

Too many nasal verbs: dialect variation in the voice system of Sasak

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Like other western Indonesian languages, all varieties of Sasak have verbs that carry a nasal prefix (also called ‘nasal verbs’, Arka 1998, 2003, 2009) and verbs that lack such a prefix (also called ‘oral verbs’ or ‘zero verbs’). Sasak shows four morphologically distinct kinds of nasal prefixes with varying functions. In some varieties the nasal-zero contrast has syntactic relevance relating to cross-clausal ‘pivot’ choice. In others, the contrast is related to different semantic-pragmatic interpretations of the Agentlike NP and non-Agentlike NP in a two-argument clause, or to the way a state of affairs is being portrayed. Additionally, northern Sasak has nasal prefixes in constructions that in other varieties require different morphology, unconnected with the nasal-oral distinction.

This paper explores the distribution of nasal-prefix verbs in a range of varieties of Sasak, using data from elicitation, narratives, conversations and experiments to determine how these different varieties employ nasal-prefix verbs and which functions such verbs carry out.

1. Introduction¹

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 2010². 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, the focus of this paper. In the examples presented below we give both the ‘dialect’ label (using the five terms above plus Menu-meni) and the name of the village of the speaker who provided the example, since our data shows that speech from each village and sub-village on Lombok has its own linguistic characteristics. Note that Sasak also shows a complex

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² Population of Indonesia by Province 1971, 1980, 1990, 1995, 2000 and 2010 *Badan Pusat Statistik* [http://dds.bps.go.id/eng/tab_sub/view.php?tabel=1&daftar=1&id_subyek=12¬ab=1, accessed 2012-02-21]

system of speech levels (Nothofer 2000, Austin and Nothofer 2012); all the examples in this paper are from low (non-polite) speech³.

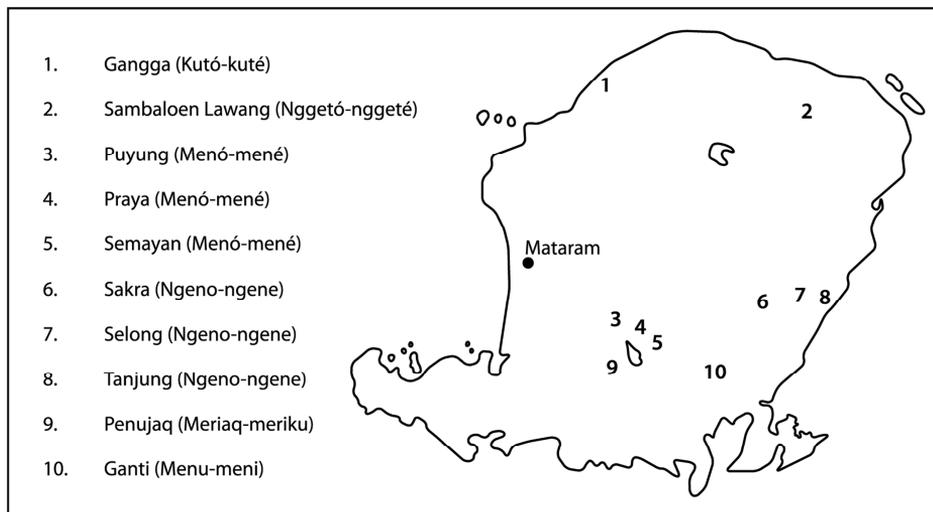


Figure 1: Location of villages and Sasak varieties mentioned in the text

Like other western Indonesian languages, all varieties of Sasak have nasal-prefixed verbs (also called ‘nasal verbs’, Arka 1998, 2003, 2009) and non-nasal prefixed verbs (also called ‘oral verbs’ or ‘zero verbs’). However, in Sasak we find four morphologically distinct kinds of nasal prefixes with varying functions. In some varieties the nasal-zero contrast has syntactic relevance relating to cross-clausal ‘pivot’ choice. In others, the contrast is related to different semantic-pragmatic interpretations of the Agent NP and non-agentlike NP in a two-argument clause (where such a second argument must be interpreted as non-referential or non-specific in the nasal-prefix verb construction). It can also be related to the way a state of affairs is being portrayed. In Kutó-kuté we find a further variation where nasal prefixes are used in constructions that in other varieties require different morphology, unconnected with the nasal-oral distinction.

This paper explores the distribution of nasal-prefix verbs in a range of varieties of Sasak. It uses data from geographically-based surveys, using the methods of elicitation, recording of narratives and conversations, participant observation, and application of experimental stimuli, including comparative materials from ‘Frog Story’ (Mayer 1969, Berman and Slobin 1994) and ‘Pear Story’ (Chafe ed. 1980) texts. The goal of the paper is to determine how different varieties of Sasak employ nasal-prefix verbs and which functions such verbs carry out.

³ The transcription for Sasak follows usual Indonesianist practices: *c* is a voiceless palatal stop, *j* is a voiced palatal stop, *q* is a glottal stop, *ny* is a palatal nasal, *ng* is a velar nasal. There is an open-close contrast for mid vowels: *é* is close mid front, *è* is open mid front, *ó* is close mid back, *ò* is open mid back while *e* is schwa.

