

NEGATION IN FOUR LANGUAGES
OF INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

Drawing on natural language data gathered through fieldwork in various sites across the Indonesian archipelago, this study is a detailed account of the negation systems of four languages of this region. Specific areas addressed include: 1) a productive distinction between ‘verbal’ and ‘nominal’ negators, where verbal negators encode narrow-scope standard negation and nominal negators function, in part, to encode contrastive negation and to deny an interlocutor’s presupposition, whether overt or covert, 2) lexicalizations with negation and other special negative expressions and forms, i.e. entities that lay on the cusp of the lexicon and the grammar whose presence can be partly explained by culture-specific preferences for indirectness, 3) the negation of existential predications, which encode absence, can be fruitfully exploited in verbal utterances, and, in at least one language, intersect with the evidential and epistemic system, 4) prohibitives, which, apart from encoding negative imperative mood, are co-opted to perform a variety of other functions, such as negative deontic modality, dubitative modality, and negative purpose, and 5) the interaction of negation with other scalar phenomena in the grammar, such as reduplication, restrictive particles, and scalar additive particles.

A primary contribution of this work is the suggestion that a culture-specific preference for indirectness is a powerful motivator for the emergence of special negative forms and expressions. The work also helps to fill a gap in the literature of negation by providing a detailed descriptive, functional-typological account of negation in languages belonging to the frequently overlooked Austronesian family. In so doing, attention is directed to elements of negation that are especially common to this region of the world, including the presence of special NOT YET negators and other negative lexicalizations, the productive distinction of verbal and nominal negators, the multiplicity of meanings evident in the existential/locative system of some languages, the specification of negation without using a

negator, and the overlap in functions of the negative imperative, to name just a few points.

The fieldwork methodology of this focused work allows for attention to pragmatic factors of negation that is less possible in studies based on secondary materials like grammars. The present work aims to open the door for future language-specific and comparative studies of negation within this region of the world.

*To the Hawu, Sundanese, and Enggano communities
with whom I worked*

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ADD	Additive particle
APPL	Applicative
AV	Active Voice
CAUS	Causative
CL	Classifier
COM	Comitative
CMPR	Comparative
COMP	Complementizer
COP	Copula
DEF	Definite marker
DEM	Demonstrative
DIST	Distant
DM	Discourse Particle
DV	Deictic Verb
EX	Existential predicator
EXP	Experiential
EXCL	Exclusive person
FOC	Focus
FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual
HON	Honorific
HORT	Hortative
IAM	Imitative
IGNOR	Ignorative
IMP	Imperative
INCL	Inclusive person
INDF	Indefinite
INTS	Intensifier
LIG	Ligature
LOC	Locative
MID	Middle Voice
MIR	Mirative
NEG	Negative
NMLZ	Nominalizer
NOM	Nominal (negator)
NONDUM	Nondum
NONPST	Nonpast
OBJ	Object

PART	Particle
PL	Plural
POL	Polarity Item
POSS	Possession
PROG	Progressive
PROH	Prohibitive
PROX	Proximal
PV	Passive Voice
Q	Question
RECP	Reciprocal
RP	Recent Past
RED	Reduplication
REL	Relativizer
SG	Singular
SUP	Superlative
TAG	Tag question
TITL	Tit

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The aims

It is often observed, by linguistic fieldworkers and theorists alike, that the negation of an utterance entails far more than the addition of a negative morpheme to an otherwise affirmative utterance. In actual fact, negation demonstrates complex interactions with numerous aspects of meaning and structure within a given language. Languages often possess large inventories of negators that are deployed to encode distinct functions, or else the same negators may be used to encode multiple related functions. Negators may comprise ancient morphemes whose origins are difficult to identify or else such markers may be reconstructed from relatively recent sources, such as negative implication verbs like ‘fail’ or ‘lack’. In many languages of the world, there are distinct structural differences between affirmative utterance and negative utterances, such that a negative utterance may not possess an equally corresponding affirmative utterance, and vice versa. Moreover, affirmative and negative utterances may occur in vastly different discourse contexts, with differing semantic and pragmatic interpretations.

This work is a focused examination of negation in four languages of Indonesia based on natural language data gathered through fieldwork in various sites across the Indonesian archipelago. The languages represented include hitherto poorly studied languages like Sundanese, Hawu, and Enggano, and the better studied Standard Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia). While Indonesian, Sundanese, and Hawu are Malayo-Polynesian languages, the precise classification of Enggano is still subject to debate.

Some aspects of the negation systems described herein appear to be especially common to this region of the world, while other aspects are known to be in frequent

occurrence cross-linguistically. The primary aims of this dissertation are twofold and can be paraphrased as follows:

- 1) To describe the diversity of negative forms and expressions in the four languages of this sample, contributing evidence that negation belongs to not one but several functional domains of the grammar, and
- 2) To present compelling evidence (that until now has not been fully appreciated) that culture-specific features – in this case, a preference for indirectness – play an important role in the emergence of special negative forms and expressions.

This work demonstrates that close descriptive studies of individual languages yield a multitude of functions within the negation system and that features of the societies within which negation is employed have some bearing on the development of alternative negative forms. The dissertation is a humble contribution both to the literature of negation and to studies of languages of Indonesia more broadly.

The remainder of this introduction is organized as follows: In Section 1.2, I present a brief overview of important work on negation relevant to the present study. Section 1.3 concerns the motivation for the present work. Section 1.4 provides an account of the languages described herein, beginning with a broad overview of the linguistic and historic background of the Indonesian archipelago, and continuing with a specific handling of each of the four languages selected for this study. Section 1.5 presents the methods of the present work. Section 1.6 outlines the content of the dissertation. Section 1.7 summarizes important notes about the orthography employed in the linguistic glosses presented herein.

1.2 The state of the art

Recent decades have seen a broad base of descriptive, typological, and theoretical work emerge that addresses various aspects of negation. A full summary of recent work here is redundant, as detailed and comprehensive summaries already exist (*see* Miestamo 2007, Miestamo 2017). Nonetheless, it is useful here to briefly present a summary of key recent work regarding properties of negation in order to lay a foundation for the present work. This section is meant to be a broad overview; literature that is germane to the topics accounted for within this work will be addressed in the relevant chapters.

Negative utterances, e.g. those whose main role is to assert that something is not the case, appear to be universally grammaticalized in the languages of the world. Negation – whether specified by negative inflections, particles, verbs, adverbs, or auxiliaries - is almost always viewed as the marked category compared to the affirmative. Exceptions include zero negative constructions in Dravidian languages, where negation is signalled by the absence of tense marking (Master 1946, Pilot-Raichoor 2010; see also Miestamo 2010 for a more general discussion of negative expressions that lack negation). Classic psycholinguistic studies (Clark 1971a, 1971b, 1974) suggest that it takes participants longer to process negative utterances compared to affirmative ones, demonstrating the higher level of presuppositional complexity of negatives. Indeed, negative utterances differ from affirmative ones not only by truth value but also by their discourse presuppositions. Givón (1978:70) observes that perhaps the overwhelming majority of utterances “do not deal with what the speaker knows, often not even with what the speaker knows that the hearer knows. Rather, they deal with what the speaker assumes the hearer tends to believe, is likely to be favoring, is committed to by a probability higher than 50 percent.” The interpretation and analysis of negation therefore frequently hinges on broad contextual factors and the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. As a result, negation is well-suited to examination through

fieldwork, where such factors are more easily remarked upon and recorded than might be the case with studies based on secondary work like grammars.

One of the major recent contributions to the study of negation has been Miestamo's (2000, 2003, 2005) work on symmetrical and asymmetrical negation, which offers an account for why negative and positive utterances possess various structural and conceptual distinctions in the languages of the world. Symmetrical negatives are those that bear no other difference from the corresponding positive than the presence of a negator, while asymmetric negatives differ from the positive utterances in other ways. In asymmetric negatives, there is often special syntactic, morphological, phonological, or semantic constraints on the following categories: 1) finiteness, where the finiteness of the lexical verb is either reduced or lost in the negative, 2) reality status, where the distinction between realis and irrealis is lost in the negative, 3) emphasis, where the marking of emphasis differs in affirmative utterances compared to negative ones, and 4) grammatical categories, where the expression of tense, aspect, mood (TAM) or person-number-gender differs in affirmative utterances compared to negative ones. Miestamo (2005) accounts for these asymmetries with several functional semantic and pragmatic explanations, including 1) stativity vs. dynamicity, where affirmative utterances can report both stative and dynamic states of affairs, but negatives are typically restricted to stative ones, 2) reality status, where negative utterances belong to the realm of the unrealized, while affirmatives belong to the realm of the realized, and 3) discourse contexts, where negatives tend to be used in denials and the corresponding affirmative is somehow presupposed, while affirmatives are not restricted in this same way. That some languages of the world possess symmetry between affirmative and negative utterances arises out of a motivation for system cohesion, in Miestamo's view. Nevertheless, the vast majority of languages contain some form of asymmetry between affirmative and negative utterances, whether in one or many of the categories previously specified.

In the present work, I take the property of pragmatic dependence¹ or discourse context as a motivator that is especially operative in the appearance of the diverse negative forms and constructions apparent in the languages concerned herein. I make no claims that this should be the major motivator in all languages of the world, as I suspect that the motivation(s) must be considered separately for individual languages. To some extent, the contextual boundedness of negatives can be used as an explanatory framework for asymmetries in other areas of negation as well. For instance, the tendency for tense, aspect, and mood distinctions to be neutralized under negation may be explained, at least in part, by the fact that such distinctions are already understood by the previous discourse; the overt expression of these categories in a corresponding negative utterance would therefore be redundant. This is, of course, a broad generalization, but meant to illustrate the importance of discourse context in negation that will be relevant in each of the chapters of this work.

1.3 Motivation for the present work

There were three major motivations for the present work. The first was that it is immediately evident upon a perusal of the typological literature of negation that Austronesian languages have been poorly represented. Such studies have often been geographically biased toward languages of Europe, in part because these are the specialty languages of many scholars of negation. Apart from the modality sections of reference grammars, there are few detailed descriptive or functional-typological accounts of the negation systems in the languages of the Austronesian family, or the languages of Indonesia more narrowly constrained. This modest work seeks to fill a gap both in the Austronesian literature, especially as pertains to the languages of Indonesia, and the literature of negation, by presenting a focused study of negation in languages of this region. Contributions of this work

¹ The terms ‘pragmatic dependence’ and ‘pragmatic dependency’ were first used in Frajzyngier (2004).

include accounts of various features and phenomena of negation common to this region, such as lexicalizations with negation and other special negative forms and expressions in certain domains of the grammar, the expression of negation without using negators at all, and the multitude of uses of the prohibitive beyond negating imperative mood, among many other aspects.

Another motivation for this work was a sense that fieldwork would be an important tool to address pragmatic elements of negation – elements which are less easily understood if one studies only secondary materials like grammars. Though this work is based on a very small sample of languages, it presents the beginnings of comparative work with the negation systems of this region of the world and offers suggestions for future work that may be helpful in contributing to broader areal claims. The small size of the sample has been compensated by an especially detailed account of the functions of negation within the four languages.

A third and important motivation for this work was the observation that each of the communities with whom I work appear to value indirectness to an especially high degree. This preference for indirectness is grammaticalized in multiple areas of the languages, as will be demonstrated throughout this work. Negation itself is an especially direct area of the grammar as it frequently involves denying or refuting something that has been stated in conversation or else maintaining a negative state of affairs by forbidding or scolding. An important early question for me was thus: How do societies that prefer indirectness handle a part of the grammar that is as direct as negation?

1.4 Previous work on negation in Austronesian languages

Despite the paucity of work on negation within the Austronesian family, there are some notable exceptions. For instance, Mosel, Hovdhaugen, and Moyse-Faurie (1999) address the diversity of negative strategies in seven Oceanic languages most familiar to the

authors, while Lynch, Ross, and Crowley (2002) review general properties of negative-marking in Oceanic languages. Mosel (1999) proposes that determiners, prepositions, and conjunctions should be added to the lexical categories that typically take negation, based on data from Teop, an Oceanic language spoken in Papua New Guinea. In addition, she outlines negative patterns that are germane in twelve Oceanic languages, which include use as ‘prosentences’, negative existentials, nonverbal constituents, verbal constituents, and the negative imperative or vetative. Blust (2013: 465-476) contains a short, broad overview of interesting issues regarding negation in Austronesian languages, including a general discussion of what can be negated, an observation of the tendency for special negators in certain tenses, aspects, and moods, an account of double negatives, emphatic negatives, negative personal pronouns, and responses to polar questions. Important to the last point is the finding that Austronesian languages show response patterns that are similar to English for positive interrogatives, but the opposite is true of negative interrogatives. While English speakers affirm a negative question with ‘yes’ and deny it with ‘no’, in some Austronesian languages, a negative question is affirmed with ‘no’ and denied with ‘yes.’

Some studies that describe negation in Indonesian/Malay include Sudaryono (1993), who presents numerous examples of negative utterances in Indonesian and offers a semantic and syntactic account; Sneddon (2006), who addresses differing negative strategies and frequencies of negative forms in Jakarta Indonesian; and Sneddon et al (2012), who present a brief, descriptive account of negation in Standard Indonesian, including some exceptions to general rules of negative marking. Recent, focused studies of certain domains of negation within Austronesian include Vossen and Van der Auwera (2014), who address a Jespersen Cycle in Austronesian languages, and Fricke (2017) and Klamer (2002) who account for the frequency of clause-final negation in some languages of eastern Indonesia, a feature that does not arise in any of the four languages of my sample.

1.5 The languages: Background and history

This section presents a brief overview of the history, classification, and typology of the languages described in this dissertation and also describes the specific communities with whom I worked. I begin with a general account of the linguistic situation in Indonesia so that the languages discussed herein are situated within this broader landscape.

Indonesia is one of the most linguistically diverse countries in the world, as it contains approximately ten percent of the world's languages. Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig (2020) identify several hundred languages (722 distinct languages at the current count) spoken throughout the archipelago. The majority of these languages belong to the Malayo-Polynesian sub-family of the greater Austronesian family, which includes approximately 1,200 languages (Adelaar & Himmelman 2005). The basic classification of the family is represented in Figure 1.1. The Formosan languages that constitute the major left-hand branch, are spoken nearly exclusively in Taiwan. It should be noted that there are still numerous open-questions regarding the precise internal classifications of these languages – a point that is beyond the scope of the present work.

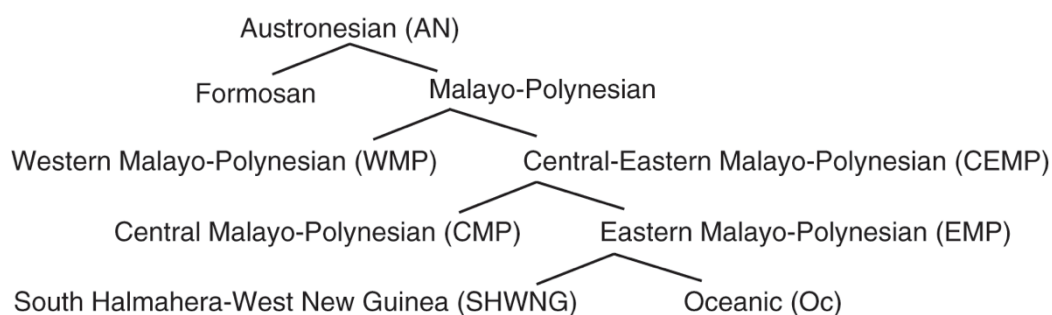


Figure 1.1. The Austronesian family (from Guérin 2017)

Even among the languages of western Indonesia, e.g. Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese, and Sasak, there is wide typological variation, which makes generalizations regarding features of these grammars difficult. The greatest level of deep

linguistic diversity is found in eastern Indonesia, as this region includes languages genetically unrelated to Austronesian, i.e. Papuan languages. The Austronesian expansion that comprised present day Indonesia as far as Melanesia occurred by 1500 BC (Bellwood 1995); the Papuan languages represent heritage from pre-Austronesian times. Figure 1.2 demonstrates the existence of Austronesian languages across the Indonesian archipelago, with the more diverse Papuan languages to the east.

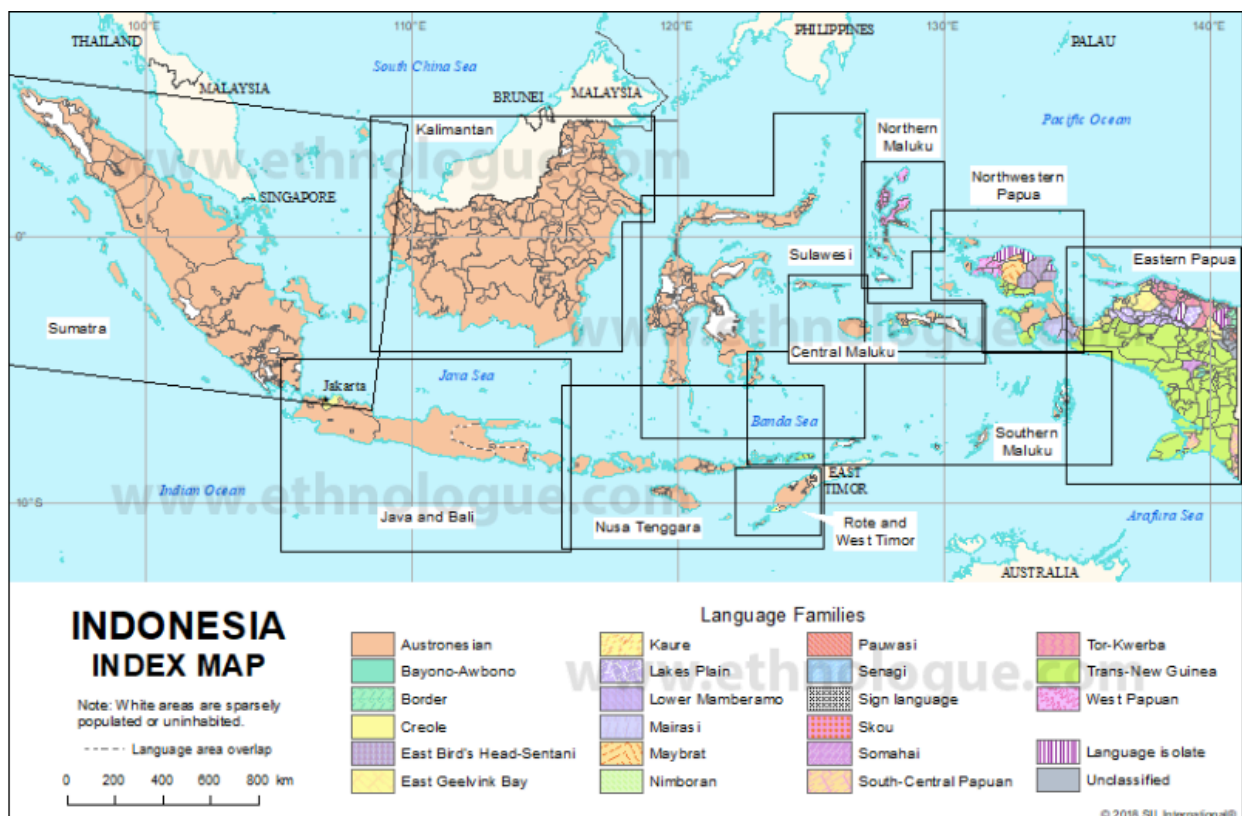


Figure 1.2. Map of the distribution of language families across Indonesia (from Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2020)

A sketch of the current linguistic situation in Indonesia must include a brief account of the contact history between the indigenous inhabitants of the archipelago and external groups, as this influence has had, at various points in history, a substantial effect on the development of the languages spoken within.

External influence on the Austronesian world began 2,000 years ago and occurred in the following order: Indian, Chinese, Islamic, European, the latter of which included Portuguese,

Spanish, Dutch, and English at varying points in history (Blust 2013). Each of these groups have shaped the Indonesian archipelago in major ways at different points in time, whether in the area of language and writing system, culture and religion, or administration and governance. The earliest contact, however, was likely motivated by trade. The straits of Malacca, the narrow passage between Sumatra and peninsular Malaysia, provided a key point for trade between the various surrounding polities, with Malay as the vehicle of wider communication among disparate groups. The arrival of Portuguese ships in Malacca in 1511 and Maluku in 1512 ushered in a period of European control of the region (Brown 2003: 33), which continued, in various forms (Portuguese, British, and Dutch), until halfway through the 20th century with the founding of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945, and the declaration of independence of other nearby nations like Malaysia in 1957 and Singapore in 1965².

During the period of Dutch rule in present-day Indonesia (at that time, the Dutch East Indies³), the Malay that had already existed for centuries as a trade language was co-opted and widely employed as a *lingua franca* along the coastal areas of Southeast Asia, serving as the language used by the Dutch in communicating with the populace. The standardization of this Malay was bolstered by the work of the renown Malay scholar Raja Ali Haji (c.1809–70) who composed a grammar and a dictionary of standard Malay. Shortly after, the Dutch scholar C.A. van Ophuysen (1854–1917) formalised the grammar for use at schools throughout the Dutch Indies (Tadmor 2009). During the twentieth century, this government Malay was broadly institutionalized in schooling, missions, and media through Malay translations and literary works produced by the state publishing office, Kantoor voor de Volkslectuur (Jedamski 1997, Maier 1997, Paauw 2009). The choice of Malay was at least in part motivated by the view that literacy in Dutch among the populace would risk exposure to

² The region experienced a period of Japanese rule from 1942-1945.

³ Formed from the nationalized colonies of the Dutch East India Company in 1800, when the colonies came under the administration of the Dutch government.

harmful ideas in Dutch publications (Salverda 2013). Paradoxically, Dutch, though its role was intentionally limited, provided the vehicle for communicating West European and Russian Marxist theories regarding colonialism and imperialism to a revolutionary elite (Anderson 1990), thus contributing to independence movements⁴. Though Javanese, a dominant language of Java, had long been used in communication with the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, its complex deference system was felt to hinder wider communication (Blust 2013). In remarking on the fairly rigid speech levels of Javanese, Siegel (1993: 15) writes “One thus cannot speak Javanese without making a statement about one’s hierarchical position vis-à-vis the second person.” The speech levels include the high *krama* level and the low *ngoko*, as well as various middle levels, depending on the dialect. “The duality of these two sublanguages,” observes Anderson (1990: 131), “reflects not only the stratification of Javanese social structure but a dualism in the Javanese mind. *Krama* is official, aspirative – a little like a mask. *Ngoko* is private, cynical, passionate – a little like the heart.” As is further expounded upon in Section 1.4.1, Javanese with its association with social status and the elite, was not viewed as an appropriate choice for an emerging independence nation.

Despite the broadening role of Malay across the archipelago, the vast majority of indigenous languages continued to flourish well into the 20th century. In recent decades, however, these indigenous languages have been in sharp decline, which can be at least partially (if not largely) attributed to the prevalence of Indonesian across the archipelago, not to mention larger, globalizing forces such as the appeal of international languages like English and movement from rural to urban areas. While there have been recent attempts to install the required study of *bahasa daerah* ‘regional languages’ in schools, there exists a

⁴ Knowledge of Dutch both then and today was taken to indicate breeding and literati ancestry. Indeed, Anderson (1990) suggests Dutch took the place of Javanese *krama*, the high speech form, in denoting an individual’s level of education and literacy.

growing asymmetry among Indonesian adults; namely, if their first language is other than Indonesian, they most likely speak Indonesian as well, but if their first language is Indonesian, it is unlikely they speak another language (Nababan 1985). Cohn and Ravindranath (2014), in a study of language policy, multilingualism, and language ideology, conclude that if Indonesian continues to break into more domains of speech, even a language of 80 million speakers like Javanese can be considered at risk of endangerment.

In light of this background, I turn now to an account of the four languages selected for this study. The languages were chosen in part out of convenience, but also because they are spoken by groups that represent broadly different swaths of the Indonesian populace. The speakers live in different environments (rural, urban), engage in different livelihoods (horticulture, fishing, industry, business), practice different religions (Muslim, Christian, Indigenist/Animist), and are of different educational backgrounds (college-educated, minimal primary school education, etc.).

1.5.1 Indonesian

Indonesian or *Bahasa Indonesia* (lit. ‘language of Indonesia), is the official language of Indonesia. An Austronesian language of the Malayic sub-branch of Malayo-Polynesian, it shares some 80% of its vocabulary with Standard Malay. With the founding of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945, Indonesian was co-opted from the centuries-old *lingua franca* of the archipelago to become the official language of the new nation. The officiation of this decision was preceded by the *Rapat Pemuda* ‘Meeting of the Youth’ on October 28, 1928 in Batavia, then the capital of the Dutch East Indies, where Dutch-educated native intelligentsia adopted a nationalizing program and renamed Malay (*Bahasa Melayu*) as Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*). This event was followed by the *Sumpah Pemuda* ‘Oath of the Youth’ which acknowledged one nation (*satu bangsa*), one language (*satu bahasa*), and one homeland (*satu*

nusa). As in other emerging post-colonial societies, a national language was considered the centerpiece of nation-building efforts, including education and mass media (Cohn and Ravindranath 2014).

Malay was viewed as a natural candidate to fulfil this need, given that it was already widely spoken as a second language and had already been installed as the language of education and administration in some parts of Java during the Dutch era. More importantly, it was the first language to only a small percentage of the population (at that time, probably only 3 to 4 million people), which curtailed the threat of ethnic domination that Javanese as the national language might have posed (Blust 2013)⁵. Anderson (1990: 139) describes the new Indonesian as an ‘essentially political language’, noting “Malay, as an ‘interethnic’ language, had ipso facto an almost statusless character. It had thus a free, ‘democratic’ feel from the outset, which had its own attractions for an intellectual class that at one level (the desire to be on equal terms with the colonial elite), aspired to egalitarian norms.”

In the years after the founding of the Republic of Indonesia, the adoption, development, and establishment of Indonesian as a national language was further implemented via the Center of Language and Culture (*Pusat Bahasa dan Budaya*), now known as the Language Development and Cultivation Agency (*Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa*) or Language Agency (*Badan Bahasa*). Language policy and implementation were seen as especially critical during the Sukarno era (1945-1967) and the New Order (c. 1960s-1990s) (Sneddon 2003, Zentz 2012, Errington 1998), when development projects were subserved by the Indonesian language and those areas on the periphery were increasingly enveloped within the ideology of nationalism. During this time there were also government orchestrated

⁵ As previously mention, it was additionally felt that Javanese would be a poor choice given its complex system of deference, which would not have been well-suited for the egalitarian ideals of the new republic.

transmigration projects which brought Indonesian speakers into areas of the nation where Indonesian had not been widely used.

By 1990, over 90% of the population of Indonesia between the ages of 10-49 reported knowledge of Indonesian (Steinhauer 1994)⁶. Because Indonesian is, in a sense, a constructed language and the native language of very few across the Indonesian archipelago, Errington (1998: 51) calls it an ‘un-native’ language, that “lacks self-evident politically or culturally salient attachments to a primordial, native-speaking community.” Despite this view, most Indonesians are able to switch fluently between at least two social registers: the Standard Indonesian learnt in school and heard in broadcasting and one or more of the various colloquial varieties. Indeed, while today there is a quite clearly defined and internationally recognized Standard Indonesian, there remain a number of Indonesian/Malay dialects spoken across the archipelago, some of which are not mutually intelligible. Probably the oldest of these dialects are those spoken in southwest Borneo, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula (where they are probably native), but there are also distinct dialects in Brunei, southeast Borneo, northern Sulawesi, central Moluccas, and West Timor. Moreover, social media and popular soap operas (*sinetron*) have led to widespread recognition of the colloquial Jakarta Malay/Indonesian even in peripheral regions of Indonesia.

These dialects of Malay/Indonesian vary in phonology, word formation, syntax, lexicon, semantics, and pragmatics (Tadmor 2009). Below I offer a summary of salient linguistic features of Malay/Indonesian, with the caveat that these are features of Standard Indonesian, and thus do not apply to all dialects.

Standard Indonesian is a head-initial, subject-verb-object language, though quantifiers occur before the nouns. The most frequent morphological markings include affixation

⁶ The 2010 census reflects 65% of Indonesians reporting to be L2 speakers. There is no information, however, on the percentage of those with a working knowledge of Indonesian.

(prefixes, suffixes, and circumfixes), compounding, and reduplication. Especially common affixes comprise active/passive voice distinctions, middle voice, applicative, state/potentiality, and unintentionality, among others. These affixes are nearly always dropped in colloquial speech. The morphological distinction of active/passive voice is a typological feature of the Malayo-Polynesian branch involving nasal substitution in active verb forms (e.g. *pukul* ‘hit’ as the base form, *me-mukul* ‘to hit’ as the active verb). Full reduplication, as well as echo-constructions (e.g. *bolak-balik* ‘back and forth’), are frequently employed to encode a number of functions, including plurality, iterativity, intensity, distribution, negative polarity, resemblance, and diminution, among other categories⁷. Tense and aspectual distinctions are not marked morphologically, but rather through the addition of temporal adverbs or particles (e.g. *tadi* [recent past], *akan* [future], *besok* [near future, ‘tomorrow’], *kemarin* [near past, ‘yesterday’], *pernah* [experiential], etc.) or else implied through context. Within the pronoun inventory, there is a first person plural clusivity distinction. Deference is encoded through a number of means, including but not limited to, a preference for the passive voice and the substitution of a name or kinship term for the second person pronoun.

The Indonesian/Malay lexicon has been heavily influenced by Chinese (e.g. Mandarin and Hokkien), Indian (e.g. Sanskrit), Arabic, and European languages (e.g. Dutch, Portuguese, and English). For instance, Jones (1978) describes some 4,500 Arabic loanwords, primarily in areas of religion and law. Beyond lexical borrowings, these external languages have contributed the phonemes *f*, *sy* [ç], *z*, *x* to the Malay/Indonesian inventory, though the realization of these is not at all consistent from dialect to dialect. Moreover, the addition of loan words has affected the syllable structure of Malay/Indonesian, with the number of consonants in the onset and coda increasing from one to three (Tadmor 2009).

⁷ Some evidence of partial reduplication in Malay is retained in words like *lelaki* ‘man’

Throughout this work, I specify which variety of Indonesian is used in each example. The vast majority of the Indonesian examples are Standard Indonesian. Unlike the other languages of this work, a sizable portion of the data presented herein is drawn from written sources (e.g. media, literature, online forums) or the SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus. Throughout the fieldwork of this project, the language of communication was Indonesian. In cities of West Java, like Depok, Bogor, and Bandung, this was primarily Standard Indonesian with influence from the Jakarta dialect, especially with adolescents. During my fieldwork in east Indonesia, the Indonesian was heavily influenced by Kupang Malay, a variety which is not mutually intelligible with Standard Indonesian. In Enggano, the Indonesian was influenced by the Malay varieties of other parts of Bengkulu province, including Serawai and Bahasa Bengkulu, whose primary differences from Standard Indonesian are phonological.

1.5.2 Sundanese

Sundanese, known by its speakers as *Basa Sunda*, (lit. ‘Language of Sunda’), is a Malayo-Polynesian, Austronesian language spoken primarily in West Java and Banten. Centuries-old migration and more recent governmental transmigration have resulted in pockets of Sundanese speakers elsewhere in Java and in other parts of Indonesia such as Lampung in South Sumatra. With around 34 million speakers, Sundanese is the third most widely spoken language in Indonesia, after Indonesian and Javanese. Though its speakers account for approximately 15% of the population, Sundanese, like other regional languages (*bahasa daerah*), is increasingly marginalized by the prominence of Indonesian. In contemporary times, monolingual Sundanese speakers are found almost exclusively in rural areas among older populations. The primary Sundanese areas of West Java are depicted in Figure 1.3, alongside other major languages of Java like Javanese and Madurese.



Figure 1.3. Languages of Java (from <https://lowlands-l.net/anniversary/sunda-info.php>)

After the fall of the Sundanese Pajajaran Kingdom (c. 669-1579) in the 16th century⁸, the Sundanese cultural center was lost and power became concentrated in the *kabupaten* (the seat of the local leader) with no strong single point of influence. This meant that the Dutch ‘divide and rule’ policy was highly successful during the period of colonial rule. Historically, Sundanese language has often been understood only in comparison to the better studied and better documented Javanese. In the 1800s, Sundanese was regarded by Europeans as a mere “mountain dialect” of Javanese and was only later recognized by outsiders as a distinct language (Mikihiro 1995). Though Sundanese and Javanese share some of their lexicon in common, they are not mutually intelligible.

Today, the center of Sundanese culture is widely viewed to be Priangan, in the highlands around the city of Bandung in West Java province; it is the dialect of this area that is often viewed as the standard. Dialects on the periphery of West Java – particularly those of Banten - are often stigmatized as coarse and backward, both by those inside and those outside these regions. Despite this language ideology of backwardness associated with dialects on the periphery of the Sundanese world, there is also a frequent ideology voiced both by those inside and outside of this region, that these dialects represent ancient and powerful Sundanese.

⁸ Knowledge of this kingdom among Sundanese people has been kept alive through *pantun*, an oral poetry tradition, and through the legends of famous figures including Prabu Siliwangi, a Sundanese king who takes the form of a tiger.

Sundanese is characterized by basic subject-verb-object word order, mostly isolating and agglutinating morphology, and reduplication. Phonologically, it exhibits nasal harmony and distinctions between middle vowels that do not exist in the closely related Malay/Indonesian. Sundanese also possesses an infix *-ar-* which typically attaches to verbal bases and conveys plurality (e.g. budak ‘child’; b-ar-udak ‘children’). Like Indonesian, Sundanese encodes active/passive voice distinctions via nasal prefixes (e.g. the base form *guna* ‘use’, the active form *ngagunakeun*). Also notable is the elaborate coding of speech levels in most dialects. Lezer (1931, cited in Wessing 1974) identifies four basic levels: i) *lemes pisan* ‘very polite’, ii) *lemes* ‘polite/deferential’, iii) *kasar* ‘ordinary/colloquial’, iv) *kasar pisan* ‘vulgar’. These speech levels, which consist of nearly fully distinct lexicons at each level, have long been recognized as a borrowing from Javanese. This is supported by the fact that speech levels are absent in Baduy, the region of the Sundanese world considered to be the most archaic (Gonda 1948 and oral tradition). In contemporary times, it is very common for a lexeme that is considered ‘vulgar’ in Sundanese to be considered ‘refined’ in Javanese, and vice versa, due to regular language change.

Finally, Sundanese possesses its own writing system (*Aksara Sunda*) which was developed from a Pallava script of India and primarily used between the 14th and 18th century. Few Sundanese can read the script today, though it can be seen on street signs in West Java and is indexical of Sundanese identity.

A large portion of the data presented herein was collected from June 2019 to August 2019 in the village of Cipta Gelar, one of the larger villages of Kasepuhan Banten Kidul, a community in the southern region of Mount Halimun Salak National Park in West Java, depicted in Figure 1.4.



Figure 1.4. Map of Gunung Halimun-Salak National Park (Direktorat PJKK/HL 2013). (From Peggie & Harmonis 2014)

The name *Kasepuhan* derives from the Sundanese word *sepuh* ‘old’ and refers to adherence to ancestral codes of being. According to oral and written history, the Kasepuhan community has inhabited the area since 1368, and relocates every so many years if the leader (the *Abah* ‘father’) divines through *wangsit*, a method of communication with the ancestors typically through dreams, that it is time to move. Based on locally maintained data from 2008, there were 293 inhabitants in Cipta Gelar, though Banten Kidul itself includes approximately 500 villages. Cipta Gelar is fairly remote, as the nearest city, Pelabuhan Ratu, is two hours away by motorbike. During the rainy season, it is very difficult to travel at all and landslides are common. This has meant that Sundanese has flourished as the primary language of communication and there remain many of the older generation who are monolingual Sundanese speakers. The village itself is self-sustained, with a strong focus on agriculture, particularly rice. Throughout the year, there are several festivals concerned with the harvest of rice, including *ngaseuk*, *mipit*, *nganyaran*, and *serentaun*.

The data collected in Cipta Gelar is supplemented by data gathered in urban, Sundanese areas, including in Bogor from January 2019 to June 2019 and in Bandung in

February 2020. Bogor is a city located 60 kilometers south of Jakarta. In the Middle Ages, it was the capital of the Sunda kingdom, Pakuan Pajajaran or Dayeuh Pakuan. Today it is a large, urbanized city that has experienced an influx of people from all over Indonesia, though the majority ethnicity remains Sundanese. Bandung is located approximately 140 kilometers southwest of Jakarta and is the fourth largest city in Indonesia. It is well-known for its universities, including the prestigious Institut Teknologi Bandung.

1.5.3 Hawu

Hawu is a Central-Eastern, Sumba-Hawu language of the Malayo-Polynesian sub-group. It is spoken on the island of Sabu (indig. *Rai Hawu*), located between the larger islands of Sumba and Timor in far southeastern Indonesia, as shown in Figure 1.5 and Figure 1.6.

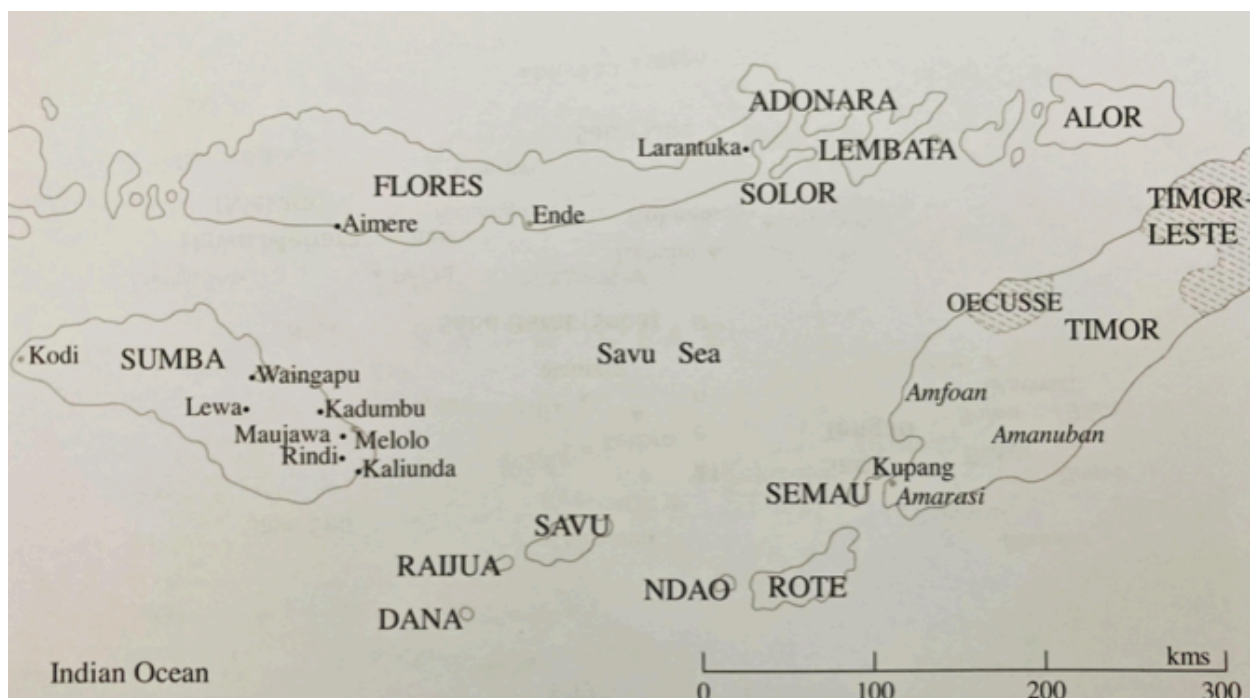


Figure 1.5. Map of East Nusa Tenggara and the position of Sabu (Savu) (from Duggan & Hägerdal 2018)



Figure 1.6. Map of Sabu, its five districts and places of historical importance (from Duggan & Hägerdal 2018)

While ‘Hawu’ is the indigenous term for the language, alternative names in the literature include Sabu, Savu, and Sawu, and the name of the island in Indonesian is Sabu⁹. In this work, I refer to the language and ethnicity as Hawu and the island as Sabu. The area of the island of Sabu, including its associated smaller islands of Raijua and Dana, is only about 460 square kilometers in size. Communities of Hawu speakers have also settled in Kupang, West Timor and Flores. Of the Hawu people, Duggan and Hägerdal (2018: 1) write, “Their fearsome reputation as Dutch Auxiliaries in the old days and their prominence as politicians and urban professionals in more recent times have given migrating Savunese a certain standing in the larger context in eastern Indonesia.”

East Indonesia is characterized by less rainfall and less fertile soil compared to other areas in Indonesia, making for a noticeably drier climate. Agricultural production includes sorghum, tubers (e.g. cassava, sweet potatoes), beans (e.g. mung beans), corn, seaweed, and rice, especially in low-lying coastal areas. Common livestock and fowl include pigs, goats,

⁹ This, in spite of the fact that there is no /s/ in Hawu.

and chickens. Sabu is especially well-known for the harvest of the sugar juice tapped from lontar palm, which is added to water and drunk or else kept as a thick syrup.

What is known of Sabu history is what has been assembled from its elaborate oral tradition, colonial era record-keeping, and reports from protestant priests of the 1800s, most recently succinctly summarized in the ethnography *Savu: History and Oral Tradition on an Island in Indonesia*. Other ethnographic studies include: *Harvest of the Palm* (Fox 1977), *Dunia orang Sabu* [The world of Savunese] (Kana 1978), *Memperkenalkan Kebudayaan Suku Bangsa Sabu* [Introducing the traditions of the Savunese people] (Detaq 1973), and *Orang Sabu dan Budayanya* [Savunese and their Culture] (Kaho & Kaho 2005). Before 1870, Sabu was largely non-literate, with mass education only becoming more common in the late 1940s after Indonesian independence. Nonetheless, Sabu has a rich oral tradition, especially exemplified by its detailed genealogies, which have led Fox (iv) to write, “Nowhere in the Austronesian world is there this level of genealogical elaboration.”

Despite its remote location, the Portuguese were in contact with Sabu before 1600, primarily for trade and missionary activities (Fox 1972). This foreign power was replaced by another foreign power - the Dutch East India Company - which obtained a trade agreement with three of the island’s rulers in 1648. During this time, it appears that Sabu was supplying soldiers to Kupang, West Timor. In 1869, there was a smallpox epidemic that reduced the population by a third. As a result of Portuguese and Dutch contact and missionary activities, Sabu is largely Protestant Christian today, though there remain many adherents to the ancestral religion, *Jingitiu*.

The most detailed description of Hawu language to date is a 72-page grammatical sketch by Walker (1982). There is also a dictionary (Padje, Padje & Kagiya 2007), and translations of biblical materials, which constitute the only written works of Hawu¹⁰.

Hawu is typologically quite distinct from Indonesian and Sundanese. It is a verb-object-subject word order language¹¹ and permits only open-final syllables. Some of its phonological features are not well-attested in Austronesian languages, including the presence of four implosive consonants, /b/, /d/, /f/, /g/, and contrastive length distinctions in vowels (e.g. *mea* ‘red’, but *meaa* ‘thick’ and *lu* ‘deep sleep’ and *luu* ‘trick’). Tense, aspect, and mood distinctions are not encoded morphologically, but rather through particles like the non-past marker *ta*, an inventory of continuous markers, and the productive iative *èlla* ‘finish’. Hawu morphology consists mainly of affixes (such as causative prefixes) and reduplication. The latter is both full and partial and may be used to encode manner, intensity, distribution, augmentation, continuous action, and purposelessness, among other meanings. Hawu also encodes object agreement through inflections. In addition to the Hawu widely spoken, there is also *Lii Pana* (‘spell language’, *Bahasa mantra*), a secret and sacred language used by Jingitiu priests, which is not understood by most people. *Lii Pana* is a parallel ritual speech of the type described also in the nearby island of Rote (Fox 2006, 2014, 2016).

