

# Imperatives in Ambon\*

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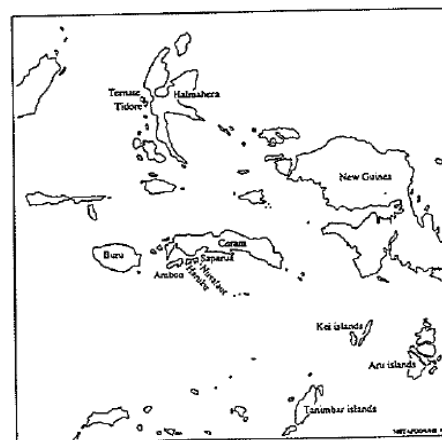
**Abstract:** This paper describes the morphosyntax of imperatives in Ambon Malay, a Malayic language spoken in the Maluku Islands of Indonesia. It covers both positive and negative second person imperatives and first person hortatives. There are descriptions of the placement and optionality of pronominal subjects and ways of modifying the politeness of the imperatives.

## 1. Introduction: The Submission

Indonesia is a country rich with language having 719 individual languages listed for the country (Simons & Fennig, 2018). Although 12 of these are extinct, there is still 707 living languages in the country. According to Simon & Fennig (2018), only 18 of these languages are institutionalized. Many dialects fall by the wayside with little documented about them sometimes due to the relatively low speaker count or are viewed as less important or prestigious compared to more mainstream languages. Unfortunately, Ambon Malay (AM), a Malayic language spoken in the Maluku Islands of Indonesia, is one of these languages that despite being rich in culture has relatively little documented about it. There are approximately 200,000 AM speakers (1987 J. Collins). Due to trade and colonization, this dialect has been greatly influenced by both Dutch and Portuguese. AM is a spoken in the Central Moluccas which is eastern Indonesia (van Minde, 1997).



Map 1: insular South-east Asia



Map 2: the Moluccas

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The following paper explores the various rules to follow when forming the imperative. In this SVO language, the verbs are uninflected for tense, mood, and aspect. Reduplication is used to mark the plural in this language. Additionally, the language does not contain grammatical gender. Imperative is a broad term that covers directive speech acts, such as commands and requests. There are also various elements, like social and pragmatic factors, that influence the speaker to lessen the severity of the command by framing it as a wish, invitation, request, or desire (Aikhenvald, 2016). Frequently, imperatives are associated with commands which are addressed to the second person singular subject (*ose* ‘you’), and it consists of the verb in its uninflected form, such as the English *Eat!* (Aikhenvald, 2010). In addition to the familiar second person singular command, Ambon also has the second person plural imperative (*kamorang* ‘you all’) and the first person plural imperative (*katong* ‘we’) which will be referred to as a hortative imperative. As previously mentioned, many social and pragmatic factors may alter the construction of imperatives. The relationship of the speaker and the addressee is a key factor in understanding the correct imperative construction. This paper will reference the social hierarchy which is being defined as a system of organizing people into different levels based on their importance in a society. A superior-subordinate relationship refers to the interaction between leaders and subordinates, such as an employer and employee or parent and child relationship. Equals refer to individuals who share the same level of importance in a society like co-workers.

The aim of this paper is to provide a description of imperatives in the Ambon language. Section 2 will provide a description of how to construct the imperative in the affirmative second person, subject optionality and possible position of the subjects, and the role of social and pragmatic factors. Section 3 will mimic Section 2’s format except they will be based on the first person plural subject. The following two sections will cover negative second person imperatives (Section 4) and negative first person singular imperatives (Section 5). The final section will provide a brief conclusion of the paper.

## **2. Affirmative Second Person Imperatives**

### **2.1. Form**

Imperatives in AM are formed using SVO word order with an optional second person pronoun. There is no imperative-specific morphology and such imperatives look like their corresponding declarative counterparts. In this paper, punctuation will be used to help distinguish between imperatives from declaratives, which may be superficially identical. Therefore, a sentence ending with a period is a declarative statement, and a sentence ending with an exclamation point is an imperative. (1) illustrates a declarative and the corresponding singular imperative. In (1b), the second person singular pronominal subject *ose* ‘2SG’ is present, in (1c) this subject is absent. The construction is the same for the second person plural imperative in example (2). In (2b), the second person plural subject *kamorang* ‘2PL’ is present, in (2c) this subject is absent. Later sections will discuss the situations where (1c) and (2c) are pragmatically appropriate.