2. Sasak verb morphology

Sasak, like other Western Indonesian languages, lacks nominal and verbal inflections (i.e. it has no case or tense/aspect/mood inflections) and such affixation that it does show is entirely derivational. All varieties of Sasak have a prefix which can be added to nominal roots to derive an intransitive verb semantically related to the noun. This prefix, which we label N^1 -, has the following forms:

1. homorganic nasal added to roots beginning with voiced stops
2. homorganic nasal replacing the initial consonant of roots beginning with voiceless stops and s^4
3. *ng-* added to roots beginning in a vowel
4. *nge-* added to roots beginning in a nasal, *l* or *r*

Consider these examples:

Noun		Verb	
<i>pènèq</i>	‘urine’	<i>mènèq</i>	‘to urinate’
<i>kupi</i>	‘coffee’	<i>ngupi</i>	‘to drink coffee’
<i>gunting</i>	‘scissors’	<i>nggungting</i>	‘to cut with scissors’
<i>sisir</i>	‘comb’	<i>nyisir</i>	‘to comb one’s hair’
<i>impi</i>	‘dream’	<i>ng-impi</i>	‘to have a dream’
<i>utaq</i>	‘vomit’	<i>ng-utaq</i>	‘to vomit’
<i>ntut</i>	‘fart’	<i>nge-ntut</i>	‘to fart’
<i>rókóq</i>	‘cigarette’	<i>nge-rókóq</i>	‘to smoke a cigarette’

In addition to this nasal prefix Kutó-kuté has another prefix occurring with verb roots. It is labeled N^4 - (see further 4.2). It derives verbs with an additional ongoing imperfective meaning. It has the following forms:

1. *me*+homorganic nasal added to roots beginning with voiced stops
2. *me*+homorganic nasal replacing the initial consonant of roots beginning with voiceless stops
3. *meng-* added to roots beginning in a vowel
4. *menge-* added to roots beginning in a nasal, *l* or *r*

Here are some examples:

Noun		Verb	
<i>keròk</i>	‘snore’	<i>mengeròk</i>	‘to be snoring, keep snoring’
<i>tujèn</i>	‘saliva’	<i>menujèn</i>	‘to be spitting, go on spitting’
<i>utaq</i>	‘vomit’	<i>mengutaq</i>	‘to be vomiting, go on vomiting’
<i>ntut</i>	‘fart’	<i>mengentut</i>	‘to be farting, go on farting’

Both N^1 - and N^4 - nasal prefixes are also used in Kutó-kuté to derive inchoative intransitive verbs from nouns where other dialects of Sasak use the inchoative verbalizing prefix *be-*, as in the following cases⁵:

⁴ In Meriaq-meriku initial voiceless velar stops are retained in the nasal form.

⁵ There is a further use of *be-* with transitive verbs as a detransitiver; this is discussed below.

Noun			Verb		
Kutó-kuté	Menó-mené		Kutó-kuté	Menó-mené	
<i>kelambi</i>	<i>kelambi</i>	‘shirt’	<i>ngelambi</i>	<i>be-kelambi</i>	‘to wear a shirt’
<i>sempéda</i>	<i>sepéde</i>	‘bicycle’	<i>nyempéda</i>	<i>be-sepéde</i>	‘to ride a bicycle’
<i>celana</i>	<i>celane</i>	‘shorts’	<i>nyelana</i>	<i>be-celane</i>	‘to wear shorts’
<i>kèrèng</i>	<i>kèrèng</i>	‘sarong’	<i>mengkèrèng</i>	<i>be-kèrèng</i>	‘to wear a sarong’
<i>bóngót</i>	<i>sapuaq</i>	‘headband’	<i>membòngòt</i>	<i>be-sapuaq</i>	‘to wear a headband’
<i>daraq</i>	<i>daraq</i>	‘blood’	<i>mendaraq</i>	<i>be-daraq</i>	‘to bleed’

In all Sasak varieties (and in Balinese – see Arka 1998) there are also intransitive verbs with initial nasal for which there is no (underived) non-nasal form. Such verbs are of several types:

- volitional activity verbs, eg. dance, talk, visit, bathe, squat
- manner of motion verbs, eg. swim, gallop, slide, tremble

Root intransitive verbs which do not begin with a nasal express:

- states, eg. sleep, ill, broken, cracked
- directed motion verbs, eg. go, come, run, return

The following examples illustrate this⁶:

