

External negation in Malay/Indonesian

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Abstract

Two distinct negation markers compete in verbal clauses. I argue that one (also used to negate nominal predicates) is a marker of ‘external’ (sentential) negation, while the other is a marker of ‘internal’ (predicate) negation. This contrast is demonstrated by striking differences in syntactic distribution and scopal properties. In verbal clauses the marker of predicate negation is the default, while the marker of sentential negation is allowed only in certain pragmatically determined contexts. These contexts include: (a) contrastive sentences; (b) marked narrow focus; and (c) metalinguistic negation. External negation in Malay is restricted to ‘root clauses’; I suggest that this is due to its echoic character.

1 Negation in verbal clauses

A number of authors, including Gazdar 1979:65–66, Levinson 1983:201, and Horn 1989:366, have stated that no language, so far as we know, lexicalizes the distinction between external vs. internal negation.¹ In this paper I argue, on the basis of syntactic distribution and semantic scope, that the contrast is lexicalized in Malay/Indonesian.² I also present evidence showing that external negation in Malay is a Main Clause Phenomenon in the sense of Green 1976.

We begin with a long-standing descriptive puzzle in Malay grammar concerning the choice of negation marker in verbal clauses. Malay employs two different markers for clausal negation.³ The standard negation marker *tidak* is used when the predicate is verbal (1a) or adjectival (1b), and with most predicative PPs (1c). The special negation marker *bukan* is used when the predicate is nominal as in 1d. However, in certain kinds of contexts *bukan* can also be used to negate verbal clauses, as in 1e. The puzzle is, how should these contexts be characterized?

- (1) a. Mereka *tidak* menolong kami.
 3pl NEG help 1pl.EXCL
 ‘They didn’t help us.’ [Sneddon 1996:195]
- b. Saya *tidak* lapar.
 1sg NEG hungry
 ‘I am not hungry.’ [Sudaryono 1993:88]
- c. Penelepon *tidak* perlu tahu bahwa Anda sedang *tidak* di rumah.
 telephoner not need know that you CONT not at house
 ‘Callers do not need to know that you are not at home.’ [expresi.dagdigdug.com]
- d. Dia *bukan*/**tidak* guru.
 3sg NEG teacher
 ‘She isn’t a teacher.’ [Sneddon 1996:195]

- e. Dia *bukan* tidur, tetapi ber-baring sahaja.
 3sg NEG sleep but MID-lie.down only
 ‘He is not sleeping, but only lying down.’ [Asmah 1982:145]

It is important to note that the use of *bukan* in equative clauses like 1d is absolutely obligatory; this is a purely grammatical requirement. However, the factors which license the use of *bukan* in verbal clauses seem to be largely pragmatic. In this case we are not dealing with questions of absolute (un)grammaticality, but rather with strong, context-dependent preference. For example, replacing *tidak* with *bukan* in sentence 1a would be highly unnatural in isolation, and probably unacceptable to most speakers. However, given an appropriate context (e.g. ‘They didn’t help us, on the contrary they hindered our work’), *bukan* would be possible here. I will provisionally assume that *bukan* is polysemous; in other words, I assume that the pragmatically restricted use in verbal and adjectival clauses represents a distinct sense from the pragmatically unrestricted use in equative clauses.⁴ Where it seems helpful I will use the label *bukan_V* for the former (verbal negation) sense, and *bukan_N* for the latter (nominal/equative) sense.

In this paper I argue that *tidak* is a marker of internal (predicate) negation, while *bukan_V* is a marker of external (sentential) negation (Lyons 1977:769; Horn 1989, ch. 7).⁵ I present a variety of evidence supporting this claim, including differences in syntactic distribution and semantic scope. I begin in section 2 with a review of previous descriptions of the function of *bukan* in verbal clauses. Most of this work identifies *bukan_V* as a marker of contrastive negation. I then identify and illustrate two additional contexts where *bukan_V* is used. Section 3 shows that *bukan_V* is strongly favored in cases of METALINGUISTIC negation in the sense of Horn 1985, 1989, for example: *I’m not hungry, I’m starving*. Section 4 shows that *bukan_V* is also licensed when a marked narrow focus (= constituent focus) interpretation is intended. I argue that the use of *bukan_V* in narrow focus contexts is part of a more general tendency: Indonesian speakers compensate for the lack of focal stress in the language by using syntactic strategies to indicate narrow focus.

Section 5 discusses the syntactic and semantic properties of *tidak*, showing that *tidak* is tightly integrated into the auxiliary system. A tentative phrase structure analysis is proposed which accounts for the observed distributional facts. In section 6 I defend the claim that *bukan_V* functions as a sentential operator, based on its syntactic and semantic properties, which are strikingly different from those of *tidak*. I show that the syntactic distribution of *bukan_V* matches a

familiar pattern associated cross-linguistically with Main Clause Phenomena (MCP), a.k.a. ‘root phenomena’.

A variety of pragmatic explanations have been proposed to explain the distribution of MCP, most of them involving a requirement for ‘illocutionary independence’ in some sense. Many of these phenomena in various languages have been analyzed as illocutionary modifiers, which do not contribute to the propositional content of the utterance. I argue that this is true for the metalinguistic use of *bukan_V* as well, but that in its other uses *bukan_V* does contribute to propositional content. Following a proposal by Haegeman 2006, I suggest that the restriction of external negation to ‘root clauses’ is motivated by the fact that the various uses of *bukan_V* all involve the negation of ECHOIC material, that is, to contradict what someone else has said or thought (Carston 1996); and that echoic use is only possible in contexts which have a sufficient degree of illocutionary independence.

2 Previous descriptions of *bukan* in verbal clauses

Most authors who discuss this issue describe the contexts in which *bukan* is licensed in verbal clauses as ‘contrastive’. Many of them point out that a verbal clause negated with *bukan* seems to express a contradiction of a previous statement or assumption. One of the clearest descriptions comes from Lewis 1947:104–5:

Tidak negatives the whole statement. It merely denies it, without implying the contradiction of an opposite statement or thought... *Bukan* ... implies a contradiction of, or an alternative to, a previous statement, question or thought. It is essentially emphatic.⁶

A similar intuition is expressed by Mashudi 1981:109, who says that ‘*tidak* ... merely denies what is following it; *bukan*, which also occurs before a verbal, not only denies what is following but also suggests the opposite.’

Asmah 1982:145 seems to say that *bukan* can only be used to negate verbs or adjectives in coordinate clauses containing a contrastive conjunction such as *tetapi* ‘but’, like sentence 1e. This may in fact be the most common context where *bukan* is used with verbs or adjectives, but it is not the only context. Sneddon 1996:195 notes the same tendency, but also observes that the corrective or contradicting statement need not be made explicit. He says that when *bukan* negates a verb or adjective, ‘it is emphatic, implying that a contradictory statement could follow,’ as in 2a. He also points out that contrastive coordination does not necessarily require the use of *bukan*:

‘If emphasis is absent *bukan* can be replaced by *tidak*’ (1996:349). An example is given in 2b, but we should note that the use of *tidak* in this context seems to be fairly uncommon.

- (2) a. Dia *bukan* bodoh(, melainkan malas saja).
 3sg NEG stupid on.the.contrary lazy only
 ‘He’s not stupid (but just lazy).’ [Sneddon 1996:195-6]
- b. Kami *tidak* pergi ke Solo, melainkan ke Yogya.
 1pl.EXCL NEG go to Solo on.the.contrary to Yogya
 ‘We didn’t go to Solo but to Yogya (=Jogjakarta).’ [Sneddon 1996:349]

Sudaryono 1993:41–2 describes the use of *bukan* to negate verbal clauses as being ‘context-dependent’ (*terikat konteks*). In isolation, he seems to regard sentences like 3a as being grammatical but highly unnatural. In a context which does not have the relevant pragmatic properties, such as 3b, *bukan* becomes totally unacceptable. Sudaryono describes *tidak*, on the other hand, as being ‘context-independent’ (*bebas konteks*), meaning that no special context is required for sentences like 1a to be judged fully acceptable. However, he goes on to show that there are certain syntactic patterns in which the use of *bukan* is obligatory. Either *tidak* or *bukan* can be used in co-ordinate clauses containing a contrastive conjunction, like sentences 1e and 3c. Only *bukan* is possible, however, when the contrasting clauses are simply juxtaposed (with or without elipsis), as in 3d-f and 4.

- (3) a. ?Saya *bukan* membeli buku.
 1sg NEG buy book
 ‘I didn’t buy a book.’ [Sudaryono 1993:41]
- b. Amir *tidak/*bukan* membeli buku, walaupun dia punya uang.
 Amir NEG buy book although 3sg have money
 ‘Amir didn’t buy a book, even though he had the money.’ [Sudaryono 1993:44]
- c. Saya *tidak/bukan* membeli buku, tetapi saya membeli pensil.
 1sg NEG buy book but 1sg buy pencil
 ‘I didn’t buy a book, but I bought a pencil.’ [Sudaryono 1993:42]
- d. Saya *bukan/*tidak* membeli buku, saya membeli pensil.
 1sg NEG buy book 1sg buy pencil
 ‘I didn’t buy a book, I bought a pencil.’
 or: ‘I will not buy a book, I will buy a pencil.’ [Sudaryono 1993:44]
- e. Saya membeli pensil, *bukan/*tidak* membeli buku.
 1sg buy pencil NEG buy book
 ‘I bought a pencil, not a book.’
 or: ‘I will buy a pencil, not buy a book.’ [Sudaryono 1993:44]

- f. Dia pergi ke hulu, *bukan/*tidak* ke kuala.
 3sg go to upstream NEG to river.mouth
 ‘He went upstream, not to the mouth of the river.’ [adapted from Asmah 1982:145]

- (4) Dia *bukan* memanggil nama ibu=nya Suryo, dia menyebut nama laki-laki.
 ‘She did not call the name of Suryo’s mother, she said the name of a man.’
 [Story at Yogyakarta — by Nurul F Huda & Sinta Sari. Bandung: DAR! Mizan Publishing House, 2003.
 viewed on Google Books]

3 Metalinguistic negation

In example 5 the word *bukan* cannot be interpreted as expressing normal, logical negation, as this would make the sentence as a whole contradictory: if a word does not have one meaning, it cannot have more than one. What is being negated here is not the propositional content of the corresponding positive sentence, but rather a generalized conversational implicature (namely that ‘one’ means ‘only one’). In other words, *bukan* in this context seems to be functioning as a pragmatic, rather than a purely semantic, operator. Negation that takes scope over the pragmatic rather than the semantic content of an utterance is often referred to as METALINGUISTIC negation, following Horn 1985, 1989. Metalinguistic negation in Indonesian is almost always marked with *bukan* rather than *tidak*.

- (5) ...ulamak bahasa telah mendapati makna lafaz *istiwak*
 scholar language PAST discover meaning word *istiwak*
bukan mempunyai satu makna, bahkan lebih.
 not have one meaning on.contrary more
 ‘... scholars of (Arabic) language have determined that the word *istiwak* does not have one meaning, but more.’ [http://mohdzaki.blogspot.com/2008_09_01_archive.html]

3.1 Metalinguistic negation in English

Horn 1985, 1989, building on Grice 1967 and Ducrot 1972, argues that negation can be used in two ways: (a) to deny the TRUTH of a proposition (= ‘descriptive’ or logical negation); and (b) to deny the (felicitous) ASSERTABILITY of an utterance (= METALINGUISTIC negation). Thus metalinguistic negation is an illocutionary operator, modifying the utterance as a whole. Some examples of metalinguistic negation in English are presented in 6:

- (6) a. It’s not a car, it’s a Volkswagen. [VW commercial; Horn 1989:362]
 b. I am not ‘indisposed’, I’m sick.
 c. I’m not *hungry*, I’m *starving*.
 d. That (1983) wasn’t a *bad* year, it was *horrible*. [Reggie Jackson; Horn 1989:382]

Horn 1989:402 notes that ‘metalinguistic uses of negation tend to occur in contrastive environments’, as illustrated in 6. They frequently seem to express a contradiction of a previous statement or assumption, whether explicit or implicit. Metalinguistic negation is generally marked by ‘the peculiar intonation indicative of contradiction’ (Jespersen 1933), often involving focal stress on the specific item that is being rejected or denied; and the negated clause is typically followed by a correction or ‘rectification.’ Karttunen & Peters 1979:46–47 make similar observations about the pattern they refer to as ‘contradiction negation’:

Negative sentences of the sort in [6] have a special function in discourse. They contradict something that the addressee has just said, implied, or implicitly accepted. One indication of their role is that they tend to be produced with a distinctive intonation contour (Lieberman & Sag 1974). Another characteristic property of this kind of negation is that it does not affect the distribution of polarity items ...⁷

In all the metalinguistic examples in 6, the negative clause and its rectification are joined in an unmarked co-ordinate structure (parataxis). Metalinguistic negation is also possible under ellipsis (7d). But full clausal co-ordination with an overt conjunction seems to resist a metalinguistic interpretation, as illustrated in 7b-c. This pattern is reminiscent of the Malay facts presented in 3c-f.

- (7)
- | | |
|--|---------------------------|
| a. John has five children, in fact he has eight. | |
| b. John doesn’t have <i>five</i> children, (*but) he has <i>eight</i> . | [metalinguistic negation] |
| c. John doesn’t have <i>five</i> children, but he does have two/* <i>eight</i> . | [descriptive negation] |
| d. John doesn’t have <i>five</i> children but <i>eight</i> . | [metalinguistic negation] |

McCawley 1991 claims that Horn 1989 failed to adequately distinguish metalinguistic negation from contrastive negation. He points out that not all contrastive examples, including paratactic and elliptical structures like 7b,d, are metalinguistic; many involve ‘normal’ descriptive/logical negation, as illustrated in 8. One distinctive property of metalinguistic negation is that it often produces a logical contradiction when interpreted descriptively. This is not the case with the examples in 8. Another diagnostic applies specifically to metalinguistic negation involving scalar implicatures, like the examples in 7b,d. In such cases the predicates of the two clauses are often irreversible (using the same intonation), as illustrated in 9. Simple contrastive (non-metalinguistic) negation does not have this property, as illustrated in 10.

(8) **contrastive negation which is not metalinguistic** (McCawley 1991:190–91)

- a. John didn't drink coffee, he drank tea.
- b. I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him.
- c. John drank tea, not coffee.
- d. John drank not coffee but tea.

(9) **metalinguistic negation involving scalar implicatures:**

- a. He is not *poor*, he's *destitute*.
- b. ??He is not *destitute*, he's *poor*.
(cf. He is not *destitute*, but he is poor. [descriptive negation])

(10) **contrastive negation (not metalinguistic):**

- a. John didn't drink *coffee*, he drank *tea*.
- b. John didn't drink *tea*, he drank *coffee*.
- c. John doesn't drive a *Ford*, he drives a *Mazda*.
- d. John doesn't drive a *Mazda*, he drives a *Ford*.

Horn 1989:379–81 points out several other examples of logical operators which, like negation, have both a descriptive and a metalinguistic usage. The conditional clauses in 11a–c are not part of the propositional content that is being asserted. Rather, they are being used as ILLOCUTIONARY MODIFIERS, providing information about the felicity conditions (e.g. relevance) for the statement that is being made in the main clause.⁸ Example 11d, on the other hand, involves a descriptive/logical use of the conditional, which is part of the propositional content being asserted. Only this example allows the insertion of *then*.

- (11) a. There are biscuits on the sideboard if you want them. [Austin 1956]
- b. If you are interested, (*then) there is a good documentary on PBS tonight.
- c. If I may say so, (*then) you are not looking good.
- d. If you fail this course (then) you will not graduate.

Sweetser 1990:76–78 discusses three uses of *because*, illustrated in 12. The reason clause in 12a is part of the propositional content that is being asserted. Those in 12b–c, on the other hand, are illocutionary modifiers, providing information about the felicity conditions (evidentiary basis or relevance) for the utterance expressed in the main clause. These constructions illustrate the kind of pragmatic ambiguity that Horn suggests is expressed in metalinguistic negation.

- (12) a. John came back because he loved her. [content domain]
- b. John loved her, because he came back. [epistemic domain]
- c. What are you doing tonight, because there's a good movie on. [speech act domain]

3.2 Metalinguistic negation in Malay/Indonesian

As mentioned above, naturally occurring instances of metalinguistic negation in Malay almost always involve *bukan* rather than *tidak*, as illustrated in the following examples. In examples 13

and 14, replacing *bukan* with *tidak* forces a shift from metalinguistic to descriptive negation, resulting in a logical contradiction: a person cannot buy six of something if he does not buy one, and a person cannot grow flowers for a living without planting flowers. Examples 15–17 must also be interpreted as metalinguistic negation, to avoid logical contradiction.

