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13. Negative, interrogative, and directive clauses

This chapter describes negative, interrogative, and directive clauses in Papuan Malay. Negative clauses formed with the negators *tida/tra* ‘NEG’ and *bukang* ‘NEG’ are discussed in §13.1. Interrogative clauses, including polar, and alternative questions, are described in §13.2. Directive clauses, including imperatives, adhortatives, permissions, obligations, and prohibitives, are the topic of §13.3.

13.1. Negative clauses

Negative clauses are formed with the negation adverbs *tida/tra* ‘NEG’ or *bukang* ‘NEG’. Negator *tida/tra* ‘NEG’ is used for the negation of verbal, existential, and nonverbal prepositional clauses (§13.1.1). Negator *bukang* ‘NEG’ is used to negate nonverbal clauses, other than prepositional ones, and to mark contrastive negation (§13.1.2). (Negative directives or prohibitives are discussed in §13.3.3.)

13.1.1. Negation with *tida/tra* ‘NEG’

The negators *tida* ‘NEG’ and *tra* ‘NEG’ negate different types of clause; they always precede the predicate which they negate. Negation of verbal clauses is discussed in §13.1.1.1, of existential clauses in §13.1.1.2, and of nonverbal prepositional clauses in §13.1.1.3. Negator *tida* ‘NEG’ also provides negative responses to polar questions, as discussed in §13.1.1.4. With the exception of negative responses to polar questions, both negators are used interchangeably.

13.1.1.1. Negation of verbal clauses

As a negator of verbal clauses, *tida/tra* ‘NEG’ negates stative verbs such as *baik* ‘be good’ in (1), dynamic verbs such as *datang* ‘come’ in (2), bivalent verbs such as *pukul* ‘hit’ in (3), or trivalent verbs such as *bli* ‘buy’ in (4). The example in (5) illustrates negation of a causative construction.

The contrastive examples in (1) and (2) also show that *tida* ‘NEG’ and *tra* ‘NEG’ are used interchangeably with no differences in function or meaning. In the present corpus, however, speakers more often use *tida* ‘NEG’ than *tra* ‘NEG’ (1491 vs. 794 tokens) (*bukang* ‘NEG’ is attested with 208 tokens).

Negation of verbal clauses with *tida/tra* ‘NEG’

(1) nanti dia pikir saya *tida baik* … nanti de very.soon 3SG think 1SG NEG be.good very.soon 3SG pikir kitong *tra baik* think 1PL NEG be.good ‘very soon he’ll think that I’m not good’ … very soon he’ll think that we are not good’ [080919-004-NP.0052-0053]

(2) de *tra datang* … de *tida datang* 3SG NEG come 3SG NEG come ‘she did not come … she did not come’ [081010-001-Cv.0204-0205]
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(3) sa tida pukul dorang
    1SG NEG hit 3PL
    ‘I don’t hit them’ [080917-010-CvEx.0048]

(4) kalo bapa tra bli sa HP, biar suda tida apa~apa
    if father NEG buy 1SG cell.phone let already NEG RDP~what
    ‘if you (‘father’) won’t buy me a cell phone, just let it be, no problem’
    [080922-001a-CvPh.0461]

(5) baru kamu tra kas kluar uang bayar
    and.then 2PL NEG give go.out money pay
    [Encouraging teenagers to take gratis English classes:] ‘and then you won’t
    have to pay fees’ (Lit. ‘not cause to go/come out’) [081115-001a-Cv.0160]

13.1.1.2. Negation of existential clauses

Existential clauses are also negated with tida/tra ‘NEG’, as illustrated in (6) to (10). Examples for negated one-argument clauses are given in (6) to (8), and for two-argument clauses in (9) to (10). (Existential clauses are discussed in detail in §11.4.)

The respective one-argument clauses in (6) and (7) illustrate negated existence and negated availability of indefinite/nonidentifiable theme expressions. The example in (8) demonstrates negation of a definite/identifiable theme expression. One-argument clauses denoting negative possession of a definite/identifiable possessum are not attested in the present corpus; instead, the preferred type of existential clause to express negative possession are two-argument clauses, as shown in (9) and (10).

Negation of one-argument existential clauses with tida/tra ‘NEG’

(6) tra ada kamar mandi
    NEG exist room bathe
    ‘(there) weren’t (any) bathrooms’ [081025-009a-Cv.0059]

(7) tida ada air minum
    NEG exist water drink
    ‘(there) was no drinking water’ [081025-009a-Cv.0060]

(8) ketrampilang juga tra ada
    skill also NEG exist
    [About training activities for women:] ‘neither do (they) have (any) skills’
    (Lit. ‘(their) skills also don’t exist’) [081010-001-Cv.0145]

Negation of two-argument existential clauses is shown in (9) and (10). The negated clauses attested in the present corpus always express absence of possession, such as the negative possession of ana ‘child(ren)’ in (9), or air ‘water’ in (10).