There are at least five dialects of Hawu: Seba, Mesara, Timu, Liae, and Raijua. Though no rigorous study of these dialects has yet been done, it appears that the differences are primarily phonological and lexical and there are few difficulties in communication across dialect lines. The Hawu data used in this work were collected on two fieldtrips, mainly conducted in and around the port town of Seba. The first took place June-July 2018 as part of a broader language documentation project. I completed this work on a team with two native

¹⁰ There is, however, a current project underway creating a book of 20+ written Hawu folktales, translated also in Indonesian and English.

¹¹ SVO word order was probably innovative in Western Indonesia. For instance, Old Javanese, was predicate-initial (Blust 2013).

speakers of Hawu: Jacklin Bunga and Leonardo Lede Lay. In January-February 2020 I returned to Sabu to collect data specific to negation, with the invaluable help of Leonardo Lede Lay and Nari Tome.

1.5.4 Enggano

Enggano is spoken on the island of the same name, located off the southwestern coast of Sumatra, on the outer rim of Indonesian territory. The name apparently derives from the Portuguese *engano* ‘mistake, deceit’- a name given, according to legend, by Portuguese traders who expressed disappointment on encountering Enggano for the first time and finding it to have no spices. The location and villages of Enggano, are depicted in the map in Figure 1.7. There are six villages in Enggano: Apoho, Kayaapu, Kaana, Malakoni, Meok, and Banjasari.

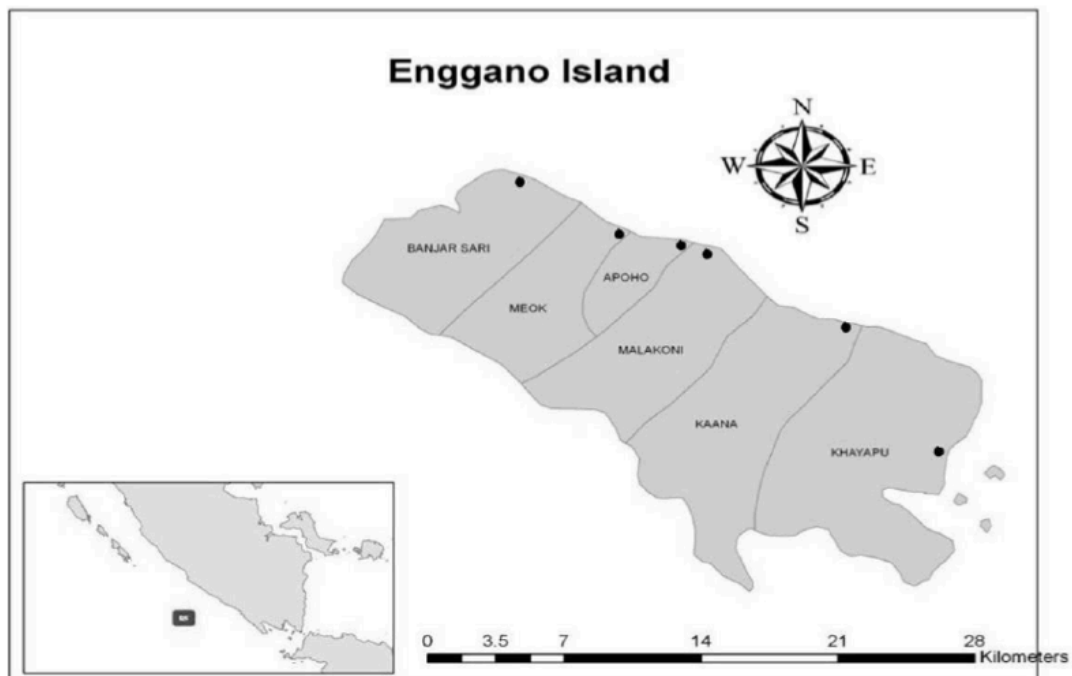


Figure 1.7. Map of Enggano, showing the principal villages (from Yoder 2011).

From sporadic early accounts, it appears that at the time of Western contact, the people of Enggano were sedentary horticulturists without rice agriculture, weaving, and metallurgy (Blust 2013). Based on the early account from Oudemans (1889: 148), people lived off coconuts, tubers, taros, bananas, fish, and wild boar and lived in beehive-shaped houses that stood on wooden poles high above the ground.¹²

The population of Enggano went into severe decline in the late 1800s, both as a result of disease and the tsunamis caused by the eruption of Krakatoa in 1883. By the 1960s, there were only an estimated 400 indigenous speakers on the island (ter Keurs, “Enggano”, n.d.). The island was then used for the rehabilitation of juvenile offenders from Java and for government-orchestrated transmigration, resulting in a large proportion of non-indigenous speakers today. The 2000 census, cited in Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig (2020), puts the population of Enggano at 1,500.

Today, the climate of Enggano is hot and moist with heavy rain throughout the year. Aside from the low-lying coastal areas, the terrain is hilly, with thick, hardwood forests covering most of the area. The majority of inhabitants engage in agriculture, growing bananas, coconuts, and *jengkol* (archidendron pauciflorum, a flowering tree of the pea family). Timber, copra, and bananas are exported to Bengkulu in mainland Sumatra. Fish make up a large part of the diet, as do the wild boar that are hunted with long, metal or wooden spears. As a result of contact with Europeans, Christianity has long been the predominant religion of the indigenous inhabitants, though transmigration has brought large numbers of Muslim Javanese and Padang ethnic groups, among others.

Enggano is a puzzle within Austronesian linguistics. A fair amount of work on the language was conducted by the linguist Hans Kähler during a single seven-month visit in

¹² During fieldwork I spoke with a man in his late 80s who had lived in such a house as a child. He reported that the purpose of the staged house was to guard against floods and wild animals, but also to be at an advantaged height to use one’s spear in case an enemy clan attacked.

1937-38, though there has been sporadic recent research as well. Some consider Enggano to be a member of the Austronesian language family with a large percentage of loan words from outside the family, while others consider it to be a language isolate with some borrowing from Austronesian languages. According to Edwards (2015) the retention rate of vocabulary from Proto-Austronesian is only 21% in Enggano, whereas the retention in Malay is 59%. It is this low retention rate, argues Edwards, that obscures the relatedness of Enggano. Furthermore, he argues, pronouns, numerals and some affixes of Enggano can be said to derive from proto-Malayo-Polynesian and any contemporary differences can be explained by regular sound changes. Blench (2009), on the other hand, posits that Enggano is a language isolate that has simply borrowed Austronesian vocabulary.

Some have observed that Enggano people share more in common culturally with indigenous groups of the Austro-Asiatic-speaking Nicobar Islands, than any of the Austronesian-speaking groups of Sumatra. An oft-cited example is the distinctive beehive shape of the houses once used in Enggano, which are also found in the Nicobar Islands. Despite this tempting proposal, there do not appear to be linguistic connections with Nicobarese or other Austro-Asiatic languages. It is not one of my aims in this work to weigh in on the debate surrounding Enggano's classification, so I will remain neutral on the classification of Enggano throughout this work.

Today, Enggano is widely preferred as the language of communication among adults, but the majority of children appear to prefer to speak Indonesian, as this is the language learned in school. Many young Enggano people voice aspirations to relocate to mainland Sumatra or Java where it is felt there are more jobs and educational opportunities. Nonetheless, Enggano appears to be viewed in a positive light by its speakers and there is widespread pride and interest in projects that might support its maintenance. Enggano also occupies an interesting position in the minds of non-Enggano Indonesians elsewhere in Indonesia. One Javanese

speaker described to me the time he had heard Enggano spoken on a bus near Jakarta and whirled around to glimpse the source of the language, as he had never heard anything quite like it.

Some of the linguistic features of Enggano do make it seem typologically distinct from other languages of Indonesia, even at first glance. One immediately striking feature is the nasal harmony which carries over syllable and word boundaries. Palatal assimilation is also common, especially from /k/ to /j/. According to Blust (2013), Enggano joins Nias as the only Austronesian language (if it is an Austronesian language) of Western Indonesia and the Philippines not to allow word-final consonants. It is a subject-verb-object language with heavily isolating morphology. There are, however, some morphological inflections in marking verbal categories and occasional reduplication. The pronoun inventory includes aclusivity distinction in first person plurals and also distinctions between subject and object pronouns. The counting system is vigesimal and is modelled off the human body. For instance, the lexeme ‘20’ is *kaha(i) ka?* ‘one person’ given that a person has 20 digits, while ‘30’ is *kahaka? ki kipa?au* ‘one person and ten’, and ‘40’ is *aruka?* ‘two people.’ The language appears to be under rapid change, as evident from comparative recordings I collected from a father (in his late 80s) and a son (in his late 40s) which exhibited numerous lexical and grammatical differences.

The Enggano data collected from this work is from two short fieldtrips: a week-long trip in May 2019 and a two-week trip in March 2020. In both cases, I stayed with the same Enggano family in the village of Apoho. This family, along with immediately surrounding relatives, comprised the majority of Enggano utterances presented in this work.

1.6 Methods

The bulk of the data for this dissertation was collected during fieldwork conducted in sites with monolingual and multilingual speakers of the languages examined herein between June 2018 and March 2020¹³. The language of communication was Indonesian and, in some cases, the target languages. For instance, in Sundanese areas I sometimes interviewed monolingual speakers in Sundanese and in Hawu areas, I had the help of Hawu speakers to interview monolingual speakers in Hawu. English was scarcely ever used.

The data were collected through participant observation, structured and unstructured interviews, and elicitation. The field site where participant observation was most relevant was in the Sundanese village of Cipta Gelar where I attended village meetings, festivals, speeches, and performances in the target language. Moreover, I made inquiries about storytellers and songwriters and recorded these materials in private sessions. I interviewed people in a number of different professions – farmers, fishermen, weavers, students, politicians, *dukun* ‘shaman, witch doctors’, religious practitioners, artists, teachers, business people – and asked them to describe the nature of their work in the target language. I often accompanied people on their daily tasks and recorded explanations of what they were doing along the way. In some instances, I asked participants to describe the steps of a task they were undertaking in the target language, e.g. building a house, carving a wooden puppet, constructing a toy from paddy grass, etc. With the permission of the participants, I would sometimes record a video of participants engaging in some task, e.g. collecting palm sugar, repairing a boat, and later record them describing what they were doing while watching the video. This ensured a quieter and more focused setting for a recording.

¹³ The exception here is Enggano, where I did not encounter any monolingual speakers. All were conversant in both Enggano and colloquial varieties of Indonesian.

As the primary focus of this work was negation, I used Miestamo's (2016, revised 2019 with Ljuba Veselinova) negation questionnaire as a rough guide to elicit negative constructions in various domains. Additionally, I made use of a large number of storyboards. Here, participants were presented with a series of drawings and asked to tell a story in the target language regarding what was happening in the picture, e.g. tea being brewed, a woman washing her hands, a boy picking up the shards of a broken dish, etc. I intentionally selected storyboards that I felt would elicit negative utterances. For instance, Figure 1.8. shows an example of a storyboard that is useful in eliciting the prohibitive, as the child who has spilled the milk is then scolded by his mother.

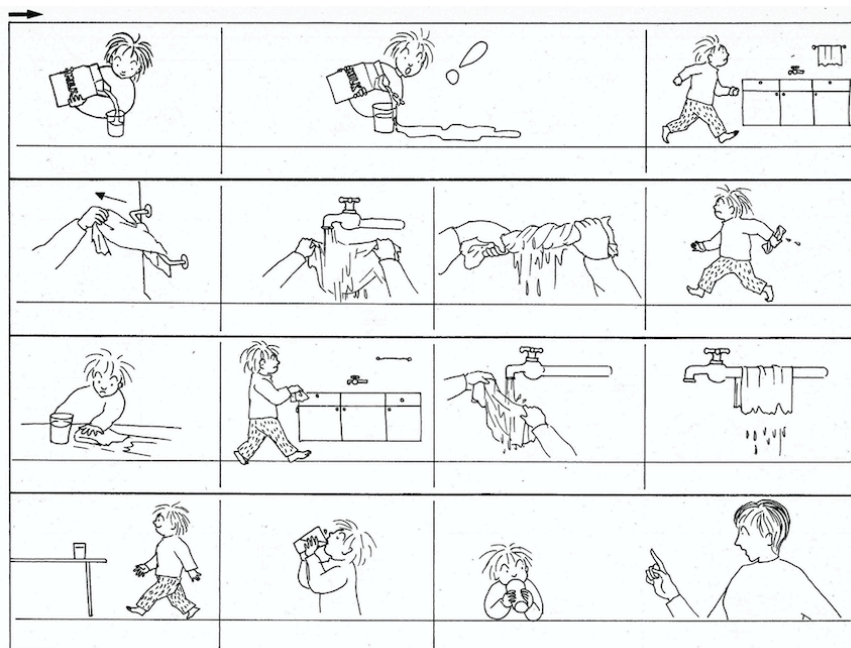


Figure 1.8 Example of storyboard used in fieldwork to elicit negative utterances.

Elicitations of these sorts would often involve several people, who would insert corrections or alternative suggestions. Storyboards were an excellent ice breaker as they provided a useful prop for participants to focus upon.

Some of the data represented in this work were collected from written materials. This is only true of Malay/Indonesian and Sundanese as these are two languages that possess long

written histories. Examples of written data in Standard Indonesian include the SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus, BBC Indonesia or Kompas articles, literary works, and blogs. Any written work from Sundanese is drawn entirely from Noorduyn and Teeuw (2006), a collection of three Sundanese manuscripts from approximately the 17th century, which the authors have transcribed from the Sundanese script to roman orthography and provided English translations. These manuscripts are an excellent source of diachronic developments within Sundanese. Where written data is used in this work, it is indicated. If there is no such indication on an example presented herein, the reader can take it to be natural language data gathered through fieldwork.

The selection of participants was done primarily through convenience. It was frequently the case that those especially interested in their language were the ones who gravitated toward me and my project. As noted, I specifically sought out those who were known to be storytellers in order to record those narratives. Most of the field sites were small, which meant that everyone was aware of the project. I try to represent different ages and genders, as well as education levels and social economic status. In Sundanese, for instance, I collected data not only from those in rural Cipta Gelar, but also from college students in Bandung and Bogor. It was extremely common throughout the work, especially in Sundanese areas, for women to decline participation in the project and defer to their husbands or other male kin. Nevertheless, there are still a number of women's voices represented in this work.

The majority of the utterances presented herein were recorded with a zoom recorder after receiving consent from the participant(s). The data were then transcribed in ELAN, usually with the help of a native speaker of the target language who would translate to me in Indonesian. The data were then uploaded to FLEx (FieldWorks software) in order to be glossed and to build a lexicon. Some of the data were spontaneous and thus were written in my notebook and not recorded at all.

1.7 The organization of the dissertation

This section presents a summary of the proceeding content of this dissertation, which is divided into five chapters, following this introduction. The content chapters comprise important aspects of negation identified during fieldwork.

Chapter Two is a discussion of the two productive regular negators, often termed ‘verbal’ and ‘nominal’ negators, that frequently arise in the negation systems of many non-Oceanic Austronesian languages. These labels, which have been used in descriptive and typological works, attempt to fit the syntactic behavior of these negators, as the former tends to appear before verb phrases and the latter tends to appear before noun phrases. For a large majority of utterances, this division holds up. However, the distinction quickly breaks down under closer examination. The purpose of this chapter is to suggest that these negators can indeed be differentiated syntactically, but that a semantic and pragmatic assessment is better equipped to address the flexibility of their functions. Taking the distinctions between the verbal and nominal negators in Standard Indonesian, Sundanese, Enggano, and Hawu as examples, I provide evidence that the nominal negators are far more flexible than the verbal negators. I propose that this flexibility stems from two additional functions held by nominal negators: contrastive negation and the denial of a presupposition of an interlocutor, even when that presupposition is not overtly voiced but is simply assumed by the speaker. Beyond merely illustrating the flexibility of occurrence of these forms in the environment typically reserved for the other, I also demonstrate the unique functions of nominal negators in question tags and other interrogative environments, fixed expressions, and interviews from fieldwork in West Java. Though I make no claims that these functions are at the heart of the distinction of these negators for all Austronesian languages, I suggest that attention to the flexibility of the nominal negators within individual languages is illuminative in teasing apart separate functions of these negators where they exist.

Chapter Three addresses the frequent occurrence of special lexicalizations with negation or alternative negative forms and expressions like NOT WANT, NOT KNOW, and NOT YET in languages of Indonesia. Such forms typically bear little to no resemblance to the standard negators of these languages and are often more prevalent in negative replies than in declarative utterances. Another features of some of these forms is that they tend to occur in first person replies without subjects. Of interest to those who study negation is why it should be that there is a cross-linguistic tendency for certain categories of words to lexicalize with negation, but not others. I suggest that one major motivation for the emergence of special negative forms and expressions in these languages is a cultural preference for indirectness which results in alternative forms being sought to mitigate the direct force of negation. As will be evident in this chapter, the presence of irregular negative verbs cannot be explained by the same motivations in all languages nor for all categories of irregular forms.

Chapter Four aims to identify the means for encoding existential and negative existential predication in Indonesian, Sundanese, Enggano, and Hawu. Like many but not all languages of the world, the same particles are used in these languages to encode existence, locative, and possessive predications. Any claims surrounding which function is primary is probably language specific and needs to be accounted for as such. That there is overlap in these functions arises from the fact that in specifying ‘location at’, ‘exist at’, and ‘ownership at’ the same inferences are drawn about reality. It is therefore not the goal of this work to tease apart these categories, but to focus on the use of negation in this domain of the grammar. Cross-linguistically, it is extremely common for there to be special negative existential forms (Veselinova 2013), which may appear alongside other strategies for encoding negative existence, e.g. via the standard negator with the existential predicator. Each of the languages of this sample exhibit one or more of these special negative existential forms which in all languages break into the verbal domain to perform specific functions. A large part of this

chapter is devoted to the locative-existential system in Hawu, which is deeply entwined with mirativity, deixis, and evidentiality. A multitude of the distinctions encoded by a special class of deictic verbs in Hawu are neutralized under negation, providing a good case study of distinctions lost under negation and the properties of negation that result in such neutralization.

Chapter Five is a descriptive account of prohibitives in the languages of this sample. These languages join the cross-linguistic majority (that is, two-thirds of the 495 language sample in van der Auwera et al 2005) in possessing a special prohibitive form that differs significantly from any of the standard negators, negative lexicalizations, or negative existentials in the inventory of each language. I follow Van der Auwera (2006) in suggesting that prohibitives constitute a separate functional domain from other negators given their distinctive speech act status. Another goal of the chapter is to show that, because negative imperatives constitute a face-threatening act, there are strategies available in these languages to mitigate the force of the prohibitive, including the use of passive voice, the addition of first-person plural pronouns, existential predications, aspectual particles, and apology. I also demonstrate that the prohibitive forms are not used exclusively in imperative mood, but rather have broken into other areas of the grammar, such as the negation of noun phrases, the coding of negative obligation, and the coding of dubitative modality, among other areas. I suggest that, at least within the languages of this sample, it is not clear that the prohibitive meaning is primary, but rather it is possible that general indication of negative obligation has become conventionalized as prohibitive marking.

Chapter Six explores the interaction of negation with other scalar-sensitive elements of the grammar, including reduplication, restrictive particles, and scalar additive particles. As negation is one of multiple constructions that reverses scalar inference, these parts of the grammar are particularly sensitive to its specification. Reduplicated expressions of scale-

reversing constructions like interrogatives are especially compatible with negation, often requiring overt specification of negation in order to be felicitous. Given its iconics of increased quantity, reduplication effectively encodes indefiniteness, superlatives, exceptive readings, and *any*-type readings. Meanwhile, restrictive particles, which are far less compatible with negation than reduplication, combine with interrogatives to encode free-choice and discursive functions like concession. Finally, scalar additive particles co-occur with minimal unit expressions and negation to encode highly newsworthy expressions, given the intersection of elements that are high on a scale of informativeness with elements that are low on a scale of quantity. A key proposal of this chapter is that these seemingly disparate elements share in common sensitivity to semantic and pragmatic scales of possibility, whose sensitivity can be usefully exploited in conversation.

The Conclusions summarize the relevant points discussed throughout the dissertation and propose suggestions for future research. This section also includes a chart with all of the negative forms and expressions addressed in the dissertation.

1.8 A note on orthography

This section contains a few notes on the orthographical conventions that will be employed in the linguistic glosses of this dissertation.

The data from Standard Indonesian follow the orthographic conventions of this language. The writing system is largely phonetic, with the exception of ‘ng’ which reads as /ŋ/ and ‘ny’ which reads as /ɲ/ and the occasional deletion of the schwa as in *selamat* /slamat/ ‘congratulations’. In addition, the orthographic letter ‘e’ can be realized as /ə/ or as /ɛ/ and word-final ‘k’ is sometimes produced as a glottal stop as in *balik* /baliʔ/ ‘return’ or as a voiceless velar *balik* /balik/.

The Sundanese examples also follow orthographic conventions of this language. As in Standard Indonesian, ‘ng’ which reads as /ŋ/ and ‘ny’ reads as /ɲ/. The orthographic vowel ‘é’ refers to a front, mid vowel /ɛ/, while unmarked ‘e’ refers to a schwa, and ‘eu’ refers to a high, central vowel /i/. Examples of these vowel distinctions are presented in (1).

- (1)
- | | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| <i>Badé</i> /badɛ/ | ‘want’ |
| <i>Sareng</i> /sarəŋ/ | ‘with/and’ |
| <i>Gadeuh</i> /gadɪh/ | ‘have’ |

Hawu, which has long been strictly oral, has a writing system in process. This system is largely the result of my project with Jacklin Bunga and Leonardo Lede Lay¹⁴, which is somewhat based on the spelling system used for the translation of biblical materials, as this system has already become familiar to the communities. The implosives are represented by an apostrophe following the relevant consonants, as in the minimal pairs shown in (2a); glottal consonants are represented by an apostrophe and always occur intervocalically, as in (2b); the orthographic vowel ‘è’ refers to a schwa, as in (2c) which is phonologically conditioned by the following geminate consonants; double vowels refer to lengthening, as shown in the minimal pairs in in (2d); and double consonants refer to gemination, as in (2e).

- (2)
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. <i>d’ute</i> /dʉte/ ‘spill’ | <i>dute</i> /dute/ ‘call’ |
| <i>b’oo</i> /bo:/ ‘fig tree sap’ | <i>boo</i> /bo:/ ‘leak, spill out’ |
| <i>mej’ènni</i> /mɛʃən:i/ ‘diligent’ | <i>mejènni</i> /mɛdʒən:i/ ‘heavy’ |
| b. <i>mea</i> /mɛa/ ‘red’ | <i>me’a</i> /mɛʔa/ ‘cough’ |
| c. <i>èrru</i> /əru/ ‘pan’ | <i>aru</i> /aru/ ‘eight’ |
| d. <i>ko</i> /ko/ ‘again’ | <i>koo</i> /ko:/ ‘thorn’ |
| <i>mela</i> /mɛla/ ‘former’ | <i>melaa</i> /mɛla:/ ‘gold’ |
| <i>petu</i> /pɛtu/ ‘true, definite’ | <i>petuu</i> /pɛtu:/ ‘put together’ |
| <i>ne</i> /nɛ/ (topicalizer) | <i>nee</i> /nɛ:/ (deictic verb) |
| e. <i>lema</i> /lɛma/ ‘also’ | <i>lèmma</i> /lɛm:a/ ‘hit’ |

¹⁴ NSF sponsored training project (BCS – 1747801) in language documentation held in East Nusa Tenggara during the summer of 2018

Finally, Enggano has no writing system at this time, so I use the international phonetic alphabet throughout the dissertation. At the time of writing, it appears that there is soon to be an effort by another research team to develop a writing system for Enggano.

CHAPTER 2

VERBAL AND NOMINAL NEGATION

2.1 Introduction

At its heart, negation is a semantic category that serves to reverse the truth of a proposition when, in propositional logic, “*p* is true not-*p* is false, and *vice versa*” (Miestamo 2007: 1). Despite the universality of the basic category negation, there is considerable variation from language to language regarding the properties and functions inherent to a negation system. These differences include: the number and position of negative markers in the clause, the scope of negation, the overlap in the use of standard negation with nonverbal negation, differences in the expression of negation in various tense, aspects, and moods, and the possible semantic and pragmatic distinctions that any given negator may encode.

The purpose of this chapter is to address a puzzle within the negation system of many non-Oceanic Austronesian languages; namely, the frequent presence of two regular negators. This phenomenon is demonstrated in Standard Indonesian in (1), where *tidak* has the verb *membawa* ‘bring’ within its scope, while *bukan* has the noun *mahasiswa* ‘student’ within its scope. Speakers often express the feeling that to substitute one negator for the other results in expressions that are ungrammatical or *ganjil* ‘odd’, suggesting that these two negators are sensitive to different elements of an utterance.

(1) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Dia* ***tidak*** *membawa* *buku-nya*
3SG NEG AV.bring book-3SG
“She did not bring her book.”
- b. *Dia* ***bukan*** *mahasiswa*
3SG NEG college student
“She is not a college student.”

Grammarians and fieldworkers (e.g. Macdonald and Soenjono 1967:160-1 and Sneddon 1996:195-7 for Standard Indonesian) as well typologists (e.g. Blust 2013, Stassen 1997:48,

etc.) have described these negators syntactically as ‘verbal’ and ‘nominal’ negators, given that the ‘verbal’ negators tend to operate on verbs (sometimes broadly specified as activities) and adjectives (sometimes broadly specified as attributes), while the so-called ‘nominal’ negators tend to operate on noun-like entities (sometimes broadly specified as things).

A cursory glance at a collection of Austronesian grammars immediately available demonstrates that the presence of two such negators is widespread in the negation systems of these languages. For instance, in Karo Batak (Woollams 1996), a language of North Sumatra, *la* encodes verbal negation, *séa/sébo/so* encodes nominal negation; in Madurese (Davies 1999), spoken on the island of Madura off the east coast of Java, *loq/taq* is verbal, *benne* is nominal; in Puyuma (Fang-Ching Teng 2008), a language of Taiwan, *adri* is verbal, *ameli* is nominal; in Mualang (Tjia 2007), a language of West Kalimantan, *naday* is verbal and *ukay* is nominal; in Balangao (Shetler 1976), a language of the Philippines, *adi* is verbal and *baén* is nominal; in Tetun Dili (Williams-van Klinken, Hajek, & Nordlinger 2002), spoken in Timor, *la* is verbal and *laos* is nominal; in Galolen (my fieldnotes), spoken in Timor *ta... (enek)* is verbal, *taos... (enek)* is nominal; in Serawai (my fieldnotes), spoken in South Sumatra, *ndiak* is verbal, *bukan* is nominal.

There are certainly languages of this region where this distinction is not to be found. Pendau (Quick 2007), a language of Central Sulawesi, for instance, encodes both verbal and nominal negation with *ndau*. It is not controversial to say, however, that this distinction is a widespread areal feature.

The neat classification of ‘verbal’ and ‘nominal’ negators has not gone without comment, as it quickly becomes evident that each of these negators sometimes occurs in environments usually reserved for the other. Blust (2013: 483) acknowledges, “it is possible description of these patterns of negation as associated with nominal or verbal constituents is misguided,” citing examples from other publications where the function of the so-called

nominal appears to be primarily contrastive. Sneddon et al (2012: 244) observe the peculiar behaviour of the negators with quantity, among other parts of the grammar, noting, “Quantity clauses are negated with *tidak* unless a contrast is stated or implied, in which case *bukan* is used”, as indicated in (2).

(2) Standard Indonesian (Sneddon et al 2012: 244)

- a. *Anak-nya tidak banyak*
 Child-3PL NEG many
 “They don’t have many children.”
- b. *Penggemar-nya bukan satu dua orang melainkan ribuan*
 NMLZ.admire-3SG NEG one two person but rather thousands
 “Her fans are not only one or two but thousands.”

Others propose that the very terms ‘verbal’ and ‘nominal’ suggest that such categories must exist in the first place, which is not at all clear given the fluidity of lexical categories in many languages of this region. Gil (2013), working with Riau Indonesian, a variety of Malay/Indonesian spoken in east-central Sumatra in informal situations, provides numerous examples demonstrating that the verb and the noun are not relevant categories in this language. Negation, and the distinction between *tak/bukan* in Riau Indonesian, is one of the areas of evidence for this claim. He makes a compelling argument that it is not nouns and verbs that *tak/bukan* are sensitive to, but thematic roles where *bukan* responds to the essant (generally the only thematic role of things) and *tak* responds to the richer array of thematic roles available to activities such as agent and patient. In order for *tak* to occur with things, semantic conversion must first occur. The essant, Gil notes, is comparable to *this* in English in such expressions as *This is John, this is a student, this is murder*. He posits that the distinction between *tak* and *bukan* is therefore entirely semantic.

Kroeger (2014) suggests that the difference between *tidak* and *bukan* in Malay/Indonesian is evidence of a rare internal/external negative distinction, where *tidak* marks internal, predicate negation, and *bukan* negates external, sentential negation. This is a strong claim, given that authors like Gazdar (1979), Levinson (1983), and Horn (1989) argue

that no language is known to have lexicalized the distinction between internal and external negation. Such a distinction is usually discussed in regards to Bertrand Russell's famous example, *The king of France is bald*. External negation entails a 'presupposition-cancelling' reading in which the utterance is true, i.e. 'It is not the case the king of France is bald, because there is no king of France'. Internal negation entails a reading where the utterance lacks truth value, i.e. 'The king of France is unbald (has hair).' I do not concur that *bukan* functions to encode external negation, but I do agree with many of the functions and sensitivities that Kroeger posits.

This chapter builds on the work of previous authors in taking the position that the distinction between verbal and nominal negators is primarily (though not fully) semantic and pragmatic. I contribute to the conversation by providing a detailed look at a larger number of languages and by proposing additional evidence from certain areas of the grammar that are rarely discussed regarding the distinctions between these negators. This additional evidence contributes to an explanation regarding the functional distinctions of the negators. Though I agree with the criticisms of the terms 'verbal' and 'nominal' negators expressed in Gil (2013), I continue to use those terms here as they are already widely used in the literature. I suggest that 'verbal negator' and 'nominal negator' are still relevant terms as their distribution in the majority of cases corresponds to categories that are identifiable.

The chapter is organized as follows. In the first section, I explore the specific functions encoded by verbal and nominal negators in the four languages of this sample - Indonesian, Sundanese, Enggano, and Hawu - to assess general conclusions that can be drawn regarding the difference in the behaviour of these negators when examined in detail. I do not propose to account for functions that are present or should be present in all the verbal and nominal negators in non-Oceanic Austronesian languages, but I suggest that some of the distinctions exhibited in these languages may be found in other languages as well and that

these distinctions say something important about properties of negation. In the second section, I take on the observation that nominal negators are far more flexible regarding the environments in which they occur than verbal negators. I suggest this flexibility can be accounted for by the additional but related functions these negators possess. In this section, I focus on the usage of *bukan* in Indonesian and address its occurrence in: negative tags (and other question particles), fixed negative expressions, and in denials of presuppositions in fieldwork interviews in West Java.

I conclude that the two major functions of nominal negators beyond standard negation are: 1) contrastive negation, and 2) denial of a previous assumption of an interlocutor, even when that assumption is not voiced.

2.2 ‘Verbal’ and ‘nominal’ negators in the four languages of this study

In this section, I describe the forms and means used to achieve standard negation in each of the four languages of the study, beginning with Indonesian and Sundanese, followed by Enggano, then Hawu. I then present examples demonstrating the flexibility of each of the types of negator to occur in the domain of the other – a point which is especially true of the nominal negators. The presence of these distinctions have been observed for West Malayo-Polynesian languages, but less so for languages spoken in the eastern Indonesia like Hawu.

2.2.1 Indonesian and Sundanese

The standard verbal negator in Standard Indonesian is an uninflected particle¹⁵, *tidak*, along with any of its alternate colloquial forms *gak*, *nggak*, *enggak*, and literary form, *tak*, as demonstrated in the affirmative and negative counterparts in (3). This negator is most commonly used to mark verbs and adjectives, but is also typically used to negate adverbs

¹⁵ 99 of the 240 languages of Dahl’s (1979) sample are marked through an uninflected particle.

(*tidak besok* ‘not tomorrow’), numerals (*tidak satu* ‘not one’), and interrogatives like *apa* ‘what’ (*tidak apa* ‘no problem’). The negator appears directly before the predicate, mirroring the most common position for negation in Austronesian languages (Vossen and van der Auwera 2014:61) and cross-linguistically (van der Auwera and Du Mon 2015:411)¹⁶. Standard negation in Indonesian is symmetric, following the classification in Miestamo (2000, 2003, 2005a), in that there is no difference between negative and non-negative clauses, other than the presence of the negator.

(3) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Dia* *pergi tidur dengan* *patuh*
 3SG go sleep with obedient
 “S/he went to sleep obediently.”
- b. *Dia* ***tidak*** *pergi tidur dengan* *patuh*
 3SG NEG go sleep with obedient
 “S/he did not go to sleep obediently.”
- c. *Bahasa-nya* *kasar*
 Language-3SG rough
 “His language is rough/ impolite/ informal.”
- d. *Bahasa-nya* ***tidak*** *halus*
 Language-3SG NEG smooth
 “His language is not smooth/ polite/ formal.”

The form *tidak* is primarily used in formal speech or writing while the negator *tak* has a literary flavor, often appearing in fictional works and sometimes in news stories. Meanwhile, the velar or nasalized allomorphs are much more common in colloquial Indonesian varieties, such as those spoken in and around Jakarta. The different forms are shown in (4), where (4a) is taken from a written source and (4b) is taken from a conversation in Jakarta Indonesian. Sneddon (2006: 57) in an examination of Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, finds that in 2309 tokens of verbal negators in conversation, *tidak* only appeared 48 times, while *enggak* appeared 2207 times, with fairly rare forms of the Jakarta dialect like *ndak* and *kagak* making up the remainder.

¹⁶ Vossen 2016:4 specifies that 70% of the world’s languages are of this type

(4) Indonesian

a. *Kau tak boleh me-laku-kan hal-hal se-macam itu*
2SG NEG must AV-do-APPL thing-RED INDF-type that
“You are not allowed to do things like that.” (written source)

b. *Aku nggak mau mandi*
1SG NEG want bathe
“I don’t want to bathe.”

In Sundanese, the standard negator is the uninflected particle *henteu/ hanteu*, frequently in its clipped form *teu*, as shown in the affirmative and negative pairs in (5). Like *tidak* in Indonesian, *teu* in Sundanese is most commonly used to negate verbs and adjectives, but also negates adverbs (*teu enjing* ‘not tomorrow’), numerals (*teu hiji* ‘not one’), and interrogatives like *naon* ‘what’ (*teu naon* ‘no problem’). Like Indonesian, the negator appears directly before the predicate. As will be described in Chapter 3, there are a host of special negators that are employed in various tenses and other environments in Sundanese, making standard negation asymmetrical in this language.

(5) Sundanese

a. *Urang ngaguna-keun éta ember*
1PL AV.use-APPL DEM bucket
“We use that bucket.”

b. *Urang henteu ngagunakeun éta ember*
1PL NEG AV-use-APPL DEM bucket
“We don’t use that bucket.”

c. *Aranjeuna beunghar*
3PL rich
“They are rich.”

d. *Aranjeuna henteu beunghar*
3PL NEG rich
“They are not rich.”

Evidence that the negator is a particle rather than a verb is provided by its inability to take the plural infix *-ar* (or its allophone *-al*) which typically affixes to nouns and verbs as in (6).

(6) Sundanese

Aranjeunna teu taruang tos sab-ab-ar-aha dinten
3PL NEG PL-eat IAM several-RED-PL day
“They hadn’t eaten for many days.”

Indonesian and Sundanese, like many non-Oceanic Austronesian languages, regularly employ an entirely different negator before noun phrases. In Standard Indonesian and many

of its colloquial varieties, as indicated in the introduction, this negator is *bukan* and in Sundanese it is *sanés* or *lain*, the only difference between the two in Sundanese being speech level; the former is the high level, the latter is the middle level. Like the verbal negators, these negators occur directly before the noun phrase and there is no change in word order between the affirmative and the negative. The forms are widely used in equative utterances, as in 7a-b and 8a-b, and proper inclusion, as in 7c-d and 8c-d.

(7) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Beliau* *ketua* *adat*
3SG.HON leader tradition
“He is the traditional/customary leader.”
- b. *Beliau* ***bukan*** *ketua* *adat*
3SG.HON NEG leader tradition
“He is not the traditional/ customary leader.”
- c. *Dia* *pem-bohong*
3SG NMLZ-lie
“S/he is a liar.”
- d. *Dia* ***bukan*** *pem-bohong*
3SG NEG.NOM NMLZ-lie
“S/he is no liar.”

(8) Sundanese

- a. *Anjeuna* *ma* *urang*
3SG mother 1SG
“She is my mother.”
- b. *Anjeuna* ***sanés*** *ma* *urang*
3SG NEG mother 1SG
“She is not my mother.”
- c. *Asep* *tukang* *moro*
Asep craftsman hunt
“He is a hunter.”
- d. *Asep* ***sanés*** *tukang* *moro*
Asep NEG craftsman hunt
“He is not a hunter.”

The verbal and nominal negators are both used regularly and share the essential function of reversing the truth of a proposition by indicating that some event or state of affairs does not hold true. Additionally, both are sensitive to pre-supposition within the context of speech and are able to counter-assert a pre-supposition. For instance the

proposition in (9a) presupposes that there is an affirmative counterpart (9b), just as (9c) entails an affirmative, as in (9d).

(9) Sundanese

- a. *Aranjeuna henteu beunghar*
3PL NEG rich
“They are not rich.”
- b. *Aranjeuna beunghar*
3PL rich
“They are rich.”
- c. *Asep sanés tukang moro*
Asep NEG craftsman hunt
“Asep is not a craftsman.”
- d. *Asep tukang moro*
Asep craftsman hunt
“Asep is a hunter.”

Another shared function of the two negators is that in responses both act as pro-sentences, i.e. a sentence where the subject has been dropped and there is thus a null subject, as shown in (10) in Jakarta Indonesian.

(10)

- Jakarta Indonesian
- Speaker A: *Mau ikut ke pasar*
Want follow to market
“Do you want to join to the market?”
- Speaker B: ***Nggak*** – ‘No, (I don’t want to)’
- Speaker A: *Dia yang kepala desa*
3SG REL head village
“Is it he who is the village head?”
- Speaker B: ***Bukan*** – ‘No (not that one)’

However, one piece of evidence that these negators belong to different functional domains is their ability to occur in the same utterances, as shown in (11) in Standard Indonesian. As suggested in Frajzyngier & Shay (2016) and Frajzyngier & Butters (2020), evidence that two things belong to the same functional domain is that they cannot co-occur with each other in the same clause. That *bukan* and *tidak* co-occur, with *tidak* having focused, narrow scope and *bukan* having wider scope, suggests the unique functions of these negators in Indonesian.

- (11) Standard Indonesian
- a. **Bukan tidak** mungkin godaan yang sama kemudian
 NEG NEG maybe temptation REL same then
mengalir ke diri presiden Jokowi
 AV.flow to self president Jokowi
 “It is not impossible that the same temptation would flow to President Jokowi.” (Republik news)
- b. *Meskipun gaya seperti itu bukan tidak ada sebelum-nya*
 Although style like DEM NEG NEG EX before-LIG
 “Although it’s not that there was not a style like that before.”
- c. *Kita tidak biasa (bukan tidak bisa) memulai-nya*
 1PL.INCL NEG usual NEG NEG can AV.start-LIG
dari diri kita sendiri
 from self 1PL.INCL alone
 “We are not accustomed (not that we cannot) to starting it by ourselves.”

The differing functions of these negators is also evident in their distribution where verbal negators are not entirely confined to verbal environments and nominal negators are not entirely confined to nominal environments. For instance, the Indonesian *tidak* can sometimes occur before lexemes that contain the nominal prefix *pe-* (*peN-* in some environments such as before an alveolar sound). The *pe-* morpheme that serves to mark the agent of an action (usually a job) or a hobby and probably derives from the verbal prefix *ber-* (sometimes described as middle voice). For instance: *petugas* ‘employee’ (compare to *bertugas* ‘to be tasked with’), *petinju* ‘boxer’ (*bertinju* ‘to box’), *pejalan kaki* ‘pedestrian’ (*berjalan kaki* ‘to go by foot’), *pemalu* ‘shy person’ (*bermalu* ‘to feel shameful’). Sneddon et al (2012: 53) suggest there is some evidence that such items actually behave more like adjectives, given that they can coordinate with other adjectives, as in (12).

- (12) Standard Indonesian (Sneddon et al 2012: 53)
- a. *Dia tidak pe-marah*
 3SG NEG NMLZ-angry
 “S/he is not an angry person.”
- b. *Kakak saya se-orang yang tenang dan pen-diam*
 Older sibling 1SG INDF-person REL calm and NMLZ-quiet
 “My older sister is a calm and quiet person.”

There is also a high degree of flexibility in the use of negators before prepositional and comparative phrases where it is often equally possible to use verbal or nominal negators in both Indonesian in (13) and in Sundanese in (14).

- (13) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Ini bukan/tidak seperti kampung saya*
 This NEG/ NEG like village 1SG
 “This is not like my village.”
- b. *Aku bukan/tidak dari rumah sakit jiwa*
 1SG NEG from house sick soul
 “I’m not from the psychiatric hospital.”
- c. *Dia akan membawa Indonesia ke jalan yang kita*
 3SG FUT AV.bring Ind. to road REL 1PL.INCL
Tidak tahu mau di-bawa ke mana tetapi yang pasti
 NEG know want PV-bring to where but REL sure
bukan/ tidak ke arah yang baik
 NEG to direction REL good
 “He will bring Indonesia along a road that we don’t know goes where, but what is for sure is that it won’t be in a good direction.” (BBC Indonesia)

- (14) Sundanese
- Ieu sanés/ heunteu kanggé dulur abdi*
 DEM NEG for relative 1SG
 “This is not for my relative.”

Despite what appears at first blush to be free variation within this environment, the nominal negators are clearly the more flexible of the two types of negators. In the introduction, I noted the observation in Sneddon et al (2012) that *bukan* can be used to negate numerals or other elements expressing quantity when the meaning is contrastive. As demonstrated in (15) in Standard Indonesian and (16) in Sundanese, the nominal negators can occur before attributes when encoding contrastive negation. In the majority of cases, the use of nominal negators before attributes is not felicitous without the contrasting example being overtly specified or else significant contextual information supplied.

- (15) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Jeni bukan tamak (melainkan suka hemat uang)*
 Jeni NEG stingy AV.other-APPL HAB conserve money
 “Jeni is not stingy, but rather likes to save money.”
- b. *Kalau ada lebih dari satu tentu dia bukan unik lagi*
 If EX more from one sure 3SG NEG unique again
 “If there is more than one, surely it’s no longer unique.”

- c. *Yehuwa* *memilik-i* *tubuh* *tetapi* **bukan** *seperti* *tubuh* *kita*
 Jehova AV.own-APPL body but NEG like body 1PL.INCL
 “Jehova has a body, but not like our body.”
- d. **Bukan bagus** *dampaknya* *kalau* *anak-anak* *masih* *di* *bawah* *umur*
 NEG great impact-LIG if child-RED still below age
 “The impact isn’t good if children are underage (for marriage).” BBC

- (16) Sundanese
Manéhna **sanés** *males* *tapi* *tunduh*
 3SG NEG lazy but sleepy
 “S/he’s not lazy, but sleepy.”

Not only can *bukan*-type negators be used with attributes, but also with verbs that take formal verbal prefixes, as demonstrated by activities marked by the prefix *ber-* or the passive prefix *di-*, as shown in (17). It appears the expression *bukan berarti* ‘it does not mean’ is fossilized, as it occurs extremely frequently.

