-PAST hit(sg.) ABS
dou nani
person DEM4sg.

'Why is he hitting that person?'

ta wabe taqaa ri noo $
NON-PAST hit(sg.) WHY ERG 3sg. ABS
ne dou nani
ART person DEM4sg.

'Why is he hitting that person?'

8.3.2.4 talaki 'WHY'

A talaki interrogative requests a reason for a specified action, process or state. In my data, talaki is always clause initial, and the clause always includes particle ri which indicates REASON (cf. ri of Reason clauses, 8.11).

talaki ne ' tao ou ri
WHY ART purpose POSS2sg. REASON
ta the, ri dei $ NON-PAST fill(sg.) INST dung ABS
ne beka kenana d'e ri
ART basket betel DEM2sg. REASON

'What was your purpose in filling the betel basket with dung?'

talaki $ noo ta wabe
WHY ERG 3sg. NON-PAST hit(sg.)
$ dou nani ri
ABS person DEM4sg. REASON

'Why is he hitting that person?'
8.3.2.5 pari 'WHEN, HOW MANY'

A pari interrogative requests specification of time or number.

1) WHEN

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.

\[\text{pari ke di ne kako WHEN PART ABS 1pl. (incl.) ? go}\]

'When are we going?'

\[\text{pari ne wati leo ne daka WHEN ABS Wati Leo ? come}\]

'When is Wati Leo coming?'

2) 'HOW MANY'

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.

\[\text{pari ke di ne j'ои ти HOW MUCH PART AR \text{DEM2sg.}}\]

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

\[\text{heqaa ke ne tuт ped'a HOW MUCH PART ART length illness}\]

'What is the length of the illness?' (OR 'How long was the illness?')

Price

\[\text{heqaa keb'ue napume HOW MUCH price DEM1sg.}\]

'What price is this?' (OR 'How much does this cost?')

8.3.2.7 pi'a 'BE WHERE'

Pi'a interrogative clauses request information as to the location of a specified referent. Pi'a is an Agreement verb with singular form, pe'e. It is always clause initial and often followed by particle ke.

\[\text{pi'a ш ne potoloo he BE WHERE (pl.) ABS ART pencil DEM1pl.}\]

'Where are the pencils?'

\[\text{pe'e ke ш malehu BE WHERE (sg.) PART ABS handkerchief}\]

'Where is my handkerchief?'

8.3.2.8 mii 'WHERE'

Interrogative mii is the head of a NP which requests information as to the location, locative source, or inanimate goal of a referent.

Location

\[\text{do pe'e pa mii ш ou STAT live DOC WHERE ABS 2sg.}\]

'Where do you live?'

\[\text{wabe ш noo pa mii hit (sg.) ABS mii LOCATION}\]

'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

\[\text{daka raiti mii ш ou come SCE WHERE ABS 2sg.}\]

'Where have you come from?'

8.3.2.6 heqaa 'HOW MUCH'

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

Measure

\[\text{heqaa ke ne j'ои ти HOW MUCH ke ART distance SCE d'e DEM2sg.}\]

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

Historically 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 *-e, and that the development of a rule preventing final *-a precipitated metathesis of the two vowels. See Walker (forthcoming a).

\[\text{*pira } \rightarrow {*pira *-a \rightarrow *e}\]

\[\text{*pira } \rightarrow {pari \text{ metathesis}}\]
Inanimate goal

\[ inanimate \text{ goal} \]

\[ \text{go GFS WHERE ABS 2sg.} \]

'Where are you going?'

8.3.2.9 \textit{namii} 'WHICH'

Interrogative \textit{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.

\[ \text{woman WHICH aunt POSS3sg.} \]

'Which woman is her aunt?'

\[ \text{WHICH ART book POSS2sg.} \]

'Which is your book?'

\[ \text{steal ERG 3sg. ABS buffalo WHICH} \]

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

8.3.2.10 \textit{minamii} 'HOW'

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

\[ \text{father POSS2sg. man} \]

'How did your father, a man, come to give birth to a child?'

\[ \text{word POSS2sg.} \]

'Don't try to enter his house.'

8.5 Reflexive clauses

We can recognise two kinds of reflexives in Sawu:

8.5.1 Non-emphatic reflexives

Non-emphatic reflexive clauses are transitive with \textit{æni} 'self' as ABS NP having the same referent as the ERG NP. \textit{æni} usually occurs immediately after the verb, and Agreement verbs are always plural.

\[ \text{The school child moves himself closer.} \]

\[ \text{Don't you separate yourself from me.} \]

8.5.2 Emphatic reflexives

Emphatic reflexive clauses are characterised by:

(1) absence of tense-aspect markers,
(2) particle \textit{we} which is found only in imperative clauses (see 8.13),
(3) non-obligatory addressee pronoun,
(4) clause-final lowering of intonation.

\[ \text{return IMMEDIATELY ABS 2sg.} \]

'You return immediately.'

Transitive

\[ \text{take(sg.) PART ERG 2sg. ABS ART} \]

boto nad'e

'bottle DEM2sg.

'You take this bottle.'

\[ \text{grab(sg.) ABS 3sg.} \]

'Grab him.'

The negative imperative particle, \textit{b'ole} 'DON'T', is always clause initial.

\[ \text{DON'T TRY NON-PAST enter ABS house POSS3sg.} \]

'Don't try to enter his house.'
ised by particles ma miha which are ordered immediately after the emphasised NP.

dou do tao $ napune duae
person REL do ABS DEMls. king

ma miha
EMPH SELF

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

laka pa eru kabo noo ma
strike LOC pot red-dye 3sg. EMPH

miha
SELF

'(It) landed on his own red-dye pot.'

8.6 Relative clause constructions

8.6.1 The construction

Relative clause constructions consist of:
(1) usually a head noun,
(2) usually a relative clause marker do,
(3) a postposed relative clause with deleted ERG, ABS or GOAL NP (whichever is coreferential with the head NP)
i.e. (N) (do) relative clause
In the examples below the relative clause constructions are underlined.

Deleted ERG
ne dou do hape $ j'aa
ART person REL carry ABS lsg.

hed'e
DEM2pl.

'These people who carry me.'

Deleted ABS (transitive)
kee $ ro'a na'i pa
dig(sg.) ABS hole tobacco LOC

d'ara d'oka do
interior plantation REL

pe-moo do
CAUS-clear(sg.) REL

qine ne
be mentioned earlier DEMls. sg.

'Dig a tobacco hole in the plantation which (you) cleared, which was mentioned earlier.'

Deleted ABS (intransitive)
dou do kako d'ei ruj'ara
person REL walk RGE path

'the person who is walking along the path'

Deleted GOAL
ne loko do kako $ noo la
ART river REL go ABS 3sg. DFS

ginu $ ei do
drink ABS ei do
REL

gine
be mentioned earlier DEMls. sg.

'The river to which he went and drank water, which was mentioned earlier.'

Without REL do
b'ahu ke gaka melaka
be sated PART dog be thin

'The thin dog is sated.'

era ri ke pa he-vue tabi
be ALSO PART LOC. one-COUNT bank

loko $ nadu'u megadi $
river ABS fish catch with hook ERG

dou
someone

'There was also on the river bank some fish which someone had caught (with a hook).'

Without head noun
ta nono $ do
NON-PAST dry in sun(pl.) ABS REL

ala pe-b'ska ke
PAST(pl.) PAST-cut open(pl.) PART

'The ones (i.e. fish) which were cut open are drying in the sun.'

8.6.2 Relative clause marker (REL) do

8.6.2.1 Description

As we saw above, Sawu relative clauses are usually introduced by a Relative Clause Marker do. This marker is not obviously Austronesian, but it may reflect a pattern of development common to other Indonesian languages.

Manggarai, a language of West Flores, has a form ata which functions both as a nominal (meaning 'person, human being') and as a relative clause marker. e.g.

ite ata
lpl.(incl.) person

'man' (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 (waq 'human being, man') and Omong Jakarta (oraq 'man').
The word for 'human being, person, man' in Sawu and Ndao is dou, and the Relative Clause Markers in each are, respectively, do and du. This data is, in itself, suggestive that a language common to Sawu and Ndao once had a form dou with the dual function attributed to Manggarai ata. Corroborating evidence for the historical development of -ou to -o and -u is provided by the data below:

1. Sawu rou 'leaf, hair, etc.' becomes ro- or ru when compounded with another noun (see 4.9.2).
2. Sawu and Ndao dua 'king, noble' is probably derived from dou ae 'important person'.

8.6.2.2 Other (synchronic) interpretations

Jonker (1919:713), Kern (1892:171) and Wijngaarden (1896:21) agree that do is a "betrekkelijk voornaamwoord" (i.e. relative pronoun). Lee (MS) describes it as filling 'the Relator slot of a Modifier Phrase' and translates it by 'the one who' and 'which'. These views approximate my own.

8.7 ki conditional clauses

The ki conditional clause (i.e. a clause which begins with ki) is a subordinate clause which usually precedes the main clause. It often specifies one of the possible prerequisites for the resultant performance of the main clause. kiq and kiri are unexplained variants.

8.8 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.

8.9 qi, mi purposive clauses

The qi, mi (PURP) clause is a subordinate clause which always follows the main clause. The purposive marker is either qi or mi. It immediately precedes the subordinate clause, and qi or mi is always immediately followed by either NON-PAST to or NEG d'0. There appears to be no difference in function between qi and mi.
ni d'o melara * thi ou
PURP NEG sting ABS body POSS2sg.
'Don't stand in the water there, lest your body sting.'

8.10 (ha)ku SO clauses

The (ha)ku SO clause is a subordinate clause which indicates the consequence of the action, process or state of the preceding main clause. There appears to be no difference in meaning between ku and haku

'...be poor PART ABS lsg. SO
ma ami * tulu
DTS request ABS assistance

'We got a pig, so (we) came here to request assistance.'