- (1) a. Ose pi minong aer-puti.  
2<sub>SG</sub> go drink water  
'You go drink water.'
- b. Ose pi minong aer-puti!  
2<sub>SG</sub> go drink water  
'You go drink water!'
- c. Pi minong aer-puti!  
Go drink water  
'Go drink water!'
- (2) a. Kamorang baca buku.  
2<sub>PL</sub> read book  
'You all read the book.'
- b. Kamorang baca buku!  
2<sub>PL</sub> read book  
'You all read the book!'
- c. Baca buku!  
Read book  
'Read the book!'

## 2.2. Subject Options and Positions

If a subject is present, the position of the subject may not vary in second person imperatives. The subject must precede the verb for the imperative to be grammatical. Examples (3a) and (4a) are grammatical due to the placement of the subject before the verb. However, (3b) and (4b) are ungrammatical because the pronoun is placed between the verb and adverb. Likewise, (3c) and (4c) are ungrammatical because the subject is following the verb and adverb.

- (3) a. Ose makang skarang!  
2<sub>SG</sub> eat now  
'You eat now!'
- b. \* Makang ose skarang!  
Eat 2<sub>SG</sub> now  
'Eat you now!'
- c. \* Makang skarang ose!  
Eat now 2<sub>SG</sub>  
'Eat now you!'
- (4) a. Kamorang makang skarang!  
2<sub>PL</sub> eat now  
'You all eat now!'
- b. \* Makang kamorang skarang!

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- Eat      2<sub>PL</sub>          now  
'Eat you all now!'
- c. \* Makang skarang kamorang!  
Eat      now      2<sub>PL</sub>  
'Eat you all now!'

As stated above, subjects are optional in imperatives. However, our speaker seems to prefer to include the subject in the majority of situations. Both societal and pragmatic factors play a role in influencing the speaker to fill the subject slot. Our AM speaker tended to keep the subject unless there was immediate danger or she was speaking out of anger.

### 2.3. Social Hierarchy

Our Ambon speaker tended to include a subject when given a situation where a speaker was speaking to a superior. However, the subject is not a pronoun, but rather a specific name or a title. Thorne (1966) discusses that vocatives and imperative subjects are essentially two examples of the same idea. In contrast, Jensen (2004) provides six criteria to distinguish vocatives from imperatives, such as elements related to phonology, prosody, morphology, syntax, phase structure, and semantics. However, in many cases, it was still unclear if the speaker was using an imperative subject or vocative. Future research that further explores or builds upon Jensen's (2004) criteria is needed to better distinguish between the two in AM. Examples (5a) and (6a) illustrate that when an employee is stating a command to a superior(s), he/she will mitigate the force of the command by inserting a title (i.e. pak 'sir'). Although (5b) and (6b) are not ungrammatical, they are marked with a # to demonstrate that using a pronoun to refer to a superior(s) is disrespectful and is a little odd pragmatically. Examples (7) and (8) capture a comparable superior-subordinate relationship, except with a daughter and parent(s). Similarly, to mitigate the force of the command, the daughter would insert a name (i.e. mama 'mom') as in (7a) and (8a). Once again (7b) and (8b) are not ungrammatical, but the hashtag is meant to show that using a pronoun while commanding a parent(s) is socially unacceptable.

An employee is speaking to his boss.

- (5) a. Pak baca buku!  
      Sir read book  
      'Sir, read the book!'
- b. # Ose baca buku!  
          2SG read book  
          'You, read the book!'

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An employee is speaking to a large group of his bosses.

- (6) a. Bapak-bapak tolong baca buku !  
Sirs please read book  
'Sirs, please read the book!'
- b. # Kamorang baca buku ini itu!  
2<sub>PL</sub> read book PREP this  
'You all, read this book!'

