A Grammar of Sawu
NUSA

Linguistic Studies in Indonesian
and Languages in Indonesia

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Bambang Kaswanti Purwo (*Jakarta*)  
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GRAMMAR OF SAWU

by

Alan T. Walker

1982
Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA
Universitas Atma Jaya
Jakarta
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any vowel except u
V
V
Veh
Vehicle Case Preposition
/ /
phonemic representation
[ ]
phonetic representation
( )
optional
{ }
one must be chosen
→
changes to
#
word boundary

* * *
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: Interjections and Juxtaposed NPs. All clauses are, then, analysed according to their functions. We also look at negation, possession, comparison, coordination, complementation and deletion. Two final sections focus on the interaction of role and reference properties in the clause. The first looks particularly at word order and seeks to discover whether it is possible to predict which NP will be the leftmost. The second examines Keenan's (1976) Subject Properties and their distribution. We are able to conclude that in an intransitive clause the Absolutive Noun Phrase will be the subject and will nearly always be leftmost and that in a transitive clause there is no clearly identifiable subject and the leftmost Noun Phrase is usually Ergative or Absolutive.

Ndao is usually regarded as a dialect of Sawu because of the large percentage of common lexicon. Chapter 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.

* * *
Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The language and its speakers

Sawu, a language of south-eastern Indonesia, has appeared in the literature as Sawu, Savu, Hau and Hau. 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).

Ndau (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 188 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 agreement with three of the island's rulers in 1648. From then until the signing of a formal treaty in 1756, Sawu "seems to have served the Company mainly as a recruitment area for soldiers to serve in Kupang" (Fox 1977:113).

Under the new arrangement, the 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 Amboinese, 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 Amboinese, 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 (Nederlandse Zendelingenootschap) obliged (Dicker 1965:23). M. Teffer arrived in 1872 and stayed until 1883. He was followed by P. Bieger (1888-1889), J. K. Wijngaard (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 Sawu (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 Amboinese 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 on Sawu in the village of Leda Ae, Mesara. He moved to East Sumba (see map I) when he was nine, and was educated in World Vision Orphanages. At the age of nineteen, he took a boat to Kupang, and spent the next three years training as a teacher. He was in his first year at that profession when I met him in May 1975. He was an excellent informant and by far the most significant provider of text material (30 Mesara texts).

Omi Raja was born on Sawu in Tula Ika, Seba. She lived there for 20 years before moving to Kupang to work as a domestic employee. She had been in the city for four years and was working at Ian Minto's house when we moved in. She produced no text materials, but was a valuable source of elicited material in the Seba dialect.

Sufa, the daughter of Leonard Reke, was born in Seba and moved to Kupang when she was sixteen. She had been there more than ten years when I met her and her father in the suburb of Oeba. She narrated seven texts and provided other language information on the Seba dialect.

Other people in Kupang who made significant contributions were Mr. Immanuel Weti Leo (Timu dialect: two texts and lexicon), Mr. Raj'i Lod'o (Liae dialect: five texts and lexicon), Mr. Wila Hia (Liae dialect?: one text), Mrs. Koti Bena (Rainjua dialect: seven texts and lexicon).

I also visited Sawu island for two weeks from July 22nd to August 5th. The following people provided information on the Seba dialect: Omi Raja's mother (five texts) and brother Hendrik (data and one text), Mr. Tome (data), Mr. 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'angu B'alie (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>Duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>210 mins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesara</td>
<td>360 mins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timu</td>
<td>60 mins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liae</td>
<td>60 mins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainjua</td>
<td>90 mins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>780 mins</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) Heijmering (1846) - numerous words, phrases, and clauses.
(c) Müller (1857) - 362 words.
(d) Donselaar's (1872) account is important because, in addition to 50 lexical items, it documents a period in which q and h were interchangeable.
(e) Riedel (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 (ʧ, ʤ, ʧ', ʤ') 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 Ndào. This substantial collection consists of three unpublished manuscripts (grammar, texts and wordlist) and three published articles (one on Ndào and two on Sawu).

Jonker wrote his grammar (MS) between 189 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 (ʧ, ʤ, ʧ', ʤ') are distinguished from plain stops and s between consonants corresponds to present-day /a/. Intervocalic glottal stop is indicated by two like vowels (e.g. ngaq is nga'a) or two unlike vowels with a diaeresis over the second (e.g. medaũ is meda'ũ).

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 Ndào (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 ˧ in both.

Gowlee (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 Ceremonial 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 collected 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Consonant phonemes (20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced affricate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implosive stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottal stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Vowel phonemes (6)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</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 [ŋ] is interpreted as an allophone of /j'/ (see 2.3.3).

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

5. a glottal stop /ʔ/,
6. four nasals: m, n, ñ and q with bilabial, alveolar, alveo-palatal and velar articulation respectively,
7. two liquids: an alveolar lateral /l/, and an alveolar trill or flap /ɾ/,
8. two fricatives: a voiced labial fricative /w/ and an aspirated glottalic 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. mid central unrounded /a/,
4. mid central /o/ (usually [ά], rarely [α]),
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. /št̪u/ [šatu:] 'worm'; /abo/ [ʔabo] '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'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t tatu</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d dada</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d' d'ata</td>
<td>'stomach, '</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j jara</td>
<td>'horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j' j'ara</td>
<td>'purpose, '</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g g'ara</td>
<td>'citrus tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' g'atu</td>
<td>'pluck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' g'ata</td>
<td>'open out to dry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k kata</td>
<td>'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k kapa</td>
<td>'ship, boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h hapa</td>
<td>'house, '</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g gapa</td>
<td>'easy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g gili</td>
<td>'roll'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g' g'ili</td>
<td>'tickle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ name</td>
<td>'bite, '</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n name-</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n name-</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r rati</td>
<td>'tobacco'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d' d'ata</td>
<td>'base, '</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l la'ti</td>
<td>'spouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r rati</td>
<td>'dirty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r rati</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>

5
Since /ɛ/ does not occur at the beginning of words (see 2.4), it is only contrastive in medial position.

\[ \text{\textit{hæb}'e}, \text{\textit{hæb}'e} \] 'mend (a mat)'

\[ \text{\textit{hæb}'e} \] 'splash (someone)'

\[ \text{\textit{hæb}'e} \] 'slice (meat)'

Radja Haba chooses the latter. He interprets the long consonants as geminates, and the mid-central vowel as an allophone of /ɛ/. Thus:

\[ /\text{ëlæ}/, 'wing', /\text{ëlæ}/ 'pupil', /\text{heb}'e/ 'mend', /\text{heb}'e/ 'splash', /\text{heb}'e/ 'slice'. \]

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

1. Phonetically long consonants only occur after [a] or [æ]. 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 [æ].

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

The obvious alternative is the adoption of /æ/ as the sixth vowel. Thus: /ælæ/ 'wing', /ælæ/ 'pupil', /ælæ'/ 'mend', /ælæ'/ 'splash', /ælæ'/ 'slice'.

2.3.3 Phonetic semi-vowels

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

[ω] In my view, /ω/ can be realised as semi-vowel [ω] in free variation with its fricative allophones. 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. /uŋka/ [uŋka] 'old'
2. /woŋadu/ [woŋadu] 'stone'
3. /wŋatwa/ 'ear'
4. /hewŋa/ [hewŋa] 'nose'

I find this view inadequate for several reasons:

1. It is inconsistent with the predominant (CV) (CV) (CV) 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 /ω/, I assign it to that phoneme, and not to /u/.

Accordingly, I phonemicise the above as:

/uŋka/ 'old', /woŋadu/ 'stone', /wŋatwa/ 'ear', /hewŋa/ 'nose'.

2.2.2 Vowels

\[ i \] \text{hib}'e 'bite (sg.)'

\[ e \] \text{hæb}'e 'mend (sg.)'

\[ a \] \text{hæb}'e 'give'

\[ o \] \text{hæb}'e 'scream'

\[ u \] \text{hæb}'e 'species'

\[ ø \] \text{hæb}'e 'wound'

2.3 Other views

2.3.1 Number of consonants

Lee (MS) includes a voiceless alveopalatal stop /t]/ 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 /tyuŋa/ [tyiŋa] 'to do' has initial [j] with my informants.

Radja Haba (1958:2) includes [s] and [ɔ] 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 ɔ become h.

2.3.2 Number of vowels

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

\[ ?a:/a], [?e:/a] \] 'wing'

\[ ?i:/a] \] 'pupil (of eye)'

\[ hæb]'e, [hæb]'e 'mend (a mat)'

\[ hæb]'e 'splash (someone)'

\[ hæb]'e 'slice (meat)'

\[ hæb]'e, [hæb]'e 'mend (a mat)'

\[ hæb]'e 'splash (someone)'

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The obvious alternative is the adoption of /æ/ as the sixth vowel. Thus: /ælæ/ 'wing', /ælæ/ 'pupil', /ælæ'/ 'mend', /ælæ'/ 'splash', /ælæ'/ 'slice'.

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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 /ω/, I assign it to that phoneme, and not to /u/.

Accordingly, I phonemicise the above as:

/ uŋka/ 'old', /woŋadu/ 'stone', / wŋatwa/ 'ear', / hewŋa/ 'nose'.

| [ a : ]a , [ e : ]a | 'wing' |
| [ e : ]a | 'pupil (of eye)' |
2.4 Phonotactics

With the exception of a few words with four or five syllables (e.g. lalala 'sand', wopokalae 'ankle'), a root in Sawu has phonological structure: \( (C_1V_1)(C_2V_2)(C_3V_3) \).

- **e.g.** CVCCV ketaka 'axe'
- **CVCCV** perai 'run, flee'
- **CVCCV** keela 'areca palm'
- **CVVV** keoa 'low (of cattle, buffalo)'
- **CVCC** knau 'boat, ship'
- **CVV** we 'crocodile'
- **VCV** ekta 'outrigger'
- **VV** te 'good'

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

- **C**
  - can be \( b, d, g, p, t, k, h, w, j, l, r, m, n \). Most common are \( k \) (40%), \( m \) (10%), \( p \) (10%), and \( h \) (10%).

- **V**
  - can be any vowel except schwa. It is usually \( e \) (80%), but sometimes \( o \) (10%).

- **C**
  - 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**
  - 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%), \( e \) (10%), \( i \) (10%), and \( o \) (10%).

- **C**
  - can be any consonant. In both disyllables and trisyllables, \( k \) (10%), \( l \) (10%), and \( r \) (10%) are most common.

- **V**
  - 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** wae 'want'
- **ai** kepai 'big'
- **ao** ao 'lime'
- **au** keawa 'swat (at)'
- **ea** keala 'areca palm'
- **ea** mea 'red'
- **ei** ei 'liquid'
- **eo** meo 'cat'
- **eu** (no example in data)

- **iə** hiama 'spouse'
- **ia** kahia 'poor'
- **ie** wie 'give'
- **io** hiö 'to tear'
- **iu** wiù 'new'
- **oə** mən 'female animal'
- **oa** koa 'bird species'

- **oe** woe 'crocodile'
- **oi** toi 'know'
- **ou** dou 'person, man'
- **uw** (no example in data)
- **ua** wowa 'kidneys'
- **ue** kepue 'base, trunk'
- **ui** rui 'bone'
- **uo** (no example in data)

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

2.5.2 Three-vowel clusters

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

- **eoe** keoe (Mesara) 'to low (of buffalo)'
- **eoa** keoa 'to low (of buffalo)'
- **eaa** meaa 'thick'
- **uai** ruai 'hand'
- **iae** jəmiæe '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.

- *[mələ:] 'gold, silver' [mela] 'trace'
- *[mela:] 'thick' [məoa] 'red'
- *[pekə:] 'neigh' [peke:] '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. CVV) as disyllabic 'CVW with predictable penultimative stress. Thus:

- /melaa/ 'gold, silver' /mela/ 'trace'
- /məoa/ 'thick' /meoa/ 'red'
- /pekek/ 'neigh' /peke/ 'tell (sg.)'

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

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

Plural forms of the verb 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** singular
  - /geti/ ['get] /pee/ ['pee:] 'dig'
  - /perei/ [pe'rei] /pereei/ [pe'ree:] 'wake'
  - /pu/ [pu] /pue/ [pue] 'pluck'
  - /peju/ [pe'ju:] /pejuw/ [pe'jue] 'order'

This analysis highlights Sawu's clear preference for penultimative 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'pēka'lae* 'ankle'.

Radja Haba (1958:27) and Lee (MS) also analyze stressed consonant plus long vowel (i.e. CV:) 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:

1. final consonants delete

   | C→∅ | --- |
   | Sawu | Indonesian |
   | piri | piri 'plate' |
   | mahal | maha 'expensive' |
   | kawat | kawa 'wire' |

2. [ə] becomes h

   | Sawu | Indonesian |
   | seteŋah | heteŋa 'half' |
   | pasar | paha 'market' |

3. a nasal before a consonant deletes

   | Sawu | Indonesian |
   | gampaq | gapa 'easy' |
   | keranjaq | keraja 'basket' |

Some older loans from Portuguese are:

   | Sawu | Portuguese |
   | cadeira | kedora 'chair' |
   | lenço | naleku 'handkerchief' |
   | gentio | jiniitu 'pagan' |

Most loans of Dutch origin have entered Sawu via Malay.

   | Sawu | Dutch | Indonesian |
   | doi | duit | duit 'money' |
   | kato | kantoor | kantor 'office' |
   | oto | auto | oto 'motor-car' |
   | potoloo | potlood | potoloo 'pencil'
Chapter Three

**WORD CLASSES**

3.0 Introduction

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

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 8.6).

6. In non-verbal clauses, only NPs are negated by Negative Particle *ad' o* (see 8.14.2.1).

7. Only referents of nouns can be counted (see 4.5.1) or possessed (see 4.1, 8.15).

8. In clauses with Past-completive tense-aspect, only nouns, pronouns and particles *ke* and *le* can intervene between *ala* 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 *ala* ...*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 *(we)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'e* and *hega-qa*. 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.
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).

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

All elements in an NP are optional except the head. (The head can of course be coreferentially deleted (see 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 ne-

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neither speaker</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 wobe
mother POSS1sg. PART NON-PAST hit(sg.)

4i j'aa
ERG 1sg.

'My mother, I hit her.'

The context clearly indicates that the speaker is referring to his own mother and not that of the addressee. There is no reason to suggest that siblings are present, thus allowing an 'our' interpretation.

As in the example above, possessive pronouns (like possessive nouns) must follow the head nouns they qualify (see 8.15).

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4: Demonstratives as Head of NP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM ø oni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 1 (na(pu)ne nahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 2 (na)de (na)hed'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 3 (na(pu)nwe (na(pu)hore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 4 na(ni) (na)hid'e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DEMøsg. oni only occurs in non-verbal clauses.

uhi does not appear in my data, but in a conversation text provided by Radja Haba uhi appears twice in non-verbal clauses, and is unambiguously plural.

ina. mai ko ma d'e. oni
mother come PART GTS DEM2sg. DEMøsg.

ru-kenana wie ou
leaf-pepper BEN 2sg.
'Mother. Come here. This is some pepper-leaf for you.'

ui ke hurí d'ue b'ala
DEMØpl. PART letter .... two COUNT

d'oge
at once

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

(Example and translation from Radja Haba 1958: 28. The analysis is mine.)

With the other demonstratives, the reduced forms (ne, d'e, hed'e, none, 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.

ta mena'o ri noo ʌ napuhare
NON-PAST steal ERG 3sg. ABS DEM3pl.

'He steals those near you.'

At least one of these Demonstratives, napune, also indicates discourse proximity (i.e. it indicates something just mentioned or referred to in the preceding discourse).

ta taba bubu ke ʌ duae
NON-PAST add be angry PART ABS king
qa ubu naba rai napune
COM Ubu Naba SINCE DEM1sg.

'The king becomes more and more angry with Ubu Naba from this time (just referred to).'

mai ko we ma pe-ie ʌ come PART PART DTS CAUS-good ERG
ou, gapa hewe ʌ napune
2sg. be simple QUITE ABS DEM1sg.

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

4.2.2 Head noun adjuncts

Demonstrative adjuncts occur at the end of an NP, and are very similar in form to demonstratives which are heads of NPs. They differ as follows:

1. Adjects distinguish four degrees of spatial proximity (instead of five).
   DEM ʌ (oni, uhi) is never an adjunct.
2. DEM 1 singular adjunct can be pune as well as none and napune.
3. DEM 1 plural adjunct is always he, never nahë.
4. DEM 3 singular adjunct can be punë as well as none and napune.
5. DEM 3 plural adjunct is nahë or napahë, while its head of NP equivalent is here, nahë or napahë.

(6) DEM 4 singular adjunct is never nad'o.
(7) DEM 4 plural adjunct is nahid'e, while its head of NP equivalent is kid'e or nahid'e.

Adject forms indicating spatial proximity are summarised in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5: Demonstrative Adjuncts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 1 (na)(pu)ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near the speaker (i.e. specified point near the speaker).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 2 (na)d'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near the speaker (i.e. immediate vicinity of the speaker).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 3 (na)(pu)none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near the addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM 4 (na)nì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distant from speaker and addressee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mejëd'i we ʌ muu hari-hari
sit PART ABS 2pl. all
pa kelega-rai ne
LOC bench DEM1sg.

'All of you sit here on this bench (next to me).'

mai ko ʌ muu ma era d'e come PART ABS 2pl. GTS place DEM2sg.

'You lot come over here to this place (in my immediate vicinity).'

heï ʌ roo pa wëmu
be there (pl.) ABS 3pl. LOC house
nanti
DEM4sg.

'They are over there in that house.'

As adjectives to calendric units such as 'day', 'month' and 'year' both (nad'e and none 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 adjectives can be used to indicate degrees of discourse proximity corresponding to the distinctions made for spatial proximity.

4.3 Common article (ART) ne

Common nouns in absolutive case or common nouns in non-verbal clauses can take a preposed article ne. Like Fijian na, it "is not a definite or specific article, but rather the simple nominal article for common noun phrases" (Foley 1976:176). It is, however, normally present when the NP head has postposed possessive pronoun or demonstrative adjunct.
transitive "object" and intransitive subject (both Absolutive) are indicated by $\emptyset$ (see Dixon 1979:61).

ABSOLUTIVE ($\emptyset$)
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.

$ta$ $hala$ $\emptyset$ $\emptyset$ $riu$ $\emptyset$
NON-PAST PAST PART PAST-cut off(sg.) ABS

$ne$ $hewaqa$ $jara$ $j'aa$ $ri$ $dou$
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.

$ta$ $b'uke$ $\emptyset$ $\emptyset$ $huri$ $ri$ $noo$
NON-PAST write(sg.) ABS letter ERG 3sg.

'He is writing a letter.'

(3) refers to which something is given.

$wie$ $d'o$ $\emptyset$ $roo$ $\emptyset$ $ga'a$ $ri$ $noo$
give NEG ABS 3pl. ABS food ERG 3sg.

'He did not give them food.'