8.11 Reason clauses

A Reason Clause is a subordinate clause which can precede or follow the main clause. It provides a reason for the action, process or state of the main clause. In the Seba and Mesara dialects, it is introduced by one of the following: ri, rido, roui, taga or taga ri.

pe-moko * ani, ana
CAUS -be ready(pl.) ABS self child
j'aa, rido ta l
POSS1sg. REASON NON-PAST DFS
hora lada lede la b'ojo' * throw(pl.) GFS hill GFS hill ABS
muu 2pl.

'Get yourselves ready, kids, because I'm going (to the hills) to throw you into the hills.'

taga * nadu'u do wie *
REASON ABS fish STAT give ABS
ou ke qine, ana, ta
2sg. PART earlier child NON-PAST
la kala * nadu'u ko *
DFS look for ABS fish PART ERG
j'aa
1sg.

'Because I gave you the fish earlier, child, I am going to look for (more) fish.'

8.12 Auxiliary verb constructions

Sawu Auxiliary Verbs include: wae 'want', o'o 'want', d'ei 'like', i'a 'can, be able', i'a 'can, be clever at', i'a '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) ((ERG ABS)) (ta) Verb NP(s)

Transitive
wae d'o * j'ii ta
WANT NEG ERG lpl.(excl.) NON-PAST
webe * noo
hit(sg.) ABS 3sg.

'We do not want to hit him.'

wae * j'aa ta gate ri
WANT ABS lsg. NON-PAST replace ERG
ou 2sg.

'I want you to replace me.'

d'ei ta qa'a * ns qaa
LIKE NON-PAST eat ABS ART WHAT
* muu
ERG 2pl.

'What would you like to eat?'

Intransitive
ie * j'aa ta kako l
CAN ABS lsg. NON-PAST go GFS
kota Kupang
'I am allowed to go to Kupang.'

8.13 \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.

\texttt{mono} \# \(\neq\) \textit{ei} \textit{nahed'e}
lay in sun ABS ART sarong DEM1pl.

\textit{tade} \textit{kemaqu}
UNTIL be dry

'Lay the sarongs in the sun until (they) are dry.'

\texttt{hegure} \textit{tade}
lay face downwards(sg.) UNTIL

\texttt{mad'a-lod'o}
evening

'Lay it face downward until evening.'

8.14 Negation

Negation is indicated by the following: \texttt{b'ole} 'DON'T' \(\text{a}d'o\) 'NO, NOT' \
\texttt{dae \(\text{a}d'o\)} 'NOT YET'

8.14.1 \texttt{b'ole} 'DON'T'

\textit{b'ole} is the negative-imperative particle, and is always clause initial. See Imperative clauses (8.4).

8.14.2 \(\text{a}d'o\) NEG

\(\text{a}d'o\) is the non-imperative negative (NEG) particle.

8.14.2.1

The unabbreviated \textit{a}d'o negates non-verbals (including 'YET' in 'NOT YET' - see below); e.g.

\texttt{ad'o j'a\text{a}a ubu naba}
NEG 1SG. Ubu Naba

'I am not Ubu Naba.'

\texttt{ad'o duae do tao \# napune}
NEG king REL do ABS DEM1sg.

'It was not the king who did it.'

\texttt{ad'o ke-wari wata ke-qahu wari}
NEG one-time BUT one-hundred time

'Not once, but a hundred times.' (Kern 1892:180)

\textit{ad'o} can also be a single word response to an imperative, or yes-no interrogative.

8.14.2.2 \textit{d'o}

The abbreviated form \textit{d'o} negates verbs (and 'YET' in 'NOT YET' - see below). It usually occurs immediately after the verb (i.e. nothing can intervene).

\texttt{pid'e} \textit{d'o ri ubu naba \#}
pick up(sg.) NEG Erg Ubu Naba ABS

\texttt{ne malehu pune}
ART handkerchief DEM1sg.

'Ubu Naba did not pick up the handkerchief.'

\texttt{wae d'o ke ta p\~e-hi\~aqa}
WANT NEG PART NON-PAST REC-be friends

\# \text{roo}
ABS 3pl.

'They do not want to be friends.'

Particle \textit{d'o} can immediately precede the verb if it also occurs immediately after \texttt{ki(ri)} CONDITIONAL, \texttt{haku} (SO), STATIVE \texttt{do}, Relative Clause Marker \texttt{do}, or \texttt{lohe} 'TOO, QUITE' (see 7.25).

\texttt{ki(ri) CONDITIONAL}

\texttt{ki(ri) d'o tao \# j'a\text{a}a m\text{\textcircled{}}}
IF NEG do ABS 1sg. LIKE

\texttt{nahed'e, jad'i d'o ta ie}
DEM2pl. become NEG NON-PAST be good

\# \text{ne wihu ne}
ABS ART boil DEM1sg.

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

\texttt{haku RESULT}

\texttt{do p\text{\textasciitilde}{\text{\textcircled{a}}}a \# j'a\text{a}, haku d'o}
STAT be sick ABS 1sg. RESULT NEG

\texttt{j'a\text{a}a lod'o d'e}
work day DEM2sg.

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

\texttt{STATIVE do}

\texttt{ta ke\text{\textcircled{\textit{lo}}}e tuu-tuu ke \#}
NON-PAST be tired EXCESS PART ABS

\texttt{j'a\text{a}, haku do d'o kako \# j'a\text{a}}
1sg. RESULT STAT NEG go ABS 1sg.

\texttt{la dimu}
GFS Dimu

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

\texttt{REL do}

\texttt{me hubi due do d'o jad'i}
ART blossom lontar REL NEG become

\texttt{ta qape}
NON-PAST squeeze(sg.)
8.14.3 'NOT YET': dae d'o, ad'o dae

8.14.3.0 Introduction

dae d'o and ad'o dae also perform a non-imperative negative function, meaning 'not now, but possible later' (i.e. 'not yet'). ad'o is the negative particle 'NO, NOT'. The particle dae 'YET' is only known to occur in dae d'o and ad'o dae.

8.14.3.1 dae d'o

dae d'o, which may or may not be used in response to a question, always occurs immediately after the verb it negates. e.g.

Response to a question
Question: baj'i muu?
be asleep ABS 2pl.

'Are you(pl.) asleep?'

Response: baj'i dae d'o
be asleep YET NOT ABS
j'ii
lpl.(excl.)

'He is still asleep.'

Observation
duae merei dae d'o ti baj'i
king wake up YET NOT SCE sleep

'The king is not awake yet.'

8.14.3.2 ad'o dae

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

Question: merei ke moo?
wake up PART ABS 3sg.

'Is he awake?'

Response: ad'o dae, maa
NOT YET be near(sg.) STAT
baj'i ko
be asleep PART

'Not yet. (He) is still asleep.'

8.14.4 Comparative notes

Like Sawu, Ndao has a non-imperative negative particle ad'o. It is possible that both are related to:
(1) Sumba Kodi negative particle ndjadoe (Wielenga 1909:171) which can be interpreted as /njad'u/. Wielenga's ndj is a voiced prenasalised palatal affricate /nj/; oe is consistently /w/, 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 embu 'DON'T' (writer's fieldnotes). e.g.

embu whu d'u
DON'T sit PART

'Don't sit.'

8.15 Possession

Sawu indicates possession by postposing a pronoun, possessor noun, or possessive relative clause.
(1) possessive pronouns (see 4.1)
(2) possessor nouns
e.g. emu 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: safi' 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'a made ke na nadu'u
THEN die PART ART fish

la'a j'aa hart-hari
possess ERG 1sg. ↔-all-→

'Then, all the fish I possess die.'

qa'a unu dii ke
food possess ERG 1pl.(incl.) PART

nade DEM2sg.

'This is our food.'

nade na emu oha moo
DEM2sg. ART house own ERG 3sg.

'This is (the) house he owns.'

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

8.16 Comparison

Sawu has three types of comparison.
8.16.1 hela'u 'be same'

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

pe-oia d'0 hari do d'ue.
REC-finish(pl.) NEG ALL LIG two
hela'u ne rui be same ABS ART strength

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

hela'u ne nad'e qa nani be same ABS DEM2sg. COM  DEM4sg.

'This is the same as that.'

8.16.2 mi 'LIKE'

Similarity is indicated by a mi clause, which follows the verb it refers to. In both transitive and intransitive clauses, the verb of the mi clause can be deleted. In transitive clauses, the NP which is not the standard of comparison can be deleted.

Transitive verb deleted
minami qi ta nara ne j'aa HOW PURP NON-PAST get ERG 1sg.
ne doi do ae mi ne ABS ART coin REL be many LIKE ERG
nool nah'd'e 3sg. DEM4pl.

'How can I get lots of coins like he got?'

Intransitive verb deleted
kako ne mi nad'u go ABS 3sg. LIKE ABS fish

'He moves (goes along) like a fish.'

Transitive NP deleted
ha'o ne noo mi ha'o nurse(sg.) ABS 3sg. LIKE nurse(sg.)
ri mama ERG mother

'Nurse him like mother does!'

8.16.3 rihi (ti)qa 'MORE THAN'

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

do rihi keb'ob'u ne ina
STAT MORE be fat ABS mother
ou (ti)qa ne ina j'aa POSS2sg. THAN ABS mother POSS1sg.

'Your mother is fatter than my mother.'

do rihi qa. keb'ob'u ne ina
STAT MORE THAN be fat ABS mother
j'aa ne ina ou POSS1sg. ABS mother POSS2sg.

'Your mother is fatter than my mother.'

8.17 Coordination

8.17.0 Introduction

Coordination of non-sequential clauses is indicated by a conjunction placed between the two clauses. With three or more clauses indicating a sequence, the conjunction is only obligatory between the last two clauses (see 8.17.2 ).

8.17.1 qa 'AND'

qa conjoins two clauses which represent the same time span. Unlike j'e (8.17.2 ) and d'ai/d'ae (8.17.3 ), it does not indicate that the action, process or state of the second clause is subsequent to that of the former.

b'ale ne noo qa pege return ABS 3sg. AND think

'He returns thinking'

ta kako ke ne bala dilu NON-PAST go PART ABS Bala Dalu qa ego ne uda la AND carry(sg.) ABS crow-bar

d'ara d'oka ne interior plantation DEMlsg.