A daughter is speaking to her mother.

- (7) a. Mama minong aer-puti!  
Mom drink water  
'Mom, drink water'
- b. # Ose minong aer-puti!  
2<sub>PL</sub> read water  
'You, drink water!'

A daughter is speaking to her parents.

- (8) a. Mama deng papa minong aer-puti!  
Mom drink dad drink water  
'Mom and Dad, drink water!'
- b. # Kamorang minong aer-puti!  
2<sub>PL</sub> drink water  
'You all drink water!'

Stating an imperative to an equal frequently requires the use of a subject unless the situation is dangerous or emotionally charged which will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.2. Example (9a) and (10a) demonstrate the presence of a second person pronoun when speaking to a hierarchical equal(s). The speaker may form the vocative by first stating the addressee's name as in (9b) and (10b). However, the pronoun is still needed to correctly complete the imperative. Examples (9c) and (10c) illustrate the omission of the pronoun is not acceptable.

The speaker is speaking to his/her friend John.

- (9) a. Ose dudu!  
2<sub>SG</sub> sit  
'You sit!'
- b. John ose dudu!

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- John 2<sub>SG</sub> sit  
'John, you sit'  
c. # Dudu!  
sit  
'Sit!'

The speaker is speaking to a group of male friends.

- (10) a. Kamorang dudu!  
2<sub>PL</sub> sit  
'You all sit!'  
b. Laki-laki kamorang dudu!  
Boys 2<sub>PL</sub> sit  
'Boys, you all sit'  
c. # Dudu!  
sit  
'Sit!'

Our AM speaker frequently included the subject pronoun even when speaking to subordinates (i.e. children, employees, etc.). Examples (11a) and (12a) show that a subject pronoun is required in an imperative if the speaker and addressee(s) are in a superior-subordinate relationship. Examples (11b) and (12b) demonstrate that omitting the subject pronoun is often viewed as inappropriate in most situations.

A parent speaking to a child.

- (11) a. Ose tidor skarang!  
2<sub>SG</sub> sleep now  
'You sleep now!'  
b. # Tidor skarang!  
sleep now  
'Sleep now!'

A daughter is speaking to a group of children.

- (12) a. Kamorang tidor skarang!  
2<sub>PL</sub> sleep now  
'You all sleep now!'  
b. # Tidor skarang!  
sleep now  
'Sleep now!'

## 2.4. Situational Factors

Both emotions and situational factors can play a role in a speaker's decision to omit subjects. Because these factors alter affirmative and negative imperatives in the same way, they will be discussed in further detail in Section 4.2.

## 3. Affirmative Hortative Imperatives

### 3.1. Form

There are various elements involved in the construction of hortatives. The particle *mari* 'come in' is sometimes present to turn imperatives into hortatives (Minde, 1997). Although *mari* means 'come in' in normal usage, that is most likely not its literal translation in the context of a hortative. Therefore, this paper will gloss it as HORT. Additionally, the word *samua* 'all' is frequently used in hortative constructions. There are several constructions to form the corresponding hortative which will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.2. However, example (13) illustrates a basic pattern that the hortative follows *mari* + (subject) + (*samua*) + verb. There are a few possibilities when forming the construction (1) 1PL pronoun *katong* 'we', (2) *katong samua*, (3) *samua katong*, or (4) *samua*. (13a) shows a first person plural declarative sentence with SVO word order. In (13b), it is *mari* + subject + *samua* + verb. It is also possible to switch *katong* and *samua* like (13c). The speaker may elect to omit the pronoun as in (13d) or omit *samua* like in (13e). (13f) demonstrates that it is possible to omit the pronoun all together.

- (13) a. Katong dudu  
1<sub>PL</sub> sit  
'We sit down.'
- b. Mari katong samua dudu!  
HORT 1<sub>PL</sub> all sit  
'Let's sit down'
- c. Mari samua katong dudu!  
HORT all 1<sub>PL</sub> sit  
'Let's all sit down!'
- d. Mari samua dudu di situ!  
HORT all sit PREP there  
'Let's all sit there!'
- e. Mari katong dudu di situ!  
HORT 1<sub>PL</sub> sit PREP there  
'Let's sit there!'
- f. Mari dudu di situ!  
HORT sit PREP there!  
'Let's sit there!'

