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

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1. Introduction[1]

The Sasak language is spoken on the island of Lombok (immediately east of Bali, Indonesia) by around 2.7 million speakers, roughly 85% of the population of Lombok, which was recorded as 3,169,050 in 2010.[2] Sasak shows great internal variation, both geographical and social. Its complex linguistic ecology (Austin 2003) includes five ethnolinguistically named 'dialects' recognized by native speakers and named for the shibboleth terms for 'like that-like this' (i.e. Ngenó-ngené, Nggetó-nggeté, Menó-mené, Kutó-kuté, Meriaq-meriku). These labels do not however reflect fully the extensive geographical variation in phonology, lexicon and morpho-syntax found within Sasak, especially in the areas of clitic pronouns (Austin 1996, 2006), valence-changing processes (Austin 1996, 2000, 2001), and verbal morphology, including the contrast between nasal-prefix verbs and non-nasal-prefix verbs (Austin 2012). There is also a system of speech levels (Austin 2010, Nothofer 2000) where selection among lexical alternatives marks low-mid-high status level of the addressee in relation to the speaker (and a second humble-

honorific dimension that expresses the relation between the speaker and some other referent).

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

Another characteristic of Sasak is the occurrence of both nouns in copular-like constructions to express quotative and evidential meanings. Reports of such constructions have not appeared in print for other Indonesian languages; their forms and meanings in Sasak are explored in Section 5 below.

2. Verb forms

The basic unmarked verb form in Sasak occurs as a citation form (e.g., in vocabulary elicitation and dictionaries) and in non-finite contexts where tense/aspect/mood and person cannot be expressed, e.g., as the complement of verbs of wanting:[3]

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

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[3] Sasak examples are transcribed following usual Indonesianist practices, except that *q* represents glottal stop. Note that *é* is a close-mid front vowel, *è* an open-mid front vowel, *ó* a close-mid back vowel and *ò* an open-mid back vowel. References following the English free translation give the dialect and the village name of the speaker – Kt Kutó-kuté, Mn Menó-mené, Mr Meriaq-Meriku, Mu Menu-meni, Ng Ngenó-ngené. In the examples clitics are separated from their hosts by equals (=) signs, segmentable suffixes or prefixes are separated by hyphens (-), and non-segmentable prefixes are indicated with a period (.) in the glosses. Abbreviations in the glosses are: 1sg – first person singular, 1pl – first person plural, 1ple – first person plural exclusive, 2 – second person, 2a – second person agent, 3 – third person, 3p – third person patient, appl – applicative, art – article, aux – auxiliary, cont – continuous aspect, detr – detransitiviser, imper – imperative, link – linking suffix, loc – locative preposition, neg – negative, nomin – nominaliser, pl – plural, redup – reduplication, rel – relativiser, pass – passive, perf – perfective aspect, proj – projective mood.

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

(2) *Baruq=k   gati   bedait   kance   nie*
     just.now=1sg   very   meet   with   3
     'I just met him (a couple of minutes ago)' (Mn, Puyung)

(3) *Aku   laló   jòk   peken   lèmaq aru*
     1sg   go   to   market   tomorrow
     'I will go to the market tomorrow' (Mn, Puyung)

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

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

Unmarked verb forms are also used in hortative sentences where the addressee is normally first person plural (and polite particles like *tèh* 'please' can be included):

(5) *Tèh   ta   laló   baq   bangket*
     please   1pl   go   allat   wet.rice.field
     'Let's go to the rice field' (Kt, Gangga)

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

(6) *Ah   amaq   teganang   déndéq   bélén=k   uni=n*
     ah   father   name   don't   leave.behind=1sg say=3

     inaq   tegining-ganang,   nangis.
     mother   name   cry
     ' "Amaq Teganang, don't leave me!" said Inaq Tegining-Ganang, crying' (Mr, Penujaq)