- (13) a. Aku *bukan* beli satu tau, aku beli 6 buah sekaligus!
 1sg NEG buy one know 1sg buy six CLASS at.once
 ‘I didn’t buy one, you know, I bought six at one time!’
 [blog.penyubiru.com/2008/11/aku-sudah-beli-kereta-baru.html]
- b. #Aku *tidak* beli satu, aku beli 6 buah.
- (14) a. Dia *bukan* menanam⁹ kembang tetapi ber-tanam kembang.
 3sg NEG AV.plant flower but MID-plant flower
 ‘He doesn’t (just) plant flowers but grows flowers (for a living).’ [Amran Halim 1981:62]
- b. #Dia *tidak* menanam kembang tetapi bertanam kembang.
- (15) Perdana Menteri *bukan* mempunyai satu atau dua mata tetapi mempunyai beribu-ribu mata...
 ‘The Prime Minister does not have one or two eyes but has thousands of eyes...’
 [http://www1.bharian.com.my/Current_News/Pilihanraya08/news/artikel/20080218125604/...]
- (16) John 12:44 (TB)
 Barangsiapa percaya kepada=Ku, ia *bukan* percaya kepada=Ku, tetapi kepada Dia, yang telah mengutus Aku.
 ‘Whoever believes in me, he does not believe in me, but in Him that has sent me.’
- (17) (arguing for the importance of Malaysia having just one official language, and specifically against official status for Mandarin and Tamil)
 Malaysia *bukan* mempunyai tiga bahasa: Melayu, Cina dan India. Di Sarawak terdapat sepuluh lagi bahasa etnik, dan enam puluh bahasa minoriti yang tidak mampu disebutkan disini. Begitu juga di Sabah.
 ‘Malaysia does not have three languages: Malay, Chinese and Indian. In Sarawak there are ten more ethnic languages, and 60 minority languages which cannot be mentioned/listed here. The same is true in Sabah.’
 [http://hjrffar.blogspot.com/2009/03/sosialis-maxis-mungkin-sudah-menyerap.html]

3.3 Diagnostic properties of metalinguistic negation

Horn 1985, 1989 discusses several diagnostic properties of metalinguistic negation. The two best-known properties are that ‘incorporated’ negation cannot be metalinguistic, and that metalinguistic negation does not license Negative Polarity Items (NPIs). Both of these properties are true of *bukan_V*. I do not, however, claim that all uses of *bukan_V* involve metalinguistic negation;

thus the significance of these results needs to be assessed with some care. However, the patterns themselves are striking.

3.3.1 *Bukan_V* cannot be ‘incorporated’

Horn 1985:140–41; 1989:392ff. states that in English, metalinguistic negation can be expressed with the free adverbial particle *not* or the contracted form =n’t, but not with ‘incorporated’ markers of negation like the derivational prefixes *in-* and *un-*.

- (18) a. That isn’t *possible/likely*, it is *certain*.
b. *That is *impossible/unlikely*, it is *certain*.

There is a striking difference in the morphological distribution of the Malay negation markers *tidak* vs. *bukan*. *Tidak* combines productively with verbal and adjectival roots or stems to form compound stems, as illustrated in 19. The two roots in these compounds are separated by a space in the standard orthography, but they can be shown to be true compounds (and not phrases) because the compound stem can be nominalized using the circumfix *ke-X-an*, as seen in the third column of 19.

(19) compounds with *tidak*: (compiled from Sudaryono 1993:195ff. and other sources)

ROOT	NEGATIVE FORM	KE-X-AN NOMINALIZATION
<i>subur</i> ‘fertile’	<i>tidak subur</i> ‘infertile’	<i>ketidaksuburan</i> ‘infertility’;
<i>datang</i> ‘arrive’	<i>tidak datang</i> ‘not arrive’	<i>ketidakdatangan</i> ‘non-arrival’
<i>adil</i> ‘fair, just’	<i>tidak adil</i> ‘unfair’	<i>ketidakadilan</i> ‘injustice’
<i>sabar</i> ‘patient’	<i>tidak sabar</i> ‘impatient’	<i>ketidaksabaran</i> ‘impatience’
<i>terima</i> ‘accept, receive’	<i>tidak ber-terima</i> ‘not be acceptable’ (ling.)	<i>ketidakberterimaan</i> ‘unacceptability’ (= ‘ungrammaticality’??)
<i>tara</i> ‘equal’	<i>tidak se-tara</i> ‘not equal’	<i>ketidaksetaraan</i> ‘inequality’
<i>mampu</i> ‘able’	<i>tidak mampu</i> ‘unable’	<i>ketidakmampuan</i> ‘inability, disability’
<i>tahu</i> ‘know’	<i>tidak tahu</i> ‘not know’	<i>ketidaktahuan</i> ‘ignorance’
<i>wujud</i> exist’	<i>tidak wujud</i> ‘not exist’	<i>ketidakwujudan</i> ‘non-existence’

This construction is impossible with *bukan*. There are a few compounds involving *bukan*, but only in its nominal usage (*bukan logam* ‘non-metal’, *bukan Melayu* ‘non-Malay’). There are no verbal or adjectival compounds involving *bukan*, and so no *ke-X-an* nominalized compounds with *bukan*.¹⁰ We can conclude from these observations that *bukan_N* can be incorporated, whereas *bukan_V* cannot.

3.3.2 *Bukan_V* does not license Negative Polarity Items (NPIs)

Horn 1985:130; 1989:397ff. states that metalinguistic negation does not license Negative Polarity Items (NPIs). As noted above, Karttunen & Peters 1979:47 make a similar observation.

In Malay we once again find a striking contrast between *tidak* and *bukan_N*, which license NPIs, vs. *bukan_V* which does not. Negative Polarity Items such as *sama sekali* ‘at all’, *sedikitpun* ‘even a little’, *apa-apa* ‘anything’, and *siapa-siapa* ‘anyone’, occur freely with *tidak* and other negative words (ex. 20a, 21, 22a). However, they occur with *bukan* only in its nominal (equative) usage, illustrated in 22b and 23. (Example 20b is included to demonstrate that the unacceptability of *bukan* in 20a is due to the NPI, not the predicate adjective.)

- (20) a. Saya tidak/*bukan marah *sama sekali*.
 1sg NEG angry at all
 ‘I am not angry *at all*.’ [Sudaryono 1993:45–6]
- b. Saya tidak/bukan marah, melainkan hanya berpura-pura marah.
 1sg NEG angry
 ‘I am not angry, but rather just pretending to be angry.’ [Sudaryono 1993:45–6]
- (21) a. PEMERINTAH TAK(/*bukan) TERGERAK *SEDIKITPUN!*¹¹
 government NEG be.moved even.a.little
 ‘The government will not be moved *a bit!*’ (headline)
 [http://www.mail-archive.com/kmnu2000@yahoogroups.com/msg15265.html]
- b. Mereka belum¹²/*bukan beritahu saya *apa-apa* mengenai=nya...
 3pl not.yet/NEG inform 1sg anything concerning=3sg
 ‘They have not yet told me *anything* about it...’
 [www.malaysiakini.com/news/129805]
- c. Tambahan pula, ada kala=nya orang yang mendapat keputusan positif untuk [rheumatoid factor] RF *tidak/*bukan* mendapat penyakit tersebut [rheumatoid arthritis] *sama sekali*.
 ‘Furthermore, there are times when a person who has a positive test result for [rheumatoid factor] RF does not have that disease [rheumatoid arthritis] *at all*.’
 [http://www.afm.org.my/newsletter/detail.php?id=69]
- (22) a. walaupun sahabat membuka banyak negara baru melalui jalan peperangan, tidak *sama sekali* mereka merobohkan *mana-mana* gereja.
 ‘Even though the friends (of Mohammed) opened many new nations by means of warfare, they did not *at all* destroy *any* churches.’
- b. Jelasnya, tindakan sebegitu bukan *sama sekali* arahan Islam...
 ‘Clearly this kind of action is not *at all* a directive of Islam...’
 [http://www.islamictazkirah.com/hukum-hakam/islam-larang-bakar-gereja]

- (23) a. Aku *sama.sekali* bukan *siapa-siapa* ...
 1sg at.all NEG anyone
 ‘I am not *anyone at all*...’
[\[http://ngerumpi.com/baca/2010/01/18/aku-tahu-aku-bukan-siapa-siapa.html\]](http://ngerumpi.com/baca/2010/01/18/aku-tahu-aku-bukan-siapa-siapa.html)
- b. TANPA ROONEY, MU BUKAN APA-APA
 without Rooney MU NEG anything
 ‘Without Rooney, MU [Manchester United] is not *anything at all*.’ (headline)
[\[http://us.detiksport.com/sepakbola/read/2010/01/26/155424/1286418/72/tanpa-rooney-mu-bukan-apa-apa\]](http://us.detiksport.com/sepakbola/read/2010/01/26/155424/1286418/72/tanpa-rooney-mu-bukan-apa-apa)

3.3.3 Interpreting the diagnostics

Both of these tests suggest that *bukan_V* has properties associated with metalinguistic negation. However, I have rejected the claim that *bukan_V* is always a marker of metalinguistic negation. If this is correct, then it is not metalinguistic negation *per se* that prevents incorporation and licensing NPIs in Malay, but some other factor(s) correlated with metalinguistic negation. (These tests themselves have been a topic of some controversy, even for English. Various authors, including Seuren 1990, Chapman 1996, and Iwata 1998 have noted apparent counter-examples to Horn’s generalizations. However, Pitts 2011 presents a more positive assessment.)

One plausible hypothesis is that the relevant factor is the contrast between external (sentential) vs. internal (predicate) negation. Another factor that could be relevant is focus structure. Even in English, focus seems to affect the acceptability of NPIs. The unacceptable sentence in 24a becomes acceptable in a context where both the presupposition trigger (*manage*) and the NPI (*any*) get focal stress, as in 24b.¹³ Possibly the focal stress on *manage* is necessary in order for the negation to be interpreted metalinguistically, as negating the presupposition associated with *manage*. In section 4 we will examine the interaction of focus with negation in Malay in more detail.

- (24) a. *Chris didn’t manage to solve ANY of the problems — he managed to solve ALL of them. [Horn 1989:374]
- b. A: How many of those problems did you manage to solve?
 B: I didn’t MANAGE to solve ANY of the problems, I solved them all easily.

3.4 Presupposition-cancelling negation

As noted in section 1, a number of authors have stated that no language lexicalizes the distinction between external vs. internal negation. This observation is generally made in discussing the supposed ambiguity of negation in contexts like Russell’s famous example: *The King of France is not bald*. External negation is identified with the ‘presupposition-cancelling’ reading in which

this sentence is true ('It is not the case that the King of France is bald, because there is no King of France'), while internal negation is identified with the reading in which this sentence lacks a truth value because the subject NP fails to refer ('The King of France is unbald, i.e. has hair').

If I am correct that Malay/Indonesian does lexicalize this distinction, we would expect the external negation marker to be the one used for presupposition-cancelling negation. Horn 1989:489 states that felicitous presupposition-cancelling negation is typically metalinguistic in nature; thus the fact that *bukan_V* is strongly preferred in metalinguistic negation would lead us to expect that *bukan_V* should be preferred for presupposition-cancelling negation as well. However, preliminary investigation suggests that it is *tidak* rather than *bukan_V* which is preferred for presupposition-cancelling negation. This finding, which needs to be confirmed by additional research, suggests that at least some cases of presupposition-cancelling negation are distinct from metalinguistic negation.

As far as I can tell, no prior work has been done on presupposition in Malay/Indonesian.¹⁴ For this reason, there is no empirically verified inventory of presupposition triggers to work with, and no prior knowledge of how various potential triggers actually behave. In attempting to provide at least a glimpse of how presupposition-cancelling negation might work in this language, I selected one aspectual predicate (*berhenti* 'stop') and one factive verb (*menyesal* 'regret'), and simply assumed that these verbs trigger essentially the same kinds of presuppositions as their English equivalents. Obviously this procedure is not ideal, and the results must be viewed as highly tentative; however, it may not be totally unreasonable as a way to get started. Levinson & Annamalai 1992 have argued that many presuppositions are semantically motivated, and thus are preserved in translation from one language to another (specifically from English to Tamil).

The statement in the main clause of 25a, 'He has not stopped smoking', is expected to trigger the presupposition that 'he used to smoke.' The statement in main clause of 25b, 'Irwan does not regret becoming the Governor of Sumbar', is expected to trigger the presupposition that 'Irwan became the Governor of Sumbar.' Since the second clause of each sentence explicitly denies these presuppositions, the sentences are expected to be acceptable only if the negator is one that can be used for presupposition-cancelling negation.

These sentences were checked with educated speakers of Indonesian (most were linguists or linguistics students, while one was a non-linguist). Of the seven speakers who provided

judgements for sentence 25a, two speakers expressed a strong preference for *tidak* over *bukan*, four expressed a weak preference for *tidak* over *bukan*, and one found both options unacceptable. Of the six speakers who provided judgements for sentence 25b, two speakers expressed a strong preference for *tidak* over *bukan*, two expressed a weak preference for *tidak* over *bukan*, one found both options marginal, and one expressed a weak preference for *bukan* over *tidak*.¹⁵

(25) a. Dia *tidak/??bukan* berhenti merokok, karena memang tidak pernah merokok.
 3sg NEG stop smoke because indeed NEG ever smoke
 ‘He has not stopped smoking, because in fact he has never smoked.’

b. Irwan *tidak/??bukan* menyesal menjadi Gubernur Sumbar,
 (name) NEG regret become Governor Sumbar
 ‘Irwan does not regret becoming the Governor of Sumbar...’

karena sebenarnya dia belum pernah menjadi gubernur.

‘... because he has actually never been the Governor of Sumbar.’

Overall, there seems to be a clear preference for *tidak* over *bukan* in this context, an unexpected result in light of previous work. One of the speakers who expressed a clear preference for *tidak* over *bukan* in both examples volunteered that these sentences sound like jokes, and proceeded to re-state sentence 25b as a joke, as shown in 26. The dialogue in 26 contains particles and shortened forms which mark it as colloquial Indonesian. Notice that the negator chosen was *tidak* rather than *bukan*. When I showed this dialogue to other Indonesian speakers, they agreed that it sounds quite natural as a joke, and that *tidak* is the appropriate choice.

(26) (conversation between two friends)

Me: *Irwan tidak nyesal jadi gubernur...* ‘Irwan does not regret becoming the Governor’

My friend: *WHAT??*

Me: *Lah dia kan belum pernah jadi gubernur...* ‘because he has never been the Governor’

My friend: *hahaha...*

Horn 1985, 1989 has argued that presupposition-cancelling negation is normally metalinguistic in nature. We have seen that *bukan* is used for metalinguistic negation, but (based on the limited evidence available) appears to be dispreferred for presupposition-cancelling negation. This seems to suggest that at least some cases of presupposition-cancelling negation are distinct from metalinguistic negation. Clearly more research is needed before any firm conclusions can be drawn.

4 Focus in Malay/Indonesian

4.1 Negation with narrow focus

Lewis 1947 seems to recognize an association between the use of *bukan* and a restricted focus of negation ('*bukan* generally negatives one word only'). A similar hint is seen in Dreyfuss 1979 who, as part of an effort to identify characteristic properties of nouns in Indonesian, discusses briefly the choice between *tidak* vs. *bukan* in verbal clauses. He says:

A.L. Becker (p.c.) prefers to think of the difference between *tidak* and *bukan* as *tidak* is used for 'syntagmatic' negation and *bukan* for 'paradigmatic' negation. This seems to me to be right. When *bukan* is used, there is the feeling that only one from a list of possibilities is being negated; with *tidak* there is only the simple fact of something (that which follows *tidak*) being negated. [Dreyfuss 1979, p. 9, fn. 9]

The intuition that *bukan* negates 'only one from a list of possibilities' is strikingly similar to the Alternative Semantics analysis of focus (Rooth 1996), which (roughly speaking) treats focus as an indication that only one choice from a list of possible alternatives can result in a true proposition. The suggestion that the choice of *bukan* over *tidak* might be related to focus is supported by a fact which, to my knowledge, has remained unnoticed in all previous discussions of this issue. It is well known that 'contrastive' contexts like those illustrated in 1e, 2a, and 3c-f, license the choice of *bukan*. The new observation is that narrow (= constituent) focus appears to provide another context in which *bukan* can be used, even where there is no contrast stated or implied.

Some examples are provided in 27–29. In 27 the woman is clearly crying about something; the focus of the negated statement is *kamar* 'bedroom', meaning that that is not what she is crying for. In 28 the pop singer clearly wants to win some prizes, otherwise she would not be entering all those contests; the focus of negation is on the word *semua* 'all'. In 29 the focus of negation is the 2nd person pronoun in the object position, since when the king of Egypt goes out to wage war, it is presupposed that he wages war on somebody. In 30 the focus of negation is on the subordinate adverbial clause; Tengku Razaleigh is not denying that he attended a meeting of the opposition party, only rejecting one possible reason for his action.