Negation of two-argument existential clauses denoting possession

(9) sodara prempuang itu tida ada ana
    sibling woman D.DIST NEG exist child
    ‘that sister doesn’t have children’ [081006-024-CvEx.0005]
13.1.1.3. Negation of prepositional predicate clauses

Prepositional predicates are also negated with *tida/tra* ‘NEG’, as shown in (11) and (12) (negation of other types of nonverbal clauses is discussed in §13.1.2; for more details on nonverbal clauses see Chapter 12).

Negation of nonverbal prepositional clauses with *tida/tra* ‘NEG’

(11) saya *tida* sperti prempuang laing to?  
1 SG NEG similar.to woman be.different right?  
‘I’m not like other women, right?’ [081011-023-Cv.0173]

(12) tong *tra* ke kampung  
1 PL NEG to village  
‘we do not (go) to the village’ [080917-003a-CvEx.0048]

13.1.1.4. Negation of polar questions

In addition, *tida/tra* ‘NEG’ provide negative responses to polar questions, when negating verbal constructions, as shown in (13) and (14). Negator *tida* ‘NEG’ can stand alone as in (13), or it can occur in the negative existential phrase *tida ada* ‘no’ (literally ‘(it) doesn’t exist’). Negator *tra* ‘NEG’, by contrast, cannot stand alone; it always occurs in the negative existential phrase *tra ada* ‘no’, as in (14). (See also §13.2.2.1.)

Negator *tida/tra* ‘NEG’ in responses to polar questions

(13) Speaker-2: *tida*, dia balap  
NEG 3 SG race  
[About an accident:] [Speaker-1: ‘what did he do? (was he) drunk?’]  
Speaker-2: ‘*no*’, he was racing (his motorbike)’ [081014-013-NP.0003-0004]

(14) Speaker-2: *tra ada*, muara baru …  
NEG exist river.mouth be.new  
[Discussing the depth of a river mouth:] [Speaker-1: ‘isn’t (it) deep?’]  
Speaker-2: ‘*no*!, (this is) the new river mouth [(it’s) the old river mouth that is (deep)]’ [080927-003-Cv.0010-0011]

13.1.2. Negation with *bukang* ‘NEG’

Negator *bukang* ‘NEG’ has three functions. One function is to negate nonverbal clauses, a second one is to mark contrastive negation, and a third function is to provide negative responses to polar questions.

Nonverbal clauses are typically negated with *bukang* ‘NEG’, which always precedes the nonverbal predicate. Prepositional predicates are the exception; they
are negated with *tida'tra* ‘NEG’ (see §13.1.1.3). In (15) and (16), *bukang* ‘NEG’ negates nominal predicates, and in (17) a quantifier predicate. (Nonverbal clauses are discussed in detail in Chapter 12.)

Negation of nonverbal clauses with *bukang* ‘NEG’

(15)  
de *bukang* gembala sidang di situ  
3SG NEG pastor (church.)gathering at L.MED  
‘he’s not a congregational pastor there’ [080925-003-Cv.0032]

(16)  
sa *bukang* orang yang seraka  
1SG NEG person REL be.greedy  
‘I’m not a person who is greedy’ [080917-010-CvEx.0214]

(17)  
pisang *bukang* sedikit  
banana NEG few  
‘there (were) quite a few bananas’ (Lit. ‘the bananas (were) not few’) [080925-003-Cv.0158]

A second function of *bukang* ‘NEG’ is to express contrastive negation of an entire proposition. Contrastive negation implies an alternative in the sense of ‘the situation is not that X (but Y)’; very often the alternative is expressed overtly, but this is not obligatory. Depending on its scope, *bukang* ‘NEG’ occurs between the subject and the predicate or clause-initially. Its contrastive uses in pre-predicate position are shown with the examples in (18) to (19). Unlike *tida'ira* ‘NEG’, contrastive *bukang* ‘NEG’ also occurs clause-initially, as shown in (20) and (21).

