Multi-CAST

Sumbawa annotation notes

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Citation for this document

Shiohara, Asako. 2022. Multi-CAST Sumbawa annotation notes. In Haig, Geoffrey & Schnell, Stefan (eds.), *Multi-CAST: Multilingual corpus of annotated spoken texts.* (multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/#sumbawa) (date accessed)

Citation for the Multi-CAST collection

Haig, Geoffrey & Schnell, Stefan (eds.). 2015. *Multi-CAST: Multilingual corpus of annotated spoken texts.* (multicast.aspra.uni-bamberg.de/) (date accessed)

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Multi-CAST Sumbawa annotation notes v1.0 last updated 8 November 2022 This document was typeset by NNS with X_TLAT_TX and the multicast3 class (v3.2.6).

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1 Notes on the GRAID annotations

This document contains notes on the implementation of the GRAID (Haig & Schnell 2014) and RefIND (Schiborr et al. 2018) annotation conventions in the Multi-CAST Sumbawa corpus. It corresponds to version 2211 of the annotations, published in November 2022. Unless a more recent version of this document exists, it also applies to any later versions of the annotations.

1.1 Introduction

Sumbawa (indigenous designation: Samawa) is a Western Austronesian language spoken in the Western part of Sumbawa Island, Indonesia. Administratively, the area belongs to two districts, namely Sumbawa district (*Kabupaten Sumbawa*) and West Sumbawa district (*Kabupaten Sumbawa Barat*), in the province of West Nusa Tenggara (*Nusa Tenggara Barat*). Sumbawa belongs to the Bali-Sasak-Sumbawa subgroup of the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Adelaar 2005; Mbete 1990). Among the several dialects of Sumbawa language, the dialect spoken in the texts in this corpus is classified as the Sumbawa Besar dialect, which is distributed in a large area of the western part of the Sumbawa-spoken area (Mahsun 1999).

The transcriptions used for this corpus are largely identical to the IPA, which only the following symbols being different: e [ə], \dot{e} [ɛ], e [é], o [ɔ], \dot{o} [o], ny [ɲ], and ng [ŋ]. These follow the orthography and convention of Indonesian, except \dot{e} [ɛ] and \dot{o} [o], which do not appear in Indonesian. Some lexemes have heavy stress, the presence or absence of which is involved in phonemic distinction. Such stress is indicated by an apostrophe [']; compare $t\dot{o}$ 'know' and $t\dot{o}$ ' 'now'.

1.2 Referential expressions

1.2.1 Pronouns

Sumbawa has both free and bound person markers. The third person clitic occurs only with a transitive verb. Table 1 shows the forms of the person markers. The bound clitic tu= sometimes refers to general referent.

	free pronoun	clitic pronoun
1sg	aku	ku
1PL.INCL	kita	tu
1PL.EXCL	kami	tu
2sg	kau	mu
2 _{PL}	nènè	nènè
3	nya	ya

Table 1 Free and clitic pronouns in Sumbawa. The third-person clitic pronoun *ya* only occurs in transitive clauses.

1.2.2 (Forced) zero arguments

In the relativization of core arguments, which are normally introduced by the relativizer $ad\dot{e}$ or its short form $d\dot{e}$, the constituent that is co-referential with the relativized NP cannot occur within the relative clause, as in (1). These elements are annotated as $\langle f0 \rangle$ 'forced zero', so as to be distinguishable from the regular $\langle 0 \rangle$ zero annotation for a discourse-retrievable entity.

(1) nó bau sentèk periuk tódé dè datang ètè ai ta nan

```
bau sentèk periuk tódé
     NEG can put.on bucket child
#neg lv
        lv_v v:pred np:p
                            np.h:s
                      0079
                            0077
           dè
                 datang ètè
                               ai
                                     =ta
                                                nan
           REL
                 come take
                               water =DEM_P
                                               DEM_M
#rc f0.h:a other lv_v
                        v:pred np:p =rn_dem % rn_dem %
                               0075
```

'The girl who came to take water couldn't put the bucket (on her head).'

[mc_sumbawa_kerekkure_0202]

1.3 Clause structure

The predicate is the only obligatory constituent in Sumbawa clauses. Any types of referential expressions may be omitted when the argument is discourse-retrievable, as seen in (2).

