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A grammar of Papuan Malay

A grammar of Papuan Malay

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buat Kori[†], Nela[†], Frits[†] dorang

Acknowledgements

Summary contents

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List of abbreviations

1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	L.PROX	locative, proximal
1PL	1st person plural	LAB	labial
1SG	1st person singular	LAT-APRX	lateral-approximant
2PL	2nd person plural	LIG	ligature
2SG	2nd person singular	LIQ	liquid
3PL	3rd person plural	LOC	location
3POSSR	third person, possessor	MOD	modifier
3SG	3rd person singular	N	noun
ACL	accidental	N.LOC	noun, location
ADNOM	adnominal	NAS	nasal
ADV	adverb	NEG	negation, negative
ADVS	adversative	NEG.IMP	negative imperative
AFFR	affricate	NMLZ	nominalizer
AG	agent	NOM	nominal
AGT	agentive	NP	noun phrase
AL	alienable	NUM	numeral
ALV	alveolar	O	object
AN	animate	OBSTR	obstruent
APR	approximant	PAL	palatal
A-P-ULT	antepenultimate	PAL-ALV	palato-alveolar
ATTR	attributive	PAT	patient
C	consonant	PFX	prefix
CAUS	causative	PL	plural
CL	clause	PLOS	plosive
CMPR	comparative	PN	noun, proper
CNJ	conjunction	POSS	possessive
D.DIST	demonstrative, distal	POSSM	possessum
D.PROX	demonstrative, proximal	POSSR	possessor
DEM	demonstrative	PP	prepositional phrase
DIM	diminution	PRED	predicate, predicative
DIPH	diphthong	PRO	personal pronoun
DY	dynamic	PRONOM	pronominal
EMPH	emphasis, emphatic	P-ULT	penultimate
FRIC	fricative	QT	quantifier
GLOT	glottal	RC	relative clause
HUM	human	RDP	reduplicant
INAL	inalienable	RECP	reciprocal
INAN	inanimate	REL	relativizer
INS	instrument	RES	result
INT	interrogative	RHOT	rhotic
INTR	intransitive	S	subject
Is	Isirawa	SG	singular
k.o.	kind of	s.o.	someone
L.DIST	locative, distal	SPM	speech mistake
L.MED	locative, medial	ST	stative

s.th.	something
SUPL	superlative
SYLB	syllable
TRU	truncated
ULT	ultimate
UP	unclear pronunciation
UV	undergoer voice
V	vowel
V	verb
V.BI	verb, bivalent
V.MO	verb monovalent
V.TRI	verb, trivalent
VBLZ	verbalizer
VEL	velar
VP	verb phrase
ySb	younger sibling
oSb	older sibling

Maps

1. Geographical maps

Map 1: West Papua

MapMaker Interactive – ©2013 nationalgeographic.com

Map 2: West Papua with its provinces Papua and Papua Barat

MapMaker Interactive – ©2013 nationalgeographic.com

Map 3:   Sarmi regency with some of its towns and villages

MapMaker Interactive – ©2013 nationalgeographic.com
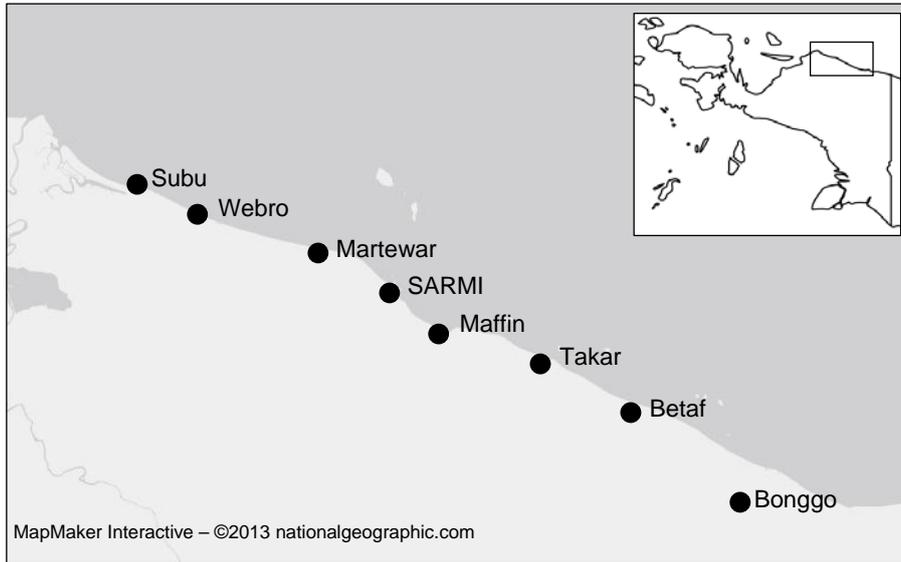
2.   Language maps

On Map 4, the Fedan language is listed as Podena, Dineor as Maremgi, Keijar as Keder, Mo as Wakde, and Sunum as Yamna (see §1.1.2).

Map 4:   Austronesian and Papuan languages in the larger Sarmi region
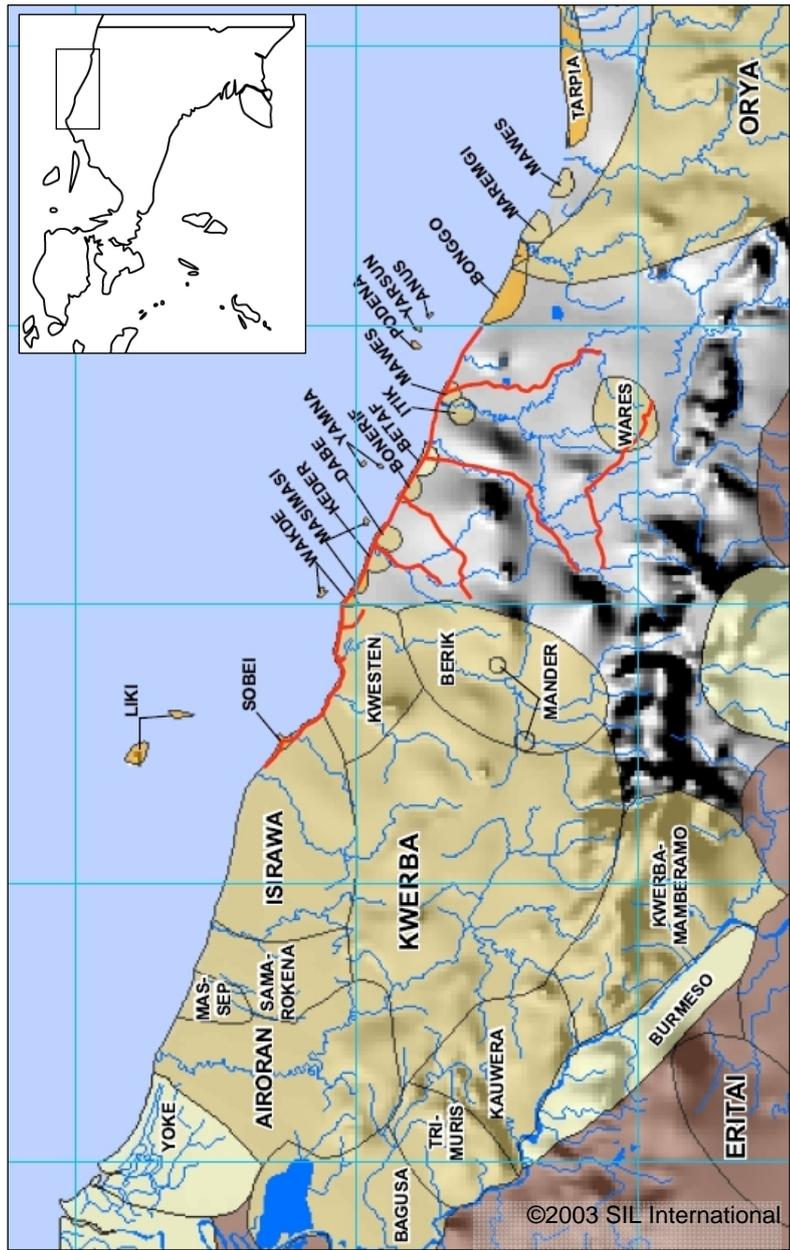
Map 5:   West Papua with major urban areas

MapMaker Interactive – ©2013 nationalgeographic.com
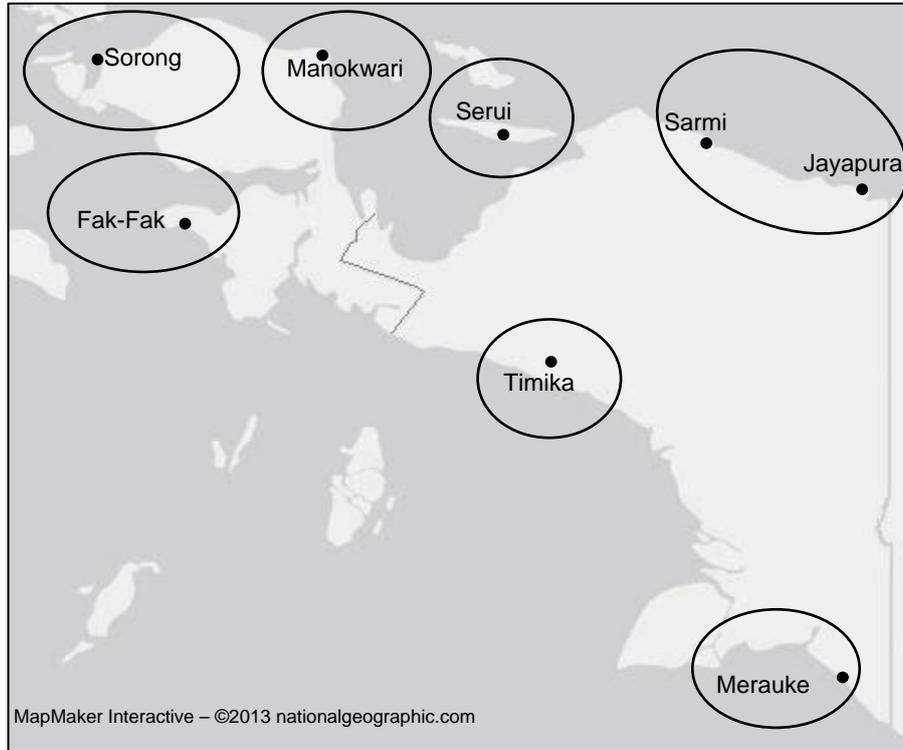
1. Introduction

Papuan Malay is spoken in West Papua, which covers the western part of the island of New Guinea. This grammar describes Papuan Malay as spoken in the Sarmi area, which is located about 300 km west of Jayapura. Both towns are situated on the northeast coast of West Papua. (See Map 1 on p. xxi and Map 2 on p. xxi.)

This chapter provides an introduction to Papuan Malay. The first section (§1.1) gives general background information about the language in terms of its larger geographical and linguistic settings and its speakers. In §1.2, the history of the language is summarized. The classification of Papuan Malay and its dialects are discussed in §1.3, followed in §1.4 by a description of its typological profile and in §1.5 of its sociolinguistic profile. In §1.6, previous research on Papuan Malay is summarized, followed in §1.7 by a brief overview of available materials in Papuan Malay. In §1.8 methodological aspects of the present study are described.

1.1. General information

This section presents the geographical and linguistic setting of Papuan Malay and its speakers, and the area where the present research on Papuan Malay was conducted. The geographical setting is described in §1.1.1, and the linguistic setting in §1.1.2. Speaker numbers are discussed in §1.1.3, occupation details in §1.1.4, education and literacy rates in §1.1.5, and religious affiliations in §1.1.6. The setting for the present research is described in §1.1.7.

1.1.1. Geographical setting

Papuan Malay is mostly spoken in the coastal areas of West Papua. As there is a profusion of terms related to this geographical area, some terms need to be defined before providing more information on the geographical setting of Papuan Malay.

"West Papua" denotes the western part of the island of New Guinea. More precisely, the term describes the entire area west of the Papua New Guinea border up to the western coast of the Bird's Head, as show in Map 1 (p. xxi).[1] In addition to the name "West Papua", two related terms are used in subsequent sections, namely "Papua province" and "Papua Barat province". Both refer to administrative entities within West Papua. As illustrated in Map 2 (p. xxi), Papua province covers the area west of the Papua New Guinea border up to the Bird's Neck; the provincial capital is Jayapura. Papua Barat province, with its capital Manokwari, covers the Bird's Head.

The following information on the island of New Guinea and West Papua is taken from Encyclopædia Britannica Inc. (2001a-, 2001b-, and 2001c-).

Located in the western Pacific ocean, New Guinea belongs to the eastern Malay Archipelago. With its 821,400 square km and its extension of 2,400 in length from northwest to southeast and 650 km in width from north to south, New Guinea is the second largest island in the world.

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[1] This term is also used in the literature, as for instance in King (2004), Kingsbury and Aveling (2002), and Tebay (2005).

West Papua occupies the western part of New Guinea. With its 317,062 square km, it covers about 40% of New Guinea's landmass. Its length from the border with Papua New Guinea in the east to the western tip of the Bird's Head is about 1,200 km. Its north-south extension along the border with Papua New Guinea is about 700 km. The central part of West Papua is dominated by the Maoke Mountains, which are an extension of the mountain ranges of Papua New Guinea. The Maoke range has an east-west extension of about 640 km and rise up to 4,884 meters at snow-covered Jaya Peak. For the most part the mountain range is covered with tropical rainforest, which also covers the northern lowlands. The southern lowlands are dominated by large swampy areas drained by major river systems. In terms of its flora, West Papua, as the whole of New Guinea, is part of the *Malesian botanical subkingdom* which stretches from Myanmar in the west to the Fiji islands in the east. As for fauna, West Papua, again as all of New Guinea, is part of the Australian faunal region; typical for this area are the many different kinds of marsupials. The climate is mostly tropical with average temperatures of about 30-32 °C in the lowlands and 22 °C in the highlands.

West Papua is rich in natural resources. Gold and copper are mined southwest of Mount Jaya at Tembagapura, petroleum in the Doberai Peninsula in the western part of the Bird's Head, and gas in Bintuni Bay, south of the Bird's Head; valuable timber is found in the thick tropical rainforests covering most of West Papua.

1.1.2.   Linguistic setting

West Papua is the home of 275 languages. Of these, 218 are non-Austronesian, or Papuan, languages (79%).[2] The remaining 57 languages are Austronesian (21%) (Lewis et al. 2013).[3]

In the Sarmi regency, where most of the research for this description of Papuan Malay was conducted, both Papuan and Austronesian languages are found, as shown in Map 4 (p. xxiii). Between Bonggo in the east and the Mamberamo River in the west, 23 Papuan languages are spoken. Most of these languages belong to the Tor-Kwerba language family (21 languages). One of them is Isirawa, the language of the author's host family. The other twenty Papuan languages are Airoran, Bagusa, Beneraf, Berik, Betaf, Dabe, Dineor, Itik, Jofotek-Bromnya, Kauwera, Keijar, Kwerba, Kwerba Mamberamo, Kwesten, Kwinsu, Mander, Mawes, Samarokena, Trimuris, Wares, and Yoke. The remaining two languages are Yoke which is a Lower Mamberamo language, and the isolate Massep. In addition, eleven Austronesian languages are spoken in the Sarmi regency. All eleven languages belong to the Sarmi branch of the Sarmi-Jayapura Bay subgroup, namely Anus, Bonggo, Fedan, Kaptiau, Liki, Masimasi, Mo, Sobei, Sunum, Tarpia, and Yarsun. While all of these languages are listed in the *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al. 2013), three of them are not included in Map 4 (p. xxiii), namely Jofotek-Bromnya and Kaptiau,

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[2]   For a discussion of the term 'Papuan languages' see Footnote 30.

[3]   The *Ethnologue* Lewis et al. (2013) lists Papuan Malay as a Malay-based creole, while here it is counted among the Austronesian languages (see also §1.3.1). A listing of West Papua's languages is available at http://www.ethnologue.com/country/id/languages and http://www.ethnologue.com/map/ID_pe_.

both of which are spoken in the area around Bonggo, and Kwinsu which is spoken in the area east of Sarmi.

Of the 23 Papuan languages, one is "developing" (Kwerba) and five are "vigorous" (see Table 1). The remaining languages are "threatened" (7 languages), "shifting" to Papuan Malay (7 languages), "moribund" (1 language), or "nearly extinct" (2 languages). One of the threatened languages is Isirawa, the language of the author's host family.[4]

Most of the 23 Papuan languages are spoken by populations of 500 or less (16 languages), and another three have between 600 and 1,000 speakers. Only three have larger populations of between 1,800 and 2,500 speakers. One of them is the "developing" language Kwerba.

Table 1:   Papuan languages in the Sarmi regency: Status and populations

Name & ISO 639-3 code		Status	Population
Aironan	[air]	6a (Vigorous)	1,000
Bagusa	[bqb]	6a Vigorous	600
Beneraf	[bnv]	7 (Shifting)	200
Berik	[bkl]	7 (Shifting)	200
Betaf	[bfe]	6b (Threatened)	600
Dabe	[dbe]	7 (Shifting)	440
Dineor	[mrx]	8a (Moribund)	55
Isirawa	[srl]	6b (Threatened)	1,800
Itik	[itx]	6b (Threatened)	80
Jofotek-Bromnya	[jbr]	6b (Threatened)	200
Kauwera	[xau]	6a (Vigorous)	400
Keijar	[kdy]	7 (Shifting)	370
Kwerba	[kwe]	5 (Developing)	2,500
Kwerba Mamberamo	[xwr]	6a (Vigorous)	300
Kwesten	[kwt]	7 (Shifting)	2,000
Kwinsu	[kuc]	7 (Shifting)	500
Mander	[mqr]	8b (Nearly extinct)	20
Massep	[mvs]	8b (Nearly extinct)	25
Mawes	[mgk]	6b (Threatened)	850
Samarokena	[tmj]	6b (Threatened)	400

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[4]   The *Ethnologue* Lewis et al. (2013) give the following definitions for the status of these languages: 5 (Developing) – The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable; 6a (Vigorous) – The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable; 6b (Threatened) – The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users; 7 (Shifting) – The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children; 8a (Moribund) – The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older; 8b (Nearly Extinct) – The only remaining users of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language. (For details see http://www.ethnologue.com/about/language-status).

Name & ISO 639-3 code		Status	Population
Trimuris	[tip]	6a (Vigorous)	300
Wares	[wai]	7 (Shifting)	200
Yoke	[yki]	6b (Threatened)	200

Three of the 23 Papuan languages have been researched to some extent, namely "shifting" Berik, "threatened" Isirawa, and "developing" Kwerba. The resources on these languages include word lists, descriptions of selected grammatical topics, issues related to literacy in these languages, anthropological studies, and materials written in these languages. Isirawa especially has a quite substantial corpus of resources, including the New Testament of the Bible. Moreover, the language has seen a five-year literacy program. In spite of these language development efforts, the language is loosing its users. In four languages a sociolinguistic study was carried out in 1998 (Clouse et al. 2002), namely in Aironan, Massep, Samarokena, and Yoke. Limited lexical resources are also available in Samarokena and Yoke, as well as in another eight languages (Beneraf, Dabe, Dineor, Itik, Kauwera, Kwesten, Mander, and Mawes). For the remaining eight languages no resources are available except for their listing in the *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al. 2013) and *Glottolog* (Nordhoff et al. 2013): Bagusa, Betaf, Jofotek-Bromnya, Keijar, Kwerba Mamberamo, Kwinsu, Trimuris, and Wares. (For more details see Appendix D.)[5]

Of the eleven Austronesian languages, one is threatened, four are "shifting" to Papuan Malay, five are "moribund", and one is "nearly extinct" (see Table 2). Most of these languages have less than 650 speakers. The exception is Sobei with a population of 1,850 speakers. Sobei is also the only Austronesian language that has been researched to some extent. The resources on Sobei include word lists, descriptions of some of its grammatical features, anthropological studies, and one lexical resource in Sobei. In another four languages limited lexical resources are available. For the remaining six languages no resources are available, except for their listing in the *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al. 2013) and *Glottolog* (Nordhoff et al. 2013): Fedan, Kaptiau, Liki, Masimasi, Sunum, and Yarsun. (For more details see Appendix D.)

Table 2:   Austronesian languages in the Sarmi regency: Status and populations

Name & ISO 639-3 code		Status	Population
Anus	[auq]	7 (Shifting)	320
Bonggo	[bpg]	8a (Moribund)	320
Fedan	[pdn]	8a (Moribund)	280
Kaptiau	[kbi]	7 (Shifting)	230
Liki	[lio]	8a (Moribund)	11

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[5]   The *Ethnologue* Lewis et al. (2013) provides basic information about these languages including their linguistic classification, alternate names, dialects, their status in terms of their overall development, population totals, and location. The *Ethnologue* is available at http://www.ethnologue.com. *Glottolog* (Nordhoff et al. 2013) is an online resource provides a comprehensive catalogue of the world's languages, language families and dialects. Glottolog is available at http://glottolog.org/.

Name & ISO 639-3 code		Status	Population
Masimasi	[ism]	8b (nearly extinct)	10
Mo	[wkd]	7 (Shifting)	550
Sobei	[sob]	7 (Shifting)	1,850
Sunum	[ynm]	6b (Threatened)	560
Tarpia	[tpf]	8a (Moribund)	630
Yarsun	[yrs]	8a (Moribund)	200

1.1.3.   Speaker numbers

The conservative assessment presented in this section estimates the number of Papuan Malay speakers in West Papua to be about 1,100,000 or 1,200,000.

Previous work provides different estimates for the number of people who use Papuan Malay as a language of wider communication. Burung and Sawaki (2007), for instance, give an estimate of one million speakers, while Paauw (2008: 71) approximates their number at 2.2 million speakers. As for first language speakers, Clouse (2000: 1) estimates their number at 500,000. None of the authors provides information on how they arrived at these numbers.

The attempt here to approximate the number of Papuan Malay speakers is based on the 2010 census, conducted by the Non-Departmental Government Institution Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS-Statistics Indonesia). More specifically, the speaker estimate is based on the statistics published by the BPS-Statistics branches for Papua province and Papua Barat province.[6]

According to the BPS-Statistics for Papua province and Papua Barat province, the total population of West Papua is 3,593,803; this includes 2,833,381 inhabitants of Papua province and 760,422 inhabitants of Papua Barat province[7] (Bidang Necara Wilayah dan Analisis Statistik 2011: 92, and Bidang Necara Wilayah dan Analisis Statistik 2011: 11–14). The census data does not discuss the number of Papuan Malay speakers. The (online) data does, however, give information about ethnicity (Papuan versus non-Papuan)[8] by regency (for detailed population totals see Appendix E).

The present attempt at approximating the number of Papuan Malay speakers is based on the following assumptions: (1) Papuans who live in the coastal regencies of West Papua are most likely to speak Papuan Malay, (2) Papuans living in the

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[6]   Statistics from BPS-Statistics Indonesia are available at http://www.bps.go.id/. Statistics for Papua province are available at http://papua.bps.go.id, and statistics for Papua Barat province are available at http://irjabar.bps.go.id/. In late 2010, Papua province was divided into two provinces: Papua province in the east and Papua Tengah province in the west. The 2010 census data do not yet make this distinction.

[7]   Population totals for Papua province are also available at http://papua.bps.go.id/yii/9400/ index.php/post/552/Jumlah+Penduduk+Papua, and for Papua Barat province at http://irjabar.bps.go.id/publikasi/2011/Statistik%20Daerah%20Provinsi%20Papua%20Bar at%202011/baca_publikasi.php.

[8]   A "Papuan" is defined as someone who has at least one Papuan parent, is married to a Papuan, has been adopted into a Papuan family, or has been living in Papua for 35 years Bidang Necara Wilayah dan Analisis Statistik (2011: 11).

interior regencies are less likely to speak Papuan Malay, and (3) non-Papuans living in West Papua are less likely to speak Papuan Malay. It is acknowledged, of course, that there might be older Papuans living in remote coastal areas who do not speak Papuan Malay, that there might be Papuans living in the interior who speak Papuan Malay, and that there might be non-Papuans who speak Papuan Malay.

For Papua province, the census data by regency and ethnicity give a total of 2,810,008 inhabitants, including 2,150,376 (76.53%) and 659,632 non-Papuans (23.47%), who live in its 29 regencies.[9] (This total of 2,810,008 more or less matches the total given for the entire province which lists the entire population of Papua province with 2,833,381). Of the 29 regencies, 14 are essentially coastal; the remaining 15 are located in the interior.[10] The total population for the 14 coastal regencies is 1,364,505, which includes 756,335 Papuans and 608,170 non-Papuans. Based on the above assumptions that Papuans living in coastal areas can speak Papuan Malay, and that non-Papuans are less likely to speak it, the number of Papuan Malay speakers living in Papua province is estimated at 760,000 speakers.

For Papua Barat province, the census data by regency and ethnicity gives a total of 760,422 inhabitants, including 405,074 Papuans (53.27%) and 355,348 non-Papuans (46.73%) living in its 11 regencies.[11] Ten of its regencies are essentially coastal; the exception is Maybrat, which is located in the interior. The total population for the ten regencies is 727,341, including 373,302 Papuans and 354,039 non-Papuans. Based on the above assumptions, the number of Papuan Malay speakers living in Papua Barat province is estimated with 380,000 speakers. (Bidang Necara Wilayah dan Analisis Statistik 2011: 11–14)

These findings give a total of between 1,100,000 to 1,200,000 potential speakers of Papuan Malay (PM). This estimate is conservative, as people living in the interior are excluded. Moreover, non-Papuans are excluded from this total. However, the results of a sociolinguistic survey carried out in 2007 by the Papuan branch of SIL International in several costal regencies indicate "substantive use of PM by non-Papuan residents of the region" (Scott et al. 2008: 11).

The population estimate presented here does not make any statements about the potential number of first language Papuan Malay speakers. The results of the 2007 survey indicate, however, that large numbers of children learn Papuan Malay at home: "All of the [14] focus groups interviewed indicated that PM is spoken in their region and 70% of the groups suggested that PM is the first language children learn

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9   The statistics for Papua province do not give population details by regency and ethnicity *per se*. They do, however, include this information in providing population details by religious affiliation under the category *Sosial Budaya* 'Social (affairs) and Culture' (http://papua.bps.go.id/yii/9400/index.php/site/page?view=sp2010). By adding up the population details according to religious affiliation it is possible to arrive at overall totals by regency and ethnicity.

10   Coastal regencies: Asmat, Biak Numfor, Jayapura, Kota Jayapura, Keerom, Yapen, Mamberamo Raya, Mappi, Merauke, Mimika, Nabire, Sarmi, Supiori, Waropen. Interior regencies: Boven Digoel, Deiyai, Dogiyai, Intan Jaya, Jayawijaya, Lanny Jaya, Mamberamo Tengah, Nduga, Paniai, Pegunungan Bintang, Puncak, Puncak Jaya, Tolikara, Yahukimo, Yalimo.

11   Papua Barat regencies: Fakfak, Kaimana, Kota Sorong, Manokwari, Maybrat, Raja Ampat, Sorong, Sorong Selatan, Tambrauw, Teluk Bintuni, and Teluk Wondama.

in the home as well as the language most commonly used in their region" (Scott et al. 2008: 11).

1.1.4.   Occupation details

Most of West Papua's population works in the agricultural sector: 70% in Papua province, and 54% in Papua Barat province. As subsistence farmers, they typically grow bananas, sago, taro, and yams in the lowlands, and sweet potatoes in the highlands; pig husbandry, fishing, and forestry are also widespread. The second most important domain is the public service sector. In Papua province, 10% of the population works in this sector, and 17% in Papua Barat province. Furthermore, 9% in Papua province and 12% in Papua Barat province work in the commerce sector. Other minor sectors are transport, construction, industry, and communications. (Bidang Necara Wilayah dan Analisis Statistik 2012: 21, and 2012: 12, and Encyclopædia Britannica Inc. 2001a- and 2001b-; see also Bidang Necara Wilayah dan Analisis Statistik 2011: 83).

The census data does not provide information about occupation by ethnicity. However, the author made the following observations for the areas of Sarmi and Jayapura (see Map 2 on p. xxi and Map 3 on p. xxii). Papuans typically work in the agricultural sector; those living in coastal areas are also involved in small-scale fishing. Those with a secondary education degree usually (try to find) work in the public sector. The income generating commerce and transportation sectors, by contrast, are in the hands of non-Papuans. This assessment is also shared by Chauvel (2002: 124) who maintains that "Indonesian settlers dominate the economy of [West] Papua". The author does not provide details about the origins of these settlers. Given Indonesia's *transmigration* program, however, it can be assumed that most, or at least substantial numbers, of these settlers originate from the overcrowded islands of Java, Madura, Bali, and/or Lombok. Moreover, substantial numbers of active and retired military personnel have settled in West Papua.[12] (See Fearnside 1997, and Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in London 2009.)

1.1.5.   Education and literacy rates

The 2010 census data provides information about school enrollment and literacy rates. Most children attend school. For older teenagers and young adults, however, the rates of those who are still enrolled in a formal education program are much lower. Literacy rates for the adult population aged 45 years or older are lower than the rates for the younger population. Overall, education and literacy rates are (much) lower for Papua province than for Papua Barat province. Details are given in Table 3 to Table 5.

Most children under the age of 15 go to school, as shown in Table 3. However, this data also indicates that this rate is much lower for Papua province than for

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[12]   *Transmigration* is a program by the Indonesian government to resettle millions of inhabitants. Coming from the overcrowded islands of Java, Madura, Bali, and Lombok, they settle in the less populated areas of the archipelago, such as West Papua. (Fearnside (1997), and Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in London (2009))

Papua Barat province. The number of teenagers aged between 16-18 who are still enrolled in school, is much lower for both provinces, again with Papua province having the lower rate. As for young adults who are still enrolled in a formal education program, the rate is even lower, at less than 15%. The data in Table 3 gives no information about the school types involved. That is, these figures also include children and teenagers who are enrolled in a school type that is not typical for their age group. (For enrollment figures by school types see Table 4.)[13]

Table 3:   Formal education participation rates by age groups

Province	7-12	13-15	16-18	19-24
Papua	76.22%	74.35%	48.28%	13.18%
Papua Barat	94.43%	90.25%	60.12%	14.66%

The 2010 census data also show that most children get a primary school education (76.22% in Papua province, and 92.29% in Papua Barat province). Enrollment figures for junior high school are considerably lower with only about half of the children and teenagers being enrolled. Figures for senior high school enrollment are even lower, at less than 50%. The data in Table 4 also shows that overall Papua Barat province has higher enrollment rates than Papua province, especially for primary schools.[14]

Table 4:   School enrollment rates by school type

Province	Primary	Junior high	Senior high
Papua	76.22%	49.62%	36.06%
Papua Barat	92.29%	50.10%	44.75%

Literacy rates in 2010 differ considerably between the populations of both provinces. In Papua province only about three quarters of the population is literate, while this rate is above 90% for Papua Barat province, as shown in Table 5. In Papua province, the literacy rates are especially low in the Mamberamo area, in the highlands, and along the south coast (Bidang Necara Wilayah dan Analisis Statistik 2011: 27–30).[15]

Table 5:   Illiteracy rates by age groups

Province	<15	15-44	45+
Papua	31.73%	30.73%	36.14%
Papua Barat	4.88%	3.34%	9.91%

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[13]   The school participation rates by school types in Table 3 are available at http://www.bps.go.id/eng/tab_sub/view.php?kat=1&tabel=1&daftar=1&id_subyek=28&notab=3.

[14]   The enrollment rates by school types in Table 4 are available at http://www.bps.go.id/eng/tab_sub/view.php?kat=1&tabel=1&daftar=1&id_subyek=28&notab=4.

[15]   The literacy rates in Table 5 are available at http://www.bps.go.id/eng/tab_sub/view.php?kat=1&tabel=1&daftar=1&id_subyek=28&notab=2.

The census data provides no information about education and literacy rates according to rural versus urban regions. The author assumes, however, that education and literacy rates are lower in rural than in urban areas. The census data also does not include information about education and literacy rates by ethnicity. As mentioned in §1.1.4, the author has the impression that Papuans typically work in the agriculture sector while non-Papuans are more often found in the income generating commerce and transportation sectors. This, in turn, gives non-Papuans better access to formal education, as they are in a better position to pay tuition fees.

1.1.6.   Religious affiliations

West Papua is predominantly Christian. For most Papuans their Christian faith is a significant part of their Papuan identity. It distinguishes them from the Muslim Indonesians who have come from Java, Madura, and Lombok and settled in West Papua, as a result of Indonesia's transmigration program (see Footnote 12 in §1.1.4).

Papua province has 2,810,008 inhabitants, including 2,150,376 Papuans and 659,632 non-Papuans. Almost all Papuans are Christians (2,139,208 = 99.48%), while only 10,759 are Muslims (0.05%); the remaining 0.02% has other religious affiliations. Of the 659,632 non-Papuans, two thirds are Muslims (439,337 = 66.60%), while one third are Christians (216,582 = 32.83%); the remaining 0.57% has other religious affiliations.[16]

Papua Barat province has 760,422 inhabitants, including 405,074 Papuans and 355,348 non Papuans. For Papua Barat province, no census data is published by ethnicity and religion. Based on the data given in Bidang Necara Wilayah dan Analisis Statistik (2011: 11–14), however, the following picture emerges: most Papuans are Christians (352,171 = 86.94%), while 52,903 are Muslims (13.06%), most of whom live in the Fak-Fak regency. Of the 355,348 non-Papuans, about two thirds are Muslims (239,099 = 67.29%) and one third are Christians (110,166 = 31.00%); the remaining 1.71% have other religious affiliations.

1.1.7.   Setting of the present research

The research for the present description of Papuan Malay was conducted in Sarmi, the capital of the Sarmi regency (see Map 3 on p. xxii). In the planning stages of this research, it was suggested to the author that Sarmi would be a good site for collecting Papuan Malay language data, due to its location, which was still remote in late 2008 when the first period of this research was conducted (see also §1.8). It was anticipated that Papuan Malay as spoken in Sarmi would show less Indonesian influence than in other coastal urban areas such as Jayapura, Manokwari, or Sorong.

This coastal stretch of West Papua's north coast is dominated by sandy beaches. The flat hinterland is covered with thick forest and gardens grown by local subsidiary farmers. The town of Sarmi is situated on a peninsula, about 300 km west

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[16]   Detailed data by regency are available under the category *Sosial Budaya* 'Social (affairs) and Culture' (http://papua.bps.go.id/yii/9400/index.php/site/page?view=sp2010).

of Jayapura on West Papua's northeast coast; in 2010, the town had a population of 4,001 inhabitants; the regency's population was 32,971.[17]

During the first period of this research, in late 2008, it was still difficult to get to Sarmi, as there were no bridges yet across the Biri and Tor rivers, located between Bonggo and Sarmi. Both rivers had to be crossed with small ferries with the result that public transport between Jayapura and Sarmi was limited, time-consuming, and expensive. A cheaper alternative was travel by ship, since the Sarmi harbor allows larger ships to anchor. This was also time-consuming, as the traffic between both cities was limited to about one to two ships per week. There is also a small airport but in 2008 there were no regular flight connections and tickets were too expensive for the local population. Today, there are bridges across the Biri and Tor rivers and public transport between Sarmi and Jayapura is both regular and less time-consuming and expensive than in 2008.

In late 2008, the most western part of Sarmi regency was not yet accessible by road; the sand/gravel road ended in Martewar, 20 km west of Sarmi town. The villages between Martewar and Webro, that is, Wari, Aruswar, Niwerawar, and Arbais, were accessible by motorbike via the beach during low tide; the villages further west, that is, Waim, Karfasia, Masep, and Subu, were only accessible by boat. Today, the coastal road extends to Webro. The villages further west are still not accessible via road. Travel to the inland villages (Apawer Hulu, Burgena, Kamenawari, Kapeso, Nisro, Siantoa, and Samorkena) is also difficult as there are no proper roads to these remote areas. Some villages located along rivers are accessible by boat. Other villages are at times accessible via dirt road, constructed by logging enterprises. After heavy rains, however, these roads are impassable for most cars and trucks.

Most of the Sarmi regency's Papuan population work as subsistence farmers. Employment in the public sector is highly valued, and those who have adequate education levels try to find work as civil servants in the local government offices, in the health sector, or in the educational domain. However, secondary school education is not widely available. While the larger villages west of Sarmi have primary and junior high schools, there are no senior high schools in these villages. Hence, teenagers from families who have the financial means to pay tuition fees have to come to Sarmi. Here, they usually live with their extended families. This also applies to the author's host family, most of whom are from Webro (see §1.8.3).

Public health services are basic in the regency. There is a small hospital in Sarmi, but its medical services are rather limited. For surgery and the treatment of serious illnesses, the local population has to travel to Jayapura. Financial and postal services are available in Sarmi but not elsewhere in the regency. Communication via cell-phone is also possible in Sarmi and the surrounding villages, but it is limited in the more rural areas. Many villages are still not connected to telecommunication networks, as there are not enough cell sites to cover the entire regency.

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[17]   Detailed 2010 census data are available at http://bps.go.id/eng/download_file/Population_ of_Indonesia_by_Village_2010.pdf (see also §1.1.3).

1.2.   History of Papuan Malay

Papuan Malay is a rather young language. It only developed over approximately the last 130 years, unlike other Malay languages in the larger region. As will be discussed in this section, though, the precise origins of Papuan Malay remain unclear. That is, it is not known exactly which Malay varieties had which amount of influence in which regions of West Papua in the formation of Papuan Malay.

Malay has a long history as a trade language across the Malay peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago. The language spread to the Moluccas through extensive trading networks. It it was already firmly established there before the arrival of the first Europeans in the sixteenth century. (See Adelaar and Prentice 1996, Collins 1998, and Paauw 2008: 42–79.) From the Moluccas, Malay spread to West Papua where it developed into today's Papuan Malay.

The southwestern part of West Papua was under the influence of the island of Seram in the central Moluccas, with trade relationships firmly established from about the fourteenth century, long before the first Europeans arrived. A special lingua franca, called Onin, was used in the context of these trade relations. Onin was "a mixture of Malay and local languages spoken along the coasts of the Bomberai Peninsula" (Goodman 2002: 1). Unfortunately, Goodman does not discuss the relationship between Onin and Malay in more detail. It is noted, though, that today Malay is spoken in Fak-Fak, the main urban center on the Bomberai Peninsula, as well as in the areas around Sorong and Kaimana. According to Donohue (to be published: 2), the Malay spoken in these areas "is essentially a variety of Ambon Malay" (see also Walker 1982).

The Bird's Head and Geelvink Bay, now Cenderawasih Bay, were under the authority of the Sultanate of Tidore. The first mention of Tidore's authority over this part of West Papua dates back to 15 January 1710 and can be found in the *Memorie van Overgave* 'Memorandum of Transfer' by the outgoing Governor of Ternate Jacob Claaszoon. In summarizing this memorandum,[18] Haga (1884: 192–195) lists the locations on New Guinea's coast which belonged to Tidore's territory. Included in this list is the west coast of Geelvink Bay, with Haga pointing out that Tidore also claimed authority over Geelvink Bay's south coast. In the second half of the nineteenth century, however, Tidore's authority over Geelvink Bay declined after the Dutch banned Tidore's raiding expeditions to New Guinea on 22 February 1861 (Bosch 1995: 28–29). Roughly 35 years later, in 1895, the outgoing Resident of Ternate, J. van Oldenborgh noted that, due to this ban, Tidore's authority on New Guinea had been reduced to zero as the sultans no longer had the means to enforce their authority in this area (van Oldenborgh 1995: 81). In 1905, the last sultan of Tidore, Johar Mulki (1894-1905), relinquished all rights to western New Guinea to the Dutch (van der Eng 2004: 664; see also Overweel 1995: 138).

Due to Tidorese influence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Bird's Head and Geelvink Bay were firmly connected with the wider Moluccan trade network (see Seiler 1982: 72, Timmer 2002: 2–3, and van Velzen 1995: 314–315;

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[18]   While Haga (1884: 192–195) gives no further bibliographical details for this memorandum, the following details are found in Andaya (1993: 262): VOC 1794. Memorie van overgave, Jacob Claaszoon, 14 July 1710, fols 55-56.

see also Huizinga 1998 on the relations between Tidore and New Guinea's north coast in the nineteenth century). However, scholars disagree on how firmly Malay was established in this area, especially in Geelvink Bay, during these early trading relations.

Rowley (1972: 53), for instance, suggests that the Malay presence along West Papua's western coast may date back to the fourteenth century. Malay influence began with Javanese trading settlements and then continued with trading settlements which were under the control of Seram and Tidore. At that time, the Dutch did not yet show any direct interest in this region. It was the British who, in 1793, established the first European post at Dorey, now Manokwari, which they maintained for two years. During this period Dorey was already under the influence of Tidore and its inhabitants had to pay an annual tribute to the Tidore sultan. Van Velzen (1995: 314–315) also claims that Malay was a regional language of wider communication long before the arrival of the first Europeans is. He refers to Haga's (1885) account of one of the first European visits to the Yapen Waropen area, which took place in 1705. On Yapen Island the crew was able to communicate in Malay with some of the local inhabitants. Given that these inhabitants were ethnically Biak, van Velzen concludes that it may have been the Biak who first introduced Malay to Geelvink Bay.[19]

This claim of the long-standing presence of Malay in the Geelvink Bay is not, however, supported by the reports of explorers who visited the Geelvink area in the nineteenth century. These early visits occurred after the Dutch had first shown interest in this region. This was only in 1820, after the British had established their post at Dorey in 1793; this first Dutch interest "was due in part to the fear that other attempts would be made" (Rowley 1972: 53).

For instance, when the French explorer and rear admiral Dumont d'Urville (1833: 606) stayed in Dorey (Manokwari) in September 1827, he noted that the Papuans, who formed the majority of inhabitants in Dorey, hardly knew any Malay; only the upper-class of Dorey spoke Malay more or less fluently. A similar statement about the Papuans abilities to speak Malay comes from van Hasselt (1936). He reports how the first missionaries to West Papua, the Germans Ottow and Geissler, together with his father van Hasselt and the Dutch researcher Croockewit attempted to learn and study the local language after they had arrived in Geelvink Bay in 1858. The author notes that it was very difficult for them to learn the local language, as the Papuans knew little or no Malay (1936: 116). Along similar lines, the British naturalist Wallace (1890: 380) relates that, when he came to Dorey (Manokwari) in 1858, the local Papuans could not speak any Malay.

Based on these reports, it can be concluded that in the early eighteen hundreds Malay was not yet well established in Geelvink, including the area in and around today's Manokwari. Hence, the author of the present book agrees with Seiler (1982: 73), who comes to the conclusion that in light of accounts such as the one by Dumont d'Urville

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[19]   Along similar lines Samaun (1979: 3) states that Malay, namely Ambon or Ternate Malay, "was long ago introduced" in West Papua. The author does not, however, provide a more precise date, instead maintaining that Malay has been used in West Papua "for more than a century" (1979: 3).

> [t]here is no reason to assume that Malay was better known at other places
> along New Guinea's north coast; Manokwari was one of the most visited
> places in the area and if anything, Malay should have been known to a larger
> extent there than anywhere else.

The history of Malay along West Papua's north and northeast coast is also disputed among scholars.

Rowley (1972: 56–57) states that "Malay adventurers" went eastwards to the Sepik area "in expeditions for birds of paradise". Even long before the nineteenth century, Malay traders made sporadic visits to the northeastern coasts of New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago. Hence, Rowley concludes that Malay influence along West Papua's north and northeast coast began long before the Dutch started taking an interest this area.

The Danish anthropologist Parkinson (1900) came to a similar conclusion after having visited the north coast of today's Papua New Guinea. Based on his acquaintanceship with some Malay-speaking inhabitants, Malay artifacts, and some inherited Malay words, the explorer concludes that Malay seafarers from the East India islands have undertaken trips along the coast of New Guinea "for a long time" (1900: 20–21).

This conclusion is not supported, however, by the observations of other European explorers who visited West Papua's northeast coast in the nineteenth century after the Dutch had annexed the western part of New Guinea in 1828.[20]

Twenty years after this annexation, in 1848, the Dutch laid formal claim on West Papua's north coast, including Humboldt Bay in the east, now Yos Sudarso Bay with the provincial capital Jayapura. In 1850, the Dutch sent a first expedition fleet eastwards to mark their claim; this expedition included Sultanese boats and a number of pirate boats. The fleet did not, however, reach Humboldt Bay, although the Cyclops Mountains were in sight. Two years later, though, the Dutch were able to establish a garrison in Humboldt Bay; the troops were from Ternate. (Rowley 1972: 56). However, it seems that this garrison did not include any Europeans, because, according to Seiler (1982: 74), it was only in the course of the "Etna expedition" in 1858 that the Dutch first reached Humboldt Bay. The report of this expedition states that the Papuans living in Humboldt Bay did not know any Malay and had had no contact with the outside world (Commissie voor Nieuw Guinea et al. 1862: 182, 183).

Twenty years later it was still not possible to communicate in Malay with the Papuans of Humboldt Bay. Robidé van der Aa (1879: 127–129), for instance, reported that when the Government commissioner van der Crab visited Humboldt Bay in 1871, his interpreter could not communicate with the local population because of their very poor Malay. The commissioner also noted that outside trading in this area was very limited due to tense relations between the Papuan population and outside traders and due to the wild sea.

Around this time, however, outside trading between the Moluccas and West Papua's northeast coast, including Humboldt Bay and the areas to its east, started to

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[20]   In 1828, the Dutch annexed today's' West Papua as far as 141 degrees of east longitude (today's border with Papua New Guinea) (Burke 1831: 509).

take off. As a result of this increase in outside contacts, knowledge of Malay, especially of the North Moluccan varieties, also started to spread rapidly in this region. Seiler (1982 and 1985) gives an overview of these developments, citing government officials, merchants, and missionaries who visited West Papua's northeast coast in the late nineteenth century.

One of them is the Protestant missionary Bink (1894). In 1893, about twenty years after van der Crab's 1871 visit to this area, Bink travelled to Humboldt Bay. In his report he noted the presence of Malay traders from Ternate who were shooting birds of paradise in the area (1894: 325). Another observer is the German geologist Wichmann (1917). In 1903, he travelled to Humboldt Bay and Jautefa Bay, where today's Abepura is located. Wichmann reported the presence of Malay traders who were living on Metu Debi Island in Jautefa Bay (1917: 150). A third observer is van Hasselt (1926). When he visited Jamna Island (located off the northeast coast between Sarmi and Jayapura) in 1911, he noted that several Papuans could already speak Malay, because they had been in regular contact with traders (1926: 134).

Based on the reports of these observers, Seiler (1985: 147) comes to the following conclusion:

> It would appear that Malays started regular trading visits to areas east of Geelvink Bay sometime after the middle of the 19th century, at the same time as the Dutch began to explore their long-forgotten colony. This was just prior to the beginning of the German activities in the area. Twenty years or so of contact between the local people and Malays could easily account for the knowledge of Malay on the part of the coastal people.

In the early twentieth century, the use of Malay throughout West Papua increased when the Dutch decided to increase their influence in this area and to enforce the use of Malay in the domains of education, administration, and proselytization. A major resource for these efforts was the Malay-language school system already established in the Moluccas. It provided the Dutch with the personnel necessary for bringing the population and the resources of West Papua under their control (Collins 1998: 64). Therefore West Papua saw a constant influx of Ambon Malay speaking teachers, clerks, police, and preachers during this period. This link between West Papua and Ambon was especially close, as until 1947 West Papua was part of the Moluccan administration, which had its capital in Ambon. (Donohue and Sawaki 2007: 254–255). So Ambon Malay played an important role in the genesis of Papuan Malay, as well as North Moluccan Malay.