Contrastive negation with *bukang* ‘NEG’

(18)  
mama ni *bukang* hidup deng orang-tua di kampung,  
mother D.PROX NEG live with parent at village  
mama ni hidup deng orang di luar  
mother D.PROX live with person at outside  
‘(the situation was) not (that) I (‘mother’) here lived with (my) parents in the village, (but) I (‘mother’) here lived with strangers away from home’ [081115-001b-Cv.0043]

(19)  
pernikaan ini *bukang* dari manusia, dari Tuhan to?  
marriage D.PROX NEG from human.being from God right?  
‘marriage is not from man (but) from God, right?’ [081110-006-CvEx.0239]

(20)  
*bukang* dong maing, dong taguling di pecek  
NEG 3PL play 3PL be.rolled.over at mud  
‘(the situation was) not (that) they played (football, but) they got rolled over in the mud’ [081109-001-Cv.0025]

(21)  
*bukang* dong taru ijin tapi dong taru hadir  
NEG 3PL put permission but 3PL put attend  
[About students who falsified the attendance book:] ‘(the situation is) not (that) they wrote down (their absences as) permitted (absences), but they wrote (them) down as (having) attended’ [081023-004-Cv.0018]
This function of *bukang* ‘NEG’ to signal contrastive negation has also been noted for Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 278–279), Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 59), Ternate Malay (Litamahuputty 1994: 224–225), and standard Malay and standard Indonesian (Himmelmann 2005: 127 and Kroeger 2012).

Speakers also use *bukang* ‘NEG’ in single word clauses to contradict an interlocutor’s statements. They may submit an alternative to the negated proposition as in (22), or they may reply with bare *bukang* ‘NEG’.

Contradiction of an interlocutor’s statements with *bukang* ‘NEG’

(22) Speaker-2: *bukang*, de punya pacar
    NEG 3SG POSS lover
    [Speaker-1: ‘(it was) her husband!’]
    Speaker-2: ‘*no*, (it was) her lover’ [081006-022-CvEx.0043-0045]

Finally, speakers employ *bukang* ‘NEG’ to give contrastive negative responses to polar questions, as in the elicited example in (23). This example contrasts with the one in (13) in which the speaker uses *tida* ‘NEG’ to respond to the same question as in (23). While *tida* ‘NEG’ in (13) merely negates a verbal construction, *bukang* ‘NEG’ in (23) marks contrastive negation, similar to its uses in (18) to (21). Again, speakers can add the correct response as in (23) or reply with bare *bukang* ‘NEG’.

(For more details on polar questions see §13.2.2.1.)

Contrastive uses of *bukang* ‘NEG’ in responses to polar questions

(23) Speaker-2: *bukang*, dia balap
    NEG 3SG race
    [About an accident:] [Speaker-1: ‘what did he do? (was he) drunk?’]
    Speaker-2: ‘*no!*, (it happened because) he was racing (his motorbike)’
    [Elicited MY131126.001]

13.2. Interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses serve to obtain information. More specifically, three types of interrogative clauses can be distinguished: (1) content, or information questions which are formed with interrogatives and which elicit new information (§13.2.1), (2) polar questions which elicit yes-no answers (§13.2.2), and (3) alternative questions which require the interlocutor to choose the supposedly right answer from a list of possible answers (§13.2.3). (See also Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 178–186.)

13.2.1. Content questions

Content, or information questions “involve a request for a specific piece of new information” (Kroeger 2004: 139). They are formed with interrogatives which specify “the crucial piece of new information which is required” (2004: 139). The Papuan Malay interrogatives are discussed in detail in §5.8. The description of their positions and functions within the clause entails a description of content questions. Therefore, content questions are not further discussed here.
13.2.2. Polar questions

Polar questions “[seek] a comment on the degree of truth of the questioned proposition” (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 179) in terms of a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer; hence, they are often termed yes-no questions. Papuan Malay polar questions can be unmarked and neutral (§13.2.2.1), or marked and biased (§13.2.2.2). Both sections also describe how polar questions are answered.

13.2.2.1. Unmarked neutral polar questions

Unmarked polar questions are “neutral with respect to the answer the speaker expects” (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 179). That is, neutral questions do not indicate whether speakers would like their interlocutors to answer with ‘yes’ or with ‘no’. This is illustrated with the examples in (24) to (30). Syntactically, neutral polar questions have the same structure as the corresponding declarative clauses. The only distinction between the two clause types is that polar questions are marked with the rising intonation pattern typical for interrogatives, as illustrated in (24a).

The examples also show that polar questions can express positive polarity as in (24), (25), (27), and (30), or negative polarity as in (26) and (28). A negative polar question differs “from the positive question in communicating […] that the speaker already has his own opinion, but that he is interested in getting the hearer’s reaction” (Grimes 1975: 67).

The examples in (24) to (30) also show how neutral polar questions are answered. Polar questions with positive answers are presented in (25) to (26), and those with negative answers in (27) to (28). An alternative strategy to answer polar questions is illustrated in (30).