- (27) (context: Biafra civil war, Nigeria, 1967-70; Prof. Odenigbo is building a rough shelter for himself and his mistress, Olanna; Olanna has just burst into tears)
 ‘Kita akan segera mendapatkan tempat yang lebih baik,’ kata Odenigbo. Olanna mengangguk dan tidak mengatakan kepada Odenigbo bahwa...
 ‘ “We will soon get a better place,” said Odenigbo. Olanna nodded and did not say to Odenigbo that...
 dia *bukan* menangis-i kamar mereka.
 3sg NEG weep-APPLIC room 3pl
 she was not crying for their bedroom.’
 [*Half of a Yellow Sun* by Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie (2006), translated by Rika Ifatti, published 2007, Jakarta: Hikmah]
- (28) SITI *BUKAN* HENDAK KAUT SEMUA ANUGERAH!
 Siti NEG want grab all award
 ‘Siti does not want to grab/collect all the awards!’ (headline re. Malaysian Pop singer)
 Siti *bukan* tamak atau mahu mengaut [=meraup] semua anugerah...
 ‘It is not the case that Siti is greedy or wants to collect all the awards...’
 [<http://www.simplysiti.com/2004/05/24/siti-bukan-hendak-kaut-semua-anugerah/>]
- (29) 2 Chron. 35:21a (BIS)
 Perang ini *bukan* menyangkut engkau, raja Yehuda!
 war this NEG involve you king Judah
 ‘This war does not concern you, King of Judah.’
- (30) Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, quoted in *The Malaysian Insider*, 15-Apr-2010:
 Saya *bukan* hadir perhimpunan di Kelantan itu kerana saya hendak sokong PAS...
 ‘I did not attend the meeting in Kelantan because I want to support PAS...’
 Tidak... Saya ahli UMNO.
 ‘No... I am an UMNO member.’
 [<http://www.themalaysianinsider.com/index.php/bahasa/51890-ku-li-hadir-ceramah-atas-jemputan-ngo-bukan-sokong-pas>]

It is not terribly surprising that this pattern has not been previously reported. Relevant examples are not easy to find, for at least two reasons. First, narrow focus often occurs (and is easiest to identify) in contrastive contexts, making it difficult to separate the effect of focus *per se* from the widely recognized effect of contrast. Second, as discussed below, clefts are strongly preferred as a way of expressing narrow focus; and because clefts are structurally equative clauses, they can only be negated with *bukan_N*, never with *tidak* (Kroeger 2009). The examples provided in 27–29 are fully natural but relatively uncommon, because they retain basic (non-clefted) clause structure and word order, yet clearly involve focus on a single constituent.

The pattern described here is consistent with Lambrecht’s 1994 theory of focus structure. Lambrecht states that ‘predicate focus’, in which only the topic is presupposed, is universally the

unmarked focus structure. In the typical case this means that the focus domain corresponds to VP, because subjects typically function as topics. Any other focus structure, including ‘sentence focus’ (in which nothing is presupposed) or ‘argument focus’ (=narrow/constituent focus), represents a marked choice. *Tidak*, the unmarked/default negator for verbal clauses, is used when the focus of negation corresponds to VP. *Bukan*, as a sentence operator, is used when there is marked or contrastive focus over the entire sentence. It is also strongly preferred where a marked narrow focus interpretation is required.

4.2 Expressing narrow focus in Malay/Indonesian

The use of the sentential negation marker *bukan* in contexts requiring a narrow (constituent) focus interpretation is consistent with a broader tendency in the language to prefer syntactic over purely intonational marking for narrow focus. The comparatively high frequency of clefts, focus-fronting, etc. seems to be related to a phonological fact: it appears that most varieties of Malay and Indonesian do not have focal stress, and so an *in situ* constituent cannot be marked for narrow focus using intonation alone. The result is that Malay/Indonesian exhibits a strong preference to use some kind of overt syntactic marking for narrow focus, even in contexts where no such marking would be required in languages like English or Dutch.

A number of recent studies have argued that most varieties of Malay and Indonesian do not have word-level stress, but only boundary tones (or ‘accents’) at the boundaries of intonational phrases.¹⁶ A correlate of this claim is that intonation alone (focal stress) is not used to mark narrow focus:¹⁷

Word stress information was not used by our Indonesian listeners to differentiate between words. Our results indicate that stress is communicatively irrelevant and essentially free in Indonesian. [van Zanten & van Heuven, 1998]

In unequivocal stress languages [like English and Dutch—PRK], the phrase-level accent phenomenon is tied to the word-level phenomenon of stress because an accent always aligns to the stressed syllable of the phrasal head... In languages like Indonesian, focus cannot be used to contrast between non-phrase final words... [Goedemans & van Zanten, 2007]

Whether or not this analysis is correct, there are a number of indications which suggest that an *in situ* constituent cannot normally be marked for narrow focus in Indonesian using intonation alone. For example, there are contexts where clefts or focus fronting must be used to convey

focus interpretations that would be indicated with intonation alone in languages like English. I present here several examples of such ‘overuse’ of the cleft construction.

4.2.1 Multiple foci

In English and many other languages, contrastive multiple focus can be expressed using normal word order with marked intonation, as in 31a. This does not seem to be the case for Indonesian; a cleft is normally used in these contexts, as illustrated in 31b. (A clefted constituent in Malay is obligatorily followed by the relativizer *yang*, which introduces a headless relative clause.¹⁸ In addition, the clefted constituent may optionally host the focus clitic =*lah*.)

(31) a. **English**

Why are *you* apologizing to *me*? I should be apologizing to *you*!

b. **Indonesian**

Saya yang seharusnya minta ma’af kepada kamu,
1sg REL should ask.for forgive to you

bukan kamu kepada saya.
not you to 1sg

‘I am the one who should apologize to you, not you to me.’

Translation examples like those in 32–33 provide striking evidence for the strength of this preference, because both the context and the content of the Indonesian and English versions are intended to be as similar as possible. Even a relatively literal translation like the *Terjemahan Baru*, which normally follows the syntax of the source text fairly closely, often introduces a cleft in this context as illustrated in the first clause of ex. 33.

(32) Isaiah 10:15 (BIS¹⁹)

Bukan pentung yang mengangkat orang,
not club REL lift person

melainkan orang=*lah* yang mengangkat pentung.
on.the.contrary person=FOC REL lift club

lit: ‘It is not the club that lifts the person, it is the person that lifts the club.’

English Good News Bible: A club doesn’t lift up a person; a person lifts up a club.

(33) 2 Samuel 12:23 (TB²⁰)

Aku yang akan pergi kepada=*nya*,
1sg REL FUT go to=3sg

tetapi ia tidak akan kembali kepada=ku.
 but 3sg not FUT return to=1sg
 lit: 'I am the one that will go to him, but he will not return to me.'
 (King David mourning for his infant son.)
 English RSV: I shall go to him, but he will not return to me.

4.2.2 Focus-sensitive adverbs

It is well known that adverbs like *even*, *only*, etc. are 'focus-sensitive' in a number of languages, meaning that they are interpreted as taking scope over the focused part of the sentence. In English, a shift in focal stress can significantly change the interpretation of a sentence containing one of these forms, as illustrated in 34. In the absence of focal stress, such examples are often ambiguous; but the ambiguity can be removed by adjoining the adverb to the constituent which it is intended to modify, as illustrated in 35).

- (34) a. David only wears a bow tie when TEACHING.
 b. David only wears a BOW TIE when teaching. [Beaver & Clark 2008]
- (35) a. David wears a bow tie only when teaching.
 b. David wears only a bow tie when teaching.

It appears that focal stress cannot play the same role in Indonesian. The exhaustive 'focusing adjuncts' or 'limiters' (Sneddon 1996) *hanya* (high register) and *cuma* (low register) both mean 'only'. Like their English equivalent, they may occur either pre-verbally, as in 36a and 37a, or within the constituent which they are intended to modify. In the pre-verbal position they may take scope either over the VP as a whole or over just the object NP. For example, 36a would be an appropriate answer to either: *What did they do at the night-club last night?* or: *What did they drink at the night-club last night?* Dalrymple & Mofu 2009 point out that when these 'limiters' occur within a NP, and so take narrow scope over that NP, the NP cannot remain *in situ*, as shown in 36b and 37b,d. The NP containing 'only' must be clefted, as in 36c,d and 37c,e. Once again we see a requirement of marked syntactic structure to accommodate a marked constituent focus interpretation.

- (36) exhaustive focus with *cuma* (Dalrymple & Mofu, 2009)
- a. Mereka cuma minum teh.
 3pl only drink tea
 'They only drank tea.'
- b. *Mereka minum cuma teh.
 3pl drink only tea
 (intended: 'They drank *only tea*.'

- c. *Cuma teh* yang mereka minum.
only tea REL 3pl drink
'It was *only tea* that they drank.'
- d. *Cuma mereka* yang minum teh.
only 3pl REL drink tea
'It was *only them* who drank tea.'

(37) exhaustive focus with *hanya* (Dalrymple & Mofu, 2009)

- a. *Kemarin saya hanya makan nasi.*
yesterday 1sg only eat rice
'Yesterday I only ate rice.'
- b. **Kemarin saya makan hanya nasi.*
yesterday 1sg eat only rice
(intended: 'Yesterday I ate *only rice*.'
- c. *Hanya nasi* yang kemarin saya makan.
only rice REL yesterday 1sg eat
'It was *only rice* that I ate yesterday.'
- d. **Kemarin hanya saya makan nasi.*
yesterday only 1sg eat rice
(intended: 'Yesterday *only I* ate rice.'
- e. *Kemarin hanya saya yang makan nasi.*
yesterday only 1sg REL eat rice
'Yesterday it was *only me* who ate rice.'

Some textual examples are presented in 38, translation examples in 39–40.

- (38) a. *Hanya aku=lah* yang kau=milik-i di dunia ini...
only 1sg=FOC REL 2sg=possess-APPLIC in world this
'It is only me that you have in this world...' (i.e. 'You have *only me* in this world ...')
- (from a review of *A Thousand Splendid Suns* by Khaled Hosseini; www.goodreads.com)
- b. *cuma kamu* yang dia percaya...
only you REL 3sg believe
'It is only you that he trusts...' (i.e. 'He trusts *only you* ...')
- [<http://www.akupercaya.com/forums/konseling/16804-mohon-bantuannya.html>]

(39) 2 Samuel 17:2 (BIS)

Hanya Raja Daud saja yang akan ku=bunuh.
only king David only REL FUT 1sg=kill
lit: 'It is only king David that I will kill.'
GOOD NEWS: I will kill *only the king*...

(40) Judges 6:37 (BIS)

Kalau besok *hanya bulu domba ini saja* yang di-basahi embun...
if tomorrow only fur sheep this only REL PASS-wet dew

lit: 'If tomorrow it is only this fleece that has been wet by the dew...'

(Gideon asking for a sign from Heaven)

GOOD NEWS: If in the morning there is dew *only on the wool* but not on the ground, then I will know that you are going to use me...

4.2.3 Situational presupposition

Focus is often defined as that part of the sentence which is not presupposed (Jackendoff 1972; Lambrecht 1994:213). The presuppositions that determine focus structure can arise from various sources. Linguistic presuppositions are triggered by specific words or constructions. For example, the indirect question in the second clause of 41, 'we do not know who did it', presupposes that someone did it (sc. killed this person). In the first clause, however, there is no linguistic presupposition trigger, but the context itself creates a presupposition. The passage concerns how to deal with a dead body, apparently that of a murder victim, that is found in open country. The elders of the nearest town are instructed to bring the body into their town and publicly declare their innocence, using the formula translated in 41. The context therefore involves the assumption that someone has killed the person under discussion. Against this 'situational presupposition', the focus (non-presupposed information) is the identity of the killer; hence the narrow focus reading of the first clause, expressed in Indonesian using a cleft.

(41) Deuteronomy 21:7 (BIS)

Bukan kami yang membunuh orang itu,
not 1pl.EXCL REL kill person that
'**It was not us who killed that person...**'

... dan kami tidak tahu siapa yang melakukan=nya.

'... and we do not know who did it.'

GOOD NEWS: **We did not murder this one**, and we do not know who did it.

Similar examples are seen in 42, in which the existence of the pot implies the existence of a potter; and 43, in which the existence of wells and orchards implies the existence of diggers and planters. In each case it is the identity of the agent that is in focus, and in each case Indonesian requires a cleft where the English equivalent does not.

(42) Isaiah 29:16 (BIS)

Mungkin=kah yang dibuat berkata kepada pembuat=nya,
'Is it possible for the thing which is made to say to its maker...'

“*Bukan* engkau yang membuat aku”?
 not you REL make 1sg
 ‘“**It was not you that made me**”?’

GOOD NEWS: Which is more important, the potter or the clay? Can something you have made say, “**You didn’t make me**”?

(cf. RSV: Shall the potter be regarded as the clay; that the thing made should say of its maker, ‘He did not make me’?)

(43) Deuteronomy 6:11 (BIS)

Kamu akan menemukan sumur-sumur, dan *bukan kamu yang menggali=nya*. Kamu akan mendapat kebun-kebun anggur dan zaitun, dan *bukan kamu yang menanam=nya*. lit: ‘You will find wells, and **it was not you that dug them**. You will acquire grape and olive groves, and **it was not you that planted them**.’

GOOD NEWS: ... and there will be wells **that you did not dig**, and vineyards and olive orchards that **you did not plant**...

5 The syntax of standard negation

I have suggested that the difference in pragmatic function between *tidak* vs. *bukan* correlates with a difference in syntactic category (internal vs. external negation). To some Malay specialists, this may seem like a surprising and perhaps unwarranted assumption. Many authors seem to implicitly assume that *tidak* and *bukan* are elements of the same basic type. However, when we examine the syntactic and semantic properties of these two forms, the evidence supporting a difference in category is overwhelming. The facts discussed in this section and the next support the view that *tidak* occupies a position within the predicate, whereas *bukan_V* occupies a position at or near the periphery of the sentence and takes scope over the entire sentence. As a first approximation, we might say that *tidak* behaves like a kind of auxiliary, while *bukan_V* behaves like a sentence adverb.

5.1 *Tidak* as predicate negation

Typological studies of negation (e.g. Dahl 1979, 2010; Payne 1985) have found that in most languages, standard negation is marked on the verb or verb phrase, most often by an affix on the verb, a negative auxiliary, or a particle associated with the VP.²¹ Dahl 1979:92 notes that the negation marker tends to occur ‘as close to the FE [=Finite Element, i.e. tensed V or Aux] as possible.’ In this respect, *tidak* is a typical standard negation marker, being closely integrated into the auxiliary system of the language.

For example, *tidak* may either precede or follow modals and certain other auxiliaries, with scope relations depending on the relative word order. In contrast, *bukan* (in verbal clauses) always precedes and takes scope over all auxiliaries, as expected for a sentence operator.

- (44) a. Saya *tidak* harus makan.
 1sg NEG must eat
 ‘I am not required/obligated to eat.’ [Sudaryono 1993:76]
- b. Saya harus *tidak* makan.
 1sg must NEG eat
 ‘I must not eat.’ [Sudaryono 1993:77]
- (45) a. Dia *tidak* boleh hadir.
 3sg NEG may present
 ‘He is not allowed to be present.’ [Sneddon 1996:201]
- b. Dia boleh *tidak* hadir.
 3sg may NEG present
 ‘He is allowed not to be present.’ [Sneddon 1996:201]
- (46) a. Saya *tidak* pernah marah.
 1sg NEG ever angry
 ‘I am never/have never been angry.’ [Sudaryono 1993:156]
- b. Saya pernah *tidak* marah.
 1sg ever NEG angry
 ‘I have (at least once) been not angry.’ [Sudaryono 1993:156]
- (47) a. Saya *bukan* harus makan, tetapi ...
 1sg NEG must eat but
 ‘I am not required to eat, but ...’
- b. *Saya harus *bukan* makan...
 1sg must NEG eat
- (48) a. Menurut rencana, masjid ini *bukan akan* cuma jadi tempat shalat saja...
 ‘According to the plan, this mosque will not just become merely a place for daily prayers...’ [*akan* = future tense]
 [http://themimbar.blogspot.com/2008_06_01_archive.html]
- b. * ... *akan bukan* +V ...

Another indication that *tidak* is an integral part of the predicate phrase comes from the fact that the sequence *tidak* + V/Aux may be fronted as a unit. In yes-no questions, for example, the first word of the predicate is often fronted and marked with the interrogative focus particle =*kah*. In negative questions, either *tidak* can be fronted alone (49a) or the sequence Neg+V/Aux may be fronted as a unit (49b-c); further examples are presented in 60 below. The latter pattern suggests

that *tidak* can form a close constituent with a following verb or auxiliary.²² This pattern is impossible with *bukan_V*. *Bukan_V* can occur alone in the focus position (50a), but never forms a unit with a following predicate (50b).

- (49) a. *Tidak=kah engkau lapar?*
 NEG=Q 2sg hungry
 ‘Aren’t you hungry?’ [Sudaryono 1993:96]
- b. *Tidak lapar=kah engkau?*
 NEG hungry=Q 2sg
 ‘Aren’t you hungry?’ [Sudaryono 1993:96]
- c. *Tidak boleh=kah aku mengharapkan sesuatu?*
 NEG able=Q 1sg hope.for something
 ‘Can’t I hope for something?’ [<http://sekolah.org/showthread.php?t=1780>]
- (50) a. *Bukan=kah engkau lapar?*
 NEG=Q 2sg hungry
 ‘Isn’t it the case that you are hungry?’ [Sudaryono 1993:96]
- b. **Bukan lapar=kah engkau?*
 NEG hungry=Q 2sg [Sudaryono 1993:96]

Tidak can also undergo fronting in declarative sentences, but only when it is fronted together with a following auxiliary as illustrated in 51, taken from Hasan Alwi et al. 1998:382.²³ As discussed in section 5.3, these examples provide further evidence that *tidak* forms a tight constituent with a following auxiliary.