(7)   *Néndéq laló anak=kò   laun te-mpuk=ò   tó=ng   te-siliq=ò*
      don't go   child=1sg later pass-hit=2 there=3 pass-scold =2
      'Don't go my child you will be hurt there, you will be scolded!'
      (Mu, Ganti)

(8)   *Néndèq   buang   dedóró   ónó*
      don't   throw   rubbish   that
      'Don't throw that rubbish!' (Kt, Gangga)

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

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

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

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

(10) *Mah   cóbaq   tegen-ang=kò   mah,   laguq   kendéq*
      please   try   hold-appl=1sg please but   please.don't

      baé   lepas=è
      only   set.free=3p
      'Here hold it for me but please don't let it go.' (Mu, Ganti)

3. Pronouns

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

    All varieties of Sasak have both free and clitic pronouns, however this is
one of the areas of morphosyntax which shows the greatest diversity across
varieties (Austin 2003a, 2003b, 2006). Table 1 sets out the pronominal forms

in the main Sasak varieties.[4] Note that in all varieties enclitic pronouns attach to nouns to encode inalienable possession (primarily with lexical items for body parts and kinship), e.g., *inaq* 'mother' *inaqk(u)* 'my mother' *inaqmèq ~ inaqdiq ~ inaqbi ~ inaqò ~ inaqm* 'your mother'. Clitic pronouns may also attach to other parts of speech to express pronominal arguments of predicates, and here there are striking differences in the functions of such pronominal clitics between the different regional forms of Sasak.

Table 1: Sasak pronouns

	Kutó-kuté		Ngenó-ngené		Menu-meni		Menó-mené		Meriaq-meriku	
1sg	*aku*	*ku*	*aku*	*ku*	*aku*	*kó*	*aku*	*k*	*aku*	*k*
1plincl	*kami*	*kami*	*ite*	*te*	*ite*	*te*	*ite*	*t*	*ite*	*t*
1plexcl	*ita*	*ta*								
2masc	*kamu*	*diq*	*ante*	*mèq*	*kamu*	*ò*	*kamu*	*m*	*kamu*	*m*
2fem			*kamu*	*bi*						
2pol	*épé*	*pé*	*épé*	*pé*						
3	*ia*	*nya*	*ie*	*ne*	*ie*	*ng*	*ie*	*n*	*ie*	*n*

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

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

If the verb is two-place then the highest argument can appear as a proclitic or an enclitic on the verb. Occurrence as an enclitic expresses a realis situation while occurrence as a proclitic expresses an irrealis situation, as in:[5]

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[4] These are the low speech level forms. The high, honorific and humble forms are identical in all dialects and are discussed in Austin (2010).

[5] The element glossed 'link' here is a homorganic nasal linker that occurs between roots ending in a vowel and clitics that begin with a stop.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(15) *Mu=k*   *gitaq=m*
      part=1sg   see=2
      'I saw you' (Mn, Puyung)

(16) *Cemòh lalòq=n macan cerite=n, bi=n   kaken anak gagak*
      pleased very=3 tiger   story=3 part=3 eat   child crow

      étó   *terus*
      that   then
      'The tiger was very pleased, according to the story, and he ate the baby crow then.' (Mr, Penujaq)

In Menu-meni two-place verbs, in the absence of any other possible host, can bear an enclitic complex that expresses the person-number of the two arguments:[6]

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

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

4. Auxiliary particles

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

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

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

(18)   *Iaq=k   laló   jòk   peken*
       proj=1sg   go   to   market
       'I will go to the market' (Mn, Puyung)

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[6] For further details see Austin (2003a, 2012) – note that when both first person and second person are involved the singular/plural contrast in the first person is collapsed.