- (17) Indonesian (SEALang Library Indonesian Corpus)
- a. *Mereka* *memanfaat-kan* *hutan* *tetapi* **bukan** *berarti*
 3PL AV.benefit-APPL forest but NEG mean
mereka *merusak* *hutan*
 3PL AV.damage forest
 “They profit from the forest, but that doesn’t mean they damage the forest.”
- b. *Karena* *data* *tersebut* **bukan** *di-buat* *khusus* *untuk* *kami*
 Because data mentioned NEG PV-made special for 1PL.EXCL
 “Because the aforementioned data was not made only for us.”
- c. *Wardah* *di balik* *pendidikannya* *seorang* *desainer*,
 Goodness behind education-3SG INDF-person designer
tapi *dia* *bercita-cita* *hanya* *menikah*, **bukan** *jadi*
 but 3SG ambition-RED only marry NEG become
se-orang *desainer*
 INDF-person designer
 “My goodness, from an educational standpoint she is a designer, but she dreams only of marriage, not become a designer.” (BBC Indonesia)
- d. *Pakar epidemiologi* *menilai* *Pemerintah* *Provinsi* *DKI*
 Expert epidemiology AV.value government province DKI
Jakarta **bukan** *hanya* *perlu* *mem-perhatikan* *penularan* *di*
 Jakarta NEG only need AV-attention-APPL infection LOC
lingkungan *RW*, *tapi* *juga* *tempat-tempat* *umum*, *seperti* *pasar*
 environment RW but also place-RED public like market
 “Epidemiological experts say the government of the Jakarta area need not just to monitor the infection in the area of the RW, but also in public places like markets.”

The flexibility of the nominal negators points to the fact that they possess an additional function not possessed by the standard verbal negators: the ability to encode contrastive negation. This point is returned to later in this chapter.

2.2.2 Enggano

Standard negation in Enggano is marked by an uninflected particle *keʔ* before verbs and adjectives, as shown with the pairs in (18). By and large, standard negation in Enggano is symmetrical, though as will be noted in Chapter 3, there are certain tense, aspect, mood in which negation demonstrates asymmetries.

- (18) Enggano
- | | | | | |
|----|------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| a. | <i>U</i> | <i>pihaʔkʰ</i> | | <i>ĩyaʔkʰ</i> |
| | 1SG | can | | swim |
| | “I can swim.” | | | |
| b. | <i>U</i> | <i>keʔ</i> | <i>pihaʔkʰ</i> | <i>ĩyaʔkʰ</i> |
| | 1SG | NEG | can | swim |
| | “I cannot swim.” | | | |
| c. | <i>U</i> | <i>pahu</i> | | |
| | 1SG | angry | | |
| | “I’m angry.” | | | |
| d. | <i>U</i> | <i>keʔ</i> | <i>pahu</i> | |
| | 1SG | NEG | angry | |
| | “I’m not angry.” | | | |

As in Indonesian and Sundanese, there are special negators employed before nouns, *keʔ pa:n* or *keʔ pa:r*, as shown in (19). Unlike in Indonesian and Sundanese, however, these negators appear to be directly related to *keʔ*, though the meanings of *pa:n* and *pa:r* are not reconstructable at this time. Speakers do not recognize any form *pa:n* or *pa:r* existing on its own elsewhere in the language, nor do I have any examples of these forms occurring elsewhere in the language. The difference in the two negators may be governed by phonological rules (probably some nasal assimilation) at the sentence level or else they may represent dialectal differences.

- (19) Enggano
- a. *U kak enggano*
 1SG person Enggano
 “I’m Enggano.”
- b. *U ke? pa:n kak enggano*
 1SG NEG.NOM person Enggano
 “I’m not Enggano.”
- c. *Ke? pa:n an*
 NEG.NOM DEM
 “Not that (one)!”
- d. *Ki ke? par kak pane yuba*
 3SG NEG NOM person near house.1SG
 “He’s not my neighbor.”

In answers to questions, *ke?* is nasalized as *kẽ* even when the question is about a noun, as in (20).

- (20) Enggano
- Speaker A: *ẽ? kã?kõ niẽ?/u*
 DEM black 1SG
 “Is that my coffee?”
- Speaker B: *Õ* – yes
- Speaker B: *Kẽ* – no

Unfortunately, the Enggano data are too limited at this time to draw well-substantiated conclusions regarding the flexibility in occurrence of the negators.

2.2.3 Hawu

In basic VSO word order constructions in Hawu, standard negation of verbal clauses is marked by a single, uninflected particle *d’o* directly following the verb and before the subject, as in (21a-b). When word order is SVO, i.e. in instances of focused subject-fronting, the negator still directly follows the verb, as in (21c). Though Hawu does not demonstrate the Negative First Principle, it does follow the cross-linguistic tendency for the negator to occur as close to the finite element of the utterance as possible.

- (21) Hawu
- a. *Dènno d’o ke ri Tudi Buki ngati kolo due*
 hear NEG PART by Tudi Buki from up lontar
 “Tudi Buki didn’t hear from atop the lontar palm.”

- b. *Puu d'o ri roo ne wue woaj'u he*
 pick NEG by 3PL DEF CL fruit DEF.PL
 “They didn’t pick the fruits.”
- c. *J'ii d'ei d'o nga noo*
 1PL like NEG with 3SG
 “We don’t like him/her.”

The particle *d'o* is also used to negate attributes, as in (22). It is not clear that there is a meaningful difference between verbs and adjectives in Hawu. The lexeme *b'ai*, for instance could be used both to indicate that something is swelling and to describe something that is already swollen.

- (22) Hawu
B'ai d'o wottu yaa
 Swollen NEG leg 1SG
 “My leg is not swollen.”

In some environments, e.g. interrogatives, conditionals, and dubitative modality, the position of the negator shifts to preverbal, giving narrow scope to the verb, as in (23). This point is returned to in Chapter 6.

- (23) Hawu
- a. *Nenga ne nga'a do d'o d'èi ou*
 what DEF eat REL NEG like 2SG
 “What food do you not like?”
- b. *Maga noo ta do d'o dèkka*
 maybe 3SG NONPST REL NEG come
 “Perhaps he will not come.”

As in Indonesian, Sundanese, and Enggano, Hawu employs a different though clearly related negator, *ad'o*, before nominal arguments, as shown with the affirmative and negative counterparts in (24). Unlike *d'o*, *ad'o* can occur in clause-initial position.

- (24) Hawu
- a. *Do petani noo*
 Person? Farmer 3SG
 “She is a farmer.”
- b. *Ad'o noo do petani*
 NEG 3SG person farmer
 “She is not a farmer.”
- c. *Noo ad'o do petani*
 3SG NEG person farmer
 “She is not a farmer.”

The ability of *ad'o* to occur in sentence-initial position is perhaps largely due to the fact that it also codes the interjective 'no'. It can be used both to deny an open proposition and also as an exclamation of surprise¹⁷, as in (25).

- (25) Hawu
- a. *Ad'o* ... *ma'e de d'o ri noo (de)*
 NEG pay.SG still NEG by 3SG still
 "No! He hasn't paid it yet!"
- b. *Ad'o* ... *yaa kale mumone, ad'o mubènni*
 NEG 1SG Kale man NEG woman
 "No, I am looking for a man, not a woman."
- c. *Ad'o* ... *b'èllo ri yaa*
 NEG forgot by 1SG
 "Oh no! I forgot."

In equative utterances, the use of *ad'o* is more restricted, as demonstrated by the affirmative and negative utterances in (26). As shown in (26b), it cannot occur in phrase-initial position, unless there is a relative clause, as in (26c).

- (26) Hawu
- a. *Ina yaa noo (d'e)*
 mother 1SG 3SG this
 "She (here) is my mother."
- b. **Ad'o ina yaa noo*
 NEG mother 1SG 3SG
 "She is not my mother."
- c. *Ad'o Jen do ina yaa*
 NEG Jen REL mother 1SG
 "It's not Jen who is my mother (Jen is not my mother)"

As shown in the pair in (27), *ad'o* can follow pronominals.

- (27) Hawu
- a. *Noo d'e ina yaa*
 3SG DEM mother 1SG
 "She is my mother."
- b. *Noo ad'o ina yaa*
 3SG NEG mother 1SG
 "She is not my mother."

¹⁷ The possibility cannot be completely ruled out that the *ad'o* used here is actually a borrowing of the Indonesian exclamative *aduh!*

As in Indonesian and Sundanese, the boundaries of *d'o* and *ad'o* are somewhat flexible. Both can appear before prepositions, though there are again some structural restraints. When the verb is expressed, as in (28b) only *d'o* can be used. In contrastive negation, *ad'o* is also used before *natuu* 'for' where *d'o* is ungrammatical, as in (28c).

- (28) Hawu
- a. *J'èmmiae d'e noo ad'o (ta) la rote*
morning this 3SG NEG NONPST to Rote
‘‘She is not going to Rote this (coming) morning.’’
- b. *Noo kako d'o la rote*
3SG go NEG to Rote
‘‘She is not going to Rote.’’
- c. *Natuu yaa ad'o natuu ou*
for 1SG NEG for 2SG
‘‘It’s for me, not for you.’’

By and large, *ad'o* is more flexible than *d'o*, frequently occurring with attributes and activities, as in (29).

- (29) Hawu
- a. *B'èhu ke noo*
Full 3SG
‘‘She is full.’’
- b. *B'èhu d'o noo*
Full NEG 3SG
‘‘She is not full.’’
- c. *Noo ad'o do b'èhu*
3SG NEG REL full
‘‘She is not full.’’
- d. **Ad'o noo do b'èhu*

In such environments, a relativizer is always required before an adjective or a verb, essentially converting it into a noun phrase. There are other structural changes as well. With the verbal negator *d'o*, the sentence order is less flexible and is always verb initial, as in (29b) above, following the pattern VNEGS, but with *ad'o*, as in (29c), the formatting is SNEGRELV, like *I am of fullness*. Gil (2013) proposes that the Indonesian/ Malay relativizer *yang* is sensitive to the thematic role, essant. This appears to be operative in Hawu as well, which explains why the relativizer plays such a major role in the negation of utterances.

The use of *ad'o* in negating adjectives also occurs in comparisons that deny the equivalence of an attribute between two or more objects, as in (30). Again, the relativizer always accompanies expressions of this type which again converts the attribute into a noun phrase. The negator *d'o* cannot be used in these instances.

- (30) Hawu
- a. *Aj'u ad'o do rui mi b'ehi*
 wood NEG REL strong like iron
 “Wood is not as strong as iron.” (Lit. Wood is not of strength like iron)
 **Aj'u d'o ..*
 **Aj'u d'o do rui...*
- b. *Hed'ai nane ad'o do rihì hèrro*
 meat that NEG REL very salty
 “That meat is not very salty.” (Lit. That meat is not of great saltiness)

Similarly, *ad'o* can precede a verb when first marked with the relativizer (31). As with other nominal negators occurring before activities, the negation is strongly contrastive in these contexts.

- (31) Hawu
- a. *Noo ad'o do pee pa rote ri*
 3SG NEG REL live LOC Rote again
 “She doesn't live in Rote anymore.”
- b. *Noo pee d'o pa rote ri*
 3SG live NEG LOC Rote again
 “She doesn't live in Rote anymore.”
- c. *Noo ad'o ke do ta kako la.j'èg'a ri j'èmiae nad'e*
 3SG NEG again REL NONPST go to work again morning this
 “He is not going to go to work again this morning.”

The use of *ad'o* in several of the above instances points to its function of marking contrastive negation. The same function is evident in its use with negating entire propositions, as in the examples of (32). The example in (32a) is taken from a Hawu folktale about a goat who transforms into a human when his parents' backs are turned. The other utterances were elicited.

- (32) Hawu
- a. *Ad'o ki'i ne ta mèhu ènni do jad'i ta*
 NEG goat the NONPST leave self REL able NONPST
Dou ma dou ne ki'i d'e
 People DM people the goat DEF

- “It was not that the goat went out, (but rather) transformed into a human.”
- b. *Ad'o j'ii a'a ari tapulara ta*
 NEG 2PL.INCL older sibling younger sibling but NONPST
nakebènni we
 cousin only
 “We aren't siblings, but rather just cousins.”
- c. *Ad'o yaa nee do hogo hajo tapulara yaa nee do*
 NEG 1SG DV.1SG REL cook veg but 1SG DV.1SG REL
hogo d'èllu manu
 cook egg chicken
 “I'm not cooking vegetables, I'm cooking eggs.”
- d. *Ad'o noo nèi do nginu kowi tapulara noo nèi do nginu jus*
 NEG 3SG DV.3SG REL drink coffee but 3SG DV.3SG REL drink juice
 “He's not drinking coffee, he's drinking juice.”

To summarize, in Hawu the nominal negator is the same as the negative interjective which may explain its ability to have sentential scope and to be used to deny a previous assumption on the part of the speaker. Typically when *ad'o* is used with attributes and activities, the relativizer *do* is also used to form a noun phrase.

Thus far, I have demonstrated that each of the languages of this small, focused sample have two productive negative distinctions. The use of these negators does not appear to be purely syntactically constrained, as there are several instances in which one breaks into the domain of the other. Rather, there are pragmatic factors that play a role in the selection of the negators. In each language, the use of the verbal negator is more rigid, while the use of the nominal negator is more flexible and contains a wider array of functions. In the next section, I focus specifically on the nominal negators.

2.3 On the existence of nominal negators

I have demonstrated that there are two regular, productive negators in each of the four languages of this work. Verbal negators, by and large, negate verbs and adjectives, or at least elements of the utterance that semantically behave as activities and attributes. Additionally, these negators appear before adverbials, quantifiers, and even interrogatives. Nominal negators, by and large, have scope over nouns or ideas. I have also shown, however, that in

each of these languages, the distinction between these negators is by no means clear cut; rather, each negator may be employed in the environment(s) more typically reserved for the other.

Evidently, nominal negators are especially flexible in their ability to break into the domain of verbal negators. I propose that this flexibility stems from two related functions performed by nominal negators but not by verbal negators; namely, contrastive negation and the denial of an interlocutor's previous supposition, even when the speaker only suspects the supposition on the part of the interlocutor. In this section, I provide additional evidence to suggest that the nominal negators possess these functions.

I begin by addressing the use of the nominal negators in negative tags and other negative interrogatives to demonstrate differences in scope when compared to the use of the verbal negators in the same environment. I then discuss the use of the nominal negators in negative expressions, as such expressions are often idiomatic and may contain elements of language that have long fallen out of use. Finally, I discuss metalinguistic functions of *bukan* based on fieldwork interviews in West Java. This section focuses exclusively on Indonesian as it is the language with which I have access to the most data and the only language that has a searchable corpus.

2.3.1 Negative tags and other interrogative expressions

Negative tags, composed of both *tidak* and *bukan*, are fairly flexible in Indonesian and are not restricted to any one position of the utterance. However, there is considerable difference in the meaning of the tags. The verbal negator *tidak*, or any of its variants, is neutral and is used as a tag when the question is open and merely seeks information, as in (33). There is no previous assumption on the part of the speaker encoded in the question. The tag occurs directly after verbs or adjectives and has direct scope over them. Despite the flexibility of its

usage, it is not possible for *tidak* to occur as a tag at the beginning of the utterance as it scopes leftward. The scope of *tidak* in such instances is thus always narrow and cannot operate at the level of the sentence.

- (33) Indonesian
- a. *Jauh tidak dengan stasiun jarak-nya*
 Far NEG with station distance-LIG
 “Is it far or not from the station?”
- b. *Tahu tidak aku baru memikir-kan se-suatu.*
 Know NEG 1SG new AV.think-APPL INDF-thing
 “Do you know... I just thought of something.”
- c. *Mau ikut enggak*
 Want join NEG
 “Do you want to join, or not?”

The second tag *bukan* occurs in clause final position and does not entail any particular expectation on the part of the interlocutor, as evident in (34). In other words, its semantics are purely information-seeking.

- (34) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Ini hp-mu bukan*
 DEM handphn-2SG NEG
 “Is this your phone?”
- b. *Dia juga orang Amerika bukan*
 3SG also person America TAG
 “She is also American?”

The semantic status of these tags is also evident in other iterations, such as where a conjunction like *atau* ‘or’ precedes the tag in Standard Indonesian, as in (35).

- (35) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Dia benar atau bukan*
 3SG correct or TAG
 “Is he right (or not)?”

The distribution of a third tag, *kan*, is considerably more flexible¹⁸, occurring freely before the predicate within the phrase, in phrase-final, and phrase-initial position, as in (36). When it occurs at the beginning or end of the utterance it has sentential scope and when it

¹⁸ I am grateful for the observation by David Gil (p.c.) that while the tags *kan* and *bukan* occur throughout Indonesian dialects of Western Indonesia, the tag *kan* does not occur in dialects of Eastern Indonesia and Papua. The tag *bukan* is however present in the latter regions.

occurs in other positions in the clause it scopes leftward. There do not appear to be restrictions regarding the parts of speech with which it may be used. The meaning of *kan* as a tag is far less neutral than *tidak* and *bukan* as tags; rather, it tends to be used to seek confirmation regarding a presupposition or an assumption on the part of the speaker. It may also be used rhetorically, as in (36e).

- (36) Indonesian
- a. *Aku kan gak pe-marah*
 1SG NEG.TAG NEG NMLZ-angry
 “I’m not someone who gets angry easily, you know.”
- b. *Saya tidak memati-kan lampu karena kamu harus menulis kan*
 1SG NEG AV.kill-APPL lamp because 2SG must AV.write TAG
 “I didn’t turn off the lamp because you had to write, right?”
- c. *Sekalipun PSBB sudah dilonggarkan tapi kan bukan berarti kemudian membuka saja*
 Though social distancing IAM PV.loose.APPL but TAG NEG
berarti kemudian membuka saja
 meaning then AV.open just
 “Though social distancing rules have already loosened, that doesn’t mean, right, that things will all open just like that!”
- d. *Kan konyol kalau kita ber-dua sama-sama pegang bezoar*
 NEG absurd if 1PL.INCL MID-two same-RED hold bezoar
 “It’d be absurd of course wouldn’t it if the two of us were both holding a bezoar!”
 (From a Harry Potter translation: 478).

In addition to these basic negative tags, tags can also be formed with the formal interrogative suffix *-kah*¹⁹, which may attach directly to *tidak* or to the verb, creating a narrow frame of focus on the activity specified, as in (37).

- (37) Indonesian
- a. *Tidak-kah kau ingat ketika dia men-curi dompet kamu*
 NEG-INTER 2SG remember when 3SG AV-steal wallet 2SG
 “Don’t you remember when he stole your wallet?”
- b. *Tidak tahu-kah kau dia juga ber-pendidikan rendah*
 NEG know-INTER 2SG 3SG ADD MID-education low
 “Didn’t you know s/he’s also of low education?”
- c. *Tak meng-erti-kah kau Amelia*
 NEG AV-understand-INTER 2SG Amelia
 “Don’t you understand, Amelia?”
- d. *Belum ada-kah yang memberi-tahu-mu*
 NONDUM EX-INTER REL AV.give-know-2SG.POSS
 “Hasn’t anyone told you yet?”

¹⁹ This suffix is widely used in formal writing and speeches and can attach to just about any predicate in a given utterance. It is also the suffix used in the polar question marker *apakah*.

When *-kah* attaches to *bukan*, as in (38), it typically occurs in clause-initial position and there is sentential scope rather than the narrow scope evident by *tidakkah*. This has led Sneddon et al (2012: 330) to suggest that *bukankah* is a cleft, ‘will it not be that’, or ‘isn’t is the case that’. The expression appears to be quite fossilized and one does not see the separation of *bukan* and *-kah* that one sees with the separation of *tidak* and *-kah*. *Bukankah* is once again not neutral, but rather based on a previous supposition.

- (38) Standard Indonesian
- a. ***Bukan-kah*** *dia* *akan* *lebih* *bahagia* *bersama* *bangsa-nya*
 NEG-Q 3SG FUT more happy together countrymen-POSS
 “Isn’t it the case that he will be happier with his countryfolk?”
- b. ***Bukan-kah*** *tadi* *Anda* *kata-kan* *Anda* *puas* *dengan* *dia*
 NEG-Q before 2SG say-APPL 2SG satisfied with 3SG
 “Isn’t it the case that you said you were satisfied with him?”
- c. *Penderitaan* *itu* ***bukan-kah*** *universal*
 suffering DEM NEG-Q universal
 “Is not suffering universal?”

Both types of tags discussed in this section indicate that *tidak* is more syntactically and semantically constrained than *bukan*. While *bukan* can have broad, sentential scope, the scope of *tidak* is often narrow, confined to the element occurring to its immediate left. Furthermore, while tags with *tidak* tend to be neutral, *bukan* is not neutral, but rather is used to confirm a previous supposition on the part of the speaker or else is used rhetorically. The tags of this section are therefore both semantically and syntactically distinct.

2.3.2 ‘Rather than’-type expressions

A second area of the grammar that provides additional evidence for the distinct functions of *bukan* is its use in comparatives, as in (39). As part of a negative expression, *bukan* can be combined with the definitive/ligature suffix *-nya* to lend a ‘rather than’ reading. The expression is fairly flexible, occurring both phrase-initially with sentential scope or else used to coordinate two adjectives or verbs. The negator *tidak* is never used in this way; the

difference here can be explained by the association of *bukan* with contrast, a property not shared by *tidak*²⁰.

- (39) Indonesian
- a. ***Bukan-nya*** *me.lepas-kan* *ayah dan guru si Pitung mereka*
 NEG-LIG AV.release-APPL father and teacher TITL Pitung 3PL
malah menodong-kan senjata pada Haji Naipin
 even AV.point-APPL weapon at Haji Naipin
 “Rather than releasing Pitung’s father and teacher, they even pointed (their) weapons at Haji Naipin.” (from a fairytale)
- b. *Meskipun ekspresi-nya ramah bukan-nya menuduh Ferdi*
 Though expression-3SG friendly NEG-LIG AV.accuse Ferdi
tak tahan menatap-nya
 NEG bear AV.stare-3SG
 “Though his expression was friendly rather than accusing, Ferdi could not bear to be stared at.”
- c. *Warga bukan-nya takut tapi lebih mengharga-i aturan*
 Resident NEG-LIG scared but more AV.value-APPL rule
 “The residents were not scared, but rather valued the rule.”

That *bukan* can be used in this way probably stems in part from its origin as the lexeme ‘other’, a grammaticalization source also attested in other West Malayo-Polynesian languages²¹. Though *bukan* no longer means ‘other’ in contemporary Standard Indonesian, evidence of its archaic usage is present in the contemporary fossilized expression *tak lain dan tak bukan* ‘no other than’ where *bukan* is used with the standard negator *tak* (*tidak*), as shown in (40).

- (40) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Dia bergerak sedikit ke kanan me-lihat bahwa yang membuat*
 3SG move little to right AV.see COMP REL AV.make
Siska ngeri tak lain dan tak bukan adalah Ibu Nunung
 Siska terrified NEG other and NEG other COP mother Nunung

²⁰ *Tidak* can also occur with the ligature *-nya*, but the meaning is connected to something previously stated in discourse. It is frequently preceded by an attribute that is contrasted, such that *tidaknya* means ‘or not’.

- a. *Siapa yang tahu bagus tidak-nya karya-mu*
 Who REL know great NEG-LIG work-2SG
 “Who knows whether your work is good or not.”
- b. *Bener tidak-nya aku tidak tahu*
 True NEG-LIG 1SG NEG know
 “Whether true or not, I do not know.”

²¹ In Blust (2013), *bukan* is reconstructed as **beken*, meaning ‘other, different’ in many languages (e.g. *bak!n* in Bontok, *beken* in Kapuas, *beken* in Ngaju Dayak, *b!k!n* in Kelabit, among others). Other languages have followed the pattern of ‘other, different’ functioning as a negator of this type, including Lampung and Sundanese *lain*, which means ‘other’ in contemporary Malay and Indonesian.

“S/he moved a bit to the right and saw that what was terrifying Siska was no other than (the appearance of) Mrs. Nunung.”

In contemporary Standard Indonesian, the lexeme *lain* ‘other’ is also used felicitously in another comparative expression, *melainkan* ‘but rather’, as demonstrated in (41), which contains the lexeme *lain* ‘other’. *Melainkan* itself is polarity sensitive, always occurring alongside negation.

- (41) Indonesian
- a. *The Sixth Day bukan lagi sebuah film melainkan sebuah realitas*
 The Sixth Day NEG again CL film but rather CL
realitas
 reality
 “*The Sixth Day* is no longer a film, but rather a reality.”
- b. *Asep tidak tertawa melainkan menjadi pucat*
 Asep NEG laugh but rather became pale
 “Asep didn’t laugh, but rather turned pale.”
- c. *Kamu lolos dari-nya tidak se-kali melainkan empat kali*
 2SG escape from-3SG NEG INDF-time rather four time
 “You escaped from him not once, but three times.”

In Sundanese, the nominal negators *lain* and *sanés* also have the additional lexical meaning ‘other, different’ – a lexical use that is retained in (42a). This alternative meaning of *lain* is also evidenced through verbs like *ngalainkeun* ‘to other, to give the cold shoulder to’. The negator, *lain*, is attested in the same early manuscripts where *hanteu* is found (Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006: 206) as shown in (42b). It is a short step for *I am other than your son* to be reanalyzed as *I am not your son*.

- (42) Sundanese
- a. *Eta mah lain deui*
 DEM DM different again
 “That’s entirely different.”
- b. *Lun aing lain na seuweu*
 If 1SG NEG LIG son
 “If I’m not your son.”

The use of *bukan* in comparative expressions is yet another example of its function in marking contrast and refuting a supposition.

2.3.3 The nominal negator, *bukan*, in fieldwork interviews

As a fieldworker, one often finds oneself in the position of asking questions that are regarded as very silly by one's interviewees. Regardless of a fieldworker's primary research questions, it is typically worthwhile and rewarding to become better acquainted with the environment in which one conducts one's research by learning more about the livelihood of speakers, the activities of their day-to-day lives, and customs of the area. Ignorance surrounding such questions is often met with surprise by members of the community and such responses to inquiries can constitute an excellent source of data. In this section, I provide examples from an interview I conducted in Indonesian with an elder in a small Sundanese community of West Java in July 2019. From here on, I refer to this elder as *Aki*, the polite Sundanese term of address for 'grandfather'. Throughout the interview, *Aki*, who is well-versed in the history of the community, frequently uses *bukan* to deny my assumptions about the history of the region. In some cases, my assumptions are overtly voiced, in other cases, *Aki* suspects that I hold some assumption(s), perhaps because such questions have been posed to him before by outsiders.

In the first example, I had asked *Aki* about the history of his community and why his ancestors had chosen to settle where they had. *Aki* explains that the land had been 'inherited' (*diwariskan*) by their ancestors and that they therefore had a responsibility to care for the land in the same manner in which generations before them had done. I was listening quietly through this elucidation and asked no questions, but when *Aki* states that the land had not been allocated to the community by the Indonesian government, he uses *bukan*, as shown in (43). Though I had said nothing, *Aki* denies a common supposition that exists out in the world that might have been also held by me: that the community lives on land bequeathed by the government. He repeats *bukan* to emphasize that that is not the case.

- (43) Indonesian
 a. *Kita harus ada di sini untuk melestarikan tanah untuk*
 1PL.INCL must EX here for AV.preserve.APPL land for
kehidupan kita karena tanah ini bukan di-kasih
 life 1PL.INCL because earth this NEG PV-give
sama pemerintah ... bukan
 with government ... NEG
 “We must be here to preserve the land for our lives (livelihoods) because
 this land was not given by the government ... no, not like that.”

Sometime later in the interview, I ask whether the ancestors of the community had come from Bogor, a large West Java city forty-five minutes outside Jakarta, or perhaps even from Baduy, a traditional Sundanese community that lives in Banten and refuses technological advancements, schooling, or the entrance of foreigners into their territory. I had read somewhere that the present community had come from Baduy and had also heard it repeated by others outside of the community. Aki agrees that the ancestral homeland of the community is present-day Bogor, but emphatically refuses the supposition that the community came from Baduy, using *bukan* twice, as shown in (44). He goes on to explain that the community has a close relationship with Baduy because historically the people of Baduy have helped in times of trouble, such as war, but that this does not mean Aki’s community comes from Baduy.

- (44) Indonesian
 Me: *Leluhur kalian asli dari daerah Bogor*
 Ancestor 2PL original from area Bogor
 “Your ancestors were originally from Bogor?”
 Aki: *Ya – yes*
 Me: *Atau dulu sebelum itu dari Baduy ya*
 Or first before that from Baduy TAG
 “... or first before that from Baduy, right?”
 Aki: ***Bukan ... bukan gitu***
 NEG NEG like that
 “No! Not like that!”

Sometime later, Aki discusses the bloodline of the *Abah* ‘father’, the traditional leader (*ketua adat*) of the community. He explains how the rulership passed from father to son since the 14th century, but that the rulers of some of the communities of nearby hamlets were not

chosen by *wangsit*, a form of supernatural power possessed by Sundanese rulers to ascertain the outcome of events and to make decisions regarding the time to move to a new area, the time to plant rice, and the time to harvest, among other important decisions²². Some of the sons of the royal family would have been chosen as rulers through *wangsit* as Abah Anom, the father of the current leader, was, while others would have become default rulers of other hamlets. Thus there are siblings that rule communities even though they are not ‘spoken’ (*dilisankan*) by their father, i.e. not mentioned during *wangsit*. Without me posing any questions, Aki uses *bukan* to note that the current leader is not the one that was mentioned by *wangsit*, once again anticipating and refuting my question. This is demonstrated in (45).

- (45) Indonesian
- a. *Tapi bukan keturunan yang dilisankan sama bapak-nya*
 But NEG descendent REL PV-speak-APPL with father-3SG
 ... *bukan itu karena yang dibikin sama wangsit itu*
 NEG dem because REL PV-make with divination that
abah Anom
 father Anom
 “But (he) was not the descendent who was spoken by his father ... it wasn’t like that ... because the one who was produced through *wangsit* was Abah Anom.”

Aki then describes in detail the way in which *wangsit* is done. I ask whether it is only the Abah who can accomplish *wangsit* or whether it is possible for other members of his family and am told that it is only done by Abah. Aki had previously mentioned that *wangsit* happens through dreams. Sometime later he notes that these are not dreams in the normal sense, using *bukan*, even though I had not asked the question, as in (46). He then explains how Abah simply sits but receives an explanation in the form of a vision.

- (46) Indonesian
- Bukan tidur kayak kita di ranjang gitu bukan*
 NEG sleep like 1PL.INCL LOC bed like that NEG
 “It’s not that it’s done while sleeping like what we do in bed ... no not like that.”

²² Often in the Sundanese literature, *wangsit* is described as a malignant force (see for instance Rigg 1862, a Sunda dictionary).

In each of the preceding examples, Aki denies or refutes presuppositions that he expects I might hold, whether I have directly voiced a question to suggest I hold an incorrect view or whether Aki simply suspects I might hold an incorrect view because many before me have had such views. In each case *bukan* is used, and is often repeated emphatically, regardless of which parts of speech follow it. This suggests an important metalinguistic use of *bukan* to deny suppositions or to refute evidence that has been put before one, even when those suppositions have not been directly stated.

2.4 Discussion and conclusion

This chapter has consisted of a narrow study of the distinctions between verbal and nominal negators in the four Indonesian languages of this work. It is possible to delineate different syntactic behavior of these negators. For instance, the negators can have different scope, with verbal negators generally confined to narrow leftward scope, while nominal negators can have sentential scope. In Hawu, when the nominal negator *ad'o* is used with attributes and activities, there is a change of word order to account for this less common usage, along with other structural changes such as the presence of relativizers which form noun phrases. When *ad'o* occurs phrase-initially it has sentential scope, while the so-called verbal negator *d'o* is not able to occur in this phrase-initial position as it scopes leftward. In Indonesian negative tags, *tidak* cannot occur phrase initially, while *bukan* is free to do so.

Despite some of these syntactic restrictions, I join others before me (e.g. Gil 2013) in suggesting that the primary distinction between these negators are semantic and pragmatic rather than syntactic. The multiple exceptions where nominal negators occur in the environment of verbal negators are explained by the semantic behavior of these negators and should not be relegated to 'exceptions of the rule' subsections of grammars. I have proposed that there are two regular functions of nominal negators that account for the greater flexibility

in the occurrence of these negators. These functions include 1) contrastive negation, and 2) the denial or refutation of an interlocutor's supposition, even when that supposition has not been voiced. The use of the nominal negators to deny a presupposition, even when that presupposition has not be explicitly voiced, is especially interesting. These functions of nominal negators allow these negators to play a much greater metalinguistic role in conversation than is played by the verbal negators which are far more restricted. I have demonstrated this point further with three pieces of evidence from Indonesian where *bukan* plays a special role: in negative tags where *bukan*, unlike *tidak*, is used to confirm a presupposition; in the comparative expression *bukannya* 'rather than' where the source of *bukan* as 'other' partially explains its tendency to appear in contrastive environments; and the use of *bukan* in a fieldwork interview where the presuppositions of the fieldworker are refuted by an elder, even when those presuppositions are not voiced.

I do not mean to suggest by this work that all non-Oceanic Austronesian languages that have 'verbal' and 'nominal' distinctions have these distinctions for the reasons outlined in this chapter. Such a question is beyond the scope of the present query. Even among the four languages of this study there is some variation regarding the morphology and source of the negators and their flexibility to occur in the position of the other. A common thread, however, is the semantic and pragmatic distinctions of the nominal negator, making this a worthy focus of future studies for individual languages.

It should be noted that in English too there is a similar distinction to the one that has been discussed thus far in this chapter. In English, it is possible to use the interjective negator *no* with noun-like entities in absence of articles in highly pragmatically-marked environments. In the examples below, (47c) is more newsworthy than (47b) and suggests that the individual under scrutiny must possess several notable unladylike tendencies.

(47) English

- a. *She is not behaving pleasantly*
- b. *She is not a lady*
- c. *She is no lady*

This is a fascinating distinction and cannot be easily explained away. The negative interjective here is clearly doing much more than emphasis, as it is also performing a deeply metalinguistic role that is culturally situated. This is yet another example of two negators which, when examined semantically and pragmatically, perform very different functions despite the fact that both reverse the truth of a proposition.

Future studies may include close examination of the precise distinctions between verbal and nominal negators in a larger array of individual languages, which would be helpful in explaining the properties of contrastive negation and of other presuppositional factors like denial. A greater number of studies would also contribute to generalizations regarding verbal and nominal negators as an areal feature of the Malayo-Polynesian language-speaking regions.

CHAPTER 3

LEXICALIZATIONS WITH NEGATION AND OTHER IRREGULAR NEGATIVE EXPRESSIONS

3.1 Introduction

It was observed in the introduction of this dissertation that there are frequently structural changes and incongruences that differentiate negative from affirmative utterances in the languages of the world. Indeed, it is often the case that not every negative has a direct affirmative counterpart and not every affirmative has a negative counterpart (Israel 2004). As previously mentioned, Miestamo (2000, 2003, 2005) describes some of these incongruencies as ‘asymmetries’, and includes, among other points, differences in finiteness where the finiteness of the lexical verb is either reduced or lost under negation, a loss of the distinction between realis and irrealis categories under negation (if such categories exist in the language), special marking to indicate emphasis in non-negatives, and differences in grammatical category, e.g. in tense-aspect-mood or in person-number-gender, between affirmative and negative utterances.

A related asymmetry is the appearance in many languages of special negative lexicalizations or irregular negative verbs that exist alongside the standard negators. In English, for instance, ‘knowing’ can be negated through standard negation, as in (1), or through the special irregular form, *dunno*, illustrated in (2).

(1) *I do not know the answer*

(2) *I dunno the answer*

The lexeme in (2) clearly results from the phonological fusion of the negator and the lexeme ‘know’ – a process that can sometimes be held accountable for the presence of a special negative form. In other languages, however, there are completely suppletive forms

that bear no formal relation to the affirmative lexeme. For instance, Miestamo (2017: 25) describes the form *jexaras* ‘not know’ in Tundra Nenets (Uralic), which does not appear to bear any resemblance to the affirmative lexeme *t’ėnewas* ‘know’ nor to the standard negator *ńiis*.

It is noteworthy that not all domains of the grammar appear as special negators with equal frequency. Veselinova 2013 (p.c., cited in Miestamo 2017) observes that after negative existentials and not-yet expressions, the next most common negative lexicalizations include ‘not know’, ‘not be of identity’, ‘cannot’, ‘not want’, ‘not talk’ and ‘need not’. These tendencies hold up not only for spoken languages, but also for sign languages. Zeshan (2004: 50), in a cross-linguistic study of negation in sign languages, notes a tendency for negative lexicalization (‘irregular negatives’) within the domains of cognition (‘not know’, ‘not understand’), emotional attitude (‘not want’, ‘not like’, ‘not care’), modals (‘cannot’, ‘need not’, ‘must not’), possession/ existential predication (‘not have’, ‘not exist’, ‘not get’), tense/aspect (‘will not’, ‘did not’, ‘not finished’), and evaluative judgement (‘not right’, ‘not possible’, ‘not enough’). It is reasonable to suspect that irregular forms exist in these areas due to collocation, but this does not explain why other frequent collocations like ‘not go’, ‘not eat’, and ‘not sleep’ would not (and usually do not) also have their own special forms. Therefore, beyond descriptive pursuits, a key purpose of this chapter is to answer the question: What accounts for the presence of specific types of special negators in the languages of this work?

In addressing the presence of special negators, it is not always clear whether these special negative verbs or expressions are better understood at the level of the grammar or at the level of the lexicon. At the crux of this challenge are NOT YET forms or expressions, i.e. the means to indicate the non-occurrence of an otherwise expected state of affairs (Veselinova and Devos, forthcoming). Every language possesses some strategy for

expressing this non-occurrence, but Malayo-Polynesian languages have stood out in cross-linguistic studies as a group that employs special NOT YET particles to a high degree. Recent work from Veselinova and Devos (forthcoming) refers to NOT YET expressions as the *nondum* from the Latin *non* ‘not’ and *dum* ‘while, as, as long as’. These authors prefer this term, given its relationship to the already recognized term *iamitive* from the Latin *iam*, ‘already’. The opposition of these grams is evident in Indonesian in (3), with the iamitive *sudah* ‘already’ and the nondum *belum*, a special, negative form that is distinct from the other negators in the inventory. In this chapter, I will use the terms *nondum* and NOT YET interchangeably.

(3) Standard Indonesian

- a. Mereka **sudah** bangun
 3PL IAM wake
 “They have awoken.”
- b. Mereka **belum** bangun
 3PL NONDUM wake
 “They haven’t woken up yet.”

There are a variety of means even within just the four languages accounted for in this study to encode the *nondum* meaning. I address the *nondum* in the present chapter, alongside the negative lexicalizations specified above, because each of these forms can be considered lexico-grammatical categories. Whether a given form is more lexical or more grammatical varies from language to language.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. I begin by describing lexicalizations with negation including NOT WANT, negative future, and NOT KNOW. I remark upon the close relationship in languages of Indonesia, as in other languages of the world, between volition and future, as this becomes relevant to the various meanings encoded by the distinct lexicalizations. I go on to describe two fully grammaticalized negative forms: an alternative indirect means for negation and NEVER expressions. The last section is entirely devoted to a description of the *nondum* and the diversity of coding means employed. In the discussion and

summary of this chapter, I present a table with all of the forms described and propose that one of the key motivations for the emergence of special negative forms in areas of the grammar described herein is a desire to seek indirect means to express negation.

3.2 Negative lexicalizations within the languages of this sample

3.2.1 NOT WANT

One of the more common lexicalizations with negation, both in the languages discussed herein and cross-linguistically, is NOT WANT. As a prelude to this discussion, it is worthwhile to first note that in languages of Indonesia, as in many languages of the world, there is a strong relationship between desideratives, future, obligation, and other modal categories. This is reflected in the frequent overlap in the coding means called upon in each of these categories. For instance, as demonstrated in (4), the Indonesian verb *mau* ‘want’ functions to code intention (4a), readiness (4b), and deontic modality (4c). Note that *mau* is not restricted to animate entities, but can also follow *mata-hari* ‘sun’.

(4) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Sebentar lagi saya mau ke Jakarta lagi*
 Moment again 1SG want DIR Jakarta again
 “In a moment, I’ll return to Jakarta.”
- b. *Mata-hari sudah mau ter-benam*
 Eye-day IAM want PV-sink
 “The sun is about to set.”
- c. *Hermione membelai bahu Hagrid tak tahu mau ber-kata apa*
 Hermione AV.stroke.APPL shoulder Hagrid NEG know want
 MID-say what
 “Hermione stroked Hagrid’s shoulder, not knowing what she should say.” (Harry Potter translation: 291)

Such overlap in usage is also reflected in utterances with the Sundanese verb *badé* ‘want’, shown in (5), which is comparable to the Indonesian *mau* in encoding both intention and future.

(5) Sundanese

- a. **Badé** *neang pun lanceuk ka terminal*
Want look HON older sibling to terminal
“(I’m) going to pick up (my) older sibling from the terminal.”
- b. **Badé** *angkat ka mana*
Want go to where
“Where are you going?”

Even in absence of a verb ‘want’, tense/aspectual markers may bleed into other realms of the grammar. In Hawu, for instance, the non-past marker *ta* encodes future/intention, as in (6a), and deontic meanings, as in (6b). I suspect that the deontic reading is a result of semantic bleaching as the speaker’s own point of view and subjectivity is closely related to verbs of intention.

(6) Hawu

- a. **Ta** *wèbba manu dii mèd'a lod'o*
NONPAST hit chicken 1PL.INCL day
“Will we slaughter (lit. hit) a chicken this afternoon?”
- b. *Dii* *dou rai wawa do pe-tèkka ta*
1PL.INCL people earth world REL CAUS-fate NONPST
heleo tuèhu a'a ari
care relatives older sibling younger sibling
“As righteous people, we must help other people (lit. our brothers and sisters).”

The polysemy of the lexeme ‘want’ and other tense/aspectual future markers is not, of course, restricted to these languages. The grammaticalization of ‘want’ to future and necessity/ obligation cross-linguistically is a well-documented phenomena (Kuteva et al 2019: 453-455). This common pathway of grammaticalization is reflected in Bybee et al. (1994: 254) who observe, “all futures go through a stage of functioning to express the intention, first the speaker, and later the agent of the main verb.”²³ In English, the verb *want* historically began to take the meaning ‘desire’ with nominal complements and the meaning ‘volition’ with infinitival *to* complements, beginning around 1700 (Krug 2002). That the archaic meaning of the English *will* was ‘want’ is evident in expressions like *If there is a will,*

²³ Though Heine, Kuteva, and Narrog (2017) offer an account where intentionality is not necessarily involved in the development of intention-based futures.

there is a way and in the retained use of this meaning in some dialects of English, e.g. Irish English, today (e.g. *will you eat?* = *would you like to eat?*).

As will be evident in the following discussion of lexicalized negatives and other special negative forms, the lexemes ‘want’ that commonly grammaticalize as markers of intention and future in languages of Indonesia, often exist alongside other lexemes ‘want’ that do not tend to grammaticalize in the same manner.

In Sundanese, the irregular NOT WANT verbs, *embung* (low form) or *alim* (high form)²⁴, take the ordinary position of verbal negation, as demonstrated in (7a-b). *Alim* can also take the third person suffix *-eun* as shown in (7c). These forms do not bear any resemblance to the standard negator *henteu*, nor to the nominal negators *lain* and *sanés*.

(7) Sundanese

- a. *Abdi alim kopi atanapi téh*
 1SG NEG.want coffee or tea
 “I don’t want coffee nor tea.”
- b. *Hena alim emam buah ngora éta da haseum*
 Hena NEG.want eat fruit young DEM because sour
 “Hena doesn’t want to eat that unripe fruit because (it’s) sour.”
- c. *Anjeunna mah alim-eun*
 3SG DM NEG.want -3
 “He doesn’t want to/ He is unwilling.”

Alternatively, the lexeme *hoyong* ‘want’ (or the colloquial *hayang*) can be negated through the ordinary negator, as in (8).