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

$ta$ $pika$ $ke$ $ri$ $noo$ $pa$ $ne$
NON-PAST tell PART ERG 3sg. GA ART

$ana$ $he$ $\emptyset$ $ta$ $pe-madz$
child DEM1pl. ABS NON-PAST CAUS-die

$\emptyset$ $roo$ $ri$ $wati$ $leo$
ABS 3pl. ERG Wati Leo

'He is telling the children that Wati Leo will kill them.'

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

$ta$ $qode$ $ke$ $ri$ $dual$ $\emptyset$
NON-PAST see(sg.) PART ERG king ABS

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 $\emptyset$). An attempt is made to clearly delineate the function of each preposition by describing the semantic role(s) of its NP referent(s).

We can recognise 16 Case prepositions, as in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Preposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSOLUTIVE ($\emptyset$)</td>
<td>$\emptyset$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERGATIVE (ERG)</td>
<td>$ri$, $\emptyset$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTRUMENT (INST)</td>
<td>$ri$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOAL FROM SPEAKER (GFS)</td>
<td>$la$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOAL TOWARDS SPEAKER (GTS)</td>
<td>$ma$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOAL ANIMATE (GA)</td>
<td>$pa$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESULT</td>
<td>$ta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOURCE (SCE)</td>
<td>$ra'(qat)i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE (LOC)</td>
<td>$pa$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RANGE (RGE)</td>
<td>$d'e'i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VEHICLE (VEH)</td>
<td>$j'ora$, $d'e'i$, $qa$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABOUT</td>
<td>$j'ora$, ($tua$)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMITATIVE (COM)</td>
<td>$qa$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEASURE (MEAS)</td>
<td>$qara$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BENEFATIVE (BEN)</td>
<td>$wie$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINCE</td>
<td>$ra'i$</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
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').

to d'o ri j'aa ne nara
know NEG ERG 1sg. ABS ART name

noo
POSS3sg.

'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', kéhíwa 'hire (someone)', pewie 'exchange, sell', aj'a 'learn, study'.

Intransitive
In intransitive clauses, referents of ABS NPs include:

(1) referents which do something.

ta belaja j'aa
NON-PAST shop ABS 1sg.

'I am shopping.'

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

do meriği noo
STAT be cold ABS 3sg.

'He is cold.'

bubu-d'ara noo
be angry ABS 3sg.

'He is angry.'

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

ta meriği noo
NON-PAST be cold ABS 3sg.

'She is getting cold.'

ta bui ke ne noo
NON-PAST fall PART ABS 3sg.

'He is falling.'

(4) referents which do something which brings about a change of state in that referent. In the example below, the ABS referent (noo 'he') does something (perai 'run') which brings about a change of locative state in that ABS referent.

ta perai noo la méhara
NON-PAST run ABS 3sg. GPS Mesara

'He is running to Mesara.'

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

ta tagi ne ana ne
NON-PAST cry ABS ART child DEM1sg.

'The child is crying.'

ERGATIVE (ERG) ri, φ
The ERG NP is usually marked by the pre-position 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 d'are ke ne
NON-PAST sharpen(sg.) PART ABS ART

wela-hule do medera ri ubu naba
machete REL be long ERG Ubu Naba

'Ubu Naba began to sharpen a long machete.'

do lēka ri ped'a duae
STAT strike ERG sickness ABS king

'Sickness has struck the king.'

(Note that ped'a is ERG because it can be relativised. An INST NP cannot.)

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

ta j'ega noo
NON-PAST build ABS house ERG 3sg.

'He is building a house.'

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

ta keb'ali noo pa ne
NON-PAST ask(pl.) ERG 3sg. GA ART

ana he "ta kako la
child DEM1pl. ABS NON-PAST go GPS

WHERE

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

(4) referents which perceive another referent.

d'ono-d'ono ri ana hekola nane
listen-RED ERG child school DEM1sg.

φ ne lii ubu naba
ABS ART word Ubu Naba

'The school child listened intently to Ubu Naba's words.'

(5) referents to which a cognitive state (e.g. tade 'know', toi 'know', peçee 'think') is attributed.
tade d'o ç deo ri j'il know(sg.) NEG ABS god ERG lpl.(excl.)

'We did not know God.'

(6) referents which secure ABS referents in LOC

refereents (e.g. referents of verbs like pedana 'bury', b'edo 'enclose', kjiu 'insert').

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

l' roo
ABS 3pl.

'Where shall we bury them?'

(7) referents which do not fit into the categor-

ies outlined above; e.g. the ERG referents

of verbs like pedoa 'call, invite', kehiwa

'hire (someone)', pевe 'exchange, sell',

aj'a 'learn, study'.

INSTRUMENT (INST) ri

Instrument NPs, unlike ERG NPs:

(1) are always marked by preposition ri.

(2) cannot be heads of relative clauses in which

the INST NP is coreferentially deleted.

(3) can occur in transitive and intransitive

clauses.

Transitive

Identification of an INST NP in a transitive

clause is usually determined by semantics. If

two NPs both with preposition ri, the

NP whose referent is most likely to be manipu-

lated or used by the referent of the other NP

will be the INST NP. We can therefore say that,

in a transitive clause referents of INST NPs are

referents used by an ERG referent to do something.

Referents of transitive INST NPs include:

(1) referents used by an ERG referent to do some-

thing to an ABS referent (e.g. referents of

verbs like tab'o 'stab', weba 'hit', boka

'open', kii 'pour, fill, insert').

tab'o ç noo ri naikii ke
stab(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG child DEM1pl.

ri kepoke
INST spear

'These children stabbed him with a spear.'

boke ç ne kevae ne ri kuhi
open(sg.) ABS ART door DEM1sg. INST key

'Open the door with a key.'

ta ihe ri noo ç gelaa
NON-PAST fill(sg.) ERG 3sg. ABS glass

ri ei
INST water

'She is filling a glass with water.'

(2) referents used by an ERG referent as some-

thing given, paid, or fed to an ABS referent

(e.g. referents of verbs like pala 'present',

ma'i 'pay', kehiwa 'hire', pe-ga'a 'feed

animals', pe-tutu 'feed birds').

ta pale ç noo ri
NON-PAST present(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG

j'aa ri d'ae gi'u wani
lsg. INST two COUNT pig

'I will present him with two pigs.'

ta pe-ga'a ç b'ada ke
NON-PAST CAUS-eat ABS animal DEM1pl.

ri noo ri ru-aq'uu
ABS 3sg. INST leaf-plant

'He is feeding these animals with leaves.

Intransitive

In an intransitive clause, the only NP

with preposition ri will be an INST NP.

do tobo ri dei ç ne
STAT be full INST dung ABS ART

beka kenana d'e
basket betel DEM2sg.

'The betel basket is full of dung.'

GOAL

The referents of GOAL NPs are referents

toward which or (in the case of nara 'win')

against which an action is directed. Sawu

has three GOAL prepositions as follows:

(1) GOAL FROM SPEAKER (GFS) la

Referents of NPs with preposed la are

inanimate referents towards which an action

is directed. The direction of this action is

away from the referent "from whose spatial

viewpoint a story is being told" (Grimes

1975:61). As this referent is often the speaker,

it seems appropriate to refer to this la

as Goal From Speaker (GFS).

ta b'ale ke ç roo la
NON-PAST return PART ABS 3pl. GFS

mehara
Mesara

'They return to Mesara.'

In the discourse preceding this text example,

the district of Seba is clearly the spatial

viewpoint of the story's main characters.

The return journey to the district of Mesara

requires a movement away from that spatial

viewpoint.

(2) GOAL TOWARDS SPEAKER (GTS) ma

Referents of NPs with preposed ma are

inanimate referents toward which an action

is directed. As the direction of this action

is also towards the speaker, it seems appropriate

to refer to this ma as Goal Towards Speaker (G'

*j'e b'ale d'aoe-aoe ç ou ma
THEN return immediately ABS 2sg. GTS

smu d'e," mi ke ane ç due
house DEM2sg. LIKE DEM1pl. say ERG King

15
"Then you return immediately to this house", said the king to Ubu Naba.'

The context of this text example makes it clear that 'this house' is the king's house (i.e., the place where the speaker and the addressee are at the time of the utterance). Ubu Naba is being sent on an errand, and the direction of his return journey must be toward the speaker, the king.

(3) GOAL ANIMATE (GA) pa

Referents of GA NPs with preposed pa are animate referents toward which or (in the case of nara 'win') against which an action is directed. They differ from the referents of GFS and GTS NPs in that the latter are inanimate.

\[ ta \ lii \ ke \# \ duae \ pa \ ubu \ naba, \ NON-PAST \ say \ PART \ ERG \ king \ GA \ Ubu \ Naba \]

\[ \# \ "kako \ la \ ni." \]

\[ ABS \ go \ GFS \ DEM4sg. \]

The king says to Ubu Naba, "Go over there!"

\[ ta \ wi\# \ dai \ ri \ j'aa \ pa \ muu \ NON-PAST \ give \ ABS \ money \ ERG \ 1sg. \ GA \ 2pl. \]

'I will give you money.'

\[ ta \ j'ala \ pa \ wawi \ pa \ manu \ NON-PAST \ net-fish \ GA \ pig \ GA \ chicken \]

\[ he \# \ ubu \ naba \ DEM1pl. \ ABS \ Ubu \ Naba \]

'Ubu Naba began to fish for pigs and for chickens.'

\[ nara \ d'o \# \ duae \ pa \ ubu \ naba \ win \ NEG \ ABS \ king \ GA \ Ubu \ Naba \]

'The king did not win against Ubu Naba.'

RESULT ta

Referents of RESULT NPs are referents which come into being as the result of an action or process.

\[ \# \ le \ ta \ hij'i \ king \ tao \ finish(3sg.) \ RESULT \ male-cloth \ IF \ make \]

\[ ta \ hij'i \]

RESULT male-cloth

'Finish (making it) into a male-cloth, if (you are) making (it) into a male-cloth.'

\[ ta \ jad'i \ ke \# \ ubu \ naba \ NON-PAST \ become \ PART \ ABS \ Ubu \ Naba \]

\[ ta \ duae \ RESULT \ king \]

'Ubu Naba becomes king.'

SOURCE(SCE) (rai) (ga) ti

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

Locative

\[ ta \ b'ale \# \ noo \ raiti \ NON-PAST \ return \ ABS \ 3sg. \ SCE \]

\[ hekola \ school \]

'She is returning from school.'

Material

\[ tao \# \ kebie-ae \ raiti \ laa \ due \ make \ ABS \ house \ beam \ SCE \ trunk \ lontar \]

'Make house beams out of lontar trunks.'

Stative

\[ \# \ duae \ merei \ dae-d'o \ ti \ boj'i \ ABS \ king \ wake \ up \ YET \ NOT \ SCE \ sleep \]

'The king had not yet woken up.'

A SCE NP is marked by raiti, raiti, rati, or ti. It is not yet clear what factors affect the choice of one in preference to another.

LOCATIVE (LOC) pa

Referents of LOC NPs include:

(1) referents which indicate the location of an action, process or state.

Action

\[ ta \ hogo \# \ pa'a \# \ noo \ pa \ NON-PAST \ cook \ ABS \ food \ ERG \ 3sg. \ LOC \]

\[ emu \ ni \ house \ DEM4sg. \]

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

Process

\[ ta \ merigi \# \ noo \ pa \ NON-PAST \ be \ cool \ ABS \ 3sg. \ LOC \]

\[ d'ara \ ei-lobo \ d'e \ interior \ pool \ DEM2sg. \]

'He is cooling off in the pool.'

State

\[ majad'i \# \ noo \ pa \ qidi \ ruj'ara \ sit \ ABS \ 3sg. \ LOC \ side \ road \]

\[ d'e \ DEM2sg. \]

'She is sitting at the side of the road.'

(2) referents which specify the location on the ABS referent where the INST referent makes contact (e.g., the referents of verbs like wuba 'hit', tshu 'stab', loro 'cut').

\[ ta \ loro \ pa \ koko \ he \ NON-PAST \ cut(pl.) \ LOC \ neck \ DEM1pl. \]

\[ \# \ j'ii \ ri \ noo \ DEM1pl. \( \text{excl.} \) \ ERG \ 3sg. \]

'He will cut us at the neck.'

(3) referents with which the ABS referent
(of intransitive loka 'strike') makes contact.

do loka pa eru ne  
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'ndo 'enclose', kiju 'insert').

ta kijo ke  
NON-PAST insert(sg.) PART ABS

ana-me,qri pa kej'arga  
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  
NON-PAST realise PART ERG 3sg. ABS

ta era  
COMPL be ABS someone REL go

d'ei ruj'ara  
RGE path

'The king begins to realise that there was someone walking along the path.'

naru d'oege  
go naturally ABS 3sg. RGE house

duae king

'Naturally he went past the king's house.'

mahu-ent d'ei nanane ke  
go out RGE DEM3sg. PART ABS

dii  
lpl.(incl.)

'We will go out through this (hole near you).'

State

era  
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, qa

Referents of VEH NPs are referents which convey an ABS referent. VEH prepositions

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

ta kako ke  
NON-PAST go PART ABS 3pl. GPS

hob'a j'era jara  
Seba VEH horse

'They set off for Seba by horse.'

ABOUT j'era, (lua)

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 lua

pedai  
ABS 3pl. ABOUT matters work

'They are talking about business matters.'

pedai lua a'a  
talk about brother

'talk about brother' (Radja Haba)

COMITATIVE (COM) qa

Referents of COM NPs include:

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

ta b'ani ke  
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 qa j'aa we  
come DFS stay COM 1sg. PART

'Come and stay with me.'

MEASURE (MEAS) gara

Referents of MEAS NPs are referents for which ABS referents are exchanged.

ta pewie ke  
NON-PAST exchange PART ERG 3sg. ABS

ne keb'ao ne  
ART buffalo DEM1sg. MEAS money

'He is exchanging the buffalo for money.'

BENEFACTIVE (BEN) wie

Referents of BEN NPs are referents which are an intended recipient or beneficiary of an action.

moo  
send(pl.) erg 3pl. PART ABS present

wie j'aa  
BEN 1sg.

'They sent presents for me.'

b'uke ri no  
write(sg.) ERG 3sg. ABS ART letter BEN Ki
He wrote a letter for the king.'

The BEN preposition *wie* is clearly related to the verb *wie* 'give'. However, the latter is distinguished from the former by having preposed verbal particles like *ta*, *la*, and *ma*.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{dōka} & \quad \text{\jaa} & \quad \text{la} & \quad \text{wie} & \quad \text{dō} \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \quad \text{come} & \quad \text{ABS} & \quad \text{lg. DFS} & \quad \text{give} & \quad \text{ABS} \\
\text{doi} & \quad \text{pa} & \quad \text{muu} & \quad \text{money} & \quad \text{GA} & \quad \text{2pl.}
\end{align*}
\]

'I am coming to give money to you.'

**SINCE rai**

Referents of SINCE NPs indicate the time when the action, process or state began.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pi'a} & \quad \text{d'o} & \quad \text{ke} & \quad \text{dou} & \quad \text{do} \\
\text{NEG PART} & \quad \text{ABS. someone} & \quad \text{REL} \\
\text{heleō} & \quad \text{ne} & \quad \text{a'aa} & \quad \text{ne} & \quad \text{see} \\
\text{ABS ART} & \quad \text{older brother} & \quad \text{DEM1sg.} \\
\text{rai} & \quad \text{made ari} & \quad \text{ne} & \quad \text{SINCE death} & \quad \text{younger brother} & \quad \text{DEM1sg.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{do pe-bubu} & \quad \text{d'ara} & \quad \text{ke} & \quad \text{doo} & \quad \text{roo} \\
\text{STAT REC-be angry} & \quad \text{inside} & \quad \text{PART ABS} & \quad \text{3pl.} \\
\text{rai napune} & \quad \text{SINCE} & \quad \text{DEM1sg.}
\end{align*}
\]

'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. \(\text{shi} \quad \text{he-} \quad 4. \quad \text{aga} \quad 7. \quad \text{pidu} \)
2. \(\text{d'ue} \quad 5. \quad \text{lam} \quad 8. \quad \text{aru} \)
3. \(\text{telo} \quad 6. \quad \text{ama} \quad 9. \quad \text{heo} \)

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

10. \(\text{he-guru} \quad 20. \quad \text{d'ue guru} \)
100. \(\text{he-gahu} \quad 200. \quad \text{d'ue gahu} \)
1000. \(\text{he-tab'a} \quad 2000. \quad \text{d'ue tab'a} \)

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

11. \(\text{he-guru shi} \quad 350. \quad \text{telo gahu lam guru} \)
2067. \(\text{d'ue tab'a ama guru pidu} \)

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

tens \(\text{guru-} \quad \text{hundreds} \quad \text{gahu-} \quad \text{thousands} \quad \text{tab'-} \quad \text{a} \)

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

The initial \(\text{g} \) in guru and gahu is, I suspect, a reduced (and now fossilised) form of the PAN numeral ligature \(\text{ga} \).

**4.5.2 Ordinal numerals**

Ordinal numerals are formed by prefixing \(\text{ke-} \quad \text{(ORD)} \) to cardinal numerals.

\(\text{ke-shi} \quad \text{ke-d'ue} \quad \text{ke-telo} \)
\(\text{ORD-one} \quad \text{ORD-two} \quad \text{ORD-three} \)

'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.

\(\text{d'ai pa ke-telo lod'o ne,} \quad \text{THEN LOC ORD-three day DEM1sg.} \)

\(\text{ta la pee ke ne} \quad \text{NON-PAST DFS stay PART ABS ART} \)

\(\text{ana ne pa ru-koko amu} \quad \text{child DEM1sg. LOC leaf-neck house} \)

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

\(\text{ta kako ke ne amu-mone} \quad \text{NON-PAST go PART ABS ART child-male} \)

\(\text{ke-d'ue ne} \quad \text{ORD-two DEM1sg.} \)

'The second male-child goes.'

\(\text{do kaka ke ne amu moo} \quad \text{STAT ART sex gunu poss3sg.} \)

\(\text{ke-telo} \quad \text{ORD-three} \)

'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.

\(\text{d'ue b'ala nalehu} \quad \text{two COUNT handkerchiefs} \)

'two handkerchiefs'

Numeral + Counter can, however, precede or follow the head noun. Thus \(\text{nalehu d'ue b'ala} \) is equally acceptable.

The Sawu Counters (which often have a meaning independent of their function as Counters) can be described as: (1) classifying; (2) partitive; (3) container; and (4) others. This list does not claim to be exhaustive. (1) Classifying Counters classify the referents being counted. \(\text{dou} \) 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'

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

jara he'gi'u
horse one-COUNT

'one horse'
As an independent noun, gi'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'agu is used to count pencils, pens, sticks, crowbars, knives, machetes, spoons, rings, bracelets, etc.

he-b'agu potoloo
one-COUNT pencil

'one pencil'

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

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

ota is used to count letters, string, rope.

he-ota dari
one-COUNT string

'a length of string'

he-ota huri
one-COUNT letter

'one letter'
he-ota can also mean 'half (a sack)',
'a quarter of (a kilogram)', 'a quarter of (a pig)'.
As an independent verb, ota 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'.

kedili is used to count rifles.

d'ue kedili kepoo
two COUNT rifle

'two rifles'
laa is used to count tree trunks, poles, limbs (of humans, animals). Compare kepue which is used to count whole trees.

he-laa gerii
one-COUNT pole

'one pole'

aj'u telu laa
wood three COUNT

'three logs'

d'ue laa kas-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-kerab'o d'ue b'ue
PROD-pumpkin two COUNT

'two pumpkins'

he-wue kowa
one-COUNT boat

'one boat'

b'ado 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

'a piece of cloth'
As an independent noun, g'uti means
'scissors'. As an independent verb, it means 'to cut with scissors'.