Nasal-initial			Non-nasal initial		
<i>mandiq</i>	‘bathe’	Ng. Mn	<i>berari</i>	‘run’	Ng
<i>milu</i>	‘tag along with, accompany’	Ng. Mn	<i>budal</i>	‘go away’	Ng
<i>muni</i>	‘speak’	Ng	<i>dateng</i>	‘come’	Ng. Mn
<i>nangis</i>	‘cry’	Ng. Mn	<i>gulung</i>	‘roll’	Ng
<i>ngigel</i>	‘dance’	Ng	<i>kelelep</i>	‘nap’	Ng
<i>ngemòs</i>	‘smile’	Ng	<i>laló</i>	‘go’	Ng. Mn
<i>ngeleget</i>	‘shiver’	Ng	<i>lèkaq</i>	‘walk, go’	Ng
<i>ngòndòng</i>	‘swim’	Ng	<i>pelai</i>	‘run’	Mn
<i>nyòngkòk,</i>	‘squat’	Ng	<i>sakit</i>	‘be ill’	Ng. Mn
<i>nyèngkèng</i>					

For transitive verbs there are four nasal prefixes found in Sasak. The first, which we label N¹- shows the same formal characteristics as the noun-to-verb derivation prefix described above. The second, which we label N²-, is similar to N¹- except that initial voiceless stop consonants are retained. The third we label as N³-, however note that it appears to be a partial reduplication related to the first pattern⁷. Both N²- and N³- only

⁶ For examples the ‘dialect’ is given, where Kt is Kutó-kuté, Ng is Ngenó-ngené, Nt is Nggetó-Nggeté, Mn is Menó-mené, Mu is Menu-meni, Mr is Meriaq-meriku. The example sentences (below) also indicate the village from which the example comes.

⁷ It consists of the copying of the initial nasal plus schwa – or, if there is an initial nasal + voiced stop, the copying of this cluster plus schwa – of forms that have undergone N¹- type nasalization.

occur in Ngenó-ngené and Nggetó-Nggeté. The following examples from Pancor Ngenó-ngené illustrate the first three patterns:

Unmarked		N¹-	N²-	N³-
<i>péte</i>	‘search, look for’	<i>méte</i>	<i>mpéte</i>	<i>meméte</i>
<i>talet</i>	‘plant’	<i>nalet</i>	<i>ntalet</i>	<i>nenalet</i>
<i>kuih</i>	‘call out to’	<i>nguih</i>	<i>ngkuih</i>	<i>ngenguih</i>
<i>cóbaq</i>	‘try’	<i>nyóbaq</i>	<i>nycóbaq</i>	<i>nyenyóbaq</i>
<i>sebóq</i>	‘hide’	<i>nyebóq</i>	<i>nysebóq</i>	<i>nyenyebóq</i>
<i>beli</i>	‘buy’	<i>mbeli</i>	<i>mbeli</i>	<i>mbembeli</i>
<i>dengar</i>	‘hear’	<i>ndengar</i>	<i>ndengar</i>	<i>ndendengar</i>
<i>gitaq</i>	‘see’	<i>nggitaq</i>	<i>nggitaq</i>	<i>nggenggitaq</i>
<i>inem</i>	‘drink’	<i>nginem</i>	<i>nginem</i>	<i>ngenginem</i>
<i>liwat</i>	‘pass by’	<i>ngeliwat</i>	<i>ngeliwat</i>	<i>ngengeliwat</i>

The fourth pattern, a variant of N³-, only occurs in Kutó-kuté and consists of *me* plus N¹-, as shown in the following examples:

Unmarked		N¹-	N⁴-
<i>péta</i>	‘search, look for’	<i>méta</i>	<i>meméta</i>
<i>talet</i>	‘plant’	<i>nalet</i>	<i>menalet</i>
<i>kelaq</i>	‘cook’	<i>ngelaq</i>	<i>mengelaq</i>
<i>séléq</i>	‘observe, watch’	<i>nyéléq</i>	<i>menyéleq</i>
<i>beli</i>	‘buy’	<i>mbeli</i>	<i>membeli</i>
<i>dengar</i>	‘hear’	<i>ndengar</i>	<i>mendengar</i>
<i>amet</i>	‘hit’	<i>ngamet</i>	<i>mengamet</i>

Note that the neighbouring and related Balinese language (Arka 1998, 2003, 2009) only has the N¹- pattern, and that N²-, N³- and N⁴- are peculiar to Sasak. Further, Menó-mené, Menu-Meni and Meriaq-meriku have N¹- only, but with rather different functions from N¹- in Ngenó-ngené, Nggetó-nggeté, and Kutó-kuté (and Balinese) – see section 5 below.

In the following sections I discuss the distributions and functions of these various nasal prefixed forms. This data comes from a range of villages across Lombok speaking different dialects and sub-dialects.

3. Eastern varieties of Sasak

Our data on Ngenó-ngené and Nggetó-nggeté varieties, which are spoken in north-eastern and eastern Lombok, shows that three nasal prefixes occur with clearly distinguished functions, and that the function of N¹- appears to be identical to the cognate prefix in Balinese.