(8) Sundanese

- Hena teu hoyong tuang buah éta*
 Hena NEG desire eat fruit DEM
 “Hena doesn’t want to eat that fruit.”

More often than not in colloquial speech, *alim* is used in replies without subjects, as in (9), where it occurs as the counterpart to the future/intention verb *badé*. Example (9b)

²⁴ Hardjabrata (2003:219) also lists the forms *narah* and *teu kersa* ‘*tidak tersedia*’, ‘*tidak bisa*’, which are not attested in my data.

suggests that *alim* may be broadening into the domain of ability modality. It is frequently accompanied by the discourse particle *ah* indicating frustration.

(9) Sundanese

- a. Speaker A: *Badé ngiring sareng bapa*
 Want AV.follow COM father
 “Do you want to go with father?”
 Speaker B: *Alim da badé ngiring sareng ibu*
 NEG.want because want AV.follow COM mother
 “(I) don’t want to because (I’m) going with mother.”
- b. Speaker A: *Kang hayu urang ka sawah*
 Big brother HORT 1PL to paddy fields
 “Come on, man, let’s go to the paddy fields!”
 Speaker B: *Alim ah abdi badé ngala suluh*
 NEG.want DM 1SG want AV.gather firewood
 “I don’t want to because I have to collect firewood!”

In Enganno, there is no special lexicalized NOT WANT expression, but there is an asymmetric construction that conveys NOT WANT. The form *jahab* ‘not want, not intend to’ appears only in negative constructions, as demonstrated in (10). Note that the form *jahab* obligatorily follows the standard negator */ke?/*.

(10) Enggano

- a. *U kahai baka?or*
 1SG go Bengkulu
 “I (want to) go to Bengkulu.”
- b. *u ke? jahab yah baka?or*
 1SG NEG want to Bengkulu
 “I don’t want to go to Bengkulu.”
- c. *Ik kahab yono koi*
 1PL like 1-eat pig
 “We like to eat pork.”
- d. *Ik ke? jahab yono koi*
 1PL NEG want 1-eat pork
 “We don’t want to eat pork”

This special construction in Enggano does not appear to be a lexicalization with negation, but it nonetheless demonstrates asymmetry in the area of tense, aspect, and mood in affirmative versus negative constructions.

There are no special NOT WANT expressions in Standard Indonesian, but there are some special means for expressing this meaning in colloquial dialects of Indonesian. In Jakarta

Indonesian, for instance, it is possible to convey not wanting by leaving out the negative marker altogether, as shown in (11). Such constructions are always used in the first-person and the final vowel of the utterance is always elongated.

- (11) Jakarta Indonesian
 a. *Mauuuuu*
 Want
 ‘I don’t want (to)!’

In another dialect of Malay - Siak Malay, a variety spoken in Sumatra - there is a special suppletive form NOT WANT, *tendak*, which derives from the negator *tak* and the lexeme *nak* ‘want’ (from the full form *hendak*)²⁵. This form is possible in all three persons.

3.2.2 Negative Future

As suggested in the previous section, it is difficult in some languages to disentangle the negation of future tense from the negation of intention. However, there is an asymmetrical relationship here that bears mentioning; namely, while lexemes ‘want’ frequently grammaticalize to encode future and other meanings in these languages, there is not the same tendency for the future markers to have additional meanings of ‘wanting’/intentionality. As will be demonstrated, overt future marking in actual usage in the languages of this sample is often considered to be very direct when there are other less direct means available to express a desire to carry out some activity or task.

In Standard Indonesian, there is a phonologically fused negative future form, *takkan*, which combines the literary negator *tak* with the future particle *akan*, as in (12).

- (12) Standard Indonesian
 a. *Se-lagi kau di sana dia tak-kan bisa me-luka-i-mu*
 INDF-again 2SG there 3SG NEG-FUT can AV-wound-APPL-2SG
 “As long as you are there, s/he will not be able to hurt you.”
 b. *Ke-takut-an itu mungkin tak-kan lagi ber-lebih-an*
 NMLZ-scared-NMLZ DEM maybe NEG-FUT again MID-more-NMLZ
 “That fear may no longer be too much.”

²⁵ I am grateful to David Gil (p.c.) for this observation.

This special form, which most likely results from frequent collocation, exists alongside the negation of the future forms *akan* or *bakal* with the standard negator *tidak* or any of its colloquial forms, as shown in (13). A search on the SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus renders no returns on the use of *akan* or *bakal* directly after the nominal negator, *bukan*, nor does such a combination occur anywhere in my fieldnotes.

- (13) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Korupsi itu tidak akan lenyap dari bumi Indonesia*
 Corruption DEM NEG FUT disappear from earth Indonesia
 “Corruption will not disappear from Indonesia.”
- b. *Ia menyadari bahwa usia-nya tidak bakal panjang*
 3SG AV.aware COMP age-3SG NEG FUT long
karena penyakit
 because disease
 “She realized she would not live long because of the disease.”

In Sundanese, negative future is encoded by a special irregular form, *moal*, as demonstrated in (14a). As in the NOT WANT forms, the future counterpart in affirmative utterances is the high form *badé* ‘want’ or the middle-to-low form *(a)rék* ‘want’, shown in (14b), both of which have grammaticalized as future markers, though the lexical meaning is still transparent to speakers²⁶. *Badé* and *(a)rék* cannot be negated by the standard negator.

- (14) Sundanese
- a. *Abdi moal ngiring ka ditu kumargi aya peryogi di kampus*
 1SG NEG.FUT AV.follow to there because EX matter LOC campus
 “I will not join because I have something to do on campus.”
- b. *Abdi badé ngiring ka ditu*
 1SG want AV.follow to there
 “I will join there.”

As demonstrated in (15), *moal* is often followed by the adverbial *waka* ‘too early, before its time’, which tends to collocate with negatives. There is the perception that leaving out *waka* results in a statement that is too direct and definite (as reported by informants).

²⁶ Other verbs, e.g. *hoyong*, only code desire and do not have the same function of encoding future.

Expressions of this type were only present in Bandung, West Java. I never heard *waka* used in or around the village of Cipta Gelar.

- (15) Sundanese
Moal waka angkat heula
 NEG.FUT too early go first
 “(I) will not go just yet.”

Adverbials like *waka* and *heula* ‘first’ are frequently affixed to verbs in Sundanese as a means to encode politeness. When one leaves a group, for instance, one should say *indit heula* ‘(I’m) leaving first, for the moment’, even when one does intend to return that day. This, however, leaves open the possibility that one might return and provides an indirect means to excuse oneself from a gathering.

3.2.3 NOT KNOW

In many Malayo-Polynesian languages, there is a special class of verbs sometimes described as marking ignorance (e.g. Tjia 2007 for Mualang). I see no reason not to include these lexemes with a general discussion of NOT KNOW, as in practice lexicalizations of this type both express ignorance and/or appeal to the knowledge of one outside the speaker via conversational implicature.

In Standard Indonesian, not knowing is often expressed simply through the negation of the lexeme *tahu* ‘know’ with the standard negator, as in (16).

- (16) Standard Indonesian
 a. *Saya masih tidak tahu nama-nya dan nama teman-nya*
 1SG still NEG know name-POSS.3SG and name friend-POSS.3SG
 “I still don’t know his name nor the name of his friend.”

However, in Standard Indonesian and, for that matter, in many Indonesian dialects of Western Indonesia, ignorance can also be expressed by the form *entah* ‘who knows’, as in (17).

- (17) Standard Indonesian
 a. *Entah apa yang di-bawa tadi saya tidak melihat-nya*
 IGNOR what REL PV-bring RP 1SG NEG AV.see-LIG
 “Who knows what was brought a bit ago, I didn’t see it.”

- b. *Jenis permainan kartu ini entah datang dari Timur
 Type game card DEM IGNOR come from East
 Mesir atau Arabia
 Egypt or Arabia*
 “Who knows whether this card game comes from the East, Egypt or Arabia.”
 (SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus)

This may bear some similarities to the French verb *ignorer*, ultimately from the Latin, which can express that something has not been experienced²⁷. In Indonesian, the co-occurrence of the negator and *tahu* ‘know’ can also encode ignorance, as shown in (18).

- (18) Indonesian
 a. *Dia tak tahu malu*
 3SG NEG know shy
 ‘He knows no shame!’

In some areas of Indonesia, *entah* takes the suffix *-lah* in first-person replies lacking a subject, as in (19). The suffix *-lah* has multiple functions in Malay/Indonesian, including the expression of frustration or finality, as is also discussed in Chapter 5.

- (19) Indonesian
 Speaker A: *Di mana mama*
 LOC where mother
 “Where is mother?”
 Speaker B: *Entah-lah*
 IGNOR-DM
 “Who knows/ I don’t know.” (conversation recorded in Sabu)

Entah is fairly productive, appearing also in other types of constructions, such as ‘Whether X or Y...’, as in (20).

- (20) Indonesian
 a. *Entah sadar entah tidak dia telah tertipu oleh pria berkepala
 IGNOR aware IGNOR NEG 3SG IAM tricked by man have-head
 plontos tersebut
 bald aforementioned*
 “Whether aware or not, he has already been tricked by the aforementioned bald man.”

²⁷ L’Académie Française lists one function of *ignorer* as ‘ne pas connaître par l’expérience, n’avoir jamais éprouvé ou pratiqué’ as is seen in the somewhat rare utterance *Lancelot ignore la peur* (Lancelot has not experienced fear).

There seems to be a general motivation here where uncertainty is co-opted to express a series of possibilities. As noted in Haspelmath (1997), expressions of this type, e.g. ‘who knows’, ‘the devil knows’, etc. are sometimes used to encode indefinite pronouns as the identity of a referent is either not known or not relevant.

A similar form with an ignorative function, *maha*, is found in Enggano, as in (21). The form *maha* can occur in phrase-initial position, then be followed by the negation of *pakãwã* ‘know’ though ordinary means or else it can follow subject pronouns and entirely take the place of ‘not know’ in Enggano.

- (21) Enggano
 Speaker A: *Ha kahai bakoe i noamam*
 who want escort 2SG tomorrow
 “Who will escort you tomorrow?”
 Speaker B: *Maha u kep pakãwã*
 IGNOR 1SG NONDUM know
 “Who knows, I don’t know yet.”
 Speaker B: *U maha*
 1SG IGNOR
 “I don’t know.”

The precise origin of *maha* is unknown at present. One possibility is that the word is cognate to the Malay *maha* meaning ‘great, mighty, strong, abundant’, derived from the Sanskrit with the same meaning. It appears for example, in the Indonesian lexeme *mahasiswa* ‘college student’ [Lit. great student]. *Maha* also refers to divine greatness in some languages of Indonesia that have been influenced by India, e.g. the Indonesian/Malay *Maha Kuasa* ‘The Almighty’ or *Maha Mulia* ‘The Sublime’, so it is possible that the use of this form is appealing to the knowledge of one greater than oneself, which in practice expresses personal ignorance. One would need to explain, however, why *maha* has not gone through the extensive phonological changes that have been experienced by other lexemes in Enggano.

Another point of interest lays in the fact that, as was shown earlier with the Jakarta Indonesian *mauuu* expressing NOT WANT in absence of a negator, it is also possible to express NOT KNOW without using a negator in some dialects of Indonesian. For instance, in

the colloquial Jakarta dialect, *tahu* ‘know’ can be followed by the discourse particle *deh* to mean ‘not know’, as demonstrated in the conversation in (22). The particle *deh* is “an emphatic particle urging the listener to believe what is being said” or, in imperative contexts, “strongly urges the listener to do something” (Sneddon 2006: 118). The particle *deh* can also be left out altogether and *tahu* elongated as *tahuuu* ‘I don’t know.’ Just as with *mauuu* ‘I don’t want (to)’, such constructions are restricted to replies by first-person subjects, though the subject itself is not used.

- (22) Jakarta Indonesian
- Speaker A: *Dia sakit? Kenapa dia?*
 3SG sick why 3SG
 “Is he sick? What’s the matter with him?”
- Speaker B: *Tahu deh... tapi kan bagus untuk kita*
 Know DM but NEG.TAG great for 1PL.INCL
 “I don’t know but it’s good for us, isn’t it.” (Harry Potter translation: 369)

A similar absence in formal negative marking is evident in Kupang Malay, a dialect of Malay widely spoken in Eastern Indonesia in the islands in and around West Timor. As demonstrated in (23), when expressing ‘I don’t know’, the negator *son(de)* is frequently dropped, especially when *tau* ‘know’ is followed by *lae* ‘again’, though it can also occur without *lae* and still retain a negative meaning. The usage is highly context-dependent and most often occurs in response to a question. Crucially, this expression is only felicitous in the first person; one cannot use it in reference to any third person. The utterance *tau* is always accompanied by a prosodic spike.

- (23) Kupang Malay
- a. *Be son tau (lae)*
 1SG NEG know again
 “I don’t know anymore/ at all.”
- b. *Tau lae*
 know again
 “I don’t know!”
- c. *Tau*
 Know
 ‘I don’t know!’

In each of the languages of this sample, the lexeme ‘again’ occurs with the negator to encode ‘not anymore’. I suspect, however, that this data from Kupang Malay is evidence of a Jespersen’s Cycle where the expression ‘I don’t know’ is first encoded by standard negation, then supplanted with *lae* for emphasis. Eventually *tau lae* becomes a fixed negative expression even in absence of the negator. The negative use of *tau* on its own is only felicitous in a very particular context, e.g. a response to a question. It tends to immediately follow a question with no interval of hesitation and can never be used to express the ignorance of a third-person.

In Hawu, NOT KNOW is typically encoded by standard negation, as in (24a). However, there is also a special construction for expressing not knowing, *i’a ou aa*, meaning ‘you are able’ or ‘you are intelligent’. In practice, this construction means ‘I don’t know’, as through conversational implicature it offloads the responsibility for understanding or providing an account of a situation to the (usually guilty) interlocutor. The expression is used by an informant in (24b) who, while viewing a storyboard, is asked (by me) to explain why a lion is chasing a crocodile. As with *tau (lae)* in Kupang Malay, the use of *i’a ou aa* is restricted to first-person responses to questions.

- (24) Hawu
- a. *Toi d'o ta nara henga-nga noo ne doi ne*
 know NEG NONPST get how much-RED 3SG DEF money DEF
 “I do not know how much money he will get.”
- b. *I'a ou aa ta pemari he ke dou*
 able 2SG DM NONPST CAUS-laugh DEF DM people
he hino
 DEF maybe
 “I don't know [Lit. Oh, you are able] maybe they were joking with each other.”

Finally, in Sundanese the polite *terang* ‘know’ (or the colloquial *nyaho*) can be negated by the regular verbal negator, as in (25).

- (25) Sundanese
- a. *Hena teu terang kunaon manéhna ngambek*
 Hena NEG know why 3SG AV.angry
 “Hena knows why s/he is angry.”

- b. *Upami teu terang jalan-na saé-na ulah angkat nyalira*
 If NEG know road-DEF good-LIG PROH go alone
 “If you don’t know the right road, it’s better not to go alone.”

However, there is also a special negative form *duka*, meaning DON’T KNOW which is from the high *lemes* ‘smooth’ speech level. *Duka* occurs most often in sentence-initial position or in answer to questions, as in (26). Once again, it is used restricted to first-person usage.

- (26) Sundanese
 a. Speaker A: *Manéh kunaon batuk waé* (elicited)
 2SG why cough just
 “Why are you coughing?”
 Speaker B: *Duka kana kebul meureun*
 NEG.know to dust maybe
 “I don’t know, maybe from the dust.”

Duka has a broader function of appealing to general ignorance, as demonstrated in (27a), which corresponds to the Indonesian *entah* ‘who knows’, discussed above. This function is particularly evident in expressions where *duka* occurs in the same utterance as *teu terang*, as in (27b), a construction that is reminiscent of the use of the Enggano *maha* above.

- (27) Sundanese
 a. *Duka kunaon manéhna ngambek deui*
 NEG.know why 3SG angry again
 “Who knows why she is angry again!”
 b. *Duka abdi teu terang*
 NEG.know 1SG NEG know
 “Who knows, I don’t know.”

In both Sundanese and Indonesian, *duka* occurs as a lexeme meaning ‘sorrow, sadness’, appearing in the Sundanese *duduka* ‘anger, displeasure, disgrace’, *kadukaan* ‘grief, sorrow’ (Hardjadibrata 2003: 210) and in the Indonesian *berduka cita* ‘to mourn, to grieve’, among other lexemes. It is likely that the ignorative meaning grammaticalized from an expression of sorrow or apology. High Javanese also has the form *duka* used in similar contexts as in Sundanese, which a native speaker translated for me as “I have no idea, hence I deserve your anger.”

In Section 3.5, I return to a discussion of the precise motivation for the appearance of these and other special negators that are discussed in this chapter.

3.3 Grammaticalization of other negators

This section addresses other alternative negators that do not fall into the categories already presented, including alternative standard negators with distinct pragmatic functions and lexicalized expressions for NEVER.

As will be argued most strongly in Chapter 5, Malayo-Polynesian languages tend to exhibit several grammaticalized politeness strategies in their grammars, including, among other things, a preference for the so-called passive voice, speech levels (e.g. in Sundanese and Javanese), avoidance of second singular pronouns, etc. Politeness strategies make their way into the realm of negation as well. In polite speech in both Indonesian and Sundanese, it is common for the lexeme ‘less’ to be substituted for the regular negators, as in (28) for Standard Indonesian, and (29) in Sundanese. When speaking of one’s own abilities, the use of this alternative form expresses humility, as shown in (28b).

(28) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Dia kurang yakin akan keputusan*
 3SG less sure about decision
 ‘He’s not so sure about his decision’
- b. *Saya kurang bisa ber-bahasa Jawa*
 1SG less can of-language Java
 ‘I cannot speak Javanese so well.’

(29) Sundanese

- a. *Abdi kirang percanteun kana jawab-an-na*
 1SG less believe-3 to answer-NMLZ-3SG
 ‘I don’t really believe his answer.’
- b. *Cuaca dinten ieu kirang saé pisan*
 weather day DEM less good very
 ‘The weather today was really not so good.’

The use of ‘less’ likely arose as an innovation within one of the two languages, motivated by the need to provide an indirect means of negation, and was then spread to the other, given the high level of bilingualism between Standard Indonesian and Sundanese.

Another area of negation where grammaticalized expressions are evident is in the expression of NEVER. In Standard Indonesian, NEVER is typically encoded by negating the experiential *pernah* with the standard negator, as in (30). By ‘experiential’ I mean a particle that expresses “that an event has taken place at least once at some point in the past” (from Chappell 2001 on Sinitic languages).

- (30) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Saya pernah ke belanda*
 1SG EXP to the Netherlands
 ‘I’ve been to the Netherlands.’
- b. *Kuat duga-an candi ini tidak pernah selesai di-bangun*
 Strong guess-NMLZ temple DEM NEG EXP finish PV-build
 ‘It’s highly likely this temple was never built to completion’ (SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus)
- c. *Tapi aku tidak pernah iri pada laki-laki*
 But 1SG NEG EXP envy LOC men
 ‘But I never envy men’ (SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus)

However, there is an additional grammaticalized strategy demonstrated in (31), which combines the literary negator and *kunjung* ‘visit’. This construction appears to be particularly common in literature – especially in folktales - though it is also sometimes used in broadcasting. There appears to be a generalized process where ‘visit’ expresses completion of an event and is thus reanalyzed as an aspectual marker.

- (31) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Sayang hujan tak kunjung turun*
 Unfortunate rain NEG visit fall
 ‘Unfortunately it never rained.’
- b. *Nasib-nya tak kunjung ber-ubah*
 Fate-3SG NEG visit MID-change
 ‘Her fate never changed.’
- c. *Tapi setelah se-bulan janji itu tak kunjung cair*
 but after one-month promise that NEG visit melt
 ‘But after a month that promise/agreement had never dissolved.’

- d. *Manusia memang tak kunjung puas*
 human truly NEG visit satisfied
 “Humans are truly never satisfied.”

As in Indonesian, NEVER in Sundanese can also be encoded by the negation of the experiential particle *pernah*, as in (32). The nondum *acan* is optional but preferred in the former instance as it leaves open the possibility for future occurrence, which again speaks to a general avoidance of directness.

- (32) Sundanese
 a. *Anjeuna teu (acan) pernah indit ka sekolah*
 3SG NEG NONDUM EXP go to school
 “He has never (yet) gone to school/ He never goes to school.”
 b. *Anjeuna pernah linggih di Ciamis*
 3SG EXP live LOC Ciamis
 “He once lived in Ciamis/ He has lived in Ciamis.”

Alternatively, NEVER is encoded by a special particle *tara*, as in (33). Informants suggest that *tara* means both ‘never’ and ‘rarely’, the polysemy of which may be a result of a general tendency evident in Sundanese to avoid definite negation when possible. In some dialects, (e.g. in West Sukabumi) *tara* can be reduplicated to mean ‘never-ever’, though such constructions are not accepted in Bandung.

- (33) Sundanese
Manéhna tara sare dina kasur
 3SG never sleep LOC mattress
 “S/he never sleeps on a mattress.”

Finally, in Hawu NEVER derives from the grammaticalization of the expression *ngèdd’i d’o* ‘not see’, as shown in (34), which uses the standard negator.

- (34) Hawu
 a. *Ngèdd’i d’o kale ta telfon*
 see.PL NEG kale NONPST telephone
 “Kale never calls.”
 b. *Ngèdd’i d’o noo ta nginu due*
 see.PL NEG 3SG NONPST drink palm juice
 “He has never drunk palm juice/ He never drinks palm juice.” (he hasn’t tried it or he doesn’t like it)

As is evident in (35), however, the lexical meaning ‘see’ is still retained and can be negated as normal. When the lexical meaning ‘see’ is what is being encoded, it is possible to inflect the verb ‘see’ as singular as well as plural, but when the meaning is NEVER the verb form always carries only the plural inflection.

- (35) Hawu
 a. *Ngèdd’i* *d’o* *roo* *ri yaa*
 See.PL NEG 3PL by 1SG
 “I don’t see them.”
 b. *Ngèdd’e* *d’o* *ri* *ou* *ta* *nee* *do* *nga*
 see.SG NEG by 2SG NONPST EX REL COM
j’èga yaa pa èmmu mihane
 work 1SG LOC house said
 “‘You don’t see that I have work to do at home?’ she said.”

It is likely that there is some process whereby ‘see’ is becoming an experiential, reminiscent to English expressions, “she thought she would not see the day when X”. The use of sensory lexemes to encode experiential meaning is evident in the lexemes ‘taste’ in the classical Chinese verb *cháng*, the Lhasa Tibetan *myong*, and the Wolof *mos* (Kuteva et al 2019: 423-24).

3.4 NOT YET

This final section is devoted entirely to an account of NOT YET, the means to indicate the non-occurrence of an otherwise expected state of affairs. As previously indicated, NOT YET is an expression that lays at the border of the lexicon and the grammar.

Veselinova and Devos (forthcoming) offer a recent and comprehensive account of discussions of NOT YET particles and expressions in the literature, which I repeat briefly here in order to ground the presentation of the particles and expressions in the languages of this sample that will follow. In the past few decades, NOT YET has received varying treatment and classification. Comrie (1985) and Schadeberg (2000), for instance, handle NOT YET forms and expressions as temporal or aspectual markers that are restricted to the broader

negative domain, while Kozinskij (1988) groups ‘not yet’ in with ‘not at all’, ‘not sufficiently’ and ‘no longer’ as all anti-resultatives that code the non-realization of a state. Veselinova and Devos (forthcoming), in a study of 141 Bantu languages, find that the nondum develops in these languages through the conventionalization of negative inference and through reanalysis of various constructions with different outcomes. Van der Auwera 1998 and Van Baar 1997 posit NOT YET as one part of a larger semantic domain comprising different phases of an event or state, while recent work by Kramer (2018) considers ‘not yet’ and related particles along a number of dimensions, including coverage, pragmaticity, telicity, wordhood, expressivity and paradigmaticity. In the latter work, pragmaticity refers to the polarity values of situations in a phrasal polarity concept where many phrasal polarity terms fluctuate between being pragmatically neutral (like NO LONGER, in Kramer’s view) and counterfactual like STILL and NOT YET. These particles can be usefully viewed through the lens of telicity as well. Given that their moment of change lies sometime in the future, STILL and NOT YET are classified as atelic, while ALREADY and NO LONGER are classed as telic.

As will soon become evident, even the four languages of my sample exhibit diversity in the coding of NOT YET with some languages using the ordinary standard negator, others using special lexicalizations, and others achieving NOT YET through polarity sensitivity.

3.4.1 ‘Not first’ and related meanings

One productive means to encode a NOT YET meaning is for a negator to precede the lexeme ‘first²⁸’, as demonstrated in (36) in Standard Indonesian, (37) in Sundanese, and (38) in Hawu.

²⁸ Generally, the word ‘first’ has a hortative meaning, used for urging or inviting as in the Sundanese, *diuk heula* ‘please sit down’ (Lit. sit first).

(36) Standard Indonesian

a. **Jangan** duduk **dulu**

PROH sit first

“Don’t sit yet.” (said when I was about to sit somewhere that did not have a sitting mat – one was quickly brought).

b. *Jakarta* diminta untuk **tidak** **dulu** buka tempat hiburan

Jakarta PV-ask for NEG first open place entertainment

“Jakarta has been asked not to open its bars yet.” (in a BBC article regarding the Covid-19 related lockdowns).

(37) Sundanese

Abdi mah **teu** **heula** *mésér tas*

1SG DM NEG first buy bag

“I’m not going to buy the bag just yet.”

(38) Hawu

B’ole *nga’a* **uru**

PROH eat first

“Don’t eat yet.”

Veselinova and Devos (forthcoming) observe the same typological phenomenon in their study of NOT YET in Bantu languages and propose ‘temporality’ to be a greater semantic category inherent to some NOT YET particles.

In some languages, like Standard Indonesian, the nondum is completely incompatible with the prohibitive; instead the lexeme *cepat* ‘fast’ follows the prohibitive, as demonstrated in (39). The incompatibility is probably due to a clash in speech act status, where an imperative urges the listener to engage in immediate action and the nondum indicates the non-occurrence of some state of affairs.

(39) Standard Indonesian

Jangan **cepat** *pikir semua baik-baik* *saja*

PROH fast think all good-RED just

“Don’t be so fast in thinking everything is just fine.”

Despite the regularity with which these means are employed, each of the languages possess additional nondum constructions – the focus of the proceeding sections.

3.4.2 The Indonesian nondum *belum*

In Standard Indonesian, there is a special NOT YET particle *belum*, which is inherently negative²⁹. As shown in (40a), *belum* stands in contrast with the iimitive *sudah* ‘already’ used in affirmative contexts, as in (40b). *Sudah* cannot be negated, except perhaps in exceptionally marked contexts, like the surprised question posed in (40c). This marginal reading is probably only possible given its occurrence in the interrogative mood, which reverses scalar inference.

- (40) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Dia sudah berangkat*
 3SG IAM leave
 “S/he has already left.”
- b. *Dia belum berangkat*
 3SG NONDUM leave
 “S/he hasn’t left yet.”
- c. ??*Dia tidak sudah berangkat*
 3SG NEG IAM leave
 “She hasn’t already left??”

Additionally, *belum* is used as an emphatic clausal coordinator when it is followed by *lagi* ‘again’, as demonstrated in (41). This joins the earlier discussion of *lae* ‘again’ in Kupang Malay as yet another example of the emphatic meaning performed by ‘again’, an additive particle (König 1991).

- (41) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Kawin tangkap ini hanya menghasilkan kekerasan*
 Marriage capture DEM only AV.result-APPL violence
dan ketidakadilan terhadap perempuan secara fisik
 and unfairness toward women ADV physical
seksual psikis belum lagi stigma kalau ia
 sexual psychological NONDUM again stigma if 3SG
keluar dari perkawinan yang dia tidak ingin-kan
 exit from marriage REL 3SG NEG desire-APPL
 “Forced marriages [Lit. Captured marriages] result only in violence and unfairness toward women, physically, sexually, and psychological, not to mention the stigma experienced by women if they leave the unwanted marriage.” (from a BBC article on forced marriages in Sumba).

²⁹ In many languages of the world NOT YET need not actually contain a negator. This is demonstrated by Veselinova and Devos (forthcoming) in their study of Bantu languages.

The form *belum* is apparently quite old, appearing 44 times in the manuscript *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* from 1371 with a nondum meaning. The form is clearly related to temporality, as it also appears in the *sebelum* ‘before’ (compare to the iamitive in *sesudah* ‘after’), though I make no claims regarding which came first.

A perusal of available Austronesian grammars suggests a special NOT YET particle is fairly frequent. For instance, in Karo Batak (Woollams 1996) ‘not yet’ is *lenga* while the standard negator is *la*; in Lamaholot (Nishiyama & Kelen, 2007) ‘not yet’ is *wati*, while the verbal negator is *hala*; in Pendau, a language of Central Sulawesi (Quick 2008), ‘not yet’ is *nyaa=po*, while the standard negator is *ndau*; and in Tetun Dili (Williams-van Klinken, Hajek, & Nordlinger 2002), the *seidauk* means ‘not yet’ (*sei* means still) and the standard negator is *la*.

3.4.3 The Enggano nondum *kep* and *kop*

In Enggano, as in Indonesian, there is a special, inherently negative nondum marker, *kep* which occurs in the same position as the verbal negator, as demonstrated in (42a-b). Meanwhile the iamitive is *ho(bah)*, as in (42c-d).

- (42) Enggano
- | | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------|-----------|--|
| a. | <i>U</i> | <i>kep</i> | <i>(j)u-no</i> | | | |
| | 1SG | NONDUM | 1-eat | | | |
| | “I haven’t eaten yet.” | | | | | |
| b. | <i>ki</i> | <i>kep</i> | <i>piyah it</i> | <i>bi</i> | <i>po</i> | |
| | 3SG | NONDUM | EXP drink | water | coconut | |
| | “He’s never drunk coconut water.” | | | | | |
| c. | <i>Ki</i> | <i>hobah</i> | <i>it</i> | <i>bi</i> | <i>po</i> | |
| | 3SG | IAM | drink | water | coconut | |
| | “He has already drunk coconut water.” | | | | | |
| d. | <i>Hobah</i> | <i>panuk’</i> | <i>jem</i> | <i>mer</i> | | |
| | IAM | sleepy | 2SG.OBJ | Mer | | |
| | “Are you sleepy, Mer?” | | | | | |

In responses to questions, there is a special iamitive form, *ibih*, as in (43). However, there is no special nondum form restricted to questions.

- (43) Enggano
 Speaker A: \tilde{s} $h\tilde{s}$ *mu-no*
 2SG IAM 2-eat
 “Have you eaten?”
 Speaker B: ***ibih***
 Already
 “I have.”

There is a second, productive nondum form *kop* which appears to be used interchangeably with *kep*, as in (44). Some speakers suggest it is a stronger form, but it may actually be simply due to a dialectal difference – more data is needed to answer this question.

- (44) Enggano
 a. *Ik kop piyah keriah*
 1PL NONDUM EXP church
 “We have not yet/never yet been to church.”

I suspect that the form *kep* emerged as a result of fusion between the verbal negator *ke'* and the experiential *piyah* ‘ever’, given the frequent collocation of these forms, as in (45).

- (45) Enggano
U ke' piyah bekawi
 1SG NEG ever Jakarta
 “I’ve never been to Jakarta.”

Semantically, both ‘not yet’ and ‘not ever’ entail the non-realization of an activity or a state, so this would be a reasonable pathway to suggest.

3.4.4 The Sundanese polarity particle *acan*

NOT YET in Sundanese is expressed by the verbal negator plus the polarity sensitive item *acan* or its clipped form *can*, as shown in (46a). In spoken Sundanese, the fused form *tacan* is also common, as in (46b). Meanwhile, the iamitives³⁰ include the polite form *parantos/ atos/ tos* and the lower speech level form, *(ng)geus*, as demonstrated in (46c); the iamitives cannot be negated.

³⁰ I follow Dahl and Wälchli (2016) in using the term ‘iamitive’ rather than ‘perfect’, as these markers in Sundanese can combine with stative predicates like ‘be here’, as in *atos di dieu*, and ‘be sick’, as in *atos gering*. Dahl (1985) proposes ‘already’ and ‘finish’ as diachronic sources of perfects.

- (46) Sundanese
- a. *Manéhna teu (a)can nikah*
 3SG NEG POL married
 “S/he is not married yet.”
- b. *Abdi tacan pa-pendak sa-saha*
 1SG not yet RED-meet RED-who
 “I haven’t met anyone yet.”
- c. *Manéhna tos nikah*
 3SG IAM married
 “S/he is already married.”

Interestingly, in colloquial speech the particle *(a)can* frequently appears alone yet retains its negative meaning, as demonstrated in a declarative utterance in (47a) and a short conversation in (47b).

- (47) Sundanese
- a. *Ti isuk can ibak*
 From morning not yet bathe
 “From morning, (I) haven’t bathed yet.”
- b. Speaker A: *Geus dahar acan*
 IAM eat not yet
 “Have you eaten, or not yet?”
- Speaker B: *Acan*
 Not yet
 “Not yet.”

Beyond its meaning in encoding NOT YET, *acan* also plays an active role in polarity sensitive expressions. In particular, as shown in (48), it co-occurs with negation and reduplication to suggest that even the most minimal of possible expectations is not met. As will be evident in Chapter 6, *acan* joins *ogé* as a scalar additive particle.

- (48) Sundanese (elicited)
- a. *Anjeuna teu luka saeutik-eutik acan*
 3SG NEG hurt INDF-little-RED POL
 “He wasn’t even a bit hurt!”
- b. *Aduh abdi poho pisan teu nyandak pulpen hiji-hiji acan*
 DM 1SG forget very NEG AV.bring pen one-RED POL
 “Oh I forgot! I didn’t bring a single pen!”

However, when the preceding element is not reduplicated, as in (49b), the reinforcing particle *pisan* is used and *acan* is not accepted by speakers. This underscores the importance of reduplication in contributing a scalar reading by augmenting a set of possibilities.

- (49) Sundanese
 a. *Abdi teu bisa dahar-dahar acan*
 1SG NEG can eat-RED POL
 “I couldn’t even eat.”
 b. *Abdi teu bisa dahar pisan*
 1SG NEG can eat very
 “I couldn’t eat at all.”

Hardjadibrata (2003:2) suggests that when *acan* occurs in affirmative contexts following reduplication, the interpretation is that a state-of-affairs still holds true, as in (50)³¹.

- (50) Sundanese
Manéhna di sawah-sawah acan
 3SG LOC paddy field-RED still
 “He is still in the rice fields.” (Hardjadibrata 2003:2)

My informants do not accept the interpretation expressed in (50), but do accept the same expression in the negative, as in (51), where the understanding is that someone has broken their daily expected habit of going to the paddy fields (p.c. Eri Kurniawan).

- (51) Sundanese
Manéhna teu di sawah-sawah acan
 3SG NEG LOC paddy field-RED still
 “He is not even in the paddy fields.” (He can’t be seen there at all)

Why should it be that this negative polarity item is used to encode NOT YET? It appears that *(a)can* began as a scalar additive particle, and over time became associated with the negator due to frequent co-occurrence in reinforcing contexts³². *Acan* then began to be used to encode NOT YET without the negator. Support for this argument lays in the fact that *acan* can only appear without the negator to encode NOT YET in colloquial speech, which is sociolinguistically innovative. When one leaves out the negator in formal settings, one is often corrected with “*teu acan*”. In Sundanese, there is clearly a close relationship between reinforced negation (e.g. ‘not at all’) and the nonrealization of a state (e.g. ‘not yet’), which,

³¹ It should be noted that Hardjadibrata (2003) is actually a translation of Eringa (1984), written in Dutch. The expression is thus older than would be suggested by the publication date.

³² It is cross-linguistically common for NOT YET particles to have additive functions. Consider, for instance, the French *encore*, e.g. *encore une fois* (König 1991), the Indonesian additive coordinator *belum lagi* ‘not to mention’, the Amdo Tibetan *tarong*, and the English, *It might get a lot worse yet* or *yet another reason is...*

as mentioned above, Kozinskij (1988) classifies as ‘antiresultatives’. In either case, an expected result has not been achieved at the time of speech, regardless of whether there is an expectation that it will occur at some point further on or not.

3.4.5 The Hawu nondum *de d'o*

Finally, in Hawu, NOT YET is formed by the adverb *de* ‘still’, which precedes the ordinary negator, *d'o*, as shown in (52). As indicated in (52d), the addition of a second *de* particle lends emphasis.

- (52) Hawu
- a. *D'ida de d'o ne mada lod'o ne*
 up still NEG DEF eye day DEF
 “The sun is not yet high (in the sky).”
- b. *Pe-èbbe de d'o noo nga hièmmu d'e*
 RECP-take.SG still NEG 3SG COM spouse that
 “He has not yet taken a spouse.”
- c. *I'a de d'o yaa lii jepang*
 able still NEG 1SG speech Japan
 “I can't speak Japanese yet.”
- d. *Pe-d'ire de d'o ri noo (de)*
 RECP-talk still NEG by 3SG still
 “She still hasn't told (us) yet.”

The particle *de* is dispreferred outside of negation, while the particle *ko* ‘still’ is used in affirmative utterances, as in (53a), compared to the equivalent negative expression in (53b).

The particle *de* is therefore a Negative Polarity Item (NPI).

- (53) Hawu
- a. *Toi ko ma ri noo*
 Know still DM by 3SG
 “He still knows”
- b. *Toi de d'o ri noo*
 Know still NEG by 3SG
 “He still does not know.”

In section 2.5, I demonstrated the use of the verb *ngèdd'i* ‘see’ in encoding NEVER. The particle *de* also occurs after this verb to indicate negative completion, as in (54). What is interesting about this construction, of course, is that there is no overt negator. Rather, it

appears that *de* itself has become covertly negative, probably due to its regular association with negation.

- (54) Hawu
Ngèdd'i de yaa ta kako la hekola
 see still 1SG NONPST go to school
 “I haven’t been to school.” (because maybe on vacation)

The addition of the negator in this construction lends greater emphasis, as shown in (55), and also in the conversation in (56), where a farmer (speaker A) discusses his harvest up to the time of speech.

- (55) Hawu
Ngèdd'i de d'o yaa peabu nga noo
 see.PL still NEG 1SG meet COM 3SG
 “(I) have never ever met with her.”

- (56) Hawu
 Speaker A: *Ne ko ma do d'o ne ri ... do d'o*
 DEF again DM REL NEG DEF again REL NEG
wue de noo ri
 fruit still 3SG again
 “There have been no more .. there has not been any fruit [produced by the long bean plant] yet.”
 Speaker B: *Ngèddi d'o ta pue*
 see.PL NEG NONPST pick
 “They’ve never been picked?”
 Speaker A: *Ngèdd'i de d'o ... b'ule de d'o ta*
 see.PL still NEG NEG.EX still NEG NONPST
wila de nahed'e
 blossom still those
 “Never yet ... they still do not have any blossoms.”

The relationship between ‘still’ and ‘not yet’ is evident in many languages of the world, including other Austronesian languages. For instance, in Kampangan, ‘not yet’ is *ali pa*, meaning ‘still none’ (Forman 2019); in Tetun Dili ‘not yet’ is *seidauk*, where *sei* means ‘still’ (Williams-van Klinken et al 2002); and in answers to questions in Neve’ei, ‘not yet’ is *sa’adem* meaning ‘not still’ (Musgrave 2007). Israel (1996), taking a scalar semantic approach, classifies *still* as an aspectual operator, along with *yet*, *already*, and *anymore* where each of these particles can be seen as making reference to scales of earliness and lateness (see

also Israel (1995), Löbner (1987, 1989), Michaelis (1992, 1993), and van der Auwera (1993)). Viewed in this light, *still* therefore has a high quantitative value on a scale of lateness, meaning that, compared to some expectation, it is understood that the proposition in its scope holds relatively late. *Already*, on the other hand has a high quantitative value on the scale of earliness. Meanwhile Veselinova and Devos (forthcoming: 15) cite the conventionalization of negative inference as an account for the overlap of ‘still’ and ‘not yet’; for instance, ‘I am still writing this article’ may lead to the negative inference ‘I have not yet written this article’.

This section has examined the various means to encode the nondum in the four languages of this sample. It should be evident here that even among these four languages there is considerable diversity in the coding means presented. While Indonesian and Enggano each appear to have a fully lexicalized, irregular nondum form, the nondum in Enggano appears to derive from the negation of an experiential while the source of the Indonesian nondum is not yet clear. In Sundanese, meanwhile, the nondum meaning is encoded via polarity sensitivity wherein the nondum particle is active not just in encoding NOT YET, but also combines with reduplication to encode highly newsworthy information. Moreover, Sundanese provides an excellent illustration of a once non-negative particle well on its way to becoming inherently negative, as is especially clear in colloquial utterances. Finally, in Hawu NOT YET is achieved by the negation of the lexeme ‘still’, which, via negative inference entails the interpretation that a state of affairs is unrealized.

3.5 Discussion and motivations for the appearance of special negative forms

In this chapter I have described a number of negative lexicalizations and irregular negative verbs in four languages of Indonesia, including some instances of negation in colloquial varieties of Indonesian. These special forms have comprised negative

lexicalizations for NOT WANT and NOT KNOW, alternative negators like ‘less’, NEVER forms and expressions, and other special forms in the realm of tense, aspect, and mood. The forms are presented for clarity in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Negative lexicalizations and irregular negative expressions in the languages of this sample.

Language	Form	Function
Indonesian (Jakarta dialect) (Kupang Malay)	<i>Takkan</i> <i>Tak Kunjung</i> <i>Belum</i> <i>Jangan dulu</i> <i>Kurang</i> <i>Entah(lah)</i> <i>Tahu deh / tauuu</i> <i>Mauuu</i> <i>Tau (lae)</i>	Negative future NEVER Nondum Nondum [PROH first] Indirect negation NOT KNOW NOT KNOW NOT WANT NOT KNOW
Sundanese	<i>Alim</i> <i>Moal</i> <i>Tara</i> <i>Duka</i> <i>Teu acan, tacan, can</i> <i>Teu heula</i> <i>Kirang</i>	NOT WANT Negative future Never/ rarely NOT KNOW Nondum, NPI Nondum [NEG first] Indirect negation
Hawu	<i>Ngèddi d’o</i> <i>I’a ou aa</i> <i>de d’o</i> <i>b’ole uru</i>	NEVER NOT KNOW Nondum Nondum [NEG first]
Eggano	<i>ke? nahab</i> <i>Kep/kop</i> <i>Maha</i>	NOT WANT Nondum NOT KNOW

I return now to the important question posed in the introduction; namely, why is it that negative lexicalizations and irregular negative verbs exist for areas of the grammar expressed in this chapter but not for other areas like ‘not go’, ‘not eat’, and ‘not sleep’? I propose that one motivation behind the appearance of these special negators is a result of their status as highly subjective parts of the grammar that are viewed within these cultures as posing a threat to the preservation of indirectness. The importance of indirectness to these communities is evident in numerous grammaticalized politeness strategies, including but not

limited to, a widespread preference for passive voice, avoidance of first- and second-person pronouns (especially the latter), and the presence of speech levels in some languages.

Negative assertion is just one more part of the grammar that calls for indirect means because its semantics typically entail disagreement, denial, or rejection of some state of affairs.

The general tendency for special indirect forms to emerge in multiple areas of the grammar is coined The Principle of Indirect Means in Frajzyngier and Jirsa (2004). These authors suggest that the use of indirect means is not motivated by uncertainty on the part of the speaker regarding the truth of the proposition, but rather because if the speaker were to make an unmodified assertion, the principle would be violated.

The use of indirect means is evident in multiple areas of this chapter, including: the substitution of the lexeme 'less' for standard negation, the expression of not wanting and not knowing in colloquial varieties of Indonesian without actually using a negator, the use of ignorative expressions representing not knowing, lexical meanings like 'sorrow' behind the development of a special NOT KNOW verb, the indication of not knowing through conversational implicature by offloading responsibility to the interlocutor. It is also important that the special negators appear most often in a specific environment: in responses to questions, often without a subject. This suggests that these negators tend to be bound to conversation and are not often uttered out of the blue.

