Information structure and information status in the Sumbawa language of Indonesia

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This paper provides preliminary observations about the coding of information structure in Sumbawa. The first part presents a survey of the linguistic devices available to Sumbawa speakers to code the pragmatic status of a discourse referent (e.g., a free or bound pronoun, a demonstrative, phonological incorporation of a noun); the second part examines devices for coding pragmatic relations such as topic and focus (e.g., word order, cleft sentences, and a focus-indicating clitic).

1. Introduction

Sumbawa is a language spoken in the western part of Sumbawa Island in Indonesia. According to Adelaar (2005), Sumbawa belongs to the Malayo-Sumbawan subgroup, a (western) member of the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family.

Figure 1: The area in which Sumbawa and neighboring languages are spoken.

Within the Sumbawa language region, Mahsun (1999) distinguishes four main dialects on the basis of comparison of basic vocabulary (Figure 2):
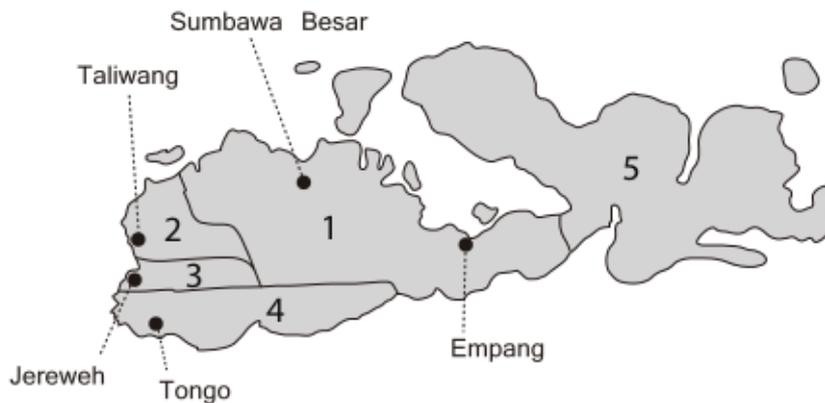
Figure 2: The distribution of the Sumbawa language and its dialects[1] (based on Mahsun [1999]).

   1. Sumbawa Besar dialect, which is widely spoken in Central Sumbawa and also functions as a lingua franca for speakers of different dialects throughout the Sumbawa-speaking region.

   2. Taliwang dialect, spoken near Taliwan in the northwestern part of West Sumbawa.

   3. Jereweh dialect, spoken near Jereweh in the central-eastern part of West Sumbawa.

   4. Tongo dialect, spoken near Tongo in the southern part of West Sumbawa.

This paper provides a survey of the information structure of the Sumbawa Besar dialect.[2]

2. Sentence structure in Sumbawa

2.1 Constituent order

The only obligatory constituent of a clause in Sumbawa is the predicate. NP(s), PP(s), or adverbial clause(s) may co-occur with the predicate. A canonical Sumbawa clause is predicate initial. A single core constituent covering the intransitive clause (S) as well as the transitive undergoer constituent occurs in the form of an unmarked NP; the transitive actor constituent, however, occurs in the form of a PP introduced by the preposition *ling* 'by'.

(1)   *ka=ku-tunóng*   *aku.*
       PST=1SG-sleep   1SG
       'I slept.'

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[1] Number 5 on the map indicates the Bima-speaking community in East Sumbawa.
[2] See Shiohara (2012) for more details on the status of this dialect.

(2) *ka=ku-inóm*   *kawa*   *nan*   *ling*   *aku.*
    PST=1SG-drink   coffee   that   by   1SG
    'I drank the coffee.'

As a deviation from canonical word order, one NP only may occur before the predicate. Examples (3) and (4) denote the same proposition as (2) but show a fronted NP. In (3), the undergoer NP is fronted, while in (4), the actor NP is fronted.

(3) ***kawa=nan***   *ku-inóm*   *ling* *aku.*
    coffee=that   1SG-drink by   1SG
    'As for the coffee, I drink it.'

(4) ***aku***   *(ku-)inóm kawa=nan.*
    1SG   1SG-drink coffee=that
    'I drink the coffee.'