### 3.2. Subject/Particle Position

As Section 3.1 illustrated, there are various patterns the speaker may elect to use when constructing the hortative. For instance, the position of the subject and *samua* may vary greatly when forming the hortative in AM:

(14) (subject) + *mari* + (subject) + (*samua*) + VP.

This pattern has three options: (1) *mari* + subject + verb like (14a), (2) subject + *mari* + verb like (14b), and (3) subject + *mari* + *samua* + verb like (14c). (14c) differs from (14a) and (14b) mainly because the *mari* splits *katong* + *samua*. It would be unlikely that both *katong* and *samua* serve as subjects in the sentence. Therefore, it is possible that *samua* is a modifier of an overt or null pronoun. The sentence is marked ungrammatical when *mari* follows the verb as in (14d).

- (14) a. Mari      katong      samua      dudu      di      situ!  
          HORT      1PL      all      sit      PREP      there  
          ‘Let’s all sit there’
- b. Katong      samua      mari      dudu      di      situ!  
          1PL      all      HORT      sit      PREP      there  
          ‘Let’s all sit down!’
- c. Katong      mari      samua      dudu      di      situ!  
          1PL      HORT      all      sit      PREP      there  
          ‘Let’s all sit down!’
- d. \* Katong      samua      dudu      mari      di      situ!  
          1PL      all      sit      HORT      PREP      there  
          ‘Let’s all sit down!’

### 3.3. Social Hierarchy

Although there are various ways to form the hortative, subordinates need to use the politest form when speaking to their superiors. Section 3.1 and 3.2 presented only some of the possible constructions of the hortative. It is possible to create a hortative without *mari* which can be seen below. Example (15) illustrates possible imperatives to say to a group of superiors. The politest construction is the inclusion of the 1PL pronoun, the particle *mari*, and *samua* like (15a). Omitting *mari* is not ungrammatical (15b), but it is not as respectful as (15a). The most disrespectful option would be to simply have 1PL + verb, such as (15c). Although (15c) could arguably be a declarative statement, the speaker gave a very similar translation as (15a) and (15b).

You are speaking to three of your professors. You want you and your three professors to sit down.

- (15) a. Mari      katong      samua      dudu      di      situ!  
          HORT      1PL      all      sit      PREP      there  
          ‘Let’s all sit there!’
- b. Katong      samua      dudu      di      situ.  
          1PL      all      sit      PREP      there



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- c. 'Let's all sit there.'  
Katong dudu di situ!  
We sit PREP there  
'Let's sit there!'

When speaking to your equal there is little need for politeness or formality. Although the inclusion of *mari* and *samua* in (16a) or just *samua* as in (16b) are grammatical, they are a tad formal when speaking with friends. According to our speaker, she would say (16c) when speaking to friends because there is no need for formality or politeness when speaking to your hierarchical equal.

You are speaking to three of your friends. You want you and your three friends to sit down.

- (16) a. Mari katong samua dudu di situ!  
HORT 1PL all sit PREP there  
'Let's all sit there!'
- b. Katong samua dudu di situ!  
1PL all sit PREP there  
'Let's all sit there!'
- c. Katong dudu di situ!  
1PL sit PREP there  
'Let's sit there!'

When speaking to a subordinate, there is no need for politeness. Although a superior could state a declarative sentence like (17c), typically a superior will elect to show respect by adding *samua* such as (17b) or both *mari* and *samua* as in (17a).

You are a boss of a company. You are speaking to three of your employees. You want-you and your three employees to sit down.

- (17) a. Mari katong samua dudu di situ!  
HORT 1PL all sit PREP there  
'Let's all sit there.'
- b. Katong samua dudu di situ!  
1PL all sit PREP there  
'Let's all sit there!'
- c. Katong dudu di situ.  
1PL sit PREP there  
'Let's sit there.'