After Word War II, the Dutch government recruited additional personnel for West Papua from other areas, such as North Sulawesi, Flores, Timor, and the Kei Islands. In addition, fishermen and traders from Sulawesi and, to some extent, from East Nusa Tenggara came to West Papua. (Roosman 1982: 96, Adelaar and Prentice 1996: 682, and Donohue and Sawaki 2007: 254–255). At the same time, increasing numbers of Papuans received a primary school education. Furthermore, the Dutch established schools to train Papuans for public services. As a result, more and more Papuans become government officials, teachers, and police officers. During this period, standard Malay was the official language in public domains, including trade and the religious domain. (Chauvel 2002: 120 and Donohue and Sawaki 2007: 255; see also Adelaar 2001: 234). Outside the coastal urban centers, however, Malay

played only a very limited role. This is evidenced by that fact that along West Papua's north coast Papuan Malay is still "restricted to a coastal fringe, and does not extend inland to any great extent except where agricultural projects were in force" (Donohue and Sawaki 2007: 255).

After Indonesia annexed West Papua in 1963, standard Indonesian became the official language of West Papua. It is used in all public domains, including primary school education, the mass media, and the religious domain.

West Papua's Malay, by contrast, is not recognized as a language in its own right vis-à-vis Indonesian (for details on the sociolinguistic profile of Papuan Malay, see §1.5). Only recently has Papuan Malay received attention from linguistics as an independent language (details are discussed in §1.6). Materials in Papuan Malay are equally recent (for details see §1.7).

In speaking about "Papuan Malay" and its history and genesis, however, two aspects need to be highlighted.

First, while Ambon and North Moluccan Malay, and recently Indonesian, played an important role in the formation of Papuan Malay, it is still unknown exactly how much influence each variety had in the various regions of West Papua. As Paauw (2008: 73) points out, however,

> there is linguistic evidence that both North Moluccan Malay (on the north and east coasts of the Bird's Head and in parts of Cendrawasih Bay, including the islands of Biak and Numfoor) and Ambon Malay (in the western and southern Bird's Head, the Bomberai peninsula, and in other parts of Cendrawasih Bay, including the island of Yapen) have been influential.

Two factors complicate the identification of regional varieties. One is that Papuan Malay is spoken in a linguistic environment where about 270 other languages are spoken, most of which are non-Austronesian languages. "Each of these languages has its own grammatical and phonological system which can influence the Malay spoken by individuals and communities" (Paauw 2008: 75). Also, most of the Papuan Malay speakers are second-language speakers "and this too influences the linguistic systems of individuals and communities" (2008: 76).

Second, Papuan Malay is not a cohesive entity. There exist a number of regional varieties, one of which is the variety spoken along West Papua's north coast and described in this book. (The Papuan Malay dialect situation is discussed in §1.3.2). The developments described in this section show that the history of Papuan Malay is quite distinct from that of other eastern Malay varieties. Other eastern Malay varieties were already well established before the first Europeans arrived in these areas in the sixteenth century. This applies to Ambon and North Moluccan Malay, both of which contributed to Papuan Malay. It also applies to Manado Malay, which apparently developed out of North Moluccan Malay. Likewise, it applies to Kupang Malay. (Paauw 2008: 42–79; see also Adelaar and Prentice 1996, and Collins 1998). Papuan Malay, by contrast, only developed over the last 130 years or so.

1.3.   Classification of Papuan Malay and dialect situation

This section discusses the classification of Papuan Malay and its dialect situation. Various aspects related to its linguistic classification are explored in §1.3.1. This is

followed in §1.3.2 by an overview of its dialect situation. Additional classifications of Papuan Malay from a socio-historical perspective are presented in §1.3.3.

1.3.1.   Linguistic classification

Papuan Malay belongs to the Malayic sub-branch within the Western-Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. A review of the literature suggests, however, that the exact classification of Papuan Malay is difficult for three reasons.

First, the Western-Malayo-Polynesian subgroup in itself appears to be problematic, with Blust (1999: 68) pointing out that "Western Malayo-Polynesian does not meet the minimal criteria for an established subgroup". Hence, Blust concludes that Western Malayo-Polynesian instead constitutes a "residue" of languages which do not belong to the Central- and Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian sub-branch (1999: 68). Donohue and Grimes (2008) also discuss the problematic status of the West-Malayo-Polynesian subgroup. Based on phonological, morphological, and semantic innovations, the authors conclude that there is no basis for the Western Malayo-Polynesian and Central/Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian subgroups. In 2013, the status of the Western-Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) subgroup remains problematic, with Blust (2013: 31) maintaining that it "is possible that WMP is not a valid subgroup, but rather consists of those MP [Malayo-Polynesian] languages that do not belong to CEMP [Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian]" (see also Blust 2013: 741–742).

Secondly, there is disagreement among scholars with respect to the classification of the Malayic languages within Western-Malayo-Polynesian. Based on phonological and morphological innovations, Blust (1994: 31ff) groups them within Malayo-Chamic which is one of five subgroups within Western-Malayo-Polynesian. The two branches of this grouping refer to the Malayic languages of insular Southeast Asia, and the Chamic languages of mainland Southeast Asia (see also 2013: 32). Adelaar (2005a), by contrast, suggests that Malayic is part of a larger collection of languages, namely Malayo-Sumbawan. This group has three branches. One includes the sub-branches Malayic, Chamic, and Balinese-Sasak-Sumbawa, while the other two include Sundanese and Madurese. Blust (2010), however, rejects this larger Malayo-Sumbawan grouping. Based on lexical innovations, he argues that Malayic and Chamic form "an exclusive genetic unit" and should not be grouped together with Balinese, Sasak, and Sumbawanese (2010: 80–81; see also Blust 2013: 736). Hence, Blust (2013: xxxii) classifies Papuan Malay as a Malayo-Chamic language.

Thirdly, there is an ongoing discussion in literature regarding the status of the eastern Malay varieties, including Papuan Malay, as to whether they are Malay-based creoles or non-creole descendants of Low Malay. Three factors contribute to this discussion: (1) the "simple structure" of Papuan Malay and the other eastern Malay varieties, with their lack of inflectional morphology and limited derivational processes (see §1.4.1.2), (2) the influence from non-Austronesian languages which these languages, including Papuan Malay, show (see §1.4.2), and (3) the history of Malay as a trade language (see §1.2).

These pertinent characteristics of the eastern Malay varieties receive different interpretations. Scholars such as Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 675) and McWhorter (2001) conclude that these languages best be characterized as Malay-based pidgins or creoles. Other scholars, such as Bisang (2009), Collins (1980), Gil (2001a), and Paauw (2013), in contrast, challenge this view given that structural simplicity is also found in inherited Malay varieties and also that linguistic borrowing is not limited to pidgins or creoles.

This is also the view adopted in the present description of Papuan Malay. The fact that Papuan Malay has a comparatively simple surface structure and some features typically found in Papuan but not in Austronesian languages is not sufficient evidence to classify Papuan Malay as a creole.

Throughout the remainder of this section, the different positions regarding the creole versus non-creole status of the eastern Malay varieties are presented in more detail. The view that the eastern Malay varieties are creolized languages is discussed first.

Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 675) propose a list of eight structural features which illustrate the reduced morphology of the eastern Malay varieties and some of the linguistic features they borrowed from local languages. According to the authors, these features, which distinguish the eastern Malay varieties from the western Malay varieties and literary Malay, point to the pidgin origins of the eastern Malay varieties, including those of West Papua. Hence, Adelaar and Prentice propose the term *Pidgin Malay Derived* dialects for these varieties. In a later study, Adelaar (2005b: 202) refers to the same varieties as *Pidgin-Derived* Malay varieties. Another researcher who supports the view that the (eastern Malay) varieties are creolized languages is McWhorter (2001, 2005, and 2007). Considering the structural simplicity of Malay and its history as a trade language, he comes to the conclusion that Malay is an "anomalously decomplexified" language which shows "the hallmark of a grammar whose transmission has been interrupted to a considerable degree (2007: 197, 216). The *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al. 2013) also adopts the view that the eastern Malay varieties are creolized languages and classifies them as *Malay-based creoles*; these varieties include Ambon, Banda, Kupang, Larantuka, Manado, North Moluccan, and Papuan Malay; the ISO 639-3 code for Papuan Malay is [pmy]. (See also Burung and Sawaki 2007, and Roosman 1982.)

This view that the regional Malay varieties are creolized languages is further found in descriptions of individual eastern Malay varieties such as Ambon Malay, Kupang Malay, and Manado Malay.

For Ambon Malay, Grimes (1991: 115) argues that the language is a creole or nativized pidgin. This conclusion is based on linguistic, sociolinguistic, and historical data, which the author interprets in light of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988: 35) framework on "contact-induced language change". Following this framework, nativized pidgins are the long-term "result of mutual linguistic accommodation" and "simplification" in multi-lingual contact situations (1988: 174, 205, 227). Along similar lines, Jacob and Grimes (2011: 337) consider Kupang Malay to be a Malay-based creole that displays a substantial amount of influence from local substrate languages (see also Jacob and Grimes 2006). Manado Malay is also taken to be a creole that developed from a local variety of Bazaar Malay which is a Malay-lexified pidgin (Prentice 1994: 411 and Stoel 2005: 8).

Van Minde (1997), in his description of Ambon Malay, and Litamahuputty (1994), in her grammar of Ternate Malay, by contrast, make no clear statements as to whether they consider the respective eastern Malay varieties to be creolized languages.

In fact, the alleged creole status and pidgin origins of the regional (eastern) Malay varieties have been contested by a number of scholars. Bisang (2009), Collins (1980), Wolff (1988), Gil (2001a), and Paauw (2013), for instance, argue that structural simplicity *per se* is not evidence for the pidgin origins of a language. Nor is the borrowing of linguistic features. Blust (2013) seems to have a similar viewpoint, although he does not overtly state this. Less clear is Donohue's (1998, 2007a, 2007b: 72, 2011: 414, and to be published) position concerning the creole/non-creole status of the eastern Malay varieties.

Bisang (2009: 35) challenges the view that low degrees of complexity should be taken as an indication to the pidgin/creole origins of a given language. In doing so, he specifically addresses the viewpoints put forward by McWhorter (2001, 2005). Paying particular attention to the languages of East and Southeast Mainland Asia, Bisang makes a distinction between overt and hidden complexity. The author shows that languages with a long-standing history may also have "simple surface structures […] which allow a number of different inferences and thus stand for hidden complexity" (2009: 35). That is, such languages do not oblige their speakers to employ particular structures if those are understood from the linguistic or extralinguistic context.

As far as particular regional Malay varieties are concerned, Collins (1980), for example, comes to the conclusion that Ambon Malay is not a creole. Examining sociocultural and linguistic evidence, the author compares Ambon Malay to standard Malay and to the non-standard Malay variety Trengganu. Ambon Malay is spoken in a language-contact zone and held to be a creole. Trengganu Malay, by contrast, is spoken on the Malay Peninsula and considered an inherited Malay variety. This Malay variety, however, is also characterized by structural simplifications typically held to be characteristics of creole languages. In consequence, Trengganu Malay could well be classified as a creole Malay just like Ambon Malay (1980: 42-53, 57-58). As a result of his study, Collins questions the basis on which Malay varieties such as Ambon Malay are classified as creole languages, while other varieties such as Trengganu are not. Arguing that the overly simplified categorization offered by creole theory does not do justice to the Austronesian languages, he comes to the following conclusion (1980: 58–59):

> The term creole has no predictive strength. It is a convenient label for linguistic phenomena of a certain time and place but it does not encompass the linguistic processes which are taking place in eastern Indonesia.

In the context of his study on Banjarese Malay, a variety spoken in southwestern Borneo, Wolff (1988) expresses a similar viewpoint. The author examines the question of whether Banjarese Malay represents a direct continuation of old Malay or is the result of rapid language change, such as creolization. Wolff concludes that there is "absolutely no proof that any of the living dialects of Indonesian/Malay are indeed creoles" (1988: 86).

Another critique concerning the use of the term *creoles* with respect to regional Malay varieties is put forward by Steinhauer (1991) in his study on Larantuka Malay. Given that too little is known about the origins and historical developments of the eastern Malay varieties, the author argues that the label *creole* is not very useful. Moreover, it becomes "meaningless" if it is too "broadly defined" in terms of the type of borrowing it takes for a language to be labeled a creole (1991: 178).

Gil (2001a) also refutes the classification of the regional Malay varieties as creolized languages and Adelaar and Prentice's (1996) notion of *Pidgin Malay Derived* dialects. More specifically, he argues that Adelaar and Prentice do not give sufficient evidence that the original trade language was indeed a pidgin. Based on his research on Riau Indonesian, Gil maintains that structural simplicity in itself is not sufficient evidence to conclude that a language is a creole.

Paauw (2005, 2007, 2008, and 2013) also takes issue with classification of the eastern Malay varieties as creolized languages. In his 2005 paper, Paauw points out that the features found in *Pidgin Malay Derived* varieties (Adelaar and Prentice 1996) are also found in most of the inherited Malay varieties. Therefore, these features are better considered "markers of 'low' Malay, rather than contact Malay" (2005: 17). In another paper addressing the influence of local languages on the regional Malay varieties, Paauw (2007) discusses some of the features which have been taken as evidence that these Malay varieties are creolized languages. He comes to the conclusion that borrowing in itself does not prove creolization. Otherwise, "it would be hard to find any language which couldn't be considered a creole" (2007: 3). In discussing the alleged pidgin origins and creolization of the eastern Malay varieties, Paauw (2008: 26) maintains that there is not enough linguistic evidence for the claim that these are creoles. Likewise, Paauw (2013: 11) points out that there is no linguistic evidence for the pidgin origins of the eastern Malay varieties, even though they developed under sociocultural and historical conditions which are typical for creolization. Instead, these varieties show many similarities with the inherited Malay varieties with respect to their lexicon, isolating morphology, and syntax.

It seems that Blust (2013) also questions the classification of the eastern Malay varieties as creoles. First, he lists the eastern Malay varieties as Malayo-Chamic languages rather than as creoles (2013: xxvii). Second, in discussing pidginization and creolization among Austronesian languages, Blust (2013: 65–66) refers in detail to Collins's (1980) study on Ambon Malay. Blust does not overtly state that he agrees with Collins. He does, however, quote Collins's (1980: 58-5) above-mentioned conclusion that the label "creole has no predictive strength", without critiquing it. This, in turn, suggests that Blust has a similar viewpoint on this issue.

Donohue's position about the creole/non-creole status of regional Malay varieties, including Papuan Malay, is less clear. Donohue and Smith (1998: 68) argue that the different Malay varieties cannot be explained in terms of a single parameter such as "pure" versus "mixed or creolized". With regard to Papuan Malay, Donohue (to be published: 1)[21] remarks that the fact that Papuan Malay displays six of the eight features found in Adelaar and Prentices (1996) *Pidgin Malay Derived* varieties does not prove the pidgin origins of this Malay variety. Due

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[21] This grammar sketch was written in the early 2000s.

to areal influence these features may also have developed independently in nonpidgin or noncreole Malay varieties. In a later study on voice in Malay, Donohue (2007a) takes a slightly different position in evaluating the contact which the Malay languages of eastern Indonesia had with non-Austronesian languages. He concludes this contact caused "some level of language assimilation" and "language adaptation", but he does not assert that this contact had to result in creolization (2007a: 1496). In another 2007 publication on voice variation in Malay, Donohue (2007b: 72) notes that those Malay varieties spoken in areas far away from their traditional homeland show characteristics not found in the inherited Malay varieties. Moreover, in some areas these "transplanted" Malay varieties have undergone "extensive creolization". Finally, in his 2011 study on the Melanesian influence on Papuan Malay verb and clause structure Donohue refers to Papuan Malay as one of the "ill-defined 'eastern creoles'" spoken between New Guinea and Kupang. As such, it does not represent "an Austronesian speech tradition", with the exception of its lexicon (2011: 433).

In concluding this discussion about the creole versus non-creole status of Papuan Malay, the author of the present study agrees with those scholars who challenge the view that the eastern Malay varieties are creolized languages. Moreover, the author agrees with Bisang (2009: 35, 43), who argues that complexity is not limited to the morphology or syntax of a language, but may instead be found in the pragmatic inferential system as applied to utterances in their discourse setting. Such "hidden complexity" is certainly a pertinent trait of Papuan Malay, as will be shown throughout this book. Two examples of hidden complexity are presented in (1) and (2). Due to the lack of morphosyntactic marking in Papuan Malay, a given construction can receive different readings, as shown in (1). Depending on the context, the ***kalo … suda*** 'when/if … already' construction can receive a temporal or a counterfactual reading. Example (2) illustrates the pervasive use of elision in Papuan Malay. Verbs allow but do not require core arguments. Therefore, core arguments are readily elided when they are understood from the context ("Ø" represents the omitted arguments).

Examples of hidden complexity

(1) **kalo** de **suda** kasi ana prempuang, suda tida ada
     if   3SG already give child woman   already NEG exist
     prang suku   lagi
     war   ethnic.group again
     [About giving children to one's enemy:]
     Temporal reading: '**once** she has given (her) daughter (to the other group), there will be no more ethnic war'
     Counterfactual reading: '**if** she **had** given (her) daughter (to the other group), there would have been no more ethnic war' [081006-027-CvEx.0012]

(2) … karna de tida bisa   bicara bahasa, maka   Ø pake
     because 3SG NEG be.capable speak language therefore   use
     bahasa orang bisu,   … baru   Ø Ø foto,   foto,
     language person be.mute and.then   photograph photograph

a, **Ø** snang, prempuang bawa babi, **Ø** kasi **Ø Ø**
ah! feel.happy(.about) woman bring pig give

[First outside contacts between a Papuan group living in the jungle and a group of pastors:] '[but they can't speak Indonesian,] because she can't speak Indonesian, therefore (**she**) uses sign language … (**the pastor are taking**) pictures, pictures, ah, (**the women** are) happy, the women bring a pig, (**they**) give (**it to the pastors**)' [081006-023-CvEx.0073]

1.3.2. Dialect situation

Papuan Malay is not a cohesive entity but consists of a number of different varieties.

Donohue (to be published: 1–2) suggests that there are at least four distinct Papuan Malay varieties (see Map 5 on p. xxiv):

1. North Papua Malay, spoken along West Papua's north coast between Sarmi and the Papua New Guinea border, where the Malay variety described in this book is spoken.
2. Serui Malay, spoken in Cenderawasih Bay (except for the Numfor and Biak islands); it has similarities with Ambon Malay.
3. Bird's Head Malay, spoken on the west of the Bird's Head (in and around Sorong, Fak-Fak, Koiwai), is closely related to Ambon Malay; the varieties spoken on the east of the Birds' Head (in and around Manokwari and other towns) are similar to Serui Malay.
4. South Coast Malay, spoken in and around Merauke.

The results of the previously mentioned 2007 sociolinguistic survey modify Donohue's (to be published: 1–2) dialectal divisions. One of the goals of this survey was to investigate how many distinct varieties of Papuan Malay (PM) exist (Scott et al. 2008) (for more details see §1.6.4). Therefore, word lists and recorded texts were collected in (and around) Fak-Fak (Bird's Head), Jayapura (northeast coast), Merauke (southwest coast), Timika (south coast), and Sorong (Bird's Head). In addition, recorded texts were collected in Manokwari and Serui (see Map 5 on p. xxiv). The analysis of the collected data "supports a possible Eastern PM and Western PM divide, with Timika sometimes following the Western regions of Fak-Fak and Sorong and sometimes following the Eastern regions of Jayapura and Merauke" (Scott et al. 2008: 43).

1.3.3. Socio-historical classification

Beyond the linguistic debate about the creole/non-creole status of the eastern Malay varieties, classifications from a socio-historical perspective have been proposed.

Focusing on the period of European colonialism, Adelaar and Prentice (1996: 674) identify three distinct sociolects of Malay: (1) "literary Malay", (2) "lingua franca Malay", and (3) "inherited Malay". Within this framework, Papuan Malay is classified as a ("Pidgin Malay Derived") lingua franca or trade language.

A typology that takes into account the diglossic nature of Malay is offered by Paauw (2005 and 2007), who distinguishes between "national languages", "inherited varieties", and "contact varieties". Among the latter, Paauw (2007: 2) further

differentiates four subtypes, one of them being the eastern Malay "nativized" varieties. Within this framework, Papuan Malay is classified as a "nativized" eastern Malay "contact variety".

A different approach is taken by Gil and Tadmor (1997) in their "tentative typology of Malay/Indonesian dialects". As their primary parameter, the authors propose the "lectal cline", and thus distinguish between acrolectal (that is, Standard Malay/Indonesian) and basilectal (that is, nonstandard) Malay varieties (1997: 1). The basilectal varieties are further divided into varieties with and without native speakers. For the former, Gil and Tadmor (1997: 1) propose a classification according two parameters: (1) ethnically homogeneous vs. ethnically heterogeneous and (2) ethnically Malay vs. ethnically non-Malay. According to this typology, Papuan Malay is classified as an "ethnically heterogeneous / non-Malay" variety.

1.4.   Typological profile of Papuan Malay

This section presents an overview of the typological profile of the Papuan Malay variety described in this book. General typological features of the language are discussed in §1.4.1, followed in §1.4.2 by a comparison of some of its features with those found in Austronesian and in Papuan languages. In §1.4.3, some features of Papuan Malay are compared to those found in other eastern Malay varieties.

1.4.1.   General typological profile

In presenting the pertinent typological features of Papuan Malay, an overview of its phonology is given in §1.4.1.1, its morphology in §1.4.1.2, its word classes in §1.4.1.4, and its basic word order in §1.4.1.4.

1.4.1.1.   Phonology

Papuan Malay has 18 consonant and five vowel phonemes. The consonant system consists of the following phonemes: /p, b, t, d, g, k, tʃ, dʒ, s, h, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, r, l, j, w/. All consonants occur as onsets,[22] while the range of consonants occurring in the coda position is much smaller. The five vowels are /i, e, u, o, a/. All five occur in stressed and unstressed, open and closed syllables. A restricted sample of like segments can occur in sequences. Papuan Malay shows a clear preference for disyllabic roots and for CV and CVC syllables; the maximal syllable is CCVC. Stress typically falls on the penultimate syllable. Adding to its 18 native consonant system, Papuan Malay has adopted one loan segment, the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/. (Chapter 2)

1.4.1.2.   Morphology

Papuan Malay is a language near the isolating end of the analytic-synthetic continuum. Inflectional morphology is lacking, as nouns and verbs are not marked

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22   Velar /ŋ/ however, only occurs in the root-internal and not in the word-initial onset
       position.

for any grammatical category such as gender, number, or case. Word formation is limited to the two derivational processes of reduplication and affixation.

Reduplication is a very productive process. Three types of lexeme formation are attested, namely full reduplication, which is the most common, partial and imitative reduplication. Usually, content words undergo reduplication; reduplication of function words is rare. The overall meaning of reduplication is "a HIGHER/LOWER DEGREE OF …" (Kiyomi 2009: 1151). (Chapter 4)

Affixation has very limited productivity. Papuan Malay has two affixes which are somewhat productive. Verbal prefix **TER-** 'ACL' derives monovalent verbs from mono- or bivalent bases.[23] The derived verbs denote accidental or unintentional actions or events. Nominal suffix **-ang** 'PAT' typically derives nominals from verbal bases. The derived nouns denote the patient or result of the event or state specified by the verbal base. In addition, Papuan Malay has one nominal prefix, **PE(N)-** 'AG', which is, at best, marginally productive.[24] The derived nouns denote the agent or instrument of the event or state specified by the verbal base. (§3.1, in Chapter 3)

Compounding is a third word-formation process. Its degree of productivity remains uncertain, though, as the demarcation between compounds and phrasal expressions is unclear. (§3.2, in Chapter 3)

Papuan Malay has no morphologically marked passive voice. Instead, speakers prefer to encode actions and events in active constructions. An initial survey of the present corpus shows that speakers can use an analytical construction to signal that the undergoer is adversely affected. This construction is formed with bivalent **dapat** 'get' or **kena** 'hit', as in **dapat pukul** 'get hit' or **kena hujang** 'hit (by) rain'.[25]

1.4.1.3.   Word classes

The open word classes in Papuan Malay are nouns, verbs, and adverbs. The major closed word classes are personal pronouns, interrogatives, demonstratives, locatives, numerals, quantifiers, prepositions, and conjunctions. The distinguishing criteria for these classes are their syntactic properties, given the lack of inflectional morphology and the limited productivity of derivational patterns. A number of categories display membership overlap, most of which involves verbs. This includes overlap between verbs and nouns as is typical of Malay and other western Austronesian languages.

One major distinction between nouns and verbs is that nouns cannot be negated with **tida**/**tra** 'NEG' (§5.2 and §5.3, in Chapter 5). According to Himmelmann (2005: 128), "in languages where negators provide a diagnostic context for distinguishing nouns and verbs, putative adjectives always behave like verbs". This also applies to Papuan Malay, in that the semantic types usually associated with adjectives are encoded by monovalent stative verbs. Verbs are divided into monovalent stative,

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[23]   The small caps designate an abstract representation of the prefix as it has more than one form of realization, namely the two allomorphs *ter-* and *ta-*.

[24]   The small caps denote an abstract representation of the prefix given that it has more than one form of realization, namely the two allomorphs *pe(n)-* and *pa(n)-* (small-caps *N* represents the different realizations of the nasal).

[25]   In this book Papuan Malay strategies to express passive voice are not further discussed; instead, this topic is left for future research.

monovalent dynamic, bivalent, and trivalent verbs. A number of adverbs are derived from monovalent stative verbs (§5.16, in Chapter 5). Personal pronouns, demonstratives, and locatives are distinct from nouns in that all four of them can modify nouns, while nouns do not modify the former. (Chapter 5)

1.4.1.4.   Basic word order

Papuan Malay has a basic SVO word order, as is typical of western Austronesian languages (Himmelmann 2005: 141–144; see also Donohue 2007c: 355–359). This VO order is shown in (3). Very commonly, however, arguments are omitted if the identity of their referent was established earlier. This is the case with the omitted subject *tong* '1PL' in the second clause and the direct object *bua* 'fruit' in the third clause. An initial survey of the present corpus also shows that topicalized constituents are always fronted to the clause initial position, such as the direct object *bapa desa pu motor itu* 'that motorbike of the mayor' in (4).[26]

>   Word order: Basic SVO order, elision of core arguments, and fronting of
>   topicalized arguments

(3)   tong **liat**   bua,   Ø   **liat**   bua   dagn   tong   **mulay   tendang~tendang**   Ø
          1PL   see   fruit   see   fruit   and   1PL   start   RDP~kick

          'we **saw** a fruit, (we) **saw** a fruit and we **started kicking** (it)' [081006-014-Cv.0001]

(4)   **bapa   desa   pu   motor   itu**   Hurki   de   ada
          father   village   POSS   motorbike   D.DIST   Hurki   3SG   exist

          taru   **Ø**   di   Niwerawar
          put   at   Niwerawar

          '(as for) **that motorbike of the mayor**, Hurki is storing (**it**) at Niwerawar' [081014-003-Cv.0024]

A Papuan Malay verb takes maximally three arguments, that is, the subject, a direct object, and an indirect object. In double object constructions with trivalent verbs, the typical word order is 'SUBJECT – VERB – R – T'.[27] However, trivalent verbs do not require, but do allow, three syntactic arguments. Most often, speakers use alternative strategies to reduce the number of arguments. (§11.1.3, in Chapter 11)

As is typical cross-linguistically, the SVO word order correlates with a number of other word order characteristics, as discussed in Dryer (2007c).

Papuan Malay word order agrees with the predicted word order with respect to the order of verb and adposition, verb and prepositional phrase, main verb and auxiliary verb, marker and standard, parameter and standard, clause and complementizer, and head nominal and relative clause. In two aspects, the word

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[26]   Donohue (2011: 433) suggests that the frequent topicalization of non-subject arguments "is an adaptive strategy that allows the OV order of the substrate languages in New Guinea […] to surface in what is nominally a VO language, Papuan Malay.
       In this book the issue of topicalization is not further discussed, instead, this topic is left for future research.

[27]   R encodes the recipient-like argument and T the theme.

order differs from the predicted order. In adnominal possessive constructions, the possessor precedes rather than follows the possessum, and in interrogative clauses, the question marker is clause-final rather than clause-initial. Six word order correlations do not apply to Papuan Malay. The word order of verb and manner adverb, of copula and predicate, and of article or plural word and noun are nonapplicable, as Papuan Malay does not have manner adverbs, a copula, an article, and a plural word. Nor does the order of main and subordinate clause and the position of adverbial subordinators apply, as in combining clauses Papuan Malay does not make a morphosyntactic distinction between main and subordinate clause.

Table 6:   Predicted word order for VO languages (Dryer 2007c: 130) versus Papuan Malay word order

Predicted word order	Papuan Malay word order	Examples
prepositions	as predicted	(5), (6)
verb – adpositional phrase	as predicted	(5), (6)
auxiliary verb – main verb	as predicted	(5),
mark – standard[28]	as predicted	(7), (8)
parameter – standard	as predicted	(7), (8)
initial complementizer	as predicted	(9)
noun – relative clause	as predicted	(10)
noun – genitive	POSSESSOR LIG POSSESSUM	(11)
initial question particle	clause final question	(12)
verb – manner adverb	nonapplicable	
copula – predicate	nonapplicable	
article – noun	nonapplicable	
plural word – noun	nonapplicable	
main clause – subordinate clause	nonapplicable	
initial adverbial subordinator	nonapplicable	

Papuan Malay has prepositions, with the prepositional phrase following the verb, as illustrated in (5) and (6); auxiliary verbs precede the main verb as shown in (5) (§13.3, in Chapter 13[29]) (see also Donohue 2007c: 373–379). The example in (6) shows that aspect-marking adverbs also precede the verb (§5.4.1, in Chapter 5); cross-linguistically, however, the order of aspect marker and verb does not correlate with the order of verb and object (Dryer 2007c: 130).

        Word order: Auxiliary verb – main verb – prepositional phrase

(5)   ko   **harus**   pulang   **ke tempat**
         2SG   have.to   go.home   to   place
         'you **have to** go home **to (your own) place**' [080922-010a-CvNF.0143]

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28   Dryer (2007c: 130) uses the term "marker" rather than "mark". The terminology for comparative constructions employed in this book, however, follows Dixon 's (2008) terminology; hence, "mark" rather than "marker" (see §11.5).

29   Auxiliary verbs are briefly mentioned in 13.3 in Chapter 13; a detailed description of these verbs is left for future research.

(6)   de   **suda**   naik   **di   kapal**
         3SG   already   ascend   at   ship
         'he **already** went **on board**' [080923-015-CvEx.0025]

In Papuan Malay comparison clauses, the parameter precedes the mark, both of
which precede the standard, as in (7) and (8). The position of the index differs
depending on the type of comparison clause. In degree-marking clauses the
parameter follows the index, as in the superlative clause in (7). In identity-marking
clauses, by contrast, the parameter precedes the index as in the similarity clause in
(8), or it is omitted. The word-order of index and parameter, however, does not
correlate with that of verb and object (Dryer 2007c: 130). (§11.5, in Chapter 11)

        Word order: PARAMETER − MARK − STANDARD

(7)   COMPAREE   INDEX   PARAMETER   MARK   STANDARD
         dia   **lebi**   **tinggi**   dari   saya
         3SG   more   be.high   from   1SG
         'he/she is **taller** than me' (Lit. 'be **more tall** from me') [Elicited
         BR111011.002]

(8)   COMPAREE   PARAMETER   INDEX   MARK   STANDARD
         de   **sombong**   **sama**   deng   ko
         3SG   be.arrogant   be.same   with   2SG
         'she'll be **as arrogant as** you (are)' (Lit. 'be **arrogant same** with you')
         [081006-005-Cv.0002]

The complementizer **bahwa** 'that' occurs in clause-initial position, with the
complement clause following the verb, as in (9). (§14.3.1, in Chapter 14)

        Word order: Initial complementizer

(9)   sa   tida   taw   **bahwa**   jam   tiga   itu   de   su   meninggal
         1SG   NEG   know   that   hour three   D.DIST   3SG   already   die
         'I didn't know **that** by three o'clock (in the afternoon) she had already
         died' [080917-001-CvNP.0005]

Within the noun phrase, the relative clause follows its head nominal, as shown in
(10) (§8.2.8, in Chapter 8). Other modifiers, such as demonstratives, or monovalent
stative verbs, also occur to the right of the head nominal. This order of head nominal
and modifier is typical for western Austronesian languages (Himmelmann 2005:
142; see also Donohue 2007c: 359–373). Cross-linguistically, however, the order of
head nominal and demonstrative, numeral, or stative verb does not correlate with the
order of verb and object (Dryer 2007c: 130). Numerals, quantifiers, and
interrogative **brapa** 'how many' precede or follow the head nominal, depending on
the semantics of the phrasal structure (§14.3.2, in Chapter 14).

Word order: Head nominal – relative clause

(10)   … karna   liat ada makangang dalam **kantong yang** saya bawa
       because see exist food   inside bag   REL   1SG   bring
       '[she was already glad] because she saw there was food in **the bag that** I
       brought' [080919-004-NP.0032]

Likewise in noun phrases with adnominally used nouns, the modifier noun follows
the head nominal, as in ***tulang bahu*** 'shoulder bone' (§8.2.2, in Chapter 8). By
contrast, adnominal possession in Papuan Malay is typically expressed with a
construction in which the POSSESSOR precedes the POSSESSUM; both are linked with
the possessive marker ***pu(nya)*** 'POSS', as illustrated in (11) (Chapter 9). This word
order does not correlate with the general VO order, but it is typical for the eastern
Malay varieties in general and other Austronesian languages of the larger region, as
discussed in more detail in §1.4.2.

Word order: POSSESSOR – POSSESSUM

(11)   … sa pegang **sa** pu   parang   **sa** punya jubi   …
        1SG hold   1SG POSS short.machete 1SG POSS bow.and.arrow
       'so, in the morning I got up, I fed the dogs,] I took **my** short machete, **my**
       bow and arrows …' [080919-003-NP.0003]

In alternative interrogative clauses, alternative-marking disjunctive ***ka*** 'or' occurs in
clause-final position, as demonstrated in (12) (§13.2.3, in Chapter 13). Again, this
word order does not correlate with the general VO order.

Word order: Clause-final question marker ***ka*** 'or'

(12)   ko   sendiri   **ka**?
       2SG be.alone or
       'are you alone **(or not)**?' [080921-010-Cv.0003]

As mentioned, in a number of aspects the predicted word order does not apply to
Papuan Malay. Papuan Malay has no manner adverbs. Instead monovalent stative
verbs express manner; they take a post-predicate position (§5.4.8, in Chapter 5). The
language has no copula either. Hence, in nonverbal predicate clauses, the nonverbal
predicate is juxtaposed to the subject (Chapter 12). Neither does Papuan Malay have
an article or plural word. Instead, free pronouns signal the person, number, and
definiteness of their referents (Chapter 6). In combining clauses, Papuan Malay
makes no morphosyntactic distinction between main and subordinate clauses;
dependency relations are purely semantic (§14.2, in Chapter 14).

In negative clauses, the negators occur in pre-predicate position: ***tida/tra*** 'NEG'
negates verbal, existential, and nonverbal prepositional clauses, while ***bukang*** 'NEG'
negates nonverbal clauses, other than prepositional ones; besides, ***bukang*** 'NEG' also
marks contrastive negation (§13.1, in Chapter 13). This order is typical for western
Austronesian languages (Himmelmann 2005: 141). Cross-linguistically, however, it
does not correlate with the order of verb and object (Dryer 2007c: 130).

1.4.2.   Papuan Malay as a language of the Papuan contact zone

In this section, some of the typological features of Papuan Malay, as spoken along West Papua's northeast coast, are compared to pertinent features found in Austronesian languages in general, as well as to features typical for Austronesian spoken in the larger region, and to some features of Papuan languages.[30]

The reason for this investigation is the observation that Papuan Malay is lacking some of the features that are typical for Austronesian languages, while it has a number of features which are found in Papuan languages. This investigation is not based on a comparative study, which would explore whether and to what extent Papuan Malay, as spoken in Sarmi, has adopted features found in the languages of the larger region, such as Isirawa, a Tor-Kwerba language and the language of the author's hosts, or the Tor-Kwerba languages Kwesten and Mo, or the Austronesian languages Mo and Sobei. Such a study is left for future research. (See also Table 1 in §1.1.2.)

Instead this investigation is based on studies on areal diffusion. For a long time, scholars have noted that in the area east of Sulawesi, Sumba, and Flores, all the way to the Bird's Head of New Guinea, a number of linguistic features have diffused from Papuan into Austronesian languages and vice versa.

Klamer et al. (2008) and Klamer and Ewing (2010) propose the term "East Nusantara" for this area. More specifically, Klamer and Ewing (2010: 1) define[31]

> East Nusantara as a geographical area that extends from Sumbawa to the west, across the islands of East Nusa Tenggara, Maluku […] including Halmahera, and to the Bird's Head of New Guinea in the east […]. In the northwest, the area is bounded by Sulawesi.

The Papuan Malay varieties spoken in the Birds' Head, such as those of Fak-Fak, Manokwari, and Sorong, belong to East Nusantara. The variety of Papuan Malay described in this book, by contrast, is not located in this geographical area. Yet, it seems useful to examine the typological profile of Papuan Malay in light of the observed diffusion of linguistic features, discussed in Klamer et al. (2008) and Klamer and Ewing (2010).

This comparison shows that Papuan Malay is lacking some of the features which are typical for Austronesian languages. At the same time, it has a number of features which are untypical for Austronesian languages, but which are found in Austronesian languages of East Nusantara. Moreover, Papuan Malay has some features not typically found in Austronesian languages of East Nusantara but found in Papuan languages. These features are summarized in Table 7 to Table 9; the listed features are taken from Klamer et al. (2008) and Klamer and Ewing (2010), unless mentioned otherwise.

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[30]   The term "Papuan" is a collective label used for "the non-Austronesian languages spoken in New Guinea and archipelagos to the West and East"; that is, the term "does not refer to a superordinate category to which all the languages belong" (Klamer et al. 2008: 107).

[31]   As Klamer and Ewing (2010: 1) point out, though, there is an ongoing discussion about "the exact geographic delimitations of the East Nusantara region" and "whether (parts of) New Guinea are also considered to be part of it" (see also Footnote 3 in Klamer and Ewing (2010)).

Table 7 presents seven features found in Austronesian languages in general, six of which are listed in Klamer et al. (2008: 113).[32] Papuan Malay shares five of these features. It does not, however, share the typical noun-genitive order which is used to express adnominal possession. As discussed in §1.4.1, Papuan Malay noun phrases with post-head nominal modifiers are used to denote important features for subclassification of the head nominal rather than for adnominal possession. Also, Papuan Malay does not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive first person plural in its pronominal paradigm.

Table 7:   Pertinent features of Austronesian languages in general vis-à-vis Papuan Malay features

Austronesian languages	Papuan Malay	
Phonemic l/r distinction	yes	(Chap. 2)
Preference for CVCV roots	yes	(Chap. 2)
Reduplication	yes	(Chap. 4)
Head-initial	yes	(Chap. 8)
Negator precedes the predicate	yes	(Chap. 13)
Noun-genitive order	no	(Chap. 8 & 9)
Inclusive/exclusive distinction in pronouns	no	(Chap. 5 & 6)

Table 8 lists 17 linguistic features "found in many of the Austronesian languages of East Nusantara" (Klamer and Ewing 2010: 10),[33] some of these features are also listed in Table 7. Papuan Malay shares eight of them, such as left-headed compounds or prepositions. However, Papuan Malay does not share eight of these features, such as metathesis or clause-final negators.

Table 8:   Pertinent features of Austronesian languages of East Nusantara vis-à-vis Papuan Malay features

Austronesian languages of East Nusantara	Papuan Malay	
Phonology		
Preference for CVCV roots	yes	(Chap. 2)
Prenasalized consonants	no	(Chap. 2)
Metathesis	no	(Chap. 2)
Morphology		
No productive voice system on verbs	yes	(Chap. 3 & 5)
Left-headed compounds	yes	(Chap. 3)
Agent/subject indexed on verb as prefix/proclitic	no	(Chap. 3 & 5)
Inclusive/exclusive distinction in pronouns	no	(Chap. 5 & 6)
Morphological distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns	no	(Chap. 3 & 5)

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[32]   The noun-genitive order is not explicitly mentioned in Klamer et al. (2008).
[33]   This list of features in Klamer and Ewing (2010) builds on Klamer (2002), Himmelmann (2005), Donohue (2007c), and Klamer et al. (2008).

Austronesian languages of East Nusantara	Papuan Malay	
Syntax		
Verb-object order	yes	(Chap. 11)
Prepositions	yes	(Chap. 10)
Genitive-noun order ("preposed possessor")	yes	(Chap. 8 & 9)
Noun-Numeral order	yes	(Chap. 8)
Absence of a passive construction	yes	(Chap. 11)
Clause-final negators	no	(Chap. 13)
Clause-initial indigenous complementizers	no	(Chap. 14)
Formally marked adverbial/complement clauses	no	(Chap. 14)
Other		
Parallelisms without stylistic optionality	---	not yet researched

Two of the nonshared morphological and two of the shared syntactic features require additional commenting.

Papuan Malay does not have indexing on the verb. Instead, Papuan Malay uses free pronouns (Chapter 6).

Overall, Papuan Malay does not distinguish between alienable and inalienable possessed items, with one exception: adnominal possessive constructions with omitted possessive marker signal inalienable possession of body parts or kinship relations. This is not a dedicated construction, though. Just as commonly, inalienable possession of these entities is encoded in the same way as possession of alienable items, that is, in a POSSESSOR LIGATURE POSSESSUM construction. Examples are *sa maytua* 'my wife', *dia pu maytua* 'his wife', or *sa pu motor* 'my motorbike' (literally '1SG wife', '3SG POSS wife', '1SG POSS motorbike'). (Chapter 9)

In Papuan Malay noun phrases, numerals and quantifiers follow the head nominal. As mentioned in §1.4.1, however, they can also precede the head nominal, depending on the semantics of the phrasal structure (§8.3, in Chapter 8).

Like other East Nusantara Austronesian languages, Papuan Malay does not to have a dedicated passive construction. Instead, speakers encode actions and events in active constructions (see also §1.4.1.2).[34]

East Nusantara Austronesian languages also often make use of parallelisms without stylistic optionality. Whether, and to what extent, Papuan Malay employs this feature has not been researched for the present study; instead this topic is left for future research.

Papuan Malay also has a number of features which are not usually found in the East Nusantara Austronesian languages. Instead, these features are typical characteristics of Papuan languages.

Table 9 presents 15 linguistic features typically found in Papuan languages (Klamer and Ewing 2010: 10).[35] Papuan Malay shares six of them, such as the

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[34]   As mentioned in §1.4.1.2, passive constructions are not further discussed in this book; instead, this topic is left for future research.

[35]   This list of features in Klamer and Ewing (2010) builds on Foley (1986), Foley (2000), Pawley (2005), and Aikhenvald and Stebbins (2007).

subject-verb order, or the genitive-noun order. There is also limited overlap between Papuan Malay and Papuan languages with respect to the position of conjunctions. All Papuan Malay conjunctions are clause-initial, but two of them can also take a clause-final position (Chapter 14). Eight of the 15 features are not found in Papuan Malay, such as gender marking or postpositions.

Table 9: Pertinent features of Papuan languages vis-à-vis Papuan Malay features

Papuan languages	Papuan Malay	
Phonology		
No phonemic l/r distinction	no	(Chap. 2)
Morphology		
No inclusive/exclusive distinction in pronouns	yes	(Chap. 5 & 6)
Marking of gender	no	(Chap. 3 & 5)
Subject marked as suffix on verb	no	(Chap. 3 & 5)
Morphological distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns	no	(Chap. 3 & 5)
Syntax		
Subject-verb order	yes	(Chap. 11)
Genitive-noun order ("preposed possessor")	yes	(Chap. 8 & 9)
Serial verb constructions[36]	yes	(Chap. 11)
Clause-chaining	yes	(example (13))
Tail-head linkage	yes	(example (14))
Clause-final conjunctions	few	(Chap. 14)
Object-verb order	no	(Chap. 11)
Postpositions	no	(Chap. 10)
Clause-final negator	no	(Chap. 13)
Switch reference	no	(Chap. 14)

Among the syntactic features, three need to be commented on, namely clause-chaining, switch reference, and tail-head linkage.

Clause chaining is not discussed in the present study. An initial survey of the corpus indicates, however, that it is very common in Papuan Malay. One example is given in (13).

Clause-chaining in Papuan Malay

(13) langsung **sa pegang sa putar sa cari**
immediately 1SG hold 1SG turn.around 1SG search

'immediately **I held** (the plate), **I turned around**, **I looked around**'
[081011-005-Cv.0034]

Tail-head linkage is not mentioned in Klamer et al. (2008). It is, however, a typical Papuan feature (see Foley 1986: 200–201, or Foley 2000: 390)).

36 Serial verb constructions are briefly mentioned in §11.2, in Chapter 11; a detailed description of this topic is left for future research.

Following Klamer and Ewing (2010: 11), clause-chaining in Papuan languages is often characterized by "some concomitant switch reference system". This, however, does not seem to apply to Papuan Malay. That is, so far dedicated switch-references devices have not been identified, a finding which contrasts with Donohue's (2011) observations. Donohue (2011: 431–432) suggests that the sequential-marking conjunction *trus* 'next' "is a commonly used connective when there is a same-subject coreference condition between clauses", while the sequential-marking conjunction *baru* 'and then' tends "to indicate switch reference". An initial investigation of the attested *trus* 'next, and then' and *baru* 'and then' tokens in the present corpus shows, however, that both conjunction more often link clauses with a switch in reference, than those with same-subject coreference. Neither do any of the other conjunctions function as dedicated switch-references devices.

Tail-head linkage is not treated in the present study. An initial survey of the corpus shows, however, that it is a very common "structure in which the final clause of the previous sentence initiates the next sentence, often in a reduced form" (Foley 2000: 390; see also de Vries 2005). In the example in (14), for instance, the speaker repeats part of the first clause at the beginning of the second clause: *kasi senter* 'give a flashlight'.

> Tail-head linkage in Papuan Malay

(14) skarang dong **kasi** dia **senter**,   **kasi senter**   dong mo   kasi pisow
      now   3PL   give 3SG flashlight give flashlight 3PL   want give knife

      'now they **give** him **a flashlight**, (having) **given** (him) **a flashlight**, they
      want to give (him) a knife' [081108-003-JR.0002]

1.4.3.   Papuan Malay as an eastern Malay variety

This section compares some of the features found in Papuan Malay to those found in other eastern Malay varieties, namely in Ambon Malay (AM) (van Minde 1997), Banda Malay (BM) (Paauw 2008), Kupang Malay (KM) (Steinhauer 1983), Larantuka Malay (LM) (Paauw 2008), Manado Malay (MM) (Stoel 2005), North Moluccan or Ternate Malay (NMM/TM) (Taylor 1983, Voorhoeve 1983, and Litamahuputty 2012).[37]

These comparisons are far from systematic and exhaustive. Instead, they pertain to a limited number of topics as they came up during the analysis and description of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Papuan Malay. (A detailed typological study of the eastern Malay varieties is Paauw 2008.) The comparisons discussed here touch upon the following phenomena:

  – Affixation (§3.1, in Chapter 3)
  – Reduplication (Chapter 4)

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[37] In their contributions, Taylor (1983) and Voorhoeve (1983) label the Malay variety spoken in the northern Moluccas as North Moluccan Malay, while Litamahuputty (2012) uses the term Ternate Malay for the same variety in her in-depth grammar. Given that the three studies differ in depth, all three of them are included here, with Taylor 's (1983) and Voorhoeve 's (1983) summarily listed under North Moluccan Malay.