The actor NP, which occurs with *ling* in canonical post-predicate position, as in (2) and (3), appears without any preposition when fronted, as in (4). A PP with the preposition *ling* may not appear in clause-initial position. Thus, example (5) is ungrammatical.

(5) **ling*   *aku*   *ku-inóm*   *kawa*   *nan.*
    by   1SG   1SG-wait coffee that
    (intended meaning) 'I drink the coffee.'

2.2 Pronominal prefix

When a dynamic verb is the predicate head, a pronominal prefix indicating the grammatical person of the subject will normally occur. (Its occurrence with a stative verb is optional.) When a transitive verb is the predicate head, either the first-, second-, or third-person prefix occurs within the predicate, corresponding to the person of the actor. When an intransitive verb is the predicate head, in contrast, either the first- or the second-person prefix occurs, indicating the person of the single core argument; the third person is not marked. The subject prefix may show cross-reference to an NP or PP that occurs at the outside of the predicate. For details of the conditions in which person markers occur, see Shiohara 2012: 149.)

(6) *ka=**ku**-inóm*   *kawa*   *nan* *ling* ***aku***.
    PST=1SG=drink   coffee   that by   1SG
    'I drank the coffee.'

(7) *ka=**mu**-inóm*   *kawa*   *nan* *ling* ***kau***.
    PST=2SG =drink   coffee   that by   2SG
    'You drank the coffee.'

(8) *ka=**ya**-inóm*   *kawa=nan*   *ling* ***nya***.
    PST=3=drink   coffee=that   by   3
    'He/She/They drank the coffee.'

(9) *ka=ku-tunóng*   *aku.*
     PST=1SG-sleep   1SG
     'I slept.'

(10) *ka=mu-tunóng*   *kau.*
      PST=2SG-sleep   2SG
      'You slept.'

(11) *ka= ϕ -tunóng*   *nya.*
      PST= ϕ -sleep   3
      'He, she or they slept.'

(12) **ka=ya-tunóng*   *nya.*
      PST=3-sleep   3
      (intended meaning) 'He, she or they slept.'

3. Information status in Sumbawa

3.2. Coding of information status in general

In Sumbawa, a new entity is expressed by an unmarked form of a lexical NP, while a given entity is marked by a pronominal subject prefix, a free pronoun, a lexical noun with demonstrative, or a demonstrative pronoun. It almost always occur in the post-predicate position, a canonical position in which a complement of the predicate occcurs.

Next, I will give some examples from Sumbawa folktales to demonstrate how discourse referents are expressed.

Sentence (13) is the beginning of a folktale titled *Si Mina* 'Mis.Mina'. The main character, a girl called Mina, is first introduced as a complement of the verb *ada* 'exist' in the form of an unmarked lexical NP in clause (a), then expressed by a lexical NP with the demonstrative *ta* 'this' in (c), and then expressed by a third-person pronoun *nya* in (d). Other new entities such as *gutu* 'louse', and *lisa* 'louse egg are introduced by a post-predicate NP in the form of an unmarked lexical NP .

(13)

  (a) ***ada tódé*** *umir lima-tin   soai, basingin   Mina.*
       exist child age   five-year female   named   Mina
       'There is a child of five years old, (she is) a girl named Mina.'

  (b) *runtung   ano ya-kelek   ling ina   ya=buya   gutu.*
       every   day 3-call   by   mother   FUT=look.for   louse
       'Everyday her mother calls her in order to look for lice (in her hair).'

  (c) *sebab   peno gutu **tódé ta**   peno gutu peno lisa.*
       because   many louse child this   many louse many louse egg
       'Because the child has many lice (in her hair), many lice, many louse

eggs.'

(d) *tapi **nya** no roa karna ya=parasa pedas.*
but 3 NEG like because FUT=feel hurt
'But she is not willing to (have her mother do that), because it would hurt.'

Here, the status of the NP *ina* 'mother' in (b) should be discussed. This term refers to Mina's mother. She is introduced in (b) for the first time, but she can easily be related to Mina, and in that sense the referent is not totally new. This type of NP, which would be marked by a personal pronoun, a demonstrative, or a definite particle of associative use in English, is normally not marked in Sumbawa.