### **3.4. Situational Factors**

The effects of emotions and emergency situations on constructing both the affirmative and negative hortative imperative will be discussed in further detail in Section 5.3.

#### 4. Negative Second Person Imperatives

##### 4.1. Form

The second person negative imperative can be constructed by inserting the negative marker *jang* into the pattern:

(18) (NEG) + (subject) + (NEG) + verb

This pattern has two options: (1) subject + NEG + verb like (18a) and (2) NEG + subject + verb like (18b). However, inserting the negative marker after the verb results in an ungrammatical sentence, such as (18c) \*subject + verb + NEG.

- (18) a. Ose      jang      dudu      di      situ!  
 2SG      NEG      sit      PREP      there  
 ‘You don’t sit there!’
- b. Jang      ose      dudu      di      situ!  
 NEG      2 SG      sit      PREP      there  
 ‘You don’t sit there!’
- c. \* Ose      dudu      jang      di      situ!  
 2SG      sit      NEG      PREP      there  
 ‘You don’t sit there!’

- (19) a. Kamorang      jang      dudu      di      situ!  
 2PL              NEG      sit      PREP      there  
 ‘You all don’t sit there!’
- b. Jang      kamorang      dudu      di      situ!  
 NEG      2PL              sit      PREP      there  
 ‘You all don’t sit there!’
- c. \* Kamorang      dudu      jang      di      situ!  
 2PL              sit      NEG      PREP      there  
 ‘You all don’t sit there!’

#### 5. Situational Factors

##### 5.1 Form

Although our AM speaker preferred to keep the subject when forming imperatives, both anger and life threatening situations caused her to omit pronouns both when forming affirmative and negative imperatives. Examples (20) and (21) each illustrate two acceptable grammatical responses from an individual speaking out of anger. Examples (20a) and (21a) include the pronoun. However, in this situation the omission of the pronoun is permitted as in (20b) and (21b). The same rules apply to form the negative, so (20c) is grammatical, but our speaker preferred to omit the pronoun like (20d).

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A parent yells at his child.

- (20) a. Ose makang skarang!  
2SG eat now  
'You eat now!'
- b. Makang skarang!  
Eat now  
'Eat now!'
- c. Ose jang makang skarang!  
2SG NEG eat now  
'You don't eat now!'
- d. Jang makang skarang!  
NEG eat now  
'Don't eat now!'

While at dinner, all the children refuse to eat their dinner. The parent is very angry and yells.

- (21) a. Kamorang makang skarang!  
2PL eat now  
'You all eat now!'
- b. Makang skarang!  
Eat now  
'Eat now!'

In addition to speaking out of anger, immediate danger also causes the speaker to omit the subject. However, not just an emergency situation, but an immediate threat is required to cause subject omission. Examples (22a) and (23a) demonstrate that the speaker prefers to keep the subject even though the addressee(s) is in a potentially dangerous situation. On the other hand, (22b) and (23b) illustrate the strong inclination to keep the subject despite potential danger coming.

Your friend is walking home from school. It starts raining very hard, and it is too dangerous to continue walking. He is next to a restaurant, so you tell him,

- (22) a. Ose stop di sini dolo!  
2SG stop PREP here first  
'You wait here!'
- b. # Stop di sini dolo!  
Stop PREP here first  
'Wait here!'

Your friends are walking home from school. It starts raining very hard, and it is too dangerous to continue walking. They are next to a restaurant. You say,

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- (23) a. Kamorang stop di sini dolo!  
2PL stop PREP here first  
b. # Stop di sini dolo!  
Stop PREP here first  
'Wait here!'

Our speaker did elect to omit the subject to save time when there is an immediate threat. Examples (24a) and (25a) demonstrate that there is an appropriate situation to drop the subject. Both (24b) and (25b) are grammatically correct. However, it would be more likely for the speaker to drop the subject in a life-threatening situation.

Your friend is walking down the street looking for shelter. There is a tornado about to come any second. He is next to a restaurant. You yell,

- (24) a. Stop di sini dolo!  
Stop PREP here first  
'Wait here!'  
b. Ose stop di sini dolo!  
2SG stop PREP here first  
'You wait here!'