The remainder of this section gives an overview how Papuan Malay compares to the other eastern Malay varieties with respect to these phenomena. (In Table 10 to Table 13 empty cells signal that a given feature is not mentioned in the available literature. One reason could be that the respective feature is nonexistent. It is, however, just as likely that such empty cells could be a result of gaps in the available literature.)

Affixation is one area in which Papuan Malay has a number of features which are distinct from those found in other eastern Malay varieties. Table 10 presents three prefixes and one suffix and shows that the Papuan Malay affixes are different both in terms of their form and their degree of productivity (PROD). In most of the eastern Malay varieties, the three prefixes are realized as *ta-*, *pa(N)-*, and *ba-*. By contrast, the Papuan Malay affixes *TER-* (ACL), *PE(N)-* (AG), and *BER-* (INTR) are most commonly realized as *ter-*, *pe(N)-*, and *ber-*, respectively; hence, they have more resemblance with the corresponding Standard Indonesian affixes.

Papuan Malay prefix *TER-* has only limited productivity ('lim.'), prefix *BER-* is unproductive. In the other eastern Malay varieties, by contrast, the corresponding prefixes *ta-* and *ba-* are very productive. Papuan Malay prefix *PE(N)-* is, at best, marginally productive. In Manado Malay *paŋ-* is productive (in addition an unproductive form *pa-* exists). Likewise, in North Moluccan / Ternate Malay prefixation with ***pang-*** is productive (Litamahuputty 2012: 30).[38] In Ambon Malay the prefix occurs but it is unproductive. The Papuan Malay prefix *-ang* has only limited productivity. In Ambon Malay, the suffix also occurs but according to van Minde (1997: 106) it is difficult to determine whether and to what degree it is productive.

Table 10:   Affixation: Form and productivity

	PM	AM	BM	KM	LM	MM	NMM / TM
Prefix *TER-*							
Form PROD	*TER-* lim.	*ta-* yes	*ta-* yes	*ta-* yes	*tə(r)-* yes	*ta-* yes	*ta-* yes	*ta-* yes
Prefix *PE(N)-*							
Form PROD	*PE(N)-* marg.	*pa(N)-* no				*paŋ-* yes	*pa-* no	*pang-* yes

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38 Voorhoeve (1983: 4), by contrast, suggests that ***pa-*** "is no longer morphologically distinct".

	PM	AM	BM	KM	LM	MM	NMM / TM
Prefix *BER-*							
Form PROD	*BER-* no	*ba-* yes	*ba-* yes	*ba-* yes	*bə(r)-* yes	*ba-* yes	*ba-* *ba-* yes yes
Prefix *-ang*							
PROD	lim.	*-ang*					

Reduplication is another phenomenon in which Papuan Malay displays a number of features which differ from those described for other eastern Malay varieties (Chapter 4). As shown in Table 11, Papuan Malay and the other eastern Malay varieties employ full reduplication. Partial and imitative reduplication however, is only reported for Papuan Malay, Ambon Malay, and Larantuka Malay. Besides, Papuan Malay shares especially many features with Ambon Malay regarding the morpheme types which can undergo full reduplication (§4.3.1, in Chapter 4).

In general, reduplication conveys a wide range of different meaning aspects. These meaning aspects differ with respect to the range of word classes they attract for reduplication. Among the eastern Malay varieties, the attested meaning aspects in Papuan Malay attract the largest range of different word classes, followed by a medium (med.) range of attracted word classes in Ambon Malay. In the other eastern Malay varieties, by contrast, this range of attracted word classes seems to be much smaller. (§4.3.2, in Chapter 4)

In Papuan Malay, the reduplicated items can also undergo "interpretational shift" or "type coercion". This feature is also attested in Ambon, Larantuka, Manado, and Ternate Malay. Again, Papuan Malay and Ambon Malay share pertinent features, in that in both varieties nouns and verbs can undergo interpretational shift, while in Manado Malay only nouns and in Larantuka and Ternate Malay only verbs are affected. (§4.3.3, in Chapter 4)

These findings suggest that reduplication in Papuan Malay has more in common with Ambon Malay than with the other eastern Malay varieties.

Table 11: Reduplication

	PM	AM	BM	KM	LM	NMM / TM
Type of reduplication						
Full Partial Imitative	yes yes yes	yes yes yes	yes	yes	yes yes yes	yes yes
Meaning aspects and range of attracted word classes						
Range	large	med.	small	small	small	small small
Interpretational shift of reduplicated lexemes						
Shift	yes	yes			yes	yes

Papuan Malay is also distinct from other eastern Malay varieties with respect to the adnominal uses of its personal pronouns (§6.2, in Chapter 6). In Papuan Malay, the

second and third singular personal pronouns have adnominal uses. They signal definiteness and person-number values, whereby they allow the unambiguous identification of their referents. In other eastern Malay varieties, by contrast, 'N PRO-SG' expressions are analyzed as topic-comment constructions. Besides, the first, second, and third person plural pronouns in Papuan Malay also have adnominal uses; they express associative plurality. In the other eastern Malay varieties, by contrast, associative plural expressions are only formed with the third person plural pronoun.

Table 12:   Personal pronouns: Adnominal uses of singular and plural pronouns

	PM	AM	BM	KM	LM	MM	NMM / TM	
2/3SG	yes	no	no				no	
1/2PL	yes	no		no		no		no
3PL[39]	yes	yes		yes		yes		no

In addition, Papuan Malay is compared to the other eastern Malay varieties in terms of one phonological and four syntactic features, summarized in Table 13.

Papuan Malay has no diphthongs; instead the vowel combinations /ai/ and /au/ are analyzed as V.V or VC sequences (§2.1.2, in Chapter 2). The same analysis applies to Larantuka and Manado Malay. For Ambon and North Moluccan Malay, by contrast, the same vowel sequences are analyzed as diphthongs. Most likely, though, the different analyses result from differences between the analysts rather than from distinctions between the respective Malay varieties.

In adnominal possessive constructions, the ligature *pu(nya)* 'POSS' not only marks possessive relations, but also has a number of non-canonical functions, such as that of an emphatic marker. Such non-canonical functions of the ligature are also reported for two other eastern Malay varieties, namely Ambon and Ternate Malay.

In Papuan Malay verbal clauses, core arguments are very often elided (see §1.4.1.4 and §11.1, in Chapter 11). The same observation applies to Ambon and Manado Malay.

In Papuan Malay verbal clauses, the reciprocity marker *baku* 'RECP' is analyzed as a separate word (§11.3, in Chapter 11). For Ambon, Banda, Kupang, Manado, and North Moluccan / Ternate Malay, by contrast, the same marker is analyzed as a prefix. Most likely, this different analysis is again due to differences between the analysts rather than due to linguistic differences between the respective Malay varieties.

In Papuan Malay negative clauses, the negator *bukang* 'NEG' not only negates nouns and nominal predicate clauses, but also signals contrast (§13.1.2, in Chapter 13). The same observation applies to Ambon, Manado, and Ternate Malay.

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39   Adnominal uses of the third person plural pronoun are also reported for Balai Berkuak Malay (Tadmor 2002: 7), Dobo Malay (Nivens, p.c. 2013), and Sri Lanka Malay (Slomanson 2013); in Balai Berkuak Malay and Manado Malay the pronoun occurs in pre-head position.

Table 13:   Some phonological and syntactic features in Papuan Malay and other eastern Malay varieties

Phonology: Diphthongs (DIPH)							
	PM	AM	BM	KM	LM	MM	NMM / TM
DIPH	no	yes			no	no	yes
Adnominal possessive constructions: Non-canonical uses of the ligature (LIG)							
	PM	AM	BM	KM	LM	MM	NMM / TM
LIG use	yes	yes					yes
Verbal clauses: Argument elision							
	PM	AM	BM	KM	LM	MM	NMM / TM
Elision	yes	yes				yes	
Verbal clauses: Morphosyntactic status of reciprocity marker **baku** 'RECP'							
	PM	AM	BM	KM	LM	MM	NMM / TM
RECP	word	prefix	prefix	prefix		prefix	prefix prefix
Negative clauses: Contrastive (CST) function of **bukang** 'NEG'							
	PM	AM	BM	KM	LM	MM	NMM / TM
CST	yes	yes				yes	yes

The overview presented in this section shows several differences and commonalities between Papuan Malay and the other eastern Malay varieties.

The differences pertain to affixation (form and degree of productivity of the affixes), and the adnominal uses of the personal pronouns. The discussed commonalities involve reduplication, the non-canonical uses of the possessive ligature, elision of core arguments in verbal clauses, and the contrastive uses of negator **bukang** 'NEG'. The observed commonalities suggest that Papuan Malay has more in common with Ambon Malay than with the other eastern Malay varieties. It is important to note, however, that these differences and commonalities could also result from gaps in the descriptions of the other eastern Malay varieties. The noted differences concerning the morphosyntactic status of the reciprocity marker and the phonological status of VV sequences most likely result from differences between the analysts rather than from linguistic differences between the compared Malay varieties.

Overall, the noted distinctions and similarities support the conclusion put forward in §1.2 that the history of Papuan Malay is different from that of the other eastern Malay varieties, and that Ambon Malay played a significant role in its genesis.

1.5. Sociolinguistic profile

This section discusses the sociolinguistic profile of Papuan Malay. In summary, this profile presents itself as follows:

- Strong and increasing language vitality;
- Functional distribution of Papuan Malay as the LOW variety, and Indonesian as the HIGH variety, in terms of Ferguson's (1972) notion of diglossia;
- Ambivalent language attitudes towards Papuan Malay; and
- Lack of language awareness of Papuan Malay speakers about the status of Papuan Malay as a language distinct from Indonesian.

Papuan Malay is spoken in a rich linguistic and sociolinguistic environment, which includes indigenous Papuan and Austronesian languages, as well as Indonesian and other languages spoken by migrants who have come to live and work in West Papua (see §1.1.2 and §1.1.3). As in other areas of New Guinea, many Papuan living in the coastal areas of West Papua speak two or more languages (Foley 1986: 15–47; see also Mühlhäusler 1996). The linguistic repertoire of individual speakers may include one or more local Papuan and/or Austronesian vernaculars, Papuan Malay, and – depending on the speaker's education levels – Indonesian, and also English, all of which are being used as deemed necessary and appropriate.

Many of the indigenous Papuan and Austronesian languages are threatened by extinction. By contrast, the vitality of Papuan Malay is strong and increasing. This applies especially to urban coastal communities where Papuan Malay serves as a language of wider communication between members of different ethnic groups (Scott et al. 2008: 10–18). In the Sarmi regency, for instance, many vernacular languages are shifting, or have shifted, to Papuan Malay (see §1.1.2).

There is also substantial language contact between Papuan Malay and Indonesian with both languages being in a diglossic distribution. In this diglossic distribution, according to Ferguson's (1972) notion of diglossia, Indonesian serves as H, the HIGH variety which is acquired through formal education, and Papuan Malay as L, the LOW variety, which is acquired in the home domain.

Papuan Malay speakers display the typical language behavior of LOW speakers in their language use patterns as well as with respect to their language attitudes. Language use and the diglossic distribution of Papuan Malay and Indonesian are discussed in §1.5.1 and language attitudes, together with language awareness, in §1.5.2.[40]

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[40] For the present discussion, the status of the indigenous vernacular languages vis-à-vis Papuan Malay and Indonesian is not further taken into consideration. More investigation is needed to determine whether the interplay between all three best be explained in terms of Fasold 's (1984: 44–50) notion of *double overlapping diglossia* or whether their functional distribution represents an instance of *linear polyglossia*.

1.5.1.   Language use

The diglossic, or functional, distribution of Indonesian as the HIGH variety and
Papuan Malay as the LOW variety implies that in certain situations Indonesian is
more appropriate while in other situations Papuan Malay is more appropriate.

In terms of Fishman's (1965: 86) "domains of language choice", three factors
influence such language choices: the topic discussed, the relationships between the
interlocutors, and the locations where the communication takes place. Another factor
to be taken into account is speaker education levels, given that Indonesian is
acquired through formal education. Below the four factors are discussed in more
detail.[41]

1.   Speaker education levels

In diglossic situations, the LOW variety is known by everyone while the HIGH variety
is acquired through formal education (Ferguson 1972). This also applies to the
diglossic distribution of Papuan Malay and Indonesian. While Papuan Malay is
known by almost everyone in West Papua's coastal areas, knowledge of Indonesian
depends on speaker's education levels.

The results of the mentioned 2007 survey (Scott et al. 2008: 14–17) show that
bilingualism/multilingualism is "a common feature of the Papuan linguistic
landscape". The report does, however, not give details about the degree to which
Papuans are bilingual in Indonesian, but notes that bilingualism levels remain
uncertain.

During her 3-month fieldwork in Sarmi (see §1.8.3), the author did not
investigate bilingualism in Indonesian. She did, however, note changes in speakers'
language behavior depending on their education levels. Papuan Malay speakers with
higher education levels displayed a general and marked tendency to "dress up" their
Papuan Malay with Indonesian features. This tendency was even more pronounced
when discussing high topics (see Factor 2 'Topical regulation'), or when interacting
with group outsiders (see Factor 3 'Relationships between interlocutors'). The
observed features include lexical choices, such as Indonesian *desa* 'village' and
mereka '3PL' instead of Papuan Malay *kampung* 'village' and *dorang*/*dong* '3PL',
respectively.

Another feature is an Indonesian pronunciation of certain lexical items. For
instance, instead of realizing *ade* 'younger sibling' as [ˈa.dɛ] or *tida* 'NEG' as [ˈti.da],
better-educated speakers tend to realize these items as [ˈa.dɪkˀ] or [ˈti.dɐkˀ],
respectively. Other features are syntactic ones, such as Indonesian passives formed
with prefix *di-* 'UV', causatives formed with suffix *-kang* 'CAUS', or possessives
formed with suffix *-nya* '3POSSR'.[42] Less-educated speakers, by contrast, did not
display this general tendency of mixing and switching to Indonesian given their
more limited exposure to the HIGH variety Indonesian. They only showed this

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[41]   Not further taken into account here is the growing influence of the mass media, namely
TV, even in more remote areas which exposes Papuans more and more to colloquial
varieties of Indonesian, especially Jakartan Indonesian (see also Sneddon (2006)).

[42]   For detailed grammatical descriptions of Indonesian see for instance Mintz (1994) and
Sneddon (2010).

tendency to "dress-up" their Indonesian when discussing HIGH topics (see Factor 2 'Topical regulation'), or when interacting with fellow-Papuans of higher social standing or with group outsiders (see Factor 3 'Relationships between interlocutors').

2.   Topical regulation

As Fishman (1965: 71) points out, "certain topics are somehow handled better in one language than in another". The results of the 2007 survey provide only limited information about this issue, however. The findings only state that Papuan Malay is the preferred language for humor and that politics are typically discussed in the indigenous vernaculars (Scott et al. 2008: 17). The author's own observations during her 3-month fieldwork in late 2008 modify these findings (see §1.8.3). The observed Papuan Malay speakers displayed a notable tendency to change their language behavior when discussing HIGH topics. That is, when talking about topics associated with the formal domains of government, politics, education, or religion they tended to "dress up" their Papuan Malay and make it more Indonesian-like.

3.   Relationships between interlocutors

Language behavior is not only influenced by the topics of communication and speaker education levels, but also by role relations. That is, individual speakers display certain language behaviors depending on the role relations between them (Fishman 1965: 76).

As for Papuan Malay, the 2007 survey results (Scott et al. 2008: 13, 14) indicate that family members and friends typically communicate in Papuan Malay or in the vernacular, but not in Indonesian. The same applies to informal interactions between customers and vendors, or between patients and local health workers. Teachers may also address their students in Papuan Malay in informal interactions (in informal interactions in primary school, students may even address their teachers in Papuan Malay). The report does not discuss which language(s) Papuans use when they interact with fellow-Papuans of higher social standing or with outsiders.
During her 3-month fieldwork in Sarmi (see §1.8.3), however, the author did note changes in speakers' language behavior depending on the role relations between interlocutors in terms of their status and community membership.

In interactions with fellow-Papuans of equally low status, less-educated Papuans typically used the LOW variety Papuan Malay. (At times, they also switched to Isirawa, the vernacular language for most of them.) By contrast, when interacting with fellow-Papuans of higher social standing, such as teachers, mayors and other government officials, and pastors, or when conversing with group outsiders, that is non-Papuans, the observed speakers showed a marked tendency to change their language behavior. That is, in such interactions, their speech showed influences from the high variety Indonesian, similar to the general language behavior of better-educated speakers, described under Factor 1 'Speaker education levels'. As for the language behavior of better-educated speakers, their general tendency to "dress-up" their Papuan Malay with Indonesian features was even more marked when they interacted with group outsiders, such as the author. This tendency to "dress-up" one's Papuan Malay with Indonesian features reflects role relations, in that the use

of Papuan Malay indicates intimacy, informality, and equality, while the use of Indonesian features signals social inequality and distance, as well as formality (see also Fishman 1965: 70).[43]

4.   Locations

Language behaviors are also influenced by locations where communication takes place, in that speakers consider certain languages to be more appropriate in certain settings (Fishman 1965: 71, 75). Due to the diglossic distribution of Papuan Malay and Indonesian, Papuan Malay speakers consider Indonesian to be more appropriate in certain domains than Papuan Malay (Scott et al. 2008: 11–18). That is, Indonesian is the preferred language for formal interactions in the education and religious domains (such as formal instruction, leadership, or preaching) or other public domains such as government offices. Papuan Malay strongly dominates all other domains. In addition, it is also the preferred language for informal interactions in public domains such as schools, churches, and government offices.

1.5.2.   Language attitudes

Fishman's (1965: 70) considerations of intimacy and distance, informality and formality also apply to Papuan Malay.

The findings of the 2007 survey indicate that Papuans associate Papuan Malay with intimacy and informality, while they associate Indonesian with social distance and formality. Most interviewees also stated that they are interested in the development of Papuan Malay. Moreover, the majority of interviewees stated that Papuan Malay and Indonesian are of equal value and that Indonesian speakers do not deserve more respect than Papuan Malay speakers. Given these findings, the researchers came to the conclusion that among the interviewed Papuans attitudes towards Papuan Malay are "remarkably positive" (Scott et al. 2008: 18–22).

The expressed attitude that Papuan Malay and Indonesian are of equal value is remarkable, given that in diglossic communities speakers usually consider the HIGH variety to be superior. The LOW variety, by contrast, is usually held "to be inferior, even to the point that its existence is denied" (Fasold 1984: 36).

The author's own observations agree with the survey findings that Papuans find Papuan Malay suitable for intimate communication, while they feel at a distance with Indonesian. At the same time, though, it is questioned here to what extent Papuans feel at ease with Papuan Malay and how positive their attitudes really are. While most of the 2007 interviewees said that Papuan Malay and Indonesian are of equal value, the same interviewees also stated that Indonesian was more appropriate in certain domains. Besides, the author's own observations suggest that Papuans also consider Indonesian to be more appropriate for certain topics and with certain interlocutors. These language behaviors undermine the stated positive attitudes and suggest that overall language attitudes are ambivalent rather than wholly positive.

This "low level of correlation between attitudes and actual behavior" is not unusual, though, as scholars such as Agheyisi and Fishman (1970: 140) point out (see

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[43]   All observed Papuans of higher social standing were also better educated, whereas none of the observed less-educated Papuans was of high social standing.

also Cooper and Fishman 1974: 10, and Baker 1992: 16). The mismatch can perhaps be accounted for in terms of Kelman's (1971) distinction of sentimental and instrumental attachments. Applying this distinction, one can say that Papuans are "sentimentally attached" to Papuan Malay but "instrumentally attached" to Indonesian. Papuan Malay is associated with sentimental attachments, in that it makes Papuans feel good about being Papuan. Indonesian, by contrast, is associated with instrumental attachments in that it allows them to achieve social status and their education and to get things done. (1971: 25)

In this context, the attitudes which Indonesians and Indonesian institutions express towards Papuan Malay are also important. Overall, it seems that Indonesians who live in West Papua but do not speak Papuan Malay consider the language to be poor or bad Indonesian (Scott et al. 2008: 19). In West Papua, this view is implicitly communicated by Indonesian government institutions, for instance by hanging banners across major roads which demand *mari kita berbicara bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar* 'let us speak good and correct Indonesian'. Such negative language attitudes are widespread and apply to the eastern Malay varieties in general. As Masinambow and Haenen (2002: 106) report, scholars in Indonesia continue to regard the regional Malay varieties as second-class, mixed languages which are opposed by the pure High Malay language. (For a discussion of Indonesian language planning see Sneddon 2003: 14–143, for a discussion of the role of Papuan Malay in the context of Indonesian language politics see Besier 2012: 13–17.)

Hence, the need for Papuans to distinguish between sentimental and instrumental attitudes is confounded by the negative attitudes which Indonesian institutions and individuals have towards Papuan Malay.

Notably, Papuan Malay is not recognized by the Papuan independence movement OPM (*Organisasi Papua Merdeka* – Free Papua Movement) either.

The First Papuan People's Congress, held on 16-19 October 1961, issued a manifesto which declared that *Papua Barat* 'West Papua' would be the name of their nation, *Papua* the name of the people, *Hai Tanahku Papua* 'My land Papua' the national anthem, the *Bintang Kejora* 'Morning Star' the national flag, the *burung Mambruk* 'Mambruk bird' the national symbol, and 'One People One Soul' the national motto. Moreover, the Congress decided that the national language should not be Malay, as it was the colonizer's language (Alua 2006: 40–43). The Second Papuan People's Congress, held from 29 May until 4 June 2000 at Cenderawasih University in Jayapura, reconfirmed the national anthem, flag, and symbol, and again rejected Papuan Malay as the national language. Instead the Congress decided that English should be the official language. In addition, Papuan Malay and Tok Pisin should serve as "common" languages (King 2004: 50).[44] Likewise, the Third Papuan People's Congress, held from 17-19 October 2011 in Abepura, rejected Papuan Malay as the national language (Besier 2012: 19).

This desire of Papuan nationals "of a clean linguistic break" is a utopian dream, as Rutherford (2005: 407) points out. Moreover, it presents a dilemma since only

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[44]   King 's (2004: 195) report is based on an *Agence France Presse* summary, dated 6 January 2000, which is titled "The constitution of the 'State of Papua' as envisaged in Jayapura".

few people in West Papua speak these other languages, while Papuan Malay is the *de facto* language of wider communication. (See also Besier 2012: 17–22.)

The fact that Papuan Malay has not been officially recognized in spite of its large numbers of speakers reflects the lack of esteem held by the main stakeholders vis-à-vis this language. (See also Besier 2012: 32.)

Another factor to be considered in the context of language attitudes is the issue of language awareness.

The findings of the 2007 sociolinguistic survey note a lack of language awareness among Papuans with respect to Papuan Malay (Scott et al. 2008: 11, 18-19). That is, many interviewees were unaware of differences between Papuan Malay and Indonesian. The names which the interviewees used to refer to Papuan Malay also reflects this lack of language awareness, names such as ***bahasa santay*** 'language to relax', ***bahasa tanah*** 'home language' (literally 'ground language), ***bahasa sehari-hari*** 'every-day language', or ***bahasa pasar*** 'market/trade language'. While these names illustrate the identification Papuans have with Papuan Malay, none of them indicates that the interviewees recognize Papuan Malay as a distinct language. Paauw (2008: 76) also reports that many Papuan Malay speakers are not aware of the fact that their speech variety is distinct from Indonesian. (See also Burung 2008a: 5–7.)

The author made similar observations during her 2008 fieldwork in Sarmi. Most Papuan Malay speakers she met thought that they were speaking Indonesian (maybe with a local Papuan flavor) when conversing with other Papuans. Only a few household members and guests were aware that their speech variety was distinct from Indonesian. They referred to their speech variety as ***logat Papua*** 'Papuan dialect'. None of them knew the term ***Melayu Papua*** 'Papuan Malay'.

In summarizing this discussion on language attitudes, it is concluded that Papuans' attitudes towards Papuan Malay are ambivalent, rather than wholly positive.

1.6.   Previous research on Papuan Malay

Until the second half of the twentieth century, the Malay varieties spoken in New Guinea had received almost no attention. Linguists only started taking more notice of the language in the second half of the twentieth century. These early studies are discussed in §1.6.1. Starting from the early years of the twenty first century, Papuan Malay has received more attention. This includes linguistic descriptions of some of the Malay varieties spoken in West Papua (§1.6.2), as well as typological studies of the eastern Malay varieties, including Papuan Malay (§1.6.3). In addition, Papuan Malay has received attention in the context of sociolinguistic studies (§1.6.4).

1.6.1.   Early linguistic studies on the Malay varieties of West Papua

Zöller (1891) mentions Malay in his description of the *Papua Sprachen* 'languages of Papua' (1891: 351–426), as well as in his 300-item word of 48 languages of Papua (1891: 443–529); the 48 languages include 29 languages of German New Guinea, and 17 languages of British New Guinea, as well as Malay and Numfor of

Netherlands New Guinea (for comparison reason, the word list also includes Maori and Samoan, besides the 48 languages of Papua).

Likewise, Teutscher (1954) mentions Malay in his article on the languages spoken in New Guinea. As a *lingua franca* it is used in formal and informal domains. Moreover, for Papuans this Malay has become a *tweede moedertaal* 'second mother tongue' (1954: 123).

Also available is a *Beknopte leergang Maleis voor Nieuw-Guinea* 'A concise language course in the Malay variety spoken in New Guinea' (Bureau Cursussen en Vertalingen 1950).

The Malay of New Guinea is also mentioned by Anceaux and Veldkamp in their Malay-Dutch-Dani word list (1960) as well as in their penciled New Guinea Malay-Dutch word list (no date).

In addition, Teeuw (1961: 49) states that after 1950 a variety of publications were produced specifically for western New Guinea; they were written in Malay with a "distinctly local colour". At the same time, however, the author notes that there were no publications which discussed the Malay of Netherlands New Guinea or the language policies regarding this Malay variety.

Around the same time, Moeliono (1963) mentions Indonesian in his study of the languages spoken in West Papua. The author refers to the language as a ***logat bahasa Indonesia*** 'dialect of the Indonesian language' without, however, discussing its features. The author does state, though, that this "dialect" is spoken in the coastal and urban areas of West Papua and used by the Dutch colonial government for letters and announcements. Moreover, it is used as a *lingua franca*, both in formal and informal domains.

Early linguistic studies on the Malay varieties spoken in West Papua date back to the second half of the twentieth century.

Samaun (1979) highlights some morphological, syntactical, and lexical features in which the *dialek Indonesia Irian* of Jayapura differs from standard Indonesian. While explaining these differences as mere simplifications, the author also notes that due to some of these modifications, this *dialek* of Indonesian sounds non-Indonesian.

Along similar lines, Suharno (1979, 1981) describes some aspects of Papuan Malay phonology, morphology, lexicon, and grammar in comparison to standard Indonesian. While referring to Papuan Malay as an Indonesian dialect, the author suggests that this variety of Indonesian is autonomous and deserves more research. The author also maintains that this dialect is a suitable language for development programs. In formal situations, however, the language variety is unacceptable.

Unlike Samaun (1979) and Suharno (1979, 1981), Roosman (1982) does not refer to Papuan Malay as a dialect of Indonesian. Instead, he considers Papuan Malay as a form of Ambon Malay which has "pidgin Malay as its basic stratum" (1982: 1). In his paper, the author presents phonetic inventories of Ambon (Irian Malay), Pidgin Malay, and Indonesian and comments on some of the differences he found.

Another scholar who mentions various features of the Malay spoken in West Papua is Walker (1982). In the context of his study on language use at Namatota, a village located on West Papua's southwest coast, the author discusses some of the

similarities which Malay shares with Indonesian and some of the distinctions
between both languages.

Ajamiseba (1984) mentions the Malay variety spoken in West Papua in the
context of his study on the linguistic diversity found in this part of New Guinea.
Referring to this speech variety as *Irian Indonesian*, the author compares some of its
features to those of other languages spoken in West Papua. This comparison,
however, seems to be based on standard Indonesian rather than on Papuan Malay.

In 1995, van Velzen published his "Notes on the variety of Malay used in Serui
and vicinity". Similar to previous studies, the author highlights some aspects of the
Serui Malay phonology, morphology, and lexicon in comparison to standard
Indonesian. Van Velzen (1995: 315) concludes that Serui Malay and the other
Malay varieties of West Papua's north coast "are probably more closely related to
Tidorese or Ternatan Malay" than to Ambon Malay, as suggested by Roosman
(1982).[45]

1.6.2.   Linguistic descriptions of Papuan Malay

More recently, Papuan Malay has received attention from linguistics as a language
in its own right vis-à-vis Indonesian and as a distinct cluster of Malay dialects vis-à-
vis the other eastern Malay varieties. Three studies give an overview of the most
pertinent features of Papuan Malay, two of which are Donohue (to be published) and
Scott et al. (2008). The third study is Paauw (2008) which is presented in §1.6.3.

Donohue (to be published) discusses various linguistic features of Papuan Malay
as spoken in the area around Geelvink Bay. The described features include, among
others, phonology, noun phrases, verbal morphosyntax, and clause linkages.

Scott et al.'s (2008) study is part of a larger sociolinguistics language survey of
the Malay varieties of West Papua (see §1.6.4). The authors describe different
aspects of the lexicon, phonology, morphology, syntax, and discourse of the Malay
varieties spoken in (and around) the urban areas of Fak-Fak, Jayapura, Manokwari,
Merauke, Timika, Serui, and Sorong (see also Map 5 on p. xxiv).

In addition, there are a number of studies which explore specific aspects of
Papuan Malay.

One of the investigated features is the pronoun system. Donohue and Sawaki
(2007) examine the innovative forms and functions of the pronoun system in Papuan
Malay as spoken along West Papua's north coast. In their study on the development
of Austronesian first-person pronouns, Donohue and Smith (1998) explore the loss
of the inclusive-exclusive distinction in non-singular personal pronouns in Serui and
Merauke Malay and other nonstandard Malay varieties. Saragih (2012) investigates
the use of person reference in everyday language on the social networking service
Facebook.

As well as the pronoun system, the voice system has also received attention.
Donohue (2007a) investigates the variation in the voice systems of six different

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[45]   With respect to this quote, Nivens (p.c. 2013) suggests that van Velzen (1995: 315) made
      this comment "because the sultan of Tidore once claimed sovereignty over parts of
      Papua", but it is doubtful "that he had any actual linguistic data to back up this claim".

Indonesian/Malay varieties, one of them being Papuan Malay from the area around Jayapura, and another being Serui Malay (see also Donohue 2005b, 2007b).

In a more recent study on the Melanesian influence on Papuan Malay, Donohue (2011) investigates pronominal agreement, aspect marking, serial verb constructions, and various aspects of clause linkage in Papuan Malay.

In addition to these more in-depth studies on Papuan Malay, initial research has been conducted on a variety of different topics. Burung (2004) examines comparative constructions in Papuan Malay. Burung (2005) discusses three types of textual continuity, namely topic, action, and thematic continuity. Burung and Sawaki (2007) describe different types of causative constructions. Burung (2008a) presents a brief typological profile of Papuan Malay. Burung (2008b) investigates how Papuan Malay expresses the semantic prime FEEL, applying the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) framework. Sawaki (2004) discusses serial-verb constructions and word order in different clause types, and gives an overview of the pronominal system. Sawaki (2007) investigates how Papuan Malay expresses passive voice. Warami (2005) examines the uses of a number of different lexical items, including selected interjection and conjunctions. None of these studies specifies, however, which variety of Papuan Malay is under investigation.

Other materials on Papuan Malay mentioned in the literature but not available to the author are the following (listed in alphabetical order): Donohue's (1997) study on contact and change in Merauke Malay, Hartanti's (2008) analysis of SMS texts in Papuan Malay, Mundhenk's (2002) description of final particles in Papuan Malay, Podungge's (2000) description of slang in Papuan Malay, Sawaki's (2005) paper *Melayu Papua: Tong Pu Bahasa*, Sawaki's (no date) paper on nominal agreement in Papuan Malay, and Silzer's (1978 and 1979) *Notes on Irianese Indonesian*.

1.6.3. Typological studies on the eastern Malay varieties

Two studies deal with Papuan Malay in the context of typological comparisons of the eastern Malay varieties.

Lumi (2007) investigates similarities and differences of the plural personal pronouns in Ambon Malay, Manado Malay, and Papuan Malay (without specifying, however, which variety of Papuan Malay is under investigation).

Paauw (2008) compares seven eastern Malay varieties, namely Ambon, Banda, Kupang, Larantuka, Manado, North Moluccan, and Papuan Malay.[46] The described features include phonology, lexical categories, word order, clause structure, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and verb phrases.

1.6.4. Sociolinguistic studies

To date, sociolinguistic studies on Papuan Malay are scarce.

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[46] The basis for the description of Papuan Malay is textual data collected in Manokwari (Paauw 2008: 35), as well as data available in previous studies: Burung and Sawaki (2007), Donohue (to be published), Kim et al. (2007) (this study is an earlier version of Scott et al. 2008), Sawaki (2007), Suharno (1981), and van Velzen (1995).

The earliest one is Walker's (1982) study on language use at Namatota, mentioned in §1.6.2. Examining the different functions Malay and other languages have in this multilingual community, the author highlights the pervasive role of Malay in the community.

A more recent study is the sociolinguistic survey mentioned in §1.3.2, §1.5, and §1.6.2, which the Papuan branch of SIL International carried out in (and around) the coastal urban areas of Fak-Fak, Jayapura, Manokwari, Merauke, Timika, Serui, and Sorong (Scott et al. 2008). In the context of this study, sociolinguistic and linguistic data were collected to explore how many distinct varieties of Papuan Malay exist and which one(s) of those varieties might best suited for language development and standardization efforts. (See also Map 5 on p. xxiv.)

Another study on Papuan Malay, mentioned in §1.5, is Besier's (2012) thesis. The author explores the role of Papuan Malay in society in terms of the language policies of the Indonesian government, as well as its role in the independence movement, in formal education, and in the church and mission organizations.

Burung (2008a) discusses the issue of language awareness and language vitality in Papuan Malay. Unlike Scott et al. (2008) (see §1.5), Burung (2008a) suggests that Papuan Malay is increasingly losing domains of use to standard Indonesian due to the increasing influence of Indonesian throughout West Papua and the lack of language awareness among Papuans. (See also Burung 2009).

1.7.   Available materials in Papuan Malay

At this point, materials in Papuan Malay are still scarce. Most of them seem to come in the form of jokes, or **mop** 'humor'. These jokes are published in newspapers or posted on dedicated websites, such as *MopPapua*. Some of them are also published in book form, such as the jokes collected by Warami (2004, 2004). Humor in Papuan Malay also comes in the form of comedy, such as the sketch series *Epen ka, cupen toh* 'Is it important? It's important enough, indeed!' from Merauke, which is accessible via YouTube.[47]

In 2006, the movie *Denias* came out, a film in Papuan Malay about a boy from the highlands who wants to go to school.[48]

Other materials in Papuan Malay are only available on the internet, such as:

1. *Kamus Bahasa Papua* 'Dictionary of the Papuan Language'

    – A Papuan Malay – Indonesian dictionary with currently 164 items (last updated on 24 March 2011)
    – Online URL: http://kamusiana.com/index.php/index/20.xhtml

2. *Kitong pu bahasa* 'Our Language'

    – A Christian website in Papuan Malay, Indonesian, and English which includes information about the Papuan Malay language and its history, the

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[47]   *MopPapua* is available at http://moppapua.com/.
        Epen ka, cupen toh is available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IWiQK0qKIj8.
[48]   *Denias* is available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kc683zv6H_E.

Easter story from the New Testament of the Bible in PDF format, and Christian texts and songs in audio format.
– Online URL: http://kitongpubahasa.com/en/_5699

Also, mention needs to be made of a language development program launched by Yayasan Betania Indonesia, a Papuan non-governmental organization located in Abepura, West Papua. The program's goal is to develop written and audio resources with a focus on Bible translation, seeking to promote and develop the use of the language in the religious domain. (Harms, p.c. 2013)

An online resource providing materials on issues relevant to West Papua is 'West Papua Web'.[49] This resource is hosted by The University of Papua, Cenderawasih University, and the Australian National University. To date, however, the website does not provide materials in Papuan Malay.

1.8.   Present study

Six different issues related to the present study are presented in this section. After discussing some pertinent theoretical considerations in §1.8.1, the methodological approach is briefly outlined in §1.8.2. This is followed in §1.8.3 by a description of various aspects of the fieldwork. Details on the recorded corpus and the sample of speakers contributing to this corpus are presented in §1.8.4. The procedures for the data transcription and analysis are discussed in §1.8.5. Finally, §1.8.6 describes the procedures involved in eliciting the word list.

1.8.1.   Theoretical considerations

Papuan Malay is spoken in a rich linguistic and sociolinguistic environment in the coastal areas of West Papua (see §1.1.2 and §1.5). Many Papuans speak two or more languages which they use as deemed appropriate and necessary. That is, depending on the setting of the communicative event, speakers may use one or the other code or switch between them.

The conversations, recorded in Sarmi in late 2008, reveal some of this linguistic richness. They include conversations in which the interlocutors freely switch between different codes, such as Papuan Malay, Isirawa, and Indonesian. These recordings illustrate how intertwined and close to the speakers' minds the languages that are part of their linguistic repertoire are.

With a few exceptions, however, this description of Papuan Malay does not take into account language contact issues and therefore does not reflect the rich linguistic environment which Papuan Malay is part of. Instead, the present description creates an abstraction of one Papuan Malay variety, as if it were a distinct linguistic entity that is spoken in isolation, rather than being part of a larger and complex linguistic and sociolinguistic reality.

That is, in terms of de Saussure (1959) distinction between *langue* and *parole*, the present description of Papuan Malay focuses on the language system as "a collection of necessary conventions" (1959: 9). The rationale for this abstraction is

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[49]   'West Papua Web' is available at http://www.papuaweb.org/.

twofold. First, it is needed in order to identify, analyze, illustrate, and discuss pertinent linguistic features which are characteristics of Papuan Malay and which distinguish this speech variety from others, such as other eastern Malay varieties. Second, the abstraction is necessary in order to appreciate the complexity of Papuan Malay as *parole*; as discussed below, however, the investigation of this complexity is beyond the scope of the present research.

It is pointed out, however, that this abstraction of Papuan Malay as *langue* is based on natural speech or *parole*, which represents "the executive side of speaking". Moreover, Papuan Malay as *langue* is accessible and recognized by its speakers, although not without some difficulty. Furthermore, in being extracted from a "heterogeneous mass of speech facts", the examples and texts presented in this book reflect at least part of the larger linguistic reality of the recorded speakers. (1959: 13, 14)

Given this focus on *langue*, the present isolated analysis of Papuan Malay remains incomplete. After having extracted Papuan Malay from its complex (socio)linguistic reality, the next step in presenting an adequate linguistic description of this Malay variety needs to focus on Papuan Malay as *parole*, with its "heterogeneous mass of speech facts" (de Saussure 1959: 14). More specifically, this next step needs to consider the larger linguistic environment and the interactions between the different codes which are at the disposal of the coastal Papuan communities. This step, however, is beyond the scope of this book and is left for future research.

1.8.2.   Methodological approach

This study primarily deals with the Papuan Malay language as it is spoken in the Sarmi area, which is located about 300 km west of Jayapura. Both towns are located on West Papua's northeast coast. The description of the language is based on recordings of spontaneous conversations between Papuan Malay speakers. The corpus includes only a few texts obtained via focused elicitation. The rationale for this methodological approach is discussed below in §1.8.3.

1.8.3.   Fieldwork

The fieldwork was conducted in West Papua in four periods between September 2008 and December 2011. The first period took place in Sarmi from the beginning of August until mid-December 2008. During this time the texts which form the basis for the present study were recorded. The remaining three fieldwork periods took place in Sentani, located about 40 km west of Jayapura, from early October until mid-December 2009, from mid-October until mid-December 2010, and from early September until the end of November 2011. During these periods, the recordings were transcribed, about one third of the texts were translated into English, additional examples were elicited, and grammaticality judgment tests were conducted (see §1.8.5). During the fourth fieldwork in late 2011, the word list was recorded (see §1.8.6).

During the first fieldwork I lived with a pastor, Kornelius[†] Merne, and his family, his wife Sarlota, and three of their five children. Also living in the house

were one of Sarlota's sisters and eight teenagers (three males and five females). The teenagers were part of the extended family and came from the Mernes' home village Webro, located about 30km west of Sarmi, or nearby villages, which, like Webro, belong to the Pante-Barat district. At that time, the eight teenagers were junior or senior high school students. Furthermore, there was a constant coming and going of guests from villages of the Sarmi regency: relatives, pastoral workers, and/or local officials passing through or staying for several days up to several weeks. Hence, the household included between 14 and about 30 persons. The Mernes, their household members and many guests belonged to the Isirawa language group (Tor-Kwerba language family), to which Webro and the neighboring villages belong. Some guests originated from other language areas, such as the Papuan languages Samarokena, Sentani, and Tor, or the Austronesian languages Biak and Ambon Malay.

At the beginning of my stay with his family, pastor Merne had given me permission to do recordings in his house. Besides recording spontaneous conversations, I had planned to elicit different text genre such as narratives, procedurals, or expositories. This, however, soon proved to be impossible for two reasons, namely the diglossic distribution of Papuan Malay and Indonesian, and the lack of language awareness, discussed in §1.5. As a result of these two factors, it proved *de facto* impossible for the household members and guests to talk with me in Papuan Malay. They always switched to Indonesian. This made both focused elicitation and language learning difficult. Therefore, after a few unsuccessful attempts to elicit texts, I decided to refrain from further elicitation and to record spontaneous conversations instead. From then on, I always carried a small recording device with internal microphone which I turned on when two or more people were conversing. After a few days the household members were used to my constant recording. I never had the impression that they were trying to avoid being recorded (there were only two situations in which speakers distanced themselves from me in order not to be recorded). Most of the sixteen hours of text were recorded in this manner, as discussed in more detail in 1.8.4.1. There are a few exceptions, though, which are also discussed in 1.8.4.1.

Given that my hosts and their guests typically switched to Indonesian when talking with me, most of my language learning was by listening to Papuans when talking to each other in Papuan Malay, by applying what I observed during these conservations and in the recorded data, and by discussing these observations with those speakers who were interested in talking about language related issues. During the fourth period of fieldwork, from the beginning of September until the end of November 2011, I recorded a 2,458-item word list. The items were extracted from the transcribed corpus and recorded in isolation to investigate the Papuan Malay phonology at the word level. The consultants from whom the list was recorded were two Papuan Malay speakers, Ben Rumaropen and Lodowik Aweta. The procedures involved in recording this list are described in §1.8.6.

1.8.4.   Corpus and Papuan Malay speaker sample

During the first fieldwork period in late 2008, 220 texts totaling almost 16 hours were recorded. Almost all of them were recorded in Sarmi (217/220 texts); the remaining three were recorded in Webro. The texts were recorded from a sample of

about 60 different Papuan Malay speakers. The corpus is described in §1.8.4.1, and the sample of recorded speakers in §1.8.4.2.

1.8.4.1.   Recorded texts

The basis for the current study is a 16-hour corpus. In all, 220 texts were recorded (see Appendix C). The texts were recorded in the form of WAV files with a Marantz PMD620 using the recorder's internal microphone. Each WAV file was labeled with a record number which includes the date of its recording, a running number for all texts recorded during one day, and a code for the type of text recorded. This is illustrated with the record number 080919-007-CvNP: 080919 stands for "2008, September 19"; 007 stands for "recorded text #7 of that day"; and CvNP stands for "Personal Narrative (NP) which occurred during a Conversation (Cv)". The same record numbers are used in Toolbox for the transcribed texts (see §1.8.5.1) and the examples given in this book (see §1.8.5.3).

   Most texts are spontaneous conversations which occurred between two or more Papuan speakers (157/220 texts – 71.4%). Details concerning the contents of these conversations are given in Table 15. The remaining 63 texts (28.6%) fall into two groups: conversations with the author (see Table 16) and elicited texts (see Table 17). (See also Appendix C for a detailed listing of the 220 recorded texts.)

Table 14:   Overview of 16-hour corpus

Text types	Count of texts		Count of hours	
Spontaneous conversations	157	71.4%	10:08:02	63.4%
Conversations with the author	40	18.2%	04:27:15	27.9%
Elicited texts	23	10.4%	01:23:17	8.7%
Total	220	100%	15:58:34	100%

Most of the texts in the present corpus are spontaneous conversations between two or more Papuans. While being present during these conversations, I usually did not participate in the talks unless being addressed by one of the interlocutors. The recorded conversations cover a wide range of text genre and topics. The majority of conversations are casual and about everyday topics related to family life, relations with others, work, education, and local politics. Five conversations were conducted over the phone. A substantial number of the recorded conversations are narratives about personal experiences such as journeys or childhood experiences. Included are also 14 expositories, five hortatories, two folk stories, and one brief procedural. In all, the corpus contains 157 such conversations (157/220 – 71.4%), accounting for about ten hours of the 16-hour corpus (63.4%).

Table 15:   Spontaneous conversations[50]

Contents	Count of texts		Count of hours	
Casual conversations	105	66.9%	05:59:55	59.2%

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[50]   As percentages are rounded to one decimal place, they do not always add up to 100%.

Contents	Count of texts		Count of hours	
Phone conversations	5	3.2%	01:13:19	12.1%
Expositories	14	8.9%	00:59:48	9.8%
Hortatories	5	3.2%	00:03:48	0.6%
Narratives (folk stories)	2	1.3%	00:39:45	6.5%
Narratives (personal experiences)	25	15.9%	01:05:17	10.7%
Procedurals	1	0.6%	00:06:10	1.0%
Total	157	100%	10:08:02	100%

The corpus also includes 40 texts which I recorded when visiting two relatives of the Merne family. Unlike the other family members and guests of the Merne household, two of Sarlota Merne's relatives, a young female pastor and her husband who also lived in Sarmi, had no difficulties talking to me in Papuan Malay. I visited them regularly to chat, elicit personal narratives, and discuss local customs and beliefs. In all, the corpus contains 40 such texts (40/220 – 18.2%) (see Table 16). These texts account for about four and a half hours of the 16-hour corpus (27.9%).

Table 16:   Conversations with the author

Contents	Count of texts		Count of hours	
Casual conversations	13	32.5%	01:17:05	28.8%
Expositories	17	42.5%	02:10:15	48.7%
Narratives (personal experiences)	8	20.0%	00:50:36	18.9%
Procedurals	2	5.0%	00:09:19	3.5%
Total	40	100%	04:27:15	100%

The corpus also contains 23 elicited texts (23/220 – 10%) (see Table 17). These texts account for about one and a half hours of the 16-hour corpus (8.7%). During the first two weeks of my first fieldwork, I elicited a few texts, as mentioned in §1.8.3. Two were short procedurals which I recorded on a one-to-one basis. Besides, I elicited three personal narratives with the help of Sarlota Merne, who was one of the few who were aware of the language variety I wanted to study and record. She was present during these elicitations and explained that I wanted to record texts in *logat Papua* 'Papuan dialect'. She also monitored the speech of the narrators; that is, when they switched to Indonesian, she made them aware of the switch and asked them to continue in *logat Papua*. Toward the end of my stay in Sarmi, when I was already well-integrated into the family and somewhat proficient in Papuan Malay, I recorded one narrative in a group situation from one of Sarlota Merne's sisters and another three personal narratives on a one-to-one basis from one of the teenagers living with the Merne's. Also toward the end of this first fieldwork, I recorded 14 jokes which two of the teenagers also living in the house told each other. A sample of texts is presented in Appendix B.