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

d'ue kedile ked'ai
two COUNT meat

'two pieces of meat'
one-COUNT cake

'one piece of cake'
(Note: To count whole cakes one would use the counter wue as in he-wue koki 'one (whole) cake')
As an independent verb, kedoli means 'to cut (off)'

*lamuhi is used to count grains of sand.

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.

one-COUNT cotton

'one thread of cotton'

*telu lua ru-kotu
three COUNT hair-head

'three strands of hair'
As an independent noun, lua means 'thread'.

*wiq is used to count salt, pepper, etc.

one-COUNT

'salt'

'meleghe he-wiq
's... small thorns or hairs of plants'.

*hemore = 'half (a container)'.
*hemwui = 'quarter (of a container)'.
To my knowledge, one cannot say d'ue melore, d'ue meuwui, or telu meuwui, nor do meore 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.

liquid-oil PROD-earth one-COUNT

kerosine

'one bottle of kerosine'
As an independent noun, boto means 'bottle'.

*aru is used to count the number of pots containing a referent.

one-COUNT

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

he-hoke wo-helag'i
one-COUNT PROD-tamarind

'one pod of tamarind'

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.

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.

one-COUNT PROD-banana

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

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

one-COUNT PROD-banana

'one hand of bananas'

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

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

lodo 'day'
remi 'night'
weru '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 "ns 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.

ta pewu ke φ hari-hari
NON-PAST assemble PART ABS all
dou
people

'All the people are assembling.'

ta kelatu φ 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, "ns, if present.

belaja ke ri noo φ hari-hari
spend PART ERG 3sg. ABS all
ne do
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 possesives, relative clauses and demonstrative adjuncts).

megulu-d'ara ke φ noo qa
happy PART ABS 3sg. COM
hiqa noo he hari-hari
friend POSS3sg. DEM1pl. all

'He is happy with all his friends.'

ta pe-mahu ke φ
NON-PAST CAUS-go outside PART ABS
ns ana do kepai hedae
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:

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

pedoa φ ne hismu hari do
call(pl.) ABS ART spouse all LIG
pidu dou
seven COUNT

'Call all seven wives.'

(2) optional with non-human animate

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.

maqa ke φ roo hari do d'ue
play PART ABS 3pl. all LIG two

'They are both playing.'

maqa-maqa φ roo hari d'ue
play-RED ABS 3pl. all two

'They both play a lot.'

(3) absent with inanimates (including body part

hari d'ue laa
all two COUNT

'Both (hands).' 

(This is a text example in which the NP head has been deleted because readily identifiable by the context. laa is the counter for 'hands, etc.')

The distribution of the hari construction parallels that of hari-hari.

(a) It is like hari-hari in that it can precede or follow the head noun, but unlike it in that it almost always follows.

(b) Like hari-hari, when it precedes the head noun it also precedes the common article "ns, if present.

pedoa ke φ 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

21
(c) Like hari-hari, when it follows the head noun, it occurs at the end of the NP (i.e. it is known to occur after possessives and demonstrative adjuncts).

\[
\text{pake ri ubu naba } \phi \text{ ne h}i\text{mu} \\
\text{took ERG Ubu Naba ABS ART spouse} \\
\text{duae he hari do pidu dou} \\
\text{king DEM1pl. all LIG seven COUNT} \\
\text{'Ubu Naba took all seven of the king's wives.'}
\]

4.7.3 Other

The only other candidates for Non-numeral Quantifiers are had'e and heqaa-qaa both meaning 'few, several'. Both were elicited as part of a wordlist, and do not appear again in my data. Wijngaarden (1996:29) includes had'e 'sommigen' (= 'some') in his list, but does not mention heqaa-qaa.

4.8 Noun phrase conjunction

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

\[
\text{era } \phi \text{ keb'ao qa wawi pa ni} \\
\text{be ABS buffalo AND pig LOC DEM4sg.} \\
\text{'There are buffalo and pigs over there.'}
\]

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.

\[
\text{pau} \text{ wo-pau} \\
\text{mango tree PROD-mango tree} \\
\text{'mango fruit'}
\]

\[
\text{menila} \text{ wo-menila} \\
\text{peanut plant PROD-peanut plant} \\
\text{'peanut'}
\]

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

\[
\text{lahalae} \text{ wo-lahalae} \\
\text{expanse of sand, beach PROD-expanse of sand} \\
\text{'grain(s) of sand'}
\]

\[
\text{rai} \text{ wo-rai} \\
\text{earth, land PROD-earth, land} \\
\text{'grain(s) of earth'}
\]

(b) a fruit-like or produce-like shape. e.g.

\[
\text{(wo-)juli} \text{ 'clam'} \\
\text{(wo-)kepui} \text{ 'shellfish, scallop'}
\]

In these two examples wo- is optional, while in others - all body parts - it has fossilised.

\[
\text{wodilu} \text{ 'ear'} \\
\text{wodeto} \text{ 'heel'} \\
\text{wopokalae} \text{ 'ankle'} \\
\text{wowua} \text{ 'kindney'}
\]

4.9.2 ru- and ro- are the bound forms of rou 'leaf', 'hair', 'feather', 'blade (of grass)'. ru- is more common than ro-. e.g.

\[
\text{mu'u} \text{ ro-mu'u} \\
\text{banana tree leaf-banana tree} \\
\text{'banana leaf'}
\]

\[
\text{katu} \text{ ru-katu} \\
\text{head hair-head} \\
\text{'head-hair'}
\]

\[
\text{ola} \text{ ru-ola} \\
\text{wing feather-wing} \\
\text{'feathered wing'}
\]

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.

\[
\text{mate } \phi \text{ ne doka } j'aa \text{ ti} \\
\text{wait(sg.) ABS ART come POSS1sg. SCE} \\
\text{d'oka} \text{ ri ou} \\
\text{plantation ERG 2sg.} \\
\text{'You wait for my return from the plantation.'}
\]

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.

\[
\text{i'a d'oo } \phi \text{ . j'aa lolo-ili } qa \\
\text{CAN NEG ABS lsg. converse COM} \\
\text{dou katu-katu pa kota} \\
\text{person head-RED LOC Kupang} \\
\text{'I can not converse with the (various) heads (of government) in Kupang.'}
\]

* * *
Chapter Five

VERBS

5.1 A-verbs and B-verbs

In the discussion below (5.1. to 5.3.) reference is made to Savu 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 Savu 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 Absolute NP, but a few like keb'ali 'ask' (which have a quotation as Absolute) 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.

uji'uri 'tie up (pl.); bundle'
uij'ire 'tie up (sg.)'
qae'ara 'eat (pl.); food'
qa'e '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 *i(C)u (where *i = any vowel except u, and C = any consonant), the singular form will end in -o.

\[ \text{tab'u (pl.)} \quad \text{'pierce, stab'} \\
\text{tab'o (sg.)} \quad \text{'(to) tear'} \\
\text{hiu (pl.)} \quad \text{'(to) tear'} \\
\text{hio (sg.)} \quad \text{'(to) tear'} \\
\text{ked'agu (pl.)} \quad \text{'hold'} \\
\text{ked'ago (sg.)} \quad \text{'hold'} \\
\]

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

\[ \text{b'uju (pl.)} \quad \text{'touch, feel'} \\
\text{b'uje (sg.)} \quad \text{'touch, feel'} \\
\text{hib'i (pl.)} \quad \text{'bite'} \\
\text{hib'e (sg.)} \quad \text{'bite'} \\
\text{hero'o (pl.)} \quad \text{'carry on arm'} \\
\text{hero'e (sg.)} \quad \text{'carry on arm'} \\
\text{haka (pl.)} \quad \text{'push forward'} \\
\text{hake (sg.)} \quad \text{'push forward'} \\
\]

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.

\[ \text{hib'a (pl.)} \quad \text{'splash'} \\
\text{heb'e (sg.)} \quad \text{'splash'} \\
\text{peluju (pl.)} \quad \text{'take care of'} \\
\text{peloj'e (sg.)} \quad \text{'take care of'} \\
\]

The function of Agreement Verbs in clauses is exemplified below.

\[ \text{agu, ago 'fetch, take, carry'} \\
\text{agu \* ei-loko \ri \ou \text{fetch}(pl.) ABS liquid-river ERG 2sg.} \\
\]

'You fetch fresh-water!'

\[ \text{agu \ri \noo \* wo-kera\b'o \text{fetch}(pl.) ERG 3sg. ABS PROD-pumpkin} \\
\text{d'ue b'ue two COUNT(pl.)} \\
\]

'He fetched two pumpkins.'

\[ \text{ago \ri \noo \* ei-me\b'i \text{fetch}(sg.) ERG 3pl. ABS liquid-oil} \\
\text{wo-rai he-boto \text{PROD-earth one-COUNT}} \\
\]

'They fetched a bottle of kerosene.'

\[ \text{agu agrees with the mass Absolutive noun 'fresh water', and with the plural Absolutive 'pumpkins'. ago agrees with the singular Absolutive noun 'a bottle of kerosene'.} \\
\text{ila, ele 'disappear'} \\
\text{ila ke \ne \ki'ti \text{disappear}(pl.) PART ABS ART goat} \\
\text{he DEM1pl.} \\
\]
'The goats disappeared.'

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{ta} & \text{ele} & \phi \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \text{disappear} & \text{SG} \\
\text{ABS} & 3\text{sg.}
\end{array}
\]

raiti rai-wawa \( d'e \)

\[ \text{SCE earth-below DEM2sg.} \]

'He will disappear from this earth.'

Intransitive \( il \) agrees with the plural Absolutive NP 'goats', while \( \text{ele} \) agrees with the Absolutive third person singular pronoun.

\text{keb'ali, keb'ale 'ask'}

| \text{ta} | \text{keb'ali} | ke \text{ ri} \text{ duae pa} |
| \text{NON-PAST} | \text{ask(pl.)} | \text{PART ERG king GA} |

| \text{dou} | \text{he} | \phi | "ta kako"
| \text{person DEM1pl.} | \text{ABS} | \text{NON-PAST} | \text{go} |

| \text{la mii} | \phi | \text{muu} |
| \text{GFS WHERE} | \text{ABS} | \text{2pl.} |

'The king asks the people, "Where are you going?"'

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{ta} & \text{keb'ale} & \text{ke} \text{ ri} \text{ dou} \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \text{ask} & \text{(sg.)} \text{ PART ERG person} \\
\text{he} & \text{pa noo} & \phi \ "\text{nadu duae} \\
\text{DEM1pl.} & \text{GA 3sg.} & \text{ABS WHO king} \\
\text{pa} & \text{d'e} & \text{"} \\
\text{LOC DEM2sg.}
\end{array}
\]

'The people ask him, "Who is the king here?"'

\text{keb'ali agrees with the plural Goal Animate NP 'people', while keb'ale agrees with the Goal Animate third person singular pronoun.}

5.2.1.2 Other interpretations

My data does not support Lee's view (MS) that the singular/plural forms represent the Passive/Active distinction. In my view, the latter is not identifiable in Sawu (see 7.20).

Jonker's view is closer to my own. In a 1919 article (p.713), he states that the unmarked form is used when "het object onbepaald of wel bepaald doch meervoudig is" (i.e. when the object is indefinite, or is definite and plural), while the marked form is used when "het bepaald en enkelvoudig is" (i.e. when it is definite and singular). My description differs in that definiteness or indefiniteness is not considered a relevant factor, and that with some verbs agreement is with the Goal Animate. Note that Deictic Verbs represent another kind of Agreement Verb with plural \( k \) and singular \( n \) (see 5.4.1).

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 transitive when prefixed to intransitive verbs, and it is with these and the transitive perception verb \( \text{qadi} '\text{see}' \) that the description 'causative' is most appropriate. However, with optional transitives \( \text{qa'a 'eat'} \) and \( \text{qinu 'drink'} \), \( \text{pe-q\text{a'a}} \) and \( \text{pe-qinu} \) do not mean 'cause to eat' and 'cause to drink', but rather 'give to eat' and 'give to drink'.

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{toto} & \text{'be full'} & \text{puru} \ "\text{descend} \\
\text{pe-toto} & \text{'make full'} & \text{pe-puru} \ "\text{lower} \\
\text{CAUS-be full} & \text{CAUS-descend}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{qad\text{i} 'see'} & \text{qa'a 'eat'} & \text{pe-qad\text{i} 'show'} \text{ pe-q\text{a'a} 'give to eat'} \\
\text{CAUS-see} & \text{CAUS-eat}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{qinu 'drink'} & \text{pe-qinu 'give to drink'} \\
\text{CAUS-drink}
\end{array}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{ta} & \text{tab'o} & \phi \text{ noo ri noo} \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \text{stab} & \text{(sg.)} \text{ ABS 3sg. ERG 3sg.} \\
\text{ri} & \text{tud'i} \\
\text{INST knife}
\end{array}
\]

'He is stabbing him with a knife.'

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{ta} & \text{pe-tab'u} & \phi \text{ roo ri} \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \text{REC-stab(pl.)} & \text{ABS 3pl. INST} \\
\text{tud'i} & \text{knife}
\end{array}
\]

'They are stabbing each other with knives.'

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{ta} & \text{pe-q\text{a'a} \ phi ne ana} \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \text{CAUS-eat} & \text{ABS ART child} \\
\text{ne} & \text{ri noo} \\
\text{DEM1sg. ERG 3sg.}
\end{array}
\]

'He is feeding the child.'

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{ta} & \text{pe-pe-q\text{a'a} \ phi ne} \\
\text{NON-PAST} & \text{REC-CAUS-eat(pl.)} & \text{ABS ART} \\
\text{ana he} & \text{child DEM1pl.}
\end{array}
\]

'The children are feeding each other.'
ta hiaga ı noo qa
NON-PAST be friends ABS 3sg. COM

noo 3sg.

'He is becoming friends with her.'

ta pe-hiaga ı roo
NON-PAST REC-be friends ABS 3pl.

'They are becoming friends.'

ta lii ı j'aa pa noo ı
NON-PAST say ERG lsg. GA 3sg. ABS

"oo"
YES

'I will say to him, "Yes".'

ta pe-lit ke ı j'ii
NON-PAST REC-say PART ABS lpl.excl.

nab'o later

'We will talk together later.'

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 Wijnngaarden (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.

d'ida  'be high'

d'ida-d'ida  'be very high'

be high-RED

b'aku  'be rotten'

b'aku-b'aku  'be very rotten'

be rotten-RED

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

ie  'be good'

kako is-ie  'go carefully, go well'

go  be good-RED

5.3 Existential verb era

The Sawu verb era simply indicates that its indefinite ABS referent exists. (Note that negative existentials include pi'a-d'o, pe'e-d'o, b'ule-d'o, but never era d'o.)

era ı deo
exist ABS god

'There is a god.'

era ı wawu pa ra' hawu
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 indicates agreement with a singular ERG NP or intransitive ABS NP, and h with a plural.

See also the demonstratives (4.2) which distinguish singular and plural in this manner.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7: Deictic verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>née</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As nene and hore 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) née ı noo pa d'amu

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

'He is here in the loft (where I am).'
(2) kee * muu pa * wum
be here(pl.) ABS 2pl. LOC house

'Are you here in the house?'

(3) nei * noo la j'iu-ei
be there(sg.) ABS 3sg. DFS bathe

'He is some distance away going to bathe.'

(4) do hei * pa ni *
STAT be there(pl.) LOC DEM4sg. ABS

roo 3pl.

'They are there.'

(5) (1) *nene ma * ne kuhi pa
be(sg.) EMPH ABS ART key LOC

d'ida keraja b'ahi nad'e
top cage iron DEM2sg.

(2) ago we ri ou. boke
fetch(sg.) PART ERG 2sg. open(sg.)

mori ai * ne kelae d'e"
quickly ABS ART door DEM2sg.

mi he a ne
LIKE DEM1pl. say

(3) do hore la ginu *
STAT be(pl.) DFS drink ABS

ei-loko ko * ne dou
liquid-river PART ABS ART person -water

do hape * j'aa
REL carry ABS lsg.

(1) 'There is a key on top of this iron cage. (2) You fetch it, (and) quickly open this door", (he) said. (3) 'The men who carry me are close by getting a drink of water.'

In 5(1) it could be argued that *nene represents 'near the addressee". The speaker is inside the locked cage without a key, while the addressee is outside with access to the key at the top. In 5(3) hore refers to the men who had gone to get a drink at a nearby house. The context indicates that the men were not in sight at the time of the utterance which suggests that hei 'be distant from the speaker (and addressee?)' would be more appropriate. However, it is also arguable that the speaker uses hore here to suggest that the men are close to the addressee in order to encourage his haste in opening the cage.

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.

* * *
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.

uj'e ke-ra-de-re-de
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.

Adverbs (pe)tuw-tuu and təra-təra can modify most, if not all, B-verbs, while guru-guru can qualify at least two (i.e. mədi 'black', kehəba 'dark'). Every other excessive adverb in Table 8 is restricted to one verb (i.e. b'ei-b'ei only qualifies meriqi 'cold', and huu-huu only məra 'tired').

Table 8: Excessive adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B-verb</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pasa</td>
<td>(pe)tuw-tuu</td>
<td>'really hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo-ie</td>
<td>təra-təra</td>
<td>'really good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mədi</td>
<td>guru-guru</td>
<td>'very black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerəba</td>
<td>guru-guru</td>
<td>'very dark'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mea</td>
<td>gou-gou</td>
<td>'very red'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pudì</td>
<td>gari-gari</td>
<td>'very white'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelara</td>
<td>mu'a-mu'a</td>
<td>'very yellow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mìra</td>
<td>jod'e-jod'e</td>
<td>'very flat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mejoni</td>
<td>duuru-duuru</td>
<td>'very heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moku</td>
<td>eb'o-eb'o</td>
<td>'very soft'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neta</td>
<td>kee-kee</td>
<td>'very sweet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meriqi</td>
<td>b'ei-b'ei</td>
<td>'very cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mara</td>
<td>huu-huu</td>
<td>'very tired'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

məe tei-tei 'very crushed'
15. kaja kete'e 'very rich'
16. kehəia gehara 'very poor'
17. kehii kejid'o 'very quiet'
18. mou megala 'very clear'
19. bəj'i luu 'sound asleep'
20. ləha mori'ai 'very fast'

Adverbs (pe)tuw-tuu and təra-təra can modify most, if not all, B-verbs, while guru-guru can qualify at least two (i.e. mədi 'black', kehəba 'dark'). Every other excessive adverb in Table 8 is restricted to one verb (i.e. b'ei-b'ei only qualifies meriqi 'cold', and huu-huu only məra 'tired').