(2) tedu pang Dadap bakeban tanam ragan.

```
pang Dadap
         tedu
         live
                 at
                      Dadap
# 0.h:s v:pred adp
                      pn_np:1 %
  0001
                      0004
         bakeban
         farm
# 0.h:s v:pred
  0001
         tanam ragan
         plant
                ragam_flower
# 0.h:a v:pred np:p
  0001
                 0007
'(He) lived in Dadap. (He) farmed, planting ragam flowers.'
```

[mc_sumbawa_kerekkure_0011]

1.3.1 Intransitive clauses

In intransitive clauses, the S argument can be encoded by either bare NPs headed by a lexical noun or free pronoun, or by bound pronouns (pronominal clitics). There are two intransitive constructions that takes non-S bare NP; one is a possessive construction with the existential verb ada 'exist', and the other is a construction with copular verbs such as dadi 'become' and basingin 'named'. The former is exemplified by (3), in which the possessum is marked as $\langle : s \rangle$ while the possessor is annotated as a dislocated topic $\langle : dt \rangle$. The latter is exemplified by (4), in which the domain of the attribute (e.g. the name holder) is marked as $\langle : s \rangle$ and the constituent representing the attribute (e.g. the name) as $\langle : other \rangle$. There is no "genuine" copular such as English be in Sumbawa. The equational sentence is formed via the juxtaposition of two noun phrases.

(3) dè supu ta enda lamong.

'The youngest one didn't have clothes.'

[mc_sumbawa_kerekkure_0062]

(4) ada sópó tau basingin Lalu Kerèk-kurè.

```
ada sópó tau basingin Lalu Kerèk-kurè
exist one person named prince Kerek-kure
# v:predex ln np.h:s #rc f0.h:s v:pred ln pn_np:other % %
0001 0001
```

'There was a person named Lalu Kerèk-kurè.'

[mc_sumbawa_kerekkure_0003]

In anti-passive constructions in which the verb is marked with the nasal prefix, the original P is left implicit, and the original A is encoded as S. (5) exemplifies this.

(5) samong ling ina, na medi anak, ta muntu ku nuja

```
samong ling ina
                                          mudi
                                                 anak
                                                           ta
                                                                      muntu
  reply
          by
               mother
                                          later
                                                 child
                                                                     time
                                    ITJ
                                                           DEM_P
# v:pred adp np.h:s_ds_ling #ds other other np.h:voc dem_pro:s np:pred
               0006
                                                 0002
       ku=
                 nuja
       1sg=
                 ANTIP.pound
                             % %
#ds_rc =pro.1:s v:pred
       0006
```

'The mother replied "Well, later, kids, now I am ponding rice. (lit. this is the time I pound)" [mc_sumbawa_langlelo_0012]

1.3.2 Transitive clauses

The P argument typically occurs in the post-predicate position, encoded by either bare NPs headed by a lexical noun or a free pronoun, or by bound pronouns (pronominal enclitics).

The A argument is encoded by either bare NPs headed by a lexical noun or a free pronoun, or by bound pronouns (pronominal proclitics) except in the construction mentioned below. There is generally no cross-reference in a Sumbawa clause, such as the three main clauses in (2) above. One exceptional construction is the 'ling-construction', in which the A argument occurs in the post-predicate position with the preposition ling 'by'. In this case, a pronominal proclitic on the verb may cross-reference the A argument, as in (6). We have decided to annotate the A argument in this construction as the main A argument with $\langle :a_ling \rangle$, and to annotate the proclitic with underscore notation, e.g. $\langle =pro_h_a \rangle$. It is also possible that no cross-reference shows up in a clause with the ling-construction. The A argument after the preposition ling in this scenario is also annotated as $\langle :a_ling \rangle$, like in (7), with no additional zero argument annotated ahead of the verb.

sehingga ano yang keempat, ya=èntap ling Lalu Kerèk-kurè ta, sai tau bau ragan ta. sehingga ano keempat ya= ling Lalu Kerèk-kurè yang èntap fourth реер by prince Kerek-kure # other other other other =pro_h_a v:pred adp ln pn_np.h:a_ling 0001 0001 =tasai tau bau ragan =ta=DEM_P who person k.o.flower =DEM P get =rn_dem #cc:p np:pred np.h:s #rc f0.h:a v:pred np:p =rn_dem % % % 0010 0010 0007

'Then on the fourth day, Lalu Kerèk-kurè too a peep (to learn) who got the flowers.'

[mc_sumbawa_kerekkure_0020]

(7) karing mentrènè ta, ètè ling nya.

```
karing mentrènè =ta ètè ling nya
then termite =DEM_P take by 3
# other np.n:p =rn_dem v:pred adp pro.h:a_ling %
0004
0001
```

'So he took the termites.'

[mc_sumbawa_nuntut_0008]

It is safe to say that there is no typical or canonical agreement on Sumbawa verbs. Pronominal clitics, as well as any other person markers, do not occur obligatorily, and the occurrence of abovementioned cross-reference is pragmatically conditioned.