3.1 N¹- prefix verbs

As reported in Austin (2001), in Ngenó-Ngené all transitive verbs can occur in two construction types, one with the unmarked (zero, oral) verb, as in:

- (1) *Balé beli lóq Ali*
 house buy ART Ali
 ‘Ali buys a house’ [Ng. Selong]

and another with the N¹- nasal prefixed verb, as in:

- (2) *Lóq Ali m-beli balé*
 ART Ali N¹-buy house
 ‘Ali buys a house’ [Ng. Selong]

In addition to the nasal prefix, these constructions differ in word order: the Patient-like argument must precede the unmarked verb (normally with the Agent-like argument after it), and the Agent must precede the nasal verb (with the Patient after the verb). There is also a difference in information structure in these clauses with emphasis falling on the preverbal argument. Consultants sometimes translate (1) into English as “It is a house that Ali buys” and (2) as “As for Ali, he buys a house” (Sasak separately has cleft constructions; the English translations here as clefts are the consultants’ attempts to express the difference in information status). In addition, the zero verb can be used as an imperative, but the nasal verb cannot.⁸

There is an alternative possibility where the Agent is expressed as a pronominal clitic attached to the verb. In the third person (only) this can cross-reference a noun phrase which must occur as the object of the preposition *isiq* (also used to mark the Agent in a passive construction – see below), following the verb in a prepositional phrase. There are two possible positions for the Agent clitic: as an enclitic on the verb when the clause expresses realis mood, or as a proclitic on the verb when the clause expresses irrealis mood (see Austin 2005, 2011), as in:

- (3) *Balé beli=ne isiq lóq Ali*
 house buy=3 by ART Ali
 ‘Ali bought a house’ [Ng. Selong]
- (4) *Balé ne=beli isiq lóq Ali*
 house 3=buy by ART Ali
 ‘Ali will/may buy a house’ [Ng. Selong]

The nasal prefixed verb is syntactically required in clause combining when there is anaphoric linkage (sometimes referred to as a ‘pivot’ relationship) with omission of the Agent of the transitive verb, as is reported for Balinese (Arka 1998, 2003, 2009). Thus, in relativisation in Ngenó-Ngené Sasak the relative clause must contain a gap that is coreferential with the head noun; this can be the single argument of an intransitive verb or the Patient-like argument of an unmarked transitive verb (see also Austin 1996 for further details and exemplification). Examples are:

⁸ Unlike in Balinese where there is a contrast in the imperative: the nasal verb is used when the Patient is non-specific, see Artawa, Artini and Blake 2001.

- (5) *Kanak [siq ____ berari] inó*
 child REL run that
 ‘That child who is running’ [Ng. Selong]

- (6) *Buku [siq ____ mèq=beli] inó*
 book REL 2=buy that
 ‘That book which you intend to buy’ [Ng. Selong]

If the relativised NP is the Agent-like argument within the relative clause then the N¹-nasal construction must be used and the unmarked verb is ungrammatical, as in:

- (7) *Dengan [siq ____ m-beli buku] inó*
 man REL N¹-buy book that
 ‘That man who bought a book’ [Ng. Selong]

- (8) **Dengan [siq buku beli ____] inó*
 man REL book buy that
 ‘That man who bought a book’ [Ng. Selong]

The same facts hold for question formation in Ngenó-Ngené: extraction of the Patient-like argument is possible with unmarked transitive verbs, whereas extraction of the Agent-like argument can only be done with nasal verbs (see Austin 1996), as in:

- (9) *Ape beli=mèq*
 what buy=2
 ‘What did you buy?’ [Ng. Selong]

- (10) *Sai m-beli buku inó*
 who N¹-buy book that
 ‘Who bought that book?’ [Ng. Selong]

Unmarked transitive verbs in Ngenó-ngené Sasak are passivised by the addition of the prefix *te-* to the verb root. The Patient precedes the passive verb and the Agent (if expressed) follows it, preceded by the preposition *isiq* ‘by’ and functioning as an oblique syntactically, as in:

- (11) *Aku te-pantòk isiq lóq Ali*
 1sg PASS-hit by ART Ali
 ‘I was hit by Ali’ [Ng. Selong]

The passive verb cannot host a clitic pronoun. However, if we add an auxiliary particle (Austin 2011) to the clause, it can host a clitic, which in this instance will be understood as the passive patient:

- (12) *Gen=ku te-pantòk isiq lóq Ali*
 PROJ=1sg PASS-hit by ART Ali
 ‘I will be hit by Ali’ [Ng. Selong]

3.2 N²- prefix verbs

In Ngenó-ngené and Nggetó-nggeté, transitive verbs taking the N²- nasal prefix express contrastive predicate focus where the speaker is making it clear that a certain state of affairs obtains rather than some other. An example is:

- (13) *Ali m-pantòk tèmòk*
 Ali N²-hit wall

‘Ali hit the wall (he didn’t kick it)’ [Ng. Selong]

Another example comes from the Sasak-Indonesian dictionary:

- (14) *Payu=ku bale-n=da n-séwa*
 result=1sg house-LINK=3 N²-rent

‘In the end I rented his house’ [Nt. Sembalun, Thoir (1985:198), entry *payu* “Saya jadikan rumahnya disewa”⁹]

It was explained to me that (14) would be used if one were negotiating with someone over whether to buy or rent his house. Further examples of this construction are consistent with this contrastive focus interpretation.