Positive answers to polar questions are typically formed with affirmative yo ‘yes’ or the interjection mm-mm ‘mhm’. This applies to positive questions, as in (24) and (25), as well as to negative ones, as in (26). In answering, speakers may also echo part of the question and/or provide additional information, as in (24b) and (26b).

Polar questions: Positive answers

(24) a. Speaker-1: trek de isi minyak?
   truck 3SG fill oil
   Speaker-1: ‘does the truck load gasoline?’

b. Speaker-2: yo, minyak tana
   yes oil ground
   Speaker-2: ‘yes!, kerosene’ [080923-009-Cv.0037-0038]

(25) a. Speaker-1: o, Ise sakit?
   oh! Ise be.sick
   Speaker-1: ‘oh, is Ise sick?’
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b. Speaker-2: \textbf{mm-mm} mhm
Speaker-1: ‘\textit{mm!}’ [080919-006-CvNP.0030-0031]

(26) a. Speaker-1: ade hari ini ko tra skola?
ySb day D.PROX 2SG NEG go.to.school
Speaker-1: ‘younger sister, don’t you go to school today?’

b. Speaker-2: \textit{yo, sa minta ijin}
yes 1SG request permission
Speaker-2: ‘yes, I asked for a leave of absence’ (Lit. ‘request permission (to be absent from school)’) [080922-001a-CvPh.0093-0094]

Negative answers to neutral positive or negative polar questions are formed in three ways, as discussed in §13.1.1.4 and §13.1.2. Negative replies to polar questions are formed with \textit{tida} ‘NEG’ as shown in (13), repeated as (27), or with the negative existential phrase \textit{tida/tra ada} ‘(it) doesn’t exist’, as in (14), repeated as (28), when negating verbal constructions. Negative answers to polar questions are formed with \textit{bukang} ‘NEG’, as in (23), repeated as (29), when negating nonverbal constructions.

**Polar questions: Negative answers**

(27) a. Speaker-1: dia biking apa? mabuk?
3SG make what drunk
[About an accident:] Speaker-1: ‘what did he do?, (was he) drunk?’

b. Speaker-2: \textit{tida, dia balap}
NEG 3SG race
Speaker-2: ‘no!, he raced (his motorbike)’ [081014-013-NP.0003-0004]

(28) a. Speaker-1: tra dalam?
NEG inside
[Discussing the depth of a river mouth:] Speaker-1: ‘isn’t (it) deep?’

b. Speaker-2: \textit{tra ada, muara baru …}
NEG exist river.mouth be.new
Speaker-2: ‘no!, (this is) the new river mouth [(it’s) the old river mouth that is (deep)]’ [080927-003-Cv.0010-0011]

(29) a. Speaker-1: de punya paytua?
3SG POSS husband
Speaker-1: ‘(was it) her husband?’

b. Speaker-2: \textit{bukang, de punya pacar}
NEG 3SG POSS lover
Speaker-2: ‘no, (it was) her lover’ [081006-022-CvEx.0044-0045]

At times, speakers employ an alternative strategy to respond to polar questions as shown in (30). Speakers may reply to a polar question without giving an explicit
answer in the affirmative or negative. Instead they provide additional information and leave it to their interlocutor to interpret this answer as a positive or a negative reply. This is shown with the implied negative answer in (30b). When interlocutors do not know the answer, they typically reply with tida/tra taw ‘(I) don’t know’

Alternative answers to polar questions

(30)  
a. Speaker-1: di sini tra pahit?
   at L.PROX NEG be.bitter
   [Discussing various melinjo varieties] Speaker-1: ‘(the melinjo varieties) here are not bitter?’

b. Speaker-2: Ø Jayapura pu pahit
   Jayapura POSS bitter
   Speaker-2: ‘(no!, the ones from) Jayapura are bitter’ [080923-004-Cv.0011-0012]

13.2.2.2. Marked biased polar questions

Marked polar questions are those which convey a bias towards the expected answer, hence “biased” questions (Moravcsik 1971 in Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 180). Biased questions allow speakers “to express […] belief that a particular answer is likely to be correct and to request assurance that this belief is true” (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 180). Positively biased questions signal that the speaker is in favor of a positive answer, while negatively biased questions indicate that the speaker expects a negative answer. This is illustrated with the biased questions in (31) to (35). While the present corpus contains both types of questions, positively biased ones, as in (31) to (33), occur much more often than negatively biased ones, as in (34) or (35).

Biased questions are usually formed with the tags to ‘right?’ or e ‘eh?’.