Təra-təra and (pe)tuw-tuu are reduplicated forms of the B-verb roots təra and petuw which both mean 'true, real'. The latter is probably a borrowing of Malay betul 'true, real' particularly since the reduplicated form is occasionally petuw-petuw.

Some of the unreduplicated adverbs in Table 8 also function as B-verbs which are semantically similar to the verbs they modify. Both kehəia and gehara mean 'poor', moo and megala 'clear', and ləha and mori'ai 'fast'. Bəj'i means 'sleep', while luu means 'unconscious'. It is also clear that one of the reduplicated adverbs kee-kee modifying neta 'sweet' is related to Bəo 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.

* * *

27
Chapter Seven

PARTICLES (PART)

7.1 Static (STAT) do

7.1.1 Description

Static particle do always precedes the verb root. Only Non-past ta and Negative Particle d' (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' Verb.

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

Intransitive

\[ do \quad pad'a \quad ne \quad hismu \quad j'aa \]
STAT be sick ABS ART spouse POSS1sg.

'My spouse is sick.'

Transitive

\[ do \quad toi \quad ri \quad duae \quad ta \quad dou \]
STAT know ERG king COMPL person

\[ do \quad tao \quad ne \quad napune \quad ne \quad hiaqa \]
REL do ABS DEM1sg. ART friend

nno
POSS3sg.

'The king knows that the person who does this is his friend.'

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

\[ do \quad pereai \quad ne \quad ubu \quad naba \]
STAT flee ABS Ubu Naba

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

Transitive

\[ do \quad helote \quad ri \quad bola \quad dilu \quad ne \quad kelae \quad ne \quad raiti \quad tele \]
STAT lock(sg.) ERG Bola Dilu ABS ART door DEM1sg. SCE outside

'Bola Dilu has locked the door from the outside.' (i.e. the door is still locked)

(2) an action which is habitual, customary, usual, or generic (i.e. an action which is stative-like).

Habitual, customary, usual

\[ do \quad lii \quad dii \quad ta \]
STAT say ERG lpl.(incl.) ABS COMPL

\[ do \quad made-made \quad he \quad ne \quad dou \]
STAT be dead-RED PART ABS ART person

he
DEMLpl.

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

Generic

\[ \quad keb'ao \quad do \quad keoa \]
ABS buffalo STAT bellow

'Buffaloes bellow.'

\[ \quad keb'ao \quad do \quad qa'a \quad ruj'u'u \]
ERG buffalo STAT eat ABS grass

'Buffaloes eat grass.'

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

\[ kiqa \quad wiki \quad ta \quad hou \quad eiti-tele \]
IF TRY NON-PAST pass ABS urine

\[ do \quad ta \quad loro \quad pa \quad koko \]
STAT NON-PAST cut off LOC neck

he \quad j'ii \quad ri \quad ubu \quad naba
DEMLpl. ABS lpl.(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) ola ... pe-

7.2.1 Description

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

\[\text{ole ke ð j'aa pe-pelu} \]
\[\text{PAST(sg.) PART ABS lsg. PAST-deceive} \]
\[\text{ri ubu naba ta maho ma} \]
\[\text{ERP Ubu Naba NON-PAST enter GTS} \]
\[\text{d'ara keraja b'shi nad'e} \]
\[\text{inside cage iron DEM3sg.} \]

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

\[\text{ola ð ma bura tohi} \]
\[\text{PAST(pl.) ERG Mr Bura Tohi} \]
\[\text{pe-kohob'a ð b'ada, wie d'o} \]
\[\text{PAST-butcher ABS animal give NEG} \]
\[\text{ri ma hab'a maru ð ne qaa-qaa.} \]
\[\text{ERP Mr Hab'a Maru ABS ART anything} \]

'Mr Bura Tohi finished butchering the animals but Mr Hab'a Maru did not give (him) anything (for it).'

The Past-completive is clearly related to the verb ola, ola 'finish, complete'. This verb and the tense-aspect both vary according to the plurality, etc. of the Absolute. In the two examples above, ola ... pe- agrees with the singular Absolute pronoun ?'ar, while ?e ... pe- agrees with the plural Absolute b'ada 'animals'.

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

\[\text{ola pe-pe-mou} \]
\[\text{PAST(pl.) PAST-CAUS-clean(pl.) ABS} \]
\[\text{la dudu nahera ta sgu} \]
\[\text{ART thorn DEM3pl. NON-PAST take(pl.)} \]

'stative' do.

7.2.2 Other interpretations

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

'I do not accept Jonker's view (1904:287) that ola ... pe- marks perfect aspect, because I do not believe that ola ... pe- "expresses a relation between present state and past situation" (Comrie 1976:53). It simply indicates that an action or process was completed in the past.

For similar reasons, I reject Kern's (1892:127) claim that the perfect and pluperfect are characterized by ola and ola ke. He does not mention the pe- prefix.

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

7.3 Non-past ta

7.3.1 Description

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

B-verb
\[\text{ta keraja ð ne wi ne} \]
\[\text{NON-PAST be dry ABS ART sarong DEM3sg.} \]

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

A-verb
\[\text{ta d'are ke ð ne} \]
\[\text{NON-PAST sharpen(sg.) PART ABS ART} \]
\[\text{wela-hule ri moo} \]
\[\text{machete ERP 3sg.} \]

'He \{b\ begins to sharpen \} is sharpening \{a machete\} will sharpen \}

7.3.2 Other interpretations

Both Jonker (1919:712-13) and Capell
(1975:676; 1976:545) regard *ta* as a particle which identifies the morpheme it immediately precedes as a verb. In my view, while *ta* often does signal a following verb, it is not a necessary, or an only factor in determining whether a certain part of an utterance is a verb (3.2). Moreover, it seems that Jonker and Capell fail to recognize the existence of complementiser *ta* (8.18.1) and case preposition *ta* (4.4) which clearly do not identify verbs.

Kern's view (1892:166) is different again. He claims that *ta* can be future, or it can indicate "dat iemand of iets in zekeren toestand gekomen is" (i.e. that someone or something has come into a certain state of affairs). I agree with the first part, but not with the second (see 7.3.1).

Lee (MS) and Wijnegaarden (1896:101) share a view which approximates my own. According to Lee, *ta* "implies a future action or one that has not been completed or fulfilled". In similar fashion, Wijnegaarden translates *ta* by "zullen" 'shall, will', and writes that *ta* "geeft te kennen een komen in een toestand" (i.e. tells us that something or someone is coming into a certain state of affairs).

In fairness to Capell, he does mention the possibility that *ta* "may mark a future" (1976:545).

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).

*ta* kod’i ke *φ* noo, *j‘e*
NON-PAST get up PART ABS 3sg. THEN

*la* heqad’u he-dou he-dou
DFS kiss(pl.) one-person one-person

*φ* ne himu duae
ABS ART spouse king

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

7.4.2 Other interpretations

Lee, Kern and Wijnegaarden ascribe a purposive function to pre-verbal *la*. Lee (MS) describes "*la* 'to'" as the "Relator" of a "Reason Phrase" as in *la* kapa nadu’u below.

*ta* kako *la* kapa *φ* nadu’u
NON-PAST go "to" catch ABS fish

*φ* noo
ABS 3sg.

'He goes to catch fish.'

In similar fashion, Kern (1892:535) and Wijnegaarden (1896:60,61) translate pre-verbal *la* as 'to', 'in order to'. These descriptions are inadequate because:

1. They fail to recognize 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 *mî* or *qî* 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).

*pejju* ri duae *φ* j‘it
derg(pl.) ERG king ABS lpl.(excl.)

*ta* ma po’e ma kelaga-rai
NON-PAST DTS defecate GTS verandah

*amu* ubu naba
house Ubu Naba

'The king ordered us to come here and defecate on(to) the verandah of Ubu Naba’s house.'

(The textual context makes it clear that the speaker and his accomplices are standing near or sitting on the verandah of Ubu Naba’s house.)

7.5.2 Other interpretations

Both Kern (1892:535) and Wijnegaarden (1896:60,61) ascribe a purposive function to pre-verbal *ma*. I do not accept this view because:

1. Kern fails to recognize that *ma* can only be used when prior to the action, process or state of the verb, the ERG or intransitive ABS referent of this verb moves towards the position it occupies for the action, process or state of this verb.
2. There is no evidence in my data that *ma* has a purposive function. Purpose is usually indicated by a *mî* or *qî* purposive clause (8.9). Wijnegaarden (1896:70) does also, however, attribute a directional function to pre-verbal *ma* which I can accept. He translates it by "herwaarts" 'hither' which approximates my 'direction towards speaker'.

But Jonker (1904:286) is closest to my own view. He describes pre-verbal *ma* as the
reverse of la (i.e. 'direction towards the speaker' and often translated by "komen" 'to come').

Lee (MS) does not seem to be aware of pre-verbal ma.

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

ta tui hudi,
NON-PAST be length of time LITTLE

ta qa'a ke ø roo
NON-PAST eat PART ABS 3pl.

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

mata ko we hudi. ta wait(pl.) PART JUST LITTLE NON-PAST
d'are ø wela ko ø SHARPEN(sg.) ABS machete PART ERG
j'aa lsg.

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

Non-temporal quantity

ina j'aa do melaka, haku mother POSS1sg. REL thin RESULT

nara hudi we ø j'aa ø ne get LITTLE PART ERG lsg. ABS ART
do ø d'e.
money DEM2sg.

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

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.

ta ami ø naiki he ø NON-PAST ask ERG child DEM1pl. ABS

nudu'u, bo'ile wie de, mate fish DON'T give PART wait(sg.)

ø doka j'aa ti d'oka, ABS come POSS1sg. SCE plantation

j'e wie.
THEN give

'If these children ask for fish, don't give (it to them) prior to (my return). Wait for my return from the plantation, then (you can) give (it to them).'

mata de wait(pl.) PART

'Wait a moment!'

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

mai ko we ø dii ma come PART PART ABS lpl.(incl.) DTS
mama ø kenana chew ABS betel

'Let us chew betel first.'

mata ko wait(pl.) PART

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

B-verbs

do boj'i ko ø duae 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.

made ke ø roo neb'o die PART ABS 3sg. SOON

'He will die soon.'

øgu ø hed'ai raiti ni fetch(pl.) ABS meat SCE DEM4sg.

ke ø j'aa neb'o PART ABS lsg. 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
paha ri ke \# ne
toss(sg.) AGAIN PART ABS ART

wo-wue d'e \# bala dilu
PROD-bengkuak DEM2sg. ERG Bala Dilu

la kej'upa d'e
GFS back DEM2sg.

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

Unabbreviated wəri

 Before ABS NP

 ta pe-bu wəri ke
NON-PAST CAUS-fall(pl.) AGAIN PART

\# wosada ri noo
ABS stone ERG 3sg.

'He is dropping stones again.'

After ABS NP

 ta \# dou wəri
NON-PAST order(pl.) ABS person AGAIN

 ke \# duac ta la
PART ERG king NON-PAST GPS

 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 wəri
ask(pl.) PART ERG Bala Dilu AGAIN

\# "d'o la qa'a \# negga
ABS like NON-PAST eat ABS WHAT

\# mug?

ERG 2pl.

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

7.11 (he) has 'JUST, ONLY, QUITE'

(he) has a similar function to English
'just!', 'only' and 'quite' as exemplified
below. In non-verbal clauses, it occurs
immediately after the NP it refers to. In
verbal clause, only particle nudi can in-
tervene between (he) and the verb. There
appears to be no difference in function be-
tween the abbreviated (he) and the unab-
 Abbreviated form (he)

Non-verbal clause

 j'aa ana hekola hewe
lsg. child school JUST

'I am just a school child.'

Verbal clause

had'i ta pe-higa we
IF NON-PAST CAUS-be friends ONLY

\# noo qa j'aa
ABS 3sg. COM lsg.

'Only if he befriends me.'

gapa kewo \# napue
be simple QUITE ABS DEM1sg.

'This is quite simple.'

i'a hudi we \# j'aa \#
know LITTLE JUST ERG 1sg. ABS

lii hawu
language Sawu

'I know just a little Sawu.'

7.12 ke

ke is a particle of high frequency of oc-
currence 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 nev-
ever in imperative (see We 7.13 ). It also oc-
curs with A-verbs and B-verbs.

A-verb declarative

 ta kod'i ke \# ubu naba
NON-PAST get up PART ABS Ubu Naba

'Ubu Naba gets up.'

B-verb declarative

do pe-bu ke \# ubu naba
STAT REC-be angry PART ABS Ubu Naba

\# duac
AND king

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

Interrogative

minami ke \# dii j';
HOW PART ABS 1pl.(incl.) THEN

mara qa ubu naba \#
win GA Ubu Naba DEM2sg.

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

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

sle ke pe-ste \#
PAST(sg.) PART PAST-cut off(sg.) ABS

ne hewa jara j'aa ri
ART hewa jara 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 Ex-
cessive Adverb, or Particles wəri ('AGAIN')
le (abbreviated form of lema 'ALSO'), or (EMPH),
and d'o (NEG) can intervene.

ERG NP

\( \text{ta} \ loka \ ri \ ped'a \ ke \)  
NON-PAST be struck ERG sickness PART

\( \phi \ hiwmu \ duae \)  
ABS spouse king

'The king's wife becomes sick.'

ABS NP and wari

\( \text{ta} \ pejuu \ \phi \ dou \ wari \)  
NON-PAST order(pl.) ABS person AGAIN

\( \text{ke} \ \phi \ duae \ \text{ta} \ la \ pedoe \)  
PART ERG king NON-PAST DFS call(sg.)

\( \phi \ ubu \ naba \)  
ABS Ubu Naba

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

Excessive Adverb (EXCESS)

\( \text{b'ani} \ petuu-petuu \ ke \ \phi \ duae \)  
be angry EXCESS PART ABS king

\( \text{ga} \ ubu \ naba \)  
COM Ubu Naba

'The king is really angry with Ubu Naba.'

le 'ALSO'

\( \text{ta} \ lli \ le \ ke \ \phi \ ubu \)  
NON-PAST say ALSO PART ERG Ubu

\( \text{naba} \ \phi \ \text{ta} \ \text{kako} \ la \ \text{hab'e} \)  
Naba ABS NON-PAST go DFS cut off

\( \phi \ \text{ne} \ \text{hewa} \ \text{gara} \ \text{duae} \)  
ABS ART nose horse king

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

ma EMPH

\( \text{do} \ \text{kersba} \ \text{ma} \ \text{ke} \ \phi \ \text{namada} \)  
STAT be dark EMPH PART ABS eye

\( \text{j'aa} \)  
POSS1sg.

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

d'o NEG

\( \text{ie} \ d'o \ \text{ke} \ \phi \ \text{nno} \)  
be well NEG PART ABS 3sg.

'He is not well.'

\( \text{d'o and ma} \)  
\( \phi \ \text{o'o} \ \text{d'o} \ \text{ma} \ \text{ke} \ \phi \ \text{muu} \)  
WANT NEG EMPH PART ABS 2pl.

'You(pl.) do not want to.'

\( \text{ke} \) can also be immediately postposed to non-verbals, again without any apparent change of meaning.

\( \text{lod'o nad'e ke, ta} \ \text{raro} \)  
DEM2sg. PART NON-PAST cut(sg.)

\( \phi \ \text{ne} \ \text{koko ou} \)  
ABS ART throat POSS2sg.

'Today, your throat will be cut.'

\( \text{nad'e ke ne unu-pala ou} \)  
DEM2sg. PART ART happiness POSS2sg.

'This is your happiness.'

7.13 we

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

\( \text{ago} \ \text{we} \ \text{ri} \ \text{ou} \ \phi \ \text{ne} \ \text{fetch(sg.)} \ \text{PART} \ \text{ERG} \ \text{2sg.} \ \text{ABS} \ \text{ART} \)  

\( \text{kuhi d'e} \)  
key DEM2sg.

'You fetch the key!'

\( \text{ko} \ \text{mai} \ \text{ko} \ \text{we} \ \text{ma} \ \text{pe-ie} \)  
come FIRST PART DTS CAUS-be well

'Come here first and heal!'

ERG

\( \text{kiga wae} \ \phi \ \text{ou}, \ \text{mai} \ \text{gate} \)  
IF WANT ABS 2sg. come replace(sg.)

\( \text{ri} \ \text{j'aa} \ \text{we} \)  
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.

\( \text{ki wata d'ei} \ \phi \ \text{ama} \ \text{muu} \)  
IF EMPH WANT ABS father 2pl.

\( \text{ta} \ \text{kad'i, kad'i} \)  
NON-PAST get up get up

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

\( \text{ie lema wata ma ke} \ \phi \ \text{ne} \)  
good ALSO EMPH EMPH PART ABS

\( \text{hapo ri muu ta do era} \ \phi \)  
decide ERG 2pl. COMPL STAT be ABS

\( \text{ana jara do nara ta} \ \text{kuhu} \)  
child horse REL CAN NON-PAST suckle

\( \text{pa rea} \ \text{keb'ao} \)  
LOC female buffalo

'Your decision that there is a foal which can suckle at a female buffalo is also definitely quite O.K.'
ma EMPH

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

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

pida e d'o ri j'aa pick up(sg.) NEG ERG lsg.

'I definitely saw (it), but did not pick it up.'

do u do tao napunu duae 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.

duae raiti mehara qa ubu naba king SCE Mesara AND Ubu Naba

kako lema go ALSO

'The king from Mesara and Ubu Naba went also.'

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

d'e, ie lema DEM2sg. be good ALSO

'If you sit on this chair, that's good too.'

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

wala lema ° j'ii be other ALSO ERG lpl.(excl.)

'We (excl.) will get other work also.'

belo le ke ri j'aa forgot(sg.) ALSO PART ERG lsg.

'I forgot (it) also.'

7.17 ad'° 'CERTAIN'

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

ina ou he ama ou mother 2sg. DEM1pl. father 2sg.

he ad'° do hei DEM1pl. CERTAIN STAT be there(pl.)

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

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'ọge

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

kako d'ọge ° noo la amu duae go PART ABS 3sg. GFS house king

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

kọpa d'ọge ri noo ° ne catch(pl.) PART ERG 3sg. ABS ART

manu he chicken DEM1pl.

'Of course, he caught the chickens.'

dəbo d'ọge d'ei amu duae d'ọge go PART RGE house king PART

° noo ABS 3sg.

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

7.19 d'ọge-d'ọge

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

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

ma amu d'e DTS house DEM2sg.

'Then you return immediately to this house.'

7.20 m'ọrai 'QUICKLY'

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

boke m'ọrai ° ne kela open(sg.) QUICKLY ABS ART door

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

ta b'ale ke marai ɬ NON-PAST return PART QUICKLY ABS

noo la tabi dah 3sg. GPS edge sea

'He is returning quickly to the seashore.'

7.21 laha 'FAST'

la ha 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.

do pote loro-loro ɬ noo STAT lie OFTEN-RED ABS 3sg.