- (51) a. *Dia tidak boleh ikut.* = [*Tidak boleh*] dia ikut.
 3sg NEG able accompany
 ‘He can’t come with (you/us).’
- b. *Dia tidak perlu masuk hari ini.* = [*Tidak perlu*] dia masuk hari ini.
 3sg NEG need enter day this
 ‘He doesn’t need to go in today.’

A similar pattern is possible with the nominal negator *bukan_N*, as illustrated in 52, but no construction analogous to 52b is possible with *bukan_V*.

- (52) a. *Dia bukan guru.* (= 1d)
 3sg NEG teacher
 ‘She isn’t a teacher.’ [Sneddon 1996:195]
- b. [*Bukan guru*] dia.
 NEG teacher 3sg
 ‘She isn’t a *teacher*.’ (with focus on ‘teacher’)

Further support for the analysis proposed here comes from double negation. Whenever *tidak* and *bukan_V* co-occur in the same clause, *bukan_V* always precedes and takes scope over *tidak*; the reverse order is impossible (Sudaryono 1993:203). This is, of course, the ordering we would expect if *tidak* forms a part of the predicate while *bukan_V* is a sentential operator.

(53) Sebenar=nya dia *bukan tidak* mampu, melainkan *tidak* mau.
truly 3sg NEG NEG able on.contrary NEG want
'Actually it is not the case that he cannot (do it), rather he does not want to.'
[Sudaryono 1993:203]

b. * ... *tidak bukan* ...

(54) a. Kata=nya, *bukan* dia *tidak* suka ber-kawan tetapi...
say=3sg NEG 3sg NEG like MID-friend but
'He said, it is not the case that he does not want to make/have friends, but ...'
[http://www.kosmo.com.my/kosmo/...]

b. *Bukan tidak* ada lelaki atau para suami yang datang mengadu dan meminta nasihat, tetapi bilangan mereka amat terhad...
'It is not the case that there are not men or husbands who come to complain and ask for advice, but the number of these is very limited.'
[http://www.mail-archive.com/sahabatinteraktif@yahoo.com/msg48286.html]

c. Kesetiaan kaum tani Melayu tradisional terhadap Raja dan Sultan *bukan tidak* bersebab...
'The loyalty of traditional Malay farmers to King and Sultan is not without reason...'
[www.malaysiakini.com/columns/103456]

Pasaribu 2012 points out double negation is also possible in imperative clauses, but only with *tidak*, never with *bukan*. Specifically, *tidak* can occur in the complement to the negative imperative *jangan* 'do not!', as seen in the following example; but *bukan* never occurs in this environment.

(55) Kamu jangan *tidak/*bukan* datang ke pesta=ku.
2sg do.not NEG come to party=1sg
'Do not fail to come to my party.' [Pasaribu, 2012]

Bukan_V never occurs twice within the same clause, but *tidak* can. However, in order for this to happen, the two instances of *tidak* must be separated by an auxiliary as illustrated in 56.

Sentences like 57a-b, where two instances of *tidak* occur adjacent to each other, are impossible.

We return to this fact in the discussion below.

(56) a. Aminah *tidak* pernah *tidak* datang.
Aminah NEG ever NEG come
'Aminah has never failed to arrive.' [Gan 1991:67]

- b. Bahasa Indonesia *tidak* dapat *tidak* terkena hukum perubahan.
 language Indonesia NEG able NEG affected law change
 ‘The Indonesian language cannot avoid being subject to the laws of change.’
 [Sneddon 1996:202]

- (57) a. *kamu tidak tidak bisa datang.
 2sg NEG NEG able come
 intended: ‘You are not unable to attend.’ [Dalrymple and Mofu, 2009]
- b. *saya tidak tidak gembira.
 1sg NEG NEG happy
 intended: ‘I am not unhappy.’ (possible for: ‘I am very unhappy.’)

In the remainder of this section I offer a tentative proposal concerning the structural relations of *tidak* to the rest of the clause, addressing the position of *bukan_V* in the following section. I begin with a preliminary sketch of the auxiliary system, which is important for understanding the distribution of *tidak*. However, the reader should bear in mind that the Malay auxiliary system is not well understood, and future progress on that topic will almost certainly require some revision to the structural analysis suggested here for negation. I then consider two hypotheses concerning the distribution of *tidak*: (a) *tidak* functions as the head of NegP; or (b) *tidak* adjoins to the following Aux or V. I argue that neither hypothesis accounts for all the facts, but a combination of the two, in the spirit of Zanuttini 1997, seems quite promising.

5.2 The Malay auxiliaries²⁴

Many authors (including Nik Safiah 1978, Asmah 1982, Mashudi 1981, Imran Ho 1993, Gan 1991) have identified two distinct classes of auxiliaries in Malay, aspectuals vs. modals. However, as noted by Honegger 2003, there is little consensus as to which words belong to which class. This is due in part to a mismatch between semantic class and syntactic behavior. For example, several authors have suggested that certain words with temporal meanings behave grammatically like modals (e.g. *masih* ‘still’, *pernah* ‘ever’). Some words which are often listed as modals may be better analyzed as control or raising predicates. *Sudah* ‘already’, perhaps the most commonly used auxiliary-like word, might be best analyzed as polysemous between an auxiliary (modal?) and an adverbial usage.

In order to make some progress with the main concerns of this paper, I will try to identify a few core members of each class, based strictly on syntactic behavior, and use those as a basis for studying the positions of the negation markers. I leave the more problematic auxiliaries for future research.

Auxiliaries are distinguished from main verbs and adjectives because they cannot function on their own as clause predicates (Nik Safiah 1978:71), and because when used as auxiliaries they must occur as bare roots, with no affixation. Auxiliaries are distinguished from adverbs because they always precede the main verb.

Core members of the aspectual class include *telah* ‘perfect(?)’²⁵, *sedang* ‘continuous’, *tengah* ‘progressive’, and perhaps *akan* ‘future’ (though *akan* displays some mixed properties, as noted by Imran Ho 1993). Core members of the modal class include *mesti* ‘must’, *boleh* ‘may; can (Mal.)’, and *harus* ‘must (Indon.), ought (Mal.)’. Aspectuals are distinguished from modals by the following properties:

- a. many modal roots can take derivational affixation to become main verbs, while this is never possible with aspectuals (Nik Safiah 1978:76; Imran Ho 1993:21);
- b. modals can host the declarative (=lah) and interrogative (=kah) focus particles, while this is never possible with aspectuals (cf. Gan 1991:59, 67);²⁶
- c. modals can function as a minimal answer to a yes-no question, while aspectuals cannot (Gan 1991:71);
- d. modals can occur either before or after the subject, while aspectuals always follow the subject (Imran Ho 1993:21);²⁷
- e. *tidak* cannot immediately precede aspectuals (Gan 1991:65)²⁸

Point (d) implies that, at least in Bahasa Malaysia, aspectuals always occur between the main verb and the subject. This fact can be neatly captured by adopting the standard assumption that aspectuals occupy the I⁰ position, as head of IP, while the subject occupies the [Spec,IP] position. To account for the variable position of modals, I will tentatively assume that they can either occupy the I⁰ position (like aspectuals), or a higher position outside of IP (perhaps adjoined to IP, as suggested below).

It is possible for more than one auxiliary to occur within the same clause. The constraints as to which specific pairs of auxiliaries can co-occur, and in which order, are quite complex. Nik Safiah 1978:86 states that the underlying order is aspectuals before modals; however, she posits an optional transformational rule which can reverse this ordering for specific combinations.²⁹ She also notes that two aspectuals or two modals can co-occur within the same clause.

Similarly, Dardjowidjojo 1978:321 proposes the template in 58 for the Indonesian auxiliaries. However, he notes that two members of the same class can co-occur, and that certain permutations across classes are also possible.

(58)

CLASS 1	CLASS 2	CLASS 3
aspectuals	<i>harus</i>	other modals

Pending a clearer understanding of these constraints, I will for now simply assume that all auxiliaries which occur after the subject are dominated by I⁰.

5.3 The position of *tidak*

Pollock 1989, Laka 1990, and a number of subsequent authors have proposed that in many languages, the marker of standard clausal negation is the head of a phrasal category, often referred to as NegP. At first glance, it is hard to see how this could be true in Malay. Examples like those in 56, one of which is repeated below, show that *tidak* can occur twice within the same clause, and so cannot be restricted to a single position. If we tried to account for multiple occurrences of *tidak* by positing multiple functional positions (e.g. Neg₁P vs. Neg₂P), it would be difficult to rule out the cases where two instances of *tidak* occur adjacent to each other, as in 57.

- (59) Aminah *tidak* pernah *tidak* datang. (= 56a)
 Aminah NEG ever NEG come
 ‘Aminah has never failed to arrive.’ [Gan 1991:67]

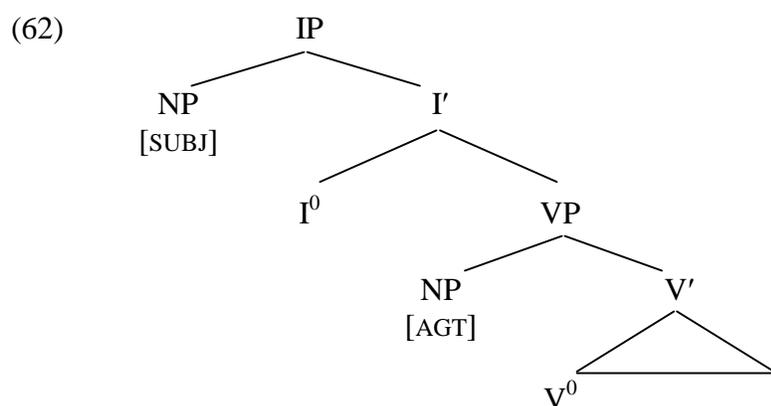
An alternative hypothesis would be that *tidak* adjoins to a following Aux or V. The adjunction analysis is supported by examples like 49b-c and 60. These examples show that the combination of *tidak* + Aux or V can undergo focus fronting as a unit, appearing before the subject, which indicates that *tidak* + Aux or V form a very tight constituent. Adjunction seems like a natural way to account for such examples.

- (60) a. *Tidak tahu*=kah kamu betapa aku sangat merindukan=mu?
 NEG know=Q 2sg how 1sg very miss=2sg
 ‘Don’t you know how very much I miss you?’ [<http://heavenscraper.blogspot.com/2012/02/...>]
- b. *Tidak bisa*=kah kita hidup berdampingan?
 NEG able=Q 1pl.INCL live side.by.side
 ‘Can’t we live live side-by-side?’ [<http://forum.viva.co.id/berita-dalam-negeri/50247...>]
- c. *tidak harus*=kah kita membayar pajak??
 NEG must=Q 1pl.INCL pay tax
 ‘Aren’t we required to pay taxes?’ [twitter.com/#!/nrtyas/statuses/28274898673606656]

However, there is good evidence showing that *tidak* does not always adjoin to a following V. In the ‘zero-passive’ or ‘Objective Voice’ construction,³⁰ the agent phrase may be a clitic pronoun as in 61a, a free pronoun form as in 61b, or a ‘pronoun substitute’ (e.g. a kin term or proper name used with 1st or 2nd person reference as in 61c-d).³¹ Whatever the syntactic type of the agent phrase, it must always occur immediately before the verb.

- (61) a. Buku ini harus *kau*=baca.
 book this must 2sg=read
 ‘You must read this book.’ [Sneddon 1996:249]
- b. Mobil itu dapat *kita* perbaiki.
 car that get 1pl.INCL repair.
 ‘We can repair the car.’ [Chung 1976: 60]
- c. Surat ini harus *adik* tandatangani.
 letter this must younger.sibling sign
 ‘You (younger sibling) must sign this letter.’ [Dalrymple and Mofu, 2009]
- d. Buku itu sudah *Tini* kembalikan.
 book that already (speaker’s name) return
 ‘I (Tini) have already returned the book.’ [Sneddon 1996:250]

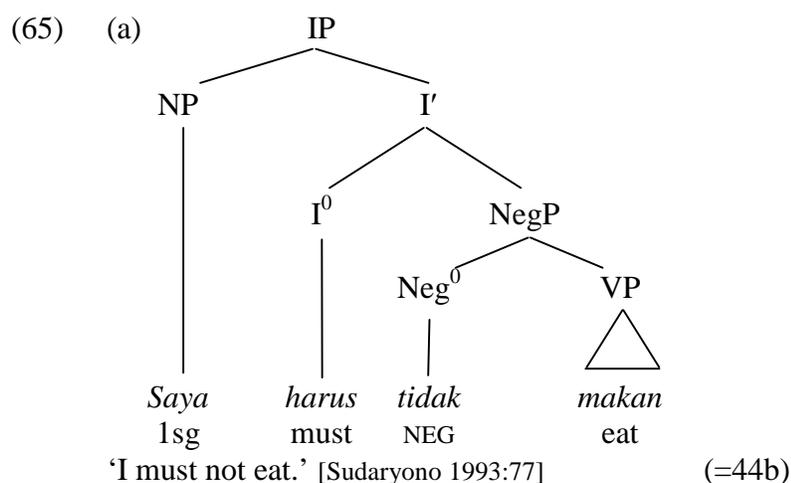
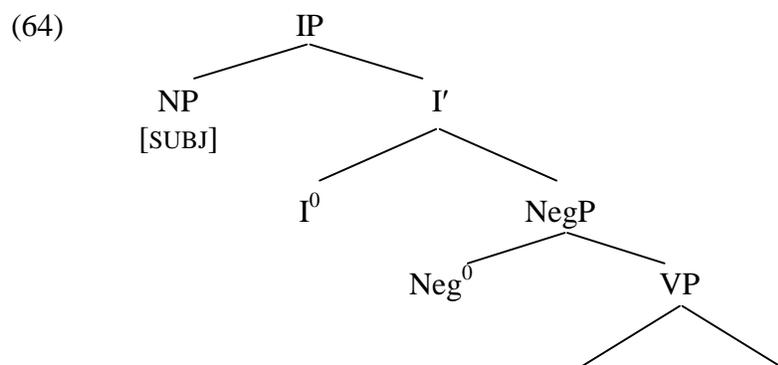
Cole, Hermon & Yanti 2008 analyze the agent phrase in this construction as occupying the [Spec,vP] position; for simplicity, I will assume that it occupies [Spec,VP] as shown in 62. In this clause type, *tidak* can never be adjacent to the verb as in 63e, but always precedes the agent phrase as in 63a-d. So in this context, at least, *tidak* is not adjoined to any lexical head.

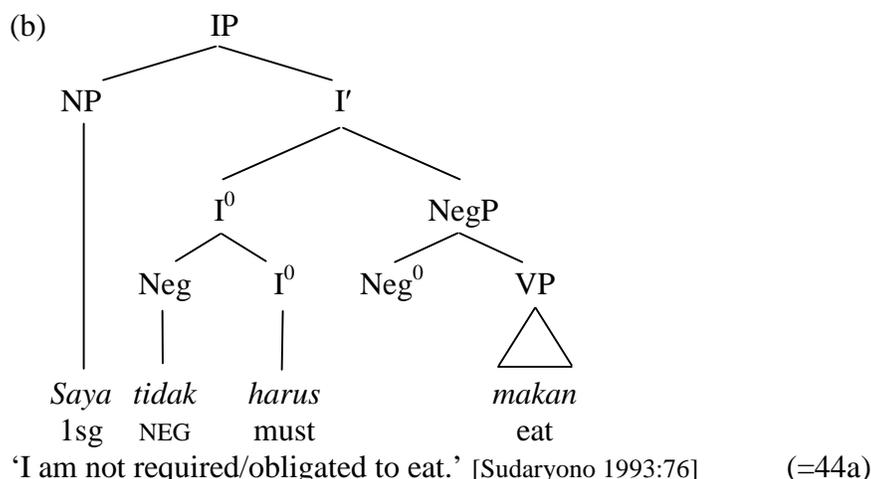


- (63) a. Allah *tidak* *kita* lihat.
 God NEG 1pl.INCL see
 ‘We do not see God.’ [<http://islamqa.info/id/ref/133315>]
- b. Kueh ini *tidak* *saya* makan.
 cake this NEG 1sg eat
 ‘This cake I do/will not eat.’ [Cole, Hermon and Yanti 2008]
- c. Harus=kah menerima hadiah dari seorang yang *tidak* *kita* cintai?
 should=Q receive gift from someone REL NEG 1pl.INCL love
 ‘Should we accept a gift from someone we do not love?’
 [<http://www.google.co.id/tanya/thread?tid=3218e7cb44237c91>]

- d. Tentu saja bunga sebesar Rp.233.584, *tidak* saya bayarkan...
 certain only interest as.big (amount) NEG 1sg pay
 'It is certain that an interest charge as big as Rp.233.584, I will not pay.'
 [http://203.190.241.178/read/2011/03/14/100919/1590916/283/disclaimer.html]
- e. *Bunga sebesar Rp.233.584, *saya tidak* bayarkan.