A given entity may also be expressed by a pronominal prefix. Consider example (10). This is the beginning of another folktale titled 'A Man Called Pomponge'. The main character, Pomponge, is introduced in the first clause, and then expressed by the bound third-person pronoun *ya*.

(14) *ada sopo **tau**, Pomponge singin, pasang kodong*
exist one person Pomponge name put trap

ling tenga rau, kena menterene
at middle river damaged white ants

***ya**-bawa mo kodong nan,*
3-bring AMC trap that

***ya**-sangaro lako tau patik ajam*
3-leave to person keep chicken
'There is a man, (his) name is Pomponge, (he) set a trap (a snare to get fish) in the middle of a river, (but the trap) was eaten by white ants. He brought the trap, and he left it with the people who raised chickens.' (Jonker [1900: 222])

3.2. Information status of the undergoer in a transitive construction

Sumbawa has two morphosyntactic devices for intransitivization, namely a nasal construction and incorporation of the undergoer NP to the predicate. Both intransitivization devices are used when the undergoer is not referential.

3.2.1 Nasal construction

This construction consists of a nasal prefixed to a transitive verb in the predicate. The nasal prefix (/N/-) is realized in different ways depending on the number of syllables in the word and the first sound of the base, but we can basically understand it to occur as a nasalization of the initial sound.[3]

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[3] The following realizations occur:
   When the base is a monosyllable, *nge-* is prefixed to it, that is, /N/- + *jét* becomes *nge-jét* 'to sew'.
   When the base has more than one syllable, /N/- becomes:
      ng- before a vowel, that is, /N/- + inóm becomes ng-inóm 'to drink';
      me- before initial /l/ or /r/, that is, /N/- + lòkèk becomes me-lòkèk 'to peel';
      a palatal nasal /ɲ/ substituting for initial s;

This nasal construction is an intransitive construction that only co-occurs with an actor NP realized as S. Compare example (15) to example (16).

Example (15) is an example of the nasal construction based on the verb *nginóm* (← /N/- + *inóm*), the nasal-prefixed form of the transitive verb *inóm* 'drink'. In this construction, the constituent expressing the actor occurs in the form of an unmarked NP.

(15) *ka=ku-nginóm   aku.*
    PST=1SG-drink   1SG

    'I drink (something).'

(16) *ka=ku-inóm   kawa   nan   ling   aku.*
    PST=1SG-drink   coffee   that   by   1SG

    'I drank the coffee.'

The verb *nginóm* may not occur with a constituent expressing the undergoer. That is, a sentence like (17) is not grammatical.

(17) **ku-nginóm   kawa   (nan)*
    1SG-drink   coffee   (that)

    (intended meaning) 'I will drink (the) coffee.'

The nasal construction is used when the undergoer is indefinite. Below, (18) is an example from a folktale.

(18)   (The response of a mother to her children asking for food.)

  (a) *aò'   anak   é,   ta   muntu   ku-nepé.*
       yes   child INTERJ this   PROG   1SG=winnow

  (b) *ka   mò   suda   ku-tujà   padé   ta.*
       PST   MM   finish 1SG=polish   rice plant=this

  (c) *ta   muntu   ku=tepé (*nepé).*
       this   PROG   1SG=winnow

    (a) 'All right, my children, I am now separating rice from its husk.'

       a homorganic nasal substituting for other initial consonants:
e.g.: /N/- + *kali*   →   *ngali* 'to dig'
     /N/- + *gambar*   →   *ngambar* 'to draw (a picture)'
     /N/- + *turit*   →   *nurit* 'to follow'
     /N/- + *còba*   →   *nyòba* 'to try'
     /N/- + *sólé'*   →   *nyólé'* 'borrow'

(b) 'I have pounded the rice.'

(c) 'Now I am separating the rice from its husk.'

In all the clauses of (a)–(c), the patient of the action is *padé* (rice). In both (a) and (c), the action of winnowing (separating the rice from the husk) is expressed: in (a), by the nasal construction with the nasal prefixed verb *nepé*, and in (c) by the basic construction with the unmarked transitive verb *tepé*. According to my Sumbawa-speaking consultant, the nasal prefixed verb *nepé* cannot be used in (c), apparently because the patient of the action has already been expressed in the previous clause (b) and is clearly definite.