(19) *Gen=ku   laló   aning   peken*
      proj=1sg   go   to   market
      'I will go to the market' (Ng, Selong)

(20) *Jaga-n=ku   maca   buku   ónó*
      proj-link=1sg   read   book   that
      'I will read that book' (Kt, Gangga)

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

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

If the object of a preposition is questioned then the whole PP is fronted and
the order of preposition and object NP is 'flipped' to give [wh-NP—P]$_{PP}$. The
auxiliary particle may then follow the larger PP constituent or else the initial
NP constituent, as in:

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

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

As mentioned above in Section 2, Sasak varieties have pronominal clitics. In
all dialects auxiliary particles serve as hosts for pronominal clitics that express
the highest semantic argument of a predicate, as in examples (18)-(23) above.
Subordinating conjunctions, adverbial phrases and prepositions can also host
these clitics and if one of these potential hosts precedes the auxiliary particle
then it will carry the pronominal clitic instead, as in (cf. also example (21)):

Subordinate Conjunction

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

Adverbial phrase

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

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

Prepositional phrase[7]

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

(28) *Mbé   kòn=diq   ngetóan*
      where   loc=2   N1.ask
      'Where did you ask? (Kt, Gangga)

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

4.1 Negative polarity

In all dialects of Sasak, except Kutó-kuté, clausal and verbal predicate negation is indicated by the auxiliary particle *ndéq* (Kt *dèq*) which occurs before the predicate (recall from Section 2 that negative commands such as example (6) take *déndéq*).[8] This particle hosts pronominal enclitics, as in:

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[7] Examples (26) and (27) show fronted and flipped prepositional phrases (cf. (22) and (23) above) with the preposition hosting the pronominal clitic.

[8] There is also a negative copula *ndaraq* 'not exist' which occurs clause initially.

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

(30)   *Dèq=ku   men-dóé   buku*
        neg=1sg   N⁴-have   book
        'I do not have a book' (Kt, Gangga)

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

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

(32)   *Ndéq=k   taó   gitaq=ó*
        neg=1sg   can   see=3
        'I cannot see you' (Mu, Ganti)

4.2 Aspect

Sasak has two main auxiliary particles with aspectual semantics (Dahl 1985, Chung and Timberlake 1985, Comrie 1976, Frawley 1992) namely *uah* (high level *sampun*) which I propose marks perfect aspect, and *kenyakaq ~ kenyengke ~ kenyeke ~ nyekaq~ nyengke ~ nyingke ~ nyeke ~ jangke* (with forms varying for dialect) which marks continuous aspect (for a similar contrast in Bahasa Indonesia see Sneddon 1996).

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

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

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

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

1. perfect of result, as in:

(33)　*Uah=n*　　*bace*　　*buku*　　*ni*
　　　 pfct=3　　read　　book　　this
　　　 'He has read this book' (Mn, Puyung)

(34)　*Raje*　　*uah=n*　　*maté*
　　　 king　　pfct=3　　die
　　　 'The king has died' (Mn, Puyung)

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

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

2. experience of some situation, as in:

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

As Jordan (1998) points out:

> Sasak differs from the Western Austronesian systems described by Dahl, as it does not mark the 'experiential' category as independent of Perfect tense [sic. should be aspect – PKA]. According to Dahl, 'experiential' is marked in Indonesian, Sundanese and Javanese; however, in Sasak there is no distinction between experiential clauses and other Perfect tense [sic.] clauses

3. 'hot news', as in:

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

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

(38)   *Raje*   dateng   uni=n
        pfct=2   come   say=3
        'The king has arrived (they say)' (Mn, Puyung)

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

(39)   *Nie*   *jangke=n*   *tulis*   *surat.*
        3   cont=3   write   letters
        'He is writing letters/a letter.' (Mn, Puyung)

(40)   *Aku*   *kenyekaq*   *baca*   *buku*   *sekólah*
        1sg   cont   read   book   school
        'I am reading a school book' (Kt, Kandangkao)

Note that in Sasak only dynamic states of affairs can co-occur with *jangke*. It cannot be used with stative predicates.