To account for these seemingly contradictory data, I propose that *tidak* can occur in two different positions. First, it can occupy the Neg⁰ position as the head of NegP. Neg⁰ is located between VP and I⁰, as shown in 64 and 65a. (I have not found any evidence for a specifier position within NegP, so will assume there is none.) Second, *tidak* can adjoin to any Aux or V which is higher than Neg⁰, as shown in 65b, but never to a verb *in situ* (i.e. within the VP). This analysis is similar in some ways to the proposal of Zanuttini 1997, who suggests that markers of clausal negation in Romance dialects occur either as the head of NegP or left-adjoined to an independently existing head.





This analysis explains why in sentences like 59, where *tidak* occurs twice within the same clause, the two instances of *tidak* are always separated by an auxiliary (or a main verb that has undergone focus fronting). One of them occupies Neg^0 while the other is adjoined to an auxiliary in I^0 . Sentences like 66a-b, where two instances of *tidak* occur adjacent to each other, are impossible. If there is a following auxiliary, as in 66a, the second *tidak* can adjoin to the auxiliary but the first has nothing to adjoin to. When there is no following auxiliary, as in 66b, the second *tidak* can occupy I^0 , but again the first has nothing to adjoin to. (In example 66c, I analyze *tak terbatas* 'unlimited', which contains the short-form negator *tak*, as a morphological compound; cf. section 3.3.)

- (66) a. *kamu tidak tidak bisa datang. (=57a)
 2sg NEG NEG able come
 intended: 'You are not unable to attend.' [Dalrymple and Mofu, 2009]
- b. *saya tidak tidak gembira. (=57b)
 1sg NEG NEG happy
 intended: 'I am not unhappy.' (maybe possible for: 'I am very unhappy.')
- c. Kekuasaan kepala negara tidak tak terbatas.
 power head nation NEG NEG limited
 'The powers of a head of state are not unlimited.' [Sneddon 1996:202]

As noted above, *tidak* can precede modals but (for most speakers) cannot immediately precede the aspect marker *telah* 'perfect' as seen in 67b. Whether this restriction is semantic or purely syntactic,³² the effect is that *tidak* cannot adjoin to *telah*. If and only if there is a modal intervening between *tidak* and *telah*, as in 67c-d, then *tidak* may precede *telah*. The contrast between 67b and 67c-d is predicted by the analysis sketched out above, but would be much

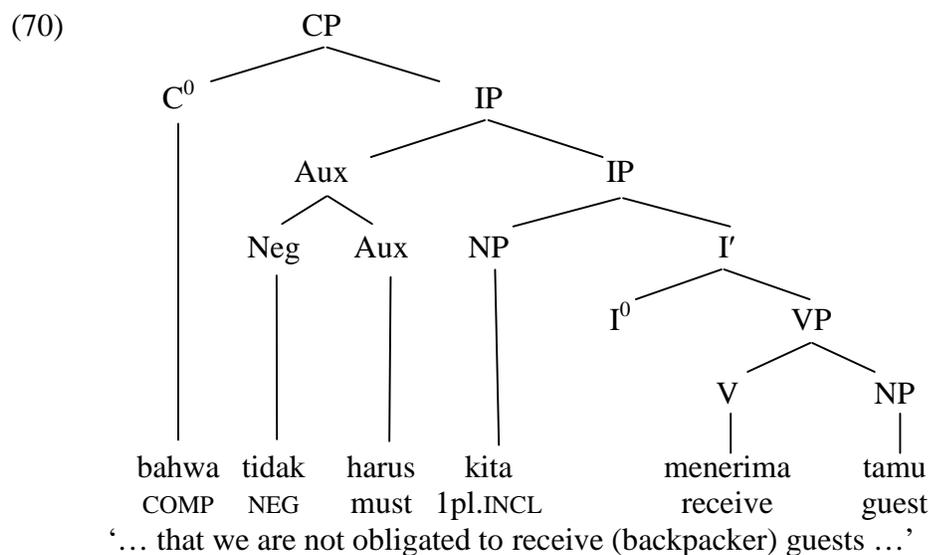
harder to explain under an analysis in which multiple occurrences of *tidak* are accounted for by positing multiple functional positions (Neg₁P vs. Neg₂P).

- (67) a. Kebelakangan ini, segala perbelanjaan anak-anak ditanggung sepenuhnya oleh Plaintiff ...
 ‘Recently, all of the expenses for supporting the children have been born by the Plaintiff’
 kerana Defendan *telah tidak* berkerja sejak beberapa bulan yang lalu.
 because defendant PERF NEG work since several month REL pass
 ‘because the defendant has not worked since several months ago.’
 [http://ikhwanulislam.blogspot.com/2011/09/di-dalam-mahkamah-rendah-syariah-paris.html]
- b. *Defendan *tidak telah* berkerja ...
- c. untuk memeluk Islam... seseorang *tidak harus telah* memiliki
 for embrace Islam any.person NEG must PERF possess
 keimanan yang tinggi.
 faith REL high
 ‘...a person is not required to have attained a high level of faith in order to embrace Islam.’ [http://vienmuhadisbooks.com/2011/05/27/xxv-penaklukkan-mekah-fathu-makkah-1/]
- d. syarikat tersebut *tidak boleh telah* di-isyiharkan muflis...
 company aforementioned NEG may PERF PASS-declare bankrupt
 ‘... the aforementioned company must (deontic) not have been declared bankrupt...’
 [http://www.mosti.gov.my/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1633&Itemid=605&lang=bm]

As noted in section 5.2 above, modals can occur either before or after the subject. While pre-subject occurrence is possible in main clauses, as illustrated in 68a, it seems to be more common in finite complement clauses, as illustrated in 68b-c. Modals can be negated in pre-subject position, as shown in 69a; and again this seems to be even more common in finite complement clauses, as illustrated in 69b-c. Assuming that the complementizer *bah(a)wa*³³ occupies the C⁰ position, these examples show that auxiliaries which precede the subject lie somewhere between IP and C⁰. I will tentatively assume that these auxiliaries are adjoined to IP, as shown in 70. Given the fact that auxiliaries can occur in this position, our analysis correctly predicts that *tidak* can occur immediately to their left, by adjunction.

- (68) a. sebesar apapun kenakalan kita, *mesti* orang.tua kita tetap
 as.big whatever naughtiness 1pl.INCL must parents 1pl.INCL firm
 sabar mendidik kita...
 patient instruct 1pl.INCL
 ‘No matter how naughty we have been, our parents must continue to teach us patiently...’
 [http://aselabar.wordpress.com/2011/01/17/orang-orang-hebat/]

- b. Maka saya menyatakan bahawa *harus* kita melakukan ibadah korban
 further 1sg state COMP should 1pl.INCL perform duty sacrifice
 untuk si mati ber-agama islam...
 for PERS dead MID-religion islam
 ‘Furthermore I state that we should perform the required sacrifice for the deceased Muslim person...’
 [http://pedoman1014.blogspot.com/2012/07/panduan-101-ibadah-korban-bagi-si-mati.html]
- c. Dan ada memberitahu saya bahawa *boleh* saya menjawab
 and EXIST tell 1sg COMP can 1sg answer
 salam tersebut...
 greeting aforementioned
 ‘And someone told me that I am permitted to reply to the aforementioned greeting...’
 [http://sebarakanbahagia.blogspot.com/2012/02/fatwa-cinta.html]
- (69) a. Tidak *harus* mereka memperlihatkan liuk-lintuk dan lenggan-lenggok
 NEG should 3pl cause.to.be.seen undulate and sway
 yang menggoda.
 REL tempt
 ‘They should not display swaying and undulating motions that are tempting.’
 [http://www.eng.upm.edu.my/html/files/suraufk/salam_fk_vol3_final.pdf]
- b. Salah.satu penulis mengatakan bahawa tidak *harus* kita menerima
 a.certain writer say COMP NEG obliged 1pl.INCL receive
 tamu backpacker di rumah kita.
 guest backpacker in house 1pl.INCL
 ‘A certain writer says that that we are not obligated to receive backpacker guests into our house.’ [http://automidoridream.blogspot.com/2010/10/backpacker-apa-benar-hemat.html]
- c. Maka melalui hadith ini jelas bahawa tidak *boleh* kita membuka
 further through hadith this clear COMP NEG can 1pl.INCL open
 aurat meskipun sesama jantina.
 private.area even.though same.as gender
 ‘Thus it is clear from this *hadith* that we must not expose the private areas of the body, even to someone of the same gender.’
 [http://afiqme.blogspot.com/2012/05/aurat-sesama-jantina-lelaki-dan-lelaki.html]



6 *Bukan_V* as a sentential operator

In this section we discuss additional evidence for treating *bukan_V* as a sentential operator, and sketch out a tentative structural analysis. We will see that the distribution and formal properties of *bukan_V* are similar in certain ways to those of speaker-oriented adverbs. This leads to the further observation that the distribution of *bukan_V* fits a familiar pattern associated cross-linguistically with Main Clause Phenomena (MCP).

6.1 The distribution of *bukan_V*

6.1.1 Tag questions

Either *tidak* or *bukan* can be placed at the end of a statement to form a yes-no question, but there is a difference in the nature of the resulting questions. Sudaryono 1993:93–94 states that *tidak* creates an alternative question (71a), which indicates that the speaker genuinely does not know the answer and has no expectation as to which answer is correct. In contrast, *bukan* creates a confirmation tag (71b) which is biased toward an expected answer. The relevance to our present concerns lies in the fact that *tidak* is fully integrated into the interrogative clause in 71a, providing one alternative in the implicit coordinate structure, and the whole sentence lies under a single (falling) intonation contour. This structure is impossible with *bukan*. Instead, *bukan* is separated from the main clause by pause, and gets a separate (normally rising) intonation contour. Each clause of sentence 71b carries its own illocutionary force; in other words, the two clauses constitute two distinct speech acts (statement followed by question).

- (71) a. Kamu lapar *tidak*?
 2sg hungry NEG
 ‘Are you hungry or not?’ [Sudaryono 1993:94]
- b. Kamu lapar, *bukan*?
 2sg hungry NEG
 ‘You are hungry, aren’t you?’ [Sudaryono 1993:94]

6.1.2 Optional sentence-initial position

In most of the examples presented thus far involving *bukan_V*, the negative word has appeared after the subject NP. However, it seems to be equally common for *bukan* to occur in sentence-initial position, as illustrated in 72. Dardjowidjojo 1978:281 states that *bukan_V* ‘can be placed before or after the subject,’ implying that the choice of position does not affect meaning. The near minimal pair in 73a-b supports the claim that this alternation in the position of *bukan_V* does not correlate with any difference in meaning; it seems to be a case of free variation.

- (72) a. *Bukan* saya mahu menjatuhkan kaum sendiri.
 NEG 1sg want bring.down kind/class self
 Cuma, saya sekadar mahu menyuarakan secara lisan apa yang terbuku di hati.
 ‘It is not the case that I want to denigrate my own kind/class. Only, I just want to express openly what is hidden in my heart.’ [www.lizarazak.com/2009/12/wanita-hari-ini-sempurna-ke/]
- b. *Bukan* dia mahu anak=nya di-masukkan ke tempat ini. Tapi terpaksa.
 NEG 3sg want child=3sg PASS-put.in to place this but forced
 ‘She did not want her child to be put into this place. But she was forced to (allow it).’
 [cerpenlalala.blogspot.com/2008/12/auf-wiedersehen-erika.html]
- c. *Bukan* Amy sengaja enggan melawat keluarga Achik, sebalik=nya...
 ‘It is not that Amy intentionally refuses to visit Achik’s family, on the contrary...’
 [http://macammacamsensasi.blogspot.com/2010/08/bukan-saya-mahu-menipu.html]
- d. *Bukan* Bu Bandi tidak mau datang ke=sini. Cuma tidak punya ongkos.
 ‘It is not that Bu Bandi does not want to come here. Only she doesn’t have enough money.’ [Wolff et al., 1992:811]
- (73) a. Dia *bukan* bodoh, melainkan malas saja.
 3sg NEG stupid on.contrary lazy only
 ‘He’s not stupid but just lazy.’ [Sneddon 1996:349]
- b. *Bukan* dia bodoh, melainkan dia malas.
 NEG 3sg stupid on.contrary 3sg lazy
 ‘He’s not stupid, rather, he is lazy.’ [Sneddon 1996:349; Dardjowidjojo 1978:281]

The word order shown in 72 and 73b is impossible with *tidak*, at least in declarative sentences. This contrast supports our earlier claim that *tidak* occurs within the predicate, while *bukan_V*

operates on the sentential level. Both of the positions where *bukan_V* can occur (before or after the subject NP) are available in finite complement clauses, as well as in main clauses. When *bukan_V* occurs before the subject in complement clauses, it follows the complementizer *bah(a)wa* as illustrated in 74. From this we can infer that *bukan_V* is lower than C^0 , and I will assume that it adjoins to IP as illustrated in 75.³⁴

(74) a. Maka datanglah masanya,
'And there will come a time...'

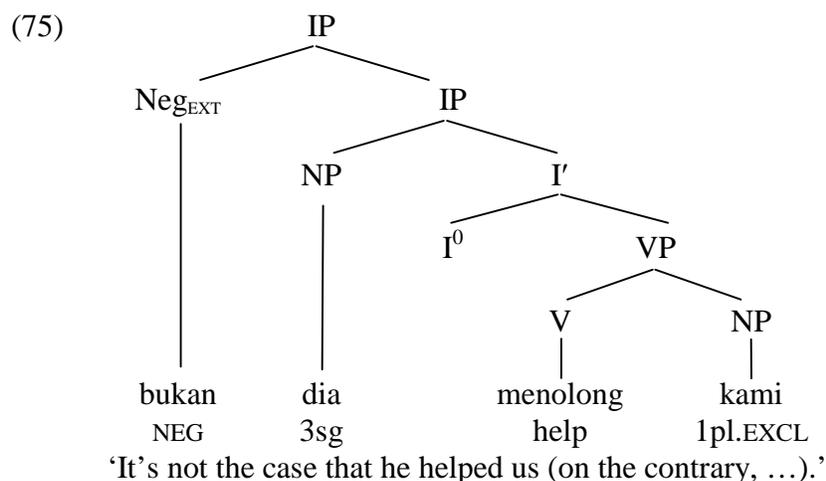
bahwa *bukan* lagi hutan berbahaya bagi manusia,
COMP NEG more jungle dangerous for human
'when the jungle is no longer a danger to Man...'

melainkan sebaliknya manusia berbahaya bagi hutan.
'but on the contrary Man is a danger to the jungle.'

[<http://ismrajagiri.blogspot.com/2012/08/maka-datanglahmasanya-bahwa-bukan-lagi.html>,
quoting Bung Hatta, 1956]

b. Manullang juga mengatakan bahwa *bukan* tidak mungkin
(name) also say COMP NEG NEG impossible
'Dr. A.C. Manullang (former director of national intelligence) also said that it is not impossible...'

Umar Al-Faruq... adalah agen didikan Amerika sendiri.
'that Umar Al-Faruq... is an agent trained by America itself.'
[<http://www.tempo.co.id/harian/wawancara/waw-Manulang01.html>]



There are two possible ways in which *bukan_V* might appear after the subject: either (a) *bukan_V* could optionally occur lower than the normal subject position, or (b) the subject could optionally move higher than *bukan_V*, which remains in its normal position.³⁵ There are at least two reasons

to think that the first of these possibilities is closer to the truth. First, as discussed below in section 6.3, the positions where *bukan_V* can occur seem to be identical to those where speaker-oriented adverbs are permitted. All speaker-oriented adverbs can occur before the subject, but only a limited subset of them can occur immediately after the subject. This optionality therefore seems to be a special property of the specific adverbials that alternate; it would be harder to explain why the subject NP could be fronted in collocation with some of them but not with others. The most natural treatment of *bukan_V* seems to be to assume that it shares the relevant distributional property with those adverbials that alternate.

A second argument against subject fronting as an explanation for the two positions of *bukan_V* comes from a certain pattern of fronting which is possible for adjuncts and oblique arguments (cf. Verhaar 1984:37, 39). This construction is not strongly marked pragmatically, and the fronted element does not require any focus particle, in contrast to the cleft and focus-fronting operations discussed above. I tentatively analyze it as a kind of clause-internal scrambling, rather than extraction.³⁶ Examples like 76 show that *bukan_V* can occur after the subject even when that subject is preceded by a fronted adjunct. If I am correct that such fronting is a kind of clause-internal scrambling, this suggests that the subject is not itself fronted outside of the IP to which it belongs. But clearly more work is needed to verify the positions of these elements.

- (76) a. *sebenarnya waktu itu dia bukan berhasil mengerti bahasa inggris,*
 actually time that 3sg NEG succeed understand language English
 ‘Actually at that time he couldn’t really understand English’

dia hanya asal bicara...

‘... he was just talking for the sake of talking...’