Prosodically, biased questions are marked with a rising pitch on the tag. The examples in (31a) and (32a) show positive bias, while (34a) and (35a) show negative bias, using the negator tida/tra ‘NEG’ (see §5.14.1 for more details concerning the semantics of both tags). Less often, a positive bias is marked with affirmative yo ‘yes’ as in (33a). Answers to biased polar questions follow the same patterns as answers to unbiased ones, as discussed in §13.2.2.1.

Positively biased polar questions

(31)  
a. Speaker-1: yang dekat ada rumah to?
   REL near exist house right?
   [Asking about a certain tree:] Speaker-1: ‘(the one that’s) close by (where) the houses are, right?’

b. Speaker-2: mm-mm, rumah di pante
   mhm house at coast
   Speaker-2: ‘mhm, the houses along the beach’ [080917-009-CvEx.0012-0013]
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(32) a. Speaker-1: o, skarang orang su daftar e?
   oh! now person already enroll eh
   [About local elections:] Speaker-1: ‘oh, now people already (started) enrolling, eh?’

   Speaker-2: yo, tu sa pu urusang
   yes D.DIST 1SG POSS affairs
   Speaker-2: ‘yes!, that’s my responsibility’ [081005-001-Cv.0031-0032]

   Speaker-1: jadi itu nomor rekening itu
   so D.DIST number bank.account D.DIST
   pace Natanael punya yo?
   man Natanael POSS yes
   Speaker-1: ‘so, what’s-its-name, that bank account number is Mr. Natanael’s, yes?’

   Speaker-2: yo, bukang sa punya
   yes NEG 1 SG POSS
   Speaker-2: ‘(yes!),(it’s) not mine’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0078-0079]

   Speaker-2: ko tra taw sa skola dari mana to?
   2SG NEG know 1SG school from where right?
   Speaker-1: ‘you don’t know from which school I am, right?’

   Speaker-2: ø sa tida taw ((laughter))
   1SG NEG know
   Speaker-2: ‘(yes!), I don’t know! ((laughter))’ [080922-003-Cv.0031-0032]

   Speaker-1: tida di Beneraf e?
   NEG at Beneraf eh
   Speaker-1: ‘(they) aren’t in Beneraf, eh?’

   Speaker-2: mm-mm
   mhm
   Speaker-2: ‘mhm!’ [080925-003-Cv.0173-0174]

13.2.3. Alternative questions

Alternative questions, like polar questions, inquire about the “degree of truth of the questioned proposition” (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 179). Unlike polar questions, however, they “provide a list from which, the speaker suggests, the right answer might be drawn”; this list may contain a number of different “mutually exclusive” alternatives or it may “consist only of a proposition and its negation” (1985: 179).
In Papuan Malay, alternative questions are formed with the alternative-marking disjunctive *ka* ‘or’ (see also §14.2.2.2), as shown in (36) to (41). The alternatives can be overtly listed as in (36) or (37), in which case they are linked with post-posed *ka* ‘or’. The question can also contain just one “proposition and its negation”, as in (38) or (39), in which case the proposition is marked with *ka* ‘or’ followed by negator *tida* ‘NEG’. Rather often, though, the negator is omitted, as in (40) or (41).

(36) bapa pake kartu apa ka? AS ka? Simpati ka?
father use card what or AS or Simpati or
‘you (‘father’) use what (kind of SIM) card? AS or Simpati?’ [081014-016-Cv.0012]

(37) sa tu biasa bilang sama ana~ana di skola,
1SG D.DIST be.usual say with RDP~child at school
sala ka? benar ka?
be.wrong or be.true or
‘I (EMPH) usually ask the kids in school, (is this) right or wrong?’ [081014-015-Cv.0029]

(38) kira~kira bisa kenal bapa ka tida?
RDP~think be.capable know father or NEG
‘do you think you can recognize me (‘father’) or not?’ [080922-001a-CvPh.1301]

(39) mama Rahab ada datang ke ruma ka tida?
mother Rahab exist come to house or NEG
‘did mother Rahab come (EMPH) to the house or not?’ [081110-003-Cv.0001]

(40) de su datang ka?
3SG already come or
‘did he already come or (not)?’ [080925-003-Cv.0138]

(41) ko ada karet ka?
2SG exist rubber or
‘do you have rubber bands or (not)?’ [081110-004-Cv.0008]

### 13.3. Directive clauses

Directive clauses include imperatives and hortatives (§13.3.1), permissions and obligations (§13.3.2), and prohibitives (§13.3.3). They are used with any kind of predicate.