'He is always lying.'

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

loro-loro ɬ noo OFTEN-RED ERG 3sg.

'He always carries a gun.'

dou do timo do mawo person REL be Timorese STAT drunk

loro

'Timorese people are often drunk.'

7.23 mara 'PERHAPS'

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

none do bej'i be near you(sg.) STAT be asleep

m ara ɬ noo PERHAPS ABS 3sg.

'He (near you) is perhaps asleep.'

7.24 b'agi 'PERHAPS'

b'agi (PERHAPS) appears twice in my data. On both occasions, it is clause initial (i.e. it immediately precedes NON-PAST ta which immediately precedes the verb).

b'agi ta mena'o ri do PERHAPS NON-PAST steal ERG REL
weka ked'e be old DEM2pl.

'Perhaps, (they) are being stolen by the old people?'

b'ola wabe-wabe. b'agi ta DON'T hit(sg.)-RED PERHAPS NON-PAST
era ɬ d'ue wari heve ke be ABS two time JUST PART

'Don't repeatedly hit him. Perhaps just twice.'

7.25 lohe 'TOO, QUITE'

lohe (TOO, QUITE) is like particles ta and do in that it precedes a verb, and can take postposed negative Particle d'o. It differs in that d'o appears to be obligatory. The meaning of lohe d'o is 'not too, not quite' as illustrated below.

lohe d'o tel e ɬ ne ei TOO NEG be clear ABS ART water

loko ne river DEM1sg.

'This river water is not too clear.'

lohe d'o tada ɬ noo QUITE NEG understand ABS 3sg.

'He does not quite understand.'

* * *
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 verb.

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, [ERGABS(INST)(LOC)], optional LOC distinguishes verbs like weba 'hit', lorno 'cut off' from [ERGABS(INST)] verbs like boka 'open', helote 'lock'. In the second, [ERGABS(LOC)], optional LOC distinguishes verbs like pedana 'bury', b'ado 'enclose' from [ERGABS] verbs like tot 'know', huba 'forgive'. In the third, [ABS(ERG)], LOC distinguishes loka 'strike' from [ABS] verbs like majadidi 'sit' and titu 'stand'. In all three Case frames, LOC specifies a location with particular relevance to the ABS referent. In the first, it specifies the location on the ABS referent where the INST referent makes contact. In the second, it specifies the location in which the ABS referent is secured by the ERG referent. In the third, it specifies the LOC referent with which the ABS referent (of intransitive loka '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 kaka 'go', dab'o 'go past', mahu 'exit, go outside'. It has not, however, been included in any transitive Case frame although it does occur with transitive verbs, hib'ini 'bite', hane 'leave', and moko 'prepare'. More data of this kind might justify another case frame, [ERGABS(RGE)], or more likely the modification of ERGABS(LOC) to [ERGABS({LOC})].

REN 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 

8.1.1.1 Transitive case frames

1. [ERGABS]

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

(a) perception verbs

With perception verbs, the ERG referent perceives the ABS referent. e.g. toti 'know', gadi 'see, spot', d'ono 'hear', helote 'see, look'.

doo toti ri ubu naba φ ne

STAT know ERG Ubu Naba ABS ART

dou ne

person DEM1sg.

'Ubu Naba knows this person.'

(b) non-perception verbs

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

huba ke φ noo ri ama

forgive PART ABS 3sg. ERG father

'Father forgave him.'

2. [ERGABS(ABS)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP and may have an additional ABS NP. The only verb known to have this Case frame is aj'a 'read, study, learn, teach'. The ERG referent is the one who reads, studies, learns, teaches. When there are two ABS NPs, one referent is the one taught, and the other is that which is taught. A clause with two ABS NPs must be translated by English 'teach', but a clause with one ABS NP is potentially ambiguous.

ta aj'a ri j'aa φ ne

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

huri ne

letter DEM1sg.

'I am reading this letter.'
must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP. It may also have one of an INST NP or a GOAL NP. The only verb known to have this Case frame is *ihi* 'fill, pour'. The ERG referent is always the one who fills or pours but the ABS referent can be either:

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

\the \ri \dei \ne \beka fill(sg.) INST dung ABS ART basket
\kenana \d'e \ri \ubu \naba betel DEM2sg. ERG Ubu Naba

'Ubu Naba filled the betel basket with dung.'

\the \ne \dei \ne \la pour(sg.) ABS ART dung DEM1sg. GFS
\d'ara \beka \kenana \d'e \ri interior BASKET BETEL DEM2sg. ERG
\ubu \naba Ubu Naba

'Ubu Naba poured the dung into the betel basket.'

(6) [ERG ABS (SCE) (GFS, GTS)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP. It may also have a SCE NP and/or a non-animate GOAL NP (i.e., one of GFS and GTS). The ERG referent does something to the ABS referent which causes it to change location. We can recognise two groups:

(a) Clauses in which the ABS referent moves away from the ERG referent and the SCE referent towards a non-animate GOAL referent. e.g. *ped'uli* 'lower', *pebuli* 'drop', *gole* 'release', *hora* 'throw'.

\ta \ped'uli ke \ri \nno lower(sg.) PART ERG 3sg.
\ne \kerogo \boshi ne \raiti ABS ART cage iron DEM1sg. SCE
\koua \ne \la \d'ara \ei \dahı boat DEM1sg. GFS interior liquid sea

'He will lower the iron cage from the boat into the sea.'

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

\ta \ego \ne \nno \ri NON-PAST bring(sg.) ABS 3sg. ERG
\dii \raiti \omu \nno \ma lpl.(incl.) SCE house POSS3sg. GTS
\d'e DEM2sg.

'We will bring him from his house to here.'
(7) [ERG ABS (GA)]
A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP, and may also have a GA NP. As all verbs with this Case frame are 'speech verbs', the ABS referent is usually an utterance of the ERG referent directed at a GA referent (the addressee), e.g. one 'say', lii 'say', keb'ali 'ask'.

keb'ali ri duae pa dou ke
ask(pl.) ERG king GA person DEMpl.

φ "pa mii ne himu j'aa?"
ABS LOC WHERE ART spouse POSS1sg.

'The king asks the people, "Where is my wife?"'

(8) [ERG ABS (GA)]
A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP and one of a GA NP or an additional ABS NP. The verb wie 'give' is the only verb known to have this Case frame. The ERG referent gives the ABS referent to the referent of a GA or an ABS NP.

wie φ j'aa φ ne doi ri give ABS lsg. ABS ART money ERG
roo 3pl.

'They gave me money.' OR 'They gave money to me.'

ta wie φ qa'a pa muu NON-PAST give ABS GA 2pl.
ri noo ERG 3sg.

'He will give you food.' OR 'He will give food to you.'

(9) [ERG ABS (LOC)]
A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP. It may also have a LOC NP which will specify the location of the ABS referent secured by the ERG referent. e.g. pedane 'bury', b'ado 'enclose', kiju 'insert'.

b'ado φ duae pa d'ara enclose(sg.) ABS king LOC interior
kerogo b'ahi ri roo cage iron ERG 3pl.

'They put the king in an iron cage.'

(10) [ERG ABS (MEAS)]
A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG and an ABS NP and may also have a MEAS NP. The ERG referent exchanges the ABS referent for the MEAS referent. e.g. pewie 'exchange', pehuru 'change, exchange'.

ta pewie ke ri noo φ NON-PAST exchange PART ERG 3sg. ABS
ne keb'ao ne qara doi ART buffalo DEM1sg. MEAS money

'He will exchange the buffalo for money.'

(11) [ERG ABS (SCE)]
A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ERG NP and an ABS NP. It may also have one of a RESULT NP or a SCE NP. The ERG referent makes the ABS referent into a RESULT referent or out of a SCE referent, e.g. tao 'make', mana 'weave', sēnu 'plait', mēku 'make (clay pot)'.

ta tao φ ne lua wōnu NON-PAST make ABS ART thread cotton
d'e ri noo ta hij'i DEM2sg. ERG 3sg. RESULT male-cloth

'She will make this cotton into a male-cloth.'

ta tao φ hij'i 3sg. NON-PAST make ABS male-cloth ERG
noo raiti ne lua wōnu d'e 3sg. SCE ART thread cotton DEM2sg.

'She will make a male-cloth out of this cotton.'

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 in-transitive 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', qa'a 'eat', ḗina 'drink', hou 'make emerge, emerge'.

ta mari φ noo NON-PAST laugh ABS 3sg.

'He is laughing.'

ta mari φ ne ana he NON-PAST mock ABS ART child DEMpl.
ri noo ERG 3sg.

'He is mocking the children.'

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

ta j'ala φ nadu'u φ j'aa NON-PAST net ABS fish ERG lsg.

'I am netting fish.'

ta j'ala pa manu ke NON-PAST fish GA chicken DEMpl.
A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP and one of either an ERG NP or a LOC NP. The only verb known to have this Case frame is *laka* 'strike'.

*laka* ə ama ri *worena-woana*
strike ABS father ERG bullet

'Father was struck down by a bullet.'

(3) [ABS {ERG}]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP and one of either an ERG NP or a LOC NP. The only verb known to have this Case frame is *laka* 'strike'.

*laka* ə ama ri *worena-woana*
strike ABS father ERG bullet

'Father was struck down by a bullet.'

(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* ə *ubu naba pa duae*
win ABS Ubu Naba GA king

'Uba Naba won against the king.'

(4) [ABS (SCE)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP, and may also have a SCE NP. e.g. *tla* 'disappear', *merei* 'wake up'.

*=device sg.)*

*tara ele* ə *nua ti*
NON-PAST disappear ABS 3sg. SCE

'He will disappear from this earth.'

*merei* *dau-e* ti *boj'i* ə *duae*
get up YET-NOT SCE sleep ABS 3sg.

'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* ke ə *duae* ə *ubu naba*
be angry PART ABS king COM Ubu Naba

'The king is angry with Ubu Naba.'

(6) [ABS (COM)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP and a COM NP. e.g. *tulu* 'help', *pad'u* 'hate'.

*tara* *tulu* ə *j'aa* ə *rooz*
NON-PAST help COM 1sg. ABS 3pl.

'They will stay with me.'

(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 *toboi* 'full'.

Even, 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.

(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'ab'u* 'be fat', *ke'ed'i* 'get up', *mehsaka* 'burst'.

*do* keb'ab'u ə *nua*
STAT be fat ABS 3sg.

'He is fat.'

*tara* *ke'd'i* ə *nua*
NON-PAST get up ABS 3sg.

'She is getting up.'

*mehsaka* ə *wihu* ne
burst ABS ART boil DEM 1sg.

'The boil burst.'

(2) [ABS (SCE) (RGE) ([GFS]GTS) (VEH)]

A clause with a verb of this Case frame must have an ABS NP. It may also have a SCE NP, a RGE NP, a VEH NP, and one of a GPS or GTS NP. Verbs of this case class are motion verbs in which the ABS referent moves from a SCE referent to an inanimate GOAL referent (GFS or GTS) traversing a RGE referent by means of a VEH referent. e.g. *daka* 'come, arrive', *lodo* 'go', *maho* 'enter', *perai* 'run, flee', *kako* 'go'.

*tara* *kako* ə *nua* raiti *leb'a*
NON-PAST go ABS 3sg. SCE Seba

*la* dimu j'ara jara
GFS Dimu VEH horse

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

That RGE belongs in the Case frame of motion verbs is evidenced by examples in 4.4. How-
tobo ke ø omu ri
be full PART ABS house INST

donahu
lontar syrup

'The house is full of lontar syrup.'
do tobø ri ei α 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 ø noo j'øra 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 (CMs)

Temporal nouns and NEG d'o can precede
or follow the verb. Particles do (STAT),
øla ..., pe- (PAST), ta (NON-PAST), ad'o
(CERTAIN), b'agl (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
analysed as single-word clauses, and include:
øo 'Yes.', woo 'Yes.', ad'o 'No', ayo 'Come
on.' (probably Indonesian ayo 'Come on.'),
hee 'Hey (expressing surprise).', ee 'Hey
(attention grabbing).'

Q. ta b'ale la ømu, ina?
NON-PAST return GPS house mother
A. øo. ta la nono ø
Yes NON-PAST DFS dry(pl.) ABS
luæ wæru we
thread cotton JUST
Q. 'Are you returning home, Mother?'
A. 'Yes. (I am just going (home) to dry

some cotton thread.'

ayo. kape ø noo
come on catch(sg.) ABS 3sg.

'Come on. Catch him.'

hee. ta kei-kei ø j'aa,
Hey NON-PAST dig(pl.)-RED ERG 1sg.
j'ee pæhe ma kepeææ d'e,
THEN toss(sg.) DTS rear DEM2sg.
pææ d'o ø ne wœue d'æ
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.'

næd'e ømu j'aa
DEM2sg. house POSS1sg.

'This is my house.'

j'aa he-dou nalaæu-naletø
lsg. one-COUNT orphan

'I am an orphan.'

ma bura tohi dou do kehia
Mr Bura Tohi person REL be poor

'Mr Bura Tohi is a poor person.'

Negation of non-verbals is exemplified in
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
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.

```
keloe ke $ muu
be tired PART ABS 2pl.

'Are you tired?'
```

e ra ke mi qaa ke $'
be PART LIKE WHAT DEM1pl. ABS

```
nde muu
liver POSS2pl.

'Your livers are like what?'
```

8.3.2.3  taaqaa (Seba and Mesara), taña (Mesara) 'WHY'

A taaqaa or taña interrogative requests a reason for a specified action, process or state. In intransitive clauses, taaqaa 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
```
taaqaa $ noo ta i'a
WHY ABS 3sg. NON-PAST be clever

'Why is he clever?'
```

Transitive
```
taaqaa $ noo ta wabe $
WHY ERG 3sg. NON-PAST hit(sg.) ABS

dou nani
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 ihe.
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?'
```

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?'.
8.3.2.5 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.

pari ke ≠ dii ne kako WHEN PART ABS lpl.(incl.) ? go

"When are we going?"

pari ≠ wati lea 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.

pari b'ue tou ke HOW MANY COUNT(pl.) year PART

eemuri ou age POSS2sg.

"How old are you?" (i.e. How many years your age?)

peewie ≠ pari qiu keb'ao sell ABS HOW MANY COUNT buffalo

ri ou ERG 2sg.

"How many buffalo did you sell?"

With human referents, do pari is extremely common, if not obligatory. It seems likely that this do is related to the human being, person' and that do pari derives from an earlier dou pari. I will refer to it as Ligature (LIG) as in 4.7.2.

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

"How many women are inside the house?"

Historically pari is clearly derivable from PAN *pîra (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 *-e precipitated metathesis of the two vowels. See Walker (forthcoming a).

*pîra ─> *pîre *-a ─> *-e
*pîre ┆ pari metathesis

8.3.2.6 hegaa 'HOW MUCH'

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

Measure

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

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

hegaa ke ne tui pada HOW MUCH PART ART length illness

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

Price

hegaa keb'ue napune HOW MUCH price DEM1sg.

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

8.3.2.7 pî'a 'BE WHERE'

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

pî'a ≠ ne potolo ke BE WHERE(pl.) ABS ART pencil DEM1pl.

"Where are the pencils?"

pê'a ke ≠ nalu BE WHERE(sg.) PART ABS handkerchief

j'aa POSS1sg.

"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

do pes pa mii ≠ ou STAT live DOC WHERE ABS 2sg.

"Where do you live?"

wabe ≠ noo pa mii hit(sg.) ABS 3sg. LOC WHERE

"Where did you hit him?" (i.e. "Where did your hitting of him take place?" OR 'What part of his body did you hit?)

Locative source

daka raiti mii ≠ ou come SCE WHERE ABS 2sg.

"Where have you come from?"
Inanimate goal
\[ \text{ta} \quad \text{kako la mii} \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{ou} \quad \text{NON-PAST} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{GFS} \quad \text{WHERE} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{2sg.} \]

'Where are you going?'

8.3.2.9 namii 'WHICH'

Interrogative namii requests the identification of a particular referent from among a number of possible referents. It can be an adjunct to a head noun or stand alone.

\[ \text{woboni namii nakue noo} \quad \text{woman WHICH} \quad \text{aunt} \quad \text{POSS3sg.} \]

'Which woman is her aunt?'

\[ \text{namii ne buku ou} \quad \text{WHICH ART} \quad \text{book POSS2sg.} \]

'Which is your book?'

\[ \text{mena'io ri noo \& keb'ao namii} \quad \text{steal ERG 3sg.} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{buffalo WHICH} \]

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

8.3.2.10 minamii 'HOW'

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

\[ \text{minamii \& ama ou, womone, how ERG father POSS2sg. man} \]

\[ \text{jad'i ta metana \& become NON-PAST give birth to ABS} \]

\[ \text{ana child} \]

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

\[ \text{ta j'oga minamii ke \& NON-PAST do HOW PART ERG} \]

\[ \text{dii \& ane ou lpl.(incl.) ABS word POSS2sg.} \]

'How will we do your words?' (i.e. How will we carry out your suggestions?)

8.4 Imperative clauses

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

Intransitive
\[ \text{b'ale d'one-d'one} \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{ou} \quad \text{return} \quad \text{IMMEDIATELY} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{2sg.} \]

'You return immediately.'

\[ \text{kako we \& ou} \quad \text{go PART} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{2sg.} \]

'You go.'

Transitive
\[ \text{ago we ri ou} \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{ne take(sg.) PART} \quad \text{ERG} \quad \text{2sg.} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{ART} \]

\[ \text{boto nad'e} \quad \text{bottle DEM2sg.} \]

'You take this bottle.'

\[ \text{kepe \& noo grab(sg.)} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{3sg.} \]

'Grab him.'

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

\[ \text{b'ole wiki ta nuku \& enu} \quad \text{DON'T TRY NON-PAST enter} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{noo} \quad \text{POSS3sg.} \]

'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 oni 'self' as ABS NP having the same referent as the ERG NP. oni usually occurs immediately after the verb, and Agreement verbs are always plural.

\[ \text{ta pe-emu} \quad \text{\&} \quad \text{oni ke} \quad \text{NON-PAST CAUS-be near} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{self PART} \]

\[ \text{\& ne ana hekola napuwe} \quad \text{ERG ART} \quad \text{child school DEM1sg.} \]

'The school child moves himself closer.'

\[ \text{b'ole petala we \& ou \&} \quad \text{DON'T separate PART} \quad \text{ERG} \quad \text{2sg.} \quad \text{ABS} \]

\[ \text{oni ti. j'aa} \quad \text{self SCE} \quad \text{1sg.} \]

'Don't you separate yourself from me.'

\[ \text{ta woba \& oni \& ne} \quad \text{NON-PAST hit(pl.)} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{self ERG ART} \]

\[ \text{ana mone telora ne} \quad \text{child male middle DEM1sg.} \]

'The second oldest boy is hitting himself.'

8.5.2 Emphatic reflexives

Emphatic reflexive clauses are character-
ised by particles ma miha which are ordered immediately after the emphasised NP.

dou do tao Ḟ napune duae
person REL do ABS DEM1sg. king

ma miha
EMPH SELF

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

laka pa aru 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 Ḟ j'aa
ART person REL carry ABS lsg.

ked'e
DEM2pl.