The construction is typically used when the patient is not referential. Sentence (13) is a typical example. It may be used by a member of a fishing party who would like to know how the others are faring.

(19) *sai   adè   ka=numpaṅ?*
     who   NMLZ   PST=get

     'Who has already had a catch?'

If the speaker is talking about a specific fish, a transitive construction is used.

(20) *sai   adè   ka=tumpan'   jangan=ta.*
     who   NMLZ   PST=get   fish=this.

     'Who caught this fish?'

3.2.2 Incorporation of the undergoer NP

Incorporation of the undergoer NP occurs obligatorily when the undergoer is not referential. This phenomenon is accompanied by phonological and syntactic changes. In Sumbawa, word stress normally occurs on the last syllable of each word. In an ordinary transitive clause, the verb and the undergoer NP each have their own stress.

In (21) (also occurring as (6) above), stress falls on the last syllable of both *inóm* 'to drink' and the undergoer NP *kawa=nan* 'coffee'. (The demonstrative *nan* normally forms a phonological unit with the head noun.) In the two sentences below, stressed syllables are underlined.

(21) *ka=ku-inóm   kawa=nan   ling   aku.*
     PST=1SG=drink   coffee=that by   1SG

     'I drank the coffee.'

In contrast, when incorporation occurs, the stress falls on the final syllable of the incorporated noun. Incorporation is shown in (22); here, stress falls on the last syllable of the word *kawa* 'coffee'.

(22) *ka=ku=inóm=kawa   aku*
     PST=1SG=drink=coffee   1SG

     "I drank coffee."

This incorporated construction is an intransitive construction, as the actor NP occurs in a morphologically unmarked form, that is, the same form as S in an intransitive clause.

4. Information relations in Sumbawa

4.1. Topic

In this section, I will adopt the definition of "topic" suggested by Lambrecht (1994: 118). According to Lambrecht, the topic of a sentence is "the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about." Lambrecht (1994: 186–187) further distinguishes two types of topic expression: reference-oriented expressions and role-oriented expressions.

	reference-oriented expression ("topic-announcing NP")	role-oriented expression
Function	To establish the topic referent in the discourse by naming it	To indicate the role of the topic a an argument in a proposition
Semantic role	often not marked	marked
Form and behavior	can occur at a certain distance (can be detached) from the clause expressing the proposition about its referent (e.g., left-dislocation)	necessarily a constituent of the clause
	NP	Unaccented pronoun, often not a noun phrase but a bound morpheme that is morphosyntactically integrated into the predicate portion of a sentence

See Lambrecht (1991: 117-118) and Krifka et al. (2006: 31) on how this distinction has been discussed in the literature. What Lambrecht calls the "reference-oriented topic expression" roughly corresponds to what Krifka et al. (2006: 31) call "frame-setting."

With the above distinction in mind, let us look at how topic is coded in Sumbawa. A general outline of topic coding in Sumbawa is as follows.

1. A fronted NP, as mentioned in 2.1, corresponds to a reference-oriented expression, functioning as a topic-announcing; it is detached from the clause expressing a proposition about its referent, and does not indicate its semantic role.
2. An NP in post-predicate (canonical) position and a pronominal prefix indicating the subject correspond to role-oriented expressions. They both

clearly indicate their semantic role, and as discussed in 2.2, the pronominal prefix is morphosyntactically integrated into the predicate.