Table 17:   Elicited texts

Contents	Count of texts		Count of hours	
Jokes	14	60.9%	00:13:12	15.8%
Narratives (personal experiences)	7	30.4%	01:06:47	80.2%
Procedurals	2	8.7%	00:03:18	4.0%
Total	23	100%	01:23:17	100%

1.8.4.2.   Sample of recorded Papuan Malay speakers

The present corpus was recorded from about 60 different speakers. This sample
includes 44 speakers personally known to the author. Table 18 to Table 20 provide
more information with respect to their language backgrounds, gender, age groups,
and occupations.

The sample also includes a fair number of speakers who visited the Merne
household briefly and who took part in the recorded conversations. In transcribing
their contributions to the ongoing conversations, their gender and approximate age
were noted; additional information on their language backgrounds or occupations is
unknown, however.

Table 18 presents details with respect to the vernacular languages spoken by the
44 recorded Papuan Malay speakers. Most of them are speakers of Isirawa, a Tor-
Kwerba language (38/44 – 86). The vernacular languages of the remaining six
speakers are the Austronesian languages Biak and Ambon Malay, and the Papuan
languages Samarokena, Sentani, and Tor.

Table 18:   The recorded Papuan Malay speakers by vernacular languages

Vernacular language	Total
Isirawa	38
Ambon Malay	1
Biak	1
Samarokena	2
Sentani	1
Takar	1
Grand Total	44

Table 19 gives an overview of the recorded 44 speakers in terms of their gender and
age groups. The sample includes 20 males (45%) and 24 females (55%). Age wise,
the sample is divided into three groups: 19 adults in their thirties or older (19/44 –
43%), 20 young adults in their teens or twenties (20/44 – 45%), and five children of
between about five to 13 years of age.

Table 19:   The recorded Papuan Malay speakers by gender and age groups

Age groups	Males	Females	Total
Adult (thirties and older)	10	9	19

Young adult (teens and twenties)	6	14	20
Child (5-13 years)	4	1	5
Grand Total	20	24	44

Table 20 provides an overview of the speakers and their occupations. The largest subgroups are pupils (13/44 – 30%), farmers (10/44 – 23%), and government or business employees (5/44 – 11%). Eight of the 13 students were the teenagers living in the Merne household. The two BA students were the Merne's oldest children who were studying in Jayapura and only once in a while came home to Sarmi. In addition to the ten full-time farmers, three of the government employees worked as part-time farmers. Of the total of five children, three were not yet in school; the remaining two were in primary school.

Table 20:   The recorded Papuan Malay speakers by occupation

Occupation	Males	Females	Total
Student (BA studies)	1	1	2
Pupil (high school)	1	4	5
Pupil (middle school)	1	5	6
Pupil (primary school)	2	0	2
Farmer	2 (+3)	8	10 (+3)
Employee (government/business)	5	0	5
Pastor	2	1	3
(ex-)Mayor	2	0	2
Housewife	0	2	2
BA graduate	0	1	1
Church verger	1	0	1
Nurse	1	0	1
Teacher	0	1	1
Child	2	1	3
Total	24	20	44

1.8.5.   Data transcription, analysis, and examples

This section discusses the transcription and analysis of the recorded Papuan Malay texts, and conventions for examples. In §1.8.5.1, the procedures for transcribing and translating the recorded data are discussed. In §1.8.5.2, the procedures related to the data analysis are described, including grammaticality judgments and focused elicitation. In §1.8.5.3, the conventions for presenting examples are described.

1.8.5.1.   Data transcription and translation into English

Two Papuan Malay consultants transcribed the recorded texts during the second fieldwork in late 2009 and the third fieldwork in late 2010. The two consultants were Ben Rumaropen, who was one of my main consultants throughout the entire research project, and Emma Onim.

B. Rumaropen grew up in Abepura, located about 20 km west of Jayapura; his
parents are from Biak. In 2004, B. Rumaropen graduated with a BA in English from
Cenderawasih University in Jayapura. From 2002 until 2008, he worked with the
SIL Papua survey team. During this time he was one of the researchers involved in
the mentioned 2007 sociolinguistics survey of Papuan Malay (Scott et al. 2008). E.
Onim grew up in Jayapura; her parents are from Wamena. In 2010, E. Onim
graduated with a BA in finance from Cenderawasih University in Jayapura. Since
then, she has been the finance manager of a local NGO.

The two consultants transcribed the texts in Microsoft Word, listening to the
recordings with Speech Analyzer, a computer program for acoustic analysis of
speech sound, developed by SIL International.[51] B. Rumaropen transcribed 121
texts, and E. Onim 99 texts; each text was transcribed in a separate Word file. Using
Indonesian orthography, both consultants transcribed the data as literally as possible,
including hesitation markers, false starts, truncation, speech mistakes, and nonverbal
vocalizations, such as laughter or coughing. Once a recording had been transcribed,
I checked the transcription by listening to the recording. Transcribed passages which
did not match with the recordings were double-checked with the consultants. After
having checked the transcribed texts is this manner, I imported the Word files into
Toolbox, a data management and analysis tool developed by SIL International.[52] In
Toolbox, I interlinearized the 220 texts into English and Indonesian and compiled a
basic dictionary. Each text was imported into a separated Toolbox record, receiving
the same record number as its respective WAV file (for details see §1.8.4.1).

During the second fieldwork in late 2009, B. Rumaropen and I translated 83 of
the 220 texts into English, which accounts for a good five hours of the 16-hour
corpus. The translated texts also contain explanations and additional comments
which B. Rumaropen provided during the translation process. Appendix B presents
12 of these texts. The entire material, including the recordings and the Toolbox files
will be archived with SIL International. Due to privacy considerations, however,
they will not be made publically available. The examples in this book are taken from
the entire corpus; that is, examples taken from the 137 texts which have not yet been
translated were translated as needed.

1.8.5.2.   Data analysis, grammaticality judgments, and focused elicitation

In early 2010, after B. Rumaropen had transcribed a substantial number of texts and
we had translated the mentioned 83 texts, I started with the analysis of the Papuan
Malay corpus. This analysis was greatly facilitated by the Toolbox concordance
tool, in which all occurrences of a word, phrase, or construction can be retrieved.
The retrieved data was imported into Word for further sorting and analysis. Another
helpful feature was the Toolbox export command, which allows different fields to be
chosen for export into Word, such as the text, morpheme, or speech part fields.

During the analysis, I compiled a list of questions about analytical issues and
comprehension problems encountered in the corpus. During the third and fourth
fieldwork periods in late 2010 and late 2011, I worked through these questions with

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[51]   Speech Analyzer is available at http://www-01.sil.org/computing/sa/.
[52]   Toolbox is available at http://www-01.sil.org/computing/toolbox/.

Papuan Malay consultants. Most of this work was done by B. Rumaropen. I also consulted informally with other Papuan Malay speakers on various occasions.

During both fieldwork periods, I also worked with B. Rumaropen on grammaticality judgments. That is, based on the analysis of the corpus data, I constructed sentences which I submitted to B. Rumaropen to comment upon. When I found gaps in the data, I discussed them with B. Rumaropen to establish whether a given expression or construction exists in Papuan Malay, and I asked him to provide some example sentences. Beyond these fieldwork periods, B. Rumaropen and I stayed in contact via email and Skype and continued working on grammaticality judgments and the elicitation of example sentences, as needed.

The elicited examples and the constructed sentences for grammaticality judgments were entered into a separate Toolbox database file. Where used in this grammar, these examples are explicitly labeled as "elicited". All other examples are taken from the Papuan Malay corpus.

1.8.5.3. Conventions for examples

The examples in this book are taken from the recorded corpus. For each example the record number of the original WAV sound file (see §1.8.4.1) is given. This record number also includes a reference number, as each interlinear text is broken into referenced units. Hence, the example number 080919-007-CvNP.0015 refers to line or unit 15 in the record 080919-007-CvNP. Elicited examples, including constructed sentences for grammaticality judgments, are labeled as "elicited". For each of these examples the respective Toolbox record/reference number is given. All examples are numbered consecutively throughout each chapter (the same applies to tables, figures, and charts).

The conventions for presenting the Papuan Malay examples, interlinear glosses, and the translations of the examples into English are presented in Table 21.

Table 21: Papuan Malay example and translation conventions

Convention	Meaning
Papuan Malay example	
bold	highlights parts of the example pertinent for the discussion
~	separates reduplicant and base
–	morpheme boundary
=	clitic boundary
Ø	omitted constituent
…	ellipsis
|	intonation breaks
[ ]	surrounds utterances in a language other than Papuan Malay, or instances of unclear pronunciation
(( ))	surrounds nonverbal vocalizations, such as laughter, or pauses
*	precedes ungrammatical examples
??	precedes only marginally grammatical examples
á	acute accent signals a slight increase in pitch of the stressed syllable

Convention	Meaning
VVV	vowel lengthening
Is	utterance in the Isirawa language
UP	unclear pronunciation
i, j	subscript letters keep track of what different terms refer to
Interlinear gloss	
.	separates words glossing single Papuan Malay words for which English is lacking single-word equivalents, as with *papeda* 'sagu.porridge'
:	separates formally segmentable morphemes without marking the morpheme boundaries in the corresponding Papuan Malay words, either to keep the text intact and/or because it is not relevant, as in *tujuangnya* 'purpose:3POSSR'
[ ]	surrounds truncated utterances, or speech mistakes
TRU	truncated utterance which results from a false start, or an interruption, as in *ora* 'TRU-person'; the untruncated lexeme is *orang* 'person'
SPM	speech mistake, as in *ar* 'SPM-fetch'; the correct form is *ambil* 'fetch'
Translation	
bold	highlights the part of the translation relevant for the discussion
( )	surrounds parts of the translation which do not have a parallel in the example, such as explanations or omitted arguments
[ ]	surrounds the record/reference number
[ ]	surrounds utterances in the Isirawa language, instances of unclear pronunciation, or speech mistakes
(( ))	surrounds nonverbal vocalizations, such as laughter, or pauses
Is	utterance in the Isirawa language
SPM	speech mistake
TRU	truncated utterance
UP	unclear pronunciation
i, j	subscript letters keep track of what different terms refer to

In the examples, commas mark intonation breaks, question marks signal question intonation, and exclamation marks indicate directive speech acts and exclamations. Where considered relevant for the discussion, intonation breaks are indicated with "|" rather than with a comma. Morpheme breaks are shown in Chapter 3, which discusses 'Word-formation'. In subsequent chapters, though, they are usually not shown, given the low functional load of affixation in Papuan Malay; the exception is that hyphens are still used in compounds. Names are substituted with aliases to guard anonymity.

In the translations, gender, tense, and aspect are often not deducible; they are given as in the original context.

When parts of an example are quoted in the body text, they are marked in ***bold italic***.

1.8.6.   Word list

During the fourth fieldwork period in late 2011, I recorded a 2,458-item word list with two Papuan Malay consultants, namely B. Rumaropen and Lodowik Aweta. Originally from Webro, L. Aweta was one of the young people living in the Mernes' household during my first fieldwork in 2008. In 2011, L. Aweta was a student at Cenderawasih University.

The word list was extracted from the compiled Toolbox dictionary. During the elicitation, B. Rumaropen provided the stimulus, while L. Aweta repeated the stimulus within one of two different frame sentences.

The frame sentences, which are given in (15) and (16), were used alternatively and served two purposes. First, I anticipated that by repeating the target word within a larger sentence, L. Aweta would potentially be less influenced by B. Rumaropen's pronunciation. This precaution was taken in case that the pronunciations of the two consultants differed, with one being from Sentani and the other one from Sarmi. Second, eliciting the target word as part of a larger sentence allowed me to analyze how some of the word-final segments were pronounced when they occurred in sentence final position and when they were followed by another word. This proved especially helpful in analyzing the realizations of the plosives and the rhotic when occurring in the word-final coda position (see §2.1.1.1, §2.3.1.2, and §2.3.1.3 in Chapter 2).

Frame sentences for word list elicitation

(15)   sa   blum   taw   ko   pu   kata   itu,   kata   ___
        1SG   not.yet   know   2SG   POSS   word   D.DIST   word   ___
        'I don't yet know that word of yours, the word ___'

(16)   ko   pu   kata   ___   itu,   sa   blum   taw
        2SG   POSS   word   ___   D.DIST   1SG   not.yet   know
        'that word ___ of yours, I don't yet know (it)'

B. Rumaropen recorded each elicited word in a separate WAV file, using Speech Analyzer. Subsequently, I transcribed the recorded target words as separate records in Toolbox. Each record includes the orthographic representation of the target word, its phonetic transcription, English gloss, and the word class it belongs to. The word list is found in Appendix A.

After having entered the target words in Toolbox, I analyzed the lexical data with Phonology Assistant. This analysis tool, developed by SIL International, creates consonant and vowel inventory charts and assists in the phonological analysis.[53]

The description of the Papuan Malay phonology in Chapter 2 is based on a word list of 1,116 lexical roots, extracted from the 2,458-item list. In addition 381 items, historically derived by (unproductive) affixation, are investigated. The corpus also includes a large number of loan words, originating from different donor languages, such as Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, English, Persian, Portuguese, or Sanskrit. Hence, a sizeable percentage of the attested lexical items are loan words. So far, 718 items of

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[53]   Phonology Assistant is available at http://www-01.sil.org/computing/pa/index.htm.

the 2,458-item word list (29%) have been identified as loan words, using the following sources: Jones (2007) and Tadmor (2009) (on borrowing in Malay in general see also Blust 2013: 151–156). Upon further investigation, some of the 1,116 lexical roots listed as inherited Papuan Malay words may also turn out to be loan words. In addition, the corpus includes a number of lexical items which are typically used in Standard Indonesian but not in Papuan Malay; examples are Indonesian *desa* 'village' and *mereka* '3PL' (the corresponding Papuan Malay words are *kampung* 'village' and *dorang*/*dong* '3PL', respectively). Given that these words are inherited Malay lexical items, they are not treated as loan words in this book.

2. Phonology

Papuan Malay has 18 consonant phonemes and a basic five-vowel system. The consonant system consists of six stops, two affricates, two fricatives, four nasals, two liquids, and two approximants. The vowel system includes two front and two back vowels, and one open central vowel. Papuan Malay shows a clear preference for disyllabic roots and for CV and CVC syllables; the maximal syllable is CCVC. Stress typically falls on the penultimate syllable, although lexical roots with ultimate stress are also attested.

The description of Papuan Malay phonology is based on a word list of 1,116 lexical roots plus 381 items, historically derived by (unproductive) affixation (for details about the word list, see §1.8.6). The native consonant and vowel phoneme inventories are presented in §2.1. The phonological changes that the consonant and vowel segments can undergo are discussed in §2.2. A number of surface phenomena are described in §2.3. The phonotactics of Papuan Malay are investigated in §2.4, including a discussion of the segment distribution and possible sequences, syllable structures, and stress patterns. As already mentioned in §1.8.6, the corpus also includes a large number of loan words; so far 718 items of the 2,458-item word list (29%) have been identified. Papuan Malay has also adopted one loan segment, the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/, and developed three substitution strategies to realize another non-native segment, the voiceless postalveolar fricative /ʃ/. The non-native segments and loan words are discussed in §2.5. Given the rather large percentage of loan words, this discussion is rather detailed, including a description of the phonological and phonetic processes and the phonotactics attested in loan words.

This chapter closes with an account of the orthographic conventions used in this grammar in §2.6 and a summary in §2.7.[54]

2.1. Segment inventory

The Papuan Malay consonant system is presented in §2.1.1, and the vowel system in §2.1.2.

2.1.1. Consonant system

2.1.1.1. <u>Consonant inventory</u>

Papuan Malay has 18 consonant phonemes, shown in Table 1. The system consists of three pairs of stops, one pair of affricates, four nasals, two fricatives, two liquids, and two approximants.

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[54] Two important sources for the description of the Papuan Malay phonology are Donohue (to be published) and Sutri Narfafan and Donohue (under review).

Table 1:   Papuan Malay consonant inventory

	LAB		ALV		PAL-ALV		PAL	VEL		GLOT
STOP	p	b	t	d				k	g	
AFFR					tʃ	dʒ				
NAS		m		n			ɲ		ŋ	
FRIC			s							h
RHOT				r						
LAT-APR				l						
APR								j	w	

The 18 phonemes and their realizations are presented in Table 2. The rhotic has three allophones; the phonological and phonetic processes involved in their variation are discussed in §2.2.2 and §2.3.1.3, respectively. The voiceless stops are typically unreleased in the coda position. However, when occurring in the word-final coda position before a pause, they can be slightly released.

Table 2:   Papuan Malay stops

Phoneme		Realization	
Stop	/p/	[p],	a voiceless bilabial stop
		[p˺],	an unreleased voiceless bilabial stop
	/b/	[b],	a voiced bilabial stop
	/t/	[t],	a voiceless alveolar stop
		[t˺],	an unreleased voiceless alveolar stop
	/d/	[d],	a voiced alveolar stop
	/k/	[k],	a voiceless velar stop
		[k˺],	an unreleased voiceless velar stop
	/g/	[g],	a voiced velar stop
Affricate	/tʃ/	[tʃ],	a voiceless postalveolar affricate
	/dʒ/	[dʒ],	a voiced postalveolar affricate
Nasal	/m/	[m],	a voiced bilabial nasal
	/n/	[n],	a voiced alveolar nasal
	/ɲ/	[ɲ],	a voiced palatal nasal
	/ŋ/	[ŋ],	a voiced velar nasal
Fricative	/s/	[s],	a voiceless alveolar fricative
	/h/	[h],	a voiceless glottal fricative
Liquid	/r/	[r],	a voiced alveolar trill
		[r̥],	a voiceless alveolar trill
		[ɾ],	a voiced alveolar tap
	/l/	[l],	a voiced alveolar lateral

Phoneme		Realization	
Approximant	/j/	[j],	a voiced palatal approximant
	/w/	[w],	a voiced labio-velar approximant

2.1.1.2.   Contrast between similar consonants

Contrast between similar consonants is presented in minimal or near-minimal pairs
in the following tables: in word-initial position in Table 3, in root-internal position
in Table 4, and in word-final position in Table 5. When (near-)minimal pairs could
not be found, another word containing a contrasting consonant is given. Some
segments have a restricted distribution; the palatal nasal, for instance, does not occur
in the coda position (§2.4.1).

Table 3:   Consonant contrast in word-initial position

Contrast		Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
p~b~m		[ˈpu.lu]	*pulu*	'tens'
		[ˈbu.lu]	*bulu*	'body hair'
		[ˈmu.lʊt̚]	*mulut*	'mouth'
t~d~n	t~d	[ˈtɔŋ]	*tong*	'1PL'
		[ˈdɔŋ]	*dong*	'3PL'
	t~n	[ˈti.kɐr]	*tikar*	'plaited mat'
		[ˈni.ka]	*nika*	'marry officially'
	d~n	[ˈdɛ.kɐt̚]	*dekat*	'near'
		[ˈnɛ.kɐt̚]	*nekat*	'be determined'
k~g		[ˈka.ja]	*kaya*	'like'
		[ˈga.ja]	*gaya*	'manner'
tʃ~dʒ~t/d	tʃ~dʒ	[ˈtʃu.rɐŋ]	*curang*	'be dishonest'
		[ˈdʒu.rɐŋ]	*jurang*	'steep decline'
	tʃ~t	[ˈtsɐm.pʊr]	*campur*	'mix'
		[ˈtɐm.pɐr]	*tampar*	'beat'
	dʒ~d	[ˈdʒa.ɾi]	*jari*	'digit'
		[ˈda.ɾi]	*dari*	'from'
s~h		[ˈsɐn.tɐŋ]	*santang*	'coconut milk'
		[ˈhɐn.tɐm]	*hantam*	'strike'
m~n~ɲ	m~n	[ˈma.si]	*masi*	'still'
		[ˈna.si]	*nasi*	'cooked rice'
	m~ɲ	[ˈmɛ.mɐŋ]	*memang*	'indeed'
		[ˈɲa.mɐŋ]	*nyamang*	'be comfortable'

Contrast		Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
	n~ɲ	[ˈna.kɐl]	**nakal**	'be mischievous'
		[ˈɲa.wa]	**nyawa**	'soul'
l~r		[ˈra.wɐŋ]	**rawang**	'be haunted'
		[ˈla.wɐŋ]	**lawang**	'oppose'
j~ɲ		[ˈjɐŋ]	**yang**	'REL'
		[ˈɲa.wa]	**nyawa**	'soul'
j~w		[ˈjɐŋ]	**yang**	'REL'
		[ˈwa.rʊŋ]	**warung**	'food stall'

Table 4:   Consonant contrast in root-internal position

Contrast		Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
p~b~m	p~b	[ˈkɛ.pʊŋ]	**kepung**	'surround'
		[ˈkɛ.bʊŋ]	**kebung**	'garden'
	p~m	[ˈra.pi]	**rapi**	'be neat'
		[ˈra.mɛ]	**rame**	'be bustling'
	b~m	[ˈsu.bʊr]	**subur**	'be fertile'
		[ˈsu.mʊr]	**sumur**	'(a) well'
t~d~n	t~d	[ˈhi.tʊŋ]	**hitung**	'count'
		[ˈhi.dʊŋ]	**hidung**	'nose'
	t~n	[ˈbu.tu]	**butu**	'need'
		[ˈbu.nu]	**bunu**	'kill'
	d~n	[ˈa.dɛ]	**ade**	'younger sibling'
		[ˈa.nɛ]	**ane**	'be strange'
k~g~ŋ		[ˈla.ki]	**laki**	'man'
		[ˈla.gi]	**lagi**	'again'
		[ˈla.ŋɪt˺]	**langit**	'sky'
tʃ~dʒ~t/d	tʃ~dʒ	[ˈbɐn.tʃi]	**banci**	'homosexual male'
		[ˈbɐn.dʒɪr]	**banjir**	'flood'
	tʃ~t	[ˈtʃa.tʃɐt˺]	**cacat**	'be disabled'
		[ˈtʃa.tɐt˺]	**catat**	'make a note'
	dʒ~d	[ˈtʊn.dʒʊk˺]	**tunjuk**	'show'
		[ˈtʊn.dʊk˺]	**tunduk**	'bow'
s~h		[ˈpa.sɪr]	**pasir**	'sand'
		[ˈpa.hɪt˺]	**pahit**	'be bitter'

Contrast		Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
m~n~ɲ~ŋ	m~n	[ˈmɛ.mɐŋ]	***memang***	'indeed'
		[mɛ.ˈnɐŋ]	***menang***	'win'
	m~ɲ	[ˈta.mu]	***tamu***	'guest'
		[ˈta.ɲa]	***tanya***	'ask'
	m~ŋ	[ˈla.mɐr]	***lamar***	'apply for'
		[ˈla.ŋɐr]	***langar***	'collide with'
	n~ɲ~ŋ	[ˈta.nɐm]	***tanam***	'plant'
		[ˈta.ɲa]	***tanya***	'ask'
		[ˈta.ŋɐŋ]	***tangang***	'hand'
l~r		[ˈbu.lu]	***bulu***	'body hair'
		[ˈbu.ɾu]	***buru***	'hunt'
j~ɲ		[ˈa.jɐm]	***ayam***	'chicken'
		[ˈa.ɲɐm]	***anyam***	'plait'
j~w		[ˈla.jɐŋ]	***layang***	'serve'
		[ˈla.wɐŋ]	***lawang***	'oppose'
w~ŋ		[ˈba.wɐŋ]	***bawang***	'onion'
		[ˈba.ŋʊŋ]	***bangung***	'wake up'

Table 5:   Consonant contrast in word-final position

Contrast		Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
PLOS~NASAL	p~m	[ˈa.sɐp˺]	***asap***	'smoke'
		[ˈa.sɐm]	***asam***	'sour'
	t~ŋ	[ˈbu.ɐt]	***buat***	'make'
		[ˈbu.ɐŋ]	***buang***	'discard'
	k~ŋ	[ˈdʒa.ɾɐk]	***jarak***	'distance between'
		[ˈdʒa.ɾɐŋ]	***jarang***	'rarely'
l~r		[ˈmɐn.dʊl]	***mandul***	'be sterile'
		[ˈmʊn.dʊr]	***mundur***	'smoke'
j~w		[ˈtɐj]	***tay***	'excrement'
		[ˈtɐj]	***taw***	'know'

2.1.2.   Vowel system

2.1.2.1.   <u>Vowel inventory</u>

The Papuan Malay vowel inventory, presented in Table 6, consists of two front and
two back vowels, and one open central vowel.

Table 6:   Papuan Malay vowel inventory

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
CLOSE	i		u
OPEN-MID	ε		ɔ
OPEN		a	

Three of the five vowels have three allophones each: /i/ can be realized as [i], [ɪ], or
[e], /u/ as [u], [ʊ], or [o], and /ε/ as [ε], [ɛ̞], or [ə]. The remaining two vowels have
two allophones each: /ɔ/ can be realized as [ɔ] or [ɔ̞], and /a/ as [a] or [ɐ].[55] While
the centralized allophones for the two close vowels /i/ and /u/ and for the open
vowel /a/ are represented with distinct entries in the IPA chart, this is not the case
for the open-mid vowels /ε/ and /ɔ/. In terms of their degree of openness, their
centralized allophones [ɛ̞] and [ɔ̞] are distinctly lower than their non-centralized
allophones [ε] and [ɔ]. They are higher, however, than the respective open-near
vowels /æ/ and /ɒ/ found in other languages, as described in the "IPA chart"
(International Phonetic Association 2005; see also SIL International 1996–2008).
Hence, as they lie in-between the open-mid and open-near vowels, these two
allophones are represented as [ɛ̞] and [ɔ̞]. Chart 1 presents the vowel space for the
five vowels and their allophones.[56]

Chart 1:   Vowel space for the Papuan Malay vowels

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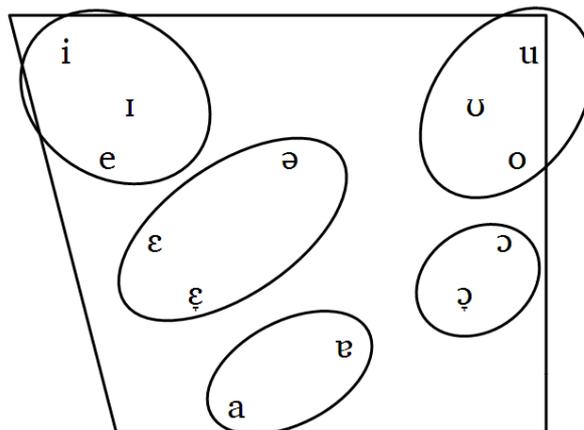
[55]   The diacritic " ̞ " signals that the vowel is lowered.
[56]   The vowel space in Chart 1 is based on the author's impressions rather than on measured
        spectrographic data.

The phonological processes involved in the allophonic variation of the Papuan Malay vowels are discussed in §2.2.

2.1.2.2.   Contrast between the vowel segments

Contrast between the five vowel segments in disyllabic lexical items is presented in minimal or near-minimal pairs in the following tables: in open stressed penultimate syllables in Table 7, in closed stressed penultimate syllables in Table 8, and in open unstressed ultimate syllables in Table 9. When minimal or near-minimal pairs could not be found, another word containing a contrasting vowel segment is given.

Table 7:   Vowel contrast in open stressed penultimate syllables

Contrast	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
i~ɛ	[ˈi.kʊt˺]	*ikut*	'follow'
	[ˈɛ.kɔr]	*ekor*	'tail'
i~a	[ˈi.ŋɪŋ]	*inging*	'wish'
	[ˈa.ŋɪŋ]	*anging*	'wind'
i~u	[ˈɪ.ɾɪs]	*iris*	'cut'
	[ˈʊ.ɾʊs]	*urus*	'arrange'
i~ɔ	[ˈi.tu]	*itu*	'D.DIST'
	[ˈɔ.tɔt˺]	*otot*	'muscle'
ɛ~a	[ˈɛ.dʒɛk˺]	*ejek*	'mock'
	[ˈa.dʒɐk]	*ajak*	'invite'
ɛ~u	[ˈɛ.kɔr]	*ekor*	'tail'
	[ˈu.kʊr]	*ukur*	'measure'
ɛ~ɔ	[ˈɛ.dʒɛk˺]	*ejek*	'mock'
	[ˈɔ.dʒɛk˺]	*ojek*	'motorbike taxi'
a~u	[ˈa.ɾa]	*ara*	'direction'
	[ˈu.ɾɐt˺]	*urat*	'vein'
u~ɔ	[ˈu.dʒʊŋ]	*ujung*	'end'
	[ˈɔ.dʒɛk˺]	*ojek*	'motorbike taxi'

Table 8:   Vowel contrast in closed stressed penultimate syllables

Contrast	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
i~u	[ˈmɪn.ta]	*minta*	'request'
	[ˈmʊn.ta]	*munta*	'vomit'
i~ɛ	[ˈtɪm.bɐŋ]	*timbang*	'weigh'
	[ˈtɛm.bɐk˺]	*tembak*	'shoot'

Contrast	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
i~a	[ˈtɪm.ba]	*timba*	'fetch'
	[ˈtɐm.ba]	*tamba*	'add'
i~ɔ	[ˈtɪŋ.kɐt˺]	*tingkat*	'level'
	[ˈtɔŋ.kɐt˺]	*tongkat*	'cane'
ɛ~a	[ˈsɛn.tu]	*sentu*	'touch'
	[ˈsɐn.tɛ]	*sante*	'relax'
ɛ~u	[ˈtɛm.bɐk˺]	*tembak*	'shoot'
	[ˈtʊm.bʊk˺]	*tumbuk*	'pound'
ɛ~ɔ	[ˈbɛŋ.kɔk˺]	*bengkok*	'be crooked'
	[ˈbɔŋ.kɔk˺]	*bongkok*	'be bent over'
a~u	[ˈbɐn.tu]	*bantu*	'help'
	[ˈbʊn.tu]	*buntu*	'be blocked'
a~ɔ	[ˈsɐm.bʊŋ]	*sambung*	'continue'
	[ˈsɔm.bɔŋ]	*sombong*	'be arrogant'
u~ɔ	[ˈsʊm.bɐŋ]	*sumbang*	'donate'
	[ˈsɔm.bɔŋ]	*sombong*	'be arrogant'

Table 9:   Vowel contrast in open unstressed syllables

Contrast	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
i~ɛ	[ˈpɛ.lɛ]	*pele*	'cover
	[ˈpi.li]	*pili*	'choose
i~a	[ˈka.li]	*kali*	'river'
	[ˈka.la]	*kala*	'be defeated'
i~u	[ˈla.gi]	*lagi*	'again'
	[ˈla.gu]	*lagu*	'song'
i~ɔ	[ˈba.bi]	*kali*	'river'
	[ˈbɔ.bɔ]	*bobo*	'palm liquor'
ɛ~u	[ˈpa.kɛ]	*pake*	'use'
	[ˈpa.ku]	*paku*	'nail'
ɛ~ɔ	[ˈga.lɛ]	*gale*	'dig up'
	[ˈga.ɾɔ]	*garo*	'scratch'
a~u	[ˈbi.sa]	*bisa*	'be capable'
	[ˈbi.su]	*bisu*	'mute'

Contrast	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
u~ɔ	[ˈtu.bu]	***tubu***	'body'
	[ˈtɔ.bɔ]	***tobo***	'dive'

2.2.   Phonological processes

In Papuan Malay, two phonological processes are attested for the consonants and one for the vowels: nasal place assimilation (§2.2.1), tap/trill alternation of the alveolar rhotic (§2.2.2), and centralization of vowels (§2.2.3).

2.2.1.   Nasal place assimilation

Nasal place assimilation applies to nasals as coda in the domain of the prosodic word. While all four nasals occur in the onset position (although velar /ŋ/ only occurs in the word-internal onset position), only two nasals occur as coda, namely bilabial /m/ and velar /ŋ/, as shown in Table 10. The velar nasal as a coda assimilates in place of articulation to a following stop or affricate. When preceding the alveolar fricative, the nasal is always realized as velar [ŋ], as in ***bongso*** 'youngest offspring' or ***langsung*** 'immediately'. These patterns agree with Padgett's (1994: 489) cross-linguistic findings that nasals either do "not assimilate in place to fricatives" or that such assimilation is, at least, "highly disfavored, while assimilation to stops and affricates is pervasive". (See also de Lacy 2006: 146–147, Zsiga 2006: 554 and Blust 2012.) An exception to these patterns of nasal assimilation is the prefix *PE(N)-* 'ᴀɢ' (§3.1.4). When preceding the alveolar fricative /s/, the nasal is not realized as alveolar [n] but as palatal [ɲ], as in ***penyakit*** [pɛɲ–sakɪt] 'disease', with /s/ being deleted (see also Blust 2012).

Cross-linguistically, the preservation of the bilabial nasal is not unusual, as de Lacy (2006: 78–207) points out. It is due to the fact, that on the "Place of Articulation" hierarchy, the labial nasal is more marked that the dental or velar (2006: 129). Such marked elements "can be specifically targeted for preservation. Consequently, highly marked elements can survive a process that less-marked elements undergo" (2006: 146).

Table 10:   Nasal place assimilation in the word-internal coda position

Phoneme	Realization	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/m/	[m]	[ˈsɪm.pɐŋ]	***simpang***	'store'
		[kɛm.ˈba.li]	***kembali***	'return'
/ŋ/	[n]	[ˈmɪn.ta]	***minta***	'ask'
		[ˈmɐn.di]	***mandi***	'bathe'
		[ˈhɐn.tʃʊr]	***hancur***	'be shattered'
		[ˈɪn.dʒɐkˀ]	***injak***	'step on'

Phoneme	Realization	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
	[ŋ]	[ˈɐŋ.kɐt˺]	*angkat*	'pick-up'
		[ˈtɪŋ.gi]	*tinggi*	'be tall'
		[ˈbɔŋ.sɔ̡]	*bongso*	'youngest offspring'
		[ˈlɐŋ.sʊŋ]	*langsung*	'immediately'

Nasal place assimilation also occurs across word boundaries, when the nasal is in the word-final coda position, as shown in Table 11. While bilabial /m/ is preserved, velar /ŋ/ assimilates in place of articulation to a following stop or affricate, similar to the processes illustrated in Table 10. When preceding a fricative-initial or vowel-initial word, or when occurring before a pause or at the end of an utterance, by contrast, the velar nasal is most commonly realized as velar [ŋ]. In Table 11, this is illustrated with ***minum*** 'drink', ***biking*** 'make' and ***bilang*** 'say'. Overall, however, assimilation across word boundaries is applied less often than within the prosodic word.

Table 11:   Nasal place assimilation in the word-final coda position

Phoneme	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/m/	[ˈmi.nʊm ˈbɔ.bɔ]	*minum bobo*	'drink schnapps'
	[ˈmi.nʊm ˈdu.lu]	*minum dulu*	'drink first'
	[… ˈmi.nʊm ˈki.ˈtɔ̡ŋ]	*… minum kitong*	'(give) us to drink'
	[ˈmi.nʊm ˈi.tu]	*minum itu*	'drink that'
	[ˈmi.nʊm, ˈta.pi]	*minum, tapi*	'drink, but'
/ŋ/	[ˈbi.kɪm ˈba.gʊs]	*biking bagus*	'make good'
	[ˈbi.kɪn ˈdɪ.a]	*biking dia*	'make him/her'
	[ˈbi.kɪŋ ˈkɔ.tɔ̡r]	*biking kotor*	'make dirty'
	[ˈbi.kɪŋ ˈsa]	*biking sa*	'make me'
	[ˈbi.kɪŋ ˈa.pa]	*biking apa*	'make what'
	[ˈbi.kɪŋ, ˈmɛ.mɐŋ]	*biking, memang*	'make, indeed'
/ŋ/	[ˈbi.lɐm ˈba.pa]	*bilang bapa*	'tell father'
	[ˈbi.lɐn ˈdɪ.a]	*bilang dia*	'tell him/her'
	[ˈbi.lɐŋ ˈka.ka]	*bilang kaka*	'tell older sibling'
	[ˈbi.lɐŋ ˈsa.ma]	*bilang sama*	'say to'
	[ˈbi.lɐŋ ˈi.ni]	*bilang ini*	'say this'
	[ˈbi.lɐŋ, ˈblʊm]	*bilang, blum*	'say, not yet'

In summary, the data presented in Table 10 and Table 11 show that Papuan Malay has only two underlying nasals in the coda position, namely bilabial /m/ and velar /ŋ/, with the latter assimilating to a following stop or affricate.

2.2.2.   Tap/trill alternation of the alveolar rhotic

The rhotic /r/ is most commonly realized as the voiced alveolar trill [r]. In intervocalic position, however, the rhotic is realized as the voiced tap [ɾ] as illustrated in (1) and Table 12. In the C$_2$ position in CC clusters, the rhotic is also most commonly realized as the voiced trill [r]. The voiced tap, however, is also quiet common in this position.

(1)   ta   pake   …   gaɾɐɐm   sɾej   ɾitʃaaa   … dagɪŋ   ini
         1PL   take   salt   lemongrass red pepper   meat   D.PROX

         saja   asar   dia   kase   krɪŋ   di   paɾapaɾa
         1SG   smoke 3SG   give   be.dry at   platform

         'we used … **salt**, **lemongrass**, **red pepper**, … this (pig) meat, I **smoked** it
         (and) **dried** (it) on a **platform**' [080919-004-NP.0037-0038]

Table 12:   Tap/trill alternation of rhotic /r/

Realization	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
[r]	[ˈra.kʊs]	***rakus***	'be greedy'
	[ˈkri.ŋetˀ]	***kringat***	'sweat'
	[ˈmʊr.ni]	***murni***	'be pure'
	[ˈdʒeŋ.krɪkˀ]	***jangkrik***	'cricket'
[ɾ]	[ˈba.ɾɐŋ]	***barang***	'stuff'
	[ˈgɔ.ɾɛŋ]	***goreng***	'fry'
	[ˈʊ.ɾʊs]	***urus***	'arrange'

2.2.3.   Centralization of vowels

In closed syllables the five vowels are centralized. Close /i/ is centralized to [ɪ] and /u/ to [ʊ], open-mid /ɛ/ is centralized to [ɛ] and /ɔ/ to [ɔ], and open /a/ is centralized to [ɐ], as illustrated in Table 13. In unstressed closed syllables with a coda nasal, open-mid /ɛ/ can alternatively be centralized to [ə] rather than to [ɛ].

Table 13:   Vowel centralization in closed syllables

Phoneme	Realization	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/i/	[ɪ]	[ˈtɪŋ.gi]	***tinggi***	'be high'
		[pɛn.ˈtɪŋ]	***penting***	'be important'
/u/	[ʊ]	[ˈbʊŋ.kʊs]	***bungkus***	'pack'
		[ˈi.kʊtˀ]	***ikut***	'follow'

Phoneme	Realization	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/ɛ/	[ɛ]	[ˈgɛn.dɔ̞ŋ]	***gendong***	'hold'
		[ˈdɔ.ŋɛ̞ŋ]	***dongeng***	'legend'
	[ə]	[əm.ˈpɐt˺]	***empat***	'four'
		[səm.ˈbi.lɐŋ]	***sembilang***	'nine'
/ɔ/	[ɔ̞]	[ˈlɔ̞m.ba]	***lomba***	'contest'
		[ˈbɛ.lɔ̞k˺]	***belok***	'turn'
/a/	[ɐ]	[ˈɐn.dʒɪŋ]	***anjing***	'dog'
		[ˈbɪn.tɐŋ]	***bintang***	'star'

2.3.   Phonetic processes

In Papuan Malay, a number of phonetic processes occur in addition to the
predictable phonological processes described in §2.2. These surface phenomena
involve unpredictable variation. For the consonants, the following phenomena are
attested: lenition of the stops and the voiced affricates as well as fortition of the
voiceless affricate and the palatal approximant (§2.3.1.1), elision of the voiceless
stops, the alveolar fricative, the velar nasal, and the liquids (§2.3.1.2), and devoicing
of the alveolar rhotic (§2.3.1.3). The vowels can undergo the following phonetic
processes: centralization and lowering (§2.3.2.1), nasalization (§2.3.2.2), and
lengthening (§2.3.2.3). In addition, this section includes a discussion on alternative
realizations of the VS sequences /aj/ and /aw/ (§2.3.3)

2.3.1.   Phonetic processes for consonants

2.3.1.1.   <u>Lenition and fortition</u>

Lenition, or weakening, is attested for the stops and affricates and can occur in
word-internal inter-vocalic position, and word-initial position. Fortition, or
strengthening, occurs very rarely and is only attested for the voiceless affricate and
the palatal approximant as word-initial onset.

   Inter-vocalically, the stops and the voiced affricate can be lenited by means of
spirantization to fricatives, as illustrated in Table 14: /p/ is lenited to [ɸ], /b/ to [β],
/d/ to [ð], /k/ to [x], /g/ to [ɣ], and /dʒ/ to [ʝ]. This process does not, however, apply
to the voiceless (post)alveolar segments. The voiceless affricate /tʃ/ can be lenited to
the palatal approximant [j], while lenition of alveolar /t/ is unattested.

Table 14:   Lenition of stops and affricates in word-internal inter-vocalic position

Phoneme	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/p/	[ˈba.ɸa]	**bapa**	'father'
/b/	[ˈsa.βɐr]	**sabar**	'be patient'
/d/	[ˈsʊ.ða]	**suda**	'already'
/k/	[ˈma.xɐŋ]	**makang**	'eat'
/g/	[ˈba.ɣi]	**bagi**	'divide'
/dʒ/	[ˈsa.ʝa]	**saja**	'just'
/tʃ/	[ˈpa.ʝɛ]	**pace**	'man'

Most of the stops and the voiced affricate can also be lenited in word-initial position when following a word with final vowel. In this environment, however, lenition of the voiced affricate occurs less often than lenition of the stops. Inter-vocalically across word-boundaries, the word-initial obstruents are lenited to the same fricatives as word-internally, as shown in Table 15. Also, /p/ can be lenited to [f], and /d/ and /dʒ/ can be lenited to [j]. Word-initial lenition to a fricative is also attested for /b/, /d/, and /k/ when following a nasal. In this environment, /d/ can also be lenited to [n]. Again, lenition to a fricative does not apply to the voiceless (post)alveolar segments. Neither is lenition in word-initial position attested for /g/.[57]

Table 15:   Lenition of stops and affricates in word-initial position

Phoneme	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/p/	[ˈdɛ ɸu]	**de pu** 3SG POSS	'his (grandson)'
	[ˈdi.a ˈfluŋ.ku]	**dia palungku** 3SG punch	'he punched'
/b/	[ˈjɛ ˈβi.lɐŋ]	**de bilang** 3SG say	'he/she said'
	[ˈdʒa.rɪm ˈβɔ.lɛ]	**jaring bole** net may	(the) net (is) permitted

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[57]   One lexical item in particular undergoes lenition of its word-initial stop: the long and the short forms of the third person singular pronoun, **dia**/**de** '3SG'. Onset /d/ can be lenited to [j] when following a lexical item with a voiceless stop, the alveolar fricative /s/, or the rhotic /r/ in word-final coda position.

Phoneme	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/d/	[mˈla, ɛ ˈðɛp˺]	***mulay, eh dep*** start uh 3SG:POSS	'(he) started, uh his'
	[ˈsa.dʒa jɛ̞.ˈŋɐ̃ŋ]	***saja dengang*** just with	'just with'
	[ˈspʊl ˈba.ðɐn ˈði]	***spul badan di*** wash body at	'wash (your) body in'
	[ˈki.tɔn ˈnu.a]	***kitong dua*** 1PL two	'we two'
/k/	[ˈa.dɛ̞.ˈxa.xa]	***ade-kaka*** ySb oSb	'siblings'
	[dɛ̞.ˈŋɐ̃ŋ ˈxa.xa]	***dengang kaka*** with oSb	'with (the) older sibling'
/dʒ/	[ˈsa pu ˈjɛ̞.kɛ̞t˺]	***sa pu jeket*** 1SG POSS jacket	'my jacket'
	[… ˈi.tu, ˈja.ŋɐ̃ŋ]	***… itu, jangang*** D.DIST NEG.IMP	'those (big ones), don't'

Fortition occurs very rarely and is attested only for the voiceless affricate and the palatal approximant in word-initial position. In the more thoroughly transcribed 150-minute extract of the present corpus, fortition of /tʃ/ is attested once and strengthening of /j/ twice, as shown in Table 16.

Table 16:   Fortition of the voiceless affricate and the voiced palatal approximant

Phoneme	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/tʃ/	[ˈdɛp˺ ˈtu.tʃu]	***de pu cucu*** 3SG POSS grandchild	'his grandchild'
/j/	[ˈej ˈdʒɐ̃ŋ bɛ̞.ˌsɐr~bɛ̞.ˈsɐr]	***ey yang besar~besar*** hey REL RDP~be.big	hey those big (ones)
	[ˈj�echa]	***yo*** yes	'yes'

2.3.1.2.   Elision

Elision of a word-final segment is attested for the voiceless stops, the alveolar fricative, the velar nasal, and both liquids, as shown in Table 17. Concerning the voiceless stops, elision applies most frequently to /k/. Elision of /t/ occurs less frequently and is unattested for /p/. Word-final /s/ is much less prone to elision than word-final stops, with the corpus containing only two lexical items with deleted /s/. As for the nasals, elision is attested only for velar /ŋ/. When omitted, the nasal is

always realized as nasalization on the preceding vowel.[58] Elision of the liquids occurs only very rarely. The exception is ***ambil*** 'fetch'. Of its 221 tokens, 49 tokens are realized without word-final /l/: [ˈɐm.bi] (48 tokens) and [ˈɐm.be.a] (1 token).

Table 17: Elision of the voiceless stops, the alveolar fricative, the velar nasal, and the liquids in word-final position

Phoneme	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/t/	[ˈsa.ki]	***sakit***	'be sick'
/k/	[ˈma.sa]	***masak***	'cook'
/s/	[ˈtru]	***trus***	'be continuous'
/ŋ/	[ˈɐn.dʒĩ]	***anjing***	'dog'
/r/	[ˈla.pa]	***lapar***	'be hungry'
/l/	[ˈɐm.bi / ˈɐm.be.a]	***ambil***	'fetch'

2.3.1.3. Devoicing

Devoicing applies only to the rhotic trill as word-final coda. In this position, it is most commonly realized as [r]. Before a pause or in utterance-final position, however, the trill can also be devoiced to [r̥], as illustrated in (2).

(2) **skaɾen** dɔŋ kasi dɪa **sɛntɛr̥**, kasi **sɛntɛr** dɔŋ kasi pisɔw
now   3PL give 3SG flashlight give flashlight 3PL give knife

'**now** they give him a **flashlight**, (having) given (him) a **flashlight** they give (him) a knife' [081108-003-JR.0002]

2.3.1.4. Palatalization

Palatalization of /s/ is rare. It occurs only in lexical roots with a /si.V/ sequence, if this root has three or more syllables and if the syllable containing /s/ is unstressed. The palatalization of /s/ co-occurs with the elision of the close front vowel /i/, which reduces the number of syllables by one, as illustrated in Table 18. Hence, /si.V/ is realized as [sʲV]. Attested is one polysyllabic lexical root with a /si.V/ sequence, the high frequency item ***siapa*** 'who'. In lexical roots with a /si.V/ sequence in which the syllable containing /s/ is stressed, palatalization of the fricative does not occur. Attested are the three lexical roots listed in Table 18, all of which are disyllabic: ***sial*** 'be unfortunate', ***siang*** 'midday', and ***siap*** 'be ready'.