'Bala Dilu goes into the plantation carrying a crow-bar.'

uru ti g'0 kako ne noo, before SCE NEG go ABS 3sg.

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

wie duae qa egu wo-kerab'o BEN king AND fetch(pl.) PROD-pumpkin

d'ue b'ue two COUNT

'Before he left, he wrote a letter for the king and fetched two pumpkins.'
8.17.2 j'е 'THEN'

j'е indicates a temporal relation between two clauses such that the action, process or state of the second is subsequent to the former. j'е can immediately precede any clause after the first clause, but must precede the last clause in a sequence.

"Give me one rupiah to buy food today," (the blind man) says. Then the child says, "There isn't any money to give you."

8.17.4 b'ale 'THEN'

b'ale 'THEN' performs the same function as d'ai, d'ae. It is possible that this conjunction is historically related to the verb b'ale 'return'.

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

8.17.5 ta 'AFTER'

"The mother says, "Stay in the house.""

8.17.6 tapulara, tapi, (wata) 'BUT'

tapulara and tapi both indicate a contrastive relationship between two clauses. tapulara or tapi precedes the second clause (tapi is a Malay loanword - from Malay tapi, tetapi 'but').

"I did see (it), but did not pick (it) up."

50
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.

Not once, but a hundred times' (Kern)

In my data, it only occurs as an infrequent particle, (see 7.14).
'He got down, (he) scraped up the horse dung, then (he) dropped (it) into the king's betel basket.'

'Mr Bura Tohi finished butchering the animals, (and) Mr Hab'a Maru did not give (him) anything.'

We can, therefore, conclude that role is significant in a transitive clause in that ERG and ABS NPs usually precede other NPs, but is not significant with regard to the relative order of ERG and ABS within the same clause.

8.20.2 Reference

In Sawu, referents of NPs can be unambiguously rated as being more highly referential than the referents of other NPs on the basis of (1) their position on the Referentiality Hierarchy, and (2) whether they are definite or indefinite.

8.20.2.1 Referentiality hierarchy

It is clear that in some languages, the word order of NPs in a clause is determined by a referential hierarchy. For example, in Navajo (Hale 1972), the NP whose referent is higher on the Navajo referential hierarchy will be the leftmost. Thus 'human' would precede 'other animate', and 'animate' would precede 'inanimate'.

human >'other inanimate ) inanimate

Furthermore, Foley and Van Valin (1977) observe that "there appears to be a universal hierarchy of inherent topic-worthiness called variously the Natural Topic Hierarchy (Hawkinson and Hyman 1974), Inherent Lexical Content Hierarchy (Silverstein 1977) and Referentiality Hierarchy (Foley 1976b)." The Hierarchy in universal terms is (Foley 1976b):

speaker> hearer> human proper
human common> animate> inanimate

An NP whose referent is higher on the Referentiality Hierarchy (RH) will be referred to as more highly RH referential.

Intransitive

In an intransitive clause the more highly RH referential NP is almost without exception the leftmost NP. There is, thus, a strong correlation between RH referentiality and word order.

Transitive

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>

8.20 Word order and the leftmost NP

In many languages, the clause's leftmost NP has special significance. In some, it represents a particular role (e.g. Actor or Experiencer and not Patient or Goal). In some it represents the most highly referential NP. It is, therefore, the aim of this section to examine whether role and reference factors in any way influence the Sawu speakers choice of leftmost NP.

8.20.1 Role

Each Sawu case represents a particular semantic role or range of semantic roles (4.4, 8.1.1). Therefore, an analysis of the relative word order of the case of NPs will highlight any preference of a particular role or range of roles for the leftmost position.

Intransitive

In an intransitive clause, the ABS NP

is almost without exception the leftmost NP. There is, thus, a strong correlation between role and word order.

Transitive

A thorough examination of eight lengthy texts revealed that the leftmost NP in a transitive clause is usually ERG or ABS. Using a data base of 75 clauses from these eight texts, it was also discovered that the leftmost ABS NP precedes the ERG NP almost as often as the leftmost ERG NP precedes the ABS (see table 9).

Table 9: Word order of ERG and ABS NPs

<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.

8.20.2 Reference

In Sawu, referents of NPs can be unambiguously rated as being more highly referential than the referents of other NPs on the basis of (1) their position on the Referentiality Hierarchy, and (2) whether they are definite or indefinite.

8.20.2.1 Referentiality hierarchy

It is clear that in some languages, the word order of NPs in a clause is determined by a referential hierarchy. For example, in Navajo (Hale 1972), the NP whose referent is higher on the Navajo referential hierarchy will be the leftmost. Thus 'human' would precede 'other animate', and 'animate' would precede 'inanimate'.

human >'other inanimate ) inanimate

Furthermore, Foley and Van Valin (1977) observe that "there appears to be a universal hierarchy of inherent topic-worthiness called variously the Natural Topic Hierarchy (Hawkinson and Hyman 1974), Inherent Lexical Content Hierarchy (Silverstein 1977) and Referentiality Hierarchy (Foley 1976b)." The Hierarchy in universal terms is (Foley 1976b):

speaker> hearer> human proper> human common> animate> inanimate

An NP whose referent is higher on the Referentiality Hierarchy (RH) will be referred to as more highly RH referential.

Intransitive

In an intransitive clause the more highly RH referential NP is almost without exception the leftmost NP. There is thus a strong correlation between RH referentiality and word order.

Transitive
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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb High Low</td>
<td>45  60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Low High</td>
<td>28  37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Same Same</td>
<td>2   3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>75  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.

8.20.2.2 Definiteness

A definite NP is one whose referent is identifiable. In Chafe's words, 'The assumption in this case is not just "I assume you already know this referent", but also "I assume you can pick out, from all the referents that might be categorized in this way the one I have in mind"' (1976:39). Definite NPs are therefore more highly referential than indefinite NPs.

In a Sawu transitive clause, the most common pattern (see Table 11) is the verb followed by two definite NPs (60%). Of the remainder, Verb-Indefinite NP-Definite NP (23%) is slightly more common than Verb-Definite NP-Indefinite NP (13%). As intransitive clauses reveal a similar pattern, we must conclude that there is no obvious link between definiteness and the leftmost NP.

Table 11: Word order of Definite NPs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative word order</th>
<th>NO.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb Definite Definite</td>
<td>45  60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Definite Indefinite</td>
<td>10  13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Indefinite Definite</td>
<td>17  23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Indefinite Indefinite</td>
<td>3   4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>75  100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.21 The distribution of Keenan's subject properties

8.21.0 Introduction

Keenan (1976) has devised a list of subject properties which, he claims, will enable one to identify the subject in the basic clause of any language. He admits that no property in itself is sufficient to identify the subject. Rather, the NP with the most subject properties is the subject. It is, therefore, the aim of this section to analyse the distribution of some of these subject properties in the Sawu clause.

8.21.1 The properties

The properties to be discussed are as follows:

8.21.1.1 Role properties

1. "The semantic role (Agent, Experiencer, etc.) of the referent of a b-subject is predictable from the form of the main verb" (p.321). b-subjects are the subjects of "semantically basic sentences" (p.306).
2. "b-subjects normally express the agent of the action, if there is one." (p.321)
3. "Subjects normally express the addressee phrase of imperatives." (p.321)
4. "Independent existence. The entity that a b-subject refers to (if any) exists independently of the action or property expressed by the predicate. This is less true for non-subjects." (pp.312-13)

8.21.1.2 Reference properties (Ref.)

1. The NPs which can be coreferentially deleted across coordinate conjunctions include b-subjects. (p.317)
2. b-subjects are among the possible controllers of coreferential deletions and pronominalizations. (p.315)
3. Topic. b-subjects are normally the topic of the b-sentence, i.e. they identify what the speaker is talking about. (p.318)
4. The NPs which can be relativized ... include b-subjects. (p.320)
5. "Highly Referential" NPs, e.g. personal pronouns, proper nouns, and demonstratives can always occur as subjects. (p.319)
6. b-subjects are normally the leftmost occurring NP in b-sentences.
7. The NPs which can be ... questioned ... include b subjects.

8.21.1.3 Other properties

1. b-subjects of intransitive sentences are usually not case marked if any of the NPs in the language are not case marked. (p.320)
2. The NPs which control verb agreement, if any, include b-subjects. (p.316)

8.21.2 Distribution

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

8.21.2.1 Intransitive

If we accept Keenan's hypothesis, the subject of a Sawu intransitive clause must be the ABS NP because it has more of the role, reference and other properties of subjects than any other NP.

Role properties

(1) Role 1. In Sawu, the semantic role of the ABS referent is weekly predictable from the form of the main verb, if it is one of the few intransitive agreement verbs. As we saw in 4.4, referents of intransitive ABS NPs are:
(a) referents which do something,
(b) referents to which a non-cognitive state is attributed,
(c) referents to which a change of state is attributed,
(d) referents which do something which
brings about a change of state in that referent, (e) referents which cry, laugh, etc.

(2) Role 2. If the agent of the action can be described as 'the referent which does something', then intransitive ABS NPs express the agent of the action, if there is one.

(3) Role 3. In intransitive clauses, ABS NPs always express the addressee phrase of imperatives.

\[ j'e \ b'ale \ d'\text{\textasciitilde}e-d'\text{\textasciitilde}e \ \& \ ou \ \text{THEN return IMMEDIATELY ABS 2sg.} \]

'Then you return immediately.'

Reference properties

(1) Ref. 1. Intransitive ABS NPs can be coreferentially deleted across coordinate conjunctions.

\[ \text{kako \ & \ noo \ la \ tabi \ dahi \ j'e \ go \ ABS 3sg. GFS edge sea THEN} \]

\[ j'\text{iu-ei} \ \text{bathe} \]

'He goes to the sea-shore, then (he) bathes.'