Consider example (22). It is based on the first two pictures from the comic strip shown in Figure 3; the consultant created the sentences to fulfill my request that he explain the story depicted here in Sumbawa. Before he started the explanation, we named the two main characters "Ali" and "Mèk." It can thus be assumed that the two referents have already been introduced before the actual discourse starts.
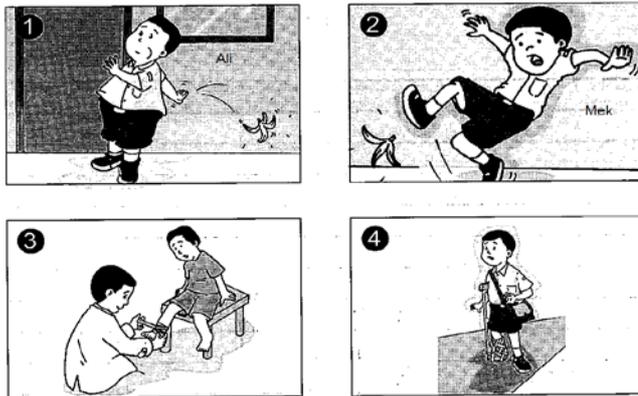

Figure 3: Banana accident.

The first picture depicts an action of Ali's, and the second picture depicts what happened to Mèk because of Ali's deed. Thus, we can say that the topic of the first picture is Mèk and that of the second picture is Mèk.

The first topic, Ali, is introduced by a fronted NP in (a) and then expressed by a subject prefix (*ya-*) '3' and post-predicate NP (*léng Ali*) in (b).

The second topic, Mèk, first occurs in the discourse by a post-predicate NP in (b), then a fronted NP in (c), then, again, expressed by a post-predicate NP in (d), and then post-predicate pronoun in (e).

(22)

(a) *Pang sekola*   ***nya=Ali***   *bolang*   *lukét punti*
at   school   TITLE=Ali throw.away skin   banana

pang bao   lante teras.
at   above   floor terrace
'In school, Ali threw away a banana peel onto the floor of the terrace.'

(b) *nopoka*   *lè*   ***ya=****bolang lukét punti **léng Ali**,*
not yet   long 3=throw.away   skin banana   by   Ali

*balangan   mo   **nya=Mèk**.*
walk   MM   TITLE=Mèk
'Soon after Ali threw away a banana peel, Mèk came walking.'

(c) **nya=Mèk=ta**   nongka   ya=gita   lukét punti=nan.
    TITLE=Mèk=this NEG   IRR=see   skin   banana=that
    'Mèk did not see the banana peel.'

(d) teris ka=kena   rék **léng nya=Mèk**,
    then PST=affected   step by   TITLE=Mek
    'And (Mèk) stepped on it.'

(e) kaléng   teri   kasosar **nya**, dunóng   otak.
    then   fall.down slip   3   before   head
    'Then, he fell down headfirst.'

In both clauses, we can say that a fronted NP plays the function of announcing that its referent is a topic, that is, it functions as a reference-oriented expression. Once the topic relation is announced, it is expressed by a post-predicate NP that functions as a role-oriented expression, indicating the role of the topic as an argument in a proposition.

According to my intuition on the basis of the narrative data, the fronted NP occurs when the topic changes, as in (23), or in order to show the contrast of two referents, as in (24).

Let us consider example (23). This is an extract from a folktale titled *Tutir Pomponge* 'The Story of Pomponge'. Two characters, Pomponge and a girl, appear in this scene. Only one fronted NP occurs throughout the example, namely, when the topic changes from Pomponge to the girl.

In (23), Pomponge and the girl are walking together. The first three clauses, (a)–(c) describe Pomponge's acts; then, after Pomponge leaves the scene in (c), the speaker starts talking about the girl in (d), in which she is expressed by a fronted NP. (Once the girl has been established as the topic, she is expressed by a post-predicate NP or a pronominal prefix in the following three clauses in (e) and (f).)

(23) a. ***ya-*lemar *ling nè Pomponge,*** *balangan* *mo* ***ya-*bawa.**
      3-lift   by   TITLE Pomponge, walk   amp   3-bring

    b. *dapat* *ola* *maning-tian* ***nè*** ***Pomponge...***
       arrive road go.to.toilet   TITLE Pomponge

    c. *rapina* ***nè*** ***Pomponge*** *lako* *do.*
       move   TITLE Pomponge to   far

    d. *dadi* ***tau-dadara*** *nan* *ita* *ya-pina* *batu,*
       then girl   that said 3-move   stone

    e. ***ya-*sanadi** *dua* *bosang,* ***ya-*angkat** *sama berat.*
       3-make   two   basket   3-lift   same weight

    f. *barari* ***tau-dadara*** *mule.*
       run   girl   go.home

       'Pomponge lifted (the girl) and started walking bringing (her). On the way, Mr. Pomponge went to the toilet …. Mr. Pomponge moved a bit further away. Then **the girl** moved the stones and filled two baskets with them. When she lifted them they were equally heavy. The girl went home quickly.'