This lack of assimilation in stressed syllables does, however, also apply to lexical items with more than two syllables, as evidenced by three polysyllabic loan words, presented in §2.5.2.3. The occurrence of /s/ in a /si.V/ sequence together with

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[58] More in-depth acoustic phonetic analysis is needed to determine whether the nasalized vowels remain centralized. Since these vowels occur in open syllables they are represented as their non-centralized allophones (for more details see §2.2.3) pending further results.

the stress pattern of the respective lexical item does not, however, condition the palatalization of the fricative. This is evidenced by the fact that *siapa* 'who' is realized quite commonly without palatalization: [ˈsa.pa].

The frequency counts in Table 18 are based on the broad transcription of the entire 16-hour corpus (16-H-C) and the more thoroughly transcribed 150-minute extract (150-M-C) of the present corpus.[59]

Table 18:   Palatalization of the alveolar fricative in loan words

Stress	Orthogr.	Gloss	Realization	Freq. 16-H-C	Freq. 150-M-C
/si/ unstressed	***siapa***	'who'	[**si.ˈa**.pa]	196	---
			[ˈ**sʲa**.pa]	---	40
			[ˈ**sa**.pa]	115	10
/ˈsi/ stressed	***sial***	'be unfortunate'	[ˈ**si.ɐl**]	1	1
	siang	'midday'	[ˈ**si.ɐŋ**]	55	6
	siap	'be ready'	[ˈ**si.ɐp̚**]	54	2

2.3.2.   Phonetic processes for vowels

2.3.2.1.   Centralization and lowering

In addition to the regular decentralization of the vowels in closed syllables, the data indicates two environments where centralization of vowels occurs on an irregular basis in open syllables: (1) under the influence of central vowel /a/, and (2) under the influence of the corresponding centralized allophone occurring in closed syllables. In addition, the close vowels are very commonly lowered in fast speech.

In open syllables, the close and open-mid vowels are frequently centralized under the influence of the central vowel /a/, similar to the process of centralization in closed syllables (§2.2.3) In unstressed open syllables, open-mid /ɛ/ can alternatively be centralized to [ə] rather than to [ɛ].

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[59]   The broad transcription of the 16-hour corpus makes no distinction between the unpalatalized and the palatalized realizations of *siapa* 'who', [si.ˈa.pa] and [ˈsʲa.pa], respectively. Hence, a more thorough transcription of all 196 /siapa/ tokens is required to establish whether speakers sometimes realize the interrogative as the trisyllabic item [si.ˈa.pa] or whether they always palatalize the fricative and thereby realize the item as disyllabic [ˈsʲa.pa]. In the more thoroughly transcribed 150-minute extract of the present corpus the trisyllabic *siapa* [si.ˈa.pa] 'who' is unattested.

Table 19:   Vowel centralization under the influence of central vowel /a/[60]

Phoneme	Realization	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/i/	[ɪ]	[ˈdɪ.a]	*dia*	'3SG'
		[ˈhɪ.leŋ]	*hilang*	'be lost'
/u/	[ʊ]	[ˈlʊ.ɐs]	*luas*	'be vast'
		[ˈbʊ.keŋ]	*bukang*	'NEG'
/ɛ/	[ɛ�]	[ˈbɛ̧.ɾa]	*bera*	'defecate'
		[ˈhɛ̧.la]	*hela*	'haul'
	[ə]	[bə.ˈkɐs]	*bekas*	'trace'
		[lə.ˈpɐs]	*lepas*	'free'
/ɔ/	[ɔ̧]	[ˈhɔ̧.sa]	*hosa*	'pant'
		[ˈkɔ̧.lɐm]	*kolam*	'big hole'

In open syllables the close and open-mid vowels can also be centralized under the
influence of the corresponding centralized allophone occurring in a closed syllable,
as illustrated in Table 20 (see also §2.2.3).

Table 20:   Vowel centralization harmony[61]

Phoneme	Environment	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/i/	[ɪ] in open SYLB preceded by [ɪC]	[prɔ.ˈpɪn.sɪ]	*propinsi*	'province'
		[ˈskrɪp˺.sɪ]	*skripsi*	'minithesis'
	[ɪ] in open SYLB followed by [ɪC]	[ˈmɪ.ɾɪŋ]	*miring*	'be sideways'
		[ˈgɪ.lɪŋ]	*giling*	'grind'
/u/	[ʊ] in open SYLB preceded by [ʊC]	[ˈbʊm.bʊ]	*bumbu*	'bamboo'
		[ˈbʊn.tʊ]	*buntu*	'be blocked'
	[ʊ] in open SYLB followed by [ʊC]	[ˈlʊ.ɾʊs]	*lurus*	'be straight'
		[ˈtʊ.ɾʊŋ]	*turung*	'descend'
/ɛ/	[ɛ̧] in open SYLB preceded by [ɛ̧C]	[bɛ̧r.ˈtɛ̧.mu]	*bertemu*	'be friends'
		[ˌbɛ̧r.kɛ̧.ˈbʊŋ]	*berkebung*	'do farming'
	[ɛ̧] in open SYLB followed by [ɛ̧C]	[ˈɛ̧.pɛŋ]	*epeng*	'important'
		[mɛ.ˈlɛ̧.sɛ̧t˺]	*meleset*	'miss a target'

---

[60]   The following lexemes are loan words: *rotan* 'rattan' and *soal* 'problem'.

[61]   The following lexemes are loan words: *propinsi* 'province' and *skripsi* 'minithesis'. The
       following lexemes historically derived by (non-productive) affixation: *bertemu* 'be
       friends', *berkebung* 'farm', and *meleset* 'miss a target'.

Phoneme	Environment	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/ɔ/	[ɔ] in open SYLB preceded by [ɔC]	[ˈbɔŋ.sɔ̞]	***bongso***	'youngest child'
		[ˈtʃɔn.tɔ̞]	***conto***	'example'
	[ɔ] in open SYLB followed by [ɔC]	[ˈrɔ̞.kɔk˺]	***rokok***	'cigarette'
		[ˈkɔ̞.dɔk˺]	***kodok***	'frog'

In fast speech, the close vowels /i/ and /u/ are very commonly lowered and realized as the close-mid vowels [e] and [o] respectively, as demonstrated in (3) to (6). In (3) the verb ***kasi*** 'give' is realized as [ˈka.se], and in (4) the verb ***balik*** 'turn around' is realized as [ˈba.le].[62] In (5) the numeral ***dua*** 'two' is realized as [ˈdo.a] and in (6) the common noun ***lubang*** 'hole' is realized as [ˈlo.bɐŋ]

(3)   …   mɔ   bikɪn   papɛda   mɔ   **kase**   anana   makɐn
             want   3PL   sagu.porridge   want   give   RDP~child   eat
         '[they said (they) wanted to catch chickens and then] (they) wanted to make sagu porridge to **give** the children to eat' [081010-001-Cv.0191]

(4)   itu   Bop   Bop   itu,   de   biasa   **bale**
         D.DIST   Bop   Bop   D.DIST   3SG   be.usual   turn.around
         'that was Bob, that Bob, he usually **(flies) a circle**' (Lit. 'turns around') [081011-010-Cv.0019]

(5)   skarɐn   dɔ̞ŋ   **doa**   mɐn.tʃɪŋ
         now   3PL   two   fish
         'now the **two** of them are fishing' [081109-010-JR.0002]

(6)   dɛ   masʊk˺   **lobɐŋ**   tu
         3SG   enter   hole   D.DIST
         'it ('the chicken') went into that **hole** (in the floor)' [080921-004a-CvNP.0096]

2.3.2.2.   Nasalization

The five vowels /i, u, ɛ, ɔ, a/ can be nasalized and realized as [ĩ, ũ, ɛ̃, ɔ̃, ã] as a result of the elision of the word-final velar nasal /ŋ/, discussed in §2.3.1.2.

Table 21:   Nasalization of the vowels

Phoneme	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/i/	[ˈɐn.dʒĩ]	***anjing***	'dog'
/u/	[ˈlaŋ.sũ]	***langsung***	'immediately'
/ɛ/	[ˈdẽ]	***deng(ang)***	'with'
/ɔ/	[dɔ̃]	***dong***	'3PL'
/a/	[bilã]	***bilang***	'say'

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[62]   Concerning the elision of the word-final stop see §2.3.1.2.

2.3.2.3.   Lengthening

Vowel length is not phonemic in Papuan Malay. Very commonly, however, vowel lengthening occurs as a manifestation of emphasis, as in (7) and (8). In (7) the speaker relates how, after a long journey, they finally got to their destination *sampeee di pohong* 'all the way up to the tree'. In (8), an irritated mother explains to her son for the nth time that their date of departure has *beluuum* 'not yet' come.

(7)   kitɔŋ dʊa tʊrʊn   **sɛmpɛːː** di pɔhɔn
      1PL   two descend arrive   at tree
      'we two came down ALL THE WAY to the tree' [080917-008-NP.0024]

(8)   itu   **bɛlʊːːm,** tɔŋ blʊm   dʒalɨn
      D.DIST not.yet   1PL not.yet walk
      'that's NOT YET, we're not going yet' [080921-001-CvNP.0007]

2.3.3.   Alternative realizations of the VC sequences /aj/ and /aw/

The VC sequences /aj/ and /aw/ have alternative realizations on an irregular basis. They tend to be centralized to [ɛj] and [ɔw], respectively, as shown in Table 22, or they can be reduced to the open-mid vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ], respectively, as illustrated in Table 23 and Table 24.

When /aj/ and /aw/ occur in disyllabic roots, they tend to be centralized to [ɛj] and [ɔw], respectively, in the following environments (see Table 22). The VC sequence /aj/ is centralized to [ɛj] when following a liquid, as in *serey* [sɛ.ˈrɛj] 'lemongrass' or *laley* [ˈla.lɛj] 'be careless'.[63] With other onset consonants /aj/ remains unaffected. As for the centralization of /aw/ to [ɔw], the data is less clear. Attested are only three lexical items: /au/ is centralized to [ɔw] following the lateral /l/ in *pulow* [ˈpu.lɔw] 'island', the affricate /dʒ/ in *hijow* [ˈhi.dʒɔw] 'green', and the fricative /s/ in *pisow* [ˈpi.sɔw] 'knife'. With other onset consonants /aw/ is not centralized. More data is needed to explore whether centralization in these contexts is indeed unpredictable or whether it constitutes a predictable phonological process.[64]

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[63]   All ten participants in a rapid orthography test, by contrast, realized *laley* 'be careless' as [ˈla.lɐj] and not as [ˈla.lɛj].

[64]   The corpus includes only eight lexical roots containing /aj/ and ten roots with /aw/.

Table 22:   Realization of /aj/ as [ɛj] and of /aw/ as [ɔw]

Phoneme	Realization	Item		Gloss
/aj/	[ɐj] vs. [ɛj]	[tʃɛ.ˈrɛj]	*cerey*	'divorce'
		[ˈla.lɛj]	*laley*	'be careless'
		[sɛ.ˈrɛj]	*serey*	'lemongrass'
		[ˈda.mɐj]	*damay*	'peace'
		[ˈtu.pɐj]	*tupay*	'squirrel'
/aw/	[ɐw] vs. [ɔw]	[ˈhi.dʒɔw]	*hijow*	'green'
		[ˈpi.sɔw]	*pisow*	'knife'
		[ˈpu.lɔw]	*pulow*	'island'
		[ˈhi.rɐw]	*hiraw*	'heed'
		[ˈki.tʃɐw]	*kicaw*	'be naughty'

When /aj/ and /aw/ occur in unstressed CVC syllables of non-monosyllabic roots, they tend to be reduced to open-mid vowels under the influence of the central vowel /a/; that is, /aj/ is realized as front /ɛ/, and /aw/ as back /ɔ/.

   The tendency to realize /aj/ as [ɛ] applies especially to unstressed CVC syllables with an onset stop, as shown in Table 23. In this environment, the realization of /aj/ as [ɐj] occurs much less often or not at all. Examples are *cape* 'be tired' or *pake* 'use'. The VC sequence typically remains unaffected in the following environments: in unstressed CVC syllables with an initial consonant other than a stop, as in *damay* 'peace', when preceded by a syllable containing a vowel other than central /a/, as in *pegaway* 'employee', or in stressed syllables as in *selesay* 'finish'.

Table 23:   Realization of /aj/ as [ɐj] or [ɛ]

[ɐj]		[ɛ]		Orthogr.	Gloss
Item	Freq.	Item	Freq.		
[ˈtʃa.pɐj]	1	[ˈtʃa.pɛ]	23	*cape*	'be tired'
---[65]	---	[ˈpa.kɛ]	213	*pake*	'use'
[ˈsɐn.tɐj]	1	[ˈsɐn.tɛ]	7	*sante*	'relax'
[ˈda.mɐj]	9	---	---	*damay*	'peace'
[pɛ.ˈga.wɐj]	110	[pɛ.ˈga.wɛ]	3	*pegaway*	'employee'
[ˌsɛ.lɛ.ˈsɐj]	154	---	---	*selesay*	'finish'
[ˈsu.ŋɐj]	6	---	---	*sungay*	'river'
[ˈtu.pɐj]	1	---	---	*tupay*	'squirrel'

The tendency to realize /aw/ as [ɔ] also applies to unstressed syllables with an onset consonant. This consonant, however, does not need to be a stop, as shown in Table

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[65]   Standard Malay realizes this lexical item as <*pakai*> 'use, wear' (Mintz 2002).

24. Examples are ***dano*** 'lake' and ***kaco*** 'be confused'.[66] When preceded by a syllable containing a vowel other than central /a/, the VC sequence typically remains unaffected, and its realization as [ɔ] is rare, as in ***hiraw*** 'heed' and ***pisow*** 'knife'. There is one exception, however, namely ***pulow*** 'island'.

Table 24:   Realization of /aw/ as [ɐw] or [ɔ]

[aw]		[ɔ]		Orthogr.	Gloss
Item	Freq.	Item	Freq.		
[ˈda.nɐw]	1	[ˈda.nɔ]	3	***dano***	'lake'
[ˈka.tʃɐw]	2	[ˈka.tʃɔ]	12	***kaco***	'be confused'
[ˈhi.dʒɐw]	1	---	---	***hijow***	'be green'
[ˈhi.rɐw]	2	---	---	***hiraw***	'heed'
[ˈki.tʃɐw]	1	---	---	***kicaw***	'be naughty'
[ˈpu.lɐw]	7	[ˈpu.lɔ]	5	***pulow***	'island'
[ˈpɪs.ɐw]	5	---	---	***pisow***	'knife'

In monosyllabic words, /aj/ and /aw/ are never realized as /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, respectively. Examples are ***tay*** /taj/ 'excrement' and ***taw*** /taw/ 'know'. There is one exception, though, monosyllabic ***mo*** 'want'. In the present corpus this item is typically realized as /mɔ/ (750 tokens), rather than as /maw/ (212). In the historically affixed lexical items ***kemawang*** 'will' and ***mawnya*** 'the wanting', however, the root is realized as /maw/, as the syllable containing the root is stressed.

2.4.   **Phonotactics**

This section describes how in Papuan Malay segments combine to form syllables, how syllables combine into words, and what the stress patterns of these words are. The distribution and sequences of the consonant phonemes are presented in §2.4.1 and those of the vowel phonemes in section §2.4.2. The syllable structures are described in §2.4.3 and the stress patterns in §2.4.4.

For all of the identified segment sequences, as well as for most of the syllable types and stress patterns, the attested lexical items were investigated as to whether they are inherited Malay roots or loan words, by using the following sources: Jones (2007) and Tadmor (2009).[67] For high frequency syllable types and stress patterns, however, not all of the attested entries were checked. Hence, upon further investigation some of these lexical items may turn out to be loan words.

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[66]   In addition, the corpus also contains three loan words in which /aw/ is realized as /ɔ/:
(1) ***ato*** 'or': /ˈa.tɔ/ (113 tokens) vs. /ˈa.taw/ (85 tokens)
(2) ***kalo*** 'if': /ˈka.lɔ/ (1,028 tokens) vs. /ˈka.law/ (230 tokens)
(3) ***sodara*** 'sibling': /sɔ.ˈda.ra/ (138 tokens) vs. /saw.ˈda.ra/ (14 tokens).
[67]   Additional input was provided by Blust (p.c. 2012), Clynes (p.c. 2012), Grimes (p.c. 2012), Mahdi (p.c. 2012), Mills (p.c. 2012), van den Berg (p.c. 2012), and Williams-van Klinken (p.c. 2012).

2.4.1.   Consonant phoneme distribution and sequences

Table 25 provides an overview of the distribution of the consonant phonemes. All consonants occur in the onset position, both word-initially and word-internally, except for the velar nasal /ŋ/. While it occurs rather commonly in the word-internal onset position, it does not occur as word-initial onset.[68]

The range of consonants occurring as a coda is considerably smaller. The voiceless stops, fricative /s/, and the four sonorants (liquids and approximants) occur as coda, both word-internally and word-finally. By contrast, the following segments do not occur as coda, neither word-internally nor word-finally: the voiced stops, the affricates, and the glottal fricative.[69] As for the nasals, only bilabial /m/ and velar /ŋ/ occur as a word-internal or word-final coda, with the velar nasal assimilating to a following stop or affricate (§2.2.1).

Table 25:   Distribution of the consonant phonemes

	STOP						AFFR		FRIC		NAS				LIQ		APR	
	p	b	t	d	k	g	tʃ	dʒ	s	h	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	r	l	j	w
ONSET	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+
CODA	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	m	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	+	+	+	+

A restricted sample of consonants can occur in onset CC clusters, as illustrated in Table 26. The range of consonants occurring in word-initial clusters is considerably larger than the range of consonants occurring in word-internal clusters.

Table 26:   CC clusters – Examples

Stops in C$_1$ position					
Word-initial position			Word-internal position		
/pC$_2$/	/ˈ**pra**ŋ/	'war'			
	/ˈ**pla**ŋ/	'be slow'			
/bC$_2$/	/ˈ**bra**t/	'be heavy'	/bC$_2$/	/ˈta.**brɐ**k/	'hit against'
	/ˈ**bla**.kaŋ/	'back'		/ˈtʃɔ.**blɔ**s/	'punch'
/tC$_2$/	/ˈ**tra**ŋ/	'be clear'			
	/ˈ**tla**n.dʒaŋ/	'be naked'			
/dC$_2$/	/ˈ**dla**.paŋ/	'eight'	/dC$_2$/	/ˈgɔn.**drɔ**ŋ/	'be long haired'
/tʃC$_2$/	/ˈ**tʃrɛ**.wɛt/	'chatty'			

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[68]   This restricted phonotactic distribution of the velar nasal is cross-linguistically rather common. Following Anderson (2011: 7) it has to do with "word-edge" and "word-medial" phonotactics in general: "word-edge coda and onset positions seem to be more restricted than corresponding coda and onset positions in non-edge positions".

[69]   In the word-final coda position, the glottal fricative /h/ occurs only in interjections.

Stops in C$_1$ position					
Word-initial position			Word-internal position		
/kC$_2$/	/ˈkna.pa/	'why'	/kC$_2$/	/ˈdʒaŋ.krik/	'cricket'
	/ˈkriŋ/	'be dry'			
	/ˈklɔm.pɔk/	'group'			
	/ˈkwali/	'frying pan'			
/gC$_2$/	/ˈgnɛ.mɔ/	'melinjo tree'			
	/ˈglap/	'be dark'			
Fricatives in C$_1$ position					
/sC$_2$/	/ˈspɛr.ti/	'like'	/sC$_2$/	/ka.ˈswa.ri/	'cassowary'
	/ˈska.raŋ/	'now'			
	/ˈsmut/	'ant'			
	/ˈsnaŋ/	'be happy'			
	/ˈsriŋ/	'often'			
	/ˈsla.taŋ/	'south'			
	/ˈswak/	'be exhausted'			

Cross-linguistically, the creation of consonant clusters tends to be constrained and guided by the "Sonority Sequencing Principle that requires onsets to rise in sonority toward the nucleus" (Kenstowicz 1994: 254): vowels are the most sonorous, followed by glides, liquids, nasals, and obstruents. Following the Sonority Sequencing Principle, C$_1$ "may be added to the onset only if it is less sonorous" than C$_2$ (1994: 255). Hence, CC clusters are most commonly formed with an obstruent in C$_1$ position and a glide in C$_2$ position. The second most common are liquids or nasals occurring in C$_2$ position, while CC clusters with an obstruent in C$_2$ position are the least common. For the most part, the attested Papuan Malay CC clusters agree with the Sonority Sequencing Principle, as illustrated in Table 27: all CC clusters to the right of the bold line obey the Sonority Sequencing Principle. Only two clusters are attested that do not agree with this principle. They are found to the left of the bold line. Both clusters have alveolar /s/ in C$_1$ position and /p/ or /k/ in C$_2$ position.

All CC clusters listed in Table 27 occur as word-initial onset, while some of them are also found as word-internal onset. In Table 27 these clusters are underlined. Consonant sequences in the coda position do not occur. The data show a clear preference for CC clusters with the lateral /l/ in C$_2$ position (29 entries), followed by clusters with rhotic /r/ in C$_2$ position (18 entries). CC clusters with the velar approximant /w/ (4 entries) or a nasal (3 entries) in C$_2$ position are much less common. Clusters with a stop in C$_2$ position are even less common (2 entries).

Table 27:   CC clusters – Overview

C₁C₂		OBSTR										NAS				LIQ		APR	
		p	b	t	d	tʃ	dʒ	k	g	s	h	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	r	l	j	w
OBSTR	p															pr	pl		
	b															<u>br</u>	<u>bl</u>		
	t															tr	tl		
	d															<u>dr</u>	<u>dl</u>		
	tʃ															tʃr			
	dʒ																		
	k												kn			<u>kr</u>	kl		kw
	g												gn				gl		
	s	sp					sk					sm	sn			sr	sl		<u>sw</u>
	h																		
NAS	p																		
	n																		
	ɲ																		
	ŋ																		
LIQ	r																		
	l																		
APR	j																		
	w																		

2.4.2.   Vowel phoneme distribution and sequences

All five vowels occur in stressed and unstressed, open and closed syllables, as illustrated in Table 28.

Table 28:   Distribution of vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables

Phoneme	Stressed open SYLB		Stressed closed SYLB	
/i/	/ˈbi.su/	'be mute'	/ˈtim.ba/	'fetch'
/u/	/ˈpu.ti/	'be white'	/ˈmun.ta/	'vomit'
/ɛ/	/ˈmɛ.ra/	'be red'	/ˈsɛn.tu/	'touch'
/ɔ/	/ˈgɔ.dɛ/	'be fat'	/ˈlɔm.ba/	'contest'
/a/	/ˈra.dʒu/	'pout'	/ˈgaŋ.gu/	'disturb'

Phoneme	Unstressed open SYLB		Unstressed closed SYLB	
/i/	/ˈba.bi/	'pig'	/ˈma.nis/	'be sweet'
/u/	/ˈka.ju/	'wood'	/ˈta.kut/	'fear'
/ɛ/	/ˈtʃa.pɛ/	'be tired'	/ˈsɔ.bɛk/	'tear'
/ɔ/	/ˈga.rɔ/	'scratch'	/ˈbɛ.sɔk/	'tomorrow'
/a/	/ˈbu.ta/	'be blind'	/ˈli.pat/	'fold'

A restricted set of vowel segments can occur in V.V vowel sequences, as shown in Table 29. As far as attested, two examples are given for each V.V sequence. The first has a /ˈ(C)V.V/ stress pattern in which the syllable containing V_1 is stressed. The second example has a /CV.ˈV/ stress pattern in which V_2 is stressed. Of the 51 lexical roots containing V.V sequences, 43 items (84%) have a /ˈ(C)V.V/ stress pattern, while only eight items (16%) show a /CV.ˈV/ stress pattern.[70]

Table 29:   V.V sequences – Examples

$V_1.V_2$	Stress	Item	Gloss	Freq.
/i.u/	/ˈCi.u/	/ˈtʃi.ʊm/	'kiss'	2
/i.a/	/ˈCi.a/	/ˈdi.am/	'be quiet'	12
	/Ci.ˈa/	/gi.ˈa.was/	'guava'	4
/u.a/	/ˈu.a/	/ˈu.aŋ/	'money'[72]	1
	/ˈCu.a/	/ˈbu.at/	'make'	15
	/Cu.ˈa/	/bu.ˈa.ja/	'crocodile'	4
/a.i/	/ˈa.i/	/ˈa.ir/	'water'	1
	/ˈCa.i/	/ˈba.ik/	'be good'	7
/a.u/	/ˈCa.u/	/ˈda.uŋ/	'leaf'	5

The attested V.V sequences with their frequencies are summarized in Table 30. This overview, together with the data presented in Table 29, shows that the V_1 position is typically taken by a close vowel (38/51 lexical roots – 74%), while the open central vowel (36/51 lexical roots – 71%) typically takes the V_2 position.

Table 30:   V.V sequences and frequencies – Overview

$V_1.V_2$	i		u		a		Total
i	---	0	i.u	2	i.a	16	18
u	---	0	---	0	u.a	20	20
a	a.i	8	a.u	5	---	0	13
Total		8		7		36	51

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[70]   Very commonly, speakers realize a /i.V/ sequence with a brief transitional glide. Since this is an almost universal phenomenon, the transitional glide is not transcribed.

Following Parker's (2008: 60) "hierarchy of relative sonority", most of the Papuan Malay V.V sequences are sequences of rising sonority with the open vowel /a/ in V$_2$ position having higher sonority than the close vowels /i/ and /u/ in V$_1$ position (36/51 – 71%). There are two exceptions: first, the two lexical entries with an /i.u/ vowel sequence, with both vowels having the same relative sonority, and second, the 13 lexical roots with an /a.i/ or /a.u/ vowel sequence.

The remainder of this section discusses the analysis of the vowel combinations /ai/ and /au/ as the V.V sequences /a.i/ and /a.u/, or rather as the VC sequences /aj/ and /aw/, respectively. When /ai/ and /au/ occur in closed syllables, they are analyzed as the V.V sequences /a.i/ and /a.u/. The actual pronunciations of /ai/ and /au/ do not indicate, however, that they are V.V sequences. Examples are **baik** /ˈba.ik/ 'be good' or **laut** /ˈla.ut/ 'ocean'. When /ai/ and /au/ occur at syllable boundaries, they are analyzed as the VC sequences /aj/ and /aw/, respectively. Examples are **damay** /ˈda.maj/ 'peace' and **baw** /ˈbaw/ 'smell'. This analysis is based on phonological and prosodic evidence, that is, the distribution of the vowel and consonant phonemes, as well as the syllable structures and stress patterns.

The first piece of evidence to be discussed is the vowel phoneme distribution. The five vowels occur in stressed and unstressed, open and closed syllables, as shown in Table 28. If the vowel combinations /ai/ and /au/ were diphthongs, they should occur in the same contexts where the five vowels occur. This, however, is not the case, as demonstrated in Table 31. The putative diphthong /ai/ (or centralized [ɛɪ]) occurs in stressed and unstressed open syllables. As for closed syllables, however, /ai/ occurs only once in a stressed syllable while it is unattested in unstressed syllables. The distribution of the putative diphthong /au/ is even more restricted. In disyllabic roots, /au/ only occurs in unstressed open syllables. In addition, the corpus contains eight monosyllabic items with /au/: three open monosyllabic items such as [ˈtaʊ] 'know' and five closed items such as [ˈdaʊŋ] 'leaf'. The same distributional patterns apply to loan words.

Table 31:   Distribution of the putative diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ in stressed and
                  unstressed syllables

	Stressed open SYLB		Stressed closed SYLB	
/ai/	[tʃɛ.ˈrɛɪ]	'divorce'	[mu.ˈdʒaɪr]	'tilapiine fish'
/au/	([ˈtaʊ]	'know')	([ˈdaʊŋ]	'leaf')
	Unstressed open SYLB		Unstressed closed SYLB	
/ai/	[ˈtu.paɪ]	'squirrel'	---	---
/au/	[ˈki.tʃaʊ]	'be naughty'	---	---

This constraint against diphthongs in unstressed (and stressed) closed syllables supports the analysis of /ai/ and /au/ as VC combinations or vowel sequences, rather than as diphthongs. When /ai/ and /au/ occur at syllable boundaries, they are analyzed as VC combinations. Examples are **cerey** /tʃɛ.ˈrɛj/ 'divorce', **taw** /ˈtaw/ 'know', **tupay** /ˈtu.paj/ 'squirrel', and **kicaw** /ˈki.tʃaw/ 'be naughty'. When the second vowel, that is /i/ or /u/, occurs in a closed syllable, /ai/ and /au/ are analyzed

as vowel sequences. Examples are ***mujair*** /mu.ˈdʒa.ir/ 'tilapiine fish', and ***daung*** /ˈda.uŋ/ 'leaf'.

The second piece of evidence is the consonant phoneme distribution (see also §2.4.1). As already mentioned, /ai/ and /au/ are analyzed as the VC sequences /aj/ and /aw/ respectively when they occur at syllable boundaries. If instead /ai/ and /au/ were analyzed as diphthongs, this would affect the consonant phoneme distribution, since in that case the two approximants /j/ and /w/ would only occur in the onset position of a syllable but not in the coda position. This distribution, however, does not agree with that of the other sonorants, given that the liquids and also the nasals, although not all of them, occur in both positions. The analysis of /ai/ and /au/ as /aj/ and /aw/ at syllable boundaries fills this gap. Given, however, that coda /j/ and /w/ do not freely follow all vowels but only /a/, this could be taken as evidence that /ai/ and /au/ are better analyzed as diphthongs.

The third piece of evidence has to do with syllable structures and stress patterns. Papuan Malay has a clear preference for disyllabic roots and CV(C) syllables (see §2.4.3), and stress typically falls on the penultimate syllable (see §2.4.4). The present corpus contains 26 lexical roots with an /ai/ or /au/ vowel combination. Of these, 13 are analyzed as VC combinations (eight /aj/ and five /aw/ combinations). The remaining 13 vowel combination are analyzed as vowel sequences (eight /a.i/ and five /a.u/ sequences). These 13 vowel sequences occur in lexical roots with penultimate stress; that is, /a/ belongs to the stressed penultimate syllable, while the close vowel belongs to the unstressed ultimate syllable. If these 13 sequences are analyzed as diphthongs instead, the syllable structure of the respective roots changes and 12 of them become monosyllabic. This increases the number of monosyllabic roots from 44 to 56, an increase of 27%. Such an increase, however, seems to be disproportionally high given the strong preference for disyllabic roots. With respect to the stress patterns, evidence comes from one lexical root and four (historically) affixed items. In the lexical root ***mujair*** /mu.ˈdʒa.ir/ 'tilapiine fish' stress falls on the preferred penultimate syllable. If /ai/ is analyzed as a diphthong, stress instead falls on the dispreferred ultimate syllable, [mu.ˈdʒair]. Further, as mentioned above, the actual pronunciation of the /ai/ or /au/ vowel combinations does not suggest that they are V.V sequences. This, however, does not apply to four (historically) affixed items with penultimate stress, presented in Table 32. In these items, the penultimate stress audibly breaks up the /ai/ and /ai/ vowel combinations with the close vowel receiving stress. This is taken as evidence that in the four respective roots /ai/ and /au/ are V.V sequences rather than diphthongs.

Table 32:   Vowel combinations /ai/ and /au/ in (historically) affixed items

(Historically) affixed items		Gloss	Roots		Gloss
kebaikang	[ˌkɛ.ba.ˈɪ.kəŋ]	'goodness'	***baik***	/ˈba.ik/	'be good'
maingang	[ma.ˈɪ.ŋɐŋ]	'toy'	***maing***	/ˈma.iŋ/	'play'
lautang	[la.ˈʊ.tɐŋ]	'ocean'	***laut***	/ˈla.ut/	'sea'
permaingang	[ˌpɛr.ma.ˈɪ.ŋɐŋ]	'game'	***maing***	/ˈma.iŋ/	'play'

Based on the evidence presented here, it is concluded that the analysis of the /ai/ and /au/ vowel combinations as VC combinations at syllable boundaries and as V.V sequences in closed syllables, is the most efficient one. At the same time it is acknowledged, however, that there is evidence supporting the analysis of /ai/ and /au/ as diphthongs.

In the literature on eastern Malay varieties there is also some discussion concerning the question of whether these varieties have diphthongs at all, or whether vowel combinations such as /ai/ and /au/ better be analyzed as sequences of distinct vowels. For a number of eastern Malay varieties, diphthongs have been posited. For North Moluccan / Ternate Malay, Litamahuputty (2012: 15) posits five diphthongs, /ai/, /ae/, /ao/, /oi/, and /ei/. In earlier studies on North Moluccan Malay, Voorhoeve (1983: 2) suggests five diphthongs, /ai/, /ae/, /au/, /ao/, and /oi/, while Taylor (1983: 17) adds a sixth diphthong, /ei/). For three other eastern Malay varieties, such vowel combinations have been analyzed as sequences of distinct vowels rather than as diphthongs, that is Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 24), Larantuka Malay (Paauw 2008: 105), and Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 12).

2.4.3.   Syllable structures

In Papuan Malay the minimal syllable and prosodic word consists of a single consonant and a single vowel. The maximal syllable is CCVC. Papuan Malay shows clear preference for disyllabic roots and for CV(C) syllables. In Table 33 to Table 36 the possible arrangements of C and V for mono-and polysyllabic roots are presented in more detail. For each type the number of occurrences is given plus one example. The investigation of the syllable structure is based on a 1,116-root word list, extracted from the above-mentioned 2,458-item list.

Monosyllabic roots, with their different arrangements of C and V, are presented in Table 33. All roots have an onset C(C), while monosyllabic roots with (onset) V do not exist. In addition, the data shows a clear preference for closed syllables: (C)CVC (33/44 entries – 75%).

Table 33:   Monosyllabic roots (44 entries)

Syllable types	Count	Item	Gloss
CV[71]	8	/ˈkɔ/	'2SG'
CVC	13	/ˈlur/	'spy on'
CCV	3	/ˈbli/	'buy'
CCVC	20	/ˈglap/	'dark'

Roots with two syllables are the most common ones. The data shows a clear preference for syllables with onset C, as shown in Table 34. The most common roots are CV.CV(C) (615/1,003 entries – 61%) and CVC.CV(C) (222/1,003 entries –

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[71]   The corpus includes eight CV roots all of which are function words, that is pronouns, prepositions, or conjunctions.

22%), while roots with onset V are rare (86/1,003 entries – 9%). Roots with onset CC clusters are also rare (41/1,003 – 4%).[72]

Table 34:   Disyllabic roots (1,003 items)

Syllable types	Count	Item	Gloss
V.VC	2	/ˈa.ir/	'water'
V.CV	15	/ˈa.pi/	'fire'
V.CVC	52	/ˈi.kaŋ/	'fish'
VC.CVC	17	/ˈam.pas/	'waste'
CV.V	4	/ˈdua/	'two'
CV.VC	35	/ˈbu.at/	'make'
CV.CV	223	/ˈba.bi/	'pig'
CV.CVC	392	/ˈgɔ.rɛŋ/	'fry'
CV.CCVC	3	/ˈta.brak/	'hit against'
CVC.CV	60	/ˈpan.tɛ/	'coast'
CVC.CVC	162	/ˈtum.buk/	'pound'
CVC.CCVC	2	/ˈdʒaŋ.krik/	'cricket'
CCV.CV	11	/ˈbra.ni/	'be courageous'
CCV.CVC	14	/ˈbla.kaŋ/	'backside'
CCVC.CV	5	/ˈklam.bu/	'mosquito net'
CCVC.CVC	6	/ˈglɔm.baŋ/	'wave'

Trisyllabic roots with their possible arrangements of C and V are presented in Table 35. Again, the data shows a clear preference for syllables with onset C. The most common roots are CV.CV.CV(C) (40/67 entries – 60%) and CVC.CV.CV(C) (15/67 entries – 22%).[73] Roots with an onset CC clusters are, with one entry, very rare.

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[72]   The second item displaying a V.VC syllable structure is **uang** 'money'. In Jones (2007), **uang** 'money' is not listed as a loan word, whereas Tadmor (2009) classifies it as a "probably borrowed". The second item with a CVC.CCVC syllable structure is **gondrong** 'be long haired'.

[73]   Three of the syllable types presented in Table 35 are attested only once. However, none of these items are listed as a loan in Jones (2007). Nor could other literature sources be found that would identify them as loan words.
       The second item displaying a CV.V.CVC syllable structure is **kecuali** 'except', and the second item with a CV.CVC.CV syllable structure is **kaswari** 'cassowary'.

Table 35:   Trisyllabic roots (67 items)

Syllable types	Count	Item	Gloss
CV.V.CV	5	/bu.ˈa.ja/	'crocodile'
CV.V.CVC	2	/ti.ˈa.rap/	'lie face downward'
CV.CV.VC	1	/mu.ˈdʒa.ir/	'tilapiine fish'
CV.CV.CV	14	/tɛ.ˈli.ŋa/	'ear'
CV.CV.CVC	26	/bɛ.ˈla.laŋ/	'grasshopper'
CV.CVC.CV	2	/pa.ˈluŋ.ku/	'punch'
CV.CVC.CVC	1	/ˌgɛ.mɛn.ˈtar/	'tremble'
CVC.CV.CV	9	/sɛn.ˈdi.ri/	'be alone'
CVC.CV.CVC	6	/tam.ˈpɛ.lɛŋ/	'slap on face or ears'
CCVC.CV.VC	1	/prɛm.ˈpu.aŋ/	'woman'

Quadrisyllabic roots are presented in Table 36. With only two entries, they are extremely rare.[74] Again, the attested data show a preference for CV.

Table 36:   Quadrisyllabic roots (2 items)

Syllable types	Count	Item	Gloss
V.CV.CV.CV	1	/ˌɔ.la.ˈra.ga/	'do sports'
CV.CV.V.CV	1	/ˌkɛ.tʃu.ˈa.li/	'except'

The data presented in Table 33 to Table 36 shows that Papuan Malay has a clear preference for disyllabic roots. Roots with one or three syllables are considerably less common, while quadrisyllabic roots are rare. Table 37 presents a frequency count for the mono- and polysyllabic roots.

Table 37:   Frequencies of mono- and polysyllabic roots

Syllable types	Count	%
Monosyllabic	44	3.9%
Disyllabic	1,003	89.9%
Trisyllabic	67	6.0%
Quadrisyllabic	2	0.2%
Total	1,116	100%

The data presented in Table 33 to Table 36 also indicates that Papuan Malay has a preference for CV(C) syllables, with the maximal syllable being (C)CVC. With these "modest expansions of the simple CV syllable type", Papuan Malay displays a "moderately complex syllable structure" which is "by far the most common type"

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[74]   Neither item is listed as a loan in Jones (2007). In addition, Clynes (p.c. 2012) and Mahdi (p.c. 2012) maintain that both items are morphologically indivisible Malay roots.

cross-linguistically, following Maddieson's (2011b: 4) typology of syllable structure.

In his analysis, Maddieson (2011b: 5) also observes an areal overlap and a significant, albeit not strong, correlation between consonant inventories and syllable structure:

> … languages with simple canonical syllable structure have an average of 19.1 consonants in their inventory, languages with moderately complex syllable structure have an average of 22.0 consonants, and those with complex syllable structures have an average of 25.8 consonants.

Hence, given its consonant inventory with 18 segments, one would expect Papuan Malay to have a simple rather than a moderately complex canonical structure.

2.4.4.   Stress patterns

In Papuan Malay, primary stress typically falls on the penultimate syllable of the lexical root, while secondary stress is assigned to the alternating syllable preceding the one carrying the primary stress. These stress patterns apply to lexical roots (§2.4.4.1) as well as to lexical items that are historically derived by (unproductive) affixation (§2.4.4.2).

2.4.4.1.   Stress patterns for lexical roots

The basic stress patterns for di-, tri-, and quadrisyllabic lexical roots are illustrated in Table 38 to Table 40. The basis for this investigation forms the above-mentioned word list with 1,116 lexical roots.

Most disyllabic roots have penultimate stress (899/1,003 items – 90%), as illustrated in Table 38. The remaining 104 items (10%) have ultimate stress and display the following pattern. In 101 of the 104 roots (97%), the unstressed penultimate syllable contains the front open-near vowel /ɛ/. In the remaining three lexical roots, the unstressed penultimate syllable contains a close vowel (one item with front /i/ and two items with back /u/).[75] Front open-near /ɛ/, however, does not condition ultimate stress, as in 61 of the 899 lexical roots with penultimate stress (7%) the stressed syllable also contains front /ɛ/.

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[75]   The three items are: ***kitong*** /ki.ˈtɔŋ/ '1PL', ***kumur*** /ku.ˈmur/ 'rinse mouth', and ***kuskus*** /kus.ˈkus/ 'cuscus'.

Table 38:   Stress patterns for disyllabic lexical roots (1,003 items)

Stress	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
P-ULT	/ˈu.aŋ/	***uang***	'money'[72]
	/ˈa.pi/	***api***	'fire'
	/ˈi.kaŋ/	***ikang***	'fish'
	/ˈbu.at/	***buat***	'make'
	/ˈba.bi/	***babi***	'pig'
	/ˈgɔ.rɛŋ/	***goreng***	'fry'
	/ˈtum.buk/	***tumbuk***	'pound'
	/ˈbla.kaŋ/	***blakang***	'backside'
ULT	/ɛ.ˈnam/	***enam***	'six'
	/ɛm.ˈpat/	***empat***	'four'
	/pɛ.ˈnu/	***penu***	'be full'
	/ku.ˈmur/	***kumur***	'rinse mouth'
	/rɛn.ˈda/	***renda***	'be low'
	/dʒɛm.ˈpɔl/	***jempol***	'thumb'

Examples of trisyllabic words with penultimate and ultimate stress are presented in Table 39. Most trisyllabic roots have penultimate stress (63/67 items – 94%) while only four lexical roots (6%) have ultimate stress. Again, a pattern similar to that for disyllabic lexical roots emerges. In all four roots, the unstressed penultimate syllable contains the front open-near vowel /ɛ/. As in disyllabic roots, however, front open-near /ɛ/ does not condition ultimate stress, as in four of the 63 lexical roots with penultimate stress (6%) the stressed syllable contains front /ɛ/.[76]

Table 39:   Stress patterns for trisyllabic lexical roots (66 items)

Stress	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
P-ULT	/bu.ˈa.ja/	***buaya***	'crocodile'
	/ti.ˈa.rap/	***tiarap***	'tiarap'
	/mu.ˈdʒa.ir/	***mujair***	'tilapiine fish'
	/tɛ.ˈli.ŋa/	***telinga***	'ear'
	/bɛ.ˈla.laŋ/	***belalang***	'grasshopper'
	/tam.ˈpɛ.lɛŋ/	***tampeleng***	'slap in face'
	/prɛm.ˈpu.aŋ/	***prempuang***	'woman'

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[76]   The four items are: ***papeda*** [pa.ˈpɛ.da] 'sagu porridge', ***padede*** /pa.ˈdɛ.dɛ/ 'whine', ***tampeleng*** /tam.ˈpɛ.lɛŋ/ 'slap in face', and ***wewenang*** /wɛ.ˈwɛ.naŋ/ 'authority'.

Stress	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
ULT	/ˌpɛ.lɛ.ˈpa/	***pelepa***	'palm stem/midrib'
	/ˌsɛ.lɛ.ˈsaj/	***selesay***	'finish'
	/ˌgɛ.mɛn.ˈtar/	***gementar***	'tremble'
	/ˌtɛŋ.gɛ.ˈlam/	***tenggelam***	'sink'

In the two attested lexical roots of four syllables, primary stress also falls on the penultimate syllable, as shown in Table 40.

Table 40:   Stress patterns for quadrisyllabic lexical roots (2 items)

Stress	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
P-ULT	/ˌɔ.la.ˈra.ga/	***olaraga***	'do sports'
	/ˌkɛ.tʃu.ˈa.li/	***kecuali***	'except'

The data presented in Table 38 to Table 40 demonstrates that Papuan Malay has a clear preference for penultimate stress. Of the 1,072 lexical roots with more than one syllable, 964 roots (90%) have penultimate stress, as shown in Table 41. There are, however, also many lexical roots that deviate from this basic pattern and have ultimate stress (108/1,072 – 10%). As already mentioned, in 105 of the 108 lexical roots with ultimate stress (97%), the penultimate syllable contains the front open-near vowel /ɛ/. Ultimate stress, however, is not conditioned by the front open-near vowel. These findings suggest that that while stress in Papuan Malay is not phonemic, it has lexicalized for these items. Minimal pairs are not attested, however.

Table 41:   Stress patterns for lexical roots – Frequencies

Syllable types	P-ULT stress	ULT stress	Total
Disyllabic	899	104	1,003
Trisyllabic	63	4	67
Quadrisyllabic	2	0	2
Total	964	108	1,072

2.4.4.2.   Stress patterns for historically derived lexical items

Lexical items that are historically derived by (unproductive) affixation show the same stress patterns as lexical roots.[77] These findings are based on a word list with 381 items, extracted from the above-mentioned 2,458-item word list. The basic stress patterns of these items are exemplified in Table 42 to Table 44; the 'Affix' column presents the historical affix.

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[77]   For a detailed discussion on derivation processes in Papuan Malay see §3.1. Note that the (historical) affixes have phonological allomorphs: /ta-/ and /tɛr-/, for example, are allomorphs of prefix ***TER-***, /pl-/ is an allomorph of prefix ***PE(N)-***, and /br-/ and /ba-/ are allomorphs of prefix ***BER-*** (the small caps designate abstract representation of the affixes as they have more than one form of realization).

Stress patterns for disyllabic items are presented in Table 42. Most disyllabic items have penultimate stress (17/22 items – 77%). The remaining five items (23%) have ultimate stress. In prefixed items in which the prefix is reduced to a consonant and forms a CC cluster with the onset consonant of the lexical root, stress is assigned to the penultimate syllable of the derived lexical item, as in *brangkat* /ˈbraŋ.kat/ 'leave' or *spulu* /ˈspu.lu/ 'ten'. In items with an unreduced prefix, stress remains on the lexical root and thereby on the ultimate syllable, as in *bergrak* /bɛr.ˈgrak/ 'move'.

Table 42:   Stress patterns for disyllabic affixed lexical items

Stress	Item	Affix	Orthography	Gloss
P-ULT	/ˈbraŋ.kat/	/br–_/	**brangkat**	'leave'
	/ˈpla.dʒar/	/pɛl–_/	**plajar**	'teacher'
	/ˈspu.lu/	/se–_/	**spulu**	'ten'
	/ˈgra.kaŋ/	/_–aŋ/	**grakang**	'movement'
ULT	/bɛr.ˈgrak/	/bɛr–_/	**bergrak**	'move'
	/sɛ.ˈblas/	/sɛ–_/	**seblas**	'eleven'
	/ta.ˈbla/	/ta–_/	**tabla**	'be cracked open'

Stress patterns for trisyllabic lexical items are presented in Table 43. Almost all them have penultimate stress (259/272 items – 95%). That is, when a disyllabic lexical root is suffixed, the stress moves from the penultimate syllable of the root to its ultimate syllable, as in *ikat* /ˈi.kat/ 'tie up' versus *ikatang* /i.ˈka.taŋ/ 'tie'. The remaining 13 items (5%) have ultimate stress, with the antepenultimate syllable carrying secondary stress. The respective roots of the 13 items also carry ultimate stress, as in *kebung* /kɛ.ˈbuŋ/ 'garden' versus *berkebung* /ˌbɛr.kɛ.ˈbuŋ/ 'do farming'.