(2) Ref. 2. Only the ABS NP can control coreferential deletion across clauses.

\[ \text{ta \ kako \ & \ roo \ la \ hore \ NON-PAST go \ ABS 3pl. DFS throw(sg.)} \]

\[ \& \ \text{noo \ la \ d'ara \ dahi \ ABS 3sg. GFS inside sea} \]

'They will go and (they will) throw (him) into the sea.'

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

\[ \text{ta \ kako \ ke \ & \ roo \ la \ NON-PAST go \ PART ABS 3pl. GFS} \]

\[ \text{hab'a \ Seba} \]

'They go to Seba.'

In the preceding clauses, the two main characters of the story have been introduced. The journey to Seba is the first of a series of events about these two characters, here represented by roo 'they'.

(4) Ref. 4. The ABS NP is one of three intransitive NPs which can be relativised (see 8.6.1).

\[ \text{dou \ do \ kako \ d'ei \ ruj'ara \ person REL walk RCE path} \]

'Someone who is walking along the path.'

(5) Ref. 5. The ABS NP can be highly RH referential, and can be definite (see 8.20.2).

(6) Ref. 6. The intransitive ABS NP is almost invariably the leftmost NP (see 8.20.1).

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

\[ \text{ta \ mari \ & \ naduu} \ NON-PAST \ \text{laugh ABS WHO} \]

'Who is laughing?'

Other properties

There is no clear indication that the two properties below should be regarded as either role-related or reference-related. They do, however, confirm the choice of intransitive ABS as subject.

(1) Other 1. Unlike other intransitive NPs, the ABS is always unmarked for Case (see 4.4).

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

\[ \text{ta \ peka\text{\textasciitilde}u \ & \ ne \ qaka} \ NON-PAST \ \text{yelp(pl.) ABS ART dog} \]

\[ \text{he} \ \text{DEM1pl.} \]

'The dogs are yelping.'

\[ \text{ta \ peka\text{\textasciitilde}o \ & \ ne \ qaka} \ NON-PAST \ \text{yelp(sg.) ABS ART dog} \]

\[ \text{ne} \ \text{DEM1sg.} \]

'The dog is yelping.'

\[ \text{ta \ ila} \ \& \ \text{roo} \ NON-PAST \ \text{disappear(pl.) ABS 3pl.} \]

'They will disappear.'

\[ \text{ta \ ele} \ \& \ \text{noo} \ NON-PAST \ \text{disappear(sg.) ABS 3sg.} \]

'He will disappear.'

8.21.2.2 Transitive

In Sawu transitive clauses, ERG and ABS NPs have more of Keenan's subject properties than other NPs.

Role properties

ERG

(1) Role 1. The semantic role of the ERG referent is not predictable from the form of the main verb. Referents of ERG NPs are usually:

(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.
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.

Role 3. Since ERG referents include those which do something, ERG NPs always express the addressee phrase of imperatives.

'You take this bottle.'

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.

These two clauses occur in a text about a fisherman. In both clauses, the handkerchief is in ABS case.

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.

hame ri dua ≠ ne receive(sg.) ERG king ABS ART

huri napune, j'e aj'e letter DEM1sg. THEN read

'The king received the letter, then (he) read (it).'

(2) Ref. 2. It follows that ERG and ABS NPs are among the possible controllers of coreferential deletions and pronominalisations.

(3) Ref. 3. Either ERG or ABS NPs can be what the speaker is talking about.
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; Baraï, 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.

* * *

tive clauses are summarized in Table 12 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 12: 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>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. expresses the agent</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. imperative addressee</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. independent existence</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</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></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></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. can be questioned</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other property</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. verb agreement</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>10</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.0 Introduction

Ndao is the language of more than 2,000 people who live on the islands of Ndao and Nuse within 12 kms of the west coast of Roti, but some 90 kms from Sawu. Ndao is larger than Nuse "with a habitable area of 9 sq.km" "The soil is poor, and the land is bare and given over largely to coconut palms." Thus, the "island supports only a limited amount of house garden agriculture." The "chief domesticated animals are pigs, chickens and dogs" and the major exports "copra and coconut oil." "The men of Ndao are gold-and-silver smiths who travel throughout the Timor Archipelago." Most are multilingual. (This account is taken from Fox 1972.)

The Ndao people claim that their ancestors came from Sawu, that for a long period of time there was extensive trade between the two, and that the Ndao were able to resist the cultural influences of neighbouring Roti. But in the last ten to twenty years there have been a number of significant changes. Their "communal ceremonies that followed an ancient lunar calendar" have been abandoned, and their traditional Sawu-like cloth patterns have been replaced by those of Roti (Fox - personal communication). Many Ndao now speak Roti, wear distinctive Roti hats, and betray Roti influence in their Ndao lexicon.

My own research on Ndao was carried out in Kupang from November 1975, to January 1976. My informants were Mr. Petrus Lodoh (then, a 21 year old schoolteacher) and Paulus Fatu (then, a 32 year old silver craftsman and shipping agent). Both were valuable sources of elicited material, and Paulus narrated eight texts (a total of 30 minutes).

To my knowledge, the only literature on the language of Ndao is as follows: (1) Jonker (1903) provides a text, Dutch translation, and grammatical and comparative notes. He is the first to observe that "De taal bleek een 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.

9.1 Phonology

9.1.1 Phoneme inventories

The phoneme inventories are very similar. Ndao has 21 consonants and six vowels, while Sawu has 20 and six respectively. Ndao and Sawu are unique in that they are the only languages of eastern Indonesia to have four implosive stops. Ndao has /s/ and /c/ which Sawu does not. Sawu has /w/ which Ndao does not. The vowel phonemes are identical (compare 2.0).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 13: Ndao Consonant Phonemes</th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveo-</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless affricate</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced affricate</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></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>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></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></td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14: Ndao Vowel Phonemes</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>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.1.2 Phonotactics

With the exception of a few words which have four or more syllables, an Ndao root has the same phonological structure as Sawu, i.e. \((C_1V_1)(C_2)V_2(C_3)V_3\). I have not done a count of disyllables and trisyllables but the latter seem to be much more common in Ndao than Sawu.

Like Sawu, Ndao \(C_3\) can be any consonant, and \(C_2\) any consonant except glottal stop. Similarly, \(V_2\) can be any vowel, and \(V_3\) any vowel except shewa. Ndao \(V_1\) is almost invariably \(a\). This corresponds to 80% of Sawu \(V_1\) being \(e\).

9.1.3 Vowel clusters

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

9.1.4 Word stress
Ndao word stress is penultimate.

9.2 Noun phrase constituents, verbs, clause modifiers

9.2.1 Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 15: Ndao pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (nágu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

9.2.2 Demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 16: Ndao Demonstratives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distant from speaker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike Sawu, Ndao seems to lack a common article.

9.2.4 Case prepositions

Ndao Case Prepositions are as follows:

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

- **GOAL (INANIMATE) SOURCE**
  sa (Sawu la, ma)
  geti, nati, ti (Sawu (rati)
  (gaditi)

- **INSTRUMENT; COMITATIVE**
  deghe (Sawu INST ri, COM ga)

- **GOAL (ANIMATE) BENEFATIVE**
  hia (Sawu GA pa, BEN wie)

Only the source prepositions, and the benefactive have any resemblance to the sawu forms, (rati) (gaditi) and we respectively. The equivalent of sawu erg and abs NPs are not marked, since they are easily determined by what appears to be a rigid erg verb abs word order.

9.2.5 Numerals

9.2.5.1 Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals are essentially the same as the sawu forms which are in parentheses below (see also 4.5.1).

1. sa(i), ca- (shi, he-)
2. d'ua (d'ue)
3. talu (talu)
4. apa (apa)
5. lámé (lámé)

Ndao ordinal numerals are formed by prefixing ka-, the equivalent of sawu ke- (see 4.5.2). e.g.

Ndao: ka-o'i Sawu: ke-shi

ORD-one ORD one

'first' 'first'

9.2.6 Counters (COUNT)

Ndao counters include:

1. ca'tu (sg.), ci'tu (pl) for animals, birds, fish, crabs, eels, etc. (Sawu ci'tu). ca'tu appears to be a reduction of ca-gi'tu (i.e. one-COUNT).
2. b'ala for counting number of traditional woven cloths and pandanus mats, but not trousers and paper (Sawu b'ala).
3. b'equ for rings and spoons (Sawu b'equ).
4. kapua for whole trees (Sawu kepue).
5. náda for rifles (Sawu kewudi).
6. cue (sg.), bua (pl) for botanical produce, houses, plantations, etc. (Sawu wae, b'ue).
7. kadas for lengths of string, rope (Sawu kadas).
8. lamuri for grains of salt, sand or sugar, and peanuts (Sawu lamuri).
9. paku'u just for pieces of cake (Sawu kadas).
10. katu for hardened lumps of lontar syrup (Sawu wae, b'ue).
11. b'aka for counting plates, cakes(?), and bracelets (not by pairs).
12. ná for counting bracelets by pairs.
13. lai for counting paper (Sawu b'ala).
14. pacuru for spoonfuls (Sawu kab'a-huru).
15. aru for pots (Sawu aru).
16. kateri for bunches of bananas (Sawu kabi, japt).
17. ti for bunches of bananas (Sawu kabi, japt).

In my data, Ndao Numeral plus Counter always follows the head noun, whereas the Sawu construction can occur before or after. About half the forms are similar to those in Sawu (see 4.6).

9.2.7 Nominalisation

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

\[(C_1)V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow (C_1)a-(C_1)V_1C_2V_2\]
e.g. (1) qa'a (to) eat → qa-qa'a' food
(2) qinu (to) drink → qa-qinu drink
(3) gee (to) think → qa-gee thought
(4) ge (to) lock → qa-go lock
(5) sab'a (to) work → sa-sab'a work
(6) dui (to) carry → da-dui carrying stick w. a stick
(7) mou be clean → ma-mou intelligence
(8) abu get, obtain → a-abu opinion

9.2.8 Verb agreement

Both Sawu and Ndao have Agreement verbs but the systems are quite different. In Sawu, a large number of verbs have two forms which differ primarily in the final vowel. One form agrees with the singular ABS or GA NP, and the other with the plural. While there are a number of verbs in Ndao with two forms which differ according to the final vowel, the available evidence suggests that they are free variants and not indicators of verb agreement.