The motivation of indirect means should not be viewed as the motivation behind the emergence of all special negative forms discussed in this chapter. The presence of some of these forms, such as the special NOT YET negators, probably has more to do with the distinct functional domain of 'not yet' compared to other types of negation. I have demonstrated that there are a variety of means to achieve NOT YET just in the languages of this sample, including through a special negator whose origin is not transparent, via a polarity sensitive marker, and through the negation of 'still' with the standard negator. Given these different

means of encoding NOT YET, it appears most fruitful to think of this category of negation of having the semantic distinction of the non-realization of a state of affairs.

3.6 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been the special lexicalizations with negation and irregular negative expressions that exist within the negative inventories of the four languages of this sample. Such special forms tend to arise in a specific environment, namely in responses to questions, especially where there is no subject. I have suggested that one key motivator behind the appearance of special negative lexicalizations and expressions is a desire to achieve indirect means of expressing negation. In this chapter, I also addressed the various means for encoding NOT YET, observing that the presence in many languages of a NOT YET form that differs from the standard negator is a striking typological feature of the languages of this region. I have demonstrated that even within the small sample of languages discussed herein, there is considerable diversity in coding means and that the motivation for the appearance of special nondum forms is probably different than the motivation for the other special negative forms addressed in this chapter.

There remains plenty of room for future work accounting for the presence of negative lexicalizations within a broader sample of languages of Indonesia. Lexicalizations with negation appear to be relatively rare cross-linguistically. While languages outside of this region may contain special marking for NOT YET or for other tense, aspect, mood categories in negation, it is uncommon to see the number of irregular forms evident in this sample. A broader sample of languages within this region would be helpful in tracing the sources of the lexicalizations and in drawing conclusions about specific areal effects. It would also be worthwhile to assess the role of indirectness in the emergence of special negative forms and constructions within a broader cross-linguistic sample.

CHAPTER 4

THE NEGATION OF EXISTENTIAL AND LOCATIVE EXPRESSIONS

4.1 Introduction

As a type of non-verbal predicate, existential constructions indicate the absolute existence or presence of an entity, while the negative counterpart marks the nonexistence or absence of an entity. This chapter accounts for the strategies available to negate existence in the four languages of this sample. In each of these languages, the same particles that encode existence and negative existence also encode a variety of other functions like ‘location at’ and possession. I propose that the reason for the overlap in these functions is largely due to the fact that the same inferences about reality are drawn from their interpretation. A large part of the chapter is devoted to a case study of a special class of existential/locative particles in Hawu, whose multiple deictic and evidential distinctions are neutralized under negation. Negative existential predicators join other types of negation discussed in this dissertation in constituting a distinct functional domain from standard negation.

This chapter begins with a general account of properties of existential predications and is followed by a description of the means for encoding existential and negative existential predication in Indonesian, Sundanese, Enggano, and Hawu. Where possible, I account for the presence of special negative existentials, as these forms shed light on sources that may grammaticalize as existentials within these languages. I present examples where special negative existentials break into the verbal domain and assess what functions are performed in these instances. Finally, a large portion of the chapter is devoted to a detailed examination of a special class of existential particles in Hawu whose various functions are neutralized under negation. An open question of this section is why it should be that negation neutralizes these functions.

4.2 Properties of existential predications

Aside from classical existential predications of the type *There is a God*, existential constructions tend to require a locational or temporal adjunct for the meaning to be felicitous. The specification of location can, however, be irrelevant if one is already present in the location under consideration (Hengeveld 1992). In a negative existential construction like *There is no water* in English, the meaning encoded can be the nonexistence of an entity in an environment that is reconstructable from the general knowledge of speakers (e.g. no water on the planet Venus) or the presence or absence of water in a place where it would typically be found (e.g. no water in a well or a tank).

Cross-linguistically, negative existential constructions tend to be structurally and functionally distinct from standard negation constructions, i.e. “that type of negation that can apply to the most minimal and basic sentences” (Payne 1985: 198). Unlike standard negation, negative existential predicates frequently include: a tendency for generic, non-referential subjects (typically with non-prototypical subject marking, e.g. expletive pronouns like *there* and *it* in English), a word order that differs from the dominant word order of the language, special agreement and/or no agreement between the subject and the predicate, and a predicate item with special morphology (Veselinova 2013). Many of these structural differences are accounted for by the special status of existential predicators as a type of nonverbal predication, while standard negation operates at the clausal level. Like other types of nonverbal predicates, existentials tend to have a stative quality and, as such, existential predication “does not express a property of a person or thing, in the sense of 'property' used in logic; it indicates the presence or absence of the object itself” (Croft 1991: 18).

The means for encoding negative existential constructions vary from language to language. In some languages, the standard negator operates on the otherwise affirmative existential predicator, just as it would on any other type of expression. In other languages,

there is one or more special negative existential forms. These special forms may resemble the standard negator, sometimes being the clear result of phonological fusion between the negator and the existential predicator. In other cases, the special negative existential bears no resemblance to the standard negator and derives from a different source entirely, such as from lexical items like ‘empty’, ‘lost’, ‘absent’, ‘gone’ or ‘lack’. It is no surprise that such lexemes can grammaticalize as special negative existential predicators when it is often not existence that is being negated but absence of an entity that is expressed.

In some languages, a negative existential may gradually begin to perform verbal functions, eventually becoming a standard negator. One motivation for such a development is emphasis. This pathway has received wide attention under the label of a Negative Existential Cycle (Croft 1991), while the general role of emphasis in the development of negation is observed in a Jespersen Cycle (Dahl 1979). An oft-cited example of a Jespersen Cycle is negation in French where a single marked pre-predicate *ne* is then supplemented in emphatic utterances with *pas* ‘step’, but then becomes marked only with *pas* in colloquial French. The main motivation for reinforcement results from the discourse context of negatives. As the prototypical use of negation is denial of semantic content, negation is a somewhat abrupt speech act and thus needs the emphasis on the negativity (see Miestamo 2005: 197–199, 209–210 for more discussion). Van der Auwera (2010: 3) notes, “the Jespersen cycle is a normal instance of grammaticalization, which indeed often originates in the availability of two patterns, a neutral and a more expressive one, with the latter bleaching and becoming neutral too, and consecutively replacing the earlier neutral pattern.” Expressions that denote the absence of an entity or idea are perfect candidates to be substituted for the standard negator in emphatic instances.

The very fact that special negative existentials are co-opted to perform verbal functions suggests that they belong to a different functional domain from verbal negation – a point also

proposed in Veselinova 2013. Such special negative existentials become regularized verbal negators only once a process of desemanticization of the emphatic function has taken place. At the same time, special negative existentials share the property of pragmatic dependence with other negators. A negative utterance nearly always presupposes the presence of the positive counterpart in any utterance, such that *My wife is not pregnant* in answer to the question *What's happening?* would be very strange unless it were presupposed that the wife in question were pregnant (Givón 1979: 103-104). In carrying out linguistic fieldwork, elicitation of negative existential predicates can be challenging because the denial of the presence of an entity feels strange to informants if done out of the blue. A key function of existential predicators, meanwhile, is to introduce new referents to a scene; existential predicators can therefore be easily elicited as new referents are produced, e.g. via storyboards or in folktales.

Finally, as suggested at the start of this introduction, in some languages the same forms used for existentials and negative existentials may also encode predicative possession and locative predication. This is demonstrated in Standard Indonesian below, where the existential *ada* codes existence in (1a), possession in (1b), and locative predication in (1c-d). The last has two constructions in Standard Indonesian: one with a fronted object and one that is subject-initial following the basic word order of Standard Indonesian. The former, though it results in possession, follows a Location Schema [*possessee is located at possessor's place*] in the sense of Heine (1997).

1) Standard Indonesian

a. *Ada harapan*

EX hope

“There is hope.”

b. *Saya ada sedikit cerita mengenai sejarah*

1SG EX little story AV.concern history

“I have a little story about the history.”

- c. *Kunci-nya ada pada-ku*³³
 Key-DEF EX at-1SG
 “The key is with me.”
- d. *Mereka (ada) di rumah sakit*
 3PL EX LOC house sick
 “They are at the hospital.”

An analysis of which function - existential, locative, or possessive - is primary appears to be language specific and in many languages these categories will be encoded in distinct ways. Numerous studies account for the overlap of these nonverbal domains, both from a typological and from a language-specific perspective (see, for instance, Clark 1978, Dryer 2007, Hengeveld 1992, Heine 1993 1997, Veselinova 2013). In each of the languages of this particular sample, the particle(s) that encode existence also encode ‘location at’ and possession. I present evidence, especially in Hawu, of existential predicators arising from locative lexemes. The fact that these locative particles can be co-opted to encode existence probably arises because both ‘location at’ and ‘existence at’ lead to the same inferences about reality. As this is principally a study about negation, it is beyond the scope of this work to tease apart the differences in the non-verbal predications, as they typically do not differ in negative coding. Distinctions in non-verbal predications will therefore only be discussed in this chapter if they are directly relevant to the question of negation.

4.3 Existential and negative existential predication in the languages of this sample

4.3.1 Standard Indonesian

As first presented in the introduction, the Standard Indonesian existential predicate is *ada*, which encodes existence, as in (2a). The negation of existence is encoded by the co-

³³ The body itself can be used here as the ‘place’ of possession, e.g. *kuncinya ada pada diriku*, where *diri* means ‘self’ or ‘body’, similar to the somewhat stilted English *he had the keys on his person*.

occurrence of the standard negator *tidak*, as in (2b). In colloquial varieties of Indonesian, any of the varieties of the standard negator, e.g. *enggak*, *nggak*, *gak*, *ndak*, can occur with *ada*.

2) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Sanger tetap ber-pendapat bahwa ada masalah-masalah serius*
 Sanger still MID-opinion COMP EX problem-RED serious
 “Sanger was still of the opinion that there were serious problems.” (SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus)
- b. *Tidak ada waktu untuk ber-santai nanti malam*
 NEG EX time for MID-relax soon night
 “There is no time to rest tonight.”

It is only in rare instances, as in contrastive negation, that *ada* is preceded by the nominal negator *bukan*, as in the existential/locative construction of (3). The role of *bukan* in contrastive negation was described in detail in Chapter 2. If the second part of the utterance following *tetapi* ‘but’ were excluded, the utterance would be completely pragmatically dependent in order to be felicitous.

3) Standard Indonesian

- Masalah-nya bukan ada di Tuhan tetapi di manusia*
 Problem-LIG NEG EX LOC God but LOC human
 “The problem is not with God, but with humanity.”

In answering interrogative utterances that contain existential predicators, both the existential and negative existentials can stand completely alone, functioning as pro-sentences; that is, sentences where the propositional content of a given utterance matches its preceding utterance (Bernini and Ramat 1996). As shown in (4), the use of ‘yes’/ ‘no’ is considered by informants to be marginally grammatical compared to a reply with the existentials.

4) Jakarta Indonesian

- Speaker A: *Ada kayu bakar*
 EX wood burn
 “Is there firewood?”
- Speaker B: *Ada* – yes, (there is).
Nggak ada – no, (there isn’t).
 ??*Ya* – yes
 ??*Nggak* – no

The morpheme *ada* is very productive in word formations, occurring for instance with the ligature *nya* in *adanya* ‘existence’, with the nominal morphemes *ke-* and *-an* in *keadaan*

‘incident’, and with the nominal *peN-* in *pengada* ‘creator’. There are also derivations with the negative existential, including *tidak adanya* ‘the nonexistence of’ and *ketidakadaan* ‘lack of’, among others. Moreover, *ada* combines with the formal Malay particle *-lah* as a copula used in equative and presentative sentences, as shown in (5a). In contemporary Standard Indonesian, the existential predicator and this copula have distinct functions, as is clear in (5b), where both appear simultaneously. The use of the existential in the copula can be accounted for by the shared stative semantics of existential predication, attribution, and equation (Payne 1997: 111, see also Hengeveld 1992).

5) Standard Indonesian (Sneddon et al 2012: 247)

- a. *Ayah Tomo adalah pe-gawai Bank Indonesia*
 Father Tomo COP NMLZ-work Bank Indonesia
 “Tomo’s father is an employee at the Bank of Indonesia.”
- b. *Satu-satu-nya air yang ada adalah dari telaga*
 One-RED-LIG water REL EX COP from lake
 “The only water there is is from the lake.”

An additional function of *ada* is to encode emphasis or confirmation of a prior suggestion, reminiscent of the use of the copula in English, e.g. *He did receive the letter*. This is demonstrated in (6).

6) Standard Indonesian

- Ia ada menerima surat itu*
 3SG EX AV.receive letter DEM
 “He did receive the letter.” (Sneddon et al 2012: 274)

Meanwhile, in eastern Indonesia, especially in and around West Timor, there is a past-tense quality of *ada*, as shown in (7), which was uttered by a native speaker of Hawu and Kupang Malay who learned Standard Indonesian in school.

7) Indonesian

- a. *Saya ada keluar (tadi)*
 1SG EX out RECPST
 “I went out a bit ago.”
- b. *Saya ada unggah dokumen-nya*
 1SG EX upload document-LIG
 “I uploaded the document.”

In addition to the negative existential constructions described thus far, there is also a phonologically fused form *tiada*, as shown in (8). (8b) demonstrates that *tiada* (and *tidak ada* for that matter) join the cross-linguistic tendency for negative existentials to provide an indirect means to express death. *Tiada* also appears in several derivations like *meniadakan* ‘to erase, to declare illegitimate, to cancel, to ignore, to deny’ and *ketiadaan* ‘lack of’, among others. While *tiada* is a literary negative existential in Standard Indonesian, it is employed as the regular negative existential in some colloquial varieties of Indonesian, including in North Borneo (p.c. David Gil).

8) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Tapi sampai sekarang tiada fakta yang*
 But until now NEG.EX fact REL
membenarkan pen-dapat ini
 AV-true-APPL NMLZ-get DEM.PROX
 “But until now there are no facts that verify this opinion.” (SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus)
- b. *Ayah mereka masing-masing sudah tiada*
 Father 3PL each-RED IAM NEG.EX
 “Each of their fathers were already gone (dead).” (SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus)

Tiada is sometimes co-opted to perform verbal functions, as in (9), which coincides with the dynamic B~C stage described in Croft’s (1991) Negative Existential Cycle where negative existentials gradually become used as verbal negators.

9) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Saya tiada ber-kata begitu*
 1SG NEG.EX word like that
 “I did not say that.”
- b. *Istri mengetahui ke-wajib-an dan tiada*
 wife AV-know-APPL NMLZ-obligate-NMLZ and NEG.EX
me-lalaikannya
 AV-neglect-APPL-LIG
 “The wife knew her obligation and did not neglect it.”

In other instances, *tiada* functions as ‘without’³⁴ or an abessive at the clausal level, as in (10). The use of *tiada berkata* appears to be a fossilized expression, given its high frequency of occurrence, especially in written works.

10) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Dengan tiada berkata se-patah pun ia pergi*
 with NEG.EX say INDF-break FOC 3SG go
 “Without a single word more, he left.”
- b. *Ada hujan yang lebat dan tiada henti*
 EX rain REL thick and NEG.EX stop
 “There is rain that is thick and ceaseless.” (SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus)

Though it may be tempting to view *tiada* as a new development, it appears in Old Malay manuscripts from at least 1200, if not earlier, and, as mentioned above, is a regularized negative existential in some dialects of Indonesian. In Standard Indonesian it continues to exist because of its distinct meaning ‘without’ and, by extension, its function of encoding negation in emphatic fossilized expressions.

4.3.2 Sundanese

The existential predicator in Sundanese is *aya*³⁵, which encodes existence, as in (11a). *Aya* is also used to encode locative and possessive predication but, as mentioned in the introduction, these functions will not be explored here. The negation of existence is encoded by a number of means, including the addition of the standard negator *henteu/teu* with *aya*, as in (11b). Two additional negative existentials include: a phonologically fused form *taya*, as in

³⁴ There is also a special ‘without’ negator in Indonesian, *tanpa*, as indicated in the examples below:

- a. *Bagaimana mungkin aku dapat hidup tanpa engkau se-lama ini*
 How maybe 1SG able live without 2SG CMPR-long DEM
 “How could I have lived without You all this time?”
- b. *Dia meninggal dunia pada hari tersebut tanpa menyebut nama-nya*
 3SG AV.leave world at day PV-mention without AV.mention name-3SG
 “S/he passed away that day without mentioning his name.”

³⁵ As with the Indonesian *ada*, the Sundanese *aya* appears in a number of derivations, as with the active prefix *ng-* and the applicative *-keun* in *ngayakeun* ‘to organize/ arrange’, which the passive prefix *di-* and the applicative in *diteuayakeun* ‘to be nullified’, and with the nominalizers *ke-* and *-an* in *kaayaan* ‘situation’.

(11c), and a special form *euweuh*, as in (11d). In most areas of West Java, *teu aya* and *taya* are considered by Sundanese speakers to be *lemes* ‘polite’, while *euweuh* is considered to be *kasar* ‘rough’ or colloquial.

11) Sundanese

- a. *Aya* *hajat*
EX ceremony
“There is a ceremony.”
- b. *Teu aya* *hajat*
NEG EX ceremony
“There is no ceremony.”
- c. *Taya* *loba* *béas*
NEG.EX many rice
“There is not much rice.”
- d. *Euweuh* *anjing anu* *ngaggongong* *di* *luar*
NEG.EX dog REL AV.bark LOC outside
“There is no dog barking outside.”

The negative existentials can be used interchangeably, though *euweuh* is considered very coarse and is probably the most recent predicator, following the principle that forms associated with innovative sociolinguistic forces are likely to be newer (Greenberg 1966)³⁶. The selection of negative existentials in Sundanese has much more to do with attending to the appropriate speech level for a given setting than with any distinct functions performed by the existentials. Indeed, when there are competing negators at a stage in the diachrony of negation, there may be a multiplicity of reasons for this, including register, region, and discourse-pragmatics (Van der Auwera 2010: 5). It appears that all three of these factors play at least some role in the presence of multiple special negative existentials in Sundanese. It was extremely challenging to elicit *euweuh* in formal elicitation sessions, as speakers found it to be inescapably rude, though it was possible to hear this form in natural discourse.

³⁶ I suspect *euweuh* might have developed from a lexeme meaning ‘lost’, but this cannot be determined with any level of certainty at this time.

As in Indonesian, the negative existentials in Sundanese can also mean ‘without’, as demonstrated in (12), but both the regular negative existential and the special negative existential can perform this function.

12) Sundanese

- a. *Manéhna gawéh euweuh kacape ngajelang acara pernikahan*
 3SG work NEG.EX tired AV.approach event wedding
 “She worked tirelessly leading up to the wedding.”
- b. *Pun bapak teu aya kacape ngadamel karanjang siang wengi*
 HON father NEG EX tired AV.work basket day night
 “My dad doesn’t feel tired making a baskets day and night.”

Finally, one function of the existential *aya*, but not of the negative existentials is exclamation, as in (13). This may also be the source of the vocative *ai* used in *ai gusti!* ‘My God!’

13) Sundanese

- a. *Aya lucu budak teh*
 EX adore child DM
 “How adorable that child is!”
- b. *Aya ku raos*
 EX by delicious
 “How delicious this is!”

I suspect that existentials are especially well-poised for this function given their use in introducing new referents to a scene, which could easily lend a sense of surprise. As will shortly be demonstrated, the Hawu regular locative/existential particle is also strongly associated with surprised pragmatics. The use of existential predicators as exclamatives is attested in other Austronesian languages as well, such as Tagalog, Mansaka (a language of Mindanao in the Philippines), and Wolio (a language spoken on Buton island, Southeast Sulawesi), to name a few (Kaufman 2011).

4.3.3 Enggano

In Enggano, the affirmative existential is *kiki*, which encodes existence, as in (14a). Meanwhile, the negative existential is *keam*, as shown in (14a). Sometimes *keam* is realized

as *kiam*, which appears to be dialectal variation. Unlike in Indonesian and Sundanese, it is not possible in Enggano to combine the verbal negator *keʔ* with the affirmative existential *kiki*.

14) Enggano

- a. ***Kiki*** *arki*
 EX rice
 “There is rice.”
- b. ***Keam*** *møk hiũ uki*
 NEG.EX many fruit mango
 “There are not many mangos.”
 **keʔ kiki arki*.

Though the focus here is not possessive predication, it is noteworthy that the existential can occur alongside the verb *haru* ‘to have’, whereas in the other languages of this sample only one or the other of the two means is used to encode possession, i.e. either the verb ‘have’ or the existential, but not both. In the negative, however, the subject is obligatorily repeated between *keam* and *haru*. These constructions are demonstrated in (15).

15) Enggano

- a. *U* ***kiki*** ***haru*** *aru* *be*
 1SG EX have two dog
 “I have two dogs.”
- b. *Ki* ***kiki*** *jum* *amu*
 3PL EX house big
 “They have a big house”
- c. *Ki* ***keam*** ***ki*** ***haru*** *kuʔãh*
 3PL NEG.EX 3PL have vehicle
 “They don’t have a vehicle”
- d. *ki* ***keam*** *kuʔãh*
 3PL NEG.EX vehicle
 “They don’t have a vehicle.”

The negative existential in Enggano, is regularly used to encode ‘without’, as in (16a). Alternative means include the co-occurrence of the particle *baʔbuwa* ‘with’ with the standard negator, as in (16b), and the co-occurrence of *møʔ* ‘many’ with the standard negator, as in (16c).

16) Enggano

- a. *Ki* *bit* *kãʔkõ* ***keam*** *kuro*
 3SG drink black NEG.EX sugar
 “She drinks coffee [lit. black] without sugar.”

- b. *U kahit teh ke? ba?buwa kurau*
 1SG drink tea NEG with sugar
 “I drink tea without sugar.”
- c. *U no kurai ke? mo? dadø*
 1SG eat curry NEG many chili
 “I eat curry without many chilis.”

In Enggano, as in Indonesian, the negative existential *keam* is co-opted to perform verbal functions, as in (17). It is especially common in utterances with scalar sensitive items like reduplication and the concessive *henap* ‘just’, which are frequently employed in highly pragmatically marked instances.

17) Enggano

- a. *Ki keam pakoõ ahã henap mo kiki te?*
 3SG NEG.EX know who just REL EX there
 “She didn’t know anyone there.”
- b. *U keam hø jah-jah*
 1SG NEG.EX see what-RED
 “I didn’t see anything.”

The importance of reduplication and concessive particles of this type in encoding information that is high on a scale of informativeness is addressed in greater detail in Chapter 6. Negative existentials provide an especially good source for emphatic negation because there is a short step from specifying non-existence to specifying complete absence, which is pragmatically newsworthy.

4.4 A focused look at the locative/existential system in Hawu

As mentioned in the introduction, I devote a large part of this chapter to a description of the existential system in Hawu, as it exhibits a multitude of means and provides an excellent case study for examining the role of negation in coding existence and other secondary functions. As will shortly become evident, all of the Hawu existentials are probably primarily locatives, but can be used as existentials given that both ‘location at’ and ‘existence at’ lead to same inferences about reality, as has already been posited.

4.4.1 General locative/existential predications in Hawu

The general locative/existential predicator in Hawu is *era*, often used to introduce new referents to a scene, as in (18a), which is from the first line of a folktale. The form *era* derives from the lexeme for ‘place’, a lexeme that frequently grammaticalizes as a locative (Kuteva et al 2019). The meaning ‘place’ is evident in (18b-c) in the common Austronesian compounds, *era pee* ‘place of stay’ (lit. home) and *era bè'i* ‘bed’ (lit. sleeping place) in (18d). The lexical meaning is also transparent in (18e) where it is modified by a demonstrative. Though this lexeme has essentially become a verb, it does not take any of the typical verbal inflections.

18) Hawu

- a. *Era he-dou mumone*
EX one-person man
“There is a man.”
- b. *Pami era pee muu*
where EX stay 2PL
“Where is your house? (lit. your place of stay).”
- c. *Era pee yaa pa kampung sabu*
Place stay 1SG LOC village Sabu
“My home is in Sabu Village (in Kupang).”
- d. *b'èi d'o noo pa era-b'èi*
sleep NEG 3SG LOC place-sleep
“She does not sleep in the bed.”
- e. *Toi d'o ri yaa era nane*
Know NEG by 1SG place DEM.DIST
“I don’t know that place.”

In locative expressions that contain a locative marker like *pa* (location at), *era* is sometimes not included and considered ungrammatical, as in (19a), or else is only optionally included, as in (19b). The ungrammaticality of (19a) is due to the availability and preference of another locative/existential particle, which will be introduced shortly.

19) Hawu

- a. *Yaa miha nga namone d'e pa hawu*
1SG alone COM brother still LOC Hawu
“Only my brother and I are still in Hawu.”
- b. *Do awe made noo j'ii do (era) pa èmmu noo*
REL time die 3SG 2PL.INCL REL EX LOC house 3SG
“When he died, we were at his house.”

A secondary function of *era* is *mirativity*, a linguistic concept first described by DeLancey (1997, 2001) that marks information that is new or unexpected to the speaker. The mirative function of *era* is demonstrated (20), which is taken from a narration of a storyboard that contains a surprising element. In the story, a small girl, who had been given endless chores all day and had been denied the chance to play outside with her friends, trips on some stairs and bloodies her knee in her excitement to go outside at the very moment when she is finally released from her chores by her mother.

20) Hawu

<i>Era</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>hegitu</i>	<i>ki'u</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>d'ida</i>
EX.MIR	NONPST	flip up legs	buttocks	DM	to	up

“She trips and falls ass over teakettle!”

The mirative function is probably a secondary effect of other more primary functions, such as the tendency for existentials to be used to introduce novel information to a scene. It is, of course, similar to the Sundanese *aya* used in exclamatives, as discussed above, which based on preliminary data, appears to be a typological feature of Austronesian languages.

The general existential *era* is compatible with negation, but only with the nominal negator/ interjective *ad'o* and the relativizer *do*, as demonstrated in (21a). Meanwhile, the verbal negator *d'o* is ungrammatical with *era*. Negative existential expressions of this type are highly pragmatically dependent and most commonly deny an open proposition, which is probably a result of the general constraints on the interjective *ad'o*.

21) Hawu (elicited)

- | | | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| a. | <i>Ad'o</i> | <i>do</i> | <i>era</i> | <i>ei</i> |
| | NEG | REL | EX | water |
- “There is no water.” (Lit. Not of water existence)
- b. **Ad'o era ei*
- c. **d'o era ei*
- d. **d'o do era ei* (double check)

Much more commonly, negative existential predication is expressed by the negation of the interrogative locatives, *pi'a* and *pe'e*, the former of which agrees with plural objects and the latter of which agrees with singular objects, as demonstrated in (22).

22) Hawu

- a. *Pi'a* *d'o* *ei*
be at.PL NEG water
“There is no water.”
- b. *Pe'e* *d'o* *pad'e*
be at.SG NEG here.SG
“There is no chicken here.”

That these particles also function as locative interrogatives is shown in (23a-b) where they always appear at the beginning of the utterance. These specific locative interrogatives bear no resemblance to the typically directional interrogative *lami* ‘where to’ or the locative interrogative *pami* ‘where at’, the latter of which always remains in-situ, as in (23c).

23) Hawu

- a. *Pe'e* *nadu'u unu* *yaa*
where at.SG.OBJ fish POSS 1SG
“Where's my fish?”
- b. *Pi'a* *doi* *ou*
Where at.PL.OBJ money 2SG
“Where's your money?”
- c. *Roo* *do* *biasa* *ta* *j'uei* *pami*
3PL REL usual NONPST bathe where
“Where do they wash themselves usually?”

It is possible that the particles *pi'a* and *pe'e* derive from *pee* as ‘stay’ or ‘live’, exemplified in (24). Lexemes ‘stay’ or ‘live’ are attested pathways of a locative/existential copulas (Kuteva et al 2019), a pathway that is accountable by the boundedness to a particular location. What is less clear is why it should be that these particles have been co-opted as interrogatives.

24) Hawu

- a. (*Yaa*) *pee* *nga* *ina* *nga* *ama*
1SG stay COM mother COM father
“I lived with my mother and father.”
- b. *Nei* *pee* *pami* *ke*
PROG.SG stay where DM
“Where does he live?”

The third means for expressing negative existential predication is through the use of the form *b'ule* along with the standard negator *d'o*, as in (25). The form *b'ule* does not appear

at all outside of this negative environment and its meaning is unfortunately not clear at this time.

25) Hawu

- a. *B'ule* *d'o* *ei*
 EX NEG water
 "There is no water."
- b. *B'ule* *d'o* *ke* *ne* *kue* *he*
 EX NEG again DEF cakes DEF.PL
 "There are no more cakes."

At first blush, the forms *pe'e/pi'a d'o* and *b'ule d'o* appear to be in free variation. Some difference emerge, however, in their use in locative expressions where *pe'e/pi'a d'o* are preferred and *b'ule d'o* is dispreferred when there is a subject in phrase initial position, as in (26). This appears to suggest that there is a specificity constraint on the occurrence of *b'ule d'o* that does not exist for the other particles.

26) Hawu

- a. *Murake* *nani* *pe'e* *d'o* *pa* *helapa yaa*
 spider that where at.SG NEG LOC shoe 1SG
 "The spider is in my shoe."
 ??*murake nani b'ule d'o pa helapa yaa*
- b. *Kurud'ui* *nahid'e* *pi'a* *d'o* *pa* *d'ida* *meja* *ne*
 ant those where at.PL NEG LOC up table DEF
 "The ants are on the table."
 ??*kurud'ui nahid'e b'ule d'o d'ida meja ne*

Additionally, *b'ule d'o* is used in the quasi-verbal expressions like (27), which are in essence possessive predicates that in practice encode dynamic activities³⁷. In the examples below, the comitative *nga* is obligatory, a particle that is also used in encoding possessive predication, following Heine's (1997) Companion Schema, similar to the English, *She is with child*. Meanwhile, speakers do not accept the substitution of *pi'a/pe'e d'o* in these constructions.

³⁷ These constructions are similar to the Irish:

- a. *Tá Gaeilge agam*
 EX Irish EX.1SG
 "I speak Irish." [Lit. Irish is with me]

27) Hawu

- a. **B'ule** **d'o** *yaa* *(*nga*) *hab'a* *lahuna*
 EX NEG SG COM plant onion
 “I do not plant any onions.” [Lit. I am not with onion plants]
 **pi'a d'o yaa nga hab'a lahuna*
- b. **B'ule** **le** **d'o** *yaa* *(*nga*) *kako* *lamii-mii*
 EX ADD NEG 1SG COM go where-RED
 “I don't go anywhere at all.”
 * *pi'a d'o yaa nga kako lamii-mii*

Finally, *b'ule d'o* is preferred in environments characterized by high pragmatic force that tend to occur with verbs of volition and cognition such as *d'ei* ‘like’, *wae* ‘want’, *henge* ‘remember’, *pereke* ‘think, calculate’, *tada* ‘understand’, and *henao* ‘hope’, as in (28). It is possible for the intensifier *tu* (sometimes in reduplicated form) to intrude between the particle *b'ule* and the verbal negator.

28) Hawu

- a. **B'ule** **d'o** *yaa* *le* (*nga*) *d'ei* *nga'a* *tahu*
 EX NEG 1SG ADD COM like eat tofu
 “I don't like tofu at all.”
- b. **B'ule** **tu-tu** **d'o** *yaa* *ta* *wae* (*nga*) *dou*
 EX INTS-RED NEG 1SG NONPST want COM people
do *muhi* *roko*
 REL suck smoke
 “I really don't want to be around people who smoke.”
 **pi'a d'o ...*
- c. **B'ule** **tu-tu** **d'o** *yaa* *ta* *wae* *ta*
 EX INTS-RED NEG 1SG NONPST want NONPST
pee *pa d'e*
 stay here
 “I really don't like living here.”
 **pi'a d'o*
- d. **B'ule** **tu-tu** **d'o** *yaa* *ta* *tada* *ne* *lii*
 EX INTS-RED NEG 1SG NONPST understand DEF speech
pedai noo
 say 3SG
 “I really don't understand his words at all.”
 **pi'a d'o*

B'ule d'o appears to be more linguistically innovative than *pi'a/pe'e d'o*, while *pi'a/pe'e d'o* belong more firmly to the locative domain, especially given that the forms still function as locative interrogatives, independent of any existential predication.

4.4.2 A special class of deictic verbs in Hawu

Thus far, I have presented one locative/existential predicator, *era*, and three means to negate existence; namely, via the negation of *era*, the negation of locative interrogatives, and the negation of a hitherto unidentifiable particle *b'ule*. However, there exists a whole other class of particles that are a part of the existential/locative system, which I call ‘deictic verbs’, following the term used in Walker (1982)³⁸. I present these particles in Table 4.1, the results on analysis of the data I collected during fieldwork. These particles exhibit object agreement and distinctions based on proximity to the speaker, proximity to the addressee, and distance from the speaker.

Table 4.1. Deictic verbs in Hawu

1SG	<i>nee</i>	Near to the speaker
1PL	<i>hee</i>	
2SG	<i>hèrre/hènne</i> ³⁹	Near to the addressee
2PL		
3SG	<i>nèi</i>	Distant from the speaker
3PL	<i>hèi</i>	

The meanings of these forms are multivariant. For one, they are the primary means to encode progressive aspect in Hawu, as show in (29). In such constructions, the relativizer *do* obligatorily occurs before the activity in question, effectively forming a noun phrase.

29) Hawu

- a. *Nèi* *ke* *noo* *do* *b'èkka aj'u*
 PROG.3SG.DIST PART 3SG REL chop wood
 “She is chopping wood.”
- b. *J'ii* *hee* *do* *kako-kako* *we* *pa* *tebi* *dahi* *d'e*
 1PL.INCL PROG.1PL REL go-REDUP only LOC side sea the
 “We are walking on the beach.”

³⁸ Walker recognizes the deictic use of these particles and apparently the existential/locative use as he employs the gloss ‘be there’, but does not discuss the complexity of their functions.

³⁹ Though there may have once been a distinction between these particles, they are now used interchangeably. The merging of second person singular and second person plural categories in Hawu is also seen when the second plural subject pronoun *muu* is sometimes used in the singular, as in scolding, even when it is just one person who is being scolded.

- c. *Roo hèi do bè'i wod'o*
 3PL PROG.PL.DIST REL sleep NEG.TAG
 “They are already sleeping, aren't they?”

As demonstrated in (30), these particles are used when one ongoing action is interrupted by another. As is clear from example (30b), negation is compatible with these constructions.

30) Hawu

- a. *Noo nèi do j'ègga lii aj'a d'ai ne*
 3SG PROG.SG REL work say read.PL then DEF
b'ale yaa ma èmmu
 return 1SG DM house
 “He was working on the task when I got home.”
- b. *Roo hèi do d'o hogo nga'a d'ai ta*
 3PL PROG.3PL REL NEG cook.PL rice after NONPST
peweo ne ai ne
 CAUS-turn on DEF light DEF
 “They were not cooking rice when the house lit on fire.”

Further evidence that these particles are performing an aspectual function lays in their occurrence in the same slot as other tense, aspect, mood markers, such as the non-past marker *ta*.⁴⁰ In addition to this aspectual function, these particles also encode a variety of locative/existential distinctions alongside the general marker *era*. These distinctions include: 1) deictic existentiality, and 2) evidentiality.

4.4.2.1 Deictic verbs encoding existence

The interpretation of the deictic verbs is highly pragmatically dependent. The following data was elicited with a scenario wherein I desire to buy cakes from a woman who bakes cakes out of her house. The scenario mirrors a real life situation familiar to the informants, as the woman who bakes cakes out of her house is my host. I refer to the woman here as *Ina*, the polite Hawu form for ‘mother’ used to address women older than oneself.

⁴⁰ Walker (1982) describes the function of the deictic verbs as marking present tense, but I reject this interpretation as these particles can occur freely in past settings as well.

In questioning the availability of the cakes, I use the general existential, as in (31a), if both Ina and I are outside the kitchen (where her cakes are) and I know beforehand that it is likely for cakes to be present (e.g. I have bought cakes from her in the past). However, I use the deictic verbs in (31b-c) if Ina is still in the kitchen with the cakes and I am shouting from outside her house. Both *hèrre* and *hèi* can be used as the former indicates closeness to the addressee, while the later indicates distance from the speaker.

31) Hawu

- a. ***Era*** *ko* *ne* *koki* *he* *pa* *dapu* *ne*
EX again DEF cake PL LOC kitchen DEF
“Are there any more cakes in the kitchen?” (speaker and interlocutor outside kitchen)
- b. ***Hèrre*** *ko* *ne* *koki* *pa* *dapu* *ne*
EX.2SG.PROX again DEF cake LOC kitchen DEF
“Are there any more cakes in the kitchen?” (interlocutor inside kitchen)
- c. ***Hèi*** *ko* *ne* *koki* *pa* *dapu* *ne*
EX.3PL.DIST again DEF cake LOC kitchen DEF
“Are there any more cakes in the kitchen?” (interlocutor inside kitchen)

In answering this query, Ina uses the general existential *era* if she is outside the kitchen and speaking to the general availability of the cakes, as in (32a). However she uses *hee*, a particle indicating nearness to the speaker, if she is still inside the kitchen (within the same deictic space as the cakes) and shouting to someone outside the kitchen, as in (32b).

32) Hawu

- a. ***Era*** *ko* *ma*
EX again DM
“There still are.” (interlocutor outside kitchen)
- b. ***Hee*** *ko* *ma*
EX.1PL.PROX again DM
“There still are (here with me).” (interlocutor inside kitchen)

Alternatively, if this conversation takes place not with Ina but between two potential customers outside the deictic space of the cakes, the particle *hèi* is used, as in (33).

33) Hawu

- Hèi*** *ko* *ma*
EX.3PL.DIST again DM
“There still are (cakes over there).” (speakers outside kitchen)

It should be noted that the second person deictic verbs *hèrre* and *hènne* are typically only conversationally relevant in interrogative mood, as in (34a).

34) Hawu

Speaker A:	Hèrre	<i>pèri</i>	<i>ngi'u</i>	<i>ki'i</i>	<i>ou</i>
	EX.2SG.PROX	how many	CL	goat	2SG
	“How many goats do you have?”				
Speaker B:	<i>Hee</i>	<i>d'ue</i>	<i>ngi'u</i>	<i>we</i>	
	EX.1PL.PROX	two	CL	just	
	“I have just two.”				

A rare exception occurs in the following scenario: One is carrying one's own clothing and absentmindedly asks, (35a). In exasperation, the interlocutor can respond with (35b).

35) Hawu

Speaker A:	<i>Hèi</i>	<i>pami</i>	<i>b'ara</i>	<i>yaa</i>	
	EX.3PL.DIST	where	clothes	1SG	
	“Where are my clothes?”				
Speaker B:	Hènne	<i>do</i>	<i>èmme</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ou</i> <i>ma</i>
	EX.2PL.PROX REL	carry	by	2SG	DM
	“You are the one carrying your clothes!”				

The usage of these forms only in these particular environments and contexts is accounted for by the property of second person statements as nearly always have a sense of surprise in order to be conversationally relevant (DeLancey 2001).

4.4.2.2 Deictic verbs encoding evidentiality

A second distinction between the general existential *era* and the deictic verbs is in coding various types of evidentiality, e.g. indication of the source of information for a given statement. Evidential systems frequently exhibit distinctions between direct evidentials, often based on first-hand sensory information, whether visual, auditory, or tactile. The second frequent distinction is indirect evidentials, based on second-hand information that can be divided further into categories like hearsay, reported, and inference. Evidential systems are typologically common to Tibeto-Burman, Turkic, Caucasian, and languages that are

indigenous to North America, but such systems are not a feature that is commonly associated with Austronesian languages.

The Hawu existential *era* has a direct evidential function, usually based on visual evidence or evidence from other sensory information, as demonstrated in (36a). Meanwhile, the deictic verbs express indirect knowledge, whether reported or hearsay. For instance, in (36b) my host father has told me about the water in the rice field and I tell my host mother. In (36c) my host mother has told me and I pass on the information to my friend.

36) Hawu

- a. **Era** *ei* *pa* *d'ara* *maa* *are*
 EX water LOC in field paddy
 “There is water in the rice field.” (I saw it or I heard the trickle of water)
- b. **Hèi** *ei* *pa* *d'ara* *maa* *are*
 EX.PL.DIST water LOC in field paddy
 “(They say) there is water in the rice field.”
- c. **Nèi** *meo* *pa* *d'ida* *d'èmmu*
 EX.3SG.DIST cat LOC up roof
 “(They say) there is a cat on the roof.”

The differences between these evidential meanings become particularly apparent with contested knowledge, such as the presence or absence of black magic practitioners (*suanggi*) and the abilities they may or may not possess, e.g. the ability to fly. In (37a), the speaker makes a statement based on first-hand, visual information, while in (37b) the statement is based on hearsay.

37) Hawu

- a. **Era** *dou* *pani* *do* *i'a* *lila*
 EX person there REL able fly
 “There are people over there who can fly.” (I’ve seen it myself)
- b. **Hèi** *dou* *pani* *do* *i'a* *lila*
 EX.PL.DIST person there REL able fly
 “(There are said to be) people over there who can fly.” (hearsay)

What accounts for these evidential meanings? I suspect the indirect evidential function of the deictic verbs is a secondary effect of deixis, as those particles that express distance from the speaker, i.e. *nèi* and *hèi*, have the effect of offloading credibility for the utterance to other participants. Through metaphor extension, in the sense of Bybee and

Pagliuca (1985), the concrete deictic meaning is applied to more abstract context.

Evidentiality itself can be viewed as constituting a deictic category that is grounded in the speaker's perceptual and cognitive self, which interacts with external sources (Frawley 1992). The existential *era*, on the other hand, in absence of the deictic function, is automatically read as vouching for the utterance. The default interpretation of the indicative mood is that the proposition is true (Frajzyngier 1985, 1987), often corresponding to situations in which direct evidence is available. Moreover, it was noted earlier that *era* derives from the lexeme 'place'; this likely means that the origin of the general existential was first a locative. Its use then as encoding direct evidence is further explained by its association with a tangible location that can be identified.

4.4.2.3 Further examples: Distinctions between *era* and the deictic verbs

Thus far, I have indicated that functions of *era* include encoding existence, usually based on previous knowledge, as well as mirativity and direct evidentiality. Meanwhile, the deictic verbs are productive in encoding deictic existential distinctions based on nearness to or distance from the speaker or addressee, as well as encoding indirect evidentiality. Below I present another example illustrating the nuances of meaning between these particles in the context of conversation.

In the following scenario, elicited during fieldwork, a friend lent me a book ages ago and she wishes that I return her book. She asks me (38).

- 38) Hawu
a. *Pe'e* *buku la'a yaa*
 LOC.SG.Q book POSS 1SG
 "Where is my book?"

If the book happens to be in my bag with me, I can utter the following two responses in (39). I can use the particle *nee*, as in (39a), indicating proximity to the speaker (usually actually on my person), if I already know the book is in my bag. Meanwhile, *era* is strange to

speakers when used for objects in the same deictic space as the speaker stands unless it is being used in a mirative way, e.g. I am convinced the book is not in my bag, but when my disgruntled friend insists I check my bag once more, I am astounded to find that the book is there, as in (39b).

39) Hawu

- a. *Nee* *pa* *d'ara* *taa* *yaa*
 DV.1SG.PROX LOC in bag 1SG
 “The book is in my bag.” (which is here with me)
- b. *Era* *pa* *d'ara* *taa* *yaa*
 EX.MIR LOC in bag 1SG
 “(Whoa! It turns out...) the book is in my bag!”