Next, let us consider example (24). This is an extract from a story called *Tutir Salam* 'The Story of Salam'. At this point in the story, the action of the main character Salam, introduced by a post-predicate NP, is contrasted to that of his friend. Here, the fronted NPs express the two contrasted referents.

(24) *Balangan* *mo* *Salam* *lalo* *ngadji*
     Walk   amp   Salam   go.to school

     Dengan *rame* *ngadji,*
     friend   all   recite.the.Koran

     Salam *kakan* *baso.*
     Salam   eat   corn
     'Salam went to school; while his companions were all reciting, Salam was eating maize'.

In Sumbawa, a topic is often unexpressed when its referent and semantic role are already clear from previous utterances or general knowledge. Consider example (13), given above in section 3.2 and again here as (25). Mina, the main character of this story, is the topic of this part of the discourse. She is first introduced in (a), and then semantically plays a patient role in (b), where her mother calls **her** everyday to pick louse eggs from her hair, but no expression meaning 'her' appears in (b).

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(25) (=(13))

(a) **ada tódé** umir lima-tin   soai, basingin   Mina.[4]
    exist child age five-year   female   named   Mina
    'There is a child of five years old, (she is) a girl named Mina.'

(b) *runtung   ano ya-kelek   ϕ   ling ina   ya=buya   gutu.*
    every   day 3-call   by   mother   FUT=look.for   louse
    'Every day her mother calls her in order to look for lice (in her hair).'

(c) *sebab   peno gutu **tódé ta**   peno gutu peno lisa.*
    because   many louse child this   many louse many louse egg
    'Because the child has many lice (in her hair), many lice, many louse eggs.'

(d) *tapi **nya** no   roa   karna   ya=parasa pedas.*
    but   3   NEG like because   FUT=feel   hurt
    'But she is not willing to (have her mother do that), because she would feel hurt.'

According to my preliminary research, if multiple clauses share a topic and the semantic role of that topic stays the same, it is normally not expressed. Example (24) was elicited from my consultant as a translation of an Indonesian sentence corresponding to 'Ali came, drank tea, ate cake, and then went home'. The topic 'Ali' is introduced by the first clause and continues to be the topic in the following three clauses, but is not explicitly expressed in them.

(26)

(a) *ka=datang nya=Ali,*   (ϕ) *inum=te,*   *kakan=tepong*
    PST=come   title=Ali   drink=tea   eat=cake

(b) *suda nan* (ϕ) *molé*
    finish that   go.home
    'Ali came, drank tea, ate cake, and then went home.'

Example (27) is similarly elicited, as a translation of Indonesian sentences corresponding to "I bought bananas, and then we peeled and sliced them. After that we fried them, and then we ate them." The topic *punti* 'bananas' is introduced to the discourse by the first clause. They continue to be the topic in the following four clauses, but are not explicitly expressed there.

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[4] In (25)(=(13)), the topic *Mina* is introduced by the verb *ada* 'exist' in (a), at the beginning of the story. In Sumbawa folktales, and as often observed across languages, the existential construction in this position plays the function of naming a topic in the following discourse and most often throughout the story; it does not need to be announced as a topic again, and often occurs as a post-predicate NP, as seen in (c).

(27)

(a) *ka=kaji-beli*   *punti,*   *teris*   *ka=tu=lokek*   φ ,   *tu=loat* φ .

PST=1SG.HON   banana   then   PST=1PL=peel,   1PL=slice

(b) *suda nan*   *teris*   *ka=tu=seru*   φ

finish   that   go.home

(c) *karing*   *tu=kakan*   φ .

finish that   1PL=eat

'I bought bananas, and then we peeled and sliced them. After that we fried them, and then we ate them.'