3.3 N³- prefix verbs

The third nasal prefix construction is used to express an extended ongoing state of affairs where the resulting clause is intransitive and cannot include a Patient-like argument, only the Agent-like argument. This is thus a de-transitivising construction, reminiscent of anti-passives in other languages. The following examples come from the corpus of Frog Story narrations:

- (15) *Araq, gitaq=ne sópòq batu, nu batu nó taòq=ne pade*
 exist see=3 one stone that stone that place=3 pl

nyenyebóq
 N³.hide

‘Then, he saw a single rock, “that is the rock where they are all hiding” (he said)’ [Frog story, Ng. Gerong, sas-t109]

- (16) *Lóq Ancòng meméte léq dalem jenggel aran=ne*
 ART Ancong N³.search LOC inside thing name=3
léq dalem sepatu but, sementare lóq Blèky meméte
 loc inside shoe boot while ART Blacky N3.search
léq dalem pelès taòq=ne tindóq lóq Kecòk nó
 LOC inside glass.jar place=3 sleep ART Kecok that

‘Ancong (the boy) searched in the things, what’s it, inside the boots, while Blacky (the dog) searched inside the glass jar where Kecok (the frog) slept’ [Frog story, Ng. Tanjung Lotim, sas-t105]

An example for Nggetó-Nggeté comes from the Sasak-Indonesian dictionary:

- (17) *Ndaq=mèq memaling malik*
 NEG.IMP=2 N3.steal again

‘Don’t steal again’ [Nt. Thoir (1985:67) “Jangan kamu mencuri lagi”]

⁹ Note that this translation is ungrammatical in standard Indonesian.

4. Northern Sasak

Northern Lombok is associated with Kutó-kuté varieties of Sasak. Here we find both N¹- and N⁴- prefixed verbs, where N⁴- is *me*+N¹-, as shown in the table in section 2 above (and repeated for convenience here):

Unmarked		N ¹ -	N ⁴ -
<i>péta</i>	‘search, look for’	<i>méta</i>	<i>meméta</i>
<i>talet</i>	‘plant’	<i>nalet</i>	<i>menalet</i>
<i>kelaq</i>	‘cook’	<i>ngelaq</i>	<i>mengelaq</i>
<i>séléq</i>	‘observe, watch’	<i>nyéléq</i>	<i>menyéleq</i>
<i>beli</i>	‘buy’	<i>mbeli</i>	<i>membeli</i>
<i>dengar</i>	‘hear’	<i>ndengar</i>	<i>mendengar</i>
<i>amet</i>	‘hit’	<i>ngamet</i>	<i>mengamet</i>

4.1 N¹- prefix verbs

The unmarked transitive construction in Kutó-kuté has the word order Patient Verb Agent, as we saw above for eastern Sasak:

- (18) *Basóng palèq kami*
 dog chase 1ple
 ‘We chased the dog’ [Kt. Gangga]

Alongside this we have the N¹- prefixed verb construction where the Agent precedes the Verb and the Patient follows, as in:

- (19) *Kami malèq basóng*
 1ple N¹.chase dog
 ‘We chased the dog’ [Kt. Gangga]

Note that this construction is also possible when the Patient-like argument is specific but indefinite, as in:

- (20) *Aku méta kelambi*
 1sg N¹.search shirt
 ‘I am searching for a shirt’ [Kt. Gangga]

If the Agent is pronominal an alternative construction is for a pronominal enclitic to occur on the verb, which will be clause initial, as in:

- (21) *Sampet=ku baban ónó*
 close=1sg door that
 ‘I closed that door’ [Kt. Kandangkao]

In the third person only the clitic may cross reference a full NP Agent inside a PP with the preposition *isiq*, as we saw for eastern Sasak:

- (22) *Buqaq=e baban ónó isiq tau ónó*
 open=3 door that by person that
 ‘That person opened that door’ [Kt. Kandangkao]

As in Eastern Sasak, the N¹- verb form is required when the Agent is relativised or questioned (i.e. when it functions as a pivot), as the following sentences show:

- (23) *Apa baca-n=diq*
 what read-LINK=2

‘What are you reading?’ [Kt. Kandangkao, Gangga]

- (24) *Guru siq mbé milèn buku ónó*
 teacher REL where N¹.choose book that

‘Which teacher chose that book?’ [Kt. Kandangkao, Gangga]

4.2 N⁴- prefix verbs

Verbs can take the N⁴- prefix in Kutó-kuté to express ongoing activity, and for most sub-dialects a Patient cannot be overtly expressed with such a verb (as we saw for eastern Sasak, above). An example is:

- (25) *Tau ónó menalet òkòn bangket*
 person that N⁴.plant LOC field

‘That man is planting in the field’ [Kt. Kandangkao]

Contrast this with:

- (26) *Tau ónó talet kacang òkòn bangket*
 person that plant peanut LOC field

‘That man is planting peanuts in the field’ [Kt. Kandangkao]