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>k-</td>
<td>ta'a</td>
<td>q'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-</td>
<td>mi'a</td>
<td>ra'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-</td>
<td>na'e</td>
<td>ra'e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.2.9 Causative

Ndao can indicate a Causative function in three ways.
(1) It can simply prefix Causative pa- (like Sawu Causative pe-) as in pa-mae 'CAUSE-be dead, kill, murder' (Sawu pe-made).
(2) Causative pa-can co-occur with verb tao 'make' as in tao pa-be'a meaning 'repair, make good' from ne'a 'be good'.
(3) tao can simply precede another verb as in tao hiu 'replace' from hiu 'be new'. Sawu is, of course, restricted to using the causative po- prefix (see 5.2.2). The use of tao in Ndao is probably attributable to the influence of other languages, particularly Bahasa Kupang (the non-standard Indonesian variant spoken in the region).

9.2.10 Reciprocal

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

e.g. kabao pa-tebu 'sell' (Sawu pe-ibe)

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

9.2.11 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 la.

9.2.12 Directional markers

Ndao does not have directional markers la and ma like those in Sawu, but it does have...
'verbs' laku, etc. 'go' and mai 'come' which immediately precede other verbs and indicate direction. It seems distinctly possible that the lpl.(excl.) form of 'go' la'a (see 9.2.8) and mai 'come' are the historical antecedents of Sawu la and ma.

Ndao: Text 7
ou lamu da'u kab'a kapui,
2sg. go(sg.) pick up shell oyster

ka ou mai udu ma emu ne'e
THEN 2sg come stack LOC house this

'You go and pick up oyster shells, then you come and stack (them) at this house.'

9.2.13 Existential and deictic verbs

I am not aware of an Ndao existential verb, or Ndao deictic verb. Perhaps the most likely candidate for the former is Ndao era which is identical in form to the sawu existential verb era. In the few examples I have available, era appears to be some kind of non-obligatory present tense marker (PRES). e.g.
ja'a kinu era
1sg. drink(lsg.) PRES
'I am drinking.'

nabu sab'a era
3sg. work PRES
'He is (still) working.'

9.2.14 Clause modifiers

9.2.14.1 Excessive adverbs

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

9.2.14.2 Particles

I have been able to identify the following particles in Ndao.
(1) ka occurs immediately after the verb in both imperative and non-imperative clauses. It is possibly related to the sawu Particle ke (see 7.12 ).

\[ \text{ele ka} \]
\[ \text{finish PART} \]
'(It is) finished.'

lamu ka, ana ja'a
go(2sg.) PART child POSS1sg.
'Go (home), my child.'

(2) ku occurs in imperative clauses, and is post-verb. Compare sawu ko (see 7.8 ).

\[ \text{pa-na'i} \]
\[ \text{CAUS-medicine FIRST PART} \]
\[ \text{child that} \]
'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'.

\[ \text{di} \]
\[ \text{just, only as in the examples below.} \]
\[ \text{a'a} \]
\[ \text{older sibling ONLY 3sg. go(3sg.)} \]
'Only (my) older sibling (will) go.'

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

9.3 Syntax

9.3.1 Word order

As mentioned in 9.2.4, the word orders of ERG Verb ABS and ABS Verb are the norm for transitive and intransitive clauses respectively. This contrasts sharply with the clearly preferred verb-initial pattern of sawu.

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

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

9.3.2 Interrogative clauses

Most of the question words below are similar in form and function to their sawu equivalents, cee 'WHO' and tasamia 'HOW' are the most divergent in form.

9.3.2.1 cee 'WHO' (Sawu naduu, nadou)

\[ \text{cee miu} \]
\[ \text{WHO you(pl.)} \]
'Who are you?'

\[ \text{mai d'age, cee} \]
\[ \text{come COM WHO} \]
'(you) came with whom?'

\[ \text{rou saauri cee} \]
\[ \text{book \rightarrow WHO} \]
'Whose book?'

9.3.2.2 qaa 'WHAT' (Sawu qaa)

\[ \text{qaa qara lii dao} \]
\[ \text{WHAT name language Ndao} \]
'What's its name in Ndao?'
9.3.2.3 qaqa-tao 'WHY' (Sawu taqqa)

qaqa-tao ke nəgu pea etu ne'e
WHY PART 3sg. stay LOC here
or: nəgu pea etu ne'e qaqa-tao
3sg. stay LOC here WHY

'Why is he staying here?'

9.3.2.4 peri 'WHEN, HOW MANY, HOW MUCH' (Sawu peri)

peri lodo nəgu mai
HOW MANY day 3sg. come

'When is he coming?'

9.3.2.5 mia 'WHERE' (Sawu mii)

etu mia nəgu
LOC WHERE 3sg.

'Where is he?'

9.3.2.6 tasamia 'HOW' (Sawu minamii)

tasamia nəgu
HOW 3sg.

'How is he?'

9.3.3 Imperative clauses

Sawu and Ndawo 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 Ndawo prefers ku and to a lesser extent ka.

The Ndawo negative imperative particle b'aku, like Sawu b'ole (8.4) is always clause initial; e.g.

b'aku made
DON'T die

'Don't die.' (Sawu b'ole made)

b'aku nasa
DON'T be angry

'Don't be angry.' (Sawu b'ole bubu)

9.3.4 Reflexive clauses

9.3.4.1 Non-emphatic reflexive

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

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

nəgu game hari qi'u nəgu
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.

nəgu 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
Isg. hit self lsg.

'I hit myself.'

ou game unu mu
2sg. hit self POSS2sg.

'You hit yourself.'

9.3.4.2 Emphatic reflexive

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

NP1 mesa PRONOUN1
ja'a mesa ku pea etu ne'e
Isg. self lsg. stay LOC here

'I (will) stay here by myself.'

The Sawu pattern is similar in that it also consists of NP followed by miha 'self', but differs in that the emphatic particle ma must intervene.

i.e. NP ma miha

9.3.5 Relative clause constructions

Ndawo Relative Clause Constructions are
essentially the same as those in Sawu. The non-obligatory Relative Clause Marker is du corresponding to Sawu do.

\[ \text{era du b'es'a} \]
place REL be good

'a good place'

\[ \text{lolo-baqi du ra'e} \]
pawpaw REL eat(3pl.)

'The pawpaw which they ate.'

9.3.6 Conditional clauses

The only type of Ndao conditional clause known to me is that which begins with \text{lade} 'IF'. The Sawu equivalents are ki and \text{kai}. \[ \text{lade ja'a sala boe, na'eg segi boe} \]
IF lsg. wrong NEG 3sg. win NEG

'If I am not wrong, he will not win.'

\[ \text{lade ja'a pada, laku boe} \]
IF lsg. sick go(lsg.) NEG

'If I am sick, (I) will not go.'

9.3.7 Purposive clauses

Ndao \text{sa} immediately precedes the purposive subordinate clause. Its function is the same as that of Sawu \text{gi} or \text{mi}.

\[ \text{na'eg kepe kacui-ai ina na} \]
3sg. grab hand mother POSS3sg.

\[ \text{sa} \text{na'eg b'obe boe} \]
PURP 3sg. fall NEG

'He grabbed his mother's hand so that he would not fall.'

\[ \text{ja'a laku ea kota ho sa} \text{na ka} \]
lsg. go(lsg.) GOAL Kupang ? PURP

\[ \text{aj'a zii dao} \]
study language Ndao

'I went to Kupang in order to study Ndao.'

9.3.8 Reason clause

Ndao \text{gati} (and perhaps also \text{kati}) introduces a subordinate reason clause. Once again, it has a similar function to that of Sawu \text{ri}, \text{rido}, \text{roui}, \text{taga}, or \text{taga ri}.

\[ \text{ja'a bai'ja' gati ja'a roe} \]
lsg. be asleep REASON lsg. be tired

'I was asleep because I was tired.'

\[ \text{ja'a ped'a gati ja'a ku'a} \]
lsg. be sick REASON lsg. eat(lsg.)

buja
dog

'I am sick because I ate a dog.'

9.3.9 Auxiliary constructions

Ndao \text{neo} 'want, desire' and \text{ko'a} (etc.) 'want' (compare Sawu \text{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.

\[ \text{ja'a neo laku} \]
lsg. WANT go(lsg.)

'I want to go.'

\[ \text{ja'a neo kinu} \]
lsg. WANT drink(lsg.)

'I want to drink.'

\[ \text{busa no'o rai} \]
dog WANT flee

'The dog wants to run away.'

9.3.10 Negation

Ndao \text{do} or \text{do'ad'ao} negates non-verbs (as does Sawu \text{d'o}).

\[ \text{na'eg do'ad'ao dao} \]
3sg. NEG person Ndao

'He is not Ndao.'

Ndao \text{boe} (like Sawu \text{d'o}) negates verbs.

\[ \text{na'eg ne'ad'ao boe} \text{dou dao} \]
3sg. know(3sg.) NEG person Ndao

'He does not know Ndao people.'

Ndao \text{dale} indicates 'NOT YET'. It differs from the Sawu form in the absence of a NEG particle (compare Sawu \text{ad'a d'a} and \text{d'a d'o}, 8.14).

The Ndao negative imperative \text{b'aku} is discussed in 9.3.3.

9.3.11 Possession

Like Sawu, Ndao possessive pronouns and nouns follow the head noun. I do not have any data on Ndao possessive relative clauses (see also 9.2.1).

9.3.12 Comparison

9.3.12.1 \text{sema} 'LIKE'

\[ \text{na'eg qaa-qaa do'ad'a sema ja'a} \]
3sg. poor LIKE lsg.