[http://www.klinikhipnotis.com/frm11/hipnosis/trd1793/pengalaman_bagaimana_agar_suyet_jadi_pandai_ber_bahasa_inggris/main.html]

- b. *Disini saya bukan menghalalkan ciuman dengan siapa saja,*
 here 1sg NEG make.legal kissing with who only
 ‘Here I do not authorize/give permission for kissing with just anyone,’

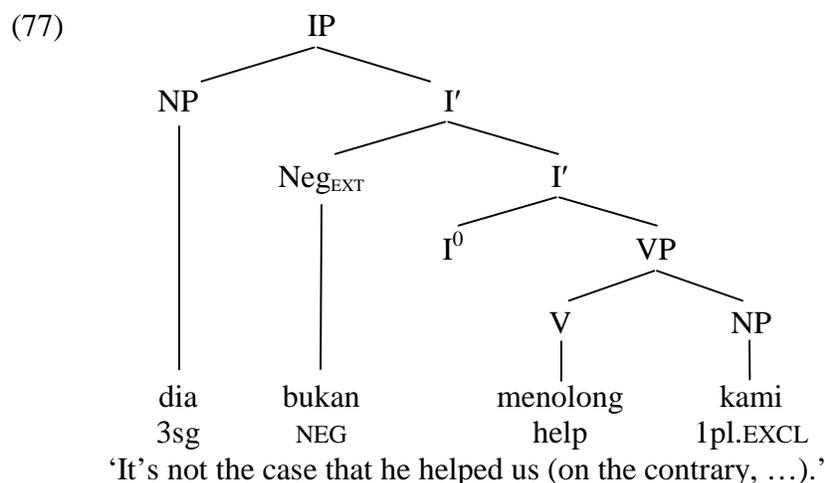
tapi hanya memberikan informasi mengenai fakta-fakta ciuman

‘...but only give information concerning some facts about kissing.’

[sebuahkeyakinan.blogspot.com/]

When *bukan_V* occurs after the subject, it must precede all auxiliaries (ignoring focus fronting etc. for the moment). This fact can be accounted for by assuming that in this position, *bukan_V* adjoins to *I'* as illustrated in 77. If all auxiliaries are dominated by *I*⁰, as suggested in section 5.2, then

they will always follow any element adjoined to I'.



Empirical support for the validity of the I' constituent is provided by the fact that I' co-ordination is possible, as illustrated in 78.

- (78) a. penyidik tersebut [[telah kembali ke Mabes Polri]_{I'}
 investigator aforesaid PERF return to HQ national.police
 dan [akan di-berikan tugas baru]_{I'}]_{I'}
 and will PASS.give duty new
 'the aforementioned investigators have returned to National Police Headquarters and will be given new duties.'
[\[http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2012/09/25/16534388/Penyidik.di.KPK.Telah.Kembali.ke.Polri\]](http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2012/09/25/16534388/Penyidik.di.KPK.Telah.Kembali.ke.Polri)
- b. Rain akhirnya [[telah menyelesaikan program pelatihan]_{I'} dan
 (name) finally PERF completed program training and
 [akan secara.resmi melayani di.bawah Divisi 5]_{I'}]_{I'}
 will officially serve under Division 5
 '[Korean singer] Rain has finally completed his [military] training program and will officially serve under the 5th Division...' [\[http://koreanindo.net/2011/12/13/rain-telah-menylesaikan-pelatihan-dasar-dan-akan-melayani-untuk-divisi-5-militer/\]](http://koreanindo.net/2011/12/13/rain-telah-menylesaikan-pelatihan-dasar-dan-akan-melayani-untuk-divisi-5-militer/)

6.1.3 Negation of non-finite clauses

The negators *bukan*_V and *tidak* contrast sharply in terms of their potential for occurrence in non-finite clauses. We consider here purpose clauses and non-finite complement clauses, both of which can be marked with the complementizers *untuk*/∅ or *agar*/*supaya*. These subordinate clause types share several features in common. First, none of them can contain auxiliary verbs

expressing tense or aspect. Second, all of them can be negated with *tidak*, and none of them can be negated with *bukan*. The failure of *bukan* to occur in these contexts may reflect the fact that these clause types are not fully sentential, as indicated by their obligatory lack of independent specification for tense or aspect. I will suggest below that it may also be related to the fact that propositions expressed in these clause types cannot have any degree of ‘illocutionary independence’.

There are two different types of adverbial purpose clauses which are of interest here.³⁷ The first type is introduced by the complementizers *agar* (high register) or *supaya* (neutral or low register), both meaning ‘so that’. When these complementizers are used, the adverbial clause is a sentential adjunct which may contain an overt subject NP as in 79a–b. If the subject of the adverbial clause is the same as some argument of the main clause, it may optionally be omitted (by pro-drop) as shown in 79c; but there is no obligatory control relation in this construction.

- (79) a. Dia jual sayur supaya anak=nya dapat ber-sekolah.
 3sg sell vegetable so child=3sg get MID-school
 ‘She sells vegetables so that her son can go to school.’
- b. Kami ber-angkat pagi-pagi agar kami tidak terlambat.
 1pl.EX MID-depart early.morning so 1pl.EX NEG late
 ‘We set off early in the morning so we wouldn’t be late.’ [Sneddon 1996:344]
- c. Dia pergi ke perpustakaan supaya (dia) dapat membaca buku.
 3sg go to library so (3sg) get read book
 ‘He went to the library so that (he) could read a book.’ [Sneddon 1996:366]

The second type of purpose clause is introduced by the complementizer *untuk* ‘for’, as in 80. In this construction, the adverbial clause never contains an overt subject NP; its subject must be controlled by a non-oblique argument of the main clause.

- (80) Saya harus pergi ke kantor pos untuk membeli perangko.
 I must go to office post for buy stamp
 ‘I have to go to the post office to buy stamps.’ [Sneddon 1996:344]

The examples in 81–82 illustrate negation of a purpose clause, showing that only *tidak* is acceptable; *bukan_V* can never occur in these contexts.

- (81) a. Kami ber-angkat pagi-pagi agar kami tidak/*bukan terlambat.
 1pl.EX MID-depart early.morning so.that 1pl.EX NEG late
 ‘We set off early in the morning so we wouldn’t be late.’ [Sneddon 1996:344]

- b. Kerbau di-ikat *agar tidak/*bukan* meronta bila di-sembelih.
 buffalo PASS-tie so.that NEG struggle.free when PASS-slaughter
 ‘The water buffalo is tied so that it will not struggle free when it is slaughtered.’
 [photo caption, [http://firefixx.wordpress.com/2009/01/29/majlis-bersunat-tenom-perempuan/...](http://firefixx.wordpress.com/2009/01/29/majlis-bersunat-tenom-perempuan/)]
- c. Kerajaan perlu mengawal pertumbuhan rumah burung walit ini *agar ia tidak* merosakkan industri lain.
 ‘The government needs to control the growth of these swallows’ nests so that they do not destroy other industries.’
 [<http://www.jahaniwalit.com/2010/08/industri-walit-perlu-dikawal-agar-tidak-merosakkan-industri-lain/>]

(82) a. Terkadang aku harus diam *untuk tidak/*bukan* memperbesar masalah.
 occasionally 1sg must silent COMP NEG enlarge problem
 ‘Occasionally I need to keep silent in order not to make the problem worse.’
 [twitter.com/carloapri/status/233384605078663168]

- b. Seakan menambah energi untuk berlari *untuk tidak/*bukan* ketinggalan kereta sore ini.
 ‘It was as if he gathered his energy to run so as not to be left behind by the car this afternoon.’ [<http://sosbud.kompasiana.com/2011/03/30/vitamin-asap-350880.html>]

The two types of complement clause that we will discuss here are similar in structure to purpose clauses. Complement clauses in which the subject is obligatorily controlled by an argument of the matrix clause are introduced with *untuk* (83a); with many matrix verbs *untuk* is optional, as illustrated in 83b. Complement clauses introduced with *agar* or *supaya* do not involve syntactic control, and can have independent subject NPs as in 84a. Once again, if the subordinate clause subject is co-referential with an argument of the matrix clause, it may optionally be omitted via pro-drop as in 84b.

(83) a. Dia menolak *untuk* di-periksa oleh mereka.
 3sg refuse COMP PASS-investigate by 3pl
 ‘He refused to be investigated by them.’ [Sneddon 1996:296]

- b. Pemerintah mengizinkan dia (*untuk*) menghadiri sidang.
 government permit 3sg COMP attend session
 ‘The government permitted him to attend the session.’ [Sneddon 1996:295]

(84) a. Dia ber-cita-cita *agar* anak=nya di-lamar oleh orang kaya saja.
 3sg MID-desire COMP child=3sg PASS-propose by person rich only
 ‘He desires that his daughter be proposed to by no one but a rich man.’
 [Sneddon 1996:297]

- b. Saya dapat mengusulkan kepada pimpinan *supaya*
 1sg able suggest to leadership COMP
 (mereka) menerima saudara.
 (3pl) receive cousin/brother
 ‘I can suggest to the leaders that they accept you.’ [Sneddon 1996:299–300]

The examples in 85 illustrate negation of a control complement, and those in 86 illustrate negation of an *agar/supaya* complement. Once again, only *tidak* is acceptable; *bukan_V* is impossible.

- (85) a. Dia memutuskan *untuk tidak/*bukan* menolong mereka.
 3sg decide COMP NEG help 3pl
 ‘He decided not to help them.’ [Sneddon 1996:298]
- b. Jika anak-anak di-ciptakan *untuk tidak* mencoba hal-hal yang baru karena takut gagal ...
 ‘If children are raised/trained not to try new things because they are afraid to fail...’
 [meme.yahoo.com/adib_royani/p/11YCYr8, 1 Sep 2010]
- c. Orang sakit yang menyebabkan sulit bagi=nya untuk berpuasa di-syariatkan *untuk tidak* berpuasa, ...
 ‘Sick people for whom it would be difficult to fast are legally permitted [under Islamic law] not to fast...’ [konsultasisyariah.com, 14 August 2010]
- (86) a. Saya minta *supaya* saudara *tidak/*bukan* pergi.³⁸
 I request COMP cousin NEG go
 ‘I request that you don’t go.’ [Sneddon 1996:299]
- b. Rukman mengingatkan *agar* anak buah=nya *tidak/*bukan* menembak.
 Rukman remind/warn COMP child fruit=3sg NEG shoot
 ‘Rukman warned his men not to shoot.’ [Sneddon 1996:298]
- c. Hamas Ingatkan Barat *Agar Tidak* Membantu Israel.
 Hamas remind west COMP NEG help Israel
 ‘Hamas reminds/warns the west not to help Israel.’ (headline)
 [http://arrahmah.com/index.php/news/read/6992/hamas-ingatkan-barat-agar-tidak-membantu-israel]

6.2 Scope effects

The claim that *tidak* is a marker of predicate negation while *bukan_V* is a sentential operator predicts that the scope of negation with *bukan_V* is wider than with *tidak*. We have already seen that *bukan_V* always precedes and takes scope over all auxiliaries, whereas *tidak* takes variable scope depending on relative order. In this section we will see that the predicted difference in scope holds true for adverbial clauses of reason and purpose. We then consider the question of whether *bukan_V* can take scope over clausal co-ordination, something which is never possible for *tidak*.

6.2.1 Adverbial clauses of reason and purpose

Bukan in the matrix clause always takes wide scope over adverbial clauses of reason and purpose. *Tidak*, in contrast, always takes narrow scope with respect to reason clauses and one

type of purpose clause. *Tidak* may take either wide or narrow scope with respect to a second type of purpose clause.

The contrast in scope with respect to reason clauses is illustrated in 87–88. Sentence 87a with *bukan* does not deny that the girl is crying, but only that the reason for the crying is because she is sad. Replacing *bukan* with *tidak* in 87b forces a narrow scope reading which denies that the girl is crying, making the sentence semantically anomalous and rendering the continuation (‘but because she is happy’) totally impossible. In sentence 88a, Tengku Razaleigh (a powerful member of the governing party) does not deny that he attended a meeting with the opposition party, but only denies one possible reason for his attendance. Replacing *bukan* with *tidak* in 88b forces a narrow scope reading which denies that he attended the meeting at all. Another wide scope example with *bukan* is shown in 89.

- (87) a. Gadis itu *bukan* menangis kerana sedih, tetapi kerana gembira.
 girl that NEG cry because sad, but because happy
 ‘That girl is not crying because she is sad, but because (she is) happy.’
 [Abdul Chaer 2009, sec. 8.2.2]
- b. ??Gadis itu *tidak* menangis kerana sedih, (*tetapi kerana gembira).
 ‘#That girl is not crying, because she is sad.’
- (88) a. Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah, quoted in *The Malaysian Insider*, 15-Apr-2010:
 Saya *bukan* hadir perhimpunan di Kelantan itu kerana saya hendak sokong PAS...
 ‘I did not attend the meeting in Kelantan because I want to support PAS...
 (but for some other reason)’
- b. Saya *tidak* hadir perhimpunan di Kelantan itu kerana saya hendak sokong PAS...
 ‘Because I want to support PAS, I did not attend the meeting in Kelantan ...’
- (89) ... dia tau laki dia *bukan* di-lepaskan sebab tak bersalah, tapi di-sebabkan oleh ugutan US
 pada Pak Lah...
 ‘... she knows that her man [i.e. her husband, Anwar Ibrahim] was not set free because
 he is not guilty, but because of American intimidation of Pak Lah [Prime Minister
 Abdullah Badawi] ...’
 [http://bigdogdotcom.wordpress.com/2008/06/29/old-habits-die-hard/]

As discussed in section 6.1, there are two different types of adverbial purpose clauses. Those introduced by the complementizers *agar* or *supaya* are sentential adjuncts, with no control relation involved. When the matrix clause of this construction is negated with *bukan*, negation takes wide scope that includes the purpose, as in 90a. However, such examples seem to be relatively rare; most apparent examples really involve complement clauses with *agar/supaya*,

like those discussed in the previous section. When the matrix clause is negated with *tidak*, negation always takes narrow scope as illustrated in 90b–d.

- (90) a. Dia yang seharusnya membimbing isterinya itu, *bukan* di-lepaskan supaya mencari jalan sendiri.
 ‘He is the one who should guide his wife, not set her loose so that she seeks her own way.’ [http://en-gb.facebook.com/topic.php?uid=107850046496&topic=11506...]
- b. ... ia sanggup untuk *tidak* tidur sepanjang malam supaya hajatnya tertunai.
 ‘... he was willing not to sleep all night long in order for his desire to be fulfilled.’
 [http://tayarmati.blogspot.com/2011/01/antara-ilmu-amal-dan-dakwah.html]
- c. Kita sepatutnya *tidak* melupakan aspek akademik supaya tidak menjejaskan masa depan pemain ini, terutama jika mereka gagal menjadi pemain bola sepak professional.
 ‘We should not forget the academic aspects so that we will not damage the future prospects of these players, especially if they fail to become professional soccer players.’
 [http://utusan.com.my/utusan/... 20 Jan 2011]
- d. hari Jumaat adalah di-galakkan kita agar *tidak* bekerja supaya dapat melakukan sunnah-sunnah Rasulullah SAW ...
 ‘on Friday we are encouraged not to work so that we can perform the meritorious deeds proscribed by the Messenger of God ...’
 [http://nikeima.blogspot.com/2011/01/amalan-mulia-hari-jumaatv.html]

In purpose clauses introduced by the complementizer *untuk* ‘for’, as illustrated in 80, the adverbial clause never contains an overt subject NP; its subject must be controlled by a non-oblique argument of the main clause. When the matrix clause of this construction is negated with either *tidak* or *bukan*, negation can take wide scope, as illustrated in 91–92. *Tidak* also allows a narrow scope interpretation, as illustrated in 93; but this is impossible with *bukan*.