Another example is the following (also to be compared with examples (16) and (20) above):

- (27) *Aku meméta kón selapuq-an*
 1sg N⁴.search LOC all-NMLZ

‘I searched everywhere’ [Kt. Gangga]

However, data from the village of Gondang (Putra 2009) includes N⁴- constructions with a Patient-like NP, but it must be interpreted as non-specific, as in the following examples¹⁰:

- (28) *Ia mem-bait kèpèng léq bang*
 3 N⁴-take money LOC bank

‘He is taking some money to the bank’ [Kt. Gondang, Putra 2009, ex 30]

An example from a Pear Story text from Gondang recorded by Ahmadi is:

- (29) *Araq tau ia mem-bau buaq pir léq kebòn=nya*
 exist man 3 N⁴-pick fruit pear LOC garden=3

‘There is a man picking pears in his garden’ [Kt. Gondang, Ahmadi 2009, ex. 1]

¹⁰ Compare this with N²- prefixed verb constructions found in central and southern Sasak varieties and discussed in section 5.

Note that N⁴- has a further function in Kutó-kuté as a detransitiviser. Other varieties of Sasak would use the prefix *be-* which converts transitive verb roots to intransitive verb stems (*be-* is also used as a verbaliser, as discussed in section 2 above):

root	detransitivised stem	gloss
<i>dait</i>	<i>be-dait</i>	'find, meet up with'
<i>ketuan</i>	<i>be-ketuan</i>	'ask'
<i>kuih</i>	<i>be-kuih</i>	'call out to'
<i>kelining</i>	<i>be-kelining</i>	'go around'
<i>taròq</i>	<i>be-taròq</i>	'bet'

Compare the following sentences from Ngenó-ngené, where (30) is a regular transitive construction and (31) is its detransitivised counterpart taking a prepositional phrase complement:

- (30) *Terus dait=ne batur=ne uah pade uléq n-jauq kayuq*
 then meet=3 friend=3 already PL return N¹-carry wood
 'Then he met his friends, they were all already returning carrying wood' [Ng. Selong]
- (31) *Aku be-dait kance guru léq sekólah*
 1sg DETR-meet with teacher LOC school
 'I met with the teacher at school' [Ng. Selong]

The corresponding verb in Kutó-kuté is *tumpur* 'find' and there is an N⁴- prefixed verb construction corresponding to *be-dait*:

- (32) *Jaga=nya menumpur kanca kakaq-ng=ku melèmaq*
 PROJ=3 N⁴-meet with brother-LINK-1sg tomorrow
 'He will meet with my brother tomorrow' [Kt. Gangga]

These N⁴- prefixed detransitivised verbs correspond exactly to *be-* prefixed verbs in other varieties of Sasak.

5. Central and Southern Varieties of Sasak

Central and southern Lombok is occupied by speakers of Menó-mené, Menu-meni and Meriaq-meriku varieties of Sasak. As Austin (1996, 2001) notes, the structure of transitive clauses in Menó-mené and Meriaq-meriku Sasak is somewhat different from Ngenó-ngené. Here the usual word order is Agent Verb Patient for both unmarked verb and nasal prefix constructions. The following are examples of unmarked verbs (for nasal verbs see example (39)-(41) below):

- (33) *Kanak nó pancing lendòng*
 child that fish eel
 'The child is catching eels.' [Mn. Puyung]
- (34) *Aku èndèng bagéq=ò se-nggem*
 1sg request tamarind=2 one-handful
 'I ask for a handful of your tamarind.' [Mu. Ganti]

A pronominal Agent of a transitive verb can be cross-referenced by an enclitic pronoun attached to the first available host in the clause with a third person nominal Agent

expressed in a prepositional phrase as the object of *isiq*. (This host cannot be the verb in Menó-mené and Meriaq-meriku; both use modal particles or a dummy clause-initial particle if there is no available host.) A pronominal Patient is cross-referenced by an enclitic attached to the transitive verb. In some varieties of Menó-mené these clitics have the same form, while in other varieties and in Menu-meni the forms are different for persons other than the first, as in:

	Menó-mené, Praya		Menó-mené, Gontoran		Menu-meni, Ganti	
	Agent	Patient	Agent	Patient	Agent	Patient
1sg	= <i>k</i>	= <i>k</i>	= <i>k</i>	= <i>k</i>	= <i>kò</i>	= <i>kò</i>
1pl	= <i>t</i>	= <i>t</i>	= <i>t</i>	= <i>t</i>	= <i>te</i>	= <i>te</i>
2	= <i>m</i>	= <i>m</i>	= <i>è</i>	= <i>n</i>	= <i>ò</i>	= <i>kem</i>
3	= <i>n</i>	= <i>n</i>	= <i>n</i>	= <i>è</i>	= <i>ng</i>	= <i>è</i>

Consider these examples:

- (35) *Mu=n téóp kelambi nó isiq angin*
 AUX=3 blow shirt that by wind

‘The wind blew the shirt away.’ [Mn. Puyung]