1.3.3 Auxiliary verbs and serial verbs

In Sumbawa, two verbs can be strung together in a serial verb construction. Some of these can be analyzed as the combination of a modal auxiliary verb and a main verb, such as bau saterang 'can cure' in the relative clause in (8). Some of them, however, consist of a motion verb and a verb indicating the purpose, such as lalo antat 'go take' in (9). The first verb in both scenarios is annotated as $\langle 1v_v \rangle$ and the second verb is annotated as the main verb $\langle v:pred \rangle$, as the core arguments roles and encoding are determined based on the second verb.

(8) isi pengumman=nan ne sai-sai adè bau saterang anak kaku

```
pengumuman =nan
                                                    sai-sai
                                                    whoever
          announcement =DEM_M ITJ
  content
# np:s_ds rn_np
                        =rn_dem other #ds_cc:pred np.h:dt_p
          0006
                                                    0007
       adè
                     bau
                              saterang anak
                                              kaku
                                      child
                                              1sg.poss
                     can
                              cure
```

[mc_sumbawa_menangis_0010]

^{&#}x27;The content of the announcement was that "Whoever has cured my child,..."

(9) laló mo antat lala=ta lakó kerajaan

```
laló mo antat lala =ta lakó kerajaan go DM take princess =DEM_P to kingdom
# 0.h:a v:other other v:pred np.h:p =rn_dem adp np:g % 0014 0003 0001
```

'The man took her to the kingdom.'

[mc_sumbawa_menangis_0047]

1.4 Syntactic functions

1.4.1 Ain ling-constructions: (:a_ling)

Core arguments are normally expressed either by a bare NPs headed by a lexical noun or a free pronoun or a bound pronouns. Only the exception is the A argument in the post-predicate position, which occurs with the preposition ling. As mentioned in Section 1.3.2, it is annotated as $\langle :a_ling \rangle$. It may or may not show cross-reference to the bound pronoun.

1.4.2 Dislocated topics: (:dt)

Any type of bare NP that does not have an argument relation in the clause is annotated as a dislocated topic (: dt). This NP may precede the predicate, as in (10), or follow it, as in (11).

(10) pantèk ta nya singén colo' tau dunóng'

```
pantèk =ta nya singén colo' tau dunóng'
flint =DEM_P 3 name lighter person before
# np:dt =rn_dem pro:s np:pred rn_np:poss rn_np.h:poss rn %
0011 0011 0012
```

[mc_sumbawa_langlelo_0032]

(11) ta=nya ku=mongka' aku.

"'Now I am cooking."

[mc_sumbawa_langlelo_0030]

1.4.3 Secondary objects in ditransitive constructions: (:p2)

In clauses of some "three-place" verbs, such as 'tell' or 'tie', the recipient NP or instrument NP may behave in the same way as the patient NP in the typical transitive construction, that is, as a bare NP occurring in the post-predicate position. These NPs are annotated as $\langle :p2 \rangle$. (12) is an example of a recipient, (13) of an instrumental.

[&]quot;'Pantek" is the name for a lighter of people from before.'

(12) ma=ku=bau' bèang' mè anak ku ling

```
ma=ku=bau' ku=
                               bau' bèang'
                                            тè
                                                  anak
                                                           ku
                                                  child
                                                           1s<sub>G</sub>
                    1sg=
                               can give
                                            rice
#ds_ac lv
                    =pro.1:a lv
                                    v:pred np:p np.h:p2 rn_pro.1:poss % %
                                            0007 0002
                     0006
                                                           0006
ling
words
np:s %
```

'(She) said, "So that I can give rice to my children."

[mc_sumbawa_langlelo_0063]

(13) $ka=ya=antar\ benang\ pisak\ ne.$

```
ka = ya =
                                      benang pisak nè
                              antar
              PST= 3=
                              tie
                                      string
                                              black ITI
# 0.h:a 0:p
              =lv =pro.h:a v:pred np:p2
                                              rn
                                                    other %
  0020 0065
                    0020
                                      0066
'(She) tied (the ring) with piece of black string.'
                                                        [mc_sumbawa_kerekkure_0182]
```

1.5 Direct speech

Direct speech is often followed by the noun ling referring to the speaker's 'words' or 'what is told'. In this case, the whole sentence is taken as an equational sentence in which the direct speech is understood as a complement clause serving as the predicate $\langle \#ds_cc:pred \rangle$ of the framing clause, of which the noun ling is the S (i.e. $\langle pp:s \rangle$). See (14) for an example.

(14) na sia tomas-tomas ina, ling, ta yakubalawas, ling.

```
na
                       sia
                                tomas-tomas ina
                                                       ling
                  PROH 2sg.hon noisy
                                                       words
                                           mother
# #ds_cc.neg:pred lv
                       pro.2:s v:pred
                                           np.h:voc % np:s %
                        0002
                    va= ku=
                                   balawas
                                                 ling
              DEM_P FUT= 1SG=
                                   recite.a.poem
                                                 words
# #ds_cc:pred other =lv
                                               % np:s %
                          =pro.1:s v:pred
                          0001
```

'He said (lit. (his) words were), "Don't be noisy". He said (lit. (his) words were), "Now I am going to recite a poem".