#### 13.3.1. Imperatives and adhortatives

Imperatives and hortatives express, following van der Auwera et al. (2011: 1), “a wish of the speaker about a future state of affairs” by conveying “an appeal to the addressee(s) to help make the future state of affairs true”. In imperatives, “the person in control of the desired state of affairs is the addressee or addressees” (2011: 1); hence, imperatives always involve the second person, as illustrated in (42) to
In hortatives, by contrast, any person other than the addressee is “in control of the desired state of affairs” (2011: 1); hence, hortatives involve first and third persons, as shown in (47) to (51).

Imperative constructions have syntactically the same structure as declarative clauses with a second person subject, as shown in (42) and (43). The clauses in (42a) and (43a) are formed with second singular ko ‘2SG’ subjects. Depending on the context they can receive a declarative or an imperative reading. It is also possible to omit the addressee, as demonstrated in (42b) and (43b). Single word imperatives, as in (42b), are rare, however. (The uses of suda ‘already’ in directive clauses as in (43b) are discussed together with the examples in (54) and (55).)

Imperatives: Syntactic structure as declarative clauses

(42) a. ko bangung  
2SG wake.up  
‘you woke up’

b. e bangung! 
hey! wake.up  
‘hey, wake up!’

(43) a. ko pulang  
2SG go.home  
‘you went home’

b. pulang suda! 
go.home already  
‘go home already!’

More examples of imperatives clauses are presented in (44) to (46), with second person singular addressees in (44) and (46), and second person plural addressees in (45). These examples also illustrate that imperatives are formed with trivalent verbs, as in (44), bivalent verbs as in (45), or monovalent verbs, such as stative diam ‘be quiet’ in (46); see also monovalent dynamic pulang ‘go home’ in (43).

Imperatives formed with tri-, bi-, and monovalent verbs

(44) ko ambil sa air! 
2SG fetch 1SG water  
‘you fetch me water!’ [081006-024-CvEx.0092]

(45) … trus kam dua cuci celana di situ! 
next 2PL two wash trousers at L.MED  
[A mother addressing her young sons:] ‘[hey, you two go bathe in the sea already!], then you two wash (your) trousers there!’ [080917-006-CvHt.0007]

(46) ko jangang bicara lagi, ko diam! 
2SG NEG.IMP speak again 2SG be.quiet  
‘you don’t talk again!, you be quiet!’ [081029-004-Cv.0072]

Hortatives are typically expressed with clause-initial biar ‘let, allow’. It exorts the addressee to let or allow the desired future state of affairs come true, as illustrated in (47) to (50).

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Documentation: bangung ‘wake up’ 081006-022-CvEx.0081, 080918-001-CvNP.0038; pulang ‘go home’ 081006-025-CvEx.0013, 081006-007-Cv.0001.
Hortatives with clause-initial biar ‘let, allow’

47) kalonanti tong maing biarsa cadangang!
if very soon 1PL play let 1SG reserve
‘later when we play (volleyball), let me be a reserve!’ [081109-001-Cv.0154]

48) biartong tinggal disitu!
let 1PL stay at L.MED
‘let us live there!’ [081110-008-CvNP.0091]

49) yo, biarde juga liat sa!
yes let 3SG also see 1SG
‘yes, let her also see me!’ [081015-005-NP.0013]

50) biar dong ejek~ejek bapa!, tida apa~apa to?
let 3PL RDP~mock father NEG RDP~what right?
‘let them mock me (‘father’)! , it doesn’t matter, right?’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0180]

First person plural hortatives can also be formed without biar ‘let, allow’, as shown in (51). In this case, the context shows whether the utterance is a hortative such as the first kitong dua pulang ‘(let) the two of us go home!’ token, or a declarative such as the second occurrence of kitong dua pulang ‘the two of us went home’.

First person plural hortatives without clause-initial biar ‘let, allow’

51) diabilang, Økitong dua pulang! trus kitong dua pulang
3SG say 1PL two go.home next 1PL two go.home
‘he said, (let) the two of us go home!’ … then the two of us went home’ [081015-005-NP.0035]

Papuan Malay also uses a number of strategies to strengthen or soften commands. Strengthening is illustrated in (52) to (55) and softening in (56) to (61).

Speakers can add ayo ‘come on’ or suda ‘already’ to commands or requests to make them more urgent and to strengthen them. Urgency-marking ayo ‘come on’ can occur clause-initially, as in the imperative in (52) and in the hortative in (53), or clause-finally, also in (52); ayo ‘come on!’ does not occur in hortatives with third persons. Urgency-marking suda ‘already’, by contrast, always takes a post-predicate position as in the imperative in (54) and the hortative in (55).