4.3 Mood

There are a number of Sasak auxiliary particles that express modal semantic distinctions, including deontic modality (connoting the speaker's degree of requirement or commitment to the realization of a proposition expressed by an utterance) and epistemic modality (connoting the degree of certainty a speaker has for the proposition expressed by an utterance).[9] Table 2 sets out the modal items that are found in the current corpus:[10]

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[9] For evidentiality see Section 5 below.

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

Table 2. Sasak Modals

Deontic modals
iaq (Mn) ~ *éaq* (Mu) ~ *aq* ~ *jaq* (Mr) *gen* ~ *gin* (Ng) *jaga* (Kt)
'projective' (future)

harus 'must'
mesti 'must'
kadi (Mu) 'must'
seharus 'should'
perlu 'need, necessary'

Epistemic modals
taó (Mn) *tau* (Ng, Kt) *iniq* (Mr) 'can'
bau 'can'
mau 'can'

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

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

Intention:

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

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

Prediction:

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

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

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

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

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

Hypotheticals not marked for time also contain the projective:

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

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

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

(46)   Nie   harus=n   tókól
        3   must=3   sit
        'He must sit down.' (Mn, Puyung)
(47)   *Dende napi=pun juaq=n iaq te-baòs*   *kun lace-lace*
        fine   what=also ever=3 proj pass-talk.about loc wedding.place

        mesti=n   pade   ke-beléq-an   *ató   harus=n   be-standar*
        must=3   pl   nom-big-nom   or   must=3   intr-standard
        'Whatever fine we will talk about at the wedding place must be the
        same size or must be standardized.' (Mr, Penujaq)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Necessity is indicated by *perlu*:

(52) *Laguq*   *ini*   *nani* *perlu-n=t*   *laló*   *péte*   *sarat*   *datu-n=t*
      but   this   now   need-   go   find   cure   king-
                        link=1pl   link=1pl
      "But now we have to go to look for the cure of our King."
      (Mr, Penujaq)

(53) *Ite*   *perlu=t*   *beli*   *buaq-buaq-an*   *léq*   *balé*
      1pl   need=1pl   buy   redup-fruit-nom   loc   house
      'We need to buy fruit at home.' (Mn, Puyung)

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

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

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

(55) *Maqap   ndéq=k   taó   nge-raòs   base   Sasak*
      sorry   not=1sg   can   N[1]-speak language   Sasak
      'Sorry, I cannot speak Sasak.' (Mn, Puyung)

(56) *Papuq=ne   ndéq=ne   taó   be-bace*
      grandparent=3   not=3   can   redup-read
      'His grandmother cannot read.' (Ng, Selong)

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

(57) *Andé=ng   be-dóé   anak   timaq=ng   nine   masih*
      if =3   intr-have   child   even.if=3   female   still

      bau=ng   jari   datu
      can=3   become   king
      'If has a child, even if she is female, she can still become Queen'
      (Mu, Ganti)

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

      sugun   terus   bangké=ng Raksase nu-q=ng   isiq=ng
      come.out   then   corpse=3   Raksasa that-spec=3 by=3
      'Doyan Medaran pulled with all his might and then the corpse of
      Raksasa could come out because of him.' (Mu, Ganti)

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

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

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

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

Finally *mau* 'can' expresses ability to do some action or for some state of affairs to occur because time is available for it to happen (e.g., one is not in a rush, has no guests arriving at home, etc.). An example is:

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

Negation of this modal is also possible, as in:

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

5. Quotatives and evidentiality

In Sasak there are two ways that quotation of what someone has said (or will say) can be expressed. The first of these is to use a verb of locution such as *muni* 'say' (low level) or *base* 'say (high level) (or more specific lexical items such as *ceritaq* 'tell a story', *kócap* 'narrate', *badaq* 'tell', *beketuan* 'ask', *tóntóq* 'reply') followed by a noun phrase specifying the speaker, then followed by the quoted material which is expressed as a regular Sasak clause:

(63) *Muni   lóq   lèpang   ite   uah   be-kuris   be-cukur*
     say   art   frog   1pl   prfc   intr-shave   intr-cut.hair
     'Frog said "I have shaved and had a haircut."' (Ng, Selong)