'He is poor like me.'

\[ \text{na'eg bani-ia sema hela aj'a} \]
3sg. beautiful LIKE flower wood
du be'a
REL be good

'She is pretty like a beautiful flower.'

Sawu makes use of \text{hela'iu} 'be same', and the
9.3.12  risi-ele ti 'MORE THAN'

Ndao risi-ele ti is not unlike Sawu rihi (ti)ga (8.16.3), and the functions are the same.

nex mu risi-ele ti ja'a
3sg. be clever MORE THAN lsg.

'The he is cleverer than I.'

9.3.13 Coordination

The two most common Ndao clausal conjunctions are ka 'THEN', and hia 'THEN'. The Sawu equivalents are: j'e, d'ai, d'ae and bale.

ka nuu nare are
3sg. take(3sg.) rice-plant

ka la'e maj'u
THEN go(3sg.) pound

'Then he took the rice-plants... then went and pound (then).'

manu no'o boe rai, hia nuu
fowl WANT NEG flee THEN 3sg.

esa ka
be angry PART

'The fowl did not want to flee, (and) then he became angry.'

The contrastive conjunction is te 'BUT'. Sawu forms are: tapt, tapulana.

dou dua heli kahib'ti ed
person two buy goat 1pl.(incl.)

te ja'a ko'o
BUT lsg. WANT(lsg.) 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.

nex ped'a do mou
3sg. be sick OR be clever

'He is either sick or clever.'

As in Sawu, the conjunction occurs between the two coordinate clauses.

9.4 Lexicon

Ndao o corresponds to Sawu h
ca'e ha'e 'climb'
cab'u hab'u 'soap'
se'i shi 'one'
seo heo 'nine'
catega hetega 'half'

Sawu h

9.4 Lexicon

Ndao e corresponds to Sawu h
sa'u ha'u 'lap'
semi hemt 'receive'
seaha hewaqa 'nose'
dali dali 'sea'
saru hahu 'breast'
si lhu hilu 'wear a cloth'

Some less regular vowel correspondences are:

(4) Ndao o often corresponds to Sawu e
lia lie 'coral'
huwa wue 'fruit'
kapuy kepue 'tree'
hia) we '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'o l e j'ula 'offer'
lag'oru lag'ura 'iguana'
kabalo kebalu 'ant species'
loa hagu lua wegu 'thread'
sota huta 'waste'
ca-palosa he-peluha 'first day of lunar calendar'

(6) Ndao u sometimes corresponds to Sawu o
sar'u hero'o 'carry on arm'
nuu nnu 3sg.
ruu rro 3pl.

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

For regular x:x correspondences and diachronic phonology see Walker (forthcoming a).

9.5 Concluding remarks

Such a high percentage of cognates has led some observers (e.g. Jonker 1903) to regard Ndao and Sawu as dialects of the same language. In my view, however, there is always a need to be cautious about the value of lexicostatistics considered in isolation. Wherever possible lexical and phonological evidence should be supported by documentation from other parts of the grammar.

In this section, we have presented the skeleton of an Ndao grammar in order to highlight the similarities and differences between Sawu and Ndao. Having, therefore, examined this additional data, I am now of the opinion that, despite a large area of common ground in the lexicon and phonology, grammatical differences between the two are sufficient to indicate that Ndao is a separate language.
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>Liæ</th>
<th>Rainjua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. j'i:</td>
<td>j'i:</td>
<td>j'i:</td>
<td>j'i:</td>
<td>j'i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ri</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>li</td>
<td>li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. qa:</td>
<td>qa:, Ra:</td>
<td>qa:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ra:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. lara</td>
<td>lara</td>
<td>lara</td>
<td>lara</td>
<td>lara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. kea</td>
<td>kea</td>
<td>kea</td>
<td>kea</td>
<td>kea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. keoa</td>
<td>keoe</td>
<td>keoe</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>keoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. himu</td>
<td>hi'mu</td>
<td>ihi-emu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>la'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. terae</td>
<td>terae</td>
<td>terae</td>
<td>terae</td>
<td>kerae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. meqahi</td>
<td>meqahi</td>
<td>meqahi</td>
<td>meqahi</td>
<td>meqahi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</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 rVrV# where other dialects have 1VrV#, e.g. rara 'house-fly' (other dialects: lara); kerara 'yellow' (other dialects: kelara).

(2) Mesara trisyllables commencing in ma correspond to trisyllables in other dialects which begin with me, e.g. meqahi 'salt' (other dialects: meqahi); mahara 'Mesara' (other dialects: mehara).

(3) Rainjua trisyllables commencing in ke, correspond to trisyllables in other dialects which begin with te, e.g. kerae 'sorghum' (other dialects: terae).
## Appendix B

### AGREEMENT VERBS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bala</td>
<td>bale</td>
<td>'extend, stretch out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balu</td>
<td>balo</td>
<td>'forget'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boka</td>
<td>boke</td>
<td>'open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'aha</td>
<td>b'ah'e</td>
<td>'wash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ad'i</td>
<td>b'ad'e</td>
<td>'choose, pick up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'aga}</td>
<td>b'age}</td>
<td>'chase away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baga</td>
<td>bage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'eka</td>
<td>b'ake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'eta</td>
<td>b'ete</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ita</td>
<td>b'ite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ud'u</td>
<td>b'ud'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ui</td>
<td>b'ue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'uj'u</td>
<td>b'u'je</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'u'ki</td>
<td>b'u'ke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dai</td>
<td>dae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'u</td>
<td>da'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau</td>
<td>dao</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dula</td>
<td>dule</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duri</td>
<td>dure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'aba</td>
<td>d'abe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'ab'a</td>
<td>d'ab'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'ai</td>
<td>d'ae (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'ari</td>
<td>d'are</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'eja</td>
<td>d'eje</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abu</td>
<td>abo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahu</td>
<td>aho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aj'a</td>
<td>aj'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqi</td>
<td>aqe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>øba</td>
<td>øbe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>egu</td>
<td>ego</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>øki</td>
<td>øke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>øla</td>
<td>øle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emi</td>
<td>eme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>øm'u</td>
<td>ømö</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>øta</td>
<td>øte</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ela}</td>
<td>ele</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ila}</td>
<td>ile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ih'i</td>
<td>ihe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iu</td>
<td>io</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ubu</td>
<td>ube</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uj'u</td>
<td>uj'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gari</td>
<td>gare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gati</td>
<td>gate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga'</td>
<td>gao</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ari</td>
<td>g'are</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gei</td>
<td>gee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi'i</td>
<td>gi'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go'ol</td>
<td>gole</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'eru</td>
<td>g'ero</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'etu</td>
<td>g'eto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'utu</td>
<td>g'ute</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hab'i</td>
<td>hab'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'u</td>
<td>ha'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hahi</td>
<td>hate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hal'i</td>
<td>hale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han'i</td>
<td>hans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hab' i</td>
<td>hab'a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hab' u</td>
<td>hab'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hak'u</td>
<td>hak'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hala</td>
<td>hale</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hame</td>
<td>hams</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haqi</td>
<td>hags</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hopi</td>
<td>hape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The meanings are not exhaustive and may vary depending on context.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hapu</td>
<td>hapo</td>
<td>'break, decide'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heb'ti</td>
<td>heb'tle</td>
<td>'carry (on back)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heb'oro</td>
<td>heb'ore</td>
<td>'brush'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heguru</td>
<td>hegure</td>
<td>'cover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heneb'ti</td>
<td>heneb'e</td>
<td>'shut, cover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heg'd'u</td>
<td>heg'd'o</td>
<td>'sniff, kiss'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heb'oro</td>
<td>heb'ore</td>
<td>'pinch, squeeze'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hero'o</td>
<td>hero'e</td>
<td>'carry (on arm)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>htb'a</td>
<td>htb'e</td>
<td>'splash (far)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>htb'i</td>
<td>htb'e</td>
<td>'bite!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiu</td>
<td>hio</td>
<td>'tear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hogo</td>
<td>hoge</td>
<td>'cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hora</td>
<td>hore</td>
<td>'throw away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hub'ti</td>
<td>hub'e</td>
<td>'insert'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hud'ti</td>
<td>hud'e</td>
<td>'pursue, chase'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huru</td>
<td>hure</td>
<td>'spoon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaga</td>
<td>jage</td>
<td>'watch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j'ani</td>
<td>j'ane</td>
<td>'leave behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j'ari</td>
<td>j'are</td>
<td>'begin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j'aga</td>
<td>j'age</td>
<td>'work, make, build'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j'aja</td>
<td>j'aje</td>
<td>'kick, stamp (feet)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaj'a</td>
<td>kaj'e</td>
<td>'take, fetch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaj'i</td>
<td>kaj'e</td>
<td>'dive, throw (far)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaña</td>
<td>kahe</td>
<td>'hire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapa</td>
<td>kepe</td>
<td>'dig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keb'ali</td>
<td>keb'ale</td>
<td>'shoot (with bow, slingshot)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keb'ala</td>
<td>keb'ale</td>
<td>'peel off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kedali</td>
<td>kedale</td>
<td>'peer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ked'agu</td>
<td>ked'ago</td>
<td>'wave away (flies, etc.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keh'wa</td>
<td>kehewe</td>
<td>'open out (mat)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kei</td>
<td>kee</td>
<td>'ask'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelati</td>
<td>kelate</td>
<td>'open out (mat)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keliti</td>
<td>kelijie</td>
<td>'cut off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ketari</td>
<td>ketere</td>
<td>'hold on to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kewau</td>
<td>kewao</td>
<td>'hold on to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kewuuru</td>
<td>kewure</td>
<td>'hold on to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiju</td>
<td>kijo</td>
<td>'hold on to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kud'd'u</td>
<td>kud'e</td>
<td>'throw (near)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lapa</td>
<td>lapo</td>
<td>'guard (food, corpse)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lata</td>
<td>late</td>
<td>'slit throat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li'ba</td>
<td>lebe</td>
<td>'pay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ligu</td>
<td>ligo</td>
<td>'laugh (at), mock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liqu</td>
<td>liqo</td>
<td>'wait for'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lolo</td>
<td>lore</td>
<td>'be strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loru</td>
<td>lore</td>
<td>'be strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mar'i</td>
<td>mar'e</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mar'i</td>
<td>mar'e</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maka</td>
<td>make</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>men'ana</td>
<td>menano</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meñaru</td>
<td>meñaro</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meñ'hi</td>
<td>meñhe</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meri'qi</td>
<td>meriqe</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mod'a</td>
<td>mod'e</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nono</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuni</td>
<td>nune</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nami</td>
<td>nami</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naka</td>
<td>naka</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa'a</td>
<td>qa'e</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qapi</td>
<td>qape</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qadi</td>
<td>qade</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qinu</td>
<td>qino</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pala</td>
<td>pale</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahi</td>
<td>pahi</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paku</td>
<td>pako</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelu</td>
<td>pelo</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peh'i</td>
<td>peh'e</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peki</td>
<td>piko</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panu</td>
<td>pano</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-bui</td>
<td>pe-bue</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedana</td>
<td>pedane</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedai</td>
<td>pedae</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedoa</td>
<td>pedoe</td>
<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</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-itu</td>
<td>pe-ute</td>
<td>'make (cock) fight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peheli</td>
<td>pehale</td>
<td>'(give to) cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pehod'o</td>
<td>pehod'e</td>
<td>'squeezee, milk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-huhi</td>
<td>pe-huhe</td>
<td>'peer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pehuru</td>
<td>pehure</td>
<td>'suckle, breast-feed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pej'uu</td>
<td>pej'eo</td>
<td>'exchange, change'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-kad'u</td>
<td>pe-kad'o</td>
<td>'order, command'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pekaq'u</td>
<td>pekaq'o</td>
<td>'give to place inside cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-kemaqu</td>
<td>pe-kemaq'o</td>
<td>'yelp, whine, whimper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-lapa</td>
<td>pe-lapo</td>
<td>'dry, make dry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peluju</td>
<td>peluje'</td>
<td>'tack, sail back and forth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pemoko</td>
<td>pemoke</td>
<td>'take care of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pemou</td>
<td>pemoo</td>
<td>'prepare, make ready'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pehili'</td>
<td>pehili'o</td>
<td>'clear, clean'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-qa'a</td>
<td>pe-qa'e</td>
<td>'spit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peqaha</td>
<td>peqaha</td>
<td>'feed, give to eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe-qi'di</td>
<td>pe-qi'de</td>
<td>'stop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'k'i</td>
<td>pe's'e</td>
<td>'show'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'k'o</td>
<td>pe's'o</td>
<td>'lower, cause descend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe're'a</td>
<td>pe're'a</td>
<td>'lead (animal)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perei</td>
<td>perei</td>
<td>'wake up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pet'obo</td>
<td>pet'tobe</td>
<td>'fill up, make full'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pet'tunu</td>
<td>pet'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>pit'a</td>
<td>pe's'e</td>
<td>'be, be where?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piti</td>
<td>pite'</td>
<td>'gently splash water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piti'</td>
<td>pite's'</td>
<td>'pick up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pik'a</td>
<td>peke</td>
<td>'tell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pik'a</td>
<td>pile</td>
<td>'pick up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puy</td>
<td>pue</td>
<td>'pluck, pick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra'yu</td>
<td>ra'o</td>
<td>'pick up with fist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regi</td>
<td>rase</td>
<td>'hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri'u</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'oo</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'oo</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>tune</td>
<td>'cook, roast, burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waba</td>
<td>wabe</td>
<td>'hit, (kill)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wala</td>
<td>wale</td>
<td>'spread out, open out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weit</td>
<td>wais</td>
<td>'buy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woka</td>
<td>woke</td>
<td>'turn over soil (with hand)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuni</td>
<td>wunu</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 qa he-dou ama.
   be one-CLASS mother AND one-CLASS father
   'There is a mother and a father.'