- (36) *Iaq=n gitaq kanak-kanak nó isiq Herman*
 PROJ=3 see REDUP-child that by Herman

‘Herman will see the children.’ [Mn. Puyung]

- (37) *Iaq=k gitaq=m lèmaq*
 PROJ=1sg see=2 later

‘I will see you later.’ [Mn. Puyung]

In Menu-meni the unmarked verb can host both pronominal Agent and pronominal Patient in the form of portmanteau enclitic combinations, as given in the following table¹¹:

Agent	Patient		
	1sg	1pl	2
1sg			= <i>kem</i>
1pl			= <i>kem</i>
2	= <i>òkò</i>	= <i>òkò</i>	= <i>tè</i>
3	= <i>ngkò</i>	= <i>ngte</i>	= <i>ngkem</i>

An example is:

¹¹ Note that for combinations involving both first and second persons the first person number contrast is neutralized, ie. first person singular Agent acting on second person Patient is the same as first person plural Agent acting on second person Patient (both =*kem*, as shown above), and similarly for second person Agent acting on first person Patient (=òkò regardless of Patient number).

- (38) *Puter=òkè*
turn=2a>3p

‘(You) turn it’ [Mu. Ganti]

The nasal verb in these varieties is used when the Patient-like argument is non-referential. In this construction the Patient can be omitted (and can never appear as an enclitic on the nasal verb, hence example (42) is ungrammatical). Consider the following examples:

- (39) *Kanak nó jangke=n mancing lèndòng*
child that CONT=3 N¹.fish eel

‘The child is fishing for (some) eels.’ [Mn. Puyung]

- (40) *Kanak nó jangke=n mancing*
child that CONT=3 N¹.fish

‘The child is fishing.’ [Mn. Puyung]

- (41) *Ie mace*
3 N¹.read

‘He is reading (a book).’ [Mn. Puyung]

- (42) **Iaq=k mace=n*
PROJ=1sg N¹.read=3

‘I will read it.’ [Mn. Puyung]

An example from a Menó-mené Frog Story text is the following:

- (43) *Sangkaq=n jangke laló nyedi lèpang ni liq*
therefore=3 CONT go N¹.separate frog this LOC

dalem pelès
inside glass.jar

‘That’s why this frog inside the glass jar went away separating (from the boy).’
[Mn. Praya, Frog Story]

The following Meriaq-meriku Frog Story example shows a nice contrast between nasal (‘search’, ‘peek at’) and unmarked (‘find’) verbs in terms of lack or presence of a referential Patient (respectively):

- (44) *Basóng=n milu m-bójaq nidòk kun jendéle, maséh*
dog=3 accompany N¹-search N¹.peek LOC window still

èdaq dait=n, aran lèpang=n
not.exist find=3 name frog=3

‘His dog accompanied (him) searching, peeking at the window, but still he didn’t find it, his frog’ [Mr, Danek, Praya, Frog Story]

The Patient of a zero verb cannot be left unexpressed; compare examples (18) and (25) with the following:¹²

- (45) **Kanak nó jangke=n pancing*
 child that CONT=3 fish

‘The child is fishing.’ [Mn. Puyung]

Note that in central and southern Sasak, like in Ngenó-ngené, nasal verbs are never used as imperatives.

The nasal verb is not required for clause combination or extraction in Menó-Mené, Menu-meni and Meriaq-Meriku varieties; any core NP (intransitive subject, Agent-like argument of a transitive verb, or Patient-like argument of a transitive verb) can be omitted under coreference or extracted (though note in any case that since the non-agent of a nasal-verb is non-referential it cannot be coreferential with a nominal elsewhere in the clause or in a previous clause). Thus we find relative clauses such as the following (note that a nasal verb inside the relative clause would be required in the corresponding Ngenó-Ngené or Kutó-kuté construction):

- (46) *Basóng [saq _____ kókóq=k uiq] nó berelòng putéq*
 dog REL bite=1sg yesterday that tail white

‘The dog that bit me yesterday has a white tail’ [Mn. Puyung]

It is important to note that the relativised nominal cannot be represented by a clitic within the relative clause. The same facts hold for content question formation. Consider the following Menu-meni example where the Agent of an unmarked transitive verb is questioned – this would be ungrammatical in eastern varieties of Sasak:

- (47) *Kale=ng siq sakit=ng sai baé tólóng=è*
 at.time=3 REL sick=3 who only help=3p
 ‘At the time he was sick who helped him?’ (Mu. Ganti)

In Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku Sasak the passive is required whenever a third person Agent acts on a first or second person Patient, as in:

¹² Arka (2009:248) erroneously claims that in “the Puyung variety of Sasak ... nasal verbs (*meli*, *mancing*) and the bare verbs (*beli*, *pancing*) are intersubstitutable. This indicates that, unlike Balinese ... Sasak shows no functional opposition of the N- and 0- prefixes in this context.