[mc_sumbawa_kerekkure_0065]

2 Notes on the RefIND annotations

2.1 Referents in clauses otherwise not considered

Segments that have not been annotated for whatever reason, be that because they are incomplete or not syntactically well-formed, or because they are taken out of the normal flow of narration (e.g. because they address the listener, directly reply to the interviewer's questions, or are not produced by the primary speaker), are marked as $\langle \#nc \rangle$ 'not considered', and all of the elements they contain are glossed $\langle nc \rangle$.

However, these segments may still contain identifiable discourse references, which are presumably registered by the listener even in cases where the clause in question is abandoned partway through. So as to preserve the genuine sequence of references in the annotations, mentions in $\langle \#nc \rangle$ segments are indexed with RefIND, even though they do not receive meaningful GRAID annotations. This is true of all Multi-CAST corpora with RefIND.

For the Tabasaran corpus, however, we have attempted to go one step further by adding form and person/animacy glosses back onto those $\langle nc \rangle$ elements that have referent indices. The glosses are added as specifiers to the righthand side of the $\langle nc \rangle$ symbol, yielding, for instance, $\langle nc_np \rangle$ or $\langle nc_pro.h \rangle$. Grammatical functions are not glossed.

(15) pina kerè apa-apa ling sia papin nè ning

```
pina kerè apa-apa ling sia papin nè ning make cloth whatever by 2sg.hon grand.father ITJ words #nc nc nc nc nc nc nc nc nc nc % 0016
```

'Please forgive us! (lit. (his) words were "you, grandfather, can make whichever cloth.")'

[mc_sumbawa_flood_0036]

This approach makes it clear that while some information can be gleaned from these elements, one should not rely on being able to retrieve full information from the rest of the $\langle \#nc \rangle$ segment. For most types of analysis, the $\langle nc_- \rangle$ glosses should not be conflated with related GRAID symbols, given their uncertain status.

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Appendices

A List of corpus-specific GRAID symbols

The following is a list of the non-standard GRAID symbols used in the annotation of the Multi-CAST Sumbawa corpus. Please refer to the *GRAID manual* (Haig & Schnell 2014: 54–55) for an inventory of basic GRAID symbols.

Form symbols and specifiers

(f0) structurally suppressed argument slot of a predicate

(dem_pro) demonstrative pronoun (see morphological gloss to distinguish proximal,

medial, distal demonstratives)

(pn_np) proper name

Person/animacy symbols and specifiers

(.n) non-human animate

Function symbols and specifiers

(:a_ling) A argument occurring with the preposition *ling*

 $\langle ds \rangle$ specifier: subject of a verb of speech; attaches to $\langle s \rangle$ and $\langle a \rangle$

Subconstituent symbols

 $\begin{tabular}{ll} $\langle _adj \rangle$ & attributive adjective; attaches to $\langle ln \rangle$ and $\langle rn \rangle$ \\ $\langle _dem \rangle$ & demonstrative determiner; attaches to $\langle ln \rangle$ and $\langle rn \rangle$ \\ \end{tabular}$

 $\langle \text{-aux} \rangle$ auxiliary; attaches to $\langle \text{lv} \rangle$ and $\langle \text{rv} \rangle$

Other symbols

 $\langle _1 \rangle$ on cross-indices: first person $\langle _2 \rangle$ on cross-indices: second person $\langle _h \rangle$ on cross-indices: human

 $\langle _d \rangle$ on cross-indices: anthropomorphized entity $\langle _n \rangle$ on cross-indices: non-human animate

 $\langle _s \rangle$ on cross-indices: subject of an intransitive clause $\langle _a \rangle$ on cross-indices: subject of a transitive clause

⟨nc_⟩ specifier: marks form glosses with RefIND indices in segments otherwise

not considered (i.e. those marked (#nc))

B List of abbreviated morphological glosses

1	first person	M	medial
2	second person	NEG	negative
3	third person	P	proximal
ANTIP	anti-passive	PL	plural
ART	article	POSS	possessive
CAUS	causative	PROG	progressive
COMP	complementizer	PROH	prohivitive
D	distal	PST	past
DEM	demonstrative	PTC	particle
DES	desiderative	Q	question marker
DM	discourse marker	REDPL	reduplicant
EXCL	exclusive	REFL	reflexive
FUT	future	REL	relativizer
HBL	humble	SG	singular
HON	honorific		
ITJ	interjection	NC	not classifiable



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