If the conversation takes place away from home and I know that the book is in my room at home, I can use *nèi* and *hèi*, both of which indicate distance from the speaker, as in (40a-b). Interestingly, there is a distinction here where *nèi* indicates that I take personal responsibility for the book, while *hèi* suggests that someone else might have placed the book in my room – a reading which probably results from the singular versus plural marking of the two particles. Meanwhile, *hee* is used only if I am in the same deictic center as the book, e.g. I am on the phone with the friend who has asked the question and I stand in my room, as in (40c). The particle *nee* is only used if the book is on my person and *era* can only be used if the book has been lost and I am surprised to find it there in my room, as in (40d).

40) Hawu

- a. *Nèi* *pa* *d'ara* *kama* *yaa*
 DV. 3SG.DIST LOC in room 1SG
 “It’s in my room.” (I put it there and I’m not there now)
- b. *Hèi* *pa* *d'ara* *kama* *yaa*
 DV.PL.DIST LOC in room 1SG
 “It’s in my room.” (someone else might have put it there and I’m not there now)
- c. *Hee* *pa* *d'ara* *kama* *yaa*
 DV.1SG.PROX LOC in room 1SG
 “It’s in my room.” (where I am here standing)
- d. *Era* *pa* *d'ara* *kama* *yaa*
 EX.MIR LOC in room 1SG
 “(Whoa!) It’s in my room!”

The precise use of the general locative/existential *era* or the deictic verbs is thus entirely pragmatically bound, and is deeply connected to epistemic/evidential systems and location in relation to referents.

4.4.2.4 The deictic verbs and negation

In introducing the general locative/existential *era*, I noted that it can be compatible with negation under specific circumstances, such as if it occurs with the nominal negator and the relativizer which essentially transforms the existential *era* into a nominal element. Otherwise, *era* is replaced by other negative existential expressions in the inventory. The deictic verbs, however, are not at all compatible with negation for existential/locative predication, as demonstrated in (41).

41) Hawu

- a. **meo* *nanid'e* *nèi* *d'o* *ke* *pa* *d'ida* d'èmmu
 Cat DEM DV NEG DM LOC up roof
 “The cat is not on the roof.”
- b. **hèi* *d'o* *dou* *pani* *do* *i'a* *lila*
 DV NEG person there REL can fly
 “There is no one there who can fly.”

Meanwhile, the deictic verbs are perfectly fine with negation when encoding progressive aspect, as shown in (42a), with the verbal negator *d'o* occurring directly before the verb, and in (42b) with the nominal negator *ad'o* after the subject and before the deictic verb, with the same meaning. The key difference here appears to be the presence of the relativizer in the progressive utterances, but not in the existential utterances. When there is a relativizer with the narrow-scope verbal negator *d'o*, as in (42a), the scope of negation is on *nga'a* ‘eat’ rather than on the progressive particle. Meanwhile the use of the nominal negator *ad'o* in (42b) has sentential scope and thus does not operate narrowly on the progressive particle either.

42) Hawu

- a. *J'ii* *hee* *do* *d'o* *nga'a*
 2PL.INCL PROG.1PL.INCL REL NEG eat
 “We are not eating.”
- b. *J'ii* *ad'o* *hee* *do* *nga'a*
 2PL.INCL NEG PROG.1PL.INCL REL eat
 “We are not eating.”

Moreover, part of the reason it is not possible to negate the existential/locative deictic verbs is likely because there are already other means in the language, e.g. *pi'a/pe'e d'o* and *b'ule d'o* that have taken over those functions. In contrastive negation, for instance, the regular negative existentials are used, while the deictic existential/locative verbs are employed in the second part of the clauses, as in (43). It is not possible to substitute *era* for the deictic verbs in these scenarios.

43) Hawu

- a. *Kuhi* *ne* *pe'e* *d'o* *pa* *yaa* *nèi* *pa* *èppu*
 key DEF where at.SG NEG LOC 1SG LOC.3SG LOC house
 “The key is not with me, it’s with grandma.”
- b. *Taa* *yaa* *pe'e* *d'o* *pa* *èmmu* *nèi* *pa* *gereja* *ne*
 Bag 1SG where at.SG NEG LOC house LOC.3SG LOC churchDEF
 “My bag was not at home, but at the church.”

There is generally poor compatibility between the secondary effects of the deictic verbs (like evidentiality) with negation, which is one reason why the deictic verbs may not be used in negative utterances. In many languages of the world, the realization of evidentiality is different in negative clauses compared to affirmative clauses. These differences include, but are not limited to, a decrease and/or neutralization of evidential distinctions in negative clauses (Skribnik and Seesing 2014), lack of evidential use in negative clauses (Montserrat and Dixon 2003), and an interaction between negation, evidentiality and the selection grammatical person, particularly in encoding direct evidence (James, Clarke & MacKenzie 2001). That evidentiality does not typically take scope over negation (see Hansson 2003 for counter argument for the Tibeto-Burman language, Akha) is probably accounted for by one

of the key points of Anderson's (1986) definition of evidentiality; namely, that evidentials are not themselves the main predication of the clause.

The neutralization of functions in negation can also be partly explained by the pragmatic dependence of negation that means additional functions are already known in conversation and to code them would be redundant. For instance, where tense, aspect, mood (TAM) distinctions are lost in negative utterances, this may be in part explainable by the fact that participants already know the TAM of the utterance as it is embedded in conversation.

4.4.2.4 Why the overlap in locative/existential and progressive particles?

It warrants mentioning that the overlap in functions between progressive aspect and locative/existential predication is a well-documented phenomenon. Gil (2013) observes that in languages of East Indonesia, it is not uncommon for existentials to have progressive functions. Some studies (e.g. Stowel 1978) suggest that existentials are semantically identical to copular sentences, including passives and progressives. Grammaticalization of existentials to progressive, habitual, or other non-punctual aspects has been observed in languages like Kongo and Yagaria, while other authors (e.g. Lord 1993 and Bybee et al 1994) note the propensity of copula or locative particles to develop into progressive markers in a number of languages (Burmese, Chinese, and Basque, to list a few). Matisoff (1991) observes that in many languages of Southeast Asia, verbs meaning 'dwell', 'be in/at a place' can function as locative prepositions and frequently develop into progressive auxiliaries. There appears to be a general process at work here where aspectual features come to be expressed in terms of locative concepts.

4.5 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter, I presented a variety of means available in these language to encode existential and negative existential predication. In three of the languages of this sample (Standard Indonesian, Sundanese, and Hawu), it is possible to encode negative existential predication both through the co-occurrence of the standard negator and the existential predicator or through special negative existential forms. In Enggano, there is only a special negative existential form and it is not possible to combine the standard negator with the ordinary existential predicator. The various means for expressing existential and negative existential predication discussed in this chapter are summarized in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Negators, existential predicators, and negative existential predicators in four languages of Indonesia

Language	Verbal negator(s)	Nominal negator(s)	Affirmative existential(s)	Negative Existential(s)
Indonesian	<i>Tidak</i>	<i>Bukan</i>	<i>Ada</i>	<i>Tidak ada, tiada</i>
Sundanese	<i>Henteu</i>	<i>Sanes, lain</i>	<i>Aya</i>	<i>Teu aya, taya, euweuh</i>
Enggano	<i>Ke'</i>	<i>Ke' pan/ ke' par</i>	<i>Kiki</i>	<i>Keam</i>
Hawu	<i>D'o</i>	<i>Ad'o do</i>	<i>Era, deictic verbs</i>	<i>Ad'o do era, pi'a/pe'e d'o, b'ule d'o</i>

I have demonstrated that the special means for encoding negative existential predication break into the verbal domain in each of the languages of this sample. I join others (e.g. Dahl 1979, Croft 1991, Veselinova 2013) in positing that this happens because negative existentials are especially well-poised to have meanings that are pragmatically marked and can thus be useful in reinforcing an utterance. Negative existentials constitute a separate functional domain from standard negation because, while the former concerns properties and attributes, the latter entails the complete absence of an entity.

A large part of the chapter was devoted to the locative/existential distinctions in Hawu, where I demonstrated that the various distinctions of the deictic locative/existential forms were neutralized under negation, a property that is not compatible with some of the secondary functions of the existential forms. Future work might examine whether the distinctions encoded in the locative/existential system in Hawu constitute an areal feature of East Indonesia or whether it is an independent innovation. As previously noted, such evidential and epistemic features are not generally associated with Austronesian languages. A final noteworthy area for future study that has emerged as a result of this work would be a large sample study of the grammaticalization of existentials as exclamatives and other particles associated with surprise, such as mirativity, both in other languages of Indonesia and cross-linguistically.

CHAPTER 5

PROHIBITIVES, INDIRECT NEGATIVE COMMANDS, AND RELATED FUNCTIONS

5.1 Introduction

In any given language, there are a myriad of strategies at one's disposal to persuade an interlocutor to do something. These strategies may take the form of bare commands, conventional indirectness, questions, and hedges, among many other means. For instance, if one wishes an interlocutor to close a nearby window, one might use a direct command (e.g. *Close the window*), conventional indirectness (e.g. *It sure is getting breezy!*), a question (e.g. *Are you cold?*), or a hedge (e.g. *I wonder if you would mind closing the window*). The precise means employed to compel an interlocutor to carry out a desired action depend on many factors, including the relationship between oneself and the interlocutor, cultural expectations and, context in which the conversation is embedded.

Imperative mood is one means through which one can enjoin an interlocutor to take some action, while the 'prohibitive' is a negative imperative construction, i.e. a grammatical construction that appeals to the hearer(s) to abstain from engaging in a state of affairs or else to maintain a negative state of affairs. This chapter consists of a descriptive analysis of the prohibitive in the four languages of this sample. As will be demonstrated, each of these languages exhibit asymmetry (in the sense of Miestamo 2000, 2003, 2005) in that they possess a special prohibitive form, which differs significantly from any of the other negators in the inventory of each language. Imperative mood – particularly negative imperative mood - is an interesting area of study within languages of Indonesia, as, generally speaking, these languages are spoken in societies that have a high regard for deference. This is evident in many formal aspects of the languages, including the preference for the so-called passive

voice (see Wouk & Ross 2001, among others, for a critique of this characterization), the frequency of register and speech levels, and avoidance of subject pronouns, to name a few. Prohibitives, given their role in forbidding and scolding, must be at least as great a threat to preserving indirectness as affirmative imperatives, especially as their use may suggest that the interlocutor has done something undesirable which should be discontinued. One question can thus be posed: *What linguistic means are available in these languages to mitigate the direct force of prohibitives?*

Of additional interest within this collection of languages is that the use of prohibitive forms is not confined to imperative mood. Instead, there is a tendency across the four languages for the prohibitive marker to be co-opted and employed in other parts of the grammar, often being preferred to other negators in the inventory of these languages. These areas of the grammar include the negation of noun phrases, the coding of negative obligation, negative purpose, ‘lest clauses’, dubitative modality, and other functions. Other questions of this chapter are therefore: *What properties of the prohibitive make it such a good candidate for encoding negation in these particular environments? Is the prohibitive meaning secondary to some other general meaning?*

The aims of the chapter are therefore both 1) generally descriptive, in that a detailed account of negative imperative mood within four languages is put forth and compared to crosslinguistic data, and 2) theoretical, in that the properties of the prohibitive are examined more closely, drawing on utterances not only in the imperative mood, but also in other parts of the grammar.

I begin this chapter with a description of the basic means through which affirmative imperatives and negative imperatives are formed in each language. Where possible I draw on diachronic resources to explore potential sources of the prohibitive marker. I do not confine this discussion to imperative mood, but also address the use of negation with hortatives,

particles employed to enjoin a listener to cause or maintain some state of affairs. In the second section, I address the strategies used in each language to mitigate the force of negative imperative mood. In the third section, I describe the co-opting of the prohibitive in other areas of the grammar and propose reasons for why the prohibitive may be a good candidate for the meanings discussed. The chapter ends with a brief discussion and conclusion.

5.2 Imperatives and hortatives in affirmative and negative utterances

5.2.1 The Indonesian prohibitive *jangan*

In Standard Indonesian, as is frequently the case in the world's languages (Aikhenvald 2010), imperative mood is less formally marked than declarative mood, given that the active voice prefix *meN-* is obligatorily dropped, as in (1a). This is compared to a corresponding declarative utterance which retains the active voice prefix, as in (1b). It is worth noting that in colloquial Indonesian dialects (such as Jakarta Indonesian) it is perfectly acceptable for the active voice prefix to be dropped in the declarative and for prenasalized prefixes to be retained in the imperative.

(1) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Lihat* *buku-mu*
 See book-2SG
 "Look at your book!"
- b. *Siti* *me-lihat* *buku-mu*
 Siti AV-see book-2SG
 "Siti is looking at your book."

Imperative mood is negated by the addition of a pre-verbal, uninflected negative particle, *jangan*, which bears no resemblance to any of the other negators in the language. As evident by the examples in (2), the prohibitive bears an additional asymmetry compared to the affirmative imperative mood; namely, in the prohibitive it is possible to code a distinction between a command, where the *meN-* active voice prefix is dropped, as in (2a), or a suggestion, where the same prefix is retained, as in (2b). It appears that this distinction is

possible because the use of *jangan* already signals that the utterance is in the imperative mood, while the same formal morphological marking is not present in affirmative utterances, especially given that all Indonesian speakers also speak colloquial varieties where affixes are frequently dropped.

(2) Standard Indonesian

- a. **Jangan** lihat buku-mu
 PROH see book-2SG
 “Don’t look at your book!” (command)
- b. **Jangan** me-lihat buku-mu
 PROH AV-see book-2SG
 “Don’t look at your book.” (suggestion)

A search of the Malay Concordance Project, a corpus of Old Malay documents rendered in roman script from the original Arabic, reveals that the negative imperative *jangan* is old, appearing as a prohibitive as early as 1371 in the text *Hikayat Bayan Budiman* (R.O. Winstedt (ed.) 1966). In the text *Cerita Kutai* from approximately 1625 (C.A. Mees (ed) 1935), *jangan* is used as a prohibitive (perhaps also as a nominal) and additionally appears with the active prefix, as in *menjangani* and with the passive prefix, as in *dijangani*, with the meaning appearing to be ‘prevent’ or ‘avoid’. These forms seem to no longer be in use and do not appear in contemporary dictionaries. There is not strong enough evidence at this time to suggest a lexical source of *jangan*.

A second productive means for encoding the imperative in Indonesian is the suffix *-lah*, which attaches to the verb to be employed in very polite requests, as in (3a). *Lah* is perfectly fine in negative utterances when attaching directly to the prohibitive rather than to the verb, as in (3b). Any attempts to elicit utterances with *-lah* attached to any other element of the utterance in negation are futile.

(3) Standard Indonesian

- a. **Cerita-kan-lah** sendiri kepada kepala sekolah
 Tell-APPL-IMP alone to head school
 “Tell the headmaster yourself.”
- b. **Pujilah** Tuhan dan jangan-lah lupa-kan segala
 Praise-IMP God and PROH-IMP forget-APPL all

ke-baik-an-Nya
 NMLZ-good.NMLZ-3SG
 “Praise God and do not forget all His generosity.” (SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus)

Additionally, in some colloquial varieties of Indonesian such as Jakarta Indonesian, *lah* can occur as a free morpheme in negative utterances to signal frustrated coaxing, as in (4)⁴¹.

- (4) Jakarta Indonesian
 a. *Jangan gitu lah*
 PROH like that DM
 “Oh, don’t be like that!”

That *lah* attaches to the prohibitive rather than to the verb in (3b) probably does not speak to the lexical category of *jangan*, but rather speaks to the role of *lah* as a focusing particle. This focusing, foregrounding role is further demonstrated in the examples from Sneddon et al (2012: 270) in (5), who describes *-lah* as marking the predicate “when the predicate is out of its normal position, usually when it is placed before the subject”.

- (5) Standard Indonesian
 a. *Kira-kira tahun 1400 masuk-lah pengaruh Islam*
 About-RED year 1400 enter-FOC NMLZ.influence Islam
di Indonesia
 LOC Indonesia
 “About the year 1400 the influence of Islam entered Indonesia.” (270)
 b. *Ter-tipu-lah kamu*
 PV-trick-FOC 2SG
 “You were tricked!”

There are other soft prohibitives worthy of discussion both in Standard Indonesian and colloquial varieties of Indonesian. One such example is the negation of *usah* ‘necessary’ or ‘need’ through the standard negator, as shown in (6).

- (6) Standard Indonesian
 a. *Tak usah kau menggelakkan diri*
 NEG need 2SG AV.shy away self
 “Don’t shy away/ back away.” (SEAlang Library Indonesian)

⁴¹ The use of *lah* also appears as a discourse marker expressing surprise, disagreement or confusion in Malay-speaking regions of Sumatra, as when attached to the reduplicated verb *suka* ‘like’, as in *suka-sukalah* ‘whatever’.

Additionally, there are at least two lexical items in Indonesian that have grammaticalized as hortatives: *harap* ‘hope’ and *coba* ‘try’, as exemplified in (10a-b). I suggest that the conventionalization of these lexemes is due to their properties as indirect means that are non-face-threatening, given that the expression of a hope or a proposal to try something is less direct than a command. A search of both of these forms as hortatives with the negative in SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus renders no results and speakers of Standard Indonesian also reject this combination⁴². Instead, when the prohibitive is used, *harap* and *coba* are returned to their lexical meanings, as demonstrated in (10d-e).

- (10) Standard Indonesian
- a. **Harap** *tunggu sebentar*
 Hope wait a while
 “Please wait a while.”
- b. **Coba** *saya lihat catat-an-mu*
 Try 1SG see note-NMLZ-2SG.POSS
 “Let me see your notes.”
- c. **Jangan harap akan ada hasil kongkrit**
 PROH hope FUT EX result concrete
 “Don’t hope there will be a concrete result.”
- d. **Jangan coba merayu aku**
 PROH try AV.seduce 1SG
 “Do not try to seduce me.”

The grammaticalized meaning is thus perfectly felicitous in affirmative utterances, while such a meaning is lost under negation. It appears that the introduction of the prohibitive immediately marks the utterance as formally in the negative imperative mood, rather than the hortative. There is also the question of scope. When the prohibitive is introduced in (10c-d) it has scope directly over what exists to its right rather than sentential scope, such that (10c) means *Do not hope there will be a concrete result* not *Do not let there be a concrete result*, and so forth.

⁴² I am grateful for the observation of David Gil (p.c.) that in some dialects of Indonesian, such as Jakarta Indonesian, it is possible for the negative to occur with *coba* ‘try’ and retain the hortative sense, as shown below.

- a. **Coba nggak bandel**
 Try NEG stubborn
 “Do not be stubborn.”

5.2.3 The Sundanese prohibitive *ulah* and other variants

In the affirmative imperative mood in Sundanese, the verb occurs in clause-initial position and the subject is dropped, as in (11a), or postponed to the end of the utterance, as in (11b), which is a more familiar construction given the direct specification of the second person pronoun. A less direct command is encoded by passive voice, as in (11c), a construction that will be taken up again in the next section.

- (11) Sundanese
- a. *Leueut kopi anjeun*
 Drink coffee 2SG.POSS
 “Drink your coffee!”
 - b. *Bobo di dieu anjeun*
 Sleep LOC here 2SG
 “Sleep here, (you).”
 - c. *Mangga di-leueut kopi-na*
 HORT PV-drink coffee-LIG
 “Go ahead and drink your coffee.”

As in Indonesian, the prohibitive in Sundanese is a separate, uninflected particle that occurs in phrase-initial position. In the lower speech level, this form is *ulah*, while in the higher speech level it is *tong*. The prohibitive operates not only on activities, as in (12a) and (12b), but also on attributes, as in (12c).

- (12) Sundanese
- a. ***Ulah*** *saré kapetingan supados henteu hudang kaburangan*
 PROH sleep late night in order to NEG wake late day
 “Don’t sleep late at night in order to not wake up too late.”
 - b. ***Ulah*** *osok langlang-lingling*
 PROH always wander-energetic
 “Don’t always be aimless.”
 - c. ***Ulah*** *gélo*
 PROH crazy
 “Don’t be crazy.”

Müller-Gotama (2001:51) suggests that *ulah* is a stronger form of negation than *tong*, but I suspect that what appears to be a ‘stronger’ form is simply the result of register difference between the lower *ulah* and the higher *tong*. The use of a colloquial form has the pragmatic effect of a stronger command, when one could have used the higher form instead. For

simplicity’s sake and because it is the form most frequently encountered in my fieldwork, I will focus only on the use of *ulah* in this chapter.

The prohibitive *ulah* appears at least as early as the 16th century in the manuscript, *The Ascension of Sri Ajnyana*, as shown in (13a), and in the manuscript, *The story of Bujangga Manik: A Pilgrim’s Progress*, dated to around the same time, as demonstrated in (13b).

- (13) Old Sundanese
- a. **Ulah** aing di-tinggal-keun
 PROH 1SG PV-leave-APPL
 “Do not leave me.” (Translations from Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006: 217)
- b. *Lamun puguh nu dék numpang ulah di-piwalangati*
 If sure REL want join PROH PV-
 “If you really wish to join us, don’t be anxious about it.” (Translations from Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006: 262).

These 16th century manuscripts also demonstrate an apparently related form *mulah*. In some instances, as in (14a), *mulah* appears to function as a prohibitive. However, the form also has strong overtones of deontic modality, as in (14b), often occurring with *dék* ‘want/will/shall’ to express negative obligation, as in (14c).

- (14) Old Sundanese
- a. **Mulah** cicing kawaranan
 PROH sit/stay PV.confuse.NMLZ
 “Do not sit in confusion.” (Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006: 221)
- b. *Manusa mulah sandéha*
 Human PROH doubt
 “Mankind should not be in doubt.” (Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006: 227)
- c. **Mulah** dék ngeunteung di eunteung
 PROH want AV.look in mirror LOC mirror
 “One should not look at oneself in the mirror.” (Noorduyn & Teeuw 2006: 219)

At the time of these manuscripts, there was a verbal negator *mo* that existed alongside the verbal negator *hanteu* (*henteu* in contemporary times). It is possible that *mulah* is a fusion between this negator and a lexeme connected to obligation, with *m-* later lost to lenition.

The form *ulah* also appears in Standard Indonesian with the meaning ‘the doing of, the work of’ in declarative utterances, always with a negative connotation, as in (15)⁴³.

- (15) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Ke-rusak-an* *yang parah tahun 1801 akibat* ***ulah***
 NMLZ-damage-NMLZ REL severe year 1801 resulting doing
tentara Wahhabi.
 army Wahhabi
 “...the severe damage of 1801, as a result of the Wahhabi army’s doings.”
 (SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus)
- b. *Ke-lapar-an* *itu ditimbulkan* *oleh* ***ulah*** *diri-nya*
 NMLZ-hungry-NMLZ DEM PV-emerge-APPL by doing self-3SG
sendiri yang tak rajin
 alone REL NEG diligent
 “That hunger was caused by his own doings, for not being hardworking.”
 (SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus)

A similar form appears as a prohibitive in other Malayo-Polynesian languages spoken in Indonesia, such as Karo Batak spoken in Sumatra, which has the form *ula/ ola* also occurring in phrase-initial position (Woolams 1996). It is difficult to tease apart at this time whether *ulah* constitutes a more recent borrowing, and perhaps a grammaticalization of a negative action or obligation, or an ancient prohibitive marker.

5.2.4 The Sundanese hortative *hayu*

The hortative *hayu* occurs in phrase-initial position, usually followed by a first-person pronoun, as in (16a). It can also be used with the prohibitive, if the prohibitive follows the first-person pronoun, as in (16b). Finally, the prohibitive is frequently used on its own for urging, as in (16c).

- (16) Sundanese
- a. ***Hayu*** *urang ka sawah*
 HORT 1PL to paddy field
 “Let’s go to the paddy field!”
- b. ***Hayu*** *urang ulah ka lapangan* *heula poé ieu*
 HORT 1PL PROH to field first day DEM
 “Let’s not go to the field yet today.”

⁴³ It is possible this form is cognate to the Indonesian/Malay form *olah* ‘manner’ that appears in compound words, like *olah raga* ‘sport’, where *raga* means ‘body’ and *olah vokal* ‘singing’ and *olah keprajuritan* ‘soldiering’.

- c. *Ulah ka lapangan poé ieu*
 PROH to field day DEM
 “(Please let’s not) go to the field today!”

5.2.5 The Hawu prohibitive *b’ole*

Imperatives in Hawu, as shown in (17a) use the same form of the verb as declarative utterances, as shown in (17b). It is perfectly fine for the verb to be morphologically marked, as is the case with the causative prefix in (17c).

- (17) Hawu
- a. *Ēggo ne piri ne*
 Bring DEF plate DEF
 “Bring the plate.”
- b. *Ēggo ri èppu bènni ne piri ne*
 Bring by grand woman DEF plate DEF
 “Grandmother brings the plate.”
- c. *Pe-èlle ne kowi oha ou*
 CAUS-finish. DEF coffee POSS 2SG
 “Finish up your coffee.”

The prohibitive in Hawu is marked by a special form *b’ole* in phrase initial position before verbs or adjectives, as demonstrated in (18).

- (18) Hawu
- a. *b’ole pe-gago ri nga noo rowi noo de*
 PROH CAUS-disturb by COM 3SG because 3SG DEF
èlla ke ta nikka
 finish PART NONPST marry
 “Don’t bother him because he is already married.”
- b. *b’ole meda’u j’ari de d’o ne kehahi ne*
 PROH worry start yet NEG DEF prayer DEF
 “Don’t worry! The prayer hasn’t started yet”
- c. *b’ole b’od’o*
 PROH stupid
 “Don’t be stupid!”

Unlike Indonesian/Malay and Sundanese, Hawu does not have a written history so it is more difficult to assess the diachronic development of *b’ole*. Though highly speculative, it is possibly a borrowing from the Malay *boleh* ‘allow’ and what began as negative obligation grammaticalized as a negative imperative marker. One would need to identify that there had been a stage where this form was negated by a particle that then fell away as the form

become fossilized as a prohibitive. I can locate no such form at this time⁴⁴. However, the grammaticalization of negative obligation to negative imperative is widely attested cross-linguistically, a point returned to in later sections of this chapter.

5.2.6 The Hawu hortative *mai*

The hortative *mai* in Hawu typically occurs in clause-initial position and is frequently followed by the minimizing particle *we* ‘just’ to enjoin immediate action, as in (19a-b). Without *we*, the activity is requested for some unspecified time, as in (19c). In Chapter 6, I demonstrate that the particle *we* is useful in encoding concession.

- (19) Hawu
- a. ***Mai*** *we* *la* *pemanga ne* *Naria ee* *mihane hianga he*
 HORT just to play the Naria VOC said/say friend DEF
 “Let’s go play, Naria,’ the friends say”
- b. ***Mai*** *we* *dii* *la paha*
 HORT just 1PL.INCL to beach
 “Come on, let’s go to the beach”
- c. ***Mai*** *dii* *la paha*
 HORT 1PL.INCL to beach
 “Let’s go to the beach (at some point).”

The form *mai* means ‘come’ (among other meanings) in some languages spoken within reach of Hawu such as Tetun – a piece of evidence that offers a clue to the development of the hortative in Hawu given that such devices frequently grammaticalize from directional deictic verbs like ‘come’ (Kuteva et al, 2019).

Mai can also be used to invite people to *not* do something. Here *mai* is typically followed by the humilitative particle *ma*, as demonstrated in (20). The particle *ma* appears to reduce the pragmatic force of such utterances.

- (20) Hawu
- a. ***Mai*** *we* *dii* *ma* ***b’ole*** *pengèdde* *ne* *had’a*
 HORT just 1PL.INCL DM PROH show DEF character

⁴⁴ Native speakers firmly reject the notion that the negative existential predicator *b’ule d’o*, discussed in Chapter 4, is in any way related to the prohibitive *b’ole*.

- do* *woapa* *d'e*
REL bad DEF
“Let us not behave rudely/ poorly.”
- b. *Mai* *ma* *b'ole* *pedae* *ngara* *noo* *ri*
HORT DM PROH say name 3SG again
“Please don't say that name again.”
- c. *Mai* *ma* *b'ole* *tao* *lai* *do* *hala*
HORT DM PROH do matter REL wrong
“Do not do wrong”

5.2.7 The Enggano prohibitive *ja:r*

In Enggano, imperatives are most typically formally encoded by the bare form of the verb, as in (21a). Meanwhile, in declarative utterances, as in (21b), the verbal particle *ke* is obligatory.

- (21) Enggano
- a. *Hẽk^h* *i* *ɲẽ*
sit LOC here
“Sit here!”
- b. *Ki* *ke* *hẽk^h* *i* *pi:*
3SG PART sit LOC garden
“She sits in the garden.”

Additionally, there is a special imperative form, *awah* ‘go!’, which occurs in phrase-initial position, as demonstrated in (22). It is probably related to the directional *kah* ‘to’ which is often palatized as *jah*.

- (22) Enggano
- a. *Awah* *baweh*
go sleep
“Go to sleep!”
- b. *Awah* *ma-no*
Go -eat
“Go eat!”

Like the other languages, Enggano has a special prohibitive form, *ja:r*, that occurs in sentence-initial position, as in (23).

- (23) Enggano
- a. *Ja:r* *ɲẽ* *hẽk^h* *i* *pi:*
PROH PART sit LOC garden
“Don't sit in the garden!”

- b. *ja:r jupu*
 PROH run
 “Don’t run!”
- c. *ja:r jek idit*
 PROH bathe DEM.DIST
 “Don’t bathe over there.”

5.2.8 The hortative *kah* in Enggano

In Enggano, the hortative is of the same form as the directional *kah*. It occurs as a hortative in phrase-initial position, as indicated in (24a-b). As demonstrated in (24c-d), this hortative can also appear with the prohibitive, though in such cases the hortative undergoes palatalization.

- (24) Enggano
- a. ***Kah*** *baweh*
 HORT sleep
 “Let’s go to sleep”
- b. ***Kah*** *jok*
 HORT beach
 “Let’s go to the beach.”
- c. ***Ja:r jah*** *bah jok*
 PROH HORT go beach
 “Let’s not go to the beach.”
- d. ***Ja:r jah*** *i nẽ*
 PROH HORT LOC here
 “Let’s not sit here.”

5.2.9 Summary of prohibitive forms

The prohibitive forms discussed thus far are summarized for clarity in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Prohibitives in four languages of Indonesia

Language	Prohibitive
Indonesian	<i>Jangan</i>
Sundanese	<i>Ulah, tong, montong, ontong, entong</i>
Hawu	<i>B’ole</i>
Enggano	<i>Ja:r</i>

These languages join the 327-language majority in the 495-language sample described by Van der Auwera and Lejeune (2005), in that they possess a prohibitive that

differs in form and position from the standard negator. I agree with the conclusion of these authors that the presence of the special form in so many languages of the world is accounted for by the different speech act status of the imperative mood compared to the indicative mood. While imperative mood invites the listener to engage in immediate action, verbal negators typically involve pragmatic dependence which asks the listener to interpret the proposition relative to context. Declarative negatives are heavily associated with stativity - a property ill-suited to issuing commands and warnings.

Apart from the addition of the special prohibitive, there are a few other notable asymmetries present in negative imperative constructions in these languages. In Indonesian, for instance, the inclusion or exclusion of the active voice prefixes in the negative imperative lends a slightly different reading, e.g. a suggestion versus a command. I proposed that this asymmetry exists because the formal marking of the prohibitive allows for greater flexibility of meaning as it is immediately clear from the presence of this form in utterance-initial position that it signifies imperative mood. It should be noted that it is frequently the opposite case – that categories expressed in positive imperatives are neutralized in negation (Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998). Regardless, it is not uncommon cross-linguistically for negative imperatives to encode categories such as person and number, tense, aspect, distance and directionality, information source, reality status and modality, and transitivity differently from positive imperatives (Aikhenvald 2010). What appears certain is that principles of symmetry and asymmetry apply not only to standard negation, but to prohibitives as well (Miestamo and van der Auwera 2007). This again returns to the central thesis of this work that though the domains of negation share properties of negation in common, they also possess distinct functions.

5.3 Mitigating the imposition of prohibitive constructions

As suggested in the introduction to this chapter, the languages described in this work are spoken by groups that place an especially high value on indirectness and deference, as is evident in multiple areas of the languages where status hierarchies are encoded. I begin by summarizing a few examples of this supporting evidence and then go on to describe the relevance of these indirect means to the strategies employed for coding negative imperative mood.

Status is one cultural aspect that is encoded in various areas of the languages of this sample. For instance, semantic taxonomic distinctions in kinship terminology are based not on gender, but on relative age, such that the relevant distinctions are ‘younger sibling’ and ‘older sibling’ or ‘younger aunt’ and ‘older aunt’. The gender of these participants is then modified secondarily if such specification is required for clarity within conversation. In Sundanese, Hawu, and Enggano-speaking areas, the practice of teknonymy – referring to parents by the name of their children - is commonplace. In such instances, it is always the oldest child’s name that is used, regardless of gender. The parents of a girl named Jen in Enggano, for example, are known as *Ma Jen* ‘Mother/ Mrs Jen’ and *Pa Jen* ‘Father/Mr. Jen’. Age-based distinctions among children are therefore clear from early on in a child’s life and are of greater importance in many ways than gender-based distinctions, though the latter are also relevant.

In addition, there is systematic avoidance of elements of the grammar that are considered to be overly direct. For example, proper names or kinship terms are frequently substituted for second-person pronouns (and, to a lesser degree, first-person pronouns). This is demonstrated in (25a), where Hena speaks of herself by using her own name and in (25b), the name Asep is substituted for the second-person pronoun when Asep is asked a question. In (25c) the

kinship term *nenek* ‘grandmother’ is substituted for the second person singular when speaking to an older woman.

- (25) Indonesian
- a. *Hena mau ke pasar*
Hena want to market
“I want to go to the market.”
 - b. *Asep mau enggak ke pasar*
Asep want TAG to market
“Do you want to go to the market or not?”
 - c. *Nenek mau duduk*
Grandmother want sit
“Do you (older woman) want to sit.”

In many other regions of the world, of course, personal names are considered to be more direct than pronouns. What is considered direct and indirect must always be examined independently for each language by taking into account the cultural environment in which the language is situated.

Another area where attention to politeness is apparent is in register. In Indonesian, there is a stark difference between registers used on formal versus colloquial occasions and speakers are generally able to switch fluently from one to the other depending on the occasion. In languages of Java and immediately surrounding areas, the idea of register and speech levels was borrowed from Javanese. This is true of Sundanese where the most archaic dialects of Baduy lack speech levels, but other dialects have the following four levels: 1) *lemes pisan* ‘very polite’, 2) *lemes* ‘polite/deferential’, 3) *kasar* ‘ordinary/ colloquial’, 4) *kasar pisan* ‘vulgar’ (Lezer 1931, cited in Wessing 1974). In addition, the selection of nouns in Sundanese is afforded close attention in order to maintain humility, such that one would refer to *imah anjeuna* ‘your house’ and *bumi aing* ‘my hovel’. Similar use of lower forms for oneself are also evident in the first-person singular pronoun *saya* in Indonesian/Malay which can be traced etymologically to ‘servant; slave’ (Blust 2013: 123), and in the first person

singular pronoun *abdi* in Sundanese, which is also related in meaning to ‘servant’⁴⁵. The latter form is retained in Standard Indonesian terms like *mengabdi* ‘to serve, to dedicate’ and *mengabdikan* ‘to subjugate, to devote.’ Even in Hawu, which lacks register differences, there is a humiliative marker *ma* that signals that the information expressed is just the knowledge of the speaker’s and could be incorrect.

Given the various linguistic means available to achieve and maintain politeness in multiple areas of these languages, I find that prohibitive constructions are one part of the grammar where it is useful to examine strategies of mitigation, as "the face-threatening nature of requests and commands places strong pressures on the language system to come up with new variants" (Evans 2007: 393). There are other motivations beyond politeness for mitigating the force of an utterance. Frajzyngier and Jirsa (2006) describe the Principle of Indirect Means where the use of indirect means is not motivated solely by politeness nor by uncertainty regarding the truth of the proposition. Rather, there are certain areas of speech, such as asking questions that pertain to the hearer’s personal domain, that require the use of indirect means. These means can be both lexical or grammatical. This is a powerful motivator for language change as indirect means eventually become conventionalized as direct means and new indirect means must be sought. A key argument of this work is that the Principle of Indirect Means produces many of the irregular negative forms evident in the inventories of the languages of this sample.

The use of the imperative mood results in a clash between the desire of a speaker to be direct and forthcoming so that a state of affairs is enacted or maintained, but at the same time, the desire to be indirect and not to coerce the interlocutor or else place the interlocutor in a

⁴⁵ This is reminiscent of a dialect of the Urdu spoken by Delhi Muslims where the first person singular form is “slave” (Brown and Levinson 1987).

situation where there is no conventional ‘out’. In this section, I describe various means through which speakers embed deference and indirectness into prohibitive constructions.

One of the most common strategies for forming polite requests is use of the so-called passive voice, which can also occur in the negative, as demonstrated in Indonesian, in (26) and in Sundanese in (27). Such strategies of course lend an indirect reading as it is unnecessary for the actor to be specified.

- (26) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Email-mu jangan di-buka*
 Email-2SG PROH PV-open
 “Don’t open your email.”
- b. *Jangan di-kira saya tak tahu kenapa dia mengajak-mu*
 PROH PV-think 1SG NEG know why 3SG AV.invite 2SG
 “Don’t think I don’t know why he invited you.”
- (27) Sundanese
- a. *Ulah di-candak tangkal pare-na*
 PROH PV-take wood paddy-DEF
 “Don’t take the paddy stalk.”
- b. *Ulah di-inum kopi manéh*
 PROH PV-drink coffee 2SG
 “Do not drink your coffee.” (if, for instance, there is a fly in the coffee).

A second productive strategy is the use of plurality to encode indirectness. Specifically, the prohibitive is followed by a first-person plural pronoun, as shown in Sundanese in (28) and Hawu in (29). Note that while Hawu encodes clusivity in its grammar, Sundanese does not. In fact, the Sundanese *urang* can mean either first-person singular or first-person plural depending on context. The plural affix is by no means obligatory. *Urang* is certainly related to the Malay/Indonesian *orang* ‘person’.

- (28) Sundanese
- Ulah ar-urang nyalah-keun manéhna*
 PROH PL-1SG AV.wrong-APPL 3SG
 “Let us not blame him.”
- (29) Hawu
- Ta b'ole bello ke ri dii*
 NONPST PROH forget.SG PART by 1PL.INCL
 “Let us not forget.”

Plurality is frequently employed in respectful utterances, often being called upon when giving orders and in discussion of controversial issues. R.T. Lakoff (1973) suggests that the use of pluralized ‘you’ when referring to a single addressee signals a conventional ‘out’ for the hearer in that the hearer is given the option to interpret the utterances as applying to his or her companions rather to himself or herself. The same interpretation carries for the use of the first-person plural where the hearer can interpret himself or herself as somehow outside of the scope of the utterance. The responsibility becomes collective and is thus less weighty for any given participant.

A third strategy to mitigate the direct force of a negative imperative is the use of existential predicators directly after the prohibitive, as shown in Sundanese in (30), in Standard Indonesian in (31), in Hawu in (32), and in Enggano in (33).

(30) Sundanese
Ulah aya nu tinggal-eun
 PROH EX REL stay-3SG
 “Don’t let there be anything left behind.”

(31) Indonesian
Jangan ada keinginan mem-balas kejahatan dengan kejahatan
 PROH EX desire AV-answer evil COM evil
 “Don’t desire to answer evil with evil.”

(32) Hawu
B'ole era do bèllu
 PROH EX REL forget.PL
 “Don’t leave anything behind/ Don’t forget anything.”

(33) Enggano
Ja:r kiki mi bi-biar
 PROH EX many RED-leave
 “Don’t leave anything behind.”

As noted in Chapter 4, one of the reasons that existential (and negative existential) constructions are distinct from verbal constructions is that they lack specified subjects. It is typically unclear in existential constructions why it is that something exists or does not exist, as the responsibility of referents is not encoded in the same way it may be in verbal

utterances, e.g. *She brought water* or *She used up all the rice*. Existential predicators are therefore ideal in encoding deference, by not directly specifying any participant or suggesting that an undesired action was the fault of any particular referent.

Additionally, the prohibitive can be followed by aspectual lexemes like *sampai* ‘until’, as in (34a-b), or *pernah* ‘ever’ in (34c), in Standard Indonesian, which also combines with the first-person plural pronoun.

- (34) Sundanese
- a. **Jangan** **sampai** *meng-umpat* *pada* *anak*
 PROH until AV-swear at child
 “Don’t swear at children.”
- b. **Jangan** **sampai** *hati* *kita* *patah* *semangat*
 PROH until heart 1PL.INCL snap enthusiasm
 “Don’t let our hearts lose enthusiasm.”
- c. *Kerja-lah* *dan* **jangan** *pernah* *kita* *merasa* *putus* *asa*
 Work-IMP and PROH ever 1PL.INCL AV.feel snap hope
 “Work and don’t let us ever feel hopeless.”

That aspectual imperative forms may have overtones of politeness is probably explained by the fact that unmarked imperatives are interpreted as immediate and are thus considered to be more direct, as one may be expected to take action at once. The use of *sampai* and *pernah* in the examples in (34) soften the negative imperative because there is the suggestion that the undesired activity has not yet occurred, even if it actually has. The use of special tense, aspect, and mood expressions also mitigates imposition in requests. In English for instance, it is common to revert to the past tense in requests, e.g. *I wanted to ask...* and *I was wondering if ...* even when it is still the case that one is wanting or wondering.

Finally, the prohibitive can be preceded by apologies, as demonstrated in (35) in Hawu and (36) in Sundanese.

- (35) Hawu
- a. *Huba* *ke* *ta* **b’ole** *mena’o* *ri*
 Mercy PART NONPST PROH steal again
 “Forgive me, don’t steal again.”
- b. *Ami* *huba* *yaa* **b’ole** *heduke* *ri* *muu* *ta* *iko* *ne*
 ask.PL mercy 1SG PROH force by 2PL NONPST follow the

lai do d'e muu
 thing REL the 2PL
 "Forgive me, but don't force me to follow all your desires!"

(36) Sundanese
Hapunteun ulah ngambeuk ka anjeuna
 Excuse me PROH AV.angry to 3SG
 "Sorry, don't be angry at him"

Each of the strategies described thus far - passive voice, plurality, existential predicators, aspectual particles, and apologies – serve to reduce the illocutionary force inherent to prohibitive constructions. Such strategies provide indirect means which are usefully employed in conversation to maintain social relationships and status. I have suggested that the prohibitive, and negation in general, is an especially direct means of communication and it is therefore a likely place for indirect means to emerge.

5.4 Prohibitives outside imperative mood

Thus far in this chapter I have presented a class of particles that negate imperative mood. What is interesting about these particles is, though their function in negating imperative mood is very clear, they frequently perform other negative functions as well. In this section, I describe the use of these forms in different areas of the grammar. The relevant question here is: *What properties of the prohibitive make it such a good candidate for encoding negation in these particular environments?*

5.4.1 The substitution of the prohibitive for the nominal negator

In Chapter 2, I described the frequent existence in Western Malayo-Polynesian languages of a productive distinction between verbal negators and nominal negators. Syntactically, the former appear most frequently before verbs and adjectives, while the latter appear most frequently before nouns. However, I observed that the nominal negators encode other functions beyond standard negation, including contrastive negation and the denial of

presuppositions, whether voiced or unvoiced. In each of the four languages of this sample and in languages of Indonesia more generally, it is common for the prohibitive to be used in place of the nominal negator when encoding refusal. The Sundanese example in (37a), for instance, was uttered when the speaker rejected my proposal to meet later that night. (37b) was said during a conversation between two women when a yellow sarong (chosen from a collection of sarongs) was rejected for purchase. In both instances, an alternative was then offered.

- (37) Sundanese
- a. *Ulah wengi ieu*
 PROH night DEM
 “Not tonight.”
- b. *Ulah (anu) konéng ... moronyoy teuing*
 PROH REL yellow bright too
 “Not the yellow (one), it’s too bright.”