It is also possible for the locutionary verb to be followed by a second verb *kene* 'intend' which precedes the quoted material:

(64) *Terus   senine=ng   datu   tie   muni   kene   berembé*
     then   wife=3   king   that   say   intend   how

     ntan=te   éaq   òat   mate   anak=te?
     manner=1pl   proj   cure   eye   child=1pl   intend   how
     'Then the King's wife said "How shall we cure our child's eyes?"'
     (Mu, Ganti)

(65) *Sayan   nóntóq   dedare   tie   kene   ndéq=kò*
     more   N[1].reply   girl   that   intend   how

     mele   te-renggang-ang   isiq   Indra   Bangsawan
     want   pass-distant-cause   by   Indra   Bangsawan
     'The Princess replied again "I don't want to be taken far away by
     Indra Bangsawan"' (Mu, Ganti)

Sasak has a second construction that can be used to express quotation in which the quoted clause comes first and is followed by a noun[11] that refers to an act or product of locution, such as *uni* 'saying' (low level) or *base* 'saying' (high level), but also including nouns such as *cerite* 'story' (see example (16) above). This quotative noun carries a clitic possessive pronoun identifying the speaker, who can be further specified by a noun phrase following this word. Material preceding the possessed noun has the form of a full clause, including its own clitic pronouns, as appropriate, i.e., the structure is   […]$_S$ *uni*=clitic$_{speaker}$. This structure appears to be a zero copula construction of the form '[…]$_S$ is speaker's saying/story'. Examples from Sasak texts are the following:

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

(67) *Masih=ò   Aran   idup   uni=ng   peng-ulu   Alim*
       still=2   Name   live   say=3   agent-head   Alim
       '"You are still alive!" said Bodyguard Alim.' (Mu, Ganti)

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

ambu	'smell'
rase	'taste'
idap	'feeling'
angen	'feeling, rumour'
rue	'appearance'
inde	'supposition, guess based on contextual evidence'

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[11] In Sasak, as in other western Austronesian languages, there are many verbs that have the same form as semantically related nouns, however a number are formally distinct, such as the verb *muni* 'say, speak' and noun *uni* 'saying, speaking' (cf. also *cerite* 'story' and *ceritaq* 'tell a story').

Examples from Sasak texts are the following:[12]

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

        keruan   *rase=ne*
        ready   taste=3
        'He finished a hand of bananas, but they still didn't taste ready.'
        (Ng, Selong)

(69)   *Iaq=n*   *ujan*   *rue=n*
        proj=3   rain   appear=3
        'It looks like it will rain.'   (Mn, Puyung

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[12] Most of the text examples have a third person enclitic, although first person is found in (66); it is not clear if other person forms can occur with these verbs. Note that most of the text data I have is from Menu-meni and information on other Sasak varieties needs further checking.

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

      méléq=òkè?"   uni=ng   "méléq=tè"   uni=kò
      desire=2a>3p   say=3   desire=1pla>3p   say=1sg

      "Well, it happens that the coffee has just finished" it seems he said.
      "Do you want some tea?" he said. "I want it" I said. (Mu, Ganti)

It may also be the case that these verbs can take scope over the locutionary verbs as well (e.g., 'I said it seems he is sick'), but there are no examples in my corpus.

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

6. Conclusions

This paper is a preliminary outline of the expression of polarity, aspect, mood and evidentiality in the Sasak language spoken on the island of Lombok. It is based on analysis of elicited and textual materials from several Sasak varieties and illustrates the formal and semantic differences between them. The codong a tense is not found in Sasak, and there are two aspectual categories, perfect and continuous. The most elaborated semantic and pragmatic category is mood and the language shows a large number of modal auxiliaries.

There are several other varieties of Sasak, especially Kutó-kuté and Nggetó-nggeté, which have been little studied to date. Further research on these varieties is needed to determine the full picture of Sasak morpho-syntax.

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