Table 43:   Stress patterns for trisyllabic affixed lexical items

Stress	Item	Affix	Orthogr.	Gloss
P-ULT	/ba.ˈi.si/	/ba–_	**baisi**	'be muscular'
	/pɛ.ˈmu.da/	/pɛ–_/	**pemuda**	'young person'
	/kɛ.ˈdu.a/	/kɛ–_/	**kedua**	'second'
	/ta.ˈgɔ.jaŋ/	/ta–_/	**tagoyang**	'be shaken'
	/sɛ.ˈti.ap/	/sɛ–_/	**setiap**	'every'
	/i.ˈka.taŋ/	/_–aŋ/	**ikatang**	'tie'
	/mi.ˈsal.ɲa/	/_–ɲa/	**misalnya**	'for example'
ULT	/ˌbɛr.kɛ.ˈbuŋ/	/bɛr–_/	**berkebung**	'do farming'
	/ˌkɛ.ɛm.ˈpat/	/kɛ–_/	**keempat**	'fourth'
	/ˌmɛ.ɲɛ.ˈbraŋ/	/mɛ–_/	**menyebrang**	'cross'
	/ˌtɛr.lɛ.ˈpas/	/tɛr–_/	**terlepas**	'be loose'

Examples of derived lexical items with four syllables are presented in Table 44. All 88 items have penultimate stress, while secondary stress falls on the alternating syllable preceding the one carrying the primary stress. Again, when suffixed the stress moves to the ultimate syllable of the root, as in **dalam** /ˈda.lam/ 'inside' versus **pedalamang** /ˌpɛ.da.ˈla.maŋ/ 'interior'.

Table 44:   Stress patterns for quadrisyllabic affixed lexical items

Stress	Item	Affix	Orthogr.	Gloss
P-ULT	/ˌpɛ.da.ˈla.maŋ/	/pɛ–_–aŋ/	***pedalamang***	'interior'
	/ˌkɛ.gi.ˈa.taŋ/	/kɛ–_–aŋ/	***kegiatang***	'activity'
	/ˌkɛn.da.ˈra.aŋ/	/_–aŋ/	***kendaraang***	'vehicle'
	/ˌsɛ.bɛ.ˈnar.ɲa/	/sɛ–_–ɲa/	***sebenarnya***	'actually'

The data presented in Table 42 to Table 44 show that the Papuan Malay preference for penultimate stress also applies to lexical items that are historically derived by (unproductive) affixation. The vast majority of the 381 items (363 – 95%) have penultimate stress, as shown in Table 45. For suffixed items, this stress pattern implies a stress-shift from the penultimate syllable of the root to its ultimate syllable. Only a small number of items deviates from this basic stress pattern and displays ultimate stress (18/381 – 5%). For 13 of the 18 items, their respective lexical roots also have ultimate stress, while another four have monosyllabic roots; the remaining item has non-compositional semantics (**tagait** 'be hooked').[78]

Table 45:   Stress patterns for historically derived lexical items – Frequencies

Syllable types	P-ULT stress	ULT stress	Total
Disyllabic	17	5	22
Trisyllabic	259	13	272
Quadrisyllabic	87	---	88
Total	363	18	381

2.5.   Non-native segments and loan words

This section describes non-native segments and loan words attested in the Papuan Malay corpus. So far, 718 items of the 2,458-item word list (29%) have been identified as loan words, originating from different donor languages, such as Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, English, Persian, Portuguese, or Sanskrit. Not included here are inherited Malay words which are typically used in Standard Indonesian but not in Papuan Malay, such as Indonesian **desa** 'village' or **mereka** '3PL' (the corresponding Papuan Malay words are **kampung** 'village' and **dorang**/**dong** '3PL', respectively). (See also §1.8.6.)

The non-native segments are presented in §2.5.1, followed in §2.5.2 by a description of the phonological and phonetic processes that native and non-native

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[78]   The historical root **gait** does not exist in Papuan Malay.

segments can undergo in loan words. The phonotactics found in loan words are
investigated in §2.5.3.

2.5.1.   Non-native segments

In the investigated loan words, two consonantal segments occur that are not part of
the Papuan Malay consonant inventory: the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ and
the voiceless postalveolar fricative /ʃ/.

   The voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ is attested in 49 loan words. It occurs as
word-initial and word-internal onset and as word-final coda, as illustrated in Table
46.

Table 46:   Labio-dental fricative /f/

Position	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss	Donor language
Word-initial onset	[ˈfa.dʒɐɾ]	*fajar*	'dawn'	Arabic
	[ˈfɔ.tɔ]	*foto*	'photo'	Dutch
Word-initial onset	[ˈsi.fɐt˺]	*sifat*	'characteristic'	Arabic
	[ˈtrɛns.fɛr]	*transfer*	'transfer'	English
Word-final coda	[ma.ˈɐf]	*maaf*	'pardon'	Arabic
	[ɪn.ˈsɛn.tɪf]	*insentif*	'incentive'	English

The second non-native segment occurs in loan words of Arabic origins containing
the voiceless postalveolar fricative /ʃ/. Standard Malay and Standard Indonesian
have adopted the fricative into their consonant inventory, realizing it as /ʃ/ <*sy*> as in
syurga 'heaven' (Mintz 2002: 13).[79] Papuan Malay, by contrast, has not adopted the
postalveolar fricative. Instead, Papuan Malay speakers employ three different
substitution strategies to realize the fricative in loan words of Arabic origins, some
of which may have been borrowed into Papuan Malay via Standard Indonesian. The
most common strategy is to replace /ʃ/ with the alveolar fricative [s]. Alternative
strategies are to substitute /ʃ/ with the palatalized alveolar fricative [sʲ], or with the
consonant sequence [s.j]. In the same utterance or conversation, speakers may
employ more than one strategy.

   The three substitution strategies are illustrated in Table 47. The item *masarakat*
'community', for example, is most commonly realized with the alveolar fricative [s].
The items *syarat* 'condition and *syukur* 'thanks to God' are, instead, realized with
the palatalized alveolar fricative [sʲ]. Alternatively, speakers sometimes replace /ʃ/
with the consonant sequence [s.j], thereby changing the syllable pattern of the target
item as in *dasyat* [ˈdɐs.jɐt˺] 'terrifying'.

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79   Mintz (2002: 13) represents /ʃ/ as /š/ and defines it as "a palatal fricative": *syurga* /šur.ga/
      'heaven'.

Table 47:   Strategies to realize the standard Indonesian postalveolar fricative[80]

Orthogr.	Gloss	Realization	Freq.	Item in SI
masarakat	'community'	[ˌma.**s**a.ˈra.kɐt˺]	27	***masyarakat***
		[ˌma.**s**ʲa.ˈra.kɐt˺]	11	
asik	'be passionate'	[ˈa.**s**ɪk˺]	1	***asyik***
dasyat	'terrifying'	[ˈda.**s**ʲɐt˺]	2	***dasyat***
		[ˈdɐ**s**.jɐt˺]	4	
syarat	'condition'	[ˈ**s**ʲa.ɾɐt˺]	2	***syarat***
syukur	'thanks to God'	[**s**ʲu.kʊr]	3	***syukur***

2.5.2.   Phonological and phonetic processes in loan words

Overall, the same phonological and phonetic processes apply for loan words as for inherited Malay roots (see §2.2 and §2.3). Two processes, however, need to be discussed in more detail. The first is the lack of nasal place assimilation (§2.5.2.1) and the second is the palatalization of the alveolar fricative (§2.5.2.3).

2.5.2.1.   Lack of nasal place assimilation

In loan words, a nasal in the word-internal coda position typically obtains its place features from the following segment in the same way as it does in inherited Malay roots (§2.2.1). When preceding the alveolar fricative, the nasal is typically realized as /ŋ/. Examples are ***jambu*** 'rose apple', ***cinta*** 'love', or ***bengkel*** 'repair shop', and ***bangsa*** 'people group' or ***fungsi*** 'function'.

   In some loan words, however, the nasal does not undergo assimilation, as illustrated in Table 48. Instead, the bilabial or the alveolar nasal is followed by a consonant with different place features as in ***jumla*** 'sum' or ***tanpa*** 'without'.

Table 48:   Lack of nasal place assimilation in the word-internal coda in loan words

Realization	Item	Orthogr.	Gloss	Donor language
[m]	[aˈlʊ**m**.ni]	***alumni***	'alumnus'	Latin
	[ˈdzʊ**m**.la]	***jumla***	'sum'	Arabic
	[kɔnˈsʊ**m**.si]	***konsumsi***	'consumption'	Dutch
[n]	[ˈta**n**.pa]	***tanpa***	'without'	(uncertain[81])
	[mɛ**n**.ˈfa.ɐt˺]	***manfaat***	'benefit'	Arabic
	[ˌ**n**.fɔr.ˈma.si]	***informasi***	'information'	Dutch

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[80]   Abbreviations: SI = Standard Indonesian.
[81]   In Jones (2007), ***tanpa*** 'without' is not listed as a loan words. Tadmor (2009), however, classifies the item as "clearly borrowed", listing Sudanese, Balinese, and Javanese as "uncertain" donor languages.

2.5.2.2.   Lenition

Lenition is attested only for the bilabial voiceless stop in two lexical items, namely
kopi 'coffee' and *pikir* 'think'. Inter-vocalically, the bilabial stop in *kopi* [ˈkɔ.pi]
'coffee' can be lenited by means of spirantization to fricative [f] giving [ˈkɔ.fi]
'coffee'. When following a lexeme with word-final vowel, the word-initial stop in
pikir [ˈpi.kɪr] 'think' can be lenited to [f], as in [ˈsa ˈfi.kɪr] *sa pikir* 'I think' or
[ˈsu.da ˈfi.kɪr] *suda pikir* 'already thought'.[82]

2.5.2.3.   Palatalization of the alveolar fricative

Palatalization of the alveolar fricative /s/ occurs in loan words in an environment
identical to that found in inherited Malay roots (§2.3.1.4). That is, palatalization of
alveolar /s/ occurs in loan words with a /si.V/ sequence, if the lexical item consists
of three of more syllables and if the syllable containing /s/ is unstressed. Attested are
three loan words with /si.o/ or /si.a/ sequences, presented in Table 49. Again, the
palatalization of /s/ co-occurs with the elision of close front /i/, which reduces the
number of syllables by one. Hence, /si.a/ is realized as [sʲa] and /si.ɔ/ as [sʲɔ]. In loan
words with a /si.a/ sequence in which the syllable containing /s/ is stressed, /s/ is not
palatalized, as in *manusia* 'human being'.[83]

Table 49:   Palatalization of the alveolar fricative in loan words

Stress	Orthogr.	Gloss	Realization	Freq.
/si/ unstressed	*misionaris*	'missionary'	[ˌmi.**si.ɔ**.ˈna.ris]	1
			[ˌmi.**sʲɔ**.ˈna.rɪs]	10
	nasional	'national'	[ˌna.**si.ɔ**.ˈnɐl]	1
			[ˌna.**sʲɔ**.ˈnɐl]	2
	sosial	'social'	[ˌsɔ.**sɪ**.ˈɐl]	2
			[sɔ.ˈ**sʲɐl**]	3
/ˈsi/ stressed	*manusia*	'human being'	[ˌma.nu.ˈ**si.a**]	49
	rahasia	'secret'	[ˌra.ha.ˈ**sɪ.a**]	4
	usia	'age'	[u.ˈ**si.a**]	5

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82   Notably, for both loan words, the source forms contain fricative /f/ rather than stop /p/:
     the source form for *kopi* 'coffee' is Dutch *kofffie* and the source form for *pikir* 'think' is
     Arabic *fikr*.
83   Loan words with a /si.ɔ/ sequence in which the syllable containing /s/ is stressed are
     unattested.

2.5.3.   Phonotactics in loan words

This section describes the phonotactics found in loan words: the consonant distribution and sequences are described in §2.5.3.1, the vowel distribution and sequences in §2.5.3.2, and the syllable structures and stress patterns in §2.5.3.3.

2.5.3.1.   Consonant distribution and sequences

The distribution of consonants in loan words corresponds to their distribution in inherited Malay roots (see §2.4.1). This also applies to the loan fricative /f/, which has the same distribution as the alveolar fricative /s/ and occurs in all positions.

In loan words a restricted sample of consonants can occur in consonant clusters, as illustrated in Table 50. The range of consonants occurring in word-initial consonant clusters is considerably larger than the range of consonants occurring in word-internal clusters, similar to their distribution in inherited Malay roots.

Table 50:   CC and CCC clusters – Examples

Onset CC clusters: Stops in C_1 position					
Word-initial position			Word-internal position		
/pC_2/	/ˈ**pra**k.tɛk/	'practicum'	/pC_2/	/ɔ.ˈ**pra**.si/	'operation'
	/ˈ**pla**s.tik/	'plastic'		/ˈam.**plɔ**p/	'envelop'
/bC_2/	/ˈ**bri**.ta/	'news'	/bC_2/	/ˈdɔ.**bra**k/	'smash'
				/ˈi.**bli**s/	'devil'
/tC_2/	/**tra**.ˈdi.si/	'tradition'	/tC_2/	/ba.ˈ**trɛ**j/	'battery
/dC_2/	/ˈ**dra**m.bɛn/	'marching band'			
/kC_2/	/ˈ**kna**l.pɔt/	'muffler'	/kC_2/	/ˌrɛ.**krɛ**.ˈa.si/	'recreation'
	/**krɛ**.ˈma.si/	'cremation'		/bis.ˈ**kwi**t/	'cracker'
	/ˈ**kla**s/	'class'			
	/ˈ**kwa**/	'broth'			
/gC_2/	/ˈ**grɔ**.bak/	'wheelbarrow'	/gC_2/	/nɛ.ˈ**gri**/	'state'
	/ˈ**glɔ**.dʒɔ/	'be greedy'			

Onset CC and CCC clusters: Fricatives in C_1 position					
Word-initial position			Word-internal position		
/fC₂/	/ˈ**fr**ɛj/	'be blank'			
/sC₂/	/ˈ**sp**a.tu/	'shoe'	/sC₂/	/in.ˈ**st**an.si/	'level'
	/ˈ**st**a.tus/	'status'			
	/ˈ**sk**ɔ.la/	'school'			
	/ˈ**sm**ɛn/	'cement'			
	/ˈ**sn**ɛk/	'snack'			
	/ˈ**sl**a.mat/	'be safe'			
	/ˈ**sw**a.mi/	'husband'			
	/ˈ**spr**ɛj/	'bedsheet'			
	/ˈ**str**ap/	'punish'			
	/ˈ**skr**ip.si/	'minithesis'			
Coda CC clusters					
Word-final position					
/rt/	/ˈɛr.pɔ**rt**/	'airport'			
/ks/	/ˈkɔm.plɛ**ks**/	'complex'			

The data presented in Table 50 shows considerable similarities between loan words and inherited Malay roots in terms of the distribution of consonants in CC clusters (see Table 26). There are, however, also some differences. A number of CC clusters that are found in inherited Malay roots are not attested in loan words: /tl/, /dl/, /tʃr/, /gn/, and /sr/. By contrast, the following onset CC attested in loan words are unattested in inherited Malay roots: /gr/, /fr/, /st/. In addition, two word-final CC clusters are found in loan words, /rt/ and /ks/.[84] Finally, three onset CCC clusters are attested: /spr/, /str/, and /skr/.

Table 51 presents an overview of the attested consonant clusters. For the most part, the consonant clusters attested in loan words agree with Kenstowicz's (1994: 254) Sonority Sequencing Principle (see §2.4.1).

Almost all clusters listed in Table 51 occur in word-initial position. The exception is /bl/ which occurs only as word-internal onset. Those clusters that are attested as word-initial and word-internal onset are underlined; /bl/ is also underlined. The two CC clusters in word-final coda position are double-underlined.

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[84] Four loan words are attested with word-final CC cluster: *erport* 'airport', ***kompleks*** 'complex', ***petromaks*** 'kerosene lantern' and ***raport*** 'school report book'. Rather commonly, however, these items are realized without the word-final CC cluster, as in [ˈɛr.pɔr] 'airport', [ˈkɔm.plɛk] 'complex', or [ˌpɛ.trɔ.ˈmɐs] 'kerosene lantern'.

Table 51: CC and CCC clusters – Overview[85]

C₁C₂		p	b	t	d	tʃ	dʒ	k	g	f	s	h	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	r	l	j	w
		OBSTR											NAS				LIQ		APR	
OBSTR	p																pr	pl		
	b																br	bl		
	t																tr			
	d																dr			
	tʃ																			
	dʒ																			
	k										ks			kn			kr	kl		kw
	g																gr	gl		
	f																fr			
	s	sp		st				sk					sm	sn			spr str skr	sl		sw
	h																			
LIQ	r			rt																
	l																			

2.5.3.2. Vowel distribution and sequences

The distribution of vowels in loan words corresponds to that in inherited Malay roots (see §2.4.2). A restricted sample of vowels occurs in V.V vowel sequences, as shown in Table 52. Again, for each V.V sequence two examples are given, as far as attested. The first example displays a /ˈ(C)V.V/ stress pattern with the syllable containing V_1 being stressed. The second example has a /CV.ˈV/ stress pattern in which V_2 is stressed. Of the 56 loan words with V.V sequences, 36 items (56%) have a /ˈCV.V/ stress pattern, while 20 (44%) items show a /CV.ˈV/ stress pattern. Again, the V.V sequences are realized without an inserted glottal stop.

Table 52: V.V sequences – Examples

V₁.V₂	Stress	Item	Gloss	Freq.
/i.u/	/Ci.ˈu/	/ˌsɛ.ri.ˈus/	'be serious'	1
/i.ɔ/	/ˈCi.ɔ/	/ˈki.ɔs/	'kiosk'	6
	/Ci.ˈɔ/	/pri.ˈɔ.dɛ/	'period'	2
/i.a/	/ˈCi.a/	/tʃɛ.ˈri.a/	'be cheerful'	15
	/Ci.ˈa/	/pi.ˈa.ra/	'raise'	8

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[85] As nasals and approximants do not occur in C₁ position, they are excluded from Table 51.

$V_1.V_2$	Stress	Item	Gloss	Freq.
/u.a/	/ˈCu.a/	/ˈsm<u>u.a</u>/	'all'	1
	/Cu.ˈa/	/p<u>u.ˈa</u>.sa/	'fast'	4
/ɛ.ɔ/	/ˈCɛ.ɔ/	/fi.ˈd<u>ɛ.ɔ</u>/	'video'	2
/ɛ.a/	/Cɛ.ˈa/	/r<u>ɛ.ˈa</u>k.si/	'reaction'	2
/ɔ.i/	/ˈCɔ.i/	/ɛ.ˈg<u>ɔ.i</u>s/	'be egoistic'	1
/ɔ.a/	/ˈCɔ.a/	/ˈs<u>ɔ.a</u>k/	'be weak'	5
	/Cɔ.ˈa/	/ˌɔn.d<u>ɔ.ˈa</u>.fi/	'traditional chief'	1
/a.i/	/ˈCa.i/	/<u>a.</u>ˈdʒ<u>a.i</u>p/	'be miraculous'	2
/a.u/	/ˈCa.u/	/ˈm<u>a.u</u>t/	'death'	1
/a.ɛ/	/Ca.ˈɛ/	/d<u>a.ˈɛ</u>.ra/	'area'	1
/a.a/	/ˈCa.a/	/dʒɛ.ˈm<u>a.a</u>t/	'congregation'	3
	/Ca.ˈa/	/m<u>a.ˈa</u>f/	'pardon'	1

The attested V.V sequences and their frequencies are summarized in Table 53. V.V sequences that are attested only once are underlined. Similar to inherited Malay roots, the V_1 position is most often occupied by a close vowel (37/56 items – 66%). Open-mid and open vowels, however, are also quite common in this position (19/56 items – 34%). The V_2 position is again most often taken by the open central vowel (40/56 lexical roots – 71%), although close and open-mid vowels are also permitted in this position (16/56 lexical roots – 29%).

Table 53:   V.V sequences and frequencies – Overview

$V_1.V_2$	i		u		ɛ		ɔ		a		Total
i	---	0	<u>i.u</u>	1	---	0	i.ɔ	8	i.a	23	32
u	---	0	---	0	---	0	---	0	u.a	5	5
ɛ	---	0	---	0	---	0	ɛ.ɔ	2	ɛ.a	2	4
ɔ	ɔ.i	1	---	0	---	0	---	0	ɔ.a	6	7
a	a.i	2	<u>a.u</u>	1	<u>a.ɛ</u>	1	---	0	a.a	4	8
Total		3		2		1		10		40	56

Most of the V.V sequences found in loan words (44/56 – 79%) are sequences of rising sonority (Parker 2008), similar to V.V sequences in inherited Malay roots (see §2.4.2). The remaining twelve vowel sequences include seven V.V sequences of equal sonority (/i.u/, /ɛ.ɔ/ and /a.a/), and five V.V sequences of falling sonority (/ɔ.i/, /a.i/, /a.u/, and /a.ɛ/).

2.5.3.3.   Syllable structure and stress patterns

The syllable types and stress patterns for mono- and polysyllabic loan words are illustrated in Table 54 to Table 58. The basis for this investigation is the above-mentioned word list with 718 loan words.

   Monosyllabic loan words with their different arrangements of C and V are presented in Table 54. The data indicates a clear preference for closed syllables with an onset consonant (85/86 – 99%); only one item contains an onset vowel. The data also shows that monosyllabic loan words with onset consonant clusters are very common: 32 items (37%) have a CC cluster and another four items (5%) have a CCC cluster.

Table 54:   Monosyllabic loan words (86 items)

Syllable types	Count	Item	Gloss
VC	1	/ˈɔm/	'uncle'
CV	4	/ˈtɛ/	'tea'
CVC	45	/ˈdʒin/	'genie'
CCV	2	/ˈkwa/	'broth'
CCVC	30	/ˈtrɛk/	'truck'
CCCVC	4	/ˈstrɔm/	'electricity'

Disyllabic loan words with their attested syllable types and stress patterns are presented in Table 55. They are, with 421 items, the most common, a preference corresponding to that found for inherited Malay roots. While CV(C) syllables are preferred, the data also shows that consonant clusters are quite common: the corpus includes 59 items (14%) with an onset CC cluster, three items (0.7%) with an onset CCC cluster, and four items (1%) with a coda CC cluster. By contrast, only 41 of the attested 1,003 inherited disyllabic Malay roots (4%) have an onset CC cluster (§2.4.3).

   Most of the disyllabic loanwords have penultimate stress (375/421 – 89%), while 46 items have ultimate stress (11%). This corresponds to the stress patterns observed for inherited disyllabic Malay roots: 104 of 1,003 roots (10%) have ultimate stress (§2.4.4.1).

Table 55:   Disyllabic loan words (421 items)

Syllable types	Count	Item	Gloss
Ultimate stress			
V.CV	1	/a.ˈtɔ/	'or'
V.CVC	1	/i.ˈman/	'faith'

Syllable types	Count	Item	Gloss
CV.VC	1	/ma.ˈaf/	'pardon'
CV.CV	2	/pɛ.ˈta/	'map'
CV.CVC	18	/mi.ˈnit/	'minute'
CV.CCV	1	/nɛ.ˈgri/	'state'
CV.CCVC	2	/rɛ.ˈtrit/	'retreat'
CVC.CV	4	/pɛr.ˈlu/	'need'
CVC.CVC	12	/kɔm.ˈbɔŋ/	'be inflated'
CVC.CCV	1	/mɛn.ˈtri/	'cabinet minister'
CVC.CCVC	1	/bis.ˈkwit/	'cracker'
CCV.CVC	2	/plɛ.ˈtɔn/	'platoon'
Penultimate stress			
V.CV	4	/ˈi.dɛ/	'idea'
V.CVC	18	/ˈi.dʒin/	'permission'
V.CCVC	1	/ˈi.blis/	'devil'
VC.CV	6	/ˈil.mu/	'knowledge'
VC.CVC	9	/ˈɛm.bɛr/	'bucket'
VC.CVCC	1	/ˈɛr.pɔrt/	'airport'
VC.CCV	2	/ˈin.trɔ/	'introduction'
VC.CCCV	1	/ˈɛk.stra/	'extra'
VC.CCVC	1	/ˈam.plɔp/	'envelope'
CV.V	2	/ˈdɔ.a/	'prayer'
CV.VC	5	/ˈta.at/	'be obedient'
CV.CV	72	/ˈka.ja/	'be rich'
CV.CVC	103	/ˈhɔ.nɔr/	'honorarium'
CV.CVCC	1	/ˈra.pɔrt/	'school report book'
CV.CCVC	2	/ˈdɔ.brak/	'smash'
CVC.CV	48	/ˈwak.tu/	'time'
CVC.CVC	51	/ˈkɔr.ban/	'sacrifice'
CVC.CCV	2	/ˈman.tri/	'male nurse'
CVC.CCVC	5	/ˈdis.trik/	'district'
CVC.CCVCC	1	/ˈkɔm.plɛks/	'complex'
CCV.V	1	/ˈsmu.a/	'all'
CCV.CV	13	/ˈkwa.sa/	'power'
CCV.CVC	11	/ˈsla.mat/	'be safe'
CCV.CCVC	1	/ˈprɔ.gram/	'program'

Syllable types	Count	Item	Gloss
CCVC.CV	2	/ˈprik.sa/	'check'
CCVC.CVC	9	/ˈknal.pɔt/	'muffler'
CCVCC.CVC	1	/ˈtrans.fɛr/	'transfer'
CCCV.CV	1	/ˈstri.ka/	'iron'
CCCVC.CV	1	/ˈskrip.si/	'minithesis'

Trisyllabic loan words with their attested syllable types and stress patterns are presented in Table 56. With 160 items they are considerably less common than disyllabic loan words. Again the preferred syllable structure is CV(C). In addition, however, the corpus includes a considerable number of loan words with consonant clusters, that is, 17 items (11%) with an onset CC cluster, one item with an onset CCC cluster, and one item with a word-final CC cluster. By contrast, only one of the attested 66 inherited trisyllabic Malay roots has an onset CC cluster (§2.4.3).

Most of the trisyllabic loanwords have penultimate stress (136/160 – 85%), while 23 items have ultimate stress (14%) and one has antepenultimate stress. By comparison, only four of 66 inherited trisyllabic Malay roots (6%) have ultimate stress (§2.4.4.1).

Table 56:   Trisyllabic loan words (160 items)

Syllable types	Count	Item	Gloss
Ultimate stress			
V.CV.CVC	1	/ˌɔ.tɔ.ˈnɔm/	'autonomous'
VC.CV.CVC	1	/ˌin.si.ˈɲur/	'engineer'
CV.CV.VC	2	/ˌsɛ.ri.ˈus/	'be serious'
CV.CV.CV	1	/ˌrɛ.dʒɛ.ˈki/	'livelihood'
CV.CV.CVC	6	/ˌdɔ.mi.ˈnan/	'dominate'
CV.CV.CCVC	2	/ˌrɛ.pu.ˈblik/	'republic'
CV.CCV.CVCC	1	/ˌpɛ.trɔ.ˈmaks/	'kerosene lantern'
CV.CVC.CV	1	/ˌsu.pɛr.ˈmi/	'instant noodles'
CV.CVC.CVC	4	/ˌkɔ.man.ˈdan/	'commandant'
CCV.CV.CVC	3	/ˌprɛ.si.ˈdɛn/	'president'
CVC.CV.CVC	1	/ˌkar.ta.ˈpɛl/	'slingshot'

Syllable types	Count	Item	Gloss
Penultimate stress			
V.CV.V	2	/a.ˈrɔ.a/	'departed spirit'
V.CV.VC	2	/ɛ.ˈgɔ.is/	'be egoistic'
V.CV.CV	8	/a.ˈca.ra/	'ceremony'
V.CV.CVC	3	/a.ˈla.mat/	'address'
V.CCV.CV	1	/ɔ.ˈpra.si/	'surgery'
V.CVC.CV	4	/a.ˈgɛn.da/	'agenda'
VC.CV.CV	4	/as.ˈra.ma/	'dormitory'
VC.CV.CVC	2	/ɔk.ˈtɔ.bɛr/	'October'
VC.CVC.CVC	1	/in.ˈsɛn.tif/	'incentive'
VC.CCVC.CV	1	/in.ˈstan.si/	'level'
CV.V.CV	5	/pi.ˈa.ra/	'raise'
CV.V.CVC	1	/di.ˈa.lɛk/	'dialect'
CV.VC.CV	1	/rɛ.ˈak.si/	'reaction'
CV.CV.V	9	/tʃɛ.ˈri.a/	'be cheerful'
CV.CV.VC	2	/dʒɛ.ˈma.at/	'congregation'
CV.CV.CV	35	/pɛ.ˈpa.ja/	'papaya'
CV.CV.CCV	1	/tʃɛ.ˈri.tra/	'talk'
CV.CV.CVC	4	/na.ˈsi.hat/	'advice'
CV.CVC.CV	4	/ta.ˈlɛn.ta/	'gift'
CV.CVC.CVC	8	/kɛ.ˈtum.bar/	'coriander'
CCV.V.CV	1	/pri.ˈɔ.dɛ/	'period'
CCV.VC.CV	1	/klu.ˈar.ga/	'family'
CCV.CV.CV	3	/pri.ˈba.di/	'be private'
CCV.CVC.CV	1	/prɔ.ˈpin.si/	'province'
CCCV.CV.CV	1	/stra.ˈtɛ.gi/	'strategy'
CVC.CV.VC	1	/man.ˈfa.at/	'benefit'
CVC.CV.CV	20	/pɛr.ˈtʃa.ja/	'trust'
CVC.CV.CVC	5	/kɔm.ˈpu.tɛr/	'computer'
CVC.CVC.CV	3	/sɛm.ˈpur.na/	'be perfect'
CVC.CCV.CVC	2	/kɔm.ˈplɔ.tan/	'(half)circle'
Antepenultimate stress			
CV.CV.CVC	1	/ˈdʒɛ.ri.ˌkɛn/	'jerry can'

The corpus also contains 42 loan words of four syllables. Their syllable types and stress patterns are presented in Table 57. While they are quite rare among loan

words (42/718 – 6%), their portion is higher than that attested for inherited Malay roots (two out of 1,116 items). The preferred syllable structure is again CV(C). In addition, the corpus includes five loan words (12%) with an onset CC cluster. By contrast, neither of the two attested inherited quadrisyllabic Malay roots has a consonant cluster (§2.4.3). Most of the quadrisyllabic loanwords have penultimate stress (36/42 – 86%), while five items have ultimate stress (12%) and one has antepenultimate stress. By comparison, both inherited quadrisyllabic Malay roots have penultimate stress (§2.4.4.1).

Table 57:   Quadrisyllabic loan words (42 items)

Syllable types	Count	Item	Gloss
Ultimate stress			
VC.CV.CV.CVC	1	/is.ˌti.ra.ˈhat/	'rest'
CV.CV.V.CVC	1	/ˌna.si.ɔ.ˈnal/	'national'
CV.CV.CV.CVC	2	/ma.ˌjɔ.ri.ˈtas/	'majority'
CCV.V.CV.CVC	1	/pri.ˌɔ.ri.ˈtas/	'priority'
Penultimate stress			
V.CV.CV.CV	1	/ɔ.tɔ.ˈnɔ.mi/	'autonomy'
V.CV.CV.CVC	1	/ɔ.tɔ.ˈma.tis/	'be automatic'
VC.CV.V.CV	1	/ˌɔn.dɔ.ˈa.fi/	'traditional chief'
VC.CV.CV.CV	1	/ˌis.ti.ˈmɛ.wa/	'be special'
VC.CV.CV.CVC	1	/ˌan.ti.ˈfi.rus/	'antivirus'
VC.CCV.CV.CV	1	/ˌas.trɔ.ˈnɔ.mi/	'astronomi'
VC.CVC.CV.CV	1	/ˌin.fɔr.ˈma.si/	'information'
CV.V.CV.CV	2	/ˌbi.ɔ.ˈlɔ.gi/	'biology'
CV.CV.CV.V	5	/ˌma.nu.ˈsi.a/	'human being'
CV.CV.V.CV	1	/ˌdʒa.nu.ˈa.ri/	'January'
CV.CV.V.CVC	1	/ˌka.ri.ˈa.wan/	'employee'
CV.CV.CV.CV	6	/ˌtɛ.lɛ.ˈfi.si/	'television'
CV.CV.CV.CVC	3	/ˌma.sa.ˈra.kat/	'community'
CV.CV.CVC.CVC	2	/ˌrɛ.fɛ.ˈrɛn.dum/	'referendum'
CV.CVC.CV.CV	4	/ˌwa.wan.ˈtʃa.ra/	'interview'
CV.CVC.CV.CVC	1	/ˌsɛ.kɛr.ˈta.ris/	'secretary'
CV.CCV.V.CV	2	/ˌfɛ.bru.ˈa.ri/	'February'
CVC.CV.CV.CV	1	/ˌkɔr.di.ˈna.si/	'coordinate'
CVC.CV.CV.CVC	1	/ˌkɔr.di.ˈna.tɔr/	'coordinator'
Antepenultimate stress			
V.CCV.CV.V	1	/a.ˈgra.ri.ˌa/	'agrarian affairs'

In addition, the corpus also contains ten pentasyllabic roots which are presented in Table 58. Most of them have penultimate stress (6/9 – 67%), while two have ultimate stress and one has antepenultimate stress.

Table 58:   Pentasyllabic roots (9 items)

Syllable types	Count	Item	Gloss
Ultimate stress			
V.CV.CVC.CV.CVC	1	/ˌu.ni.ˌfɛr.si.ˈtas/	'university'
CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	1	/ˌpi.si.ˌkɔ.lɔ.ˈgi/	'psychology'
Penultimate stress			
V.CVC.CV.V.CV	1	/ɔ.ˌlɪm.pi.ˈa.dɛ/	'Olympiad'
V.CVC.CV.CV.CV	1	/ɛ.ˌman.si.ˈpa.si/	'emancipation'
CV.CV.V.CV.CVC	1	/mi.ˌsi.ɔ.ˈna.ris/	'missionary'
CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	2	/ma.ˌtɛ.ma.ˈti.ka/	'mathematics'
CV.CVC.CV.CV.V	1	/sɛ.ˌkɛr.ta.ˈri.a/	'secretariat'
Antepenultimate stress			
CV.V.CV.CV.V	1	/ˌtɛ.ɔ.ˈlɔ.gi.ˌa/	'theology'

The data presented in Table 54 to Table 58 show that for loan words in Papuan Malay the preferred syllable types and stress patterns correspond to those attested in inherited Malay roots: most of the 718 loan words are disyllabic (421/718 – 59%) and most of the items with two or more syllables have penultimate stress (553/632 – 88%). Table 59 presents a frequency count for the attested syllable types and stress patterns. Also corresponding to inherited Malay roots, the preferred syllable structure is CV(C). Unlike native roots, however, a considerable number of loan words have consonant clusters, most of which are onset CC clusters.

Table 59:   Syllable types and stress patterns for loan words – Frequencies

Syllable types	Stress patterns			Total
Monosyllabic	(n/a)			
Polysyllabic	ULT:	P-ULT:	A-P-ULT:	
Disyllabic	46	375	---	421
Trisyllabic	23	136	1	160
Quadrisyllabic	5	36	1	42
Pentasyllabic	2	6	1	9
	76	553	3	632

Quite often, but not always, the adaption of loan words into Papuan Malay involves stress shift from a syllable other than the penultimate one in the original item to the preferred penultimate syllable in the Papuan Malay word. This is illustrated in Table 60 with three loan words: ***astronomi*** 'astronomy' and ***strategi*** 'strategy' are loan words from Dutch which have ultimate stress, while ***transfer*** 'transfer' is an English

loan word which has ultimate stress. In Papuan Malay, by contrast, the three items
are realized with stress on the penultimate syllable.

Table 60:   Stress shift in loan words[86]

	Papuan Malay		Dutch	English
astronomi	ˌɐs.trɔ.ˈnɔ.mi	'astronomy'	ɑs.tro.no.ˈmi	ə.ˈstrɑ.nə.mi
strategi	stra.ˈtɛ.gi	'strategy'	stra.tə.ˈxi	ˈstræ.tɪ.dʒɪ
transfer	ˈtrɛns.fɛr	'transfer'	trɑns.ˈfʏːr	trɑːns.ˈfɜː(r)

2.6.   Orthographic conventions

The orthographic (ORTH) conventions for the Papuan Malay consonant and vowel
phonemes (PHON) used in this grammar are presented in Table 61.

Table 61:   Orthographic conventions

Consonants																
PHON	p	b	t	d	tʃ	dʒ	k	g	s	h	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	r	l	j	w
ORTH	p	b	t	d	c	j	k	g	s	h	m	n	ny	ng	r	l	y	w
Vowels					
PHON	i	ɛ	u	ɔ	a
ORTH	i	e	u	o	a

The orthographic representation of the affricates, the palatal and velar nasals, and
the palatal approximant follows the conventions for Standard Indonesian, as these
are also used by Papuan Malay speakers when writing Papuan Malay. Stress is not
marked in the examples and texts in this book; in the word lists in Appendix A,
however, those lexemes which do not carry penultimate stress but ultimate or
antepenultimate stress are marked with "x" for the interested reader.

For the representation of the velar nasal in the word-internal coda position, the
surface realization is used rather than the underlying phonemic form, as in *bantu*
'help' and *janji* 'promise'. In representing the palatalized alveolar fricative, the
surface realization is used instead of the underlying phonemic form. That is, [sʲ] is
represented as <*sy*> as in *syukur* 'thanks to God'. For vocalic allophones, their
surface realization instead of their underlying phonemic form is used if that
allophone is also an independent phoneme. Examples are the alternative realizations
of the vowel combinations /ai/ and /au/ (see §2.3.3), such as *capay* or *cape* 'be
tired', or *pulaw* or *pulow* 'island'. These conventions also apply to the orthographic
representation of the (historical) affixes, if one element of the affix is also an
independent segment; hence, *bakalay* /ba-ˈkalaj/ 'to fight' versus *bertriak* /bɛr-
ˈtriak/ 'to scream' or *talipat* /ta-lipat/ 'be folded' versus *terpaksa* /tɛr-ˈpaksa/ 'be

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[86]   The Dutch examples are taken from Woorden.org MMXI (2010-) and the English
examples from Oxford University Press (2000-).

forced' (see §3.1 for a detailed discussion on derivation processes in Papuan Malay and the realizations of the (historical) affixes).

In fast speech, Papuan Malay speakers very often shorten disyllabic lexical items to monosyllabic ones. This affects most often the personal pronouns (see §5.5 and Chapter 6), the possessive marker (see §9.1), and the following lexical items: *dengang* 'with' is shortened to ***deng***, *bilang* 'say' to ***blang***, *ini* 'D.PROX' to ***ni***, *itu* 'D.DIST' to ***tu***, *kasi* 'give' to ***kas***, *pergi*/*pigi* 'go' to ***pi***, and *suda* 'already' to ***su***. Whenever speakers use these short forms, they are also given in the examples and texts in this grammar.

Vowel length is not phonemic in Papuan Malay. It does, however, have the pragmatic function of adding emphasis to a speaker's utterance, as discussed in §2.3.2.3. To indicate this emphasis in the context of this grammar, vowel lengthening is represented orthographically and realized with triple vowels.

2.7.   Summary

The Papuan Malay phoneme inventory consists of 18 consonants (six stops, two affricates, two fricatives, four nasals, two liquids, and two approximants does) and five vowels. In terms of Lass' (1984: 134–159) system typology of consonants and vowels, the Papuan Malay consonant and vowel systems show, overall, no typologically unexpected constellations, with the exception of the fricatives.

Consonant system: The obstruent system with its "'cardinal' set /p t k/" and its palato-alveolar affricate set as "one 'intermediate' place" of articulation (Lass 1984: 147) shows no typologically unexpected constellations. The fricative system with alveolar /s/ and glottal /h/ is cross-linguistically less typical. Following Lass's (1984: 155) obstruent frequency hierarchy, systems with only two fricatives typically consist of alveolar /s/, to which labial /f/ rather than glottal /h/ is added. While the stop system is symmetric in terms of voice, the fricative system lacks a voiced series, while the nasal system lacks a voiceless series. The lack of both series, however, is cross-linguistically quite common. They correspond to Maddieson's (2011a: 4) findings that "fricatives are more commonly voiceless". They also agree with Lass's (1984: 155–157) findings that nasals show a clear "preference for voice". All consonants occur as onsets, while the range of consonants occurring in the coda position is considerably smaller.

Vowel system: The cross-linguistically very common "5-vowel" system with its "two heights in front and back with a low central vowel" (Lass 1984: 143) shows no typologically unexpected constellations. As is typical of such systems, the front vowels are unrounded while the back vowels are rounded (1984: 143). All five vowels occur in stressed and unstressed, open and closed syllables.

A restricted sample of like segments can occur in sequences. The constraints on their linear sequencing correspond to the Sonority Sequencing Principle if this is taken as a functional principle by which to explain the linear ordering of like segments. In CC clusters, the less sonorous segment precedes the more sonorous segment. The first consonant is typically a stop while the second consonant is a liquid. For V.V sequences the rise in sonority is less marked. The first vowel is most often a close vowel, while the second one is usually the open central vowel.

Papuan Malay shows clear preference for disyllabic roots and for CV(C), thereby displaying a "moderately complex syllable structure" (Maddieson 2011b: 4), which is typologically the most common structure. Cross-linguistically, however, Papuan Malay would be more likely to have a simple rather than a moderately complex canonical structure, as it consists of only 18 consonants. Primary stress typically falls on the penultimate syllable, although this stress pattern is not rigid. Secondary stress usually falls on the alternating syllable preceding the one carrying the primary stress. This stress pattern applies to lexical roots as well as to lexical items that are historically derived by (unproductive) affixation.

Adding to its 18 native consonant system, Papuan Malay has adopted one loan segment, the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/. Also, Papuan Malay has developed three substitution strategies to realize the voiceless postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ found in loan words of Arabic origins. For the most part, the phonological and phonetic processes found in loan words correspond to those found in inherited Malay roots. The exception is the process of nasal assimilation, which is applied less rigorously. Consonants and vowels in loan words show the same distribution as in inherited Malay roots. In sequences of like segments, the range of attested consonants and vowels is wider in comparison to that found in inherited Malay roots. Further, for V.V sequences the rise in sonority is less marked. The preferred syllable types and stress patterns attested in loan words correspond to those found in inherited Malay roots. Compared to Malay roots, however, a larger number of loan words employ consonant clusters.

3. Word-formation

Papuan Malay has very little productive morphology. Word formation is limited to the two derivational processes of reduplication and affixation. Inflectional morphology is lacking, as nouns and verbs are not marked for any grammatical category such as gender, number, or case. There is also no voice system on verbs. Compounding is a third word-formation process; it remains uncertain, however, to what degree it is a productive process.

In discussing word-formation in Papuan Malay, a major issue is to what degree these processes are productive. Following Booij (2007: 320), a morphological process "is productive if it can be applied to form new (forms of) words". Given this definition, the data in the present corpus indicates that reduplication in Papuan Malay is a very productive process, whereas affixation has only very limited productivity. The productivity of compounding as a word-formation process remains debatable.

This chapter discusses two word-formation processes in detail: affixation in §3.1 and compounding in §3.2. Reduplication is mentioned briefly in §3.3 and more fully discussed in Chapter 4. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §3.4.

3.1. Affixation

3.1.1. Introduction

Affixation is a morphological process whereby an affix is attached to a lexical root to derive new lexemes. As word-forming elements, affixes are bound morphemes which provide additional lexical or syntactic information for their respective base words, which in Papuan Malay are lexical roots. In Papuan Malay, as is typical for derivational devices in general, affixation applies to the open word classes only, namely to nouns and verbs.

The present corpus contains a considerable number of morphologically complex lexical items with the 2,458-item word list mentioned in §1.8.6 including 523 affixed lexemes (21%). The most commonly employed (historical) affixes are the prefixes *TER-* 'ACL', *PE(N)-* 'AG', and *BER-* 'INTR', the suffixes *-ang* 'PAT' and *-nya* '3POSSR', and the circumfix *ke*-/*-ang* 'NMLZ'.[87]

Before examining these affixes in detail, the remainder of this introduction discusses methodological issues related to examining the productivity of affixation in Papuan Malay.

Morphological patterns are considered to be productive if language users apply them "to new well-formed complex words" by systematically extending the pattern "to new cases" (Booij 2007: 67, 68). By contrast, a morphological pattern is said to be unproductive when the morphological rule involved "is not used for coining new words" but "has become obsolete" (2007: 68). The productivity of a given pattern is a matter of degree, however, as pointed out by scholars such as Pike

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[87] The small caps designate the abstract representation of affixes that have more than one form of realization; prefixes *TER-*, *PE(N)-*, and *BER-*, have two allomorphs each, namely *ter-* and *ta-* (§3.1.2.1), *pe(N)-* and *pa(N)-* (small-caps *N* represents the different realizations of the nasal) (§3.1.4.1), and *ber-* and *ba-* (§3.1.5.1), respectively.

(1967: 169–172) , Bauer (1983: 62–100) , Aikhenvald (2007: 49–58) , or Booij
(2007: 67–71). This degree depends on the amount "to which the structural
possibilities of a word-formation pattern are actually used" (Booij 2007: 68). That is,
depending on their functional load, some patterns are "fully active" or productive,
while others are "inactive" or unproductive, with "semi-active" or semi-productive
patterns found in-between (Pike 1967: 169–171).[88] Therefore, productivity is best
viewed as a "cline" (Bauer 1983: 97) or a "scalar phenomenon" (Bauer 2001: 126).[89]
On such a cline of productivity, fully productive patterns are viewed as one end-
point, and completely unproductive patterns as the other end-point of the continuum,
with semi-productive patterns found in-between.

To investigate whether and to what degree Papuan Malay speakers employ a
given affix to create new words, one technique would be to devise a test along the
lines of Aronoff and Schvaneveldt's (1978) "Productivity Experiment". This
psycholinguistic experiment involved a lexical-decision task which required testees
to make judgments about possible but non-occurring affixed words. That is, the
testees had to judge whether or not these words were instances of English.

For the present study no productivity tests were conducted to determine whether
and to what extent a given affix can be attached to Papuan Malay roots to derive
new lexical items. Tests such as the mentioned lexical-decision tasks were
considered unworkable due to the sociolinguistic profile of the Papuan Malay
speech variety and speech communities, discussed in §1.5:

–   Strong and increasing language vitality;
–   Functional distribution of Papuan Malay as the LOW variety, and
    Indonesian as the HIGH variety, in terms of Ferguson's (1972) notion of
    diglossia;
–   Ambivalent language attitudes towards Papuan Malay; and
–   Lack of language awareness of Papuan Malay speakers about the status of
    Papuan Malay as a language distinct from Indonesian.

Given this sociolinguistic profile and the formal setting of a test situation as well as
the fairly high degree of linguistic relatedness between Papuan Malay and
Indonesian, an undesirable amount of interference from Indonesian was expected.
This assumption is based on Weinreich's (1953: 1) definition of "interference" as
"instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech
of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a
result of language contact". Even in a monolingual test situation, such interference
would most likely have had a skewing impact on testees' naïve judgments, given
that, when in the "monolingual speech mode […] bilinguals rarely deactivate the
other language totally", as Grosjean (1992: 59) points out.

Given these problems, the attested affixes and derived words were instead
examined in terms of seven language internal and two language external factors.
These factors were deemed relevant in examining the productivity of these affixes.

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[88]   Pike (1967: 169–171) talks about the "Activeness of Morphemes" rather than of
       "morphological patterns".
[89]   As Bauer (2001: 125) elaborates, however, there is an ongoing discussion among scholars
       "whether productivity is a gradable/scalar phenomenon or not".