Conversely, the Sundanese nominal negators *lain* or *sanés* would be used if one were wrong in their supposition regarding a pre-established agreement, as demonstrated in the conversation in (38) where Speaker A incorrectly assumed that there had been an agreement to meet that night.

- (38) Sundanese
- Speaker A: *Urang pa-pendak wengi ieu sanés*
 1PL RED-meet night DEM TAG
 “We are meeting tonight, right?”
- Speaker B: *Sanés ... sanés wengi ieu*
 No NEG night DEM
 “No, not tonight.”

The same function of the prohibitive is also evident in Hawu, as indicated in the conversation in (39). Note that the pragmatic interpretation of refusal is not confined to invitations. In this conversation, Speaker A does not actually invite Speaker B, but advises against a proposed action, offering the reason that the temperature is not suitable and then proposing an alternative time.

- (39) Hawu
 Speaker A: *Yaa ta la dahi nèttu lod'o nèbb'o*
 1SG NONPST to sea noon day later
 "I'm going to the beach later today."
 Speaker B: *B'ole nèttu lod'o d'e ... do rihi pana ... mèdd'a lod'o we*
 PROH noon day this REL very hot night day just
 "Not in the daytime, it's too hot! Just go in the evening."

This function of *b'ole* is evident in folktales as well, as shown in the lines from *Hengi'u Nameo* ('A Kitten'), the story of a kitten who takes her own mother for granted and goes around asking others to be her mother, including Moon, Cloud, Mountain, and Mouse. In (40), Kitten is in conversation with Moon. Moon uses the prohibitive *b'ole* to reject Kitten's proposal for Moon to become Kitten's mother and goes on to urge Kitten to ask Cloud to become her mother instead.

- (40) Hawu
 Kitten: *Ta ma ina nga ou j'e yaa haku*
 NONPST DM mom COM 2SG then 1SG so
mai ma d'è ... do woie ou ne keb'ale ma
 HORT DM DEF REL good 2SG DEF ask.SG DM
rai-wawa ngèddi hari-hari worowu
 realm-world see all-RED everything
 "I want you to become my mother because your bright light
 illuminates the whole universe!"
 Moon: *B'ole ... ki tèbbe yaa ri merèmmu do*
 PROH if cloud 1SG by cloud REL
ta ele weo yaa
 NONPST lose illuminate 1SG
 "No! If Cloud covers me up, my light is lost and I can no longer
 illuminate the world."

In the same story, there is a clear differentiation in the function of *b'ole* (used to reject Kitten's desire for X to become her mother) and the nominal negator *ad'o*. In (41), Kitten has just asked Mouse to be her mother and upon Mouse expressing her worry that Kitten will eat her, Kitten uses *ad'o* to assure Mouse that this is not her intention, thus negating Mouse's presupposition.

(41)	Hawu								
Mouse:	<i>Eeee ...meda'u</i>	<i>ta</i>		<i>nga'e</i>	<i>yaa</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>rowi</i>	
	Huh ... worry		NONPST	eat	1SG	by	2SG	because	
	<i>ta</i>	<i>heleo</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>yaa</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>menganga</i>	<i>tèrra-tèrra</i>	
	NONPST	see	2SG	by	1SG	REL	hungry	really-RED	
	<i>Ke haku wae</i>	<i>d'o</i>	<i>yaa</i>	<i>ta</i>		<i>peabu nga</i>	<i>ou</i>		
	DM so want	NEG	1SG	NONPST		meet	COM	2SG	
	“Huh?? I worry that you will eat me because you look so frightening and so hungry after your long journey, such that I will not even meet with you.”								
Kitten:	<i>Ad'o ...</i>	<i>nga'e</i>	<i>d'o</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>yaa</i>	<i>rowi</i>	<i>yaa</i>	<i>ma</i>
	NEG	eat	NEG	2SG	by	1SG	because	1SG	DM
	<i>d'e do nga</i>	<i>pedèb'o</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>woie</i>					
	DEF	REL	COM	purpose	REL	good			
	“No! I am not going to eat you because my purpose for coming here is good!”								

Clearly the use of the prohibitive compared to the nominal negator encodes a pragmatic distinction where the former entails refusal and the latter entails the negation of a presupposition. Given the speech act status of prohibitives, i.e. enjoining the hearer to take some immediate action to cause or maintain a negative state of affairs, the prohibitive is well-poised to function as a marker of refusal or rejection. The nominal negator, on the other hand, has much more to do with the truth conditions of the utterance and is more closely connected with stativity and the realm of the unrealized.

5.4.2 The prohibitive expressing deontic modality

It has been observed that in the negative imperative mood, the prohibitives occur in utterance-initial position in each of the languages of this sample and also frequently occur in this position cross-linguistically. However, prohibitives are frequently embedded as clausal operators as well, especially when the utterance is expressing an opinion regarding what *should not* be done. For instance, in (42) the Sundanese prohibitive *ulah* it is fronted by the expression *langkung saé* ‘it’s better that...’, while in (43), the Standard Indonesian prohibitive *jangan* is fronted by an expression *lebih baik* ‘it’s better that...’. Speakers accept

the substitution of the verbal negator, *tidak* (Ind.) or *henteu* (Sun.), for the prohibitive, but note that to do so sounds strange.

- (42) Sundanese
Langkung saé manéhna ulah ngereunkeun kécap batur
 More good 3SG PROH AV.interrupt words others
 “It’s better that he doesn’t interrupt others.”

- (43) Standard Indonesian
Lebih baik kita jangan membuang-buang waktu
 More good 1PL.INCL PROH AV.throw-RED time
 “It’s better that we don’t waste time.” (Harry Potter translation,199)

Even without a value judgment, e.g. ‘It’s better that ...’, at the head of the utterance, the prohibitive carries overtones of negative obligation, as shown in Indonesian in (44a). The meaning of negative obligation is especially evident in (44b) where *yang harus* ‘what should be’ is coordinated directly with *jangan*.

- (44) Indonesian
 a. *Yang pasti ke-ada-an ini jangan dibiarkan begitu saja*
 REL definite NMLZ-EX-NMLZ DEM PROH PV-leave-APPL like this just
 “What is sure is that this incident shouldn’t just be left like this.”
 b. *Apa yang harus dan jangan dalam se-buah puis*
 What REL should and PROH in INDF-CL poem
 “What should and should not you do in a poem?”

Similarly, *jangan* can be embedded in a prayer expressing the hope that something does not occur, as in (45).

- (45) Indonesian
Semoga bangsa kita ini jangan mau
 hopefully nation 1PL.INCL DEM PROH want
di-adu domba lagi
 PV-compete sheep again
 “Hopefully our people will no longer be pitted against each other” (SEAlang Library Indonesian corpus)

It is perhaps of no surprise that there is a clear relationship between negative obligation and prohibitives in many languages of the world, as both entail enacting or maintaining a negative state of affairs. It is a short step between enjoining a hearer to undertake some action and expressing a value judgment arguing for the greater value of some

action over another. Indeed, it is cross-linguistically common for prohibitives to derive from negative volition, given that desideratives tend to develop overtones of intention, purpose, and obligation (Aikhenvald 2010). In some languages, such as Indo-Pakistani sign languages, the imperative is often used in deontic meanings (Zeshan 1999), suggesting that this cross-linguistic tendency is not only valid for a relationship between deontic modality and negative obligation, but deontic modality and commands more generally.

5.4.3 Prohibitives following sufficient conditions

Another environment where the prohibitive is embedded is following the sufficient conditions discourse connectors ‘as long as’, in Sundanese in (46), and in Standard Indonesian in (47). In (46), *manéhna* refers to a close friend of Udin’s who is on the verge of bursting into laughter and knows that if he catches Udin’s eye, he will no longer be able to quell the laughter. It is noteworthy that the first part of the utterance contains the free-choice construction *ka mana waé*. Likewise, in (47), there is the polarity sensitive construction *apa pun* ‘anywhere’. The prohibitive here specifies an extreme point on a scale of possibilities, which is also an effect of the coordinator *asal* ‘as long as’ which entails sufficient conditions.

(46) Sundanese
Manéhna natap ka mana waé asal ulah ka arah Udin
 3SG look to where just as long as PROH to direction Udin
 “He looked anywhere except at Udin/ He looked anywhere but at Udin.”

(47) Standard Indonesian
Suruh aku laku-kan apa pun asal jangan itu
 Order 1SG do-APPL what ADD as long as PROH DEM
 “Order me to do anything, as long as not that.”

The coordinator *asal* combines with the prohibitive to have an exceptive meaning, which I suspect results from the property of prohibitives in encoding cessation (e.g. stopping, staying, abandoning) (Aikhenvald 2010). The prohibitive is more effective in such environments than the standard negator because it asks for something not to occur rather than

simply specifying that something is not occurring. As with many of the other expressions encoded thus far, there is a prayer-like quality to such constructions.

5.4.4 Prohibitive in LEST clauses and negative purpose

The prohibitive also functions as a marker of negative subordination (‘so that not’) in complex constructions, resulting in a LEST clauses. This is especially apparent in written sources, as demonstrated in Standard Indonesian in (48), from the SEAlang Library Indonesian corpus, originally from a Koranic translation. Here the prohibitive follows the coordinator *supaya* ‘so that’.

- (48) Standard Indonesian
Ia mewariskan kepada anak-anak-nya supaya
 3SG AV.inherit-APPL to child-RED-3SG so that
jangan se-orang-pun dari umat-Ku di-desak dari miliknya
 PROH INDF-person- FOC from following-1SG PV-press from possessions-3SG
 “He bequeathed (all) to his children, lest anyone from My following was squeezed of his possessions” (From AlKitab)

In other constructions, the prohibitive frequently proceeds the clausal coordinator *agar* ‘so that’, as demonstrated in (49).

- (49) Indonesian
 a. *Ini perlu di-klarifikasi agar jangan ada pihak yang mencari kesempatan*
 DEM need PV-clarify so that PROH EX side REL AV.search
 opportunity
 “This needs to be clarified, lest a side takes advantage”
 b. *Nabi Shaleh meminta kaum-nya agar jangan mengganggu unta-nya*
 Prophet pious AV.ask masses- so that PROH AV.bother camel-3SG
 “The Prophet asked the people not to disturb his camel”
 c. *Untuk itu ia menasihatkan agar jangan meremehkan lingkungan*
 For DEM 3SG AV.advise-APPL so that PROH AV.weak-APPL environment
 “For that he was advised not to weaken the environment.”

Negation is a frequent diachronic pathway for LEST constructions (Kuteva et al 2019). Similar constructions using the prohibitive and coordinators are also attested in other Austronesian language like Papapana (Smith 2015). In Karo Batak, a language of Sumatra, the prohibitive *ula* combines with the purposive marker *gelah* to create a LEST clause, as in

‘Rat traps are made so that they will not eat the rice’ (Woolams 1996: 114). Similarly, in the Fehan dialect of Tetun spoken in East Timor, the prohibitive *keta* follows the coordinator *bat* ‘so that’ to encode LEST clauses like ‘we spray immediately so that rice pests don’t get in (to the crop)’ (van Klinken 1999: 226).

The coding of negative subordination seems to be at least nominally related to negative purpose expressions as shown in (50).

- (50) Standard Indonesian
 a. *Apa yang Anda lakukan dan jangan lakukan untuk*
 What REL 2SG do and PROH do for
merasakan gairah
 feel passion
 ‘‘What do you do and not do to feel passionate?’’

The meaning of *jangan lakukan* ‘don’t do’ is similar to ‘avoid doing’ in this case and again speaks to refusal to engage in some action rather than simply reporting a stative state of affairs.

5.4.5 Prohibitives in ‘Never mind X’

Another reading that is achieved through the use of the prohibitive is ‘Nevermind X’, a construction that bears some resemblance to ‘let alone’ in English. As demonstrated in (51) in Standard Indonesian, the prohibitive takes the applicative suffix *-kan* and co-occurs with the additive operator *pun* to create a highly newsworthy reading, where a less likely possibility follows *jangan-kan* and a more likely possibility directly precedes *pun*. A pause follows the first, less-likely possibility before the more likely possibility is presented.

- (51) Standard Indonesian
 a. *Jangan-kan mobil sebedanya pun belum punya*
 PROH-APPL car bicycle ADD NONDUM have
 ‘‘Never mind a car, I don’t even have a bicycle.’’
 b. *Jangan-kan harta nyawa pun akan saya korban-kan*
 PROH-APPL treasure life ADD FUT 1SG sacrifice-APPL
 ‘‘Never mind treasure, I would sacrifice my life.’’

- c. *Jangan-kan* *sinyal internet* *untuk telepon SMS itu pun*
 PROH-APPL signal internet for phone SMS DEM ADD
hanya tempat tertentu saja
 only place certain just
 “Never mind internet, even texting is only (available) in certain places.” (said by someone who lives in a remote location.)”

A similar construction appears in Sundanese in (52), where the prohibitive *ulah* occurs with the scalar additive particle *ogé*. Note that in rural areas of West Java – such as the one where this utterance was used - cassava is much more widely available and consumed than water spinach.

- (52) Sundanese
Ulah gé sayur kangkong ... singkong ogé abdi teu boga
 PROH too vegetable spinach casava too 1SG NEG have
 “Never mind water spinach, I don’t even have cassava!”

In Chapter 6, I propose that particles like *pun* and *ogé* are sensitive to scalar semantics, combining with negation to encode highly newsworthy pragmatics. It is perhaps the dynamic speech act status of prohibitives - characterized by compelling some action on the part of the speaker - that is especially effective in encoding a pragmatically emphatic reading of this type.

5.4.6 Prohibitives and dubitative modality

Finally, the reduplication of prohibitives is effective in encoding dubitative modality, as demonstrated with *jangan* in (53), which can occur in phrase-initial position, as in (53a-b) or be embedded in the clause, as in (53c).

- (53) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Jangan-jangan* *ada hujan*
 PROH-RED EX rain
 “Perhaps there will be rain.”
- b. *Jangan-jangan* *dia hanya pe-muda yang ke-bingung-an*
 PROH-RED 3SG only NMLZ-young REL PV-confused-PV
 “Perhaps he is just a confused youth.”
- c. *Aku berpikir jangan-jangan mereka lapar sekali*
 1SG think PROH-RED 3PL hungry very
 “I thought maybe they are very hungry.”

The original meaning of *jangan-jangan* was probably something like ‘heaven forbid’ or ‘let it not be’⁴⁶, but overtime it lost the negative connotation and became a general marker of dubitative modality. Native speakers are often surprised when it is brought to their attention that the negative imperative marker is used to express ‘perhaps’, as it is a part of the language that typically goes unnoticed. Other Austronesian languages also exhibit a relationship between the prohibitive and dubitative modality. For instance, in the Fehan dialect of Tetun, the prohibitive *keta* can also mean ‘perhaps’, either in simplex or reduplicated form, with no apparent change of meaning (Williams-van Klinken 1999, p. 248). In Pendau, a language of Central Sulawesi, Quick (2007) notes the reduplication of the prohibitive *nyaa* and glosses it as ‘heaven forbid’, which he describes as stating a potential fact or realized fact that the speaker hopes will not be true. There is clearly a strong relationship between hoping against something and accepting the possibility that it might be true.

In Kupang Malay, a dialect of Malay spoken in West Timor and surrounding islands, the prohibitive *jangan* is combined with *sampai* ‘until’ to encode dubitative modality, as shown in (54). The same expression was demonstrated for Western dialects of Indonesian in (34), as a strategy for mitigating the force of an imperative, ‘don’t let it be the case.’ On both ends of the dialect continuum, the prohibitive *jangan* appears to have been used first to express a hope against a state of affairs (*jangan-jangan* in the west, *jangan sampai* in the east), which then grammaticalized into dubitative modality, given the possibility of the undesired state of affairs even as one hopes against it.

- (54) Kupang Malay
 a. ***Jangan sampai*** *dia tersesat*
 PROH until 3SG lost
 “Maybe he is lost.”

⁴⁶ The use of reduplication in encoding a hope or a prayer is also seen in the Indonesian *mudah-mudahan* ‘hopefully’, where the simplex *mudah* means ‘easy’.

- b. *Jangan sampai dia sakit*
 PROH until 3SG sick
 “Maybe he is sick.”

In Hawu, dubitative modality is not achieved by the reduplication of the imperative *b’ole*, but instead by the simplex form *maga* ‘maybe’⁴⁷, as in (55). However, it is interesting to note that the reduplication of this form co-occurs with the negative to encode a ‘heaven forbid’ reading. In (55b), the ordering of the negator and the existential are reversed from the typical order of a negative existential expression *pi’a d’o*, as described in Chapter 4. As was observed in Chapter 4, this reversal of the ordering of the standard negator and the predicate over which it has scope is also evident in conditional constructions. Both the conditional and reduplicated *maga* in (55b) involve hypotheticals which are associated with scalar reversals.

- (55) Hawu
 a. *Maga ma ta aj’i nèbb’o*
 maybe PART NONPST rain later
 “Perhaps it will rain later.”
 b. *Maga-maga ma ta d’o pi’a aj’i*
 Maybe-RED PART NONPST NEG EX rain
 “Perhaps there will be rain (Heaven forbid there be rain)
 “Hoping against all odds that it will not rain”

In a second situation, the speaker has a guest and wants to be sure at all times that the guest is well-fed. The simplex form *maga* is used in (56a), while the reduplicated form is used in conjunction with the standard negator *d’o*.

- (56) Hawu
 a. *Maga ta do b’èhu ke noo*
 Maybe NONPST REL full PART 3SG
 “Maybe she is full”
 b. *Maga-maga noo do d’o b’èhu de*
 Maybe RED 3SG REL NEG full still
 “Heaven forbid she is not yet full.”

⁴⁷ This form may be cognate to or a borrowing from the Malay *moga* which appears in Indonesian words like *semoga* ‘hopefully’ or in reduplicated form in Indonesian:

- a. *Moga-moga ayah ber-gegas dan segera pulang ... ibu sudah gelisah*
 Hope-RED father MID-hurry and immediately return mother IAM anxious
 “Hopefully dad hurries and returns home ... mom is already nervous.” (Harry Potter translation: 167)

There have been a number of instances throughout this work where negation has shown to be especially compatible with reduplication, sometimes forming a negative polarity item (NPI). This was evident, for instance, in the discussion of the Sundanese polarity item/nondum *acan* in Chapter 3. More examples of the role of reduplication with negation will be presented in Chapter 6.

To conclude this section, it is worth noting that the association between negative possibility and the prohibitive is in part explainable by the association that both have to negative consequence (Aikhenvald 2010). There is a close connection between deontic modality and obligation, as demonstrated in a previous section, with negative commands and possibility/probability. Obligation, which tends to feature in commands, may come to mark probability, as has occurred with English *must* ('I must go home' versus 'That must be the postman') (Kuteva et al. 2019). In the languages of this sample, it appears that each of these categories – negative commands, negative obligation, negative possibility – are all associated with expressing the hope or intent that a state of affairs does not come into existence.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter began with the descriptive goal of examining the different means to formulate imperative constructions (both affirmative and negative) in each of the languages of this sample. The languages of this small sample join the majority of the world's languages in possessing a special uninflected prohibitive particle that occurs in phrase-initial position and differs in appearance and behavior from the other negators in the inventory of each language. The discussion was not confined to imperatives, but also addressed hortatives. The four languages differed regarding the behavior of negation with the hortatives, as in some cases the grammaticalized hortative meaning was lost in the negative.

In the second section, I examined the means employed to mitigate the force of the prohibitives and encode deference and indirectness. I demonstrated that passive voice, plurality, existentials, the addition of aspectual particles, and apologies were some means through which illocutionary force could be effectively reduced. On the whole, such strategies are useful in reducing the responsibility of any given participant and in providing a conventional 'out' to the interlocutor.

In the final section, I explored the areas of the grammar beyond imperative mood where the prohibitives have been co-opted. These areas included the substitution of the prohibitive for the nominal negator in pragmatic contexts of refusal; the embedding of the prohibitive in deontic modality; after sufficient condition discourse connectors like 'as long as'; in negative purpose and LEST clauses; in the negative polarity construction 'Never mind X'; and in encoding dubitative modality. In each case, I have suggested that there are properties of the prohibitive – especially its speech act status - that make it an especially good candidate for these areas of the grammar. This also begs the question, of course, of whether the prohibitive meaning is primary at all. It appears likely in these languages that the prohibitive meaning may be some secondary function of a general negative deontic meaning. Future work may assess the overlap in function between the prohibitives and other negative domains of the grammar in a larger sample of language to see whether any broader generalizations can be put forth regarding the directionality of grammaticalization.

CHAPTER 6

NEGATION AND SCALAR PHENOMENA

6.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters of this work have examined in great detail specific domains of negation within a small collection of languages spoken in Indonesia. These domains have comprised verbal vs. nonverbal negators, negative lexicalizations, negative existential predicators, and the prohibitive. This chapter takes a scalar semantic approach to address elements of the grammar that are not negative themselves but that are sensitive to negation, or else to the polarity and truth conditions of the utterance more broadly. In particular, I account for the meanings encoded by reduplication, restrictive particles (e.g. *just*), and scalar additive particles (e.g. *also/even*) in negative and non-negative utterances. Given the property of reversing scalar inference and contributing meanings of polar opposition like contradiction and contrariety that are inherent to negation (Israel 2004), the interaction of the aforementioned coding means with negation or other downward entailing operators frequently results in negative quantification and polarity sensitivity readings. I suggest that, like negation, these seemingly disparate elements of the grammar are sensitive to semantic and pragmatic scales of possibility, whose sensitivity is usefully exploited in conversation.

In this chapter, I follow Horn (1972) and Gazdar (1979) in defining SCALE as a set of contrastive expressions of the same category that can be arranged in linear order according to semantic strength. A classical scale is numerical, containing a value ‘one’ at the low end, while any greater number represents a higher value on the scale. Scales are not confined to numerical values, but rather can be organized along any type of value. For instance, non-numerical items expressing a low quantity (what Haspelmath 1997 calls ‘minimal unit expressions’) also constitute low ends of a scale. The interpretation of scales is context-

dependent, given that scalar models comprise a set of background assumptions shared by the speaker and the hearer at the time of the utterance, and are ordered in such a way as to support inferences (Filmore, Kay & O'Connor 1988, Kay 1990, 1997). Scales are thus arranged along a plane where the relevant values of each token are generally agreed upon within a cultural setting. To draw on an example from König (1991: 41), the lexical scalar endpoint of *A Rockefeller could not afford to pay this* can only be interpreted meaningfully if one is aware of the wealth of the Rockefeller family compared to other families.

Though there is brief reference to the Indonesian scalar additive particle *pun* in some works (e.g. Haspelmath 1997), scalar-sensitive elements of languages in Indonesia have generally received little attention. This chapter takes the first step in rectifying this gap by providing a primarily descriptive account of a collection of polarity sensitive expressions in the four languages of this sample. I begin by describing the semantics of reduplication, as this is one coding means of the grammar that frequently interacts with negation. I proceed to demonstrate the precise functions of reduplication in these languages as regards polarity sensitivity, first describing reduplicated expressions that do not have overt negative specification, then describing expressions that do have overt negative specification. Section 3 is devoted to the functions of restrictive particles – a class of particles that denote low quantities - while Section 4 examines the functions of scalar additive particles – a class of particles that denote added quantities. Throughout the presentation of these coding means, I compare their usage in both affirmative and negative contexts.

6.2 The role of reduplication

6.2.1 Preliminary definitions

Reduplication, a common grammatical feature of languages of Indonesia, is one of the more iconic ways to signify meaning in spoken language. As a morphological category, it

most typically involves the full repetition of a stem, as demonstrated in Tibetan in (1), or the partial reduplication of the stem, as shown in Hawu in (2)⁴⁸. As regards partial reduplication, it is possible for either the word-initial or the word-final syllable to be repeated. Usually, if a language has partial reduplication, it will repeat either the word-initial syllable or the word-final syllable, but not both. Less commonly, some languages exhibit internal reduplication of multiple syllables, such as the repetition of the plural infix in Sundanese, as in (3), which can theoretically be repeated an infinite number of times. Productive multiple reduplication is attested in Riau Indonesian (Gil 2005). Finally, a construction that seems to be at least nominally related to reduplication is an ‘echo construction’, as demonstrated in Nepali in (4) where the onset of the second stem differs from the onset of the first.

- (1) Tibetan (Sino-Tibetan: Tibeto-Burman)
Kale ‘slow’ *kale-kale* ‘slowly’
- (2) Hawu (Austronesian: Malayo-Polynesian: Central-Eastern)
Teru ‘continue’ *teru-ru* ‘continuously’
- (3) Sundanese (Austronesian: Malayo-Polynesian)
Budak ‘child’ *barudak* ‘children’ *bararudak* ‘many children’
- (4) Nepali (Indo-European: Indo-Iranian: Indo-Aryan)
Rang ‘color’ *rangi-changi* ‘colorful’

Each of the types presented above is well-attested in languages of Indonesia and Malayo-Polynesian languages in general, though not all Malayo-Polynesian languages have all four categories. Within a single language, the same reduplicative morpheme (e.g. full, partial, multiple, echo) can have very different meanings. For instance, full reduplication in Indonesian can have meanings related to plurality (e.g. *desa-desa* ‘villages’), distributivity (e.g. *besok-besok* ‘next time’, where *besok* means ‘tomorrow’), a prolonged state (e.g. *marah-marah* ‘disagreeable’, where *marah* means ‘angry’), diminution (e.g. *anak-anak*

⁴⁸ Some scholars like Rubino 2005 include consonant gemination or vowel lengthening within partial reduplication, as is found in the Austronesian language Ilocano, spoken in the Philippines.

‘baby’, where *anak* means ‘child’), and manner (e.g. *pelan-pelan* ‘slowly’, where *pelan* means ‘slow’), to name just a few.

The iconic meaning of reduplication corresponds to The Iconic Principle of Reduplication proposed in Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 128): “More of the same form stands for more of the same meaning.” These iconic meanings include, among other categories: plurality, large quantity, large number, large size, intensity, universal quantification, distributivity, iterativity, durativity, and reciprocity (Moravcsik 1978). While it is not difficult to imagine how the repetition of a stem indicates an increase in quantity, other meanings of reduplication are more elusive. In Jamaican Creole, for instance, the reduplication of ‘red’, means ‘reddish’ or ‘red-spotted’, indicating the “scattered occurrence” of red over a surface which, in practice, reduces the intensity of color on any single area of the surface (Kouwenberg and LaCharité 2005). Practical realities of this sort frequently contribute to meanings that do not seem to entail an increase in quantity, such as discontinuous occurrence, attenuation, tentativity, and approximation/ similarity.

Though each of the languages discussed in this chapter rely on reduplication to encode diverse functions, the focus here is on the use of reduplication in just one area of the grammar: its role in encoding indefiniteness/ negative quantification and polarity sensitivity. Questions of this section include: *What are the properties of reduplication that contribute to these readings?* and *What role does negation play in its interaction with reduplication in these constructions?* This section is organized into four subsections; namely, the reduplication of negators themselves, the role of reduplication in formulating indefinite pronouns, *any*-type readings, and scalar operators like ‘only’, ‘at most’, and ‘at least’.

6.2.2 Reduplication of negatives

It was noted in the previous section that reduplication effectively encodes multiple functions in languages of Indonesia; as such, there are a variety of lexical categories that can be reduplicated including nouns, verbs, adjectives (including colors and numbers), interrogatives, and existential predicates, to name a few. In Standard Indonesian, it is also possible to reduplicate the negators themselves, as demonstrated in (5) with the reduplicated standard negators and in (6) with the reduplicated nominal negators. As is evident from these examples, the reduplication of negation indicates a judgment of nonsense or senselessness.

(5) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Jangan ber-pikir yang tidak-tidak*
 PROH MID-think REL NEG-RED
 “Don’t think something senseless.”
- b. *Terkadang orang membayangkan yang tidak-tidak*
 Sometimes people believe REL NEG-RED
 “Sometimes people believe nonsense.”

(6) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Aku sebelumnya menyangka bukan-bukan tentang om Nusa*
 1SG before AV.suspect NEG-RED about uncle Nusa
 “I used to think nonsense about uncle Nusa.”
- b. *Jangan ber-prasangka yang bukan-bukan ... Kau*
 PROH MID-prejudice REL NEG-RED 2SG
tahu saya bukan se-orang sempurna
 know 1SG NEG INDF-person perfect
 “Don’t have nonsense prejudices...you know I am not perfect.”

The reduplication of these negators likely serves an emphatic purpose, though there also appears to be a covert attribute over which the negators have scope such as truth or accuracy. In other words, *tidak-tidak* in (5a) appears to take the place of *tidak benar* ‘not true.’

6.2.3 Reduplication of indefinite particles in Indonesian

In the next section I will demonstrate how negation is used with reduplicated interrogatives to achieve an indefiniteness reading. However, I would first like to

demonstrate how reduplication itself can convey an indefiniteness reading in some languages, such as Standard Indonesian. Like minimal unit expressions, indefinite pronouns constitute an extreme lower endpoint on a scale. None of the languages of this work possess obligatory definite and indefinite particles, though optional particles are available in some languages. In Standard Indonesian, for example, the indefinite particle *se-* attaches to classifiers like *orang* ‘person’ as demonstrated in (7a) below in order to refer to an indefinite referent. The reduplication of the prefix *se-* results in an indefinite pronoun, as shown in (7b) and (7c).

(7) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Drama ini ber-kisah tentang se-orang lelaki bernama*
 Drama DEM MID-story about INDF-CL man named
Kuwano Shinsuke
 Kuwano Shinsuke
 “This dramatization tells the story of a man named Kuwano Shinsuke.”
- b. *Kamu tidak bisa membuat se-se-orang mencinta-i-mu*
 2SG NEG can AV.make IDF-RED-person AV.love-APPL-2SG
 “You cannot make someone love you.”
- c. *Kemudian ia di-ganti-kan oleh se-se-orang yang bijak*
 Then 3SG PV-replace-APPL by IDF-RED-person REL wise
 “Then he was replaced by someone wise.”

The particle *se-*, which also appears in other classifiers like *sebuah* (lit. a fruit) for things, *seekor* (lit. a tail) for animals, *sehelai* (lit. a strand) for thin, light objects, derives from ‘one’ – a frequent source of grammaticalization for indefinite articles (Givón 1981). It will shortly become evident that *se-* has other functions as well, but it appears most likely that the meaning here is ‘one’. The reduplication of the particle is not productive with all classifiers; nonetheless, it is clear, though less obvious, in the classifier *suatu* used for things, as in (8a), and *sesuatu* ‘something’ as in (8b)⁴⁹.

(8) Standard Indonesian

- a. *Ia tewas dalam suatu per-tempur-an*
 3SG die in CL NMLZ-battle-NMLZ
 “He died (was felled) in a battle” (SEALang Library Indonesian Corpus)
- b. *Ibu Kezia khawatir telah terjadi se-suatu dengan*
 Mother Kezia worry IAM happen INDF-CL with

⁴⁹ I suspect that the stem *atu* derives from the synchronic lexeme *satu* ‘one’, as /s/ was likely lost to lenition with the addition of the indefinite prefix. The vowel then assimilated with the backness of the root vowel (i.e. *sesatu* → *seatu* → *suatu*).

ke-dua *remaja* *itu*
 NMLZ-two teenager DEM
 “Mrs. Kezia worried that something had already happened to those two
 teenagers.” (SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus)

That the reduplication of indefinite particles results in indefinite pronouns is probably due to a sensitivity to a scale of possible participants, encoded iconically by reduplication. As the quantity of possible referents is augmented by reduplication, the specificity of any single referent is attenuated in practice and an indefinite pronoun is formed. I suspect that there is generally poor compatibility between reduplication and specificity, a tendency that is clear, for instance, in languages that use reduplication to encode general plurality where there exist other means within the same language to encode specific plurality. In Standard Indonesian, for instance, plurality can be encoded through full reduplication where *orang-orang* means an unspecified number of people, but the simplex can also be modified by a numeral, as in *tiga orang* ‘three people.’ Where greater specificity is needed, such languages substitute numbers or universal quantifiers in the place of reduplicated morphemes.

6.2.4 Reduplication of interrogatives

The reduplication of indefinite particles just discussed is not very productive compared to the reduplication of interrogative pronouns in encoding quantification and other meanings. As will become evident throughout this chapter, reduplication is just one coding means that interacts with interrogative mood, a scale-reversing property, to produce a polarity sensitivity reading.

In Austronesian languages as a whole, partial reduplication of interrogatives appears to be fairly common, despite the fact that Haspelmath (1997: 179) does not identify indefinites produced through this type of reduplication of interrogatives. In Hawu, for instance, the reduplication of interrogatives is always partial morphologically, though there are multiple instances of full reduplication elsewhere in the grammar (e.g. in encoding intensity and

manner). Table 6.1 presents the meanings of the Hawu interrogatives when reduplicated in an affirmative utterance.

Table 6.1. Reduplication of interrogatives in Hawu

<i>Nenga</i> ‘what’	<i>nenga-nga</i> ‘everything’
<i>Naduu</i> ‘who’	<i>naduu-duu</i> ‘everyone’
<i>Pamii</i> ‘where’	<i>pamii-mii</i> ‘(at) everywhere’
<i>Lamii</i> ‘to where’	<i>lamii-mii</i> ‘(to) everywhere’
<i>Pèrri</i> ‘when’	<i>pèrri-rri</i> ‘everytime’
<i>Tanga</i> ‘why’	<i>tanga-nga</i> ‘whatever’

As evident in Table 6.1, reduplication of interrogatives encodes universal quantification in affirmative contexts. This is further demonstrated in (9a), where the number of possible destinations is increased by reduplication. The presence of a negator, on the other hand, reduces the possible destinations, thus converting the utterance to an *any*-type expression, as in (9b-c).

(9) Hawu

- a. *Kako lamii-mii*
 Go where.DIR-RED
 “(I) go everywhere”
- b. *Kako d'o lamii-mii*
 go NEG where.LOC-RED
 “(I) don't go anywhere”
- c. *Pi'a d'o noo nga nenga-nga*
 EX NEG 3SG COM what-RED
 “She doesn't have anything.”

Even within the small sample of languages accounted for in this chapter, there is diversity in the formulation of constructions with reduplicated interrogatives. In Standard Indonesian, unlike in Hawu, reduplicated interrogatives are negative polarity expressions, as they are only felicitous in the presence of a negator, as demonstrated in (10). The reduplication of *siapa* ‘who’ is polysemous, as it can mean either ‘no one’ or ‘no one of

importance’, a polysemy that seems to be apparent in many other languages of the region.

The ‘no one of importance’ meaning is only felicitous with the nominal negator *bukan*.

- (10) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Tak ada siapa-siapa di kelas itu pada jam dua-belas malam*
 NEG EX who-RED LOC class DEM LOC clock
 two-teen night
 “There wasn’t anyone in the class at twelve in the morning!”
- b. *Dia bukan siapa-siapa*
 3SG NEG.NOM who-RED
 “She is no one!”

In Sundanese, the reduplicated interrogatives most frequently occur in negative declarative utterances. This is demonstrated in (11) below, where each utterance is used in emphatic, newsworthy contexts.

- (11) Sundanese
- a. *Manéh teu terang na-naon tentang bisnis*
 2SG NEG know RED-what about business
 “You don’t know anything about business!”
- b. *Manéhna teu resep ka sa-saha*
 3SG NEG like to RED-who
 “She doesn’t like anyone!”
- c. *Tata teu boga na-naon*
 Tata NEG have RED-what
 “Tata doesn’t have anything!”
- d. *Galuh teu ka ma-mana*
 Galuh NEG to RED-where
 “Galuh didn’t go anywhere!”

The reduplicated interrogatives can, however, also appear in affirmative declaratives, as in (12). These expressions were produced through elicitation. Reduplicated interrogatives outside of a negative utterance do not appear to be particularly common in natural language.

- (12) Sundanese (elicited)
- a. *Manéh terang na-naon tentang bisnis*
 2SG know RED-what about business
 “You know many things about business.”
- b. *Manéhna resep ka sa-saha*
 3SG like to RED-who
 “She likes everyone.”
- c. *Tata boga na-naon*
 Tata have RED-what
 “Tata has everything.”

- d. *Galuh ka ma-mana*
Galuh to RED-where
“Galuh goes everywhere.”

The reduplicated interrogatives are not typically used in questions, except when they occur in utterance-initial position, as demonstrated by the reduplication of *saha* ‘who’ in (13). There appear to be slightly different functions encoded in these examples; in (13a) plurality of subjects is encoded, while in (13b) exactness is encoded. As indicated earlier, the same reduplicative means often has multiple functions in the same language.

- (13) Sundanese
a. *Saha-saha nu ulin di buruan*
Who-RED REL play LOC yard
“Who all is playing in the yard?”
b. *Saha-saha nu meupeues-keun kaca*
Who-RED REL AV.break-APPL glass
“Who exactly was it that broke the glass?”

Finally, Enggano, though a language isolate that appears to exhibit less use of reduplication than other languages of the region, possesses the same newsworthy reduplicative constructions, both in affirmative utterances, as shown in (14a) and negative utterances, as shown in (14b). The use of reduplicated interrogatives is particularly common with negative existential predicators in Enggano, perhaps suggesting an especially emphatic construction breaking into the verbal domain. This was discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

- (14) Enggano
a. *Ki kahap bah jah-jah*
3SG want go where-RED
“He wants to go everywhere”
b. *U keam hø ijah-ijah*
1SG NEG.EX see what-RED
“I didn’t see anything”

In each of these four languages, reduplicated interrogatives are most felicitous in negative utterances. A chief reason for this is probably that negators combine with the interrogatives to produce fossilized negative polarity items, thus reducing the ambiguity of

using an interrogative to encode something other than interrogative mood. The presence of a negator is one means to immediately trigger a declarative reading.

6.2.5 Reduplication in exceptive operators and superlatives in Indonesian

Finally, reduplication is a means that is usefully employed in expressions that denote extreme scalar endpoints, such as exceptive operators, e.g. *only* and *all but*, and superlatives. In Standard Indonesian, for instance, the expression *satu-satunya* ‘only’ exists alongside the productive adverbs *hanya*, *cuma(n)*, and *doang* ‘only’. *Satu-satunya* is formed through the reduplication of the lexeme *satu* ‘one’ alongside the ligature definite suffix *-nya*. Its use is demonstrated in (15).

- (15) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Aku bukan satu-satu-nya saksi*
 1SG NEG.NOM one-RED-LIG witness
 “I’m not the only witness”
- b. *Kamu bukan satu-satu-nya orang di meja ini yang peduli akan Siti*
 2SG NEG.NOM one-RED-LIG person LOC table this REL care
 about Siti
 “You are not the only one at this table who cares about Siti.”
- c. *Ia adalah anak laki-laki satu-satu-nya*
 3SG COP child male one-RED-LIG
 “He is the only boy.”

As a restrictive operator, the value for the focus of an *only*-type particle is always interpreted as minimal. *Satu* ‘one’, the low point on a numerical scale, serves to highlight a set of alternatives that rank higher. Reduplication intensifies the outer reaches of the operator’s placement on the scale, reminiscent of the additive function of *and* in the English expression *the one and only*. Without the ligature, the meaning of the reduplicated form *satu-satu* is distributive, meaning ‘one at a time’. It appears that the specificity of the ligature *-nya*,

which is also used to mark definiteness, is what places *satu-satu-nya* on a single extreme point on a scale⁵⁰.

A similar phenomenon concerns polar opposite ends of a superlative scale: ‘at most’ and ‘at least’. The former can be encoded by the reduplication of the superlative *paling* ‘most’ in Standard Indonesian, as in (16).

- (16) Indonesian
 a. ***Paling-paling*** *kucing yang berkeliaran*
 SUP-REDR cat REL wander about
 “At the very most it was just cats wandering around” (Harry Potter translation: 198) (in answer to the source of a sound)

The reduplication of the superlative *paling* ‘at most’ serves to augment the high position on a scale of possibility. In many colloquial dialects of Indonesian, the simplex *paling* is used on its own to specify an extreme point on a scale of possibilities, depending on context, as in (17) from Jakarta Indonesian. Its use as a simplex is likely the result of semantic bleaching.

- (17) Jakarta Indonesian
 a. *Enggak pa-pa ... paling dia marah sebentar*
 NEG what-RED SUP 3SG angry a bit
 “No worries ... at the very most s/he’ll be mad for a bit” (in answer to how to calm an angry daughter)
 b. ***Paling*** *jam dua*
 SUP hour two
 “Two o’clock at the earliest.” (in answer to how long a bureaucratic process will take)

‘At least’ is encoded by the superlative *paling* with the negator, as in (18a), the negator with the prefix *se-* and the definite ligature as in (18b), or the same construction with a reduplicated standard negator, as in (18c).

- (18) Standard Indonesian
 a. *Aku sudah ke Bali paling tidak enam kali*
 1SG IAM to Bali SUP NEG six times
 “I’ve already been to Bali at least six times.”
 b. *Ke-dengar-an-nya Asep sedang men-jamu se-tidak-nya*
 PV-hear-PV-LIG Asep PROG AV-entertain INDF-NEG-LIG

⁵⁰ Observe also the reduplication of *dua* ‘two’. *Dua-duaan* means ‘just the two of them’ while *dua-duanya* means ‘both’. In either case, the ligature is functioning to reify the number under consideration, whether ‘only’, i.e. ‘only one’, or ‘both’, i.e. ‘only the two’.

- sepuluh tamu*
 ten guest
 “It sounded as if Asep was entertaining at least ten guests.”
- c. *Kalau enggak bisa datang se-tidak-tidak-nya nelpon*
 If NEG can come INDF-NEG-RED-LIG telephone
 “If (you) couldn’t come, at the very least (you could have) called.”

Unlike in section 6.2.3 where the prefix *se-* functioned as an indefinite marker, it appears here to be functioning as a comparative. This comparative use is also demonstrated in (19).

- (19) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Dia bekerja se-cepat mungkin*
 3SG work CMPR-fast maybe
 “S/he worked as fast as s/he could”
- b. *Siti se-tinggi Hena*
 Siti CMPR-tall Hena
 “Siti is as tall as Hena”

The frame *se-...-nya* is evident in other constructions such as with *sungguh* ‘sincere’ in *sesungguhnya* ‘really’ (‘as real as X’ and *benar* ‘true’ in *sebenarnya* ‘actually’ (‘as true as X’). When the negator is placed within this frame as in (18b-c) above, a low end of a scale is specified, which can be paraphrased as ‘as not as X’. Once again, the reduplication of the negator serves to augment this position on the scale.

A similar expression is seen with reduplicated attributes in a comparative frame in Sundanese, as shown in (20), where the reduplication of the attribute specifies an extreme high point on a scale of possibility. Standards of comparison of equality/inequality are one part of the grammar described in Haspelmath 1997 where negative polarity items are licensed.

- (20) Sundanese
- a. *Adi abdi lumpat ka sakolah sa-kenceng-kenceng-na*
 Little sibling 1SG run to school CMPR-fast-RED-LIG
 “My little sibling runs to school as fast as possible.”
- b. *Abdi teh berusaha sakenging-kenging-na*
 1SG DM try CMPR-INDF-able-RED-LIG
 “I tried as hard as I could.”
- c. *Anjeuna kedah di-hukum sa-berat-berat-na*
 3SG must PV-punish CMPR-heavy-RED-LIG
 “He must be punished as heavily as possible.”

Thus far in this chapter, I have demonstrated that reduplication specifies extreme points on a scale, whether a numerical scale or a scale of possibility. In section 6.2.2, I described the reduplication of the negators themselves as indicating senselessness. In 6.2.3, I posited that reduplication augmented possible participants which in practice reduced the specificity of any single participant. In section 6.2.4, I examined the use of reduplicated interrogatives in forming negative polarity expressions in the negative. Such expressions are newsworthy because of all possible participants (e.g. everyone) or destinations (e.g. everywhere) specified by reduplication, not a single one applies. Finally in section 6.2.5, I demonstrated the use of reduplication with comparative particles to form scalar operators, where reduplication again serves to specify an extreme high or low point on a scale given its iconics of increased quantity.