'These people who carry me.'

Deleted ABS (transitive)

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

d'ara d'oka Ḟ do
interior plantation REL

pe-moo Ḟ do
CAUS-clear(sg.) REL

gine
be mentioned earlier DEM1sg.

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

Deleted ABS (intransitive)

dou Ḟ do kako d'eit ruj'ara
person REL walk RGE path

'the person who is walking along the path'

Deleted GOAL

ne loko do kako Ḟ noo la
ART river REL go ABS 3sg. DFS
ginu Ḟ ei Ḟ do
drink ABS water REL

gine
be mentioned earlier DEM1sg.

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

Without REL do

b'ahku ke gaka melaka
be sated PART dog be thin

'er a ri Ḟ ke pa ke-wue tobi
be ALSO PART LOC one-COUNT bank

loko Ḟ nadu'u menadi Ḟ
geriver 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 Ḟ do
NON-PAST dry in sun(pl.) ABS REL

ala pe-b'ahku Ḟ 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 Ḟ ata
1pl.(incl.) person

'we people' [Verheijen 1967:19]

mbaru Ḟ 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 (wog 'human being, man') and Omong Jakarta (oran 'man').
The word for 'human being, person, man' in Sawu and Ndào 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 Ndào once had a form dou with the dual function attributed to Manggarai ata. Corroborating evidence for the historical development of -ou to -e and -u is provided by the data below: 
1) Sawu rou 'leaf, hair, etc.' becomes ro- or ra when compounded with another noun (see 4.9.2).
2) Sawu and Ndào duae 'king, noble' is probably derived from dou ae 'important person'.

8.6.2.2 Other (synchronic) interpretations

Jonker (1919:713), Kern (1892:171) and Wijnegaarden (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. *kiqà* and *kiri* are unexplained variants.

kiqà wae *ou,* mai gate ri
IF WANT ABS 2sg. let replace ERG
j'aa we
1sg. PART
'If you want, let me take your place.'

ki mod'a, kiri merei *
IF night IF be awake ABS
ari *ou,* ki era *
younger sibling POSS2sg. IF be ABS
ei donahu, pe-qìno
syrup lontar CAUS-drink(sg.)

'If it is night, if your younger brother is awake, (and) if there is lontar syrup, give (him some to drink).' 

kiqà era ta amì do mura,
IF be NON-PAST ask REL cheap
b'ole titu pa d'ara ei nìi
DON'T stand LOC inside water DEM4sg.

8.8 Had'i conditional clauses

The *had'i* conditional clause is a subordinate clause which (unlike *ki*) is the neces-

sary condition for the performance of the action of the main clause. It can occur before or after the main clause.

"ie ri j'aa *ped'a nane*,
heal ERG lsg. ABS sickness DEM1sg.
mi he ane, "had'i ta
LIKE DEM1pl. say IF NON-PAST
pe-hiqa we *qa j'aa."
CAUS-be friend ONLY COM lsg.

"I will heal this sickness", (he) said, "only if he will be friends with me."'

had'i ta petee *donahu
IF NON-PAST boîl ABS gula
heue *dou* wie j'ìi,
ONLY ERG someone BEN lpl.(excl.)

j'è teke pa wadu-b'oro *ému
THEN place(sg.) LOC wadu-b'oro house

\$  kalae
ABS door

'Provided that someone cooks some gula (like treacle) for us, then places it in the wadu-b'oro of this house, we will most certainly open the doors.'

8.9 Gì, mi purposive clauses

The *gì, mi* (PURP) clause is a subordinate clause which always follows the main clause. The purposive marker is either *gì* or *mi*. It immediately precedes the subordinate clause, and *gì* or *mi* is always immediately followed by either NON-PAST *ta* or NEG *d'o*. There appears to be no difference in function between *gì* and *mi*.

8.10 Kì conditional clauses

The *kì* conditional clause (i.e. a clause which begins with *kì*) 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. *kìqà* and *kiri* are unexplained variants.
qi d'o melara ≠ ihi 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.

ta kehia ke ≠ j'aa haku
NON-PAST be poor PART ABS lsg. SO

webe ri j'aa ≠ ne do
kill(sg.) ERG lsg. ABS ART REL

weka ne, j'ee ago ri
be old DEM lsg. THEN take(sg.) ERG

j'aa la pewie la hab'a gara
lsg. DFS exchange GFS Seba MEAS

doi nahed'ei
coins DEM2pl.

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

ta nara ke ≠ j'ii
NON-PAST get PART ERG lpl.(excl.)

≠ he-gi'u wavi haku ta
ABS one-COUNT pig SO NON-PAST

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, rowi, taga or taga ri.

pe-moko ≠ eni, ana
CAUS-be ready(pl.) ABS self child

j'aa, rido ta la
POSS1sg. REASON NON-PAST DFS

hora la lede la b'oj'o ≠ 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 wi ≠
REASON ABS fish STAT give ABS

ou ke gihe, ana, ta
2sg. PART earlier child NON-PAST

la kale ≠ 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'e'i 'like', nara 'can, be able', i'a 'can, be clever at', ie 'can, be allowed to', waki '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 static 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) (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 1sg. NON-PAST replace ERG

ou
2sg.

'I want you to replace me.'

d'e'i ta qa'a ≠ ne qaa
LIKE NON-PAST eat ABS ART WHAT

≠ muu
ERG 2pl.

'What would you like to eat?'

Intransitive

ie ≠ j'aa ta kako la
CAN ABS 1sg. NON-PAST go GFS

kota
Kupang
'I am allowed to go to Kupang.'

8.13 tade 'UNTIL' constructions

_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 _tade_ construction is reached.

_nono_ ≠ _ne_ _et_ nahed'e
lay in sun ABS ART sarong DEM1pl.

tade _kemaqua_ UNTIL be dry

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

_hegure_ tade
lay face downwards(sg.) UNTIL

_mod'a-lo'd'o_ evening

'Lay it face downward until evening.'

8.14 Negation

Negation is indicated by the following:

_b'ole_ 'DON'T'

(ad)'o_ 'NO, NOT'

dae d'o_ 'NOT YET'

(ad)'o dae_ 'NOT YET'

8.14.1 b'ole 'DON'T'

_b'ole_ is the negative-imperative particle, and is always clause initial. See Imperative clauses (8.4 ).

8.14.2 (a)d'o NEG

(ad)'o_ is the non-imperative negative (NEG) particle.

8.14.2.1

The unabbreviated _ad'o_ negates non-verbs (including 'YET' in 'NOT YET' - see below); e.g.

_ad'o_ j'aa ubu naba
NEG 1SG. Ubu Naba

'I am not Ubu Naba.'

_ad'o_ duae do tao ≠ napune
NEG king REL do ABS DEM1sg.

'It was not the king who did it.'

_ad'o_ he-wari wata he-gahu warı
NEG one-time BUT one-hundred time

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

_ad'o_ can also be a single word response to an imperative, or yes-no interrogative.

8.14.2.2 d'o

The abbreviated form _d'o_ negates verbs (and 'YET' in 'NOT YET' - see below). It usually occurs immediately after the verb (i.e. nothing can intervene).

_pid'e_ d'o ri ubu naba ≠
pick up(sg.) NEG ERG Ubu' Naba ABS

_ne_ nalehu pune
ART handkerchief DEM1sg.

'Ubu Naba did not pick up the handkerchief.'

_wae_ d'o ke ta pe-hiaça
WANT NEG PART NON-PAST REC-be friends

≠ _roo_
ABS 3pl.

'They do not want to be friends.'

Particle _d'o_ can immediately precede the verb if it also occurs immediately after _ki(r)i_ CONDITIONAL, _haku_ (SO), _STATIVE_ do, Relative Clause Marker _do_, or _lohe_ 'TOO, QUITE' (see 7.25 ).

_ki(r)i_ CONDITIONAL

_ki(r)i_ d'o tao ≠ j'aa mi
IF NEG do ABS lsg. LIKE

nahed'e, jad'i d'o ta ≠
DEM2pl. become NEG NON-PAST be good

≠ _ne_ wihu ne
ABS ART boil DEM1sg.

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

_haku_ RESULT

_do_ péd'a ≠ j'aa, haku d'o
STAT be sick ABS lsg. RESULT NEG

_j'aga_ lo'd'o d'e
work day DEM2sg.

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

_STATIVE_ do

_ta_ keloe tuu-tuu ke ≠
NON-PAST be tired EXCESS PART ABS

j'aa, haku do d'o kako ≠ j'aa
lsg. RESULT STAT NEG go ABS lsg.

_la_ dimu
GFS Dimu

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

_REL_ do

_ne_ hubi due do d'o jad'i
ART blossom lontar REL NEG become

gape
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: bəj'i ᵖ muu?
be asleep ABS 2pl.

'Are you(pl.) asleep?'

Response: bəj'i dae d'o ᵖ
be asleep YET NOT ABS
j'ti lpl.(excl.)

'We are not asleep yet.'

Observation
duae merei dae d'o ti bəj'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 ᵖ noo?
wake up PART ABS 3sg.

'Is he awake?'

Response: ad'o dae none do
NOT YET be near(sg.) STAT
bəj'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 /ndj/'. Wielenga's ndj is a voiced prenasalised palatal affricate /ndj/; 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 ombu 'DON'T' (writer's fieldnotes). e.g.

ombu uhuk 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. omu dæa
house king

'king's house'

This Sawu construction, where the possessor precedes the possessor, is typical of Indonesian languages to the west of the Brandes Line (Capell 1965; Cowan 1965). It differs from those east of the line (e.g. Roti, Helong, Timor), where the possessor precedes the possessed.

Timor: fafi' tæeaf
pig hoof

'pig's hoof' (author's fieldnotes)

(3) possessive relative clauses with verbs la'a, unu and oha (all meaning 'own' or 'possess').

j'e made ke ᵖ ne nadu'u
THEN die PART ABS ART fish

la'a ᵖ j'aa hari-hari
possess erg 1sg ←all→

'Then, all the fish I possess die.'

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

nad'e
DEM2sg.

'This is our food.'

nad'e ne oha ᵖ noo
DEM2sg. ART house own erg 3sg.

'This is (the) house he owns.'

My data does not support Wijnvaarden's belief (1896:89) that oha is restricted to inanimate possessions and unu to animate. Neither Wijnvaarden 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-sla  d'o  hari  do  d'ue.
REC-finish(pl.)  NEG  ALL  LIG  two
```

_hela'u_  _ne_  _ru'i_
be same  ABS  ART  strength

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

_hela'u_  _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_  _j'aa_
HOW  PURP  NON-PAST  get  ERG  lsg.
_ _ne_  _do'i_  _do_  _ae_  _mi_  _
ABS  ART  coin  REL  be  many  LIKE  ERG
```

```
noo  nahid'e
3sg.  DEM4pl.
```

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

Intransitive verb deleted

```
kako  _ _  _ _  _ _
go  ABS  3sg.  LIKE  ABS  fish
```

'He moves like a fish.'

Transitive NP deleted

```
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 _ti_ or _qa_. It is usual for the intransitive verb of the second clause to be deleted.

```
do  rihi  keb'ab'u  _ _  ina
STAT  MORE  be  fat  ABS  mother
```

```
ou  _ _  _  _  tiq'a  _ _  ina  _ _  _ _
POS2sg.  THAN  ABS  mother  POSS1sg.
```

'Your mother is fatter than my mother.'

```
do  rihi  qa  keb'ab'u  _ _  ina
STAT  MORE  THAN  be  fat  ABS  mother
```

```
j'aa  _ _  _ _  _ _
POS1sg.  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  _ _  _ _  _ _
return  ABS  3sg.  AND  think
```

'He returns thinking'

```
ta  _ _  _ _  _ _
kako  ke  _ _  _ _
go  NON-PAST  go  PART  ABS  Bala  Dili
```

```
qa  _ _  _ _  _ _
ega  _ _  _ _  _ _
AND  carry(sg.)  ABS  crow-bar  GFS
```

```
d'ara  _ _  _ _  _ _
d'oka  _ _  _ _  _ _
interior  plantation  DEM1sg.
```

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

```
uru  _ _  _ _  _ _
ti  _ _  _ _  _ _
before  SCE  NEG  go  ABS  3sg.
```

```
b'ale  _ _  _ _  _ _
ri  _ _  _ _  _ _
write(sg.)  ERG  3sg.  ABS  ART  letter
```

```
wie  _ _  _ _  _ _
duae  _ _  _ _  _ _
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'e 'THEN'

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

puru ♂ ubu naba, da'o
descend ABS Ubu Naba scrape up(sg.)
♂ ne de'i jara ne, j'e
ABS ART dung horse DEM1sg. THEN
the la d'ara beka kenana
put(sg.) GFS interior basket betel
duae
king

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

uj'e ♂ ubu naba, j'e
tie up(sg.) ABS Ubu Naba THEN
b'ado pa d'ara kero go
enclose LOC interior cage
b'oshi, j'e merec
iron THEN carry(sg.)

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

8.17.3 d'ai, d'ae 'THEN'

d'ai and d'ae indicate a temporal relation between two clauses such that the action, process or state of the second is subsequent to the former. d'ai or d'ae immediately precedes the second clause.

There appears to be no difference in function between d'ai and d'ae. It is possible that the conjunctions are historically related to the verb d'ai 'arrive!', and that d'ae, d'ai reflect an earlier 'singular' versus 'plural' verb agreement distinction (see 5.2.1).

The difference in function between j'e and d'ai/d'ae is characterised by the examples in 8.17.2 and below. j'e is typically used as a conjunction in the description of a sequence of actions, processes or states, while d'ai, d'ae typically occur in descriptions of conversations and accordingly often precede speech verbs ane 'say', keb'ali 'ask', etc.

"wie ko we ♂ j'aa ♂
give PART PART ABS lsg. ABS
he-wue rupia ... ta
one-COUNT(sg.) rupiah NON-PAST
wali ♂ ya'a lod'o d'ae", mi
buy ABS food day DEM2sg. LIKE
he ane ♂ ne liki, d'ae ane
DEM1pl. say ABS ART say THEN say

Ge naiki napuns, "pi'a d'o ♂
ERG child DEM1sg. be(pl.) NEG ABS
doi ta wie ♂ ou".
money NON-PAST give ABS 2sg.

"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'.

b'ale aoe ♂ i na ne ♂
THEN say ERG mother DEM1sg. ABS
"pee pa o'mu"
stay LOC house

'Then the mother says, "Stay in the house."

8.17.5 ta 'AFTER'

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

ta ela pe-nono, ta
AFTER PAST(pl.) PAST-dry(pl.) NON-PAST
b'ale ke la tebi dahit
return PART GFS edge sea

'Having dried (the cotton thread), she returns to the beach.'

d'ai ta j'emia, ta ha'e
THEN AFTER sunrise NON-PAST climb
ke ♂ ne do weka ne la
PART ABS ART REL be old DEM1sg. GFS
d'o'mu o'mu ne
loft house DEM1sg.

'Then after sunrise, the old man climbs up to the house loft.'

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').

 جاء ma ri j'aa, tapi
see(sg.) EMPH ERG lsg. BUT
pied'e d'o ri j'aa
pick up(sg.) NEG ERG lsg.

'I did see (it), but did not pick (it) up.'
In my data, it only occurs as an infrequent particle, (see 7.14).

8.17.7 "OR"

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

toi d'o ri j'aa ə ta do
know NEG ERG lsg. ABS COMPL STAT

toi ri noo we ad'o
know ERG 3sg. OR NOT

'I do not know whether he knows or not.'

era ə meo we qaka pa ri
be ABS cat OR dog LOC DEM4sg.

'Is there a cat or a dog over there?'

8.18 Complementation

8.18.1 "ta" complements

A "ta" complement is a nominalised clause in which complementiser "ta" immediately precedes the clause. "ta" complements are always clause final, and occur as ABS NPs of psychological state verbs (e.g. 'know, think'), perception verbs (e.g. 'see, hear') and verbs like əpə 'decide' (see example at 7.14).

Psychological state verbs

do toi ri bəla dɪlʊ ə ta
STAT know ERG Bəla Dɪlʊ ABS COMPL

do bəj'i ke ə med'o
STAT be asleep PART ABS med'o

Kəpəlu nə ləbo Kəpəlu
Kəpəlu AND Ləbo Kəpəlu

'Bəla Dɪlʊ knows that Med'o Kəpəlu and Ləbo Kəpəlu are asleep.'

toi d'o ri noo ə ta j'aa
know NEG ERG 3sg. ABS COMPL lsg.

ne duae pa rai d'e
ART king LOC region DEM2sg.

'He doesn't know that I am king in this region.'

Perception verbs

γəde ri dou he ə
see(sg.) ERG person DEM1pl. ABS

ta dou pa d'ara karo
COMPL person LOC interior bag

d'e
DEM2sg.

'The people saw that there was somebody inside the bag.'

8.18.2 Clausal complements

Clausal Complements are clauses which stand as complements to speech verbs (e.g. 'order, say, ask') and verbs like med'e 'choose'. Each Clausal Complement follows the clause it complements, and begins with NON-PAST "ta". Its ERG or intransitive ABS NP (which is coreferential with the ABS NP of the verb it complements) is deleted.

ta pejəu ə dou ə
NON-PAST order(pl.) ABS person ERG

duæe ta kako la pedoe ə
king NON-PAST go DFS call(sg.) ABS

noo 3sg.

'The king orders the people to go and call her.'

ə j'aa d'e ta med'e
ABS lsg. DEM2sg. NON-PAST choose

ta əjad'i ta kat'u
NON-PAST become RESULT head

'I am chosen to become the head (of government).'

8.19 Deletion

When it is assumed that the hearer(s) will be able to identify the referent(s), the Sawu speaker can omit verbs, NPs (ERG,ABS and GA) and heads of NPs. This assumption can be based on linguistic (i.e. previous mention in discourse) and extra-linguistic (e.g. common knowledge, visible to both, etc.) factors.

Verb

kako ə noo mi ə nad'u
go ABS 3sg. LIKE ABS FISH

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

ERG and ABS

puru ə noo, da'o ə
get down ABS 3sg. scrape up(sg.) ABS
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>
<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 Referential Hierarchy, and (2) whether they are definite or indefinite.

8.20.2.1 Referential 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 animate > animate

Furthermore, Foley and Van Valin (1977) observe that "there appears to be a universal hierarchy of inherent topic-worthiness called variously the Natural Topic Hierarchy (Hawkinson and Hyman 1974), Inherent Lexical Content Hierarchy (Silverstein 1977) and Referentiality Hierarchy (Foley 1976b)." The Hierarchy in universal terms is (Foley 1976b):

speaker > hearer > human proper > human common > animate > inanimate

An NP whose referent is higher on the Referentiality Hierarchy (RH) will be referred to as more highly RH referential.

Intransitive

In an intransitive clause the more highly RH referential NP is almost without exception the leftmost NP. There is thus a strong correlation between RH referentiality and word order.