Strengthening commands with ayo ‘come on’ or suda ‘already’

52) ayo, jalang ke lse!, ayo!
come.on! walk to lse come.on!
‘come on!, go to lse, come on!’ [080917-008-NP.0065]

53) ayo, kitong dua jalang cepat!, kitong dua jalang cepat!
come.on! 1PL two walk be.fast 1PL two walk be.fast
‘come on!, (let) the two of us walk fast!, (let) the two of us walk fast!’ [081015-005-NP.0037]
Negative, interrogative, and directive clauses

(54) ey, kam dua pi mandi di laut suda!
   hey! 2PL two go bathe at sea already
   ‘hey, you two go bathe in the sea already!’ [080917-006-CvHt.0007]

(55) ana kecil biar dong makang suda!
   child be.small let 3PL eat just
   ‘(as for the small children, let them eat already!’ [081002-001-CvNP.0051]

Requests or commands can be softened by adding clause-initial *coba* ‘try’ as in (56), *mari* ‘hither, (come) here’ as in (57), or *tolong* ‘please’ (literally ‘help’), as in (58). This applies most often to imperatives, as in (56) and (58), and less often to hortatives, as in (57).

Softening commands with clause-initial *coba* ‘try’, *mari* ‘hither, (come) here’, or *tolong* ‘help’

(56) sa bilang, coba ko tanya dorang!
   1SG say try 2SG ask 3PL
   ‘I said, ‘try asking them!’ [081025-008-Cv.0076]

(57) a, mari kitong turung olaraga!
   ah! hither 1PL descend do.sports
   ‘ah, come, (let) us go down (to the beach) to do sports!’ [080917-001-CvNP.0003]

(58) tolong ceritra tu plang–plang!
   help tell D.DIST RDP~be.slow
   [Addressing another adult:] ‘please, talk slowly!’ [081015-005-NP.0015]

Requests or commands can also be mitigated by adding in post-predicate position the temporal adverb *dulu* ‘for now’ (literally ‘be prior’), as in (59), the focus adverb *saja* ‘just’ as in (60), or clause-final tag *e* ‘eh?’, as in (61). (For more details on adverbs see §5.4 and on tags see §5.14.1.)

Softening commands with clause-final *dulu* ‘for now’, *saja* ‘just’, or *e* ‘eh’

(59) sabar dulu!, sabar dulu!
   be.patient be.prior be.patient be.prior
   ‘be patient for now!, be patient for now!’ [080921-004b-CvNP.0051]

(60) sa blang, jalang saja!
   1PL say walk just
   ‘I said, ‘just walk!’’ [080917-008-NP.0117]

(61) ko kasi sama kaka mantri e?!
   2SG give to oSb male.nurse eh
   ‘give (the keys) to the male nurse, eh?!’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0167]
13.3.2. Permissions and obligations

Permissions are expressed with the auxiliary verb *bole* ‘may’, as illustrated in (62) to (65), while obligations are formed with the auxiliary verb *harus* ‘have to’, as shown in (66) and (67).

Permission-marking *bole* ‘may’ most often occurs in single-word clauses, following a clause which depicts the permitted event or state, as in (62) or (63). Less often, *bole* ‘may’ occurs between the subject and the predicate, as in (64). Only rarely, *bole* ‘may’ occurs clause-initially, where it has scope over the entire clause, as (65).

Permissions with *bole* ‘may’

(62) kamu mo pacar, *bole* 2PL want lover date
[Addressing teenagers:] ‘(if) you want to date (someone) you may / are allowed to (do so)’ [081011-023-Cv.0269]

(63) ko mancing dari jembatang, *bole* 2SG fish from bridge may
[Addressing her son:] ‘(if) you’re fishing from the bridge, (you) may (do so) / are allowed to (fish)’ [081025-003-Cv.0058]

(64) setiap kegiatan apa saja dorang *bole* kerja every activity what just 3PL may work
‘whatever activity, they may / are allowed to carry (it) out’ [080923-007-Cv.0013]

(65) … kalo tinggal di Arbais, *bole* ko tokok sama-sama if stay at Arbais may 2SG tap RDP~be.same dengan oSb
[my husband said, ‘(here in my village) don’t extract and crush the sago, you just knead and filter it,] when you’re staying in Arbais, (it is) allowed (that) you (extract and) crush (the sago) together with (your) older sibling’ [081014-007-CvEx.0058]

Obligation-marking *harus* ‘have to’ typically takes a pre-predicate position, as in (66). Alternatively, *harus* ‘have to’ can occur clause-initially, where it has scope over the entire clause and reinforces the obligation, as in (67).