6.3 Restrictive particles: Free choice and other functions

The purpose of this section is to discuss a productive class of particles called ‘downtoners’ by Quirk et al (1985) and ‘exclusive’ or ‘restrictive’ particles by König (1991). Utterances containing such a particle presuppose the existence of a parallel sentence that does not include the particle and suggests that none of the alternatives under consideration can satisfy the open sentence. For instance, *He is just a farmer* presupposes *He is a farmer* and includes cultural expectations which suggest other alternatives to farming that would be desirable like a teacher, a businessperson, a doctor (which, of course, would vary widely from culture to culture). In each of the languages of this sample, these particles function both as general downgraders, but also combine with other elements of the grammar, e.g. interrogatives, to convey free choice (called ‘freedom of choice’ in Vendler 1967, later Free Choice Item (FCI) in Ladusaw (1979), and concession. An open inquiry is the extent to which these particles co-occur in negative utterances and what meanings are conveyed.

6.3.1 Restrictive *wé/ waé/ baé* in Sundanese

In Sundanese, the productive restrictive particle is *wé/ waé/ baé* ‘just, merely, only’ whose minimizing function is also apparent in lexemes like *ngabaékeun* ‘to treat something as a trifle.’ In order for an utterance containing *waé* to be felicitous, higher values, which may be determined contextually and/or culturally, must be available for exclusion. In (21), for instance, the relevant scale is one of honesty where presumably the value of telling the truth is excluded in this particular instance.

- (21) Sundanese
Manéh mah ngabohong waé
 2SG DM AV.lie just
 “You just lie!”

Aside from its use as a general restrictive particle, *waé* (and its other forms) combines with interrogatives to encode free-choice, as in (22). These constructions are prosodically prominent. In section 6.2.3 it was noted that the reduplicated interrogatives are not used for such meanings. While reduplication augments, the restrictive particles appear to have discursive functions that specify the importance or lack thereof of the possible participants or times under consideration.

- (22) Sundanese
 a. *Saha wé bisa ngalapor ka kantor polisi*
 Who just can AV.report to office police
 “Anybody at all can report to the police office.”
 b. *Manéh tiasa dongkap ka bumi abdi iraha waé*
 2SG can come to house 1SG when just
 “You can come to my house anytime.”

Unlike reduplicated interrogatives discussed in section 6.2.3, expressions combining interrogatives and *waé* occur freely in interrogative mood, whether in rhetorical utterances, as in (23a) or information-seeking utterances, as in (23b).

- (23) Sundanese
 a. *Emangna manéh terang naon waé tentang bisnis*
 Indeed 2SG know what just about business
 “Truly, what all do you know about business?”

- b. *Manéhna resep ka saha waé*
 3SG like to who just
 “Who all does she like?”

However, while reduplicated interrogatives thrive in negative utterances, the interrogative + *waé* construction is strongly dispreferred with negation. The interrogative can be used with *waé* under the scope of negation only if more information follows, as in (24a). This suggests that this construction is sensitive to specificity, as the actual possibilities must be explicit. On the other hand, in previous sections, I discussed the property of reduplication of reducing specificity. While (24a) is acceptable, the use of *waé* with interrogatives is most felicitous in concessive utterances, as in (24b), where the interrogative + *waé* construction is fronted and occurs outside the scope of negation.

- (24) Sundanese
 a. *Abdi mah teu tiasa ningali naon waé nu aya di dieu*
 1SG DM NEG can see what just REL EX LOC here
 “I can’t see anything that is here.”
 b. *Naon waé nu aya di dieu teu ka-tingali ku abdi*
 what just REL EX LOC here NEG PV-see by 1SG
 “Whatever was here was not seen by me.”

It appears that expressions with *waé* are less compatible with negation given that *waé* is already downward entailing.

6.3.2 Restrictive (*he*)*we* in Hawu

In Hawu, there is a similar restrictive particle (*he*)*we*, which combines the indefinite prefix *he-* (cognate to *se-* in Indonesian and *sa-* in Sundanese) and the minimizing particle *we*. In the affirmative, this particle can be minimizing, as in (25a), or can mark an event that has just occurred, as in (25b).

- (25) Hawu
 a. *Mipuhèrrè we èlla ta aj’a tèllu buku we ri yaa*
 like that just IAM NONPST read three book just by 1SG
 “Just this much, I only read three books.”(in answer to how the reading is going)

- b. *Ta d'èkka ko we Nona*
 NONPST come DM just Nona
 “Nona has just come.”

Like Sundanese, the particle *we* encodes concession, but unlike Sundanese it occurs with reduplicated interrogatives, as in (26).

- (26) Hawu
Nenga-nga we do unu noo do maha
 what-RED just REL POSS 3SG REL expensive
 “Whatever she has is expensive.”

Whether *hewe* appears as a single form or as two discontinuous particles *he*⁵¹ ... *we* depends on the part of speech of the entity within its scope. When that entity is a verb or an adjectives, the full form *hewe* is used, as in (27a) and (27b).

- (27) Hawu
 a. *Noo kako kae hewe la gereja*
 3SG go climb just to church
 “She just walks to church” (as opposed to taking a motorbike)
 **Noo kako kae we la gereja*
 b. *Dou pa d'e ad'o do era èmmu do rihi worena ... paa-paa hewe*
 People here NEG REL EX house REL very big enough-RED just
 “People here don’t have really big houses ... just typical ones.”
 **Dou pa d'e ad'o do era èmmu do rihi worena , paa-paa we*

When the entity is a noun, the indefinite particle *he-* attaches to the classifier while *we* occurs after the noun as in (28a) and (28b). It is ungrammatical for the full form *hewe* to follow nouns.

- (28) Hawu
 a. *Pa desa nad'e era he-wue èmmu we do worena*
 LOC village here EX INDF-CL house just REL big
 “In this village, there is just one big house”
 **Pa desa nad'e era hewe èmmu hewe do worena*
 b. *Yaa èggu he-wue taa we*
 1SG take INDF-CL bag just
 “I took just one bag.”
 **Yaa èggu he-wue taa hewe*

⁵¹ The evidence that *he* is functioning as an indefinite particle is clear by examples where there is more than one noun, given that *we* appears alone.

- a. *Noo èggu d'ue bèlla b'aj'u we*
 3SG bring two CL clothes just
 “I brought just two shirts.”

Unlike in Sundanese, *we* functions as an emphatic particle in negative utterances, as in (29).

- (29) Hawu
 a. *Pi'a* *d'o* *we*
 be at.PL NEG just
 ‘‘There are none at all!’’
 b. *B'ule* *d'o* *we*
 EX NEG just
 ‘‘There are none at all!’’

This probably again results from the discursive function of the concessive particles.

6.3.3 Restrictive *saja* in Indonesian

In Standard Indonesian, the particle (*s*)*aja* ‘just’ also serves both minimizing functions, as in (30a) as well as marks very recent past when it follows the immediate past marker, *baru* ‘new’, as in (30b).

- (30) Standard Indonesian
 a. *Akhir-nya* *kami* *pulang* *saja*
 Final-LIG 1PL.EXCL return just
 ‘‘In the end, we just went home.’’
 b. *Dia* *baru* *saja* *nelpon* *saya*
 3SG new just telephoned 1SG
 ‘‘He just now called me.’’

As in Sundanese, the Indonesian *saja* occurs with interrogatives with a free choice meaning, as in (31).

- (31) Standard Indonesian
 a. *Siapa* *saja* *dari* *mereka* *bisa* *me-lapor* *ke kantor polisi*
 Who just from 3PL can AV-report to office police
 ‘‘Any one of them can report to the police office.’’
 a. *Ada* *kelas* *apa* *saja* *di* *universitas* *Indonesia*
 EX class what POL LOC university Indonesia
 ‘‘What all classes are there at Universitas Indonesia?’’
 b. *Kita* *dapat* *membaca-nya* *kapan* *saja*
 1PL.INCL can AV.read-LIG when just
 ‘‘We can read it anytime.’’

Unlike reduplicated interrogatives which do well in negative utterances, as in (32a), the interrogatives + *saja* construction is not at all compatible with negation.

- (32) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Tidak ada siapa-siapa di kelas itu pada jam dua belas malam*
 NEG EX who-RED LOC class that at clock two teen night
 “There wasn’t anyone in class at twelve o’clock in the morning!”
- b. **Tidak ada siapa saja di kelas itu pada jam dua belas malam*

In addition, *saja* has a productive concessive function, as demonstrated in (33).

- (33) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Beberapa orang bisa saja kok punya satu ide yang sama*
 Several people can just DM have one idea REL same
 “Several people could indeed (could they not?) have the same idea?”
- b. *Tapi tiap hari ada saja hal-hal baru yang ingin saya bagikan*
 but each day EX just thing-RED new REL desire 1SG share-APPL
 “But each day there are (indeed) new things I want to share.”
- c. *Ada atau tak ada billboard tetap saja menyenangkan bagi-ku*
 EX or NEG EX billboard still just fun for-1SG
 “Whether or not there is a billboard, it remains fun for me.”

6.3.4 Restrictive *henap* in Enggano

Finally, in Enggano, there is a restrictive particle *henap* with similar functions to the particles in the other languages. Example (34a) demonstrates the typical minimizing use of *henap*; in (34b) *henap* follows reduplicated interrogatives to encode an *any*-type reading; in (34c) *henap* follows a single interrogative to encode free-choice; in (34d) an interrogative + *henap* construction occurs in the scope of negation, but as in the other languages, more information must follow in order for the expression to be felicitous.

- (34) Enggano
- a. *Ik kəʔka:h henap karena keʔ pa:kāwā*
 1PL laugh just because NEG understand
 “We just laughed because (we) didn’t understand.”
- b. *Ki ho bah jah-jah henap*
 3SG IAM go where-RED just
 “She has been all over!”
- c. *øʔ ho bah jah henap*
 2SG IAM go where just
 “Where all have you been?”
- d. *ki keam pakoõ ahã henap mo kiki teʔ*
 3SG NEG.EX know who just REL EX there
 “She didn’t get to know anyone there.”

6.3.5 Summary of restrictive particles

This section has demonstrated that the interrogative + restrictive particle constructions take over many of the affirmative functions that were not possible with the reduplication of interrogatives, which are more compatible with negation. These functions are principally minimizing, free-choice, and concession. In order for an utterance containing a restrictive particle to be felicitous, higher values on a scale must be available for exclusion. It is perhaps partially due to this particular scalar reading that greater specificity is required with the interrogative + restrictive particle construction than was seen with the reduplicated interrogatives. Unlike reduplicated interrogatives, these particles do not do well with negation, probably because the restrictive particles are already negative entailing.

6.4 Scalar additive particles

The last coding means I address in this chapter is a group of particles that fall into a broader class of what König (1991) refers to as ‘additive’ or ‘inclusive’ particles, like *also*, *too*, *as well*, and *either* in English. I focus especially on a related subclass, ‘scalar additive particles,’ which induce an order for a set of values and determine upper and lower threshold values for each scale. Given a scale of likelihood, the values included by the additive particles are typically the more likely candidate. In the languages of this sample, there is frequently a double duty performed by the same particles for both scalar and non-scalar additive functions. Particles of this type are especially sensitive to negation.

6.4.1 Additive (*o*)*gé* and *acan* in Sundanese

In Sundanese, the particle *ogé/gé* ‘too, also’ functions both as an additive particle and a focus particle with leftward scope. The interpretation of the particle is entirely pragmatically

dependent, as demonstrated in (35). It is rarely possible to determine the precise meaning of *ogé* without knowledge of the preceding utterance(s).

- (35) Sundanese
Anjeuna ogé hoyong masihan kabar ka urang
 3SG too want give news to 1PL
 “He also wanted to tell us something!/ HE wanted to tell us something!”

Ogé behaves differently in affirmative and negative utterances, as demonstrated in (36) below. While in the affirmative, *ogé* serves as an ordinary additive/focus particle, in the negative it combines with elements that are quantitatively low on a scale like *hiji* ‘one’, *sakadik* ‘little’, or the indefinite prefix *sa-* to create a highly newsworthy reading.

- (36) Sundanese (elicited)
- a. *Anjeunna ogé luka saeutik*
 3SG too hurt little
 “HE was a little hurt/ He too was a little hurt.”
- b. *Anjeunna henteu luka saeutik ogé*
 3SG NEG hurt little too
 “He wasn’t even a bit hurt!”
- c. *Abdi ogé nyandak hiji pulpen*
 1SG too bring one pen
 “I brought a pen/ I too brought a pen.”
- d. *Aduh poho pisan abdi teu nyandak hiji pulpen ogé*
 DM forget very 1SG NEG bring one pen too
 “Oh I forgot! I didn’t bring a single pen!”

An even more pragmatically marked reading is achieved if the minimal unit expression is fronted, as in (37). Note that the utterance is supplemented by *deui* ‘again’, another particle with additive-like properties. Additional additive functions of ‘again’ were discussed in Chapter 3 for Kupang Malay and Standard Indonesian.

- (37) Sundanese
Sa-perak deui ogé manéhna teu boga
 INDF-silver more too 3SG NEG have
 “He doesn’t have a single coin more!”

The newsworthy reading of the negative utterances in (36) and (37) results from the intersection of two scalar semantic features, quantitative value (q) and informative value (i), as described in Israel (1996), which interact to create polarity sensitive readings. Each of

these examples involve a low quantitative value (-q) and a high informative value (+i), given the pragmatics of conveying information that is surprising. The corresponding meaning is that even the smallest quantity among an ordered scale of quantities is not met.

A second particle in Sundanese that appears to belong to the same class is *(a)can*, which, as demonstrated in Chapter 3, is also used to encode NOT YET. *Acan* is productive in negative expressions that co-occur with reduplication. The meaning of examples (38) match the negative expressions that used *ogé* above. *(A)can* is a negative polarity item, as speakers do not accept the same construction (reduplication + *acan*) outside of negation.

- (38) Sundanese (elicited)
- a. *Anjeuna teu luka sa-eutik-eutik acan*
 3SG NEG hurt INDF-little-RED POL
 “He wasn’t even a bit hurt!”
- b. *Aduh abdi poho pisan teu nyandak pulpen hiji-hiji acan*
 DM 1SG forget very NEG AV.bring pen one-RED POL
 “Oh I forgot! I didn’t bring a single pen!”

When there is no reduplication, *(a)can* is not accepted and instead the reinforcing particle *pisan* ‘very’ is used. This difference, presented in (39), once again underscores the importance of reduplication to scalar readings. In (39a) the reduplication serves to highlight an activity that is considered imperative (eating) and the accompaniment of *acan* specifies that even the most basic of activities was not possible.

- (39) Sundanese
- a. *Abdi teu bisa dahar-dahar acan*
 1SG NEG can eat-RED POL
 “I couldn’t even eat.”
- b. *Abdi teu bisa dahar pisan*
 1SG NEG can eat very
 “I couldn’t eat at all.”

The Gricean maxim of Relevance also plays a role here as it would be trivial to assert that it were possible to eat, unless given a very specific context where eating were judged to be difficult.

6.4.2 Additive *le(ma)* in Hawu

Like the Sundanese *ogé* and *(a)can*, the additive particle *le(ma)* ‘too’ in Hawu is multifunctional. In affirmative contexts, it can be purely additive, as in (40a), or behave as a focus particle, as in (40b).

- (40) Hawu
- a. *B'ani le ke ne keraka ne nga musang ne*
 angry too PART the crab the COM squirrel the
 “The crab is also getting angry with the squirrel.”
- b. *Hau le ke Natangi ta menyaha*
 appear FOC PART Natangi NONPST regret
 “Natangi appears to be regretful.”

Additionally, *le* combines with interrogatives, serving either as an ordinary focus marker, as in (41a) or encoding plural quantification, as in (41b). The meaning of (41b) is equivalent to a construction with reduplicated interrogatives and indeed both *le* and reduplication share the property of augmentation.

- (41) Hawu
- a. *Nadu-nadu le pa era peleku nga'a ne*
 Who-RED FOC LOC EX wedding the
 “Absolutely everyone is at this wedding!”
- b. *Nadu le do ta kako la kota*
 who POL REL NONPST go to city
 “Who all wants to go to Kupang?”

In section 3, I observed that the restrictive Hawu particle *(he)we* is not felicitous in negative utterances. *Le*, on the other hand, is frequently used in negative utterances and, like the Sundanese *ogé*, interacts with negation to form a highly newsworthy utterance. In the interest of comparing these two constructions, examples with *he(we)* are provided in (42a-c), while examples with *le* are provided in (42d-f). It should be noted that in constructions of this type, *le* is used twice, forming a frame *le...le* where the first particle follows the verb and the second follows the quantity that is minimized. Note that it is also possible for the second *le* to precede the minimized quantity, as in (42e).

- (42) Hawu
- a. *Pedai lii ma noo he-ubb'a we*
 Speak speech DM 3SG INDF-mouth just
 “She spoke just once.” (Lit. She spoke just a mouth)
- b. *Nga'a he-lemmuhi nga'a we noo*
 Eat INDF-grain rice just 3SG
 “S/he ate just a grain of rice.”
- c. *Ngèdde ma ri noo he-dou we pa dahi ne*
 See.SG DM by 3SG INDF-person just LOC beach DEF
 “He saw just one person on the beach.”
- d. *Pedai lii le d'o noo ngara ta he-ubb'a le*
 Speak speech too NEG 3SG name NONPST INDF-mouth too
 “She didn’t speak at all.” (Lit. She did not speak even a mouth)
- e. *Nga'a le d'o noo le he-lèmmuhi nga'a*
 Eat too NEG 3SG too INDF-grain rice
 “S/he didn’t eat even a single grain of rice”
- f. *Ngèddi le d'o ri noo he-dou le pa dahi ne*
 See.PL too NEG by 3SG INDF-person too LOC beach DEF
 “S/he didn’t see a single person on the beach.”

The focusing function of the *le ... le* frame is clear in these examples as an activity is first emphasized and then the minimal expected amount that was not achieved is focused.

6.4.3 Additive *juga* and *pun* in Indonesian

In Standard Indonesian, there are two productive additive particles, *juga* and *pun* ‘also’, as demonstrated in (43). In the interest of space I do not here account for other additive particles in Standard Indonesian like *pula* ‘also’.

- (43) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Dia juga memilik-i hubung-an dengan*
 3SG ADD AV.own-APPL relation-NMLZ with
para ahli
 PL.CL expert
 “He also has connections with the experts.” (SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus)
- b. *Ke-hidup-an pun memilik-i se-macam informasi*
 NMLZ-live-NMLZ ADD AV.own-APPL INDF-type information
yang dapat di-turun-kan
 REL able PV-descend-APPL
 “Life also has a type of inheritable information.”

The particle *juga* is regularly employed for focus at the textual level, as in (44), which is extracted from a story from BBC Indonesia about children who had been kidnapped and, upon rescue, were promptly taken to a hospital for treatment.

- (44) Standard Indonesian
Mereka diberi botol air minum yang mereka habis-kan
 3PL PV-give bottle water drink REL 3PL empty-APPL
saat itu juga
 moment DEM too
 “They were given bottles of drinking water which they finished right then and there.”
 (BBC Indonesia)

There are additional discursive functions of *juga* that arise in conversation in colloquial varieties of Indonesian. In Jakarta Indonesian, when *juga* proceeds negation, for instance, an assertion is hedged, as in (45).

- (45) Jakarta Indonesian
 a. Speaker A *Apa dia kecam*
 What 3SG cruel
 “Is s/he cruel?”
 Speaker B *Enggak juga sih*
 NEG ADD DM
 “Oh, not really.”

In affirmative utterances, *juga* encodes concession, as in (46).

- (46) Jakarta Indonesian
 a. Speaker A *Mungkin dia cuma terlambat*
 Maybe 3SG only late
 “Maybe she is just late.”
 Speaker B *Bisa juga*
 Can ADD
 “That is so (I suppose).”

It appears that the discursive functions evident in (45) and (46) are a result of the same focusing function of additive particles.

The Malay/Indonesian particle *pun* has been recently covered in detail by Chambert-Loir (2019), so I will not go into tremendous depth here. In brief, *pun* functions as a topicalizer clitic particle, as evident in (47).

- (47) Standard Indonesian
Dia tahu pen-ampil-an-nya pun pasti tidak lebih baik
 3SG know NMLZ-appear-NMLZ-POSS ADD definitely NEG more good
 “He knew his own appearance definitely wasn’t any better.”

Like the restrictive particle, *saja*, and the reduplicated interrogatives discussed in the previous section, *pun* interacts with interrogatives and negation to have an *any*-type reading, as in (48).

- (48) Standard Indonesian
 a. *Dia tidak peduli lagi pada apa pun*
 3SG NEG care again at what ADD
 “He no longer cared about anything.”
 b. *Saya tidak melihat siapa pun yang saya kenal di acara itu*
 1SG NEG AV.see who ADD REL 1SG know LOC event that
 “I didn’t see anyone I knew at that event.”

The interrogative + *pun* construction bears greater resemblance to the reduplicated interrogatives in terms of its distribution, as reduplication and *pun* both have an additive function of increasing quantity. As previously demonstrated, the interrogative + *saja* construction is the most restrictive of these three constructions when occurring with negation.

As in Sundanese and Hawu, the Standard Indonesian particle *pun* combines with negation and minimal unit expressions like the numeral *satu* ‘one’, the indefinite prefix *se-*, lexemes ‘little’ or ‘small’, etc., to create highly emphatic constructions, as in (49).

- (49) Standard Indonesian
 a. *Tampak-nya dia sama sekali tak mengerti satu kata Inggris pun*
 appear-LIG 3SG same very NEG AV.understand one
 word English ADD
 “It appeared that he could not understand a single word of English.” (Harry Potter translation: 128)
 b. *Dia muncul dari antara pe-pohonan tanpa satu goresan pun di tubuh-nya*
 3SG appear from between RED-tree without
 one scratch ADD LOC body-3SG
 “He appeared from the trees without a single scratch on his body.”
 c. *Kalian tidak mem-beri-tahu kami satu hal kecil pun*
 2PL NEG AV-give-know 1PL.EXCL one thing small ADD
 “You all didn’t tell use a single tiny thing!”

This same reading can also be encoded by covert negative verbs like *menolak* ‘refuse’ or *dilarang* ‘forbidden’, as demonstrated in (50). Though verbs of this sort do not belong to standard negation, they still share the property of reversing entailments in a scalar model. In (50a), the use *lagi* ‘again’ lends yet greater emphasis to the utterance.

- (50) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Dia* ***menolak*** *makan se-sendok* ***pun*** ***lagi***
 3SG AV.refuse eat INDF-spoon ADD again
 “He refused to eat a single spoon more.”
- b. *Aku* *sudah* ***di-larang*** *ber-kata* ***apa*** ***pun*** *kepada siapa pun*
 1SG IAM PV.forbid word what ADD to who ADD
 “I’ve already been forbidden to say anything to anyone.”

Finally, *pun* plays a major role in coordination, affixing to *kalau* ‘if’ to become *kalaupun* ‘even though’, *biar* ‘let’ to become *biarpun* ‘even though’, *bagaimana* ‘how’ to become *bagaimanapun* ‘regardless of’, to cite only a few of a multitude of examples. Most relevant to this work is the use of *pun* in *neither ... nor* constructions. As shown in (51a), *pun* affixes to *atau* ‘or’ in a negative utterance, but the same use of *ataupun* in ungrammatical in an affirmative utterance, as shown in (51b). It is possible, albeit dispreferred, for the negative utterance to occur without *pun*, as in (51c).

- (51) Standard Indonesian
- a. *Dia* ***tidak*** *tampak* *marah atau-pun* *cemas*
 3SG NEG appear angry or-ADD anxious
 “She didn’t appear angry nor anxious.”
- b. **Dia tampak marah ataupun cemas*
- c. *Dia* *tidak* *tampak* *marah atau* *cemas*
 3SG NEG appear angry or anxious
 “She didn’t appear angry or anxious.”

6.4.4 Additive *he* in Enggano

Based on limited data, it does not appear that additive particles participate to same degree in scalar phenomena in Enggano as in the other languages of this work. The additive in Enggano is *he*, as demonstrated in (52). The same particle also means ‘and’, as evident in (52c) which is drawn from Nikelas, Rasyid, and Seni (1994).

- (52) Enggano
- a. *Ki bu kah*
 3SG want go
 “He is going.”
- b. *Ki he bu kah*
 3SG ADD want go
 “He is also going.”
- c. *Kur iyah ani he ana*
 From where Ani and Ana
 “Where are Ani and Ana from?”

The same additive particle is, however, used in some negative environments. As shown in (53), it appears with the negative to express ‘either...or’.

- (53) Enggano
- U kiam sayur he hiũ*
 1SG NEG.EX vegetables ADD fruit
 “I have neither vegetables nor fruit.”

There is no instance in my data of the particle *he* combining with interrogatives. In the elicited utterances of (54), the additive particle is not used, nor is reduplication. Note in (54b) the particle *mək* ‘many’ combines with the interrogative.

- (54) Enggano
- a. *Aru ke? pu ejah ena na an*
 Aru NEG see what REL place DEM
 “Aru didn’t see anything there.”
- b. *ejah mək ki haru ka’u*
 what many 3SG have expensive
 “Whatever she has is expensive.”

6.4.5 Summary of scalar additive particles

Evidently, scalar additive particles are not a unitary category, though they certainly have similar functions in different languages. In negative expressions, the scalar additive particles can be used to create highly newsworthy, *even*-type readings, while in the affirmative, the particles have additive and focus functions that are highly contextually dependent. In some languages, like Hawu and Indonesian, the scalar additive particles combine with interrogatives with the same meaning as the reduplicated interrogatives discussed earlier in this chapter. This speaks to the shared property of these two means in

augmenting referents. Finally, in some of the languages, such as Jakarta Indonesian, there are additional discursive uses of the additive particles, which differ depending on whether the utterance is affirmative or negative.

6.5 Discussion

This chapter has taken a broad look at polarity phenomena in four languages of Indonesia, with a focus on three formal coding means, i.e. reduplication, restrictive particles, and scalar additive particles. The use of these coding means has been described and compared in both affirmative and negative utterances. The larger claim that I have made is that these coding means are useful in encoding the functions that they do, e.g. indefiniteness/negative quantification, exceptive and superlative operators, *any*-type readings, concession, and newsworthiness, because of the scales they entail, particularly scales of possibility. These parts of the grammar interact with negation, itself a scale-reversing construction, to encode meanings that exploit the expectations and inferences of the interlocutor.

I began by describing the functions of reduplication, whose default iconic meaning is that of increased quantity. In Section 6.2, I examined the specific function of reduplication in encoding indefinite pronouns, highly newsworthy negative polarity items, superlatives, and scalar operators. In each of these cases, the function of reduplication can be roughly summarized as augmenting a particular referent that exists on a scale of possible referents available via common ground. Gast and van der Auwera (2011), unlike Stalnaker (1974, 1978), assume ‘common ground’ comprises not only factual information but also of sets of discourse referents and more abstract meaning. The common ground is therefore “a set of entities (of all semantic types) that interlocutors have ‘consciousness’ or ‘awareness’ of, that is, entities that are ‘given’ or at least (mentally) ‘accessible’” (cf. Chafe 1974, 1976, Lambrecht 1994, among many others). When the indefinite prefix is reduplicated, the

possible referents are increased, thus diminishing the specificity of any one particular referent. This is analogous to the example presented earlier in the chapter of the reduplication of ‘red’ in Jamaican Creole to mean ‘reddish’ in practice, as the intensity of ‘red’ is distributed across a large space.

Another pursuit of Section 6.2 was an account of the reduplication of interrogatives, which combine with negators to have highly newsworthy, emphatic readings. I suggested that reduplicated interrogatives occur much more frequently with negators because the presence of the negator triggers a declarative reading. In affirmative declarative utterances, interrogatives more frequently co-occur with downward entailing, restrictive particles that trigger free-choice and concessive readings. Indeed, free choice indefinites tend to occur in sentences that express possibility as the domain of possible choices is broadened (Haspelmath 1997). Indefinites of this type denote a low point on a pragmatic scale of possibility, which is why they are also very compatible with sufficient conditions (e.g. *Any dress will do*, in answer to what one should wear).

Like negation, interrogatives reverse scalar inference and thus tend to play a role in the coding of quantification and polarity sensitivity cross-linguistically. The close association between interrogatives and the various particles discussed in this chapter can be at least partially attributed to their frequent use in concessive conditionals, e.g. *whatever*, which is a point also observed in König 1991. These particles become associated over time due to their frequent co-occurrence just as the negators become associated with reduplicated interrogatives due to frequent co-occurrence as negative polarity expressions. In some language, there is a close relationship between the expressions that use reduplication and those that use scalar additive particles. In Standard Indonesian, for instance, the use of the additive particle *pun* with interrogatives is comparable to reduplicated interrogatives, as both reduplication and the additive particle function to augment possible referents.

It has been argued throughout that this chapter that part of what contributes to the polarity sensitive readings described herein are the two scalar semantic features, quantitative value (q) and informative value (i), discussed in Israel (1996). These features exist because they are conversationally useful, allowing speakers to exploit background expectations to make contributions strongly informative/ emphatic or weakly informative/ understating (Kay 1990). Scalar additive particles, for instance, entail a high involvement and commitment toward what is said and thus exist in contrast to understatements which signal deference and the desire to mitigate face-threatening acts (Israel 1996).

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter has tackled elements of the grammar that are not negative on their own, but that are sensitive to negation, thus behaving differently in utterances that have negators compared to utterances that lack negators. The formal means assessed herein included reduplication, which essentially augments the range of possible participants and specifies the extreme ends of a scale; restrictive particles, which are downward entailing items used for concession and free choice; and scalar additive particles, which, beyond topicalization, interact with negation and minimal unit expressions to create highly newsworthy utterances. This work has examined these functions in detail in four languages of Indonesia. There is still much room for comparative work with a larger number of languages, both in Indonesia and cross-linguistically. For instance, the general question of the processes through which reduplication can encode meanings that do not appear to be iconic is worthy of further study, as is an exploration of the use of the restrictive particles in discursive contexts.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

7.1 The contributions

This work has celebrated the diversity of negative forms and expressions in four languages of Indonesia, based primarily on data gathered through fieldwork. The data bolster the claim that negation is a category of the grammar that is composed of multiple functional domains. The delineation of the functional domains that are operative within a given negation system may be established on a language-by-language basis.

A major contribution of this work is the observation that a cultural preference for indirect linguistic means of expression contributes to the emergence of special negative forms and constructions in the languages of this sample. Indirectness as a motivation for language change is described as The Principle of Indirect Means in Frajzyngier and Jirsa (2006); these authors propose that the use of indirect means is not motivated solely by politeness, nor is it motivated by uncertainty regarding the truth of the proposition. Rather, it is suggested that there are certain areas of speech, such as those that ask questions pertaining to the hearer's personal domain, that require the use of indirect means, whether lexical or grammatical. The use of indirect means constitutes a powerful motivator for language change as indirect means eventually become conventionalized as direct means and new indirect means must be sought. As a result, there is a constant recycling of old forms for new.

One of my own contributions has been to apply the idea of indirectness as a motivator for language change specifically to negation. I suggest that the cultures represented in the present work value indirectness and deference to a high degree – a tendency that is evident in multiple areas of the grammar including: a preference for passive voice (which is less direct than active voice in that the subject can be and often is unspecified); the presence of register

and/or speech levels that allow one to attend to the status of the interlocutor relative to oneself; avoidance of second-person pronouns when addressing an interlocutor even when polite second-person pronouns exist in the language; avoidance of first-person pronouns when referring to oneself (and instead substituting, in some regions, one's own name for the pronoun 'I'); the etymological meaning of 'slave' or 'servant' for the first-person pronoun in some languages of Indonesia; and the practice of teknonymy, to name a collection of these points.

I have proposed that a desire for indirectness also bleeds into the negation system in the languages of this sample and is at least partially responsible for the presence of alternative negative forms. Negation is an especially direct area of the grammar because its semantics typically entail disagreement, denial, or rejection of some state of affairs. As such, special constructions arise to avoid breaking cultural norms against direct expression. One area where this was especially apparent in the language communities of this sample was in the negation of areas pertaining to personal domains, such as the NOT WANT and NOT KNOW negative lexicalizations discussed in Chapter 3. There were numerous special expressions and constructions to convey these meanings, particularly NOT KNOW. Such means included off-loading credibility to the interlocutor in Hawu with the expression 'you are able'; exploiting an expression of sorrow and apology in Sundanese (as well as in Javanese); and, though highly speculative, through an appeal to the almighty in Enggano to indicate ignorance on a personal level. In Standard Indonesian, and in other dialects, I also demonstrated the use of special ignorative lexemes to express not knowing or not experiencing. I suggest that the presence of alternative NOT WANT negators is also due to a motivation for less direct means, especially as the negation of ordinary lexemes 'want' with a standard negator generally carries not only a meaning of negative desire but also negative future.

Beyond the expression of alternative forms for not knowing and not wanting, there are other negators in these languages that appear to have arisen as a result of avoiding direct negation. For instance, in Sundanese and Standard Indonesian, the lexeme ‘less’ has grammaticalized to encode a standard negation marker that is regularly employed in polite speech. Moreover, as demonstrated in detail in Chapter 5, there are numerous strategies available to mitigate the direct force of prohibitives, which I posit as an especially direct speech act given that prohibitives expects interlocutors to take (usually immediate) action to ignite or maintain some negative state of affairs. These strategies include use of passive constructions, the addition of existential predicators, the use of first-person plural pronouns, and the addition of aspectual markers – all of which provide conventional “outs” to interlocutors or else diminish personal responsibility by suggesting collective rather than individual guilt for an undesirable state of affairs.

A second contribution of this work is detailed functional analysis of the four languages of Indonesia studied herein: Sundanese, Hawu, Enggano, and Standard Indonesian (as well as scattered incidents of its colloquial variants like Jakarta Indonesian and Kupang Malay). Sundanese, Hawu, and Enggano are all hitherto poorly studied languages and, as such, this work can be consulted for further observations on the grammars of these languages. Furthermore, as noted in the introduction to this dissertation, languages of Indonesia and the Austronesian languages more generally have been poorly represented in the literature on negation. Descriptive work of these languages is useful in revealing aspects of negation in this region of the world that are particularly operative, such as the special lexicalized forms, the presence of productive ‘nominal’ and ‘verbal’ negators, and the prohibitive constructions, to name a few.

Moreover, the fieldwork methodology employed herein has allowed for an attention to the pragmatics of negative utterances that is less possible for work based on secondary

materials like grammars. In several areas of this work, I have suggested the extreme importance of the property of pragmatic dependency in the realization and interpretation of negation. The utterances presented within this dissertation have been drawn from a variety of resources, including controlled elicitations, e.g. from storyboards and structured sessions, but also from folktales, songs, conversations gathered through participant observation, interviews, and speeches. Such natural language data comprises uses of negation that arise in both quotidian interactions and in formal occasions. I have supplemented the Standard Indonesian utterances with examples drawn from written works including stories, news articles, and the SEAlang Library Indonesian Corpus. I have also had access to centuries-old manuscripts as an aid to make diachronic judgments regarding Malay/Indonesian and Sundanese, while such written resources are not available for Hawu nor Enggano.

7.2 Summary of the contents of the dissertation

This dissertation began with the introduction in Chapter 1, where I presented a general outline of recent work on negation, including Miestamo's (2000, 2005) work on symmetrical and asymmetrical negation, and pointed out the paucity of specific studies of negation within languages of Indonesia and the Austronesian language family more broadly. Miestamo's work is key to the direction and analysis of the work because of the observation that negative utterances frequently differ from affirmative utterances in substantial ways and reveal special properties of negation and motivations for the emergence of new forms and expressions of negation in the grammar of a given language. I proceeded to provide an overview of the historical, cultural, and political background within which the languages of this study are situated, followed by specific accounts of each of the four languages. This subsection included details on the location and vitality of the languages studied, as well as

classification and a sketch of typological features of each language. The chapter concluded with an account of the methodology of the present work and a few notes on orthography.

The remainder of the content of the dissertation derived from five key areas of negation identified during fieldwork, which are reflected in the topics of the chapters handled herein. In Chapter 2, I compared the functions of two regular negators in non-Oceanic Austronesian languages that have frequently been called ‘verbal’ and ‘nominal’ negators. I suggested that a semantic and pragmatic account is better equipped to explain the functions of these negators than a syntactic account. Specifically, the negators do not appear to be confined to syntactic categories but rather can break into the territory of the other to perform specific functions. This is especially true of the nominal negators, which encode contrastive negation and also deny presuppositions. I demonstrated the distinct functions of these negators in a variety of environments, including in negative tags and comparative expressions, as well as in metalinguistic data derived from fieldwork interviews in West Java.

In Chapter 3, I explored the tendency for the languages of this region of the world to possess a special inventory of negators like NOT WANT, NOT KNOW, and NOT YET, some of which appear to be the result of lexicalizations of negation. While it is common cross-linguistically for special forms to emerge in the negative inventories of a given language, the languages of this sample and languages elsewhere in Indonesia have a particularly high number of lexicalizations in certain areas of the grammar like volition and cognition. These forms are particularly common in responses to a question, and frequently lack an overt subject. I suggest that one of the major motivations for the emergence of these special negators is a cultural preference for indirectness, which is also evident in multiple other areas of the grammars of these languages. The negation of wanting and knowing is firmly situated in the personal domain and, as a result, is subject to pressure to mitigate a violation of indirectness. For this reason, it is especially common to see special negative forms emerge in

first-person replies. I conclude, however, that the motivation for indirectness is not the reason for all of the special negative forms described in this chapter; the presence of special NOT YET negators probably is better accounted for by its distinct function within the grammar.

In Chapter 4, I described the negation of existential/locative expressions. I noted that it is not always possible to draw a meaningful distinction between ‘location at’ and ‘existence at’ predicates in all languages, as both may lead to the same inferences about reality – a point which is certainly true to a certain extent in the languages of this sample. As is the case in many languages cross-linguistically, each of the languages of this sample possess special negative existential forms that may break into the verbal domain to perform emphatic functions. As observed by Croft (1991), negative existential predicators are thus a frequent source for the emergence of new standard negators. I therefore described the function of negative existentials in verbal utterances in the languages of this sample. However, a major contribution of this chapter was the identification of a special class of deictic particles in Hawu whose locative/existential distinctions are deeply entwined in an epistemic/evidential system.

In Chapter 5, I described the means to negate imperative mood in the languages of this sample. Each of the languages has a special prohibitive form, which differs from the other negators in the inventory of each language. I joined Van der Auwera (2006) in accounting for this unique form as being a result of the different speech acts of imperatives compared to declaratives. Another major pursuit of this chapter was an exploration of strategies employed in the languages to mitigate the force of prohibitives, such as by addition of existential predicators, aspectual particles, and first-person plural subjects. As in Chapter 3, I suggested that there is a pressure for indirectness that motivates the emergence of special negative imperative strategies. Finally, I addressed areas of the grammar beyond the negation of the imperative mood where the prohibitives are used, including deontic modality,

dubitative modality, negative purpose, and many others. I concluded that the primary meaning of the prohibitives in each language may not actually be negative imperative mood at all, but rather the general coding of negative obligation.

In Chapter 6, I explored areas of the grammar that are not negative themselves, but that are sensitive to negation. The specific means addressed included reduplication, restrictive particles, and scalar additive particles. In Standard Indonesian, reduplication can be operative on negators themselves to encode a meaning of senselessness and also on indefinite particles to create indefinite pronouns. Moreover, reduplicated interrogatives occur in negative utterances to encode *any*-type utterances. Restrictive particles encode free choice and concession and prove to be far less compatible with negation, likely because they are already downward entailing elements of the grammar. Scalar additive particles, similar to *even* in English, reverse scalar entailments. In affirmative utterances, such particles have additive or focus functions, but in negative utterances they interact with minimal unit expressions to create a highly newsworthy reading. Even within a small sample of just four languages, there is considerable diversity in the expression of these parts of the grammar.

The various negative forms and expressions described in this work are summarized for clarity in table 7.1.

Table 7.1 The negative inventory in four languages of Indonesia

Negator	Indonesian (Standard and colloquial varieties)	Sundanese	Hawu	Enggano
Standard negator	<i>Tidak, tak, nggak, gak</i>	<i>Henteu, hanteu, teu</i>	<i>D'o</i>	<i>Ke?</i>
Nominal negator	<i>Bukan</i>	<i>Lain, sanés</i>	<i>Ad'o</i>	<i>Ke? pa:n/ ke? par</i>
Negative future	<i>Tidak akan, tidak bakal, takkan</i>	<i>Moal</i>		
NOT WANT		<i>Alim</i>		<i>Ke? nahab</i>

NOT KNOW	<i>Entah; Tahu deh</i>	<i>Duka</i>	<i>I'a ou aa 'you are able'</i>	<i>Maha</i>
NOT YET	<i>Belum, tidak dulu 'not first'</i>	<i>Teu acan, tacan, acan, teu heula 'not first'</i>	<i>De d'o 'still not', d'o uru 'not first'</i>	<i>Kep, kop</i>
NEVER	<i>Tidak pernah, tak kunjung 'not visit'</i>	<i>Tara</i>	<i>Ngèdd'i d'o 'not see'</i>	
Alternative polite negator	<i>Kurang 'less'</i>	<i>Kirang 'less'</i>		
Negative existential/locative	<i>Tidak ada, tiada</i>	<i>Teu aya, taya, euweuh</i>	<i>Ad'o do era, pi'a/pe'e d'o, b'ule d'o</i>	<i>Kiam</i>
Prohibitive	<i>Jangan</i>	<i>Tong, Ulah</i>	<i>B'ole</i>	<i>Ja:r</i>

7.3 Suggestions for future research

There remains plenty of work to be done to account for the negation systems of languages in this region of the world and to explore the extent to which those functions identified in this small sample appear in other languages of this region. Such work would be helpful in increasing confidence surrounding judgments of areal effects on negative phenomena common to this region, including the precise functions of the so-called nominal negators, the development of the inventories of lexicalizations with negators, and the source of the prohibitives, among many other points. The examination of hitherto poorly studied languages has borne fruit with, among other points, the uncovering of a productive deictic existential, evidential, and epistemic system in Hawu – a feature that was not known to exist in languages of this region. Future work may examine whether such distinctions also exist in other languages spoken in the surrounding area.

It was beyond the scope of the present work to reconstruct the negative forms addressed herein. Future work might gather negative forms from a larger sample of languages of Indonesia and surrounding territories. Some work of this type has already been done. For instance, the standard verbal negator for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP), which includes all

Austronesian languages outside of Taiwan, has been reconstructed as *ta ‘no, not’ (Blust and Trussel 2010). Reflexes of PMP *ta ‘no, not’ appear all over Austronesian languages and even, as a result of diffusion, in several non-Austronesian languages (Klamer, Reesink, and van Staden 2008:133, Vossen 2016:161). With regards to the ‘nominal’ and ‘verbal’ negators discussed in this work, Blust (2013) observes that there is no known basis at this time for proposing that there was a distinction between verbal and nominal negators in Proto-Austronesian languages. Rather, the emergence of the nominal negator appears to be an independent innovation arising from the lexeme ‘other’ in many languages of the region, particularly those of the west. The form *beken is reflected in a number of languages in the meaning ‘other, different’ (both Bontok *bakən* and Malay/Indonesian *bukan* appear to continue this form). As was demonstrated in Hawu, the nominal negator appears to be related to the negative interjective ‘No!’ and does not appear to bear any similarities to the lexeme ‘other’. As far as I am aware, there is no widescale work at this time aimed at reconstructing other negators in a large sample of Malayo-Polynesian languages or other languages of Indonesia.

Another major theme throughout this work has been the importance of indirect means and avoidance strategies as a motivation for the emergence of special negative forms and expressions. Full scale studies of the indirect means employed to achieve negation, both in languages of Indonesia and cross-linguistically, would be illuminative in explaining regular language change within negation.

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