1.   Language internal factors

The affixes are examined with respect to the following seven language internal factors: (a) syntactic properties, (b) type frequencies, token frequencies, and hapaxes, (c) relative token frequencies of affixed lexemes and base words, (d) form-function relationship between the derivation and its base word, (e) alternative strategies, (f) affixed lexemes lacking a base, and (g) status of the affixed lexemes as part of the Papuan Malay lexicon or as code-switches with Indonesian.

a)   Syntactic properties

Before examining the productivity of the affixes in terms of the above-mentioned language internal factors, the syntactic properties of the base words are described as to whether they can be attached to verbal, nominal, adverbial, and/or other bases. Likewise, the syntactic properties of the affixed lexemes are described, as to which word class they belong to.

b)   Type frequencies, token frequencies and hapaxes[90]

If an affix is represented by a large number of words (high type frequency) which, in turn, have low token frequencies, this is taken as evidence that the affixation process under investigation is more productive. (For the purposes of this study, type frequencies of ten or more are considered as "(relatively) high" while token frequencies of less than 20 are considered as "(relatively) low".

As Plag (2006: 542) points out, derived words with low token frequencies "tend to be words that are unlikely to be familiar to the hearer". This applies especially to hapaxes which occur only once in a corpus. They can, however, be understood if "an available word-formation rule allows the decomposition of the newly encountered word into its constituent morphemes and thus the computation of the meaning on the basis of the meaning of the parts" (2006: 542). Hence, productive morphological patterns tend to be characterized by "large numbers of low frequency words and small numbers of high frequency words, with the former keeping the rule alive. In contrast, unproductive morphological categories will be characterized by a preponderance of words with rather high frequencies and by a small number of words with low frequencies" (2006: 542).

Among the derived words with low token frequency, hapaxes are especially useful in determining the productivity of a morphological pattern, as "the highest proportion of neologisms" is found here (Plag 2006: 542); or in other words, "[the] higher the number of hapaxes, the greater the productivity" (2006: 544). Therefore, as Booij (2007: 69–70) points out, "one might define the degree of productivity **P** of a particular morphological process as the proportion between the number of hapaxes of that type (n_1) to

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[90]   Type frequency is defined as "the number of types of a class of linguistic units in a corpus", while token frequency refers to "the number of tokens of a linguistic unit or a class of linguistic units in a corpus" (Booij 2007: 323). Hapaxes are "new word types that occur only once in the corpus, and clearly do not belong to the set of established words" (Booij 2007: 69).

the total number of tokens N" for that particular affix; a definition which is based on Baayen's (1992: 115) formula $P = n_1/N$.

For the present study, however, it remains unclear to what extent the attested hapaxes are useful in determining productivity. That is, the limited size of the present corpus makes it difficult to verify which hapaxes are neologisms in Papuan Malay and which ones merely reflect the limited size of the corpus. Moreover, the literature does not mention thresholds which would allow interpreting a calculated P value in terms of the degree of productivity of a given morphological pattern. For the interested reader, however, the number of hapaxes and their respective P values for each affix are given in footnotes throughout this chapter.

c)   Relative token frequencies of affixed lexemes and base words

If the token frequencies for the affixed lexemes are lower than those for their bases, this is taken as an indication that the affixation process is more likely to be productive, following Hay and Baayen (2002: 230), who give evidence that "[the] frequency with which an affix is activated during processing directly affects the degree to which it is productive".

Hay and Baayen's (2002) findings build on Hay (2001), who shows "that the frequency of the base form is involved in facilitating decomposability. When the base is more frequent than the whole, the word is easily and readily decomposable. However, when the derived form is more frequent than the base it contains, it is more difficult to decompose and appears to be less complex". In terms of processing, morphologically complex words with a low relative frequency are accessed via their parts, that is, via a "decomposed access" or "parsing route". Morphologically complex words with a high relative frequency, by contrast, are accessed as whole words via a "whole-word access" or "direct route" (2001: 1044-1047, 1055).

In their study, Hay and Baayen (2002: 203–204) argue that "for an affix to remain productive, words containing that affix must be parsed sufficiently often that the resting activation level of that affix remains high". The findings of this study confirm this link between productivity and parsing. Hay and Baayen (2002) show that affixes which derive words with low relative frequencies and high rates of decomposition are more likely to be productive. By contrast, affixes which derive words with high relative frequencies and low rates of decomposition are less likely to be productive.

d)   Form-function relationship between the derivation and its base

Typical derivational processes include nominalization, verbalization, or class-preserving valency-changing operations, among others. In each case, the derivational process "results in the creation of a new word with a new meaning", as Aikhenvald (2007: 35) points out.

Following Booij (2007: 240, 323), one "necessary" albeit not "sufficient" condition for the productivity of such derivational processes is their transparency, which is defined as "the presence of a systematic form-meaning correspondence in a morphologically complex form". Therefore, if the form-function relationship between the affixed lexemes and their base is

transparent, this is taken as evidence that a given affixation process is more productive. If, by contrast, this relationship is opaque, this is considered evidence that the process is less productive.

If an affix is "polyfunctional", that is, if it can take bases from more than one lexical category, this is also taken as evidence that the process is more productive (Booij 2002: 89–91 ; see also Zwanenburg 2000).

Pairs of words in which the affixed words and their respective bases have the same semantics, are not taken as parts of a larger derivational paradigm. Instead these sets are taken as pairs of words belonging to different speech varieties, namely Papuan Malay and Indonesian. This conclusion is based on the fact that, in general, non-standard varieties of Malay "have lost most or all of this system of affixation", whereas "Standard Malay exhibits a rich system of affixation" (Paauw 2008: 20). Hence, for pairs of words with the same semantics, the unaffixed base words are taken to be the native Papuan Malay lexemes, whereas the affixed words are taken to be code-switches with the corresponding Indonesian lexemes.

e)   Alternative strategies

If speakers employ alternative strategies that do not involve affixation and that express the same meanings as the affixed forms, these alternative strategies are taken as evidence that the affixation process is less productive.

f)   Affixed lexemes lacking a base

Affixed lexemes for which there is no corresponding base have lost their status as complex words. They are so-called "formally complex words" (Booij 2007: 17). Such a word "behaves as a complex word although there is no corresponding semantic complexity" (2007: 313). A high number of formally complex words are taken as evidence that the affixation process is less productive. Their non-compositional semantics suggest that these lexemes are either lexicalized forms or code-switches with Indonesian. (For each affix, the number of formally complex words is given with a few examples. Given, however, that they have lost their status as complex words, these items are not further discussed.)

g)   Status of the affixed lexemes as part of the Papuan Malay lexicon or as code-switches with Indonesian

If a large number of affixed lexemes are not part of the Papuan Malay lexicon but code-switches with Indonesian, this is taken as evidence that the derivation process for a given affix is less productive.

Sources such as Jones (2007), or Tadmor (2009) allow the identification of foreign, non-Malay loan words in the present corpus. They do not, however, allow identifying code-switches with Indonesian. Hence, an alternative approach was deemed necessary to explore whether the affixed lexemes are part of the Papuan Malay lexicon or constitute code-switches with Indonesian.

All 533 attested affixed lexemes were discussed with a Papuan Malay consultant who has a high level of language awareness, both with respect to

Papuan Malay and to Indonesian. Based on his knowledge of both languages, the consultant classified the affixed lexemes as "Papuan Malay" or "borrowings from Indonesian". While his tentative classification is subjective and not necessarily representative, it provides one more piece of evidence as to the potential productivity of the attested affixes. In Table 1 to Table 24, these alleged borrowings or code-switches with (Standard) Indonesian, are underlined.

2.   Language external factors: Variables of the communicative event

The affixes were examined as to whether they are employed without sociolinguistic restrictions or whether their use is conditioned by variables of the speech situation in terms of Fishman's (1965: 86) "domains of language choice". The main factors which influence language choices are (1) the topics discussed, (2) the relationships between the interlocutors, and (3) the locations where the communication takes place (1965: 67, 75). Speaker education levels are a fourth pertinent factor.

If the use of the affixes seems to be conditioned by language external factors, this is taken as evidence that the affixation process is less productive. For the present study, the pertinent "domains of language choice" are (a) the topics, (b) speaker education levels, and (c) the relationships between the interlocutors, all of which are discussed in the following. The locations of communication were not considered pertinent domains since all recorded conversations took place in the same informal setting of the home. (For details on the sociolinguistic profile of Papuan Malay, see §1.5.)

a)   Speaker education levels

In West Papua, as is typical of diglossic situations, the HIGH variety Indonesian is acquired in school. Given their amount of access to the HIGH variety, better-educated speakers are more likely to display language behaviors influenced by the HIGH variety Indonesian than less-educated speakers. Therefore, if better-educated speakers employ a particular affix considerably more often than less-educated ones, this is taken as evidence that the affixed lexemes are not the result of a productive process but that they constitute code-switches with Indonesian.

b)   Topics

Following Fishman (1965: 71), the topics under discussion may also bring "another language to the fore" as "certain topics are somehow handled better in one language than in another". This notion of topical regulation suggests that Papuan Malay speakers consider Indonesian, and not Papuan Malay, the appropriate language to use when discussing HIGH topics associated with formal domains such politics, education, or religion. Therefore, if Papuan Malay speakers use a particular affix much more often when discussing HIGH topics than when discussing casual daily-life issues (LOW topics), this is taken as evidence that the affixed lexemes are code-switches with Indonesian. This applies especially to less-educated Papuans, as better-educated Papuans already display a general tendency to include Indonesian features when speaking Papuan Malay, although this tendency is more pronounced when

the latter discuss high topics. (See also Factor 2 'Topical regulation' in §1.5.1).

c)   Relationships between interlocutors

Given the diglossic distribution of Papuan Malay and Indonesian, it is expected that the language behavior of Papuans shows influences from the HIGH variety Indonesian when they interact with fellow-Papuans of higher status or with group outsiders. As discussed under Factor 3 'Relationships between interlocutors' in §1.5.1, the use of features from the HIGH variety serves to signal social inequality, distance, and formality. Therefore, if speakers use a given affix much more often when conversing with interlocutors of higher status or with group outsiders than when interacting with peers, this is taken as evidence that the affixed lexemes are code-switches with Indonesian. Again, this applies especially to less-educated Papuans, given that better-educated Papuans already show a general tendency to "dress-up" their Papuan Malay with Indonesian features, although this tendency is more marked when the latter interact with group outsiders, such as the author. (See also Factor 3 'Relationships between interlocutors' in §1.5.1.)

In examining the attested affixes and affixed lexemes as outlined above, none of the factors was taken in isolation. Instead, the findings pertaining to all nine factors were taken together as an indication of the degree of productivity for the affix in question. The results of this multifaceted investigation indicate that:

–   Prefix *TER-* 'ACL' and suffix *-ang* 'PAT' are somewhat productive;
–   Prefix *PE(N)-* 'AG' is, at best, marginally productive; and
–   Prefix *BER-* 'INTR', suffix *-nya* '3POSSR', and circumfix *ke-*/*-ang* 'NMLZ' are unproductive.

The unproductive derivations are considered to be lexicalized forms borrowed into the language or code-switches with Indonesian; in the examples, however, no attempt is made to distinguish the two.

In the following, six affixes are discussed in detail in terms of the factors outlined above: *TER-* in §3.1.2, *-ang* in §3.1.3, *PE(N)-* in §3.1.4, *BER-* in §3.1.5, *-nya* in §3.1.6, and *ke-*/*-ang* in §3.1.7. For the three somewhat productive affixes (*TER-*, *-ang*, and *PE(N)-*) the mentioned variables of the communicative event are investigated in detail within the respective sections. For the remaining three affixes (*BER-*, *-nya*, and *ke-*/*-ang*) the variables of the communicative event are summarily discussed in §3.1.8. The main points on affixation are summarized in §3.4.

3.1.2.   Prefix *TER*- 'ACL'

Affixation with *TER-* 'ACL' derives monovalent verbs from verbal bases.[91] The derived verbs denote accidental or unintentional actions or events, as shown in (1). This derivation process appears to be somewhat productive, as discussed below.

(1)   bos   pagi   su   br–angkat   ke   Sarmi   begini   adu
          boss   morning   already   INTR–leave   to   Sarmi   like.this   oh.no!
          sial–ang   **ter–paksa**   tong   dua   jalang   kaki
          be.unfortunate–PAT   ACL–force   1PL   two   walk   foot
          'as the boss had already left for Sarmi in the morning, oh no, damn it!, the two of us were **forced** to walk on foot' [080921-002-Cv.0001]

Prefix *TER-* is a reflex of Proto Malayic **tʌr-*, which, following Adelaar (1992: 155), "contributed the notion of unintentionality or feasibility to the VTR or VDI to which it was affixed".[92] In Standard Malay, "*tər-* denotes an 'accidental' state, process or action" when affixed to bivalent bases and "a superlative degree" when affixed to monovalent bases (1992: 150–151). In eastern Malay varieties, the prefix also denotes accidental or unintentional actions, or events that happened unexpectedly or unintentionally. These productive uses of the prefix are attested for Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 98), Banda Malay (Paauw 2008: 250), Kupang Malay (Steinhauer 1983: 46), Larantuka Malay (Paauw 2008: 256), Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 22), North Moluccan / Ternate Malay (Taylor 1983: 18,[93] and Litamahuputty 2012: 133).

The present corpus includes 43 monovalent verbs (167 tokens) prefixed with *TER-*:[94]

> 1.   Verbs with bivalent bases (38 items with 153 tokens)
> 2.   Verbs with monovalent bases (five items with 14 tokens)

The corpus also contains ten formally complex words with non-compositional semantics, such as *tertawa* 'laugh', *tergrak* 'be moved', or *trapung* 'be drifting'.[95]

Before discussing *TER-*affixation of bivalent bases in §3.1.2.2 and of monovalent bases in §3.1.2.3, the allomorphy of *TER-* is examined in §3.1.2.1. Variables of the communicative event that may impact the use of *TER-* are explored in §3.1.2.4. The main points on prefix *TER-* are summarized and evaluated in §3.1.2.5.

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[91]   The small caps designate an abstract representation of the prefix as it has more than one form of realization, namely the two allomorphs *ter-* and *ta-* (see §3.1.2.1).

[92]   VTR = transitive verb, VDI = ditransitive verb (Adelaar 1992: 8).

[93]   While Taylor (1983: 18) considers the prefix to be productive, Voorhoeve (1983: 4) believes that it is unproductive.

[94]   The 43 verbs include 21 hapaxes (P=0.1257); the 38 bivalent verbs include 17 hapaxes (P=0.1111); the four monovalent verbs include four hapaxes (P=0.2857).

[95]   The historical roots *tawa*, *grak*, or *apung* do not exist in Papuan Malay.

3.1.2.1.   Allomorphy of *TER-*

Prefix *TER-* has two allomorphs, *ter-* and *ta-*. The allomorphs are not governed by phonological processes.

The form *ter-*, in turn, has three allomorphs that are the effect of, what Booij (2007: 75) calls "morphologically conditioned phonological rules". More specifically, the three allomorphs are conditioned by the word-initial segment of the base word, as shown in Table 1: /tɛr-/, /tɛ-/, and /tr-/. Most commonly, *ter-* is realized as /tɛr-/. With onset rhotic /r/, however, it is realized as /tɛ-/. With onset vowels, the prefix is usually realized as /tr-/.

Table 1:   Realizations of allomorph *ter-*

ter-base	Orthogr.	Gloss
/tɛr–pukul/	***terpukul***	'be beaten'
/tɛ–rɛndam/	***terendam***	'be soaked'
/tr–aŋkat/	***trangkat***	'be lifted'

Allomorph *ta-* is used in about one third of the affixed items; that is, 17 items of a total of 41 *ta-* tokens, listed in Table 2. Some of the derived items are alternatively realized with allomorph *ter-*. Hence, for each item the frequencies for *ta-* and for *ter-* are given.[96] If in a greater number of tokens the prefix is realized with /ta-/ than with /tɛr-/, then its orthographic representation is *ta-* as in ***tagoyang*** 'be shaken'. If both realizations occur with the same frequency, then the orthographic representation follows its realization in the recorded texts, as in ***terlepas*** 'be loose'.

Table 2:   Realizations of allomorph *ta-*

ta-base	Orthogr.	Gloss	*ta-* #	*ter-* #
/ta–gojaŋ/	***tagoyang***	'be shaken'	9	0
/ta–putar/	***taputar***	'be turned around'	7	2
/ta–lipat/	***talipat***	'be folded'	6	1
/ta–lempar/	***talempar***	'be thrown'	4	1
/ta–guliŋ/	***taguling***	'be rolled over'	3	0
/ta–gantoŋ/	***tergantong***	'be dependent'	1	6
/ta–lepas/	***terlepas***	'be loose'	1	1
/ta–balik/	***tabalik***	'be turned upside down	1	0
/ta–bantiŋ/	***tabanting***	'be tossed around'	1	0
/ta–tʃukur/	***tacukur***	'be scalped'	1	0

---

[96]   In addition, the 2,459-item word list (see Chapter 2) contains five items realized with /ta-/ rather than with /tɛr-/: /tabla/ 'be cracked open', /takumpul/ 'be gathered', /takupas/ 'be peeled', /tamasuk/ 'be included', and /tatutup/ 'be closed'. In the present corpus these items are realized with /tɛr-/. Further, the word list also includes three items realized with /tɛr-/ whereas in the corpus these items are most commonly realized with /ta-/: ***talempar*** 'be thrown', ***terlipat*** 'be folded', and ***tarangkat*** 'be lifted up'.

***ta*-base**	Orthogr.	Gloss	***ta*-** #	***ter*-** #
/ta–gait/	***tagait***	'be hooked	1	0
/ta–hambur/	***tahambur***	'be scattered about'	1	0
/ta–kantʃiŋ/	***takancing***	'be locked'	1	0
/ta–lem/	***talem***	'be glued'	1	0
/ta–sala/	***tasala***	'be mistaken'	1	0
/ta–tikam/	***tatikam***	'be stabbed'	1	0
/ta–toŋkat/	***tatongkat***	'be beaten'	1	0

In realizing the prefix most commonly as ***ter*-** rather than as ***ta*-**, Papuan Malay differs from other eastern Malay varieties such as Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 98), Banda Malay (Paauw 2008: 250), Kupang Malay (Steinhauer 1983: 46), Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 22), North Moluccan / Ternate Malay (Taylor 1983: 18, Voorhoeve 1983: 4, and Litamahuputty 2012: 133). In these varieties the prefix is always realized as ***ta*-**. Instead, the ***TER*-**prefixed items have more resemblance with the corresponding items in Indonesian, where the prefix is realized as ***ter*-**. In addition, in Larantuka Malay the prefix is also realized as ***tə(r)*-** (Paauw 2008: 253). The different behavior of Papuan Malay ***TER*-** supports the conclusion put forward in §1.2 that the history of Papuan Malay is different from that of the other eastern Malay varieties.

3.1.2.2.   Prefixed items derived from bivalent verbal bases

The corpus contains 38 ***TER*-**prefixed lexemes (with 153 tokens) with bivalent verbal base words (BW), as listed in Table 3. The affixation derives monovalent verbs with non-agent arguments through a valency-changing operation, in which ***TER*-** removes agent arguments. All but one of the derived lexemes are low frequency words (37 lexemes, attested with less than 20 tokens). Besides, the token frequencies for the respective bases are (much) higher for most of the derived words (29 lexemes).

Table 3:   Affixation with ***TER*-** of bivalent verbal bases[97]

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	***TER*-** #	BW #
jadi	'become'	***terjadi***	'happen'	39	120
paksa	'force'	***terpaksa***	'be forced'	10	10
masuk	'enter'	***termasuk***	'be included'	9	261
putar	'turn around'	***taputar***	'be turned around'	9	33
goyang	'shake'	***tagoyang***	'be shaken'	9	10
gantong	'suspend'	***tergantong***	'be dependent'	7	14
lipat	'fold'	***talipat***	'be folded'	7	1
buka	'open'	***terbuka***	'be opened'	6	1
angkat	'lift'	***trangkat***	'be lifted'	5	81

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[97]   As discussed in language internal factor (g) on p. 115 in §3.1.1, alleged borrowings or code-switches with (Standard) Indonesian are underlined.

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*TER-* #	BW #
lempar	'throw'	*talempar*	'be thrown'	5	12
rendam	'soak'	*terendam*	'be soaked'	5	1
pukul	'beat'	*terpukul*	'be beaten'	4	59
bakar	'burn'	*terbakar*	'be burnt'	3	55
guling	'roll over'	*taguling*	'be rolled over'	3	2
tutup	'close'	*tertutup*	'be closed'	3	53
bagi	'divide'	*terbagi*	'be split up'	2	66
tarik	'pull'	*tertarik*	'be pulled'	2	32
lepas	'free'	*talepas*	'be loose'	2	23
kumpul	'gather'	*terkumpul*	'be collected'	2	16
tolak	'reject'	*tertolak*	'be rejected'	2	11
kupas	'peel'	*terkupas*	'be peeled'	2	1
buat	'make'	*terbuat*	'be made'	1	135
kenal	'know'	*terkenal*	'be well-known'	1	57
balik	'turn over'	*tabalik*	'be turned over'	1	37
ganggu	'disturb'	*terganggu*	'be disturbed'	1	18
bla	'split'	*terbla*	'be split'	1	13
pengaru	'influence'	*terpengaru*	'be affected'	1	7
banting	'throw'	*tabanting*	'be tossed around'	1	6
tukar	'exchange'	*tertukar*	'get changed'	1	6
tongkat	'cane'	*tatongkat*	'be beaten up'	1	5
singgung	'offend'	*tersinggung*	'be offended'	1	3
cinta	'love'	*tercinta*	'be beloved'	1	3
cukur	'flatten'	*tacukur*	'be scalped'	1	2
hambur	'scatter'	*tahambur*	'be scattered about'	1	1
wesel	'transfer'	*terwesel*	'be transferred'	1	2
tikam	'stab'	*tatikam*	'be stabbed'	1	2
kancing	'lock'	*takancing*	'be locked'	1	0
lem	'glue'	*talem*	'glued'	1	0

The derived verbs denote accidental or unintentional states, processes, or actions with the term "accidental" covering "such concepts as involuntary, unmotivated, agentless, sudden, and unexpected action (or state resulting therefrom)" (Adelaar 1992: 150). Hence, *TER-* is glossed as 'ACL', ('accidental'). Two *TER-*prefixed items are given in context: *tagoyang* 'be shaken' in (2) and *tertutup* 'be closed' in (4). Both examples, together with the one in (3), illustrate how *TER-* decreases valency by "removing agent-like participants".

(2) de   bilang mama   sa   liat pohong ini   de   **ta–goyang**
     3SG   say   mother 1SG   see tree   D.PROX   3SG   ACL–shake
     'she said, 'mama, I saw this tree, it was **shaking**'' [080917-008-NP.0031]

(3)   … bapa Andi K. dosen   satu de   **goyang** kepala
          father Andi K. lecturer one   3SG shake   head

        '… Mr. Andi K., a certain lecturer, he **shook** (his) head' [080917-010-
        CvEx.0194]

(4)   kalo ko   **tutup** pintu berkat   juga **ter–tutup** …
        if   2SG close   door   blessing   also ACL–close

        'if you **close** the door (of your house), the blessing is also **closed off**
        [(because) guests cannot come into (your) house]' [081110-008-CvNP.0096]

Of the 38 **TER-**prefixed bivalent verbs, one Papuan Malay consultant classified four
as borrowings from Standard Indonesian (SI-borrowings) (see language internal
factor (g) on p. 115 in §3.1.1), namely **terbuat** 'be made', **terpengaru** 'be
influenced', **tercinta** 'be beloved', and **terwesel** 'be transferred' (in Table 3 these
items are underlined). The same consultant also stated that Papuan Malay speakers
usually employ the respective bases rather than the prefixed forms. One such
contrastive set of examples is given in (5) and (6). Instead of using the prefixed form
terpengaru 'be influenced', as in (5), speakers more often employ the base **pengaru**
'influence' in the sense of 'be influenced', as in (6).

(5)   … tapi de   ana   juga cepat   ikut   **ter–pengaru**
          but   3SG   child also be.fast follow ACL–influence

        '… but he/she, a kid, also quickly follows (others) to **be influenced**'
        [080917-010-CvEx.0001]

(6)   de   su   **pengaru** dengang orang~orang   yang minum
        3SG   already influence   with   RDP~person   REL   drink

        'he has already **been influenced** by people who drink' [080919-007-
        CvNP.0018]

3.1.2.3.   Prefixed items derived from monovalent verbal bases

The corpus contains five **TER-**prefixed lexemes (with 14 tokens) with monovalent
verbal bases, as listed in Table 4. Contrasting with the affixation of bivalent bases,
TER-affixation of monovalent bases is not a valency-changing operation, nor does it
derive verbs with non-agent arguments. Instead, **TER-** downplays the agentivity of its
arguments by deriving monovalent verbs which denote accidental or unintentional
states or actions, such as **terlambat** 'be late' or **tersendiri** 'be separate'. Thereby, the
prefix reduces rather than decreases valency. All five lexemes are low frequency
words, attested with less than 20 tokens. Moreover, the token frequencies for the
respective bases are (much) higher for four of the five derived words.

Table 4:   Affixation with **TER-** of monovalent verbal bases

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	**TER-** #	BW #
lambat	'be slow'	*terlambat*	'be late'	10	3
sendiri	'be alone'	*tersendiri*	'be separate'	1	232
biasa	'be used to'	*terbiasa*	'be accustomed'	1	186

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*TER-* #	BW #
jatu	'fall'	*terjatu*	'be dropped, fall'	1	64
sala	'be wrong'	*tasala*	'be mistaken'	1	42

Two items indicating uncontrolled and/or unexpected actions are given in context: *terjatu* 'be dropped, fall' in (7) and *terlambat* 'be late' in (8). Both examples, along with the example in (9), show that the verbal valency is not further decreased and that the derivation does not result in a loss of agentivity. That is, the referents of the derived verbs *terjatu* 'be dropped, fall' and *terlambat* 'be late' and the referents of the bases *jatu* 'fall' and *lambat* 'be slow', respectively, have the same semantic functions which is typically that of an agent. With *TER-*prefixed verbs, however, the agentivity of the referents is downplayed.

(7) dia **ter–jatu** de **jatu** baru motor tindis dia
     3SG ACL–fall 3SG fall and.then motorbike overlap 3SG
     'he **fell (off unexpectedly)**, he **fell** (off), and then the motorbike crushed him' [080923-010-CvNP.0012]

(8) kaka tadi **ter–lambat** karna lagi ada duka
     oSb earlier ACL–be.slow because again exist grief
     'a short while ago I ('older brother') was **(unintentionally) late** because there was (still) mourning (going on)' [080918-001-CvNP.0003]

(9) kalo Niwerawar Aruswar nanti dia agak **lambat** sedikit
     if Niwerawar Aruswar very.soon 3SG rather be.slow few
     [About a street construction project:] 'as for (the area of) Niwerawar (and) Aruswar, (there) it ('the bulldozer') will be somewhat **slow**' [081006-033-Cv.0051]

3.1.2.4. Variables of the communicative event

To explore the issue of productivity *TER-* further, a domain analysis was conducted which focused on the variables of speaker education levels, topics, and role-relations (for details see 'Language external factors' on p. 116 in §3.1.1). In all, 43 *TER-*prefixed items, totaling 167 tokens, were examined:

– 38 prefixed items derived from bivalent verbal bases (153 tokens)
– Five prefixed items derived from monovalent verbal bases (14 tokens)

For the 43 prefixed lexemes, most tokens (143/167 – 86%) can be accounted for in terms of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations. The remaining 24/167 tokens (14%), however, cannot be explained in terms of these variables of the communicative event. These tokens occurred when less-educated speakers (-EDC-SPK) conversed with fellow-Papuans of equally low social standing (-STAT) about LOW topics, that is, casual daily-life issues.[98] (See Table 5 and Chart 1.)

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[98] As mentioned under Factor 3 'Relationships between interlocutors' in §1.5.1, all of the recorded less-educated speakers belonged to the group of Papuans with lower social status

If the prefixed items were the result of a productive affixation process, one would expect the percentage of tokens that cannot be explained in terms of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations to be much higher than 14%. Instead, most tokens (86%) seem to be conditioned by these variables of the communicative event. These findings do not support the conclusion that the respective lexemes result from a productive affixation process. Instead, they appear to be code-switches with Indonesian.

Table 5 and Chart 1 (p. 126) present the token frequencies for *TER*-prefixed lexemes by speakers and topics/interlocutors. Before discussing the data in more detail, the layouts of Table 5 and Chart 1 are explained.

Table 5:   Token frequencies for *TER*-prefixed lexemes with bi- and monovalent verbal bases by speakers, topics, and interlocutors (43 items)[99]

	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens
Prefixed lexemes with bivalent bases (38 items)								
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	Total
+EDC-SPK	6	10	10	15	---	---	9	50
-EDC-SPK	2	1	26	---	45	**23**	6	103
Subtotal	8	11	36	15	45	**23**	15	153
Prefixed lexemes with monovalent bases (5 items)								
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	Total
+EDC-SPK	0	0	1	4	---	---	0	5
-EDC-SPK	0	1	5	---	2	**1**	0	9
Subtotal	0	1	6	4	2	**1**	0	14
TOTAL (42 items)								
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	Total
+EDC-SPK	6	10	11	19	---	---	9	55
-EDC-SPK	2	2	31	---	47	**24**	6	112
Total	8	12	42	19	47	**24**	15	**167**

Table 5 is divided into three major parts. The top part lists the token frequencies for prefixed lexemes with bivalent bases, while the middle part gives the frequencies for prefixed lexemes with monovalent bases. The bottom part gives the frequencies for all verbal bases. The layout of each of these parts represents the three variables of speaker education levels, topics, and role relations (this layout also applies to the tables and charts presented in §3.1.3.3, §3.1.4.4, and §3.1.8). The token frequencies according to the variable 'Speaker education levels' are given in the rows labeled

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[99]   (-STAT), while the recorded Papuans with higher social status (-STAT), such as teachers, government officials, or pastors, were all better educated.
       Abbreviations: SPK = speaker, +EDC = better educated, –EDC = less educated, POL = politics, EDC = education, REL = religion, LOW = LOW topics, +STAT = higher social status, -STAT = lower social status, OUTSD = outsider.

"+EDC-SPK" and "-EDC-SPK", while the token frequencies according to the variables 'Topic' and 'Role-relations' are presented in the columns labeled "Topics (TOP)" and "Interlocutors (ILCT)", respectively. The token frequencies by speaker education levels are presented in two rows: the first row labeled "+EDC-SPK" gives the token frequencies for better-educated speakers while the second row labeled "-EDC-SPK" lists the token frequencies for less-educated speakers. The token frequencies by topics are presented in the first four columns. The three columns headed POL, EDC, and REL list the frequencies for tokens when speakers conversed about the HIGH topics of politics, education, and religion, respectively. The column headed LOW lists the number of tokens produced during conversations about LOW topics, that is, casual daily-life issues. The token frequencies by role-relations are presented in the next three columns. The columns headed with +STAT, -STAT, and OUTSD give the number of tokens produced during conversations with fellow-Papuans of higher social standing (+STAT), fellow-Papuans of lower social standing (-STAT), and group outsiders (OUTSD), respectively.

The layout of Table 5 is based on four assumptions. First, when discussing HIGH topics, the language behavior of Papuans is likely to show influences from Indonesian, regardless of their own education levels and also regardless of the education levels of their fellow-Papuan interlocutors. Therefore, these token frequencies are totaled in the respective 'Topics' cells and not broken down according to the education levels of their interlocutors. For ***TER-***prefixed lexemes with bivalent bases, the respective token frequencies for better-educated speakers (+EDC-SPK) are as follows: 6 tokens for discussions about politics (POL), 10 about education (EDC), and 10 tokens about religion (REL). For less-educated speakers (-EDC-SPK) the respective frequencies are 2,1, and 26 tokens. (See the left top part of Table 5).

Second, when discussing LOW topics, the language behavior of better-educated speakers (+EDC-SPK) is presumably not affected by the social standing of their fellow-Papuan interlocutors, given that they already have the general tendency to "dress-up" their Papuan Malay with Indonesian features. Therefore, these token frequencies are totaled in the LOW-topic cell of the +EDC-SPK row. That is, in this total are included the token frequencies for interactions with interlocutors of equally high social standing (+STAT) and with those of lower status (-STAT). The columns to the right of the LOW-topic column give the token frequencies according to the social status of the speakers' interlocutors. However, given that for the better-educated speakers (+EDC-SPK), the total in LOW-topic cell includes both +STAT and -STAT interlocutors, the respective cells for +STAT and -STAT interlocutors are left empty. For ***TER-***prefixed lexemes with bivalent bases, the respective token frequency is 15 (see the LOW-topic column in the top part of Table 5), while the +STAT and -STAT cells to the right are left empty.

Third, when discussing LOW topics, the language behavior of less-educated speakers (-EDC-SPK) is likely to be affected by the status of their fellow-Papuan interlocutors. Therefore, these total token frequencies are not totaled in the LOW-topic cell of the -EDC-SPK row. Instead the LOW-topic token frequencies are broken down according to the status of their fellow-Papuan interlocutors; hence, the respective LOW-topic cell is left empty. For ***TER-***prefixed lexemes with bivalent bases, the token respective frequencies are 45 for +STAT Papuan interlocutors and 23

for -STAT Papuan interlocutors (see the +STAT- and -STAT -interlocutor columns in the top part of Table 5), while the LOW-topic cell to the left is left empty.

Fourth, the language behavior of better and less-educated speakers is likely to be affected when they converse with a non-Papuan outsider, regardless of the topic under discussion. Therefore, all tokens produced during conversations with an outsider, namely the author, are totaled in the OUTSD column of the +EDC-SPK and -EDC-SPK rows. For **TER-**prefixed lexemes with bivalent bases, this token frequency is 9 for better-educated speakers and 6 for less-educated speakers (see the OUTSD-interlocutor column in the top part of Table 5)

Chart 1 gives a graphic representation of the data listed in Table 5. The horizontal category (X) axis presents the different categories according to which the token frequencies are listed, that is, the four topic categories and the three interlocutor categories. The vertical value (Y) axis gives the token totals for each of these categories, according to speaker education levels. The light (or blue) shaded columns denote the token frequencies for the better-educated speakers, while the dark (or red) shaded columns indicate the frequencies for the less-educated speakers.

Chart 1:   Token frequencies for **TER-**prefixed lexemes with bi- and monovalent verbal bases by speakers, topics, and interlocutors
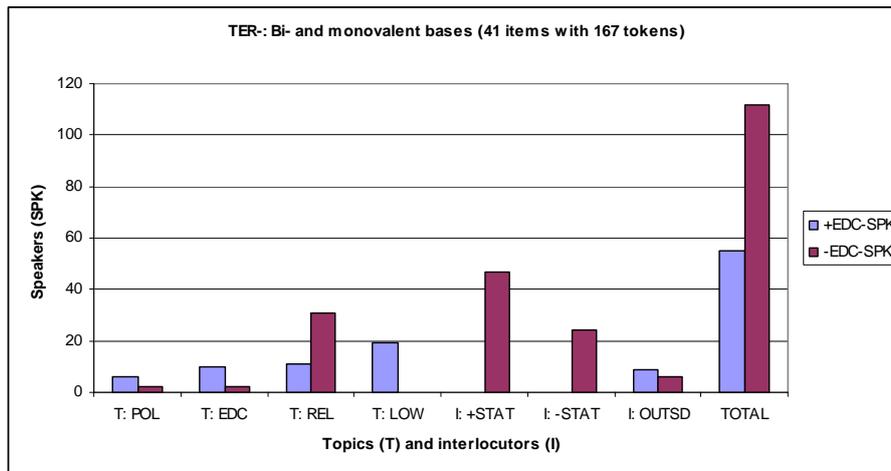
The data given in Table 8 and Chart 2 show that for the 43 **TER-**prefixed lexemes, most tokens (143/167 – 86%) can be explained in terms of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations between the speakers and their interlocutors; this total includes 130/153 tokens (85%) with bivalent bases, and 13/14 tokens (93%) with monovalent bases.

Only 55/167 tokens (33%) were produced by better-educated speakers (+EDC-SPK) while most tokens (112/167 – 67%) were produced by less-educated speakers (-EDC-SPK). The +EDC-SPK produced half of their tokens (27/55 – 49%) during discussions about HIGH topics, that is, political, educational or religious affairs (POL, EDC and REL, respectively). Another 19 tokens (35%) occurred during conversations with fellow-Papuans (both +STAT and -STAT speakers) about LOW topics. The

remaining nine tokens (16%) occurred while conversing with an outsider, namely the author (OUTSD).

The -EDC-SPK produced most of their tokens (53/112 – 47%) while discussing LOW topics with +STAT speakers (47 tokens) or the author (6 tokens). Another 35/112 tokens (31%) where produced during discussions about HIGH topics. The remaining 24/112 tokens (21%) occurred when -EDC-SPK discussed LOW topics with -STAT Papuans, and therefore cannot be explained in terms of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations. This total of 24 tokens refers to 14% of all 167 *TER-*tokens, including 23/153 tokens (15%) with bivalent bases and 1/14 tokens (7%) with monovalent bases.[100]

3.1.2.5.   Summary and conclusions

For most of the derived verbs with bivalent bases, the data suggest a productive form-function relationship between the derived lexemes and their bases. This conclusion is based on four observations: (1) the valency-decreasing or -reducing function of *TER-* of removing or downplaying agent-like participants, (2) the transparent form-function relationships between derived lexemes and bases, (3) the large number of low frequency words and small number of high frequency words, and (4) the relative token frequencies with most bases having higher frequencies than the affixed lexemes.

For the prefixed verbs with monovalent bases, the derivation process also seems to be productive, given (1) the transparent form-function relationships between derived lexemes and bases, (2) the comparatively large number of low frequency words and small number of high frequency words, and (3) the relative token frequencies with most bases having higher frequencies than the affixed lexemes. However, the low type frequency, with only five derived verbs, suggests that *TER-*prefixation of monovalent bases plays a minor role.

As for the speech situations during which the derived lexemes occurred, a sizable number of verbs with bivalent bases cannot be explained in terms of pertinent variables of the communicative event. Most tokens, however, including those with bivalent bases, seem to be conditioned by the variables of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations and therefore are best explained as code-switches with Indonesian.

These findings suggest that *TER-*affixation is a productive process to derive monovalent verbs that denote accidental or unintentional actions. The degree of productivity appears to be limited, however, given that most of the attested tokens are best explained as code-switches with Indonesian.

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[100] As for the 21 hapaxes (17 with bivalent and four with monovalent bases), 18 appear to be conditioned by the variables of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations, and therefore seems to be code-switches with Indonesian. This leaves only three hapaxes (with bivalent bases) that are unaccounted for in terms of language external factors and that might result from a productive derivation process. For three hapaxes P=0.0180 as opposed to P=0. 1257 for 21 hapaxes (N=167).

3.1.3.   Suffix *-ang* '**PAT**'

Affixation with **-ang** 'PAT' typically derives nominals from verbal bases. The derived nouns denote the patient or result of the action specified by the verbal base, as illustrated in (10). Some lexical items are also derived from nominal and quantifier bases. The derivation process seems to be productive to some degree, as discussed below.

(10)   **pake–ang**   itu   basa   smua
        use–PAT   D.DIST   be.wet   all
        'all those **clothes** were wet' [080917-008-NP.0139]

Suffix **-ang** is a reflex of Proto Malayic *-An*, which "was a noun-forming suffix occurring on the basis of VTRs and denoting the goal or result of an act" (Adelaar 1992: 174). In Standard Malay, when affixed to monovalent bases, the suffix designates "something that has the quality of" the monovalent base, while with transitive bases it denotes the "goal or result of an action, or place where the action takes place" or "the instrument" (1992: 172–173). As for the eastern Malay varieties, the suffix is only mentioned for Ambon Malay. Also realized as **-ang**, it "refers to the object of the transitive verb or an instrument used in an act of V" (van Minde 1997: 106). It is left unclear, however, whether and to what degree the Ambon Malay suffix is productive. These observations are again an indication of the distinct history of Papuan Malay vis-à-vis the other Malay varieties, discussed in §1.2. Moreover, the similarities between Papuan Malay and Ambon Malay reflect the link between both speech communities, also discussed in §1.2.

The present corpus contains 84 nouns (441 tokens) suffixed with **-ang**:[101]

1.   Nouns with verbal bases (69 items with 403 tokens)
2.   Nouns with nominal and quantifier bases (15 items with 38 tokens)

The corpus also includes 28 formally complex words that have non-compositional semantics, such as **kasiang** 'pity', **lapangang** 'field', or **grakang** 'movement'.

Suffixed items with verbal bases are examined in §3.1.3.1, and those with nominal bases in §3.1.3.2. Variables of the communicative event that may impact the use of **-ang** are explored in §3.1.3.3. The main findings on suffix **-ang** are summarized and evaluated in §3.1.3.4.

3.1.3.1.   Suffixed items derived from verbal bases

The present corpus contains 69 **-ang**-suffixed items (with 403 tokens) with verbal bases, including bases such as bivalent **pake** 'use', monovalent dynamic **jalang** 'walk', or monovalent stative **dulu** 'be prior'. Affixation with **-ang** typically derives nouns that denote the object of the action indicated by the verbal base.

Derived words with token frequencies of five or more are listed in Table 6. Most of the affixed lexemes are low frequency words (63 lexemes, attested with less than

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[101]   The 84 nouns include 28 hapaxes (P=0.0635); the 69 nouns with verbal bases include 23 hapaxes (P=0.0571); the 15 nouns with nominal or quantifier bases include five hapaxes (P=0.1316).

20 tokens). Moreover, the token frequencies for the respective bases are (much) higher for most of the derived words (64 lexemes). While all 69 derived lexemes are structurally nouns, three of them have other than nominal functions in their actual uses as illustrated in (13) to (14): **jualang** 'merchandise', **latiang** 'practice', and **duluang** 'prior to others'.

Seven of the 69 lexemes were tentatively classified as borrowings from Standard Indonesian (SI-borrowings) (for more details see language internal factor (g) on p. 115 in §3.1.1). As their token frequencies are four or less, they are not included in Table 6.

Table 6:   Affixation with **-ang** of verbal bases

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*-ang* #	BW #
makang	'eat'	*makangang*	'food'	57	414
pake	'use'	*pakeang*	'clothes'	38	218
dulu	'be prior'	*duluang*	'prior to others'	29	351
bagi	'divide'	*bagiang*	'part'	28	63
pikir	'think'	*pikirang*	'thought'	23	102
uji	'test'	*ujiang*	'examination'	21	1
lati	'practice'	*latiang*	'practice'	17	3
kubur	'burry'	*kuburang*	'grave'	14	8
atur	'arrange'	*aturang*	'regulation'	8	24
ikat	'tie up'	*ikatang*	'tie'	8	14
jual	'sell'	*jualang*	'merchandise'	8	14
turung	'descend'	*turungang*	'descendant'	8	192
ulang	'repeat'	*ulangang*	'repetition'	8	16
bantu	'help'	*bantuang*	'help'	7	34
alas	'put down as base'	*alasang*	'reason'	6	7
bangung	'build'	*bangungang*	'building'	6	25
libur	'have vacation'	*liburang*	'vacation'	6	10
campur	'mix'	*campurang*	'mixture'	5	5
jalang	'walk'	*jalangang*	'route'	5	485
lapor	'report'	*laporang*	'report'	5	14
tulis	'write'	*tulisang*	'writing'	5	12

Affixing verbal bases with **-ang** typically derives nouns that denote the object of the action specified by the verbal base. The suffixed nouns include patients such as **makangang** 'that which is eaten' or 'food', or results such as **bagiang** 'that which is divided' or 'part'. "Objective nominalization" that derives "nouns designating the result, or the typical or 'cognate' object of an action" has also been observed for other languages (Comrie and Thompson 2007: 340). This polysemy can be explained in terms of a "domain shift" in that "one may go from one semantic domain to another, related one, and thus derive new interpretations" (Booij 2007: 221). Hence, suffix **-ang** is glossed as 'PAT' ('patient') in the sense of 'patients or results which are BASE-ed'.

Two derived nouns together with their bases are given in context: ***makangang*** 'food' with its bivalent base ***makang*** 'eat' in (11), and ***jalangang*** 'route' with its monovalent base ***jalang*** 'walk' in (12).

(11)   maytua   bilang,   **makang**   karna   **makang–ang**   suda   masak
         wife   say   eat   because eat–PAT   already cook

         '(my) wife said, '**eat**, because the **food** had already been cooked' [080919-004-NP.0039]

(12)   trus   kitong   dua   pulang,   sampe   di   **jalang–ang**   sa   istirahat,
         next   1PL   two   go.home   reach   at   walk–PAT   1SG   rest

         de   bilang,   kitong   dua   **jalang**   suda!
         3SG   say   1PL   two   walk   already

         'and then we two went home, on the **way** I rested, he said, 'let the two of us **walk** (on)!'' [081015-005-NP.0036]

Some of the suffixed items, listed in Table 6, differ from the other suffixed items, as for example ***jual-ang*** 'sell-PAT', or ***dulu-ang*** 'be.prior-PAT'. Suffixed with ***-ang***, these items are structurally nouns. In a sentence, however, *jualang* also functions as the verb 'sell' in the same way as its base ***jual*** 'sell', as shown in (13). Likewise (14) *duluang* 'be.prior-PAT' is used as the verb 'be prior to others'.

(13)   mama   saya   pergi   **jual**   pinang,   sa   pu   mama   **jual–ang**
         mother 1SG   go   sell   betel.nut 1SG   POSS   mother   sell–PAT

         pinang
         betel.nut

         'my mother went to **sell** betel nuts, my mother **sells** betel nuts' [081014-014-NP.0002]

(14)   kaka   sa   **dulu–ang**   dalam   dulu   e?
         oSb   1SG   be.prior–PAT   inside   be.prior   eh

         'older brother, I (go) ahead, (I go) inside for now, eh?' [080918-001-CvNP.0030]

3.1.3.2.   Suffixed items derived from nominal and quantifier bases

The corpus contains 13 ***-ang***-suffixed lexemes with nominal bases (36 tokens) and two derived lexemes with quantifier bases (2 tokens), as listed in Table 7. In most cases, the bases and the derived nouns differ in their semantics. In some cases, the affixed nouns designate a magnification of the base, such as ***laut*** 'sea' and ***lautang*** 'ocean', or ***ruang*** 'room' and ***ruangang*** 'large room'. In some cases, the meanings of the derived nouns are an extension of the meanings of their bases with suffix ***-ang*** having generalizing function, as for instance ***ana*** 'child and ***anaang*** 'offspring', or ***musim*** 'season' and ***musimang*** 'each season'. In yet other cases, the affixed nouns have unpredictable meanings compared to the semantics of their bases, such as ***rambut*** 'hair' and ***rambutang*** 'rambutan', and ***obat*** 'medicine' and ***obatang*** 'magic

spell'. And in a few cases, the base and the derived noun have the same semantics, as in *pasang* 'pair' and *pasangang* 'pair' or *pangkal* 'base' and *pangkalang* 'base'.

All 13 derived lexemes are low frequency words, attested with less than 20 tokens. Moreover, the token frequencies for the respective bases are (much) higher for most of the derived words (10 lexemes); for one lexeme, the base is unattested in the present corpus, although it does exist. Four of the 15 derived nouns were tentatively classified as SI-borrowings; in Table 7 these items are underlined (for more details see language internal factor (g) on p. 115 in §3.1.1).