Transitive

In a transitive clause, a more highly RH
referential NP precedes a lower NP by a ratio of 3:2.

Table 10: Word order of RH Referential NPs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative word order</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb High Low</td>
<td>45  60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Low High</td>
<td>26  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</td>
<td>45  60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Indefinite</td>
<td>10  13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Indefinite</td>
<td>17  23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb 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.

\[ j'e \ b'ale \ d'age-d'age \ ou \ THEN\ return \ IMMEDIATELY\ ABS\ 2sg. \]

'Then you return immediately.'

Reference properties

(1) Ref. 1. Intransitive ABS NPs can be coreferentially deleted across coordinate conjunctions.

\[ kako \ \&\ \ noo\ \ la\ \ tabi\ \ dah\ \ j'e\ \ go\ \ ABS\ 3sg.\ \ GFS\ \ edge\ \ sea\ THEN\]

\[ j'iui-ei\ \ bathe\]

'He goes to the sea-shore, then (he) bathes.'

(2) Ref. 2. Only the ABS NP can control coreferential deletion across clauses.

\[ ta\ \ koko \ \&\ \ roo\ \ la\ \ hore\ \ NON-PAST\ \ go\ \ ABS\ 3pl.\ \ DFS\ \ throw(sg.)\]

\[ \&\ \ noo\ \ la\ \ d'ara\ \ dah\ \ ABS\ 3sg.\ \ GFS\ \ inside\ \ sea\]

'They will go and (they will) throw him into the sea.'

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

\[ ta\ \ koko\ ke\ \&\ \ roo\ \ la\ \ NON-PAST\ \ go\ \ PART\ \ ABS\ 3pl.\ \ GFS\]

\[ hob'a\ \ Seba\]

'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).

\[ dou\ \ do\ \ koko\ d'ei\ ruj'ara\ \ person\ \ REL\ \ walk\ \ RCE\ \ path\]

'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.

\[ ta\ \ mar∂\ \ naduu\ \ NON-PAST\ \ laugh\ \ ABS\ \ WHO\]

'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.

\[ ta\ \ pekægu\ \ \&\ \ ne\ \ gaka\ \ NON-PAST\ \ yelp(pl.)\ \ ABS\ \ ART\ \ dog\]

\[ he\ \ DEM1pl.\]

'The dogs are yelping.'

\[ ta\ \ pekego\ \ \&\ \ ne\ \ gaka\ \ NON-PAST\ \ yelp(sg.)\ \ ABS\ \ ART\ \ dog\]

\[ ne\ \ DEM1sg.\]

'The dog is yelping.'

\[ ta\ \ ila\ \ \&\ \ roo\ \ NON-PAST\ \ disappear(pl.)\ \ ABS\ 3pl.\]

'They will disappear.'

\[ ta\ \ ele\ \ \&\ \ noo\ \ NON-PAST\ \ disappear(sg.)\ \ ABS\ 3sg.\]

'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.
(2) Role 2. If the agent of the action can be described as 'the referent which does something', then ERG NPs express the agent of the action, if there is one.

(3) Role 3. Since ERG referents include those which do something, ERG NPs always express the addressee phrase of imperatives.

erg go ke 3sg. ABS ART bottle

d'ala. sea AND carry ABS net

'He goes to the sea carrying a fish-net. He nets fish from morning until night.'

The clauses above occur in a text about a fisherman. In two clauses, he is represented by the third person singular pronoun, noo, which is in ABS Case in the first clause, and ERG Case in the second clause.

ABS be WHERE(sg.) PART ABS handkerchief

(4) Role 4. Since ERG referents can bring into being an ABS referent as the result of an action, we can say that 'independent existence' is truer of an ERG referent than it is for an ABS referent.

b'ule write(sg.) ERG 3sg. ABS ART letter

'REG ta kako ke 3sg. noo la

NON-PAST go PART ABS 3sg. GFS

'You take this bottle.'

(1) Role 1. The semantic role of the ABS referent is predictable from the form of the main verb if it is an agreement verb. Referents of transitive ABS NPs are usually:
(a) referents to which something is done,
(b) referents which come into being as the result of an action,
(c) referents to which something is given,
(d) referents which are the communication of a communication verb,
(e) referents which are perceived,
(f) referents which are the content of a cognitive state verb.

(2) Role 2. Since the referents of transitive ABS NPs never do anything, they never express the agent of the action.

(3) Role 3. For the same reason as (2), transitive ABS NPs never express the addressee phrase of imperatives.

(4) Role 4. Since ABS referents include those which come into being as the result of an action, "independent existence" is less true of an ABS referent than it is for an ERG referent.

Reference properties
ERG and ABS NPs share the following referential properties.

(1) Ref. 1. Only ERG and ABS NPs can be coreferentially deleted across clauses.

hame receive(sg.) ERG king ABS ART

kari napume, j'e aj'e letter DEMsg. 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.

hete noo ri naduu see ABS 3sg. ERG WHO

'Who saw him?'

wae ta qa'a 3sg. ne qa

WANT NON-PAST eat ABS ART WHAT

ri ou erg 2sg.

'What do you want to eat?'

Other properties
Other 2. Only transitive ABS NPs and CA NPs can control verb agreement. The distribution of Keenan subject properties in Sawu transi-

55
tive clauses are summarized in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Subject properties

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

We can, therefore, observe that:

1. the role properties most of which are Agent (=Actor) oriented, favour ERG as subject.
2. the referential properties, which are evenly distributed among the ERG and ABS NPs, do not favour either as subject.
3. the verb agreement property supports the choice of ABS as subject.

Overall, the properties are fairly evenly distributed among ERG and ABS. Neither candidate has "a clear preponderance of the subject properties" which Keenan (1976:312) claims will enable us to identify subject.

Sawu, therefore, joins a number of other languages (e.g. Philippine languages - Schachter 1976; Barai, P.N.G. - Olson 1976; Lakhota - Foley and Van Valin 1977) which do not have a clearly discernable transitive subject. All, however, do have clearly recognisable role and reference properties which interact in language specific ways.

* * *
Chapter Nine

SAWU AND NDAO

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 neighboring 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 Sawunesch 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, "Ndaoenese can be considered as a dialect of Savunese. Both the Savunese and Ndaoenese 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 /z/ 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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced affricate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless affricate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implosive stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottal stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill/flap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14: Ndao Vowel Phonemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</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,V) (C) (C)V (C) V. 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 C3 can be any consonant, and C2 any consonant except glottal stop.

Similarly, V2 can be any vowel, and V3 any vowel except shewa. Ndao V1 is almost invariably a. This corresponds to 80% of Sawu V1 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 to.

9.1.4 Word stress

57
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>1. jaa (most people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaa (Sawu j’aa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja’o (older people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaa (sg.), mu (3sg.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

jaa (sg.), mu (3sg.) and mu (3pl.) usually occur in rapid speech, and may be indicative of the kinds of processes involved in the development of the Sawu equivalents /j’aa/, /mu/, and /roo/. Like Sawu, Ndao Possessive Pronouns occur immediately after the head noun, and before Numerals, Relative Clauses and Demonstrative Adjuncts. Normally, Ndao Independent and Possessive Pronouns are (like Sawu) identical in form, but the Ndao Reflexives give some indication of another set of Possessive Pronouns (see 9.3.4 for ku (ls.), mu (2sg.), na (3sg.))

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>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

9.2.3 Common article ne

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’ulit
4. ka

**GOAL (INANIMATE) SOURCE**

ca (Sawu la, ma)
qoti, niti, ti (Sawu (rat) (qat’ti)

**INSTRUMENT**

d’o (Sawu INST ri, COM qa)

**COMITATIVE**

**GOAL (ANIMATE) BENEFATIVE**

hia (Sawu GA pa, BEN vie)

Only the SOURCE prepositions, and the BENEFAC-
TIVE have any resemblance to the Sawu forms, (rat) (qat’ti and vie respectively. The equivalent of Sawu 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’t, ca- (shi, ke-) 6. ona (ona)
2. d’ua (d’ue) 7. pidu (pidu)
3. tolu (tolu) 8. aru (aru)
4. apa (apa) 9. oo (heo)
5. la’i (la’i) 10. ca-guru (ke-guru)

9.2.5.2 Ordinal numerals

Ndao ordinal numerals are formed by pre-
fixing ka-, the equivalent of Sawu ke- (see 4.5.2). e.g.

Ndao: ka-soi Sawu: ke-shi
ORD-one ORDER one
’first’
’first’

9.2.6 Counters (COUNT)

Ndao counters include:

1. ci’u (sg.), ci’u (pl) for animals, birds, fish, crabs, eels, etc. (Sawu ci’u). ci’u appears to be a reduction of ca-gi’u (i.e. one-COUNT).
2. bala for counting number of traditional woven cloths and pandanus mats, but not trousers and paper (Sawu b’ala).
3. b’o (Sawu b’o). b’a for rings and spoons (Sawu b’o). b’a for whole trees (Sawu kepue).
4. mada for rifles (Sawu kewadi). mada for rifles (Sawu kepue).
5. da for pieces of cake (Sawu kedoi).
6. lamu for grains of salt, sand or sugar, and peanuts (Sawu la’i).
7. kadei for slices of bread, meat, and (cut)
8. length of string, rope (Sawu kedoi). kadei for slices of bread, meat, and (cut)
9. lamu for grains of salt, sand or sugar, and peanuts.
10. Pu’u for hardened lumps of lontar syrup (Sawu pu’u, b’u).
11. Pu’u for hardened lumps of lontar syrup (Sawu pu’u, b’u).
12. Pu’u for hardened lumps of lontar syrup (Sawu pu’u, b’u).
13. Pu’u for hardened lumps of lontar syrup (Sawu pu’u, b’u).
14. Pu’u for hardened lumps of lontar syrup (Sawu pu’u, b’u).
15. Pu’u for hardened lumps of lontar syrup (Sawu pu’u, b’u).
16. Pu’u for hardened lumps of lontar syrup (Sawu pu’u, b’u).
17. Pu’u for hardened lumps of lontar syrup (Sawu pu’u, b’u).

In my data, Ndao Numeral plus Counter always follows the head noun, whereas the Sawu con-
struction 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 disyl-
labic verb roots to nouns which is unknown in Sawu. The rule can be summarised as follows:

(C1) V1 C2 V2 → (C1)a-(C1) V1 C2 V2 Verb Noun
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.

Example: Ndao: ota, ote 'cut' (Sawu ota, ote)
pahia, pahie 'sell' (Sawu pahie)
manahu, manaho 'fall' (Sawu manahu)

There are, however, nine Ndao verbs in my data which do show verb agreement. These verbs agree in number and person with the Ndao equivalents of a Sawu ERG or intransitive ABS NP, and with the exception of the verb 'to go', primary distinctions are indicated by changes in the initial consonant as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 17: Ndao Verb Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. k-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3n-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(note the resemblance of k-, m- and n- to the possessive pronouns ku, mu and na mentioned in 9.2.1)

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

9.2.12 Directional markers

Ndao does not have directional markers la and ma like those in Sawu, but it does have

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other verbs</th>
<th>(Sawu odo, kado 'see', kado 'hold', kati 'carry', ke'a 'know', ko'o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular 1</td>
<td>Plural 1 (incl.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 minu</td>
<td>2 minu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 riniu</td>
<td>3 riniu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular 1</th>
<th>Plural 1 (incl.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 lamu</td>
<td>2 lam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 la'</td>
<td>3 la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final CV pattern is remarkably similar to that of Austronesian possessive suffixes (e.g. *-qku, *-mu, *-miw: Capell in Wurm and Wilson 1975).

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-made 'CAUSE-be dead, kill, murder' (Sawu pe-made).
2. Causative pa-can co-occur with verb tao 'make' as in tao pa-be'a meaning 'repair, make good' from 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 pe- 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).
'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(3sg.) 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).

\[ ja'a \text{ kinu} \] \text{era}
\[ 1sg. \text{drink(1sg.)} \text{PRES} \]

'I am drinking.'

\[ ngu \text{ sab'a} \text{ era} \]
\[ 3sg. \text{work} \text{PRES} \]

'He is (still) working.'

9.2.14 Clause modifiers

9.2.14.1 Excessive adverbs

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

\[ \text{ale ka} \]
\[ \text{finish} \text{PART} \]

'(It is) finished.'

\[ \text{lamu ka, ana ja'a} \]
\[ \text{go(2sg.)} \text{PART} \text{child} \text{POSS1sg.} \]

'Go (home), my child.'

2) ku occurs in imperative clauses, and is post-verbal. Compare Sawu ko (see 7.8).

\[ pa-na'ti \text{ uru ku ana nei} \]
\[ \text{CAUS-medicine FIRST} \text{PART} \text{child that} \]

'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'.

(4) di means, 'just, only' as in the examples below.

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

'Only (my) older sibling (will) go.'

\[ d'u'a \text{ hari di} \]
\[ \text{two times JUST} \]

'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.

\[ \text{\# nuw nare \# are} \]
\[ \text{ERG 3sg. take(3sg.) ABS rice-plant} \]

'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, see 'WHO' and tasamia 'HOW' are the most divergent in form.

9.3.2.1 see 'WHO' (Sawu naduu, nadou)

\[ see \text{ miu} \]
\[ \text{WHO you(pl.)} \]

'Who are you?'

\[ mai d'age, see \]
\[ \text{come COM WHO} \]

'(you) came with whom?'

\[ rou sasuru see \]
\[ \leftarrow \text{book} \rightarrow \text{WHO} \]

'Whose book?'

9.3.2.2 gaa 'WHAT' (Sawu gaa)

\[ gaa gara lii dao \]
\[ \text{WHAT name language Ndao} \]

'What's its name in Ndao?'
Don't be angry.' (Sawu b'ole bubu)

9.3.4 Reflexive clauses

9.3.4.1 Non-emphatic reflexive

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

1. **ERG$_1$ Verb ABS(= hari qi'u PRONOUN$_1$)**
   
   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.
   
   nengu game hari qi'u nengu
   
   3sg. hit? self POSS3sg.
   
   'He hit himself.'

2. **ERG$_1$ Verb ABS(= mesa PRONOUN$_1$)**
   
   mesa 'self' is immediately followed by what appears to be a possessive pronominal form coreferential with the ERG.
   
   nengu game mesa na
   
   3sg. hit self POSS3sg.
   
   'He hit himself.'

3. **ERG$_1$ Verb ABS(= unu PRONOUN$_1$)**
   
   unu usually means 'possess', but here it appears to mean 'self'.
   
   ja'a game unu ku
   
   1sg. hit self 1sg.
   
   'I hit myself.'

9.3.4.2 Emphatic reflexive

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

NP$_1$ mesa PRONOUN$_1$

ja'a mesa ku

pea etu ne'e

1sg. self 1sg. stay LOC here

'I (will) stay here by myself.'

The Sawu pattern is similar in that it also consists of NP followed by miha 'self', but differs in that the emphatic particle ma must intervene.

i.e. NP ma miha

9.3.5 Relative clause constructions

Ndao Relative Clause Constructions are
essentially the same as those in Sawu. The non-obligatory Relative Clause Marker is du corresponding to Sawu do.

\[ \text{era du b}^\prime\text{o}'\text{a} \]
place REL be good

'a good place'

\[ \text{lolo-bagi du ra}'e \]
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 lade 'IF'. The Sawu equivalents are ki and had'i.

\[ \text{lade ja}'a sala boe, n}^\text{eq}^\text{u segi boe} \]
IF lsg. wrong NEG 3sg. win NEG

'If I am not wrong, he will not win.'

\[ \text{lade ja}'a p}^\text{u}^\text{da, laku boe} \]
IF lsg. sick go(lsg.) NEG

'If I am sick, (I will) not go.'

9.3.7 Purposive clauses

Ndao s\text{e}na ka immediately precedes the purposive subordinate clause. Its function is the same as that of Sawu qi or mi.

\[ \text{n}^\text{eq}^\text{u kope kaaui-ai ina na} \]
3sg. grab hand mother POSS3sg.

\[ \text{s}^\text{e}na ka n}^\text{eq}^\text{u b}^\prime\text{be boe} \]
PURP 3sg. fall NEG

'He grabbed his mother's hand so that he would not fall.'

\[ \text{ja}'a laku sa kota ho s}^\text{e}na ka \]
lsg. go(lsg.) GOAL Kupang ? PURP

\[ \text{aj}^\text{a lit} ^\text{e} \text{dao} \]
study language Ndao

'I went to Kupang in order to study Ndao.'

9.3.8 Reason clause

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

\[ \text{ja}'a baj'i}^\prime \text{e qati ja}'a roe} \]
lsg. be asleep REASON lsg. be tired

'I was asleep because I was tired.'

\[ \text{ja}'a p}^\text{u}^\text{da qati ja}'a ku'a} \]
lsg. be sick REASON lsg. eat(lsg.)

busa dog

'I am sick because I ate a dog.'

9.3.9 Auxiliary constructions

Ndao neo 'want, desire' and ko'o (etc.) 'want' (compare Sawu o'o 'want') function as auxiliaries. The Sawu construction is similar in that the auxiliary precedes the verb but differs in that the Sawu auxiliary must be clause initial.

\[ \text{ja}'a neo laku} \]
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 ado or ad'o negates non-verbals (as does Sawu ad'o).

\[ \text{n}^\text{eq}^\text{u ado dou dao} \]
3sg. NEG person Ndao

'He is not Ndao.'

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

\[ \text{n}^\text{eq}^\text{u ne}'a boe dou dao} \]
3sg. know(3sg.) NEG person Ndao

'He does not know Ndao people.'

Ndao dae indicates 'NOT YET'. It differs from the Sawu form in the absence of a NEG particle (compare Sawu ad'o dae and dae d'o, 8.14).

The Ndao negative imperative 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 s\text{e}mi 'LIKE'

\[ \text{n}^\text{eq}^\text{u gaa-gaa ad}'o s\text{e}mi ja}'a} \]
3sg. poor LIKE lsg.

'He is poor like me.'

\[ \text{n}^\text{eq}^\text{u bani-ta s\text{e}mi hela aj}^\text{u} \]
3sg. beautiful LIKE flower wood

du be'ta REL be good

'She is pretty like a beautiful flower.'

Sawu makes use of hela'\text{u} 'be same', and the
particle mi LIKE.

9.3.12.2 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.

na gu me ou risi-ele ti ja'a
3sg. be clever MORE THAN lsg.

'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 b'ale.

ka nu nu nare are
THEN 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).' [1]

manu no'o boe rai, hia nuu
fowl WANT NEG flee THEN 3sg.

nasa ke
be angry PART

'The fowl did not want to flee, (and) then he became angry.'