Obligations with *harus* ‘have to’

(66) besok pagi saya *harus* cari batrey, sa *harus* tomorrow morning 1SG have.to search battery 1SG have.to bli pecis, sa *harus* ambil senter buy light.bulb 1SG have.to fetch flashlight
[Getting ready for hunting:] ‘tomorrow morning I have to get batteries, I have to buy small light bulbs, I have to take a flashlight’ [080919-004-NP.0003]
Negative, interrogative, and directive clauses

(67) **harus** kitong baik deng orang
    have.to /PL be.good with person
    “we have to (EMPH) be / (it’s) obligatory (that) we are good to (other) people’ [081110-008-CvNP.0166]

13.3.3. **Prohibitives**

In employing prohibitives, speakers “prohibit the addressee from doing something” (Bussmann 1996: 952). Papuan Malay prohibitives are typically formed with the negative imperative **jangang** ‘NEG.IMP, don’t’, as illustrated in (68) to (71). The typical strategy to soften a prohibitive is demonstrated in (73) to (77). Quite often, **jangang** ‘NEG.IMP’ is shortened to **jang**.

Negative imperative **jangang** ‘NEG.IMP’ signals a straight-out prohibitive. It occurs between the subject and the predicate, as in (68) and (69), or clause-initially where it has scope over the entire clause and reinforces the prohibitive, as in (70) and (71).

Prohibitives with **jangang** ‘NEG.IMP’

(68) Wili ko **jangang** gara-gara tanta dia itu!
    Wili 2 SG NEG.IMP RDP~irritate aunt 3 SG D.DIST
    [Addressing a young boy:] ‘you Wili **don’t** irritate that aunt!’ [081023-001-Cv.0038]

(69) kamorang **jangang** pukul dia!
    2 PL NEG.IMP hit 3 SG
    ‘**don’t** beat him!’ [081015-005-NP.0024]

(70) **jangang** ko pergi!
    NEG.IMP 2 SG go
    ‘**don’t** you go!’ [081025-006-Cv.0194]

(71) Klara, **jangang** ko gara-gara dia!
    Klara NEG.IMP 2 SG RDP~irritate 3 SG
    ‘Klara, **don’t** you irritate him!’ [080917-003b-CvEx.0027]

In addition, speakers employ **jangang** ‘NEG.IMP’ as a response to the prohibitive in the sense of ‘(I would) never (do such a thing)’ as in (72).

Responses to prohibitives with **jangang** ‘NEG.IMP’

(72) … a, **jangang!** sa tida bisa buang takaroang
    ah NEG.IMP 1 SG NEG be.able discard be.chaotic
    ‘[he said (to me), ‘**don’t** throw away (your betel nut waste)’, (I said),] ‘ah **never**! I can’t throw it away randomly’’ [081025-008-Cv.0012]

Prohibitives can be softened by employing **tida/tra bole** ‘shouldn’t’ (literally ‘may not’). Most often, **tida/tra bole** ‘may not’ occurs between the subject and the predicate, as in (73) and (74). Alternatively, although rarely, it occurs clause-initially, where it has scope over the entire clause, as in (75). Speakers can also use **tida/tra bole** ‘may not’ as stand-alone clauses, which refer back to the speakers’ own
or their interlocutors’ preceding statements about a state of affairs, as in (76) and (77), respectively.

Prohibitives with *tida/tra bole* ‘may not’

(73) *sa tida bole di depang!, saya harus di blakang skali*  
1SG NEG may at front 1SG have.to at backside very  
‘I shouldn’t be in front, I had to stay in the very back’ [081029-005-Cv.0133]

(74) *mama tra bole lipat!, mama harus kas panjang kaki*  
mother NEG may fold mother have.to give be.long foot  
[Addressing someone with a bad knee:] ‘you (‘mother’) shouldn’t fold (your legs) under, you (‘mother’) have to stretch out (your) legs’ [080921-004a-CvNP.0069]

(75) *tida bole ko ceritra orang!*  
NEG may 2SG tell person  
‘you should not (EMPH) tell other people’ [081110-008-CvNP.0072]

(76) … *bunga~bunga suda habis, tida bole!*  
RDP~flower already be.used.up NEG may  
[Addressing a child who had picked the speaker’s flowers:] ‘[(the flowers) over there (you) already picked (them) until (they were) all gone,] the flowers are already gone, (you) shouldn’t (have done that)’ [081006-021-CvHt.0001]

(77) *Speaker-2: a, tida bole!*  
ah! NEG may  
[About membership in a committee:] [Speaker-1: ‘the two of them are the committee’]  
Speaker-2: ‘ah, (that) shouldn’t be!’ [080917-002-Cv.0015-0016]