- (91) a. Tapi aku *bukan* datang untuk melihat Ronaldo, Beckham ataupun Owen. Aku datang untuk melihat Azrul.
 ‘But I did not come to see Ronaldo, Beckham or Owen. I came to see Azrul.’
 [www.penulisan2u.my/2010/02/novel-aku-benci-dia-tapi-2/, 8 Feb 2010]
- b. Ustadz Umar menjawab : “Saya ingin mengarahkan pandangan penanya kepada satu hal, bahwa saya *tidak* datang kemari untuk mencaci para penguasa kami...”
 ‘Ustadz Umar answered, “I want to direct the attention of the questioner to one matter, namely that I did not come here to ridicule/vilify our [Egyptian] rulers...”’
 [http://suarakeadilan-kotacrb.blogspot.com/2010/01/kami-tidak-datang-untuk-mencaci.html]
- (92) a. Aku *bukan* berkerja untuk mendapat gaji tapi pengalaman.³⁹
 ‘I do not work to get a salary but experience.’
 [mysteptosuccess.wordpress.com/2010/03/]

- b. Kelompok ini *tidak* bekerja untuk mendapatkan uang tetapi karena mereka ingin bekerja...
 ‘This group does not work to get money but because they want to work.’
 [http://mlm-community.com/2010/01/konsep-bisnis-ala-louis-tendean/]
- (93) a. terpaksa *tidak* bercakap untuk mengelak dari bercakap perkara tak sepatut=nya.
 ‘(I am) forced not to speak in order to avoid saying something inappropriate.’
 [http://ceritapadadunia.wordpress.com/2009/09/10/kebosanan-kepenatan-dan-jelek/]
- b. Gambar anak muda tersebut *tidak* di-siarkan untuk mengelakkan timbul persepsi yang negatif.
 ‘The picture of the young child just mentioned is not published/broadcast in order to avoid creating a negative perception.’
 [http://mohamadazhan.blogspot.com/2011/01/hebat-kepada-insan-yang-cekal-menerima.html]
- c. ada juga orang yang benar-benar mengetahui cerita sebenar=nya tetapi *tidak* mengakui=nya untuk mengelakkan suku sakat=nya terasa.
 ‘there are also people who truly know the real story but do not admit it in order to avoid their ethnicity from being perceived.’
 [www.sabahforum.com/forum/bajau-other-races/topic3651-15.html, May 25, 2008]
- d. Nilai barang perantaraan *tidak* dicampurkan untuk mengelakkan masalah pengiraan dua kali.
 ‘The value of the raw materials (?) is not added in order to avoid the problem of it being calculated twice.’ [www.scribd.com/doc/38248334/Kaedah-Perhitungan-an-Negara, 27 Sep 2010]

6.2.2 Co-ordinate clauses

Horn 1989, ch. 7 states that true external negation is very rare in natural language, and predicts that if it exists it should take scope over both clauses in a co-ordinate sentence. If I am correct that *bukan_V* is a marker of sentential (external) negation, then I would predict that it should take scope over co-ordinate clauses. It is clear that *tidak* cannot scope over clausal co-ordination, and even with *bukan* it is quite difficult to find natural declarative examples. However, interrogative examples involving *bukan_V*, like those in 94, are not uncommon:

- (94) a. *bukan=kah* tinta telah kering dan lembaran-lembaran telah di-tutup?
 NEG=Q ink PAST dry and page-REDUP PAST PASS-close
 ‘isn’t it the case that the ink has dried and the pages have been closed?’
 [lenihusna.blogspot.com/2011/01/ketika-cinta-tak-bisa-bersatu-dalam.html]
- b. *Bukan=kah* purnama tersenyum simpul dan bintang-bintang berseronok riang?
 ‘Isn’t it the case that the full moon smiles an embarrassed smile and the stars are pleasantly giddy/dizzy?’
 [http://pustakaiman.blogspot.com/2011/01/motivasi-menjadi-wanita-paling-bahagia.html, 17 Jan 2011]

- c. Matthew 6:25 (TB)
Bukan=kah hidup itu lebih penting dari pada makanan dan tubuh itu lebih penting dari pada pakaian?
 ‘Isn’t it the case that life is more important than food and the body is more important than clothing?’
- d. *Bukan=kah* hp [hand-phone] sekarang murah harga=nya, dan kartu perdana juga mudah di-dapat, bahkan banyak orang sekalipun hp=nya cuma satu, nomor=nya bisa sampai lima.
 ‘Isn’t it the case that hand-phones are now cheap, and SIM cards are also easy to get, in fact many people even if they have only one hand-phone may have as many as five numbers.’ [http://www.seabs.ac.id/journal/april2008/Naskah%20Khotbah.pdf]

The negator in the following declarative example could possibly be analyzed as *bukan_N*, since the clauses that are being co-ordinated are clefts, and therefore equative in structure; thus they would be individually negated with *bukan_N*. However, given the overtly contrastive context, I believe that this is more likely another instance of *bukan_V* scoping over clausal co-ordination. (The context preceding the sentence of interest is included to make it clear that we have clausal co-ordination involving clefts, and not just NP co-ordination in which the NPs contain relative clauses.)

- (95) Di-lihat dari arti kata=nya, ‘remedial’ berarti menyembuhkan atau membetulkan. Dengan demikian ‘pengajaran remedial’ berarti suatu bentuk pengajaran yang bersifat menyembuhkan atau membetulkan yang akan membuat lebih baik.
 ‘As seen from the meaning of its root, “remedial” means “to heal” or “to correct”. Therefore “remedial teaching” means a form of teaching that has the property of healing or correcting which will make something better.’

Di=sini *bukan* [orang sakit yang di-sembuhkan]
 at=here NEG person sick REL PASS-heal

atau [barang yang rusak yang di-betulkan],
 or thing REL broken REL PASS-repair

‘Here it is not sick people who are healed or broken things which are repaired...’

melainkan siswa-siswi sekolah yang mengalami kesulitan menerima materi pelajaran.
 ‘but rather school students who experience difficulty receive instructional materials.’
 [http://tubagusalirahman.blog.com/2010/07/26/perspektif-pengajaran-remedial/]

6.3 Similarities with speaker-oriented adverbs

The positions where *bukan_V* can occur seem to be identical to those where speaker-oriented adverbs are permitted. Many of the ‘sentence adjuncts’ listed by Sneddon 1996:362 ff. seem to function as speaker-oriented adverbs, including *mudah-mudahan* ‘hopefully’, *semoga* ‘hopefully’, *syukurlah* ‘thankfully’, *untung(lah)* ‘fortunately’, *(konon-)konon(nya)* ‘hearsay’,

ternyata ‘clearly, obviously’, *terus-terang* ‘frankly’, *nampaknya* ‘apparently’, *sebenarnya* ‘in fact’, *malangnya* ‘unfortunately’, etc. All of these forms can occur before the subject, as illustrated in 96. Some (but not all) of them can also occur immediately after the subject, as illustrated in 97. In this position, they must precede all auxiliaries. As we have seen, the same two positions are possible for *bukan_V* as well.

- (96) a. Dehaan juga menulis bahwa *konon* masjid ini di-dirikan
 Dehaan also write COMP hearsay mosque this PASS-erect
 oleh se-orang wanita Cina dari suku Tarta(r)⁴⁰
 by one-CLS woman Chinese from tribe Tatar
 ‘Dehaan also wrote that (it is said) this mosque was erected by a Chinese woman from the Tatar tribe.’ [http://www.al-shia.org/html/id/page.php?id=825]
- b. Ferry mengungkapkan bahwa *nampaknya* PSSI membuat se-buah
 (name) express COMP apparently (name) make one-CLS
 keputusan yang keliru.
 decision REL confuse
 ‘Ferry Paulus [general manager of the Persija Jakarta soccer team] expressed that apparently the Pan-Indonesian Football Association (PSSI) had made a confusing/confused decision.’ [http://nafasbola.com/macan-kemayoran-melesat-ke-isl.html]
- (97) a. mereka *konon* enggan termasuk dalam sub-etnis Batak
 3pl hearsay unwilling include in subgroup Batak
 ‘They [residents of the Mandailing district] were unwilling to be included in the Batak ethnic group.’ [http://zackyku.wordpress.com/page/3/]
- b. ... melaporkan bahawa mereka *nampaknya* telah menjadi pujaan hati
 ... report COMP 3pl apparently PERF become adored liver
 ramai wanita muda.
 many woman young
 ‘[The *Tagesanzeiger* newspaper, for example,] reports that they [contestants on Malaysian TV’s *Young Imams* program] have apparently become the heart-throbs of many young women. [http://www.yadim.com.my/khabar_yadim/view.asp?newsId=4788]

Another way in which *bukan_V* is similar to a speaker-oriented adverb is that it may optionally bear the clitic =*nya*.⁴¹ A number of the sentence adverbs mentioned above contain this clitic, either optionally or obligatorily (in this usage), including *nampaknya* ‘apparently’, *rupanya* ‘apparently’, *sebenarnya* ‘in fact’, (*konon*-)*kononnya* ‘hearsay’, *malangnya* ‘unfortunately’, etc. Dardjowidjojo 1978:281 states that when *bukan* is used (either before or after the subject) to negate verbal clauses, ‘the particle *-nya* is usually added, although it is not obligatory.’ This cannot occur with *tidak*. Some examples are presented in 98.

- (98) a. *Bukan=nya* saya tak⁴² sedar...
 not=3sg 1sg NEG aware
 'It wasn't that I didn't realize it. (Far from it.)' [Lewis 1947:106]
- b. *Bukan=nya* saya tidak mau membeli rumah,
 not=3sg 1sg NEG want buy house
 tetapi uang saya tidak cukup.
 not=3sg money 1sg NEG enough
 'It's not that I don't want to buy a house, but that I don't have enough money.'
 [Sneddon 1996:349]
- c. Ia *bukan=nya* memerankan si=Doel, melainkan menjadi sutradara.
 3sg NEG=3sg play.part Doel rather become director
 'He isn't playing the part of Doel, but rather is the director.' [Sneddon 1996:349]

Dardjowidjojo uses *bukan(nya)* for the form I have referred to as *bukan_V*, to distinguish it from the nominal negator (my *bukan_N*), and he implies that the presence or absence of *-nya* does not affect the meaning of *bukan* in this context. Other writers do not seem to feel that *bukannya* is more common than *bukan* in verbal clauses, as claimed by Dardjowidjojo; but both forms are quite frequent in natural text.

6.4 *Bukan_V* as a Main Clause Phenomenon (MCP)

The similarities between *bukan_V* and speaker-oriented adverbs in Malay/Indonesian noted above are part of a broader pattern which is explored in this section: *bukan_V* exhibits distributional properties associated cross-linguistically with 'Main Clause Phenomena'.

Speaker-oriented adverbs in English (e.g. *(un)fortunately*, *obviously*, *presumably*, *apparently*, *reportedly*, etc.), also referred to as speech act adverbials, are a frequently cited example of a phenomenon which is restricted to 'Root Clauses' (Emonds 1970, 1976); that is, main clauses and certain other clauses which share some of the properties of main clauses. Linguistic structures and elements which occur only in such environments are often referred to, following Green 1976, as Main Clause Phenomena (MCP). What exactly the properties are that all 'Root Clauses' share in common, and how to account for the distributional restrictions associated with these clauses, has been a topic of renewed intensive discussion and research for the last decade or so.

6.4.1 Accounting for MCP cross-linguistically

MCP include structural root phenomena like the ‘Root transformations’ in English discussed by Emonds 1970 and Hooper & Thompson 1973; some of these are listed in 99. V2 word order in Germanic is another widely discussed example of a structural MCP. In addition, various morphological and lexical elements have been identified as MCP, including speaker-oriented adverbs, evidentials, vocatives, ‘performative honorifics’, other types of politeness and speech style markers, assorted discourse and ‘modal’ particles, etc.

- (99)
- a. VP preposing (*Mary plans for John to marry her, and marry her he will.*)
 - b. Negative constituent preposing (*Never in my life have I seen such a crowd.*)
 - c. Topicalization
 - d. Directional adverb preposing, a.k.a. locative inversion (*Up the street trotted a dog.*)
 - e. Subject-auxiliary inversion
 - f. Tag question formation

Hooper & Thompson 1973 show that root transformations can occur in certain kinds of embedded clauses. For example, they identify five classes of complement taking verbs in English, and show that root transformations can occur in the complements of some verbs (e.g. verbs of speaking) but not in others (e.g. factive verbs in the sense of Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970). They state that root transformations can occur in non-restrictive relative clauses, or in restrictive relative clauses with indefinite head nouns, but not in restrictive relative clauses with definite head nouns; and in many adverbial clauses marked with *because*, but not in temporal adverbial clauses.⁴³ Hooper & Thompson also note that root transformations cannot occur in ‘reduced clauses’, meaning infinitives, gerunds and subjunctive clauses.

Other kinds of MCP have been shown to have similar distributions.⁴⁴ A number of authors⁴⁵ have observed that speaker-oriented adverbs in English can occur in main clauses and complement clauses of reported speech (100a-b), but are much less natural/acceptable in other kinds of complement clause (100c). Speaker-oriented adverbs are generally unacceptable within temporal and conditional clauses (100d-e),⁴⁶ but can occur in at least some reason clauses (100f).

- (100) a. Unfortunately/apparently the chairman of the board has been arrested for embezzlement.
 b. John said that unfortunately/apparently the chairman of the board has been arrested for embezzlement.
 c. ??John believes/regrets/doubts/denies that unfortunately/apparently the chairman of the board has been arrested for embezzlement.
 d. #After unfortunately/apparently the chairman of the board was arrested for embezzlement, no one wanted to invest money in that company.
 e. I won't invest money in that company if (#unfortunately/#apparently) the chairman of the board has been arrested for embezzlement.
 f. You'd better get your money out of that bank, because unfortunately/apparently the chairman of the board has been arrested for embezzlement.

Haegeman 2010b notes that 'speech act adverbials are incompatible with temporal and conditional adverbial clauses' not only in English but in a number of other languages we well (see also Ernst 2007, 2009). A variety of other Main Clause Phenomena (MCPs) are known cross-linguistically to have similarly restricted syntactic distributions. For example, Harada 1976 and Miyagawa 2012 show that 'performative honorifics' in Japanese, used to show respect for the addressee in the current speech act, can occur in main clauses and complement clauses of reported speech, but are not allowed in most other kinds of complement clause. Miyagawa 2012 states that performative honorifics are not acceptable within temporal clauses, but can occur in reason clauses.

A number of different suggestions have been proposed regarding the nature of root clauses and the motivation for the restricted distribution of MCP. Hooper & Thompson 1973:472 argue that root phenomena are emphatic in nature, and so can only occur in clauses that are asserted. As a number of authors have pointed out, beginning with Green 1976, the concept of 'assertion' is difficult to define precisely, and to the extent that it can be reliably identified, Hooper & Thompson's generalization does not account for all of the facts even for the root phenomena which they discuss. However, there seems to be enough truth in their proposal that it continues to be widely used and discussed.

Many of the proposed analyses of MCP seem to be based on the intuition that MCP are only licensed in clauses with a certain degree of illocutionary independence. Bentzen 2009 expresses this intuition in these words: 'The potential independent communicative contribution of the clause determines whether it allows embedded root phenomena or not.' Others have suggested that root clauses are those which contain a specification for Point of View (Speas & Tenny 2003), or those which are anchored to the speaker (Haegeman 2006).⁴⁷

Haegeman 2006, 2010a points out that not all temporal and conditional adverbial clauses are equal with respect to MCP. She distinguishes between peripheral vs. central adverbial clauses. Central adverbial clauses are tightly integrated into the syntax (within IP) and semantics of the matrix clause; the two together form a single assertion. Peripheral adverbial clauses are less tightly integrated syntactically, often being set off from the main clause by a pause or comma intonation. Semantically, ‘the core property which singles out peripheral adverbial clauses ... from central adverbial clauses ... is that peripheral adverbial clauses, but not central ones, are anchored to the speaker’ (Haegeman 2006:1654). She suggests that MCP are permitted in peripheral adverbial clauses but not in central adverbial clauses.

Haegeman cites work by Declerck & Reed 2001, who make a very similar distinction between two types of adverbial clause. Declerck & Reed argue that the adverbial clauses which Haegeman identifies as ‘peripheral’ are echoic in nature. They state: ‘the claim that [these adverbial clauses] are echoic need not mean that they have to be echoes of actual utterances. They may also be echoes of an internal or mental proposition (thought) such as the interpretation of an experience, perception etc.’ (2001: 83). In central adverbial clauses, the speaker ‘presents the contents of the two clauses as forming a unit’, whereas in peripheral adverbial clauses, ‘there are, as it were, two illocutionary speech acts’ (Declerck & Reed 2001:131, cited by Haegeman 2006).

It seems plausible that echoic use may require the kind of illocutionary independence which is necessary to license MCP, and I will suggest below that echoic interpretation is a characteristic which is shared by all three of the uses of *bukan_v* described in sections 2–4 above. However, not all peripheral adverbial clauses are echoic. This can be seen by comparing the ‘factual conditionals’ illustrated in 101 with the ‘biscuit conditionals’ (a.k.a. relevance conditionals) illustrated in 102:

(101) FACTUAL CONDITIONALS

- a. If he’s so smart, why isn’t he rich?
- b. If you are really that sick, go home and go to bed!

(102) BISCUIT CONDITIONALS:

- a. If you don’t mind my asking, why did you quit you last job?
- b. If you want my advice, buy precious metals!

Factual conditionals carry the presupposition that someone other than the speaker has said or believes that the proposition expressed by the antecedent is true; thus the adverbial clause is

clearly echoic in nature. However, relevance conditionals do not trigger any such presupposition. Nevertheless, in both patterns the two clauses clearly constitute ‘two illocutionary speech acts’. This is seen in the fact that the main clause can be interrogative or imperative in both of these constructions, something that is not possible with standard (=hypothetical) conditionals.

6.4.2 Accounting for *bukan_V*

Returning to our discussion of *bukan_V*, there are restrictions on its distribution which are similar to those that have been reported for MCP in other languages.

Most of the examples of *bukan_V* presented thus far involve negation of main clauses, but as we have already seen in exx. 5 and 27, *bukan_V* can also be used to negate some finite complement clauses. Additional examples are presented in 103. The acceptability of *bukan_V* in complement clauses depends partly on the specific matrix verb that is used; it seems to be most common in reported speech, but is also possible in certain other types of finite complement. The acceptability also depends on pragmatic factors; occurrences with non-speech matrix verbs are most common in explicitly contrastive contexts like 103c, as we would expect. However, even in these contexts it is virtually unattested with verbs like *fikir/pikir* ‘think’, *anggap* ‘consider, assume’, and *sangka* ‘suspect, suppose’.

(103) a. Biar saya memberitahu pihak anda...

‘Allow me to inform you...’

bahwa *bukan=nya* kerajaan tidak mahu menerima gencatan senjata.
 COMP NEG government NEG want receive cessation weapon
 ‘that the government is not unwilling to accept a truce/cease fire.’