4.2. Focus

In this section, I will adopt the following definition of "focus" from Lambrecht (1994: 207):

> Within the framework developed here, the focus of a sentence, or, more precisely, the focus of the proposition expressed by a sentence in a given utterance context, is seen as the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion DIFFER from each other. The focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the UNPREDICTABLE or pragmatically NON-RECOVERABLE element in an utterance. The focus is what makes an utterance into an assertion.

On this foundation, Lambrecht (1994: 207) distinguishes the types of focus structure. The first type is the predicate-focus structure. It occurs as an answer to questions like "What happened to your car?" as in (26):

(28) What happened to your car?

    a. My car/It broke DOWN.

    b. *(Kuruma wa) KOSHOO-shi-ta.*

The second type is the argument-focus structure. Lambrecht gives the following conversation as an example of this type. Here, the argument 'my car' is the sentence focus in the answer.

(29) I heard your motorcycle broke down?

    a. My CAR broke down

    b. *KURUMA ga koshoo-shita.*

The third type is the sentence-focus structure. Lambrecht gives the following conversation as an example of this type. It occurs as an answer to the question like "What happened?"

(30) What happened?

    a. My CAR broke down.

    b. *Kuruma ga KOSHOO-shi-ta.*

If Lambrecht's observation is correct, in English, the three types all occur in a canonical sentence type (SV) with the only variation being in accentuation.

Next, we will examine how these three types of focus structure occur in Sumbawa.

Among the three types, predicate-focus and sentence-focus structures in Sumbawa are coded by canonical (predicate-initial) word order. The two types are, however, distinguished by accentuation.

Example (31) depicts a predicate-focus structure. Here, the stress occurs in the predicate.

(31) a. [*apa*]_{FOC}   *de*   *ka=ya-boat*   *ling*   *nya*   *saperap*?

what   REL   PST=3-work   by   3   yesterday?

'What did he do yesterday?'

   b. [*ka=BAGABA*]_{FOC} *pang uma saperap*   (*nya*).

pst=thresh   at   ricefield   yesterday   3

'(He) [threshed]_{FOC} the ricefield yesterday.'

Example (32) (b–d) presents a predicate-focus structure. Here, the stress occurs in the sentence-final constituent.

(32) a. *kakuda   enta ita*?

past=how   here a while ago

'What happened here a while ago?'

   b. [*ada tau   KABASENGAL*]_{FOC}.

exist person   past=fight

'There are some people fighting.'

   c. [*ka=ya-soro   PIPIS*]_{FOC}.

pst=3-steal   money

'Money was stolen.'

   d. [*datang   PRESIDEN*]_{FOC}.

come   president

'The president came.'

When the referent of an argument is the focus, the construction exhibits variations depending on the semantic role of the argument. When the argument is an agent, a cleft sentence is obligatory in both the question and the answer; a cleft sentence in

Sumbawa is an equative sentence in which one argument is a focal constituent and the other is a headless relative clause with the relativizer *ade* or its reduced form *de*.

Example (33) presents transitive clauses in which the focal argument is the actor. Here, a cleft sentence is used; the focal NP occurs as the clause-initial predicate, and the other part of the clause may be omitted in the answer.

(33) [*Sai*]_{FOC}   *de*   *ka=beli*   *lamong*   *nan*?

Who   REL   PST=buy   clothes   that

'Who bought the clothes?'

[*kaji*   *si*]_{FOC} (*de*   *ka=beli*   *lamong*   *ita*   *nan*).

1SG.HON   TMP   REL   PST=buy   clothes   said   that

'I bought the clothes.' (lit. 'It is I who bought the clothes.')

Sentence (34) is an example of an intransitive clause. Here, the focal argument is the sole argument of the intransitive clause and its semantic role is that of agent. In this case, a cleft sentence is used; the agent NP occurs clause initially.

(34) [*sai*]_{FOC}   *de*   *tokal*   *pang rumah-makan*   *ana*?

Who   REL   sit.down   at   restaurant   over.there

"Who is sitting at the restaurant over there?"