- (1) *Amir beli/meli buku jari Tono* (Puyung Sasak)
 Amir buy/N.buy book for Tono

‘Amir bought a book for Tono’

- (2) *Kanak=nó jangke=n pancing / mancing mpaq*
 child=that PRES=3 catch N.catch fish

‘The child is catching fish’ (Austin 2001, ex. 33)”

In fact close inspection of the data and checking with native speakers reveals that in the nasal verb construction the Patient must be interpreted as non-specific, so there is a difference in translation here: *meli buku* means ‘bought (some) books’ while *beli buku* means ‘bought a book’ (and the same for example (2) ‘catch fish’ versus ‘catch a fish’). There is a functional contrast but it has to do with referentiality, not voice (AV vs. UV in Arka’s terms). For Menu-meni examples, see below.

- (48) *Mu=k te-gitaq isiq Ali*
 PFV=1sg PASS-see by Ali
 ‘I was seen by Ali’ [Mn. Puyung]
- (49) **Mu=n gitaq=k isiq Ali*
 PFV=3 see=1sg by Ali
 ‘Ali saw me’ [Mn. Puyung]

Menu-Meni, spoken in Ganti, Tebao and neighbouring villages in south-central Lombok, shows a number of similarities to Menó-mené and Meriaq-meriku, but it also exhibits some differences from the data discussed so far. As for Menó-mené, two participant verbs in the nasal form can take a Patient-like argument, and it must not be referential, as the following examples from Sutarman (2010) illustrate (note the use of the non-nasal verbs with referential Patient-like arguments in the second clause of each example):

- (50) *Aku ng-utang kèpèng léq saiq=kò siq bayah tangkòng*
 1sg N¹-owe money LOC aunt=1sg in.order.to pay shirt
 ‘I owe some money to my aunt to pay for the shirt’ [Mu. Tebao, Sutarman 2010]
- (51) *Amaq=kò ng-upaq-ang ntan tambah bangket=ng*
 father=1sg N¹-pay-APPL way hoe rice.field=3
 ‘My father pays (someone) to hoe his rice field’ [Mu. Tebao, Sutarman 2010]

The following text example from my Ganti Menu-meni corpus illustrates the contrast clearly:

- (52) *Pacu pade miléq, Sigar Penyalin piléq Sasih,*
 true plural N¹.select Sigar Penyalin select Sasih

Kambi Muter piléq Ketir
 Kambi Muter select Ketir
 ‘They chose, Sigar Penyalin chose Sasih, Kambi Muter chose Ketir’ [Mu. Ganti]

Note that like in all other varieties of Sasak, the nasal form can never be used as an imperative.

4. Conclusions

A close study of Sasak reveals the existence of four nasal verb constructions, and wide morphosyntactic differences between varieties spoken throughout the island. All Sasak varieties use a nasal prefix (which we have labeled N¹-) to derive intransitive verbs from some nouns. Kutó-kuté makes the most use of this derivation, including for expressions that the other varieties of Sasak mark with the inchoative *be-* prefix. In eastern Sasak varieties, N¹- occurs with transitive verbs and has a syntactic function similar to that described for Balinese by Arka (1998, 2003, 2009) and others. The N²- derivation is used for contrastive predicate focus, while the N³- derivation encodes durative action with a non-specific Patient-like argument. In northern Sasak we again find N¹- with syntactic import, and a separate nasal form N⁴- which is however like N³- in that it marks non-specific Patients. For some sub-varieties of Kuó-kuté the resulting construction is detransitivised, while in others a non-referential NP can be included. Additionally, N⁴- forms in Kutó-kuté Sasak correspond to *be-* prefixed detransitivised

verbs in all other Sasak varieties. In contrast, in central and southern Sasak only N^1 - is found. It indicates non-specific Patient-like arguments and has no role to play in meeting syntactic ‘pivot’ constraints on question formation and cross-clausal linkage, unlike other Sasak varieties and Balinese. The following table summarises the situation for verbs across Sasak:

Variety	N^1 -	N^2 -	N^3 -/ N^4 -	<i>be</i> -
eastern Sasak	2-arguments syntactically relevant	predicate focus	ongoing activity non-referential Patient	detransitiviser
northern Sasak	2-arguments syntactically relevant		ongoing activity non-referential Patient	N^4 -
central and southern Sasak	1-argument not syntactically relevant			detransitiviser

There are several other varieties of Sasak, especially sub-dialects of Kutó-kutó and Nggetó-nggeté, which have been little studied to date and for which only fragmentary data are available. Further research on these varieties is needed to determine the fullest picture of Sasak morphosyntax.

Abbreviations

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.

1sg	first person singular	IMP	imperative
1pl	first person plural	LINK	linking suffix
1ple	first person plural exclusive	LOC	locative preposition
2	second person	NEG	negative
2a	second person agent	NMLZ	nominaliser
3	third person	PASS	passive
3p	third person patient	pl	plural
APPL	applicative	PFV	perfective aspect
ART	article	PROJ	projective mood (see Austin 2011).

AUX	auxiliary	REDUP	reduplication
CONT	continuous aspect	REL	relativiser
DETR	detransitiviser		

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