The contrastive conjunction is te 'BUT'. Sawu forms are: tapi, tapulara.

dou dua hali kahib'ti adi
person two buy goat lpl.(incl.)

te ja'a ko'o boe
BUT lsg. WANT(3sg.) NEG

'Two people (wanted) to buy our goat but I did not want (to sell it).'</n

The alternative conjunction is do 'OR'. Sawu has we, and Roti do.

na gu 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

Using a modified Swadesh 200-word list it was found that the percentage of cognates between Sawu and Ndao was 75 %. Regular x:y sound correspondences are as follows:

(1) Ndao o corresponds to Sawu h

oa'e ha'e 'climb'
aob'u hab'u 'soap'
yi whi 'one'
seo keo 'nine'
ootega hetega 'half'

(2) Ndao e corresponds to Sawu h

oa'e ha'e 'climb'
aob'u hab'u 'soap'
yi whi 'one'
seo keo 'nine'
ootega hetega 'half'

(3) Ndao e corresponds to Sawu h

sa'u ha'u 'lap'
swi hwm 'receive'
seaeega hewega 'nose'
des ei deshi 'sea'
sunu huku 'breast'
silu hiku 'wear a cloth'

Some less regular vowel correspondences are:

(4) Ndao a often corresponds to Sawu e

lia lie 'coral'
hua wue 'fruit'
kapua kepue 'tree'
hia wie 'give'
hie

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

dhale j'ula 'offier'
laa'ura laa'ura 'iguana'
kafooda kebula 'ant species'
loa hewu lua weu 'thread'
sota huta 'waste'
co-apalosa he-peluha 'first day of lunar calendar'

(6) Ndao o sometimes corresponds to Sawu o

saar'w haero 'carry on arm'
nu nee san 3sg.
ruu roo 3pl.
du do REL

(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>Liae</th>
<th>Rainjua</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya:</td>
<td>ya:</td>
<td>j'a:</td>
<td>ya:</td>
<td>ja'u, ja'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j'o</td>
<td>j'o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lsg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j'i:</td>
<td>j'i:</td>
<td>j'i:</td>
<td>j'i:</td>
<td>j'i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lpl.(incl.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>ri</td>
<td>lli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHAT?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lara</td>
<td>lara</td>
<td>lara</td>
<td>lara</td>
<td>'house-fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'areca palm'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keola</td>
<td>keola</td>
<td>keola</td>
<td>keola</td>
<td>keola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kela</td>
<td>kela</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keoa</td>
<td>keoe</td>
<td>keoa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>keoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'low (of buffalo)'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>himu</td>
<td>hi-omu</td>
<td>hi-omu</td>
<td>la'i</td>
<td>'spouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terae</td>
<td>terae</td>
<td>terae</td>
<td>kerae</td>
<td>'sorghum'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meghëhi</td>
<td>meghëhi</td>
<td>meghëhi</td>
<td>meghëhi</td>
<td>'salt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></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 lVrV#, 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. meghëhi 'salt' (other dialects: meghëhi); 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).
### Agreement Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bọla</td>
<td>bọle</td>
<td>'extend, stretch out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bọlu</td>
<td>bọlo</td>
<td>'forget'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bọka</td>
<td>boke</td>
<td>'open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bọka</td>
<td>bọke</td>
<td>'wash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ọha</td>
<td>b'ache</td>
<td>'choose, pick up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ọd'i</td>
<td>b'adel'e</td>
<td>'chase away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ọga</td>
<td>b'age</td>
<td>'split'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bọga</td>
<td>boge</td>
<td>'tend (sheep, goats, etc.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ọka</td>
<td>b'oke</td>
<td>'pull out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ọta</td>
<td>b'ote</td>
<td>'cut into small pieces (fish, etc.)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'it'a</td>
<td>b'ite</td>
<td>'pour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ud'u</td>
<td>b'ud'e</td>
<td>'touch, feel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ud'</td>
<td>b'ue</td>
<td>'write'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'uju</td>
<td>b'uj'e</td>
<td>'sieve (rice)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'uk'i</td>
<td>b'uke</td>
<td>'grasp with fist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'i</td>
<td>dae</td>
<td>'lower (tuak only)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da'u</td>
<td>da'o</td>
<td>'swallow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dau</td>
<td>dao</td>
<td>'drink (soup)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dọla</td>
<td>dọle</td>
<td>'throw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'ọri</td>
<td>d'ore</td>
<td>'baptize, sprinkle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'ọ'ja</td>
<td>d'oj'e</td>
<td>'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abu</td>
<td>abo</td>
<td>'sharpen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahu</td>
<td>ako</td>
<td>'kick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aj'a</td>
<td>aj'e</td>
<td>'capture, catch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aŋi</td>
<td>ănge</td>
<td>'visit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aŋi</td>
<td>ănge</td>
<td>'study, read, teach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oba</td>
<td>ôbe</td>
<td>'wash (hair)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'fetch'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'fetch, carry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'tie (humans, animals)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'finish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'hold on to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'plait'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'cut off'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'disappear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'fill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'tie spur(s) on cock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'flatter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'tie (with string)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'draw a straight line'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'substitute'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'lift (off hook)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'scratch'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'scratch, turn over soil'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'peel, open'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'free, let loose'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'strangle, knead, choke'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'pluck'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'cut (with scissors)'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
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<td>'slice up (meat)'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
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<td>'nurse (on lap)'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
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<td>'shave (tree trunk)'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'fill'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
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<td>'leave' (trans.v.)</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'mend'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
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<td>'dye'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'try, test'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'plant (rice, coconuts)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'receive'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ñu</td>
<td>ño</td>
<td>'fry'</td>
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<td>ñu</td>
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<td>'pull'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Meanings</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
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<td>hapu</td>
<td>hapo</td>
<td>'break, decide'</td>
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<td>heb'tle</td>
<td>'carry (on back)'</td>
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<td>heb'o'oro</td>
<td>heb'o're</td>
<td>'brush'</td>
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<td>heguru</td>
<td>hegure</td>
<td>'cover'</td>
</tr>
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<td>heneb'i</td>
<td>heneb'o</td>
<td>'shut, cover'</td>
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<td>heg'o'pe</td>
<td>'sniff, kiss'</td>
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<td>heg'pule</td>
<td>'pinch, squeeze'</td>
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<td>hib'e</td>
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<td>hora</td>
<td>hore</td>
<td>'cook'</td>
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<td>hub'i</td>
<td>hub'e</td>
<td>'throw away'</td>
</tr>
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<td>hud'i</td>
<td>hud'e</td>
<td>'insert'</td>
</tr>
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<td>huru</td>
<td>hure</td>
<td>'pursue, chase'</td>
</tr>
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<td>jaga</td>
<td>jage</td>
<td>'spoon'</td>
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<td>j'ani</td>
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<td>'watch'</td>
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<td>j'ari</td>
<td>j'are</td>
<td>'leave behind'</td>
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<tr>
<td>j'aga</td>
<td>j'age</td>
<td>'begin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j'eja</td>
<td>j'eje</td>
<td>'work, make, build'</td>
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<td>j'ale</td>
<td>j'ale</td>
<td>'kick, stamp (feet)'</td>
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<td>kaj'e</td>
<td>'trample down, tread under foot'</td>
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<td>kaj'e</td>
<td>'take, fetch'</td>
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<tr>
<td>kaña</td>
<td>kañe</td>
<td>'pound, throw (far)'</td>
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<td>kape</td>
<td>'dive, plunge, duck, bathe'</td>
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<td>keb'al'e</td>
<td>'catch, capture'</td>
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<td>keb'al'e</td>
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<td>ked'ago</td>
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<td>kehiwa</td>
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<td>'hold on to'</td>
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<td>kei</td>
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<td>kelati</td>
<td>kelate</td>
<td>'dig'</td>
</tr>
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<td>kelij'i</td>
<td>kelij'e</td>
<td>'shoot (with bow, slingshot)'</td>
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<td>ketorí</td>
<td>ketore</td>
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<td>kevao</td>
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<td>kíjo</td>
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<td>'insert, stab'</td>
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<td>lepe</td>
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<td>lele</td>
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<td>menëno</td>
<td>'be strong'</td>
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<td>meñaro</td>
<td>'tighten woven thread'</td>
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<td>merëge</td>
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<td>'be cold, make cold'</td>
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<td>nana</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>'twist, swivel'</td>
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<td>nonu</td>
<td>nune</td>
<td>'dry in sun'</td>
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<td>nune</td>
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<td>nàme</td>
<td>'gnaw, chew, bite at'</td>
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<td>par'o</td>
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<td>'call, invite'</td>
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<td>Plural</td>
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<td>Meaning</td>
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<td>ped'ule</td>
<td>'lower'</td>
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<td>pe-'ala</td>
<td>pe-'ale</td>
<td>'finish'</td>
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<td>pe-'i</td>
<td>pe-'io</td>
<td>'make (cock) fight'</td>
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<td>pe-g'utti</td>
<td>pe-g'ute</td>
<td>'(give to) cut'</td>
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<td>pe'hui</td>
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<td>'suckle, breast-feed'</td>
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<td>'exchange, change'</td>
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<td>'order, command'</td>
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<td>'yelp, whine, whimper'</td>
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<td>pe-lope</td>
<td>'dry, make dry'</td>
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<td>'tack, sail back and forth'</td>
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<td>pe-moke</td>
<td>'take care of'</td>
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<td>pe-moo</td>
<td>'prepare, make ready'</td>
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<td>pe-qi'iu</td>
<td>pe-qi'o</td>
<td>'clear, clean'</td>
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<td>pe-n'a'a</td>
<td>pe-n'a'e</td>
<td>'feed, give to eat'</td>
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<td>pe-n'aki</td>
<td>pe-n'ake</td>
<td>'stop'</td>
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<td>pe-n'ade</td>
<td>'show'</td>
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<td>pe-puru</td>
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<td>'lower, cause descend'</td>
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<td>pe-pe'a'lu</td>
<td>pe-pe'a'o</td>
<td>'lead (animal)'</td>
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<td>pe-pucu</td>
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<td>pe-raci</td>
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<td>'give (to s.o.) to roast'</td>
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<td>pi'd'i</td>
<td>pi'd'e</td>
<td>'choose, pick up'</td>
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<td>pi'a</td>
<td>'be, be where?'</td>
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<td>pihe</td>
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<tr>
<td>pij'i</td>
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<td>'pick up'</td>
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<td>'tell'</td>
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<tr>
<td>pili</td>
<td>pile</td>
<td>'pick up'</td>
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<td>puu</td>
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<td>ra'o</td>
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<td>riu</td>
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<td>'rub'</td>
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<td>tabe</td>
<td>'add, increase'</td>
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<td>tada</td>
<td>tade</td>
<td>'know, understand'</td>
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<td>tab'e</td>
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<td>tab'o</td>
<td>'stab'</td>
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<td>tao'a</td>
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<td>tao'u</td>
<td>tao'o</td>
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<tr>
<td>taka</td>
<td>take</td>
<td>'place, store'</td>
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<td>tuku</td>
<td>tuke</td>
<td>'throw'</td>
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<td>tunu</td>
<td>tune</td>
<td>'cook, roast, burn'</td>
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<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>waii</td>
<td>wale</td>
<td>'buy'</td>
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<tr>
<td>woka</td>
<td>woke</td>
<td>'turn over soil (with hand)'</td>
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<td>wuni</td>
<td>wune</td>
<td>'hide'</td>
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<tr>
<td>wutu</td>
<td>wute</td>
<td>'wrap up'</td>
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</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 ole ke pe-made.
   father DEM1sg. PAST(sg.) PART PAST-be dead
   'The father has passed away.'

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

4. ina do b'oni menenu o b'ara dou ta kale o doi, kale
   mother REL female weave ABS clothes person NON-PAST pursue ABS money pursue
   qa'a ta wie o ne ana ne.
   food NON-PAST give ABS ART child DEM1sg.
   'The mother is a woman who makes clothes to obtain money, to obtain food to give to the child.'

5. d'ai pa d'ara lod'o, ta pa-mači o lua wągu ke.
   THEN LOC interior day NON-PAST CAUS-be greasy ABS thread cotton PART
   'Then, one day, (she) is greasing cotton thread.'

6. ta kemagu o lua wągu, ta la b'aha la d'ara dahí 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'als ane o ina ne, "pee pa smu, ana j'aa", mi he ane,
   THEN say ERG mother DEM1sg. stay LOC house child POSS1sg. LIKE DEM1pl. say
   "gi d'o loka o ihi ou ri wo-rai, gi 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. was d'o o ne ana ne.
   WANT NEG ABS ART child DEM1sg.
   'The child does not want to.'

9. pedutu ma qa ina ne.
   follow EMPH COM mother DEM1sg.
   'The child goes with the mother.'

10. pee. b'ole pedutu. raja d'o o j'aa. la b'aha o lua wągu he
    stay DON'T follow be long NOT ABS lsg. DFS wash(pl.) ABS thread cotton DEM1pl.
    o j'aa la d'ara dahí 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. taqitaqi 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 ogo ke ri ina d'e.  
NON-PAST carry(sg.) PART ERG mother DEM2sg.  
'Then the mother carries (him).'

13. d'ai 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-lahalae d'e. b'ola titu pa d'ara ei ni qi d'o stand LOC PROD-sand DEM2sg. DON'T STAND LOC interior water DEM4sg. PURP NEG melara ø 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 ø j'aa, mama.  
NON-PAST bathe water sea ABS lsg. mother  
'I want to bathe in the sea, Mother.'

16. b'ole qi d'o melara ø ihi ou. reja d'o ø j'aa, mi he 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. taqitaqi ke, ta j'iu-j'iu ke ø 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. lohe d'o ae, ta b'aha-b'aha hese ke ø 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. øla pe-b'aha-b'aha, ta peqedu ke ø hag'e.  
PAST(pl.) PAST-wash-RED NON-PAST take PART ABS half  
'Having finished washing, (she) takes half.'

20. b'ale ane ø ina d'e, "pee ko ø ou, ana j'aa, heleo ko ri THEN say ERG mother DEM2sg. stay PART ABS 2sg. child POSS1sg. watch PART ERG ou ø ne iua wegu do hag'e he'd'e. kiga merno, 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 ø hag'e.  
DPS dry in sun PART ERG lsg. ABS half  
'Then the mother says, "You stay, my child, and watch over the (other) half of the cotton thread. If you get cold, go ashore. I am going to dry this half."'

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

23. ta kako ke ø ne ina ne la ømu. nono ø ne 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 shore to see the child and to wash the rest of the cotton thread.'

24. d'ai la təbi dahi. era ma ə ne ana ne do j'iu-j'iu ei, arrive GFS shore sea be EMPH ABS ART child DEMlsg. STAT bathe-RED water

lua wəqu era ma pa era ne, thread cotton be EMPH LOC place DEMlsg.

'She reaches the sea shore. The child is there bathing, and the cotton thread is in its place.'

25. əgu ri ke ə hag'e ne lua wəqu mahere, 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 one ə 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 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", one ə ana ne. YES say ABS child DEMlsg.

'Yes", says the child.'

28. b'ale one ə ina ne, "ta la nono ə lua wəqu ri, THEN say ABS mother DEMlsg. NON-PAST DFS dry in sun ABS thread cotton AGAIN

ana j'aa, la əmu. ki məriqi ke ə ou, peəaha, ta b'ale ke child POSSlsg. GFS house IF be cold PART ABS 2sg. stop NON-PAST return PART ə dii.

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." one ə 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 dæ d'o ə ou?", one ə ina ne. be cold YET NEG ABS 2sg. say ERG mother DEMlsg.
"Aren't you cold yet?," says the mother.

33. "ad'o dæ. ta lie ø kemou ke ø j'aa qi 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 ømu."
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 ø ina ne, "j'iu ko we ø 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 ø ana ne, "ta la ømu, 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 ø lua woqu we, j'e b'ale ma øgo YES NON-PAST DFS dry in sun ABS thread cotton JUST THEN return DTS fetch(sg.)
ø 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. "ee. kiri ketu la kolo lede, jad'i ta dob'oho-lingu-manu ø j'aa. kiri Hey IF head GFS top hill become RESULT snake species ABS lsg. IF
ketu la d'ara dahi", mi he ane, "jad'i ta iu, ta ana øño head GFS inside sea LIKE DEM1pl. SAY become RESULT shark RESULT child turtle ø 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 lii mi nahe ø ou ri. roja d'o ø j'aa. DON'T WHY NON-PAST talk LIKE DEM3pl. ERG 2sg. REASON be long NEG ABS lsg.
ta la nono ø lua woqu 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 lii pe-moko-moko ke j'aa pa mama", mi he ane, ø YES NON-PAST say CAUS-be ready-RED PART lsg. GA mother LIKE DEM1pl. say ABS
kiŋa b'ale ø mama, j'e d'o pe'e ø 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-lii pa mama, ketu la kolo lede jad'i ta PAST(sg.) PART ERG lsg. PAST-say GA mother head GFS top hill become RESULT
dob'oho-lingu-manu. ketu la d'ara dahi jad'i ta iu, ta ana øño," <-snake species-> head GFS inside sea become RESULT shark RESULT child turtle

'Yes. I definitely say to mother, 'If mother returns, and I am not here, don't look for (me)'. I have already told mother, 'Head to shore becomes a snake. Head to sea becomes a shark or baby turtle.'"
40. o'o d'o ne ana ne ta ha'e la kolo lede. b'ale ane
WANT NEG ABS ART child DEMplsg. NON-PAST climb GFS top hill THEN say ERG
ina ne. "uru ke Δ j'aa la əmu."
mother DEMplsg. go ahead PART ABS lsg. GFS house
'The child does not want to go ashore. Then the mother says, "I will go ahead to the
house."'

41. "b'ole rəja", mi he ane Δ ana ne.
DON'T be long LIKE DEMpl. say ABS child DEMplsg.
"Don't be long", says the child.'

42. ta d'ai Δ ina ne, la nono-nono Δ ne lua əmu
NON-PAST arrive ABS mother DEMplsg. DFS dry in sun(pl.)-RED ABS ART thread cotton
he, lua əmu ma ke do ae. nono-nono pa əmu ne.
DEMpl. thread cotton EMPH PART STAT be many dry in sun(pl.)-RED LOC house DEMplsg.
'The mother arrives (home), (then) goes and lays the cotton threads out to dry in the sun.
The cotton threads are many. (She) dries (them) at the house.'

43. ta əla pe-nono, ta b'ale ke la dahi la əgo Δ anana
AFTER PAST(pl.) PAST-dry NON-PAST return PART GFS sea DFS fetch(sg.) ABS child
d'e, d'ai la dahi, la təbi lakalae. heleo Δ anan pe'e d'o ke.
DEM2sg. arrive GFS sea GFS edge sand see ABS child be(sg.) NEG PART
pədeo doe, pedoe-doe. pe'e d'o ke ta hou Δ ne lii anana
call(sg.)-RED call(sg.)-RED be(sg.) NEG PART NON-PAST emerge ABS ART word child
ne.
DEMplsg.
'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.'

44. d'ai la kətu-ragi Δ ne ana ne, ta pəbu' u Δ kətu ke təlu
arrive GFS deep water ABS ART child DEMplsg. NON-PAST appear ABS head PART three
təka ta pelaqu na ina ne. jad'i ke ta əño pa
time NON-PAST bid farewell COM mother DEMplsg. become PART RESULT turtle LOC
d'ara dahi.
inside sea
'The child reaches deep-water and the head appears three times to bid farewell to the mother.
(The child) has become a turtle in the sea.'

* * *


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