Your friends are walking down the street looking for shelter. There is a tornado about to come any second. They are next to a restaurant. You yell,

- (25) a. Stop di sini dolo!  
2PL PREP here first  
'Wait here!'  
b. Kamorang stop di sini dolo!  
2 PL stop PREP here first  
'Wait here!'

## 6. Negative Hortative Imperatives

### 6.1. Form

To form the negative hortative also requires the addition of the negative marker *jang*. However, it is more complex than forming the negative second person imperative because the position of *jang* as well as the required elements may vary. A possible pattern to follow in order to construct the negative hortative is

- (26) (subject) + (*mari*) + (subject) + *jang* + (subject) + verb

As previously stated in Section 3.1, there are four possibilities to construct the hortative (1) 1PL pronoun *katong* 'we', (2) *katong samua*, (3) *samua katong*, or (4) *samua*. Example (26a) represents subject + *mari* + *jang* + verb. Example (26b) represents *mari* + subject + *jang* + verb. The third option is *mari* + *jang* + subject + verb like (26c). It is even possible to omit *mari* and construct subject + *jang* + verb like (26d) or *jang* + subject + verb like (26e).

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- (26) a. Katong mari jang dudu di situ!  
 1PL come.in NEG sit PREP there  
 ‘Let’s not sit down there!’
- b. Mari katong samua jang dudu di situ!  
 Come.in 1PL all NEG sit PREP here  
 ‘Let’s not sit down here!’
- c. Mari jang katong samua dudu di situ!  
 Come.in NEG 1PL all sit PREP here  
 ‘Let’s not sit down here!’
- d. Katong samua jang dudu di situ!  
 1PL all NEG sit PREP here  
 ‘Let’s not sit down here!’
- e. Jang katong samua dudu di situ!  
 NEG 1PL all sit PREP here  
 ‘Let’s not sit down here!’

As stated above, the formula to follow when constructing the negative hortative is (subject) + (*mari*) + (subject) + *jang* + (subject) + verb. Therefore, attempting to construct a negative hortative that does not follow this pattern will lead to ungrammatical imperatives. For example, (27a) is ungrammatical because the negative marker follows the verb. Example (27b) is ungrammatical because *jang* precedes *mari*. Unlike the affirmative imperative, the speaker cannot separate the two subject particles (i.e. *katong* and *samua*) as in (27c).

- (27) a. \* Mari katong samua dudu jang di situ!  
 Come.in 1PL all sit NEG PREP here  
 ‘Let’s not sit down here!’
- b. \* Jang mari katong samua dudu di situ!  
 NEG come.in 1PL all sit PREP here  
 ‘Let’s not sit down here!’
- c. \* Mari katong jang samua dudu di situ!  
 Come.in 1PL NEG all sit PREP here  
 ‘Let’s not sit down here!’

## 6.2. Social Hierarchy

The same hierarchical rules that applied to the affirmative hortative apply to the negative hortative. Therefore, all the examples in (28) are grammatical. However, they are listed from the politest example (28a) to the least polite example (28c).

If the speaker were addressing a group of superiors, (28a) would be the most appropriate with the inclusion of *mari*, the pronoun, and *samua*. (28b) is slightly less polite with the omission of *mari*. Finally, (28c) is the rudest with the omission of *mari* and *samua*.

If the speaker were addressing a group of friends, then (28a) with the use of *mari*, pronoun, and *samua* is very formal to be using with one’s equals. (28b) is more acceptable with just the use

of the pronoun and *samua*. Finally, (28c) with the omission of both *mari* and *samua* is also acceptable because there is no need for formality when addressing one's equal.

Finally, there is no need for politeness when speaking to one's inferiors. However, in a working setting the majority of bosses would elect to be polite while speaking to their employees. Therefore, it would be common to hear a boss say the politest hortative (28a) which includes *mari*, the pronoun, and *samua*. Additionally, (28b) is also acceptable with the deletion of *mari*. (28c) which consists of a negative marker and pronoun would be fine to say, but it is unnecessarily rude to say to one's employees.