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

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

4. ina do bani menenu & b'ara dou ta kalæ & doi, kalæ
   mother REL female weave ABS clothes person NON-PAST pursue ABS money pursue
   qa'a ta wis & ne ana ne.
   food NON-PAST give ABS ART child DEMlsg.
   'The mother is a woman who makes clothes to obtain money, to obtain food to give to the child.'

5. d'ai pa d'ara lod'o, ta pe-mou & lua wau ke.
   THEN LOC interior day NON-PAST CAUS-be greasy ABS thread cotton PART
   'Then, one day, (she) is greasing cotton thread.'

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

7. b'aZe ane & ina ne, "pee pa emu, ana j'aa", mi he ane,
   THEN say ERG mother DEMlsg. stay LOC house child POSS1sg. LIKE DEMpl. say
   "qi d'o laka & ihi ou ri wo-rai, qi d'o melara."
   PURP NEG strike ABS body POSS2sg. ERG PROD-earth PURP NEG sting
   'Then the mother says, "Stay in the house, my child, so that your body does not hit the ground, so that it won't sting."'

8. wae d'o & ne ana ne.
   WANT NEG ABS ART child DEMlsg.
   'The child does not want to.'

9. pedutu ma qa ina ne.
   follow EMPH COM mother DEMlsg.
   'The child goes with the mother.'

10. pee. b'ole pedutu. reja d'o & j'aa. la b'aha & lua wau he
    stay DON'T follow be long NOT ABS lsg. DFS wash(pl.) ABS thread cotton DEMlpl.
    & j'aa la d'ara dahi ni.
    ERG lsg. GFS interior sea DEM4sg.
    'Stay. Don't follow. I will not be long. I am going to the sea to wash some cotton thread.'
11. təqi-təqi ə ne ana ne, ta pedute.
cry-RED ABS ART child DEM1sg. NON-PAST follow(sg.)
'The child cries and cries, (and) follows (his mother).'

12. ta ago ke ri ina d'e.
NON-PAST carry(sg.) PART ERG mother DEM2sg.
'Then the mother carries (him).'

13. d'at la dahi, la tabi dahi ne.
arrive GFS sea GFS shore sea DEM1sg.
'They arrive at the sea, at the sea shore.'

14. "titu pa wo-lahala e d'e. b'ole titu pa d'ara ei ni gi d'o
stand LOC PROD-sand DEM2sg. DON'T STAND LOC interior water DEM4sg. PURP NEG
melara ə ihi ou."
sting ABS body POSS2sg.
'Stand on this piece of sand. Don't stand in the water lest your body sting.'

15. ta j'iu ei dahi ə j'aa, mama.
NON-PAST bathe water sea ABS lsg. mother
'I want to bathe in the sea, Mother.'

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

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

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

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

20. b'aZe ane ə ina d'e, "pee ko ə ou, ana j'aa, haleo ko ri
THEN say ERG mother DEM2sg. stay PART ABS 2sg. child POSS1sg. watch PART ERG
ou ə ne lua wəwu do hag'e hed'e. kiqa meriqi, ha'e la kolo lede.
2sg. ABS ART thread. cotton REL be half DEM2pl. IF cold climb GFS top hill
la nono ko ri j'aa ə hag'e.
DFS dry in sun PART ERG lsg. ABS half
'\nThen the mother says, "You stay, my child, and watch over the (other) half of the cotton
thread. If you get cold, go ashore. I am going to dry this half."

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

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

23. ta kako ke ə ne ina ne la emu. nono
NON-PAST go PART ABS ART mother DEM1sg. GFS house dry in sun(pl.) ABS ART
'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 t̥̕bi dahi, era ma ĕ ne ana ne do j'iu-j'iu ei, arrive GFS shore sea be EMPH ABS ART child DEMlsg. STAT bathe-RED water
lua wegu era ma pa era ne, thread cotton be EMPH LOC place DEMlsg.
'Ve reaches the sea shore. The child is there bathing, and the cotton thread is in its place.'

25. wegu ri ke ĕ hag'e ne lua wegu nahere, ta la fetch(pl.) AGAIN PART ABS half ART thread cotton DEM3pl. NON-PAST DFS
b'aha-b'aha ke. wash(pl.)-RED PART
'(She) fetches the rest of the cotton threads and washes (them).' 

26. b'ale ane ĕ ne lii pa ana ne, "b'ole kako la do ei ae. THEN say ABS ART word GA child DEMlsg. DON'T go GFS REL water be much
j'iu pa do ei iki we, j'iu-j'iu pa ei iki we bathe LOC REL water be little ONLY bathe-RED LOC water be little ONLY
'Then (she) says to the child, "Don't go into deep water. Bathe only in the shallow water. Bathe only in the shallow water."'

27. "oo", ane ĕ ana ne, 'Yes', says the child.
YES say ABS child DEMlsg.

28. b'ale ane ĕ ina ne, "ta la nono ĕ lua wegu ri, THEN say ABS mother DEMlsg. NON-PAST DFS dry in sun ABS thread cotton AGAIN
ana j'aa, la emu. ki meriqi ke ĕ ou, peqaha, ta b'ale ke child POSSlsg. GFS house IF be cold PART ABS 2sg. stop NON-PAST return PART ĕ dir. ABS lpl.(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 ĕ ina ne, DON'T say ERG mother DEMlsg.
"Don't", says the mother.

31. ta mate-mate ke ri ina ne. NON-PAST wait-RED PART ERG mother DEMlsg.
'The mother waits and waits.'

32. "meriqi dae d'o ĕ ou?", ane ĕ ina ne, be cold YET NEG ABS 2sg. say ERG mother DEMlsg.
"Aren't you cold yet?", says the mother.

33. "ad'o dae. ta lie $ kemou ke $ j'aa ni ta mou,
NOT YET NON-PAST soak ABS yaws sores PART ERG lsg. PURP NON-PAST be clean
qi ta la tao ri ru-aj'u la emu."
PURP NON-PAST DFS treat INST leaf-wood DFS house

"Not yet. I am soaking (my) yaws sores so that they will become clean, so that I can
go to the house and treat them with leaves."