[*Nya Amin*   *si*]_{FOC} (*de*   *katokal*   *pang rumah-makan*   *ana*)

TITLE Amin   TMP   REL   sit.down   at   restaurant   over.there

"Nya Amin is sitting at the restaurant over there."

Example (35) includes transitive clauses in which the focal argument is the undergoer. Here, a cleft sentence is used in the question; the question word for undergoer, *apa* 'what', occurs clause initially, in the answer sentence; however, a canonical verb-initial clause is used, and the focal NP occurs as a post-predicate argument.

(35) [*apa*]_{FOC}   *de*   *ka=beli*?

what   REL   PST=buy

   ka=beli   [*cabe*   *ke*   *bawang*]_{FOC}   *tone.*

   PST=buy   pepper   and   onion   a little while ago

A similar pattern is observed when the semantic role of a single argument is that of patient. See example (36): the question occurs in a cleft sentence, in which the focal NP occurs in clause-initial position while the answer occurs in a canonical verb-initial sentence.

(36) *apa*   *de*   *ka=motong*   *nta*   *ita*?

   What   REL   PST=burn   here   before

'What was burned here before?'

ka=motong   bale   nya.

PST=burn   house   3

'His house was burned.'

In example (37), the focal argument indicates the direction of the movement. A similar pattern to examples (35) and (36) is observed.

(37) *me   ya=lako   nya   nawar*?

which   FUT=go   3   tomorrow

'Where will he go tomorrow?'

ya=lalo   ko   Uma.

FUT=go   to   rice field.

'He will go to the ricefield.'

When the referent of an adjunct (location or time) is the focus of the proposition, the term expressing it occurs in clause-initial position.

(38) *me   pang ka=sia-mangan.*

which   place PST=2SG.hon-eat

'Where did you (hon) eat?'

nta   si

here   AMP

'I ate here.'

(39) *pidan   ya=lalo   ko   Bali*?

when FUT=go   to   Bali

'When will you go to Bali?'

bulan   Nopenber po

month   November AMP

'(I will go there) in November.'

From what we have seen so far, Sumbawa has a strong tendency for focal expressions to occur clause initially, but there are some exceptions: namely, when the semantic role of the argument is that of patient or direction and the clause is not interrogative, the argument occurs after the predicate.

As seen in the examples above, the particle *si* often occurs after the focal constituent. Its occurrence is obligatory when the focal constituent stands alone in the clause.

Sumbawa has two other particles that play a similar role to *si*, namely, *mo* and *po*. Either of these may replace *si*, according to the modality (in the broader sense of that term) expressed. The exact semantic function of each particle will be clarified by further research.

4. Conclusion

This paper provides preliminary observations about the coding of information structure in Sumbawa.

- Information status of a discourse referent
  - In Sumbawa, a new entity is expressed by an unmarked form of a lexical NP, while a given entity tends to be marked by a pronominal subject prefix, a free pronoun, a lexical noun with a demonstrative, or a demonstrative pronoun.
  - A given entity is normally marked by a demonstrative or personal pronoun. A referent that can be related to this given entity by general knowledge, however, occurs in an unmarked form.
- Information relations (topic relations)
  - Among the two types of topic expression, namely reference-oriented and role-oriented expressions, the former are often (but not always) expressed by a fronted NP, while the latter are normally expressed by a post-predicate NP or a pronominal prefix.
  - A topic is often left unexpressed when its referent and semantic role are already clear from previous utterances or general knowledge.
- Information relations (focus relations)
  - Of the three types of focus described by Lambrecht (1994: 207), the predicate-focus structure and the sentence-focus structure are expressed by a canonical predicate-initial clause, while the argument-focus structure is expressed by a cleft sentence in which the focal constituent occurs in the clause-initial position; the exception is an argument-focus structure in which the focus referent has a patientive or directional semantic role and the sentence is not interrogative.
  - From the conclusions given above, we can say that Sumbawa has a strong tendency for focal expressions to occur clause initially.

Abbreviations

AMP	mood aspect particle	PST	past
EXCL	exclusive	REL	relativizer
FUT	future	SG	singular
INTERJ	interjection	TITLE	particle introducing a personal name
NEG	negator	1.2.3..	The first-, second-, and third- person
PL	plural		

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