- (28) a. Mari      jang      katong      samua      dudu      di      situ!  
 Come.in   NEG   1PL      all      sit      PREP   there  
 'Let's all not sit there!'
- b. Katong      jang      samua      dudu      di      situ!  
 1PL      NEG      all      sit      PREP      there  
 'Let's all not sit there!'
- c. Jang      katong      dudu      di      situ!  
 NEG   1PL      sit      PREP      there  
 'Let's not sit there!'

### 6.3. Situational Factors

Comparable to the second person imperative, anger and life-threatening situations will cause the speaker to omit the subject when forming both the affirmative and negative hortative imperative. Example (29) illustrates grammatical responses that a speaker may say out of anger. In this situation, the speaker would most likely not say (29a) which is long and polite, but instead say the shortened hortative, such as (29b). The same rules apply for negative hortatives. Both examples (29c) and (29d) are acceptable, but the shortened version (29d) would be most common to hear in the given situation.

Parent speaking out of anger to a child/children.

- (29) a. Mari      katong      samua      dudu      skarang!  
 Come.in   1PL      all      sit      now  
 'Let's all sit now!'
- b. Samua      dudu      skarang!  
 All      sit      now  
 'Let's all sit now!'
- c. Mari      katong      samua      jang      makang      di      sini!  
 Come.in   1PL      all      NEG      eat      PREP      here  
 'Let's all not eat here!'
- d. Samua      jang      makang      di      sini!  
 all      NEG      eat      PREP      here  
 'Let's not eat here!'

### *Imperatives in Ambon*

Once again, if there is immediate danger coming, the speaker will elect to omit the pronoun and particles in an effort to save time. Therefore, (30a) illustrates the longest and most formal way to express the negative hortative. (30b) is the shortest form which would only be acceptable in an emergency situation.

There is a tornado coming, so you and your friends are trying to run home in time. You are walking passed a restaurant. You see the tornado is about to come and you must immediately take shelter in the restaurant. You yell,

- (30) a. Mari        katong        stop    di        sini        dolo!  
          Come.in 1PL        stop    PREP    here        first  
          ‘Let’s stop here!’
- b. Stop    di        sini        dolo  
          Stop    PREP    here        first  
          ‘Stop here!’

### **7. Conclusion**

It is often difficult to distinguish imperatives from declarative sentences in Ambon because verbs are uninflected for tense, mood, and aspect. Typically, declaratives do not lack a subject and thus the absence of a subject is a diagnostic of an imperative. Our speaker preferred to include a subject while constructing most imperatives which is another reason why it is so challenging to identify an imperative. There is still much research that needs to be done to better understand imperatives in AM. There are a number of pragmatic generalizations to keep in mind when constructing second person and hortative imperatives.

I. The subject is present in forming the second person and hortative imperative unless the speaker is speaking out of anger or immediate danger is coming.

II. An Imperative/Hortative subject must appear before the main verb, but it is otherwise unrestricted in position.

III. The relationship between the speaker and addressee plays an important role in deciding the construction of the imperative.

a. The use of a pronoun is often used when speaking to equals and subordinates.

b. For both affirmative and negative second person imperatives, the inclusion of a title (pak ‘sir’) or a name (mama ‘mom’) is necessary when speaking to superior(s).

c. For the hortative imperative, the politest way to address a superior is the following construction: mari + pronoun + samua + verb.

d. For negative hortatives, the politest construction: mari + jang + katong + samua + verb is the most appropriate when addressing superiors.

e. Our speaker has fewer formal options when addressing her equals and superiors, such as pronoun + samua + verb, or simply pronoun + verb.

IV.

a. The affirmative second person imperative is formed by following the construction: (subject) + verb.

b. In order to create the negative second person imperative, the speaker must insert the negative marker *jang* before the verb: (NEG) + (subject) + (NEG) + verb.

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c. This construction (subject) + mari + (subject) + (samua) + VP is used to form the affirmative first person plural imperative.

d. Inserting the negative marker before the verb can create the negative first personal plural imperative: (subject) + (mari) + (subject) + jang + (subject) + verb.

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