[<http://mediapermatangpauh.blogspot.com/2013/03/fitnah-besar-kepada-najib-oleh-blog.html>]

b. Dalam kasus ini perlu digarisbawahi

‘In this case it needs to be underlined/emphasized...’

bahwa kita *bukan=nya* bermaksud melarang orang menghormati orang lain
 COMP 1pl NEG intend forbid person honor person other
 ‘that it is not the case that we intend to prohibit anyone from honoring someone else...’

dengan memberi gelar haji.

‘with the title *haji*.’

[www.alsofwah.or.id/cetakannur.php?id=601]

c. Beberapa akademisi percaya bahwa *bukan=nya* menguap,

some academic believe COMP NEG yawn

‘Some academics believe that it is not the case that (they)_i yawn...’

bayi hanya membuka dan menutup mulut mereka.

‘rather, babies; just open and close their mouths.’

[<http://m.news.viva.co.id/news/read/369331-misteri-di-balik-janin-menguap-dalam-rahim>]

- d. Saya sedar bahawa *bukan* mudah untuk memulihkan semula KPD
 1sg aware COMP NEG easy COMP revive again KPD

dalam tempoh yang singkat...

in period REL brief

‘I am aware that it is not easy to revive/restore KPD [Rural Development Corporation] again within a short time period ...’ [<http://www.sabah.gov.my/kpd/oldoldweb/UM030306.html>]

Bukan_V cannot be used within temporal or conditional clauses (104–105); but it is extremely common in reason clauses like those in 106. Of course, *tidak* can be used in all of these clause types.

- (104) Ibu pula=lah tempat saya bertanya [bila saya *tidak/*bukan* tahu].
 mother also=FOC place 1sg ask when 1sg NEG know
 ‘Mother is also the one I ask [when there is something I don’t know].’
 [<http://wijayalabs.com/2012/04/07/pentingnya-membaca-bagi-kita/>]

- (105) Jika ada yang bertanya, saya akan menjawab sebatas mana pengetahuan saya.
 ‘If anyone asks, I will answer to the extent of my knowledge.’
 [Jika saya *tidak/*bukan* tahu], saya akan diam saja dan mencari jawaban yang tepat.
 ‘[If I do not know], I will just remain silent and look for the correct answer.’
 [<http://anggsiregar.blogspot.com/2012/12/cinta-dan-kejujuran-yang-menyakitkan.html...>]

- (106) a. Ini lebih-lebih lagi dalam kes seorang wanita
 ‘This (i.e. the importance of choosing a spouse wisely) is especially true for a woman,’
 [kerana talak *bukan=nya* berada di tangan wanita].
 ‘[because divorce is not in the woman’s hands] (i.e. not something that she can initiate).’
 [<http://www.ikim.gov.my/index.php/ms/artikel/7154-perkahwinan-dalam-islam-jangan-tunggu-lama-lama>]
- b. Agama jadi ngaco [karena orang *bukan=nya* mendengar kata hatinya sendiri].
 ‘Religion gets messed up [because people don’t listen to their own hearts].’
 [<http://indonesia.faithfreedom.org/forum/gua-gak-mau-bayar-jizya-t43245/>]

These examples show that the range of clause types in which *bukan_V* can occur is very similar to that of various MCP in other languages. A second point of similarity is the fact that, as noted in section 6.1, *bukan_V* cannot occur in non-finite clauses. This is highly reminiscent of the observation by Hooper & Thompson that root transformations cannot occur in ‘reduced clauses’. These observations suggest that we should treat *bukan_V* as an MCP. The next question would be, to what extent can we explain its MCP status based on its semantic properties?

Many MCP have been analyzed as illocutionary modifiers, that is, elements which do not contribute to the propositional content of the utterance, but in some way provide information about the speech act being performed. Examples include speaker-oriented adverbs, performative honorifics in Japanese, speech style markers in Korean (Pak et al. 2013), various discourse or ‘modal’ particles in German and Dutch (Haegeman 2010c; Waltereit 2001), evidential markers (Faller 2002), etc. The restriction of these forms to ‘root clauses’ is often argued or assumed to follow from their pragmatic function.

Can *bukan_V* be analyzed as an illocutionary operator? This is in fact the analysis that Horn 1985, 1989 proposes for metalinguistic negation. Horn argues that the metalinguistic negation of *p* does not assert that (*not p*), but rather denies that *p* is felicitously assertable. That is why statements like *I’m not hungry*, *I’m ravenous* are not felt to be logically contradictory. Asserting *p* in this case (*I’m hungry*) would be infelicitous, because it is not strong enough, and so triggers an implicature that I am not ravenous; it is this implicature which is denied via metalinguistic negation.

This analysis seems quite plausible for the metalinguistic uses of *bukan_V*; but in its other uses, it seems that *bukan_V* does contribute to the propositional content of the utterance. When *bukan_V* is used in contrastive or narrow focus contexts, it would be logically contradictory for the same speaker to assert the truth of the negated clause.

(107) a. Dia bukan bodoh, melainkan malas saja. (#Tetapi dia bodoh juga.) [cf. 2a]
 3sg NEG stupid on.the.contrary lazy only
 ‘He’s not stupid but just lazy. (#But he’s stupid too.)’ [adapted from Sneddon 1996:196]

b. SITI BUKAN HENDAK KAUT SEMUA ANUGERAH! [= 28]
 Siti NEG want grab all award
 ‘Siti does not want to grab/collect *all* the awards!’ (headline re. Malaysian Pop singer)
 (#Tetapi dia mahu mengaut/meraup semua=nya.)
 (#‘But she wants to grab them all.’)

One strong piece of evidence that *bukan_V* in these uses does contribute to the propositional content of the utterance is that it can be the focus of a yes-no question. Normally illocutionary modifiers cannot be directly questioned in this way.

(108) *Bukan=kah* engkau lapar? [= 50a]
 NEG=Q 2sg hungry
 ‘Isn’t it the case that you are hungry?’ [Sudaryono 1993:96]

While the three main uses of *bukan_V* seem to differ with respect to their status as illocutionary vs. propositional operators, all three do share at least one semantic feature, namely the echoic interpretation mentioned above. This intuition is expressed clearly in the statement by Lewis 1947:104–5 which was quoted in section 2: ‘*Bukan* ... implies a contradiction of, or an alternative to, a previous statement, question or thought.’

As noted in section 3, this is particularly true for metalinguistic negation. Karttunen & Peters 1979:46–47, in describing the pattern they refer to as ‘contradiction negation’, state: ‘Negative sentences of the sort in [6] ... contradict something that the addressee has just said, implied, or implicitly accepted.’ Carston 1996:320 considers echoic interpretation to be the defining feature of metalinguistic negation: ‘The correct generalization about the metalinguistic cases is that the material in the scope of the negation operator, or some of it at least, is echoically used... A representation is used echoically when it reports what someone else has said or thought and expresses an attitude to it.’

Similarly, examples like those discussed in section 4, in which *bukan* is licensed by narrow focus in the absence of any overt contrast or correction/rectification, seem to presuppose that someone (typically the addressee) believes the proposition being negated.

Bukan is not always used to negate or contradict ‘a PREVIOUS statement, question or thought.’ In some cases *bukan* seems to be used proactively, to forestall a possible misinterpretation of what is about to be said; examples 72a and 76b seem to be instances of this type. But even these seem to fit naturally within the concept of echoic use.

7 Conclusion

I have presented evidence for the claims that (a) *bukan_V* is a sentential operator, a marker of external (sentential) negation, while *tidak* is a marker of internal (predicate) negation; and that (b) external negation in Malay is a Main Clause Phenomenon. I have suggested that the restriction of external negation to ‘root clauses’ is motivated by the fact that the various uses of *bukan_V* all involve the negation of echoic material, and echoic use is only possible in contexts which have a sufficient degree of illocutionary independence, however that may be defined.

Horn 1989, ch. 7 states that it is fairly rare in natural languages to find sentence negation expressed syntactically as a sentential operator. On the other hand, given that Malay has such an operator, it is no accident that it should have the range of uses we have identified for *bukan_V*.

Horn 1989:446 describes a cross-linguistic tendency for ‘weak’ markers of standard (verbal) negation ‘to be differentiated from a marked and often archaizing strong form characteristically used in nonverbal, identificational, and/or contrastive (metalinguistic) contexts.’ As noted above, *bukan_N* is obligatory for negating nominal/identificational clauses. *Bukan_V* is strongly favored in cases of metalinguistic negation, contrastive negation, and negation with narrow focus. (I do not claim that these three pragmatic contexts are mutually exclusive, but only that any one of them is sufficient to license the use of *bukan_V*.)

A natural question to ask is whether we really need to treat *bukan* as polysemous? Couldn’t *bukan_V* and *bukan_N* be unified as a marker of constituent negation, which can be applied either to IP or to NP? At least three of the facts discussed above seem to argue against this proposal. First, *bukan* can license NPIs only when it negates a predicate NP (*bukan_N*), and not when it negates a verbal clause (*bukan_V*). Second, only *bukan_V* can optionally host the clitic =*nya*. When the *bukan=nya* form appears before a predicate NP it has the same marked pragmatic status (implying contradiction or correction) that *bukan* always has in verbal clauses,⁴⁸ indicating that this is an instance of *bukan_V*. In the same way, only *bukan_V* can optionally occur in pre-subject position; when *bukan* appears in this position before a nominal clause, the sentence is pragmatically marked in the same way as other uses of *bukan_V*.

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¹ Dik 1997:176 is slightly more cautious, observing that ‘most languages do not seem to have SEGMENTAL [including lexical—PRK] means for distinguishing propositional and predicational negation’ (cf. fn. 4).

² For the most part, I will not distinguish in this paper between Malay vs. Indonesian, but will consider them to be varieties of a single language. I deal primarily with the standard forms, Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia; and I have found few differences between these varieties which are relevant to the issues discussed here.

³ A third marker, *jangan*, is used primarily in negative commands. It can also be used in certain kinds of subordinate clause, as mentioned in section 6.1.

⁴ For a contrary view, which posits a single sense of *bukan* to cover all its uses, see Gil 2013, section 4.10.

⁵ In the terminology of Dik 1997:176, we could identify *tidak* as a marker of PREDICATIONAL NEGATION (‘objective statement of the non-occurrence of some SoA [State of Affairs]’), and *bukan_V* as a marker of PROPOSITIONAL NEGATION (‘subjective denial of some pre-established proposition’).

⁶ Based on the description and examples in Lewis 1947, McCawley 1991:203 identifies Malay *bukan* as a marker of contrastive negation.

⁷ The distribution of polarity items will be discussed in sec. 3.3 below.

⁸ Sentences like 11a–c are often referred to as BISCUIT CONDITIONALS (a.k.a. Austin conditionals, relevance conditionals).

⁹ The Active Voice (AV) prefix, *meN-*, is glossed here because it is the focus of the contrast. In other examples I have left Active Voice un-glossed, while explicitly marking the passive and middle prefixes.

¹⁰ Note, however, that at least for some speakers, *bukan* itself can be nominalized: *ke-bukan-an* ‘negativity’. There is no obvious way to tell whether this form is derived from *bukan_N* or *bukan_V*.

¹¹ *Tak* is a short form of *tidak*.

¹² *Belum* ‘not yet’ is equivalent to *tidak + sudah* ‘already’. It licenses NPIs in the same way as *tidak*.

¹³ Iwata 1998:56–58 also suggests the focus is one of the conditioning factors which determine the acceptability of NPIs in such examples.

¹⁴ This seems to be true for most other languages as well. Von Stechow & Matthewson 2008 note that ‘the literature devoted to presupposition concentrates almost exclusively on English.’

¹⁵ Several of the speakers seemed to find it difficult at first to process these sentences with either negator. Attempts to elicit ‘King of France’ type examples proved even more confusing.

¹⁶ In addition to the two works quoted immediately below, see also Tadmor 1999; Zuraidah et al. 2008; and other works cited in these sources.

¹⁷ A number of prescriptive grammars make the contrary claim, namely that focal stress can be used contrastively on *in situ* constituents; see for example Hasan Alwi et al. 1998:383, Abdul Chaer 2009:214, Sudaryono 1993:73–74. However, these claims do not seem to be reflected in either spoken or written varieties of Malay or Indonesian.

¹⁸ It would be more accurate to label this construction a ‘pseudo-cleft’; but for simplicity, I will simply refer to these sentences as ‘clefts’. See discussion and further references in Cole et al. 1999; Kroeger 2009; Paul 2001; and Potsdam 2006.

¹⁹ *Alkitab Kabar Baik dalam Bahasa Indonesia Seharian-hari* ‘Good News Bible in everyday Indonesian’, copyright Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia (Indonesian Bible Society), 1985, 1994. This version follows the English Good News Bible fairly closely.

²⁰ *Terjemahan Baru* ‘New Translation’, copyright Lembaga Alkitab Indonesia (Indonesian Bible Society), 1974. A moderately literal translation similar to the English Revised Standard Version (RSV).

²¹ Exceptions to this generalization include Squamish (Dahl 1979:81) and Tongan (Payne 1985:208–9). In both of these cases, standard clausal negation actually involves a biclausal structure in which a negative matrix verb takes the negated clause as its complement.

²² This pattern does not occur with transitive verbs if the object NP is overt; see Sneddon 1996:320–21 for additional details.

²³ Whether this is a type of focus fronting or just some kind of scrambling remains to be investigated.

²⁴ There seem to be some significant differences between Malay vs. Indonesian with respect to their auxiliary systems. I focus here on the Malay auxiliaries, but I believe that my proposals concerning the structural positions for the negative markers work for Indonesian as well.

²⁵ There is no consensus as to the semantic content of *telah*. I tentatively identify it here as a marker of perfect aspect.

²⁶ *Akan* ‘future’ can undergo interrogative focus fronting and host the interrogative focus particle =*kah*, *pace* Nik

Safiah 1978:83; but it cannot host the declarative focus particle =*lah*.

²⁷ This generalization seems to hold for Bahasa Malaysia, but as mentioned below, in Bahasa Indonesia it seems that aspectuals can also occur before the subject.

²⁸ This constraint holds for core members of the class of aspectuals (plus *sudah*) in Bahasa Malaysia; in Bahasa Indonesia, it may apply primarily to *telah* and *sudah*.

²⁹ For some combinations, such as *sedang+mesti*, the proposed ‘basic’ order seems to be extremely rare, while the ‘derived’ order (*mesti+sedang*) is more common.

³⁰ Arka & Manning 1998; Cole, Hermon & Yanti 2008.

³¹ In informal, conversational Indonesian, some speakers can use other types of NP in this agent position as well.

³² The same pattern is observed with *sudah* ‘already’. The negator *belum* ‘not yet’ is standardly defined as equivalent to *tidak + sudah*.

³³ This complementizer is pronounced *bahawa* in Bahasa Malaysia, *bahwa* in Bahasa Indonesia.

³⁴ Since at least some auxiliaries can also adjoin to IP, this analysis predicts that *bukan* and Aux might both occur in this position simultaneously. Such co-occurrence in pre-subject position seems to be quite rare, and I leave this issue as a topic for future research.

³⁵ Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for raising this issue.

³⁶ Notice that the fronted adjunct *waktu itu* ‘at this time’ in 76 follows the sentence-initial speaker-oriented adverb *sebenarnya* ‘actually’.

³⁷ See Kroeger 2004, ch. 5 for further examples and discussion of these constructions.

³⁸ Example 86a could also be negated with the negative imperative marker *jangan* ‘do not’. This option occurs primarily when the matrix verb expresses a command, advice or wish. At least some purpose clauses and control complements can also be negated with *jangan*.

³⁹ *Berkerja* ‘work’ is the Malaysian form, *bekerja* (seen in the next example) the Indonesian form.

⁴⁰ Corrected.

⁴¹ In its primary sense =*nya* is a clitic 3rd person pronoun, but it has a number of extended uses as well. For example, Sneddon 1996:151 states that in Indonesian, =*nya* can be used to mark NPs whose referent is predictable or inferable from context, but which has not been previously mentioned.

⁴² *Tak* is a short form for *tidak*; it is used primarily in informal speech.

⁴³ Hooper & Thompson state that root transformations can occur within ‘non-restrictive’ *because* clauses, and within those ‘restrictive’ *because* clauses which are not presupposed. H&T illustrate the ‘non-restrictive’ use of *because*, in which it functions as a speech-act adverbial, with the following example: *Sam is going out for dinner, because I just talked to his wife*. The distinction between ‘restrictive’ vs. ‘non-restrictive’ adverbial clauses is due to Rutherford 1970.

⁴⁴ Green 1976 makes the important observation that not all MCP have the same range of occurrence. For example, some are strictly restricted to occurring in main clauses, while others can occur in certain kinds of subordinate clauses, as discussed above.

⁴⁵ See for example Haegeman 2006, 2010a-b and references cited there.

⁴⁶ I consider here only standard/hypothetical conditional clauses; other types of conditionals will be mentioned below.

⁴⁷ Some recent work suggests that non-restrictive relative clauses and other ‘supplemental expressions’ are not always anchored to the speaker, although in the majority of cases they are; see Amaral et al. 2007, Harris & Potts 2010, and references cited there.

⁴⁸ Regina Yanti, p.c.