34. ta mate ma ri ina ne. d'ai, ta tui hudi.
NON-PAST wait(sg.) EMPH ERG mother DEM1sg. THEN NON-PAST be length of time PART
b'ale ane $ ina ne, "j'iu ko we $ ou. la nono
THEN say ERG mother DEM1sg. bathe PART PART ABS 2sg. DFS dry in sun(pl.)
kO ri j'aa."
PART ERG lsg.

'The mother waits. A short time passes. Then the mother says, "You go on bathing. I will
go and dry (some more cotton thread)."'

35. b'ale ane $ ana ne, "ta la emu, 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 $ lua wegu we, j'e b'ale ma ego
YES NON-PAST DFS dry in sun ABS thread cotton JUST THEN return DTS fetch(sg.)
$ ana j'aa."
ABS child POSS1sg.

'Yes. I am just going to dry some cotton thread, then I will return here to fetch my
child."

37. "se. kiri katu la kolo lede, jad'i ta dob'oho-liqui-manu $ j'aa. kiri
Hey IF head GFS top hill become RESULT snake species ABS lsg. IF
katu la d'ara dahi", mi he ane, "jad'i ta iu, ta ana o'no
head GFS inside sea LIKE DEM1pl. SAY become RESULT shark RESULT child turtle
$ j'aa."
ABS lsg.

"Hey. If (my) head goes ashore, I will become a snake. If (my) head goes into the water",
(he says), "I will become a shark or young turtle."

38. "b'ole. taqaa ta lli mi nahere $ ou ri. reja d'o $ j'aa.
DON'T WHY NON-PAST talk LIKE DEM3pl. ERG 2sg. REASON be long NEG ABS lsg.
ta la nono $ lua wegu hed'e we", mi he ane.
NON-PAST DFS dry in sun 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 lli pe-moko-moko ke $ j'aa pa mama", mi he ane, $ YES NON-PAST say CAUS-be ready-RED PART lsg. GA mother LIKE DEM1pl. say ABS
kiqa b'ale $ mama, j'e d'o pe'e $ j'aa, b'ole kale ma we".
IF return ABS mother THEN NEG be(sg.) ABS lsg. DON'T look for EMPH PART
ele ke ri j'aa pe-lili pa mama, katu la kolo lede jad'i ta
PAST(sg.) PART ERG lsg. PAST-say GA mother head GFS top hill become RESULT
dob'oho-liqui-manu. katu la d'ara dahi jad'i ta iu, ta ana o'no."

'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.'"
The child does not want to go ashore. Then the mother says, "I will go ahead to the house."

"Don't be long", says the child.

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.

'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.'
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Beaglehole, J.C. (ed.)

Blust, R.A.

Capell, A.

Chafe, W.

Codrington, R.H.

Comrie, B.

Cowan, H.K.J.

Dahl, O.C.

Detag, Yakob Y.

Dicker, G.S.

Dixon, R.M.W.

Donselaar, W.M.

Dyen, I.

Fatu, Jacobis
Ndao Word List (part of the James Fox collection).

Foley, W.A.
1976b "Inherent Referentiality and Language Typology", Seminar paper at Australian National University, Canberra.

Foley, W.A. and R.D. van Valin

Fox, James J.

1977 Harvest of the Palm. Ecological Change in Eastern Indonesia. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London,

Radja Haba, M.C.

Reid, L.A.

Riedel, J.G.F.

Robins, R.H.

Schachter, P.

Schachter, P. and F. Otanes

Silverstein, M.

Verheijen, J.A.J.

MS "Bahasa Manggarai" (an unpublished course in Manggarai).

Walker, A.T.
1975 "Sumba Field Notes" 1976 "Ndao Field Notes" forthcoming a "A Diachronic Phonology of Sawu and Ndao" forthcoming b "Sawu: Austronesian or Non-Austronesian?"

Wharton, W.J.L. (ed.)

Wielenga, D.K.
1909 Schets van een Soembaneehe Spraakkunst (Naar 't Dialect van Kambera). Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.

Wijngaarden, J.K.

Wurm, S.A. and B. Wilson
1975 "English Finderlist of Reconstructions in Austronesian Languages (Post-Brandstetter)". Pacific Linguistics, C-33.

* * *
Miscellaneous Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia, Part I
edited by John W.M. Verhaar

Anton Moeliono, "A recent history of spelling reforms in Indonesia"
E.M. Uhlenbeck, "Sentence segment and wordgroup: basic concepts of Javanese syntax"
Dale F. Walker, "A lexical study of Lampung dialects"
Marmo Soemarmo, "The illusive simple noun phrases"
Kenneth R. Maryott, "Sangil elevationals and the performative analysis"
out of print

Miscellaneous Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia, Part II
edited by Amran Halim

A. Teeuw, "The morphological system of the Indonesian adjective"
Marmo Soemarmo, "Syntactic and semantic well-formedness"
Stephen Wallace, "Social correlates of some phonological differences in Jakarta Malay"
Gloria Poedjosoedarmo, "Thematization and information structure in Javanese"
Discussions: "Principled limitations on productivity in denominal verbs" (James H. Rose)
"On constraining the production of denominal verbs" (William E. Cooper)
"Invention and innovation in denominal verbs" (James G. Rose)
Text: "Tonsea text" (J.N. Sneddon)
still available @ Rp 1.725.00/US$ 5.00

Miscellaneous Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia, Part III
edited by Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo

Joan M. Rosen, "Reduplication and negation in Indonesian"
Paul J. Hopper, "Some observations on the typology of focus and aspect in narrative language"
Robert Blust, "Austronesian culture history; some linguistic references and their relations to the archaeological record"
H. Steinhauer, "'Going' and 'coming' in the Blagar of Dolap (Pura - Arok - Indonesia)"
T.W.J. Mihing and W.A.L. Stokhof, "On the Ngaju Dayak sound system"
still available @ Rp 1.625.00/US$ 5.00

Miscellaneous Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia, Part IV
edited by Ignatius Suharno

Joan M. Rosen, "The functions of reduplication in Indonesian"
Stephanus Djawanai, "A description of the basic phonology of Ngaid and the treatment of borrowings"
J.S. Sande and W.A.L. Stokhof, "On the phonology of the Toraja Kesu? dialect"
J.A.J. Verheijen, S.V.D., "The lack of formative IN affixes in the Manggarai language"
Text: "Tambi-lawan" (Joan M. Rosen)
still available @ Rp 1.600.00/US$ 5.00
NUSA
LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN INDONESIAN
AND LANGUAGES IN INDONESIA

NUSA volume 1
John W.M. Verhaar (ed.), Miscellaneous studies in Indonesian and languages in Indonesia, Part I, Jakarta 1975.
Contents: A.M. Moeliono (history of spelling reforms in Indonesian), E.M. Uhlenbeck (Javanese syntax), Dale F. Walker (lexical study of Lampung dialects), Marmo Soemarmo (noun phrases in Indonesian and Javanese), Kenneth R. Maryott (elevationals in Sangil). (out of print)

NUSA volume 2

NUSA volume 3
Amran Halim (ed.), Miscellaneous studies in Indonesian and languages in Indonesia, Part II, Jakarta 1977.
Contents: A. Teeuw (morphology of the adjective in Indonesian), Stephen Wallace (socio-linguistics of Jakarta Malay phonology), Marmo Soemarmo (semantik in Indonesian and Javanese), Gloria Poedjosoedarmo (thematisation and information structure in Javanese), James H. Rose - William E. Cooper - James H. Rose (discussion on limitations on productivity of denominal verbs in Indonesian), J.N. Sneddon (Tonsea text).

NUSA volume 4

NUSA volume 5
Ignotius Suharno (ed.), Miscellaneous studies in Indonesian and languages in Indonesia, Part IV, Jakarta 1977.
Contents: Joan M. Rosen (on reduplication in Indonesian, sequel to article in volume 4), Stephanus Djawanai (phonology of Ng'a'da), J.S. Sande and W.A.L. Stokhof (phonology of Toraja Kesu?), J.A.J. Verheijen (affixation in Manggarai), Joan M. Rosen (Riung text).

NUSA volume 6
John W.M. Verhaar (ed.), Miscellaneous studies in Indonesian and languages in Indonesia, Part V, Jakarta 1978.
Contents: J.V. Dreyfuss (meN-, di-, ber- in Indonesian), Michael R. Thomas (unmarked verbs in Indonesian), J.W.M. Verhaar (passive in Indonesian), Stephanus Djawanai (Ng'a'da discourse), L.L. Kamengmai and W.A.L. Stokhof (Woisika text).

NUSA volume 7
Amran Halim (ed.), Miscellaneous studies in Indonesian and languages in Indonesia, Part V, Jakarta 1979.
Contents: J.V. Dreyfuss (definition of 'nouniness' in Indonesian), Sofjan Abdurrahman and Colin Yallop (Kömering phonology), R.H. Barnes (an Austronesian relationship name), Don A.L. Flassy and W.A.L. Stokhof (a note on Tehit).

NUSA volume 8
Bintoro, Javanese transitive verbs: a tagmemic grammar, Jakarta 1980. Rp 1.500,00/US$ 4.00

NUSA volume 9
Kay Ikranagara, Melan Betawi grammar, Jakarta 1980. Rp 4.175,00/US$ 7.50

NUSA volume 10
Robert A. Blust (ed.), Historical linguistics in Indonesia, Part I, Jakarta 1981. Rp 2.450,00/US$ 5.00

NUSA volume 11

NUSA volume 12
Ellen Rafferty, Discourse structures of the Chinese Indonesian of Malang, Jakarta 1982. Rp 2.100,00/US$ 4.50

NUSA volume 13
Alan T. Walker, A grammar of Sawu, Jakarta 1982. Rp 2.300,00/US$ 3.50

In preparation: Richard McGinn (a monograph on Rejang syntax).