Table 7: Affixation with *-ang* of nominal and quantifier bases

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*-ang* #	BW #
bayang	'image'	*bayangang*	'shadow'	6	2
ana	'child'	*anaang*	'offspring'	4	741
tingkat	'floor'	*tingkatang*	'level'	4	5
hukum	'law'	*hukumang*	'punishment'	4	3
rambut	'hair'	*rambutang*	'rambutan'	3	23
obat	'medicine'	*obatang*	'magic spell'	3	9
pasang	'pair'	*pasangang*	'pair'	3	2
laut	'sea'	*lautang*	'ocean'	2	68
pinggir	'border'	*pinggirang*	'edges'	2	23
ruang	'room'	*ruangang*	'large room'	2	3
kandung	'womb'	*kandungang*	'womb'	1	8
musim	'season'	*musimang*	'each season'	1	5
pangkal	'base'	*pangkalang*	'base'	1	0
pulu	'tens'	*puluang*	'tens'	1	78
ratus	'hundreds'	*ratusang*	'hundreds'	1	34

The data listed in Table 7 show that most of the nominal bases and affixed nouns differ in their semantics. The magnifying function of suffix *-ang* is illustrated in (15) and (16), the generalizing function in (17), and its unpredictable semantics in (18) and (19).

The magnifying function of *-ang* is demonstrated with *laut* 'sea' in (15) and *lautang* 'ocean' in (16). While *laut* refers to the 'sea' close to the coast, *lautang* denotes the open and deep 'ocean' off the coast.

Suffix *-ang*: Magnifying function

(15) dong dua pergi mancing di **laut**
3PL two go fish.with.rod at sea
'the two of them went fishing on the **sea**' [081109-005-JR.0005]

(16) banyak mati … di pulow~pulow banyak mati di **laut–ang**
sea–PAT
many die at RDP~island many die at ocean
'many died … on the islands, many died on the (open) **ocean**' [081029-002-Cv.0025]

The generalizing function of *-ang* is illustrated with *ana* 'child' and *anaang* 'offspring' in (17).

Suffix *-ang*: Generalizing function

(17) kalo mo   antar **ana   prempuang** ke **ana   laki~laki**   … kitorang
      if   want   bring child woman   to child RDP~husband   1PL

      itu   harus   … bawa **ana–ang** pinang   **ana–ang**   sagu
                                       child–PAT   child–PAT
      D.DIST   have.to   bring offspring   betel.nut offspring   sago

      [About wedding preparations:] 'if we want to bring our **daughter** to (their)
      son … we have to … bring betel nut **seedlings** (and) sago **seedlings**' (Lit.
      'female/male **child**; betel nut/sago **offspring**') [081110-005-CvPr.0055-0057]

In some cases, the semantics of the affixed nouns are unpredictable, although a connection between the base word and the derived word can still be seen. This is demonstrated with *rambut* 'hair' in (18) and *rambutang* 'rambutan' in (19), which refers to the fruit of the rambutan tree (*Nephelium lappaceum*). The leathery reddish skin of the fruit is covered with numerous hairy protuberances, which is depicted by the label *rambut-ang* 'hair-PAT'.

Suffix *-ang*: Unpredictable semantics

(18) sa   mo   cuci   de   pu   **rambut**
      1SG   want   wash   3SG   POSS hair
      'I want to wash her **hair**' [081025-001-CvHt.0006]

(19) di   sini   ada   jambu   di   sini   ada   ada   **rambut–ang**
                                                                        hair–PAT
      at   L.PROX   exist rose.apple   at   L.PROX   exist exist rambutan
      'here are rose apples, here are are **rambutan**' [081029-001-Cv.0006]

3.1.3.3.   Variables of the communicative event

To further investigate the issue of productivity of *-ang*, a domain analysis was conducted which focused on the variables of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations (for details see 'Language external factors' on p. 116 in §3.1.1). In all, 84 items suffixed with *-ang*, totaling 441 tokens, were investigated:

  – 69 suffixed items derived from verbal bases (403 tokens)
  – 15 suffixed items derived from nominal and quantifier bases (38 tokens)

For the 84 suffixed lexemes, 352/441 all tokens (80%) can be accounted for in terms of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations. The remaining 89/441 tokens (20%) occurred when less-educated speakers (-EDC-SPK) talked with fellow-Papuans of equally low social standing (-STAT) about LOW topics.[102] (See Table 8 and Chart 2.)

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[102] As mentioned under Factor 3 'Relationships between interlocutors' in §1.5.1, all of the recorded less-educated speakers belonged to the group of Papuans with lower social status

That is, a considerable number of tokens (20%) cannot be explained in terms of these variables of the communicative event. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that the respective lexemes are code-switches with Indonesian. This total of 89/441 tokens (20%) includes 80/403 tokens (20%) with verbal bases and 9/38 tokens (24%) with nominal or quantifier bases. The vast majority of *-ang*-suffixed tokens (352/441 – 80%), however, seems to be conditioned by variables of the communicative event.

As for the rather high number of unaccounted tokens with nominal or quantifier bases (9/38 – 24%), one observation is made. Four of the nine tokens refer to the same lexeme produced by the same speaker during three conversations about the same topic, namely the death of a young mother. This speaker has a reputation of speaking incoherently due to his unsuccessful attempts to approximate Standard Indonesian. Excluding these four tokens brings down the number of unaccounted lexemes to 13% (5/38). If affixation of nominal bases was a productive process, however, one would expect this percentage to be much higher. In turn, this finding does not support the conclusion that the suffixed lexemes with nominal or quantifier bases result from a productive derivation process. Instead, they seem to be code-switches with Indonesian.

The data presented in Table 8 and Chart 2 are discussed in more detail below.

Table 8:   Token frequencies for *-ang*-suffixed lexemes with verbal and nominal bases by speakers, topics, and interlocutors (84 items)[103]

Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens
Suffixed lexemes with verbal bases (69 items)							
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	Total
+EDC-SPK	30	26	15	46	---	---	75	192
-EDC-SPK	15	40	47	---	26	**80**	3	211
Subtotal	45	66	62	46	26	**80**	78	403
Suffixed lexemes with nominal or quantifier bases (15 items)							
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	Total
+EDC-SPK	4	1	0	4	---	---	8	17
-EDC-SPK	3	0	6	---	1	**9**	2	20
Subtotal	7	1	6	4	1	**9**	10	38

(-STAT), while the recorded Papuans with higher social status (-STAT), such as teachers, government officials, or pastors, were all better educated.

[103]   Abbreviations: SPK = speaker, +EDC = better educated, –EDC = less educated, POL = politics, EDC = education, REL = religion, LOW = LOW topics, +STAT = higher social status, -STAT = lower social status, OUTSD = outsider.

	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens
TOTAL (84 items)								
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	Total
+EDC-SPK	34	27	15	50	---	---	83	209
-EDC-SPK	18	40	53	---	27	**89**	5	232
Total	52	67	68	50	27	**89**	88	**441**

Chart 2:   Token frequencies for **-ang**-suffixed lexemes with verbal and nominal bases by speakers, topics, and interlocutors
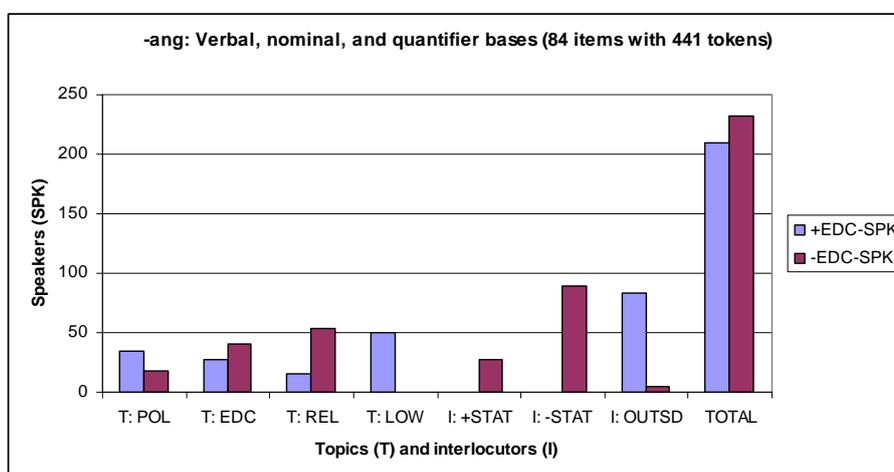
The data given in Table 8 and Chart 2 show that for the 84 **-ang**-suffixed lexemes, 352/441 all tokens (80%) can be explained in terms of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations between the speakers and their interlocutors; this includes 323/403 tokens (80%) with verbal bases, and 29/38 tokens (76%) with nominal bases.

The better-educated speakers (+EDC-SPK) produced 209/441 tokens (47%), while the less-educated speakers (-EDC-SPK) produced 232/441 (53%) tokens.

In terms of topics (TOP), less than half of the tokens (187/441 – 42%) occurred during conversations about HIGH topics, that is, political, educational or religious affairs (POL, EDC and REL, respectively). This includes 76/209 +EDC-SPK tokens (36%) and 111/232 -EDC-SPK tokens (48%). This leaves 254/441 tokens (58%) that were produced when the interlocutors discussed LOW topics: 133/254 tokens were produced by +EDC-SPK (53%) and 121/254 tokens by -EDC-SPK tokens (48%).

The 133 tokens produced by +EDC-SPK when discussing LOW topics are divided as follows: 50 tokens occurred during conversations with fellow-Papuans (both +STAT and -STAT speakers) (that is, 50/209 +EDC-SPK tokens – 24%) and 83 tokens were produced during conversations with an outsider, namely the author (OUTSD) (that is, 83/209 +EDC-SPK tokens – 40%). The 121 tokens produced by -EDC-SPK

when discussing LOW topics are distributed as follows. When conversing with +STAT Papuans, 27 tokens were produced (that is, 27/232 -EDC-SPK tokens – 12%), while five tokens occurred during conversations with the author (that is, 5/232 -EDC-SPK tokens – 2%). The remaining 89/232 tokens (38%) occurred when -EDC-SPK discussed LOW topics with -STAT Papuans, and therefore cannot be explained in terms of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations. This total of 89 tokens refers to 20% of all 441 **-ang** tokens. It includes 80/403 tokens (20%) with verbal bases and 9/38 tokens (24%) with nominal or quantifier bases.[104]

3.1.3.4. Summary and conclusions

Suffix **-ang** is polyfunctional in that it derives nouns from verbal, nominal, and quantifier bases. This polyfunctionality suggests that affixation with **-ang** is a somewhat productive process (see language internal factor (d) on p. 114 in §3.1.1).

Concerning **-ang**-affixation of verbal bases, four other observations support this conclusion: (1) the transparent form-function relationship between the derived nouns and their respective bases, (2) the large number of low frequency words and small number of high frequency words, and (3) the relative token frequencies with most bases having higher frequencies than the affixed lexemes, and (4) the low number of derived lexemes tentatively classified as SI-borrowings.

To a lesser extent, the same observations apply to **-ang**-affixation of nominal bases: (1) the form-function relationships between derived lexemes and bases is more or less transparent, (2) all derived lexemes are low frequency words, (3) most bases have higher token frequencies than the affixed lexemes, and (3) the number of derived lexemes tentatively classified as SI-borrowings is rather low. These findings suggest that **-ang**-affixation of nominal bases is a somewhat productive process.

With respect to the speech situations during which the derived nouns occurred, the following patterns emerge. For affixed nouns with verbal bases, one fifth of the attested tokens cannot be accounted for in terms of pertinent variables of the communicative event; that is, for these items there are no indications that they are code-switches with Indonesian. However, the vast majority of tokens with verbal bases (80%) seem to be conditioned by the variables of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations and are best explained as code-switches with Indonesian. The same applies to nouns with nominal bases for which most tokens also appear to be conditioned by the three mentioned variables of the communicative event. Hence, these items are also best explained as code-switches with Indonesian. These findings suggest that **-ang**-affixation is a productive process to derive nouns from verbal and nominal bases. The degree of productivity appears to be limited, however, as most tokens seem to be code-switches with Indonesian.

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[104] As for the 28 hapaxes (23 with verbal bases, and three with nominal bases), 17 appear to be conditioned by the variables of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations, and therefore are best explained as code-switches with Indonesian. This leaves 11 hapaxes that are unaccounted for in terms of language external factors and that might be the result of a productive word-formation process. For 11 hapaxes, P=0.0249 as opposed to P=0.0635 for 28 hapaxes (N=441). The total of 11 hapaxes includes nine with verbal bases (N=403, P=0.0223) and two with nominal or quantifier bases (N=38, P=0.0526).

3.1.4.   Prefix *PE(N)-* 'AG'

Affixation with *PE(N)-* 'AG' typically derives nominals from verbal bases.[105] The derived nouns denote the agent or instrument of the action, event, or state specified by the verbal base, as in (20). Some lexemes are also derived from nominal bases. The affixation process appears to be marginally productive, at best, as discussed below.

(20)   pokoknya   orang   **pen–datang**   pulang
          the.main.thing.is   person   AG–come   go.home
          'the main thing is (that) the **strangers** return home' (Lit. '**the one who comes**') [081029-005-Cv.0048]

Suffix *PE(N)-* is a reflex of Proto Malayic **pAN-*, which "formed deverbal nouns that were used attributively, predicatively, and in prepositional phrases, and that had a nominal as head or subject. They denoted a purpose or instrument when prefixed to VDIs and VTRs. Moreover, **pAN-* denoted an inclination or characteristic when prefixed to VSIs"[106] (Adelaar 1992: 193). In Standard Malay, derived lexemes with a monovalent base "denote a characteristic" while forms with a bivalent base "usually denote an actor or instrument" or "a goal or result, or they form an abstract noun. Furthermore *pa*N- forms are used attributively, and, on the basis of VSIs, they can function as VSIs" (1992: 183).

In some of the eastern Malay varieties, the prefix is also found. In Ambon Malay, the prefix occurs but it is unproductive (van Minde 1997: 109). In Manado Malay *paŋ-* also occurs and is productive (in addition, a non-unproductive form *pa-* exists) (Stoel 2005: 18, 24). Likewise, in North Moluccan / Ternate Malay *pa(*N*)-* occurs, but its status is uncertain. While Voorhoeve (1983: 4) maintains that it "is no longer morphologically distinct", Litamahuputty (2012: 30) states that prefixation "with pang-" is a "productive morphological" process. In these varieties, the prefix usually denotes the actor or instrument of the event expressed by the base. In addition, however, some of prefixed forms can receive a verbal reading, as discussed in more detail in §3.1.4.2.

The present corpus contains 34 nouns (186 tokens) prefixed with *PE(N)-*:[107]

   1.   Nouns with verbal bases (29 items with 153 tokens)
   2.   Nouns with nominal bases (five items with 33 tokens)

The corpus also contains nine formally complex words with non-compositional semantics, such as *peserta* 'participant' or *panggayu* '(a/to) paddle'.

Before discussing *PE(N)-*affixation of verbal bases in §3.1.4.2 and of nominal bases in §3.1.4.3, the allomorphy of *PE(N)-* is investigated in §3.1.4.1. Two variables of the communicative event that may impact the use of *PE(N)-* are explored in

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[105] The small caps designate an abstract representation of the prefix as it has more than one form of realization, namely the two allomorphs *pe(N)-* and *pa(N)-* (small-caps *N* represents the different realizations of the nasal) (see §3.1.4.1).

[106] VSI = intransitive stative verb (Adelaar 1992: 8).

[107] The 34 nouns include 11 hapaxes (P=0.0591); the 29 nouns with verbal bases include nine hapaxes (P=0.0588); the five nouns with nominal bases include two hapaxes (P=0.0606).

§3.1.4.4. The main points on prefix **PE(N)-** are summarized and evaluated in §3.1.4.5.

3.1.4.1.   Allomorphy of **PE(N)-**

Prefix **PE(N)-** has two allomorphs, **pe(N)-** and **pa(N)-** (small-caps N represents the different realizations of the nasal). The allomorphs are not governed by phonological processes.

The form **pe(N)-**, in turn, has seven allomorphs that result from morphologically conditioned phonological rules. More specifically, they are conditioned by the word-initial segment of the base word, as shown in Table 9: /pɛm-/, /pɛn-/, /pɛɲ-/, pɛŋ-/, /pɛ-/, /p-/, and /pl-/. The prefix is realized as /pɛm-/ when the initial segment of the base is a bilabial stop. Onset voiced stops are retained, while voiceless stops are deleted. With onset bilabial /m/, the prefix is realized as /pɛ-/. With alveolar stops, the prefix is very commonly realized as /pɛn-/. Again, the onset voiced stop is retained, while the onset voiceless stop is deleted. Alternatively, however, the onset voiceless stop can also be retained, in which case the prefix is realized as /pɛ-/. With onset fricative /s/, the prefix is realized as /pɛɲ-/, with /s/ being deleted. With onset palato-alveolar affricates, **pe(N)-** is realized as /pɛn-/. With onset rhotic /r/, the affix is realized as /pɛ-/. With onset velar stops and onset vowels, the prefix is realized as /pɛŋ-/. Finally, when prefixed to **ajar** 'teach', **pe(N)-** is realized as /pl-/.

Table 9:   Realizations of allomorph **pe(N)-**

pe(N)-base	Orthogr.	Gloss
/pɛm–bantu/ /pɛm–pili/ /pɛ–muda/	**pembantu** **pemili** **pemuda**	'house-helper' 'voter' 'youth'
/pɛn–dataŋ/ /pɛn–tumpaŋ/ /pɛ–tugas/ /pɛɲ–sakit/	**pendatang** **penumpang** **petugas** **penyakit**	'new-comer' 'passenger' 'official' 'disease'
/pɛn–tʃuri/ /pɛn–dʒaga/	**pencuri** **penjaga**	'thief, to steal (EMPH)' 'guard'
/pɛ–rentʃana/	**perencana**	'planner'
/pɛŋ–acara/ /pɛŋ–ganti/	**pengacara** **pengganti**	'master of ceremony' 'replacement'
/pl–adʒar/	**plajar**	'teacher'

The allomorph **pa(N)-** occurs considerably less frequently. Attested are only the four items listed in Table 10 with a total of 18 **pa(N)-** tokens. Form **pa(N)-** has two attested allomorphs: /pan-/ and /pa-/. The phonological processes involved in the allomorphy are the same as those for **pe(N)-**, discussed above. For two of the items,

the prefix is alternatively realized as allomorph *pe(N)-*. Therefore, for each item the token frequencies for *pa(N)-* and for *pe(N)-* are given. If the prefix is realized with /pe(N)-/ in a greater number of tokens than with /pa(N)-/, then its orthographic representation is *PE(N)-* as in *pencuri* 'thief, steal (EMPH)'.

Table 10:   Realizations of allomorph *pa(N)-*

*pa(N)-*base	Orthogr.	Gloss	*pa(N)-* #	*pe(N)-* #
/pa–malas/	*pamalas*	'listless person, be very listless'	12	2
/pan–diam/	*pandiam*	'taciturn person, be very quiet'	2	0
/pan–takut/	*panakut*	'coward, feel afraid (of) (EMPH)'	3	0
/pan–tʃuri/	*pencuri*	'thief, steal (EMPH)'	1	11

In realizing the prefix typically as *pe(N)-* rather than as *pa(N)-*, Papuan Malay differs from other eastern Malay varieties such as Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 109), Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 23), North Moluccan / Ternate Malay (Voorhoeve 1983: 4, and Litamahuputty 2012: 30). In these varieties the prefix is always realized as *pa(N)-*. Instead, the *PE(N)-*prefixed items have more resemblance with the corresponding items in Standard Indonesian where the prefix is realized as *pe(N)-*. This is again an indication of the distinct history of Papuan Malay vis-à-vis the other eastern Malay varieties, discussed in §1.2.

3.1.4.2.   Prefixed items derived from verbal bases

The present corpus includes 29 *PE(N)-*prefixed nouns (with 153 tokens) with verbal bases, listed in Table 11. Included are items with verbal bases such as bivalent *curi* 'steal', monovalent dynamic *duduk* 'sit', or monovalent stative *muda* 'be young'. The affixation process derives nouns that designate the subject of the action, event, or state specified by the verbal base.

All but one of the derived words are low frequency words (28 lexemes, attested with less than 20 tokens). In addition, the token frequencies for the respective bases are (much) higher for most of the derived words (24 lexemes). While the 29 prefixed items are structurally nouns, four of them also have verbal functions in their actual uses: *pemalas* 'listless person, be very listless', *pencuri* 'thief, steal (EMPH)', *penakut* 'coward, be very afraid', and *pendiam* 'taciturn person, be very quiet'. These items are investigated in more detail in (25) to (28).

Of the 29 derived lexemes, more than half (17 items) were tentatively classified as borrowings from Standard Indonesian (SI-borrowings) (for details see language internal factor (g) on p. 115 in §3.1.1); in Table 11 these items are underlined.

Table 11:   Affixation with *PE(N)-* of verbal bases

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*PE(N)-* #	BW #
muda	'be young'	*pemuda*	'youth'	46	24
malas	'be list-less'	*pamalas*	'listless person, be very listless'	14	19
curi	'steal'	*pencuri*	'thief, steal	12	4

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*PE(N)-* #	BW #
			(EMPH)'		
pimping	'lead'	*pemimping*	'leader'	11	8
datang	'come'	*pendatang*	'new-comer'	10	447
sakit	'be sick'	*penyakit*	'disease'	7	155
duduk	'sit'	*penduduk*	'inhabitant'	5	167
tunggu	'wait'	*penunggu*	'tutelary spirit'	5	92
pili	'choose'	*pemili*	'voter'	5	25
tanggung-jawap	'be responsible'	*penanggung-jawap*	'responsible person'	5	6
tumpang	'join in'	*penumpang*	'passenger'	5	1
takut	'feel afraid (of)'	*panakut*	'coward, feel afraid (of) (EMPH)'	3	154
tokok	'pound'	*penokok*	'pounder'	3	44
antar	'bring'	*pengantar*	'escort'	2	130
diam	'be quiet'	*pandiam*	'taciturn person, be very quiet'	2	58
jaga	'guard'	*penjaga*	'guard'	2	41
ajar	'teach'	*plajar*	'teacher'	2	41
bantu	'help'	*pembantu*	'house helper'	2	34
urus	'arrange'	*pengurus*	'manager'	2	28
bicara	'speak'	*pembicara*	'speaker'	1	332
ikut	'follow'	*pengikut*	'follower'	1	253
dengar	'hear'	*pendengar*	'listener'	1	130
pikir	'think'	*pemikir*	'thinker'	1	102
ganti	'replace'	*pengganti*	'replacement'	1	40
tolong	'help'	*penolong*	'helper'	1	39
tunjuk	'show'	*petunjuk*	'guide'	1	32
tendang	'kick'	*penendang*	'kicker'	1	4
iris	'slice'	*pengiris*	'slicer'	1	3
tinju	'box'	*petinju*	'boxer'	1	1

Affixing verbal bases with *PE(N)-* derives nouns that denote the subject of the action, event, or state specified by the verbal base. The prefixed nouns include personal agents such as *pendatang* 'new comer', impersonal agents such as *penyakit* 'disease', or instruments such as *penokok* 'pounder'. This polysemy can be explained in terms of Booij's (1986: 509) "extension scheme" which shows that "the conceptual category Agent […] derived from verbs with an Agent subject can be extended" to instruments" such that "Personal Agent > Impersonal Agent > Instrument". In Papuan Malay, this extension schema also includes less typical agents derived from stative verbs, that is, "attributants" (van Valin 2005: 55) such as *pemuda* 'youth', derived from *muda* 'be young'. Hence, prefix *PE(N)-* is glossed as 'AG' ('agent') in the sense of 'agents or instruments who/which habitually do BASE or have the characteristics of BASE'.

    Two of the derived nouns together with their verbal bases are given in context: *pemimping* 'leader' and its bivalent base *pimping* 'lead' in (21) and (22), and

pemuda 'youth' and its monovalent base *muda* 'be young' in (23) and (24), respectively.

(21) **pemimping**   mati, yo   smua   mati
      pem–pimping
      AG–lead   die   yes   all   die
      '(when) the **leader** dies, yes, all die' [081010-001-Cv.0026]

(22) o   kenal   karna   bapa   kang   biasa   **pimping**   kor
      oh! know   because   father   you.know   usual   lead   choir
      'oh, (I) know (him), because, you know, the gentleman usually **leads** the
      choir' [081011-022-Cv.0243]

(23) sa   liat   **pe–muda**   di   Takar   banyak   skali
      1SG   see   AG–be.young   at   Takar   many   very
      'I see (there are) very many **young people** in Takar' [080925-003-Cv.0176]

(24) kasi–ang   masi   **muda**   baru   janda
      love–PAT   still   be.young   and.then   widow
      'poor thing, (she's) still **young** but now (she's) a widow' [081006-015-
      Cv.0032]

Four of the prefixed lexemes listed in Table 11 are nouns that can also receive an
intensified verbal reading: *pamalas* 'be very listless' (25), *pencuri* 'steal (EMPH)'
(26), *panakut* 'fear (EMPH)' (27), and *pandiam* 'be very quiet' (28). In (25) *pamalas*
'be very listless' receives a verbal reading given that a nominal reading of *pamalas
kerja* 'the lazy males work' is inappropriate. In (26), *pencuri* 'steal (EMPH)' has
verbal function as only verbs are negated with *tra* 'NEG' (see §5.3.6 and §13.1.1). In
(27) *panakut* 'fear (EMPH)' functions as a verb, which is intensified with *sampe*
'reach'. The utterance in (28) is ambiguous, as *pandiam* can receive the nominal
reading 'taciturn person' or the verbal reading 'be very quiet'.

(25) jadi   sampe   skarang   laki~laki   **pa–malas**   kerja
      so   until   now   RDP~husband   AG–be.listless   work
      'so until now the men are **too listless** / **don't like it at all** to work' [081014-
      007-CvEx.0087]

(26) dong   tra   **pen–curi**
      3PL   NEG   AG–steal
      '(nowadays), they don't **steal (EMPH)**!' [081011-022-Cv.0298]

(27) … i   biasa–nya   **panakut**   sampe   bagemana
                                         pan–takut
          ugh!   be.usual–3POSSR   AG–feel.afraid(.of)   reach   how
      [About a frightening event at night:] '[she started (running) past (us),] ugh,
      usually (she's) **very fearful** beyond words' [081025-006-Cv.0330]

(28)   Sofia   de   bilang   begini,   sa   ini   **pan–diam**
        Sofia 3SG   say   like.this 1SG   D.PROX AG–be.quiet
        'Sofia said like this, 'I'm a **taciturn person** / I'm **very quiet**'' [081115-001a-Cv.0190]

As discussed in the introductory remarks in §3.1.4, the corresponding prefix in Proto Malayic and Standard Malay also has verbal function. That is, with monovalent stative bases, the derived lexemes "can function as VSIs" (Adelaar 1992: 183). This prefix does not, however, have the intensifying verbal function that Papuan Malay *PE(N)-* has. This intensified verbal reading of mono- and bivalent verbal bases prefixed with *PE(N)-* could be an extension of the original functions of *pəN-* found in Standard Malay or of **pAN-* found in Proto Malayic.

    In other eastern Malay varieties, lexical items prefixed with *pa-* can also receive a verbal reading. For Ambon Malay, van Minde (1997: 109) presents a number of examples, noting that "the word class of the *pa(N)-* formation varies between transitive verb, intransitive verb and noun". For North Moluccan / Ternate Malay, Voorhoeve (1983: 4) presents two prefixed items with a basic verbal reading: *pamalas* 'lazy' and *panggayung* 'row'. Likewise, Litamahuputty (1994: 40) presents two such items: *pamalas* 'lazy' and *panako* 'afraid'; both "are considered to be monomorphemic", however. For Manado Malay, Stoel (2005: 24) also presents two such items: *pancuri* 'steal' and *pandusta* 'lie'. As mentioned, though, prefix *pa-* is unproductive in Manado and North Moluccan / Ternate Malay.

3.1.4.3.   Prefixed items derived from nominal bases

The corpus contains five *PE(N)-*prefixed nouns (with 33 tokens), listed in Table 12, which are derived from nominal bases and denote abstract concepts. In general, the derived lexemes denote an 'agent who executes what BASE indicates'. Four of the five lexemes are low frequency words, attested with less than 20 tokens. Moreover, the token frequencies for the respective bases are (much) higher for three of the five derived words. In addition, four items were tentatively classified as SI-borrowings (for details see language internal factor (g) on p. 115 in §3.1.1); in Table 12 these items are underlined.

Table 12:   Affixation with *PE(N)-* of nominal bases

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*PE(N)-* #	BW #
printa	'command'	***pemrinta***	'government'	23	5
tugas	'duty'	***petugas***	'official'	5	19
usaha	'effort'	***pengusaha***	'entrepreneur'	3	2
acara	'ceremony'	***pengacara***	'master of ceremony'	1	40
rencana	'plan'	***perencana***	'planner'	1	17

In (29) and (30) one of the prefixed nouns and its nominal base are given in context, ***pemrinta*** 'government', and ***printa*** 'command', respectively.

(29) kalo de   bilang spulu milyar **pemrinta**   sanggup bayar
                                        pem–printa
      if   3SG   say   ten   billion AG–command be.capable pay
      'if he demands ten billion (then) the **government** is capable of paying'
      [081029-004-Cv.0073]

(30) masi banyak yang melangar   **printa~printa** Tuhan
      still many   REL   collide.with RDP~command   God
      '(there are) still many who violate God's **commands**' [081014-014-NP.0050]

3.1.4.4.   Variables of the communicative event

To examine the issue of productivity of *PE(N)-* from a different perspective, a
domain analysis was conducted which focused on the variables of speaker education
levels, topics, and/or role-relations (for details see 'Language external factors' on p.
116 in §3.1.1). In all, 34 items prefixed with *PE(N)-*, totaling 186 tokens, were
investigated:

  – 29 prefixed items with verbal bases (153 tokens)
  – Five prefixed items with nominal bases (33 tokens)

For the 34 prefixed lexemes, most tokens (167/186 – 90%) can be accounted for in
terms of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations. The remaining
19/186 tokens (10%) cannot be explained in terms of these variables of the
communicative event. These tokens occurred when less-educated speakers (-EDC-
SPK) conversed with fellow-Papuans of equally low social standing (-STAT) about
LOW topics, that is, casual daily-life issues.[108] (See Table 13 and Chart 3.)

   If the prefixed lexemes were the result of a productive affixation process, one
would expect the percentage of tokens that cannot be explained in terms of speaker
education levels, topics, and/or role-relations to be much higher than 10%. Instead,
most tokens (90%) seem to be conditioned by these variables of the communicative
event. These findings do not support the conclusion that the respective lexemes are
the result of a productive derivation process. Instead, they seem to be code-switches
with Indonesian.

   The data presented in Table 13 and Chart 3 is discussed in more detail below.

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[108] As mentioned under Factor 3 'Relationships between interlocutors' in §1.5.1, all of the
      recorded less-educated speakers belonged to the group of Papuans with lower social status
      (-STAT), while the recorded Papuans with higher social status (-STAT), such as teachers,
      government officials, or pastors, were all better educated.

Table 13:   Token frequencies for *PE(N)-*prefixed lexemes with verbal and nominal
            bases by speakers, topics, and interlocutors (34 items)[109]

	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens
Prefixed lexemes with verbal bases (29 items)								
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	Total
+EDC-SPK	37	6	3	19	---	---	11	76
-EDC-SPK	11	2	37	---	9	18	0	77
Subtotal	48	8	40	19	9	**18**	11	153
Prefixed lexemes with nominal bases (5 items)								
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	Total
+EDC-SPK	10	0	12	5	---	---	0	27
-EDC-SPK	1	2	2	---	0	**1**	0	6
Subtotal	11	2	14	5	0	**1**	0	33
TOTAL (34 items)								
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	Total
+EDC-SPK	47	6	15	24	---	---	11	103
-EDC-SPK	12	4	39	---	9	**19**	0	83
Total	59	10	54	25	9	**19**	12	**186**

Chart 3:   Token frequencies for *PE(N)-*prefixed lexemes with verbal bases by
           speakers, topics, and interlocutors

PE(N): Verbal and nominal bases (34 items with 186 tokens)

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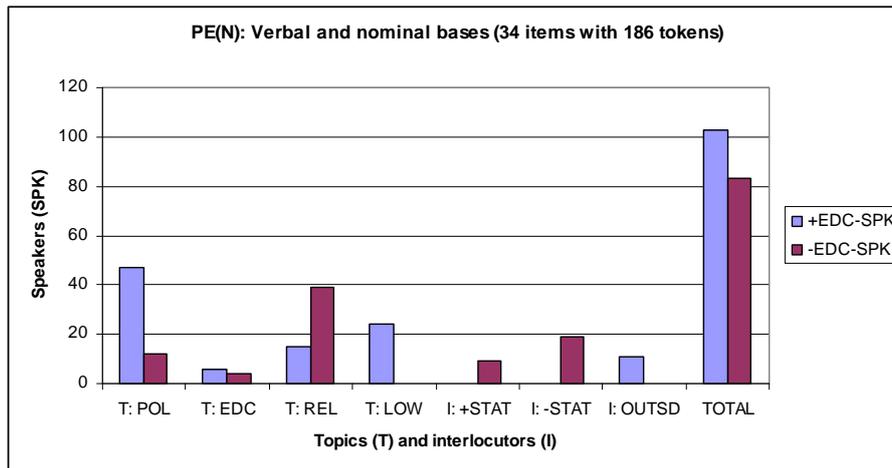
[109]   Abbreviations: SPK = speaker, +EDC = better educated, –EDC = less educated, POL =
        politics, EDC = education, REL = religion, LOW = LOW topics, +STAT = higher social status,
        -STAT = lower social status, OUTSD = outsider.

The data given in Table 13 and Chart 3 shows that for the 34 *PE(N)*-prefixed lexemes, most tokens (167/186 – 90%) can be explained in terms of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations between the speakers and their interlocutors; this total includes 135/153 (88%) tokens with verbal and 32/33 tokens (97%) with nominal bases.

More than half of the tokens were produced by better-educated speakers (+EDC-SPK) (103/186 – 55%), while less-educated speakers (-EDC-SPK) produced 83/186 tokens (45%).

Two thirds of the 186 tokens (123/186 – 66%) occurred during conversations about HIGH topics, that is, political, educational or religious affairs (POL, EDC and REL, respectively). This includes 68/103 tokens (66%) produced by +EDC-SPK and 55/83 tokens (66%) produced by -EDC-SPK.

Of the remaining 63/186 tokens, 37 were produced by +EDC-SPK when discussing LOW topics. This includes 24/103 tokens (23%) produced by +EDC-SPK during conversations with fellow-Papuans (both +STAT and -STAT speakers) and 11/103 tokens (11%) produced when conversing with an outsider, namely the author (OUTSD). This leaves 28 tokens that -EDC-SPK produced when discussing LOW topics with fellow-Papuans. More specifically, -EDC-SPK produced 9/83 tokens (11%) when conversing with +STAT Papuans. The remaining 19/83 tokens (23%) occurred when --EDC-SPK discussed LOW topics with -STAT Papuans, and therefore cannot be explained in terms of topics and/or role-relations. This total of 19 tokens refers to 10% of all 186 *PE(N)*-tokens, including 18/153 tokens (12%) with verbal bases and 1/33 tokens (3%) with nominal bases.[110]

3.1.4.5.   Summary and conclusions

Prefix *PE(N)-* is polyfunctional, in that it derives nouns from verbal, nominal, and quantifier bases. This polyfunctionality suggests that affixation with *PE(N)-* is a somewhat productive process (see language internal factor (d) on p. 114 in §3.1.1).

Concerning *PE(N)*-affixation of verbal bases, three other observations support this conclusion: (1) the transparent form-function relationship between the derived nouns and their respective bases, (2) the large number of low frequency words and small number of high frequency words, and (3) the relative token frequencies with most bases having higher frequencies than the affixed lexemes. On the other hand, more than half of the derived lexemes were tentatively classified as SI-borrowings. These observations suggest that productivity of the affixation process is rather limited.

As for *PE(N)*-affixation of nominal bases, two observations suggest that this is a productive process: (1) most of the derived lexemes are low frequency words, and

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[110]   Concerning the 11 hapaxes (nine with verbal and two with nominal bases), the data suggests that seven are conditioned by the variables of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations, and therefore are best explained as code-switches with Standard Indonesian. This leaves only four hapaxes (with verbal bases) that cannot be accounted for in terms of language external factors and that are likely to result from a productive word-formation process. For four hapaxes P=0.0215 as opposed to P=0.0591 for 11 hapaxes (N=186).

(2) most bases have higher token frequencies than the affixed lexemes. On the other hand, almost all derived lexemes were tentatively classified as SI-borrowings. These findings suggest that **-an**-affixation of nominal bases has limited productivity

As for the speech situations during which the derived nouns occurred, the vast majority of the attested tokens are conditioned by the variables of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations. Hence, these items are best explained as code-switches with Indonesian.

These findings suggest that *PE(N)*-affixation has, at best, marginal productivity.

3.1.5. Prefix *BER*- 'INTR'

Affixation with *BER-* 'INTR' typically derives monovalent verbs from verbal bases, as illustrated in (31).[111] Most commonly, the derived verbs have the same semantics as their respective bases. Some lexical items are also derived from nominal bases. The derivation process does not seem to be productive, as discussed below.

(31)   … waktu saya **ber–buru** saya perlu makang pinang
                time   1SG   INTR–hunt   1SG   need   eat   betel.nut
      '… when I **hunt** I need to chew betel nuts' [080919-004-NP.0011]

The present corpus contains 62 derived nouns (602 tokens) prefixed with *BER-*:[112]

  1.   Verbs with verbal bases (29 items with 227 tokens)
  2.   Verbs with nominal, numeral, and interrogative bases (33 items with 375 tokens)

The corpus also includes 16 formally complex words with non-compositional semantics, such as **bertriak** 'scream', **berjuang** 'struggle', or **berlabu** 'anchor'.

Before discussing *BER-*affixation of verbal bases in §3.1.5.2 and of nominal bases in §3.1.5.3, the allomorphy of *BER-* is investigated in §3.1.5.1. Pertinent variables of the communicative event that may impact the use of *BER-* are explored in §3.1.8. The main findings on prefix *BER-* are summarized and evaluated in §3.1.5.4.

3.1.5.1.   Allomorphy of *BER-*

Prefix *BER-* has two allomorphs, **ber**- and **ba**-. The allomorphs are not governed by phonological processes.

The form **ber**-, in turn, has four realizations that are effected by morphologically conditioned phonological rules. More specifically, the four allomorphs are conditioned by the word-initial segment of the base word, as illustrated in Table 14: /bɛr-/, /br-/, /bl-/, and /bɛ-/. The prefix is typically realized as /bɛr-/. With an onset vowel, however, **ber**- is very commonly realized as /br-/. When prefixed to **ajar**

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[111]   The small caps designate an abstract representation of the prefix as it has more than one form of realization, namely the two allomorphs **ber**- and **ba**- (see §3.1.5.1).

[112]   The 62 verbs include 25 hapaxes (P=0.0415); the 29 verbs with verbal bases include 11 hapaxes (P=0.0484); the 33 verbs with nominal, numeral, or interrogative bases include 14 hapaxes (P=0.0373).

'teach' the prefix is realized as /bl-/, while it is realized as /bɛ-/ when affixed to
kerja 'work' or **brapa** 'how many, several'.

Table 14:   Realizations of allomorph **ber-**

ber-base	Orthogr.	Gloss
/bɛr–dʒuaŋ/	**berjuang**	'struggle (for)'
/br–aŋkat/	**brangkat**	'leave'
/bl–adʒar/	**blajar**	'study'
/bɛ–kɛrdʒa/	**bekerja**	'work'
/bɛ–brapa/	**bebrapa**	'be several'

Allomorph **ba-** occurs much less frequently. Attested are only the ten items listed in
Table 15 with a total of 32 tokens. Some of these items are alternatively realized
with allomorph **ber-**. Therefore, for each item the token frequencies for **ba-** and for
ber- are given.[113] If in a greater number of tokens the prefix is realized with /ba-/
rather than with /bɛr-/, then its orthographic representation is **ba-** as in **bakalay**
'fight'. If both realizations have the same token frequencies, then the orthographic
representation follows its realization in the recorded word list, as in **bagaya** 'put on
airs'.

Table 15:   Realizations of allomorph **ba-**

ba-base	Orthogr.	Gloss	**ba-** #	**ber-** #
/ba–kalaj/	**bakalay**	'fight'	19	0
/ba–taria/	**bertriak**[114]	'scream'	3	18
/ba–biŋuŋ/	**babingung**	'be confused'	2	0
/ba–diam/	**badiam**	'be quiet'	2	0
/ba–diri/	**berdiri**	'stand'	1	54
/ba–gaja/	**bagaya**	'put on airs'	1	1
/ba–gigit/	**bagigit**	'bite'	1	0
/ba–kumis/	**bakumis**	'have a beard'	1	0
/ba–isi/	**baisi**	'be muscular'	1	0
/ba–mɛkap/	**bamekap**	'wear make-up'	1	0

In realizing prefix **BER-** most commonly as allomorph **ber-** rather than as **ba-**,
Papuan Malay contrasts with other eastern Malay varieties such as Ambon Malay
(van Minde 1997: 95), Banda Malay (Paauw 2008: 249), Kupang Malay (Steinhauer

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[113]   In addition, the 2,459-item word list (see Chapter 2) contains five lexemes which are
        realized with /ba-/ rather than with /bɛr-/: /badara/ 'be bloody', /baduri/ 'be thorny',
        /bagisi/ 'be nutritious', /bajalan/ 'walk', and /baribut/ 'be noisy'. In the corpus these
        five items are realized with /bɛr-/ (each item occurs only once in the entire corpus). By
        contrast, the word-list informant realized **badiri** 'stand' with /bɛr-/ as /bɛrdiri/ 'stand'.
[114]   The root is realized as /triak/ when speakers employ allomorph **ber-**, whereas it is
        realized as /taria/ when speakers use allomorph **ba-**.

1983: 46), Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 18), North Moluccan / Ternate Malay (Taylor 1983: 18, Voorhoeve 1983: 4, and Litamahuputty 2012: 125). In these varieties the prefix is always realized as **ba-**. Instead, the items prefixed with **BER-** have more resemblance with the corresponding Indonesian items where the prefix is realized as **ber-**. In addition, in Larantuka Malay the prefix is also realized as **bə(r)-** (Paauw 2008: 253). Again this difference between Papuan Malay and the other eastern Malay varieties points to the distinct histories of both, discussed in §1.2.

3.1.5.2.   Prefixed items derived from verbal bases

The present corpus includes 29 **BER-**prefixed lexemes (with 227 tokens) with verbal bases, as listed in Table 16. Of the 29 lexemes, 11 have monovalent bases such as stative **diam** 'be quiet' or dynamic **jalang** 'walk'. Another 18 items have bivalent bases. Four of the 18 prefixed lexemes have monotransitive as well as intransitive uses, while 12 lexemes have intransitive uses only. These 16 lexemes have the same semantics as their bivalent bases, as shown in (34) to (42). For the remaining two prefixed lexemes the semantics are distinct from those of their bases, as shown in (43) to (48). One of them has monotransitive as well as intransitive uses, while the other one has intransitive uses only.

　　Almost all of the derived lexemes are low frequency words (27 lexemes, attested with less than 20 tokens). Moreover, the token frequencies for the respective bases are (much) higher for most of the derived words (22 lexemes). This is due to the fact that the affixed lexemes and the bases have the same semantics and that, overall, speakers tend to use the bases rather than the prefixed forms, as shown in (34) to (33). Also, most of the 29 prefixed lexemes (24 items) were tentatively classified as borrowings from Standard Indonesian (SI-borrowings) (for details see language internal factor (g) on p. 115 in §3.1.1); in Table 16 these items are underlined.

Table 16:   Affixation with **BER-** of verbal bases

BW	Item	Gloss	**BER-** #	BW #
Monovalent bases: Bases and prefixed lexemes have same semantics				
tobat	*bertobat*	'repent'	8	1
beda	*berbeda*	'be different'	7	34
tanggung-jawap	*bertanggung-jawap*	'be responsible'	5	6
bahaya	*berbahaya*	'be dangerous'	3	3
diam	*badiam*	'be quiet'	2	60
bingung	*berbingung*	'be confused'	2	30
jalang	*berjalang*	'walk'	1	480
ibada	*beribada*	'worship'	1	11
sandar	*bersandar*	'lean'	1	6
hati~hati	*berhati~hati*	'be careful'	1	5
pisa	*berpisa*	'be separate'	1	4

BW	Item	Gloss	*BER-* #	BW #
Bivalent bases: Bases and prefixed lexemes have same semantics				
Prefixed lexemes: Monotransitive and intransitive uses				
buru	*berburu*	'hunt'	10	5
buat	*berbuat*	'make'	7	100
harap	*berharap*	'hope'	1	8
ribut	*bribut*	'trouble'	1	5
Prefixed lexemes: Monotransitive uses				
pikir	*berpikir*	'think'	8	102
bicara	*berbicara*	'speak'	7	333
kerja	*bekerja*	'work'	5	191
tahang	*bertahang*	'hold (out/back)'	5	48
uba	*bruba*	'change'	5	9
gabung	*bergabung*	'join'	4	3
maing	*bermaing*	'play'	3	113
tindak	*bertindak*	'act'	2	1
ikut	*brikut*	'be following'	1	259
kumpul	*berkumpul*	'gather'	1	16
bentuk	*berbentuk*	'form'	1	12
gigit	*bergigit*	'bite'	1	10
Bivalent bases: Bases and prefixed lexemes have distinct semantics				
Prefixed lexeme: Monotransitive and intransitive uses				
ajar ('teach')	*blajar*	'study'	51	41
Prefixed lexeme: Monotransitive uses				
angkat ('lift')	*brangkat*	'leave'	82	81

Affixation with *BER-* of verbal bases derives lexemes that typically have the same semantics as their respective bases, with *BER-* being glossed as 'VBLZ' ('verbalizer'). This applies to *BER-*prefixed lexemes with monovalent and with bivalent bases.

The fact that monovalent bases derive *BER-*prefixed lexemes with the same semantics is illustrated with stative *bingung* 'be confused' and prefixed *berbingung* 'be confused' in (32) and (33), and with dynamic *ibada* 'worship' and prefixed *beribada* 'worship' in (34) and (35), respectively.

(32) memang   sa   punya ade   sa   juga   **bingung**   dengang dia
      indeed   1SG   POSS ySb   1SG   also   be.confused   with   3SG
      'indeed (he was) my younger cousin, I'm also **confused** about him'
      [080918-001-CvNP.0014]

(33) nanti   di   skola   baru   kamu   **ba–bingung**   dengang
      very.soon   at   school   and.then   2PL   VBLZ–be.confused   with

bahasa   Inggris
language   English

[Addressing lazy students:] 'later in school, then you'll be **confused** about English' [081115-001a-Cv.0151]

(34)   orang   jalang   itu   mo   pergi   **ibada**
       person   walk   D.DIST   want   go   worship

[About a youth retreat:] 'people doing that traveling want to go (and) **worship**' [081006-016-Cv.0017]

(35)   nanti   kita   **ber–ibada**   selesay   malam   ka
       very.soon   1PL   VBLZ–worship   finish   night   maybe

       baru   sa   pergi
       and.then   1SG   go

       'later, after we have **worshipped**, maybe in the evening, and then I'll go (there)' [080918-001-CvNP.0016][115]

Bivalent bases also derive **BER-**prefixed lexemes with the same semantics, as shown in (36) to (40). As discussed in §11.1.2, bivalent verbs also have intransitive uses, as well as monotransitive uses. The same applies to some of the **BER-**prefixed lexemes, as illustrated in (36) to (39).

(36)   jadi   kitorang   bingung   **pikir**   itu   pen–jaga   kubur–ang
       so   1PL   be.confused   think   D.DIST   AG–guard   bury–PAT

       'so we're confused to **think (about)**, what's-its-name, a guard (for) the grave' [080923-007-Cv.0024]

(37)   … tapi   ana~ana   ni   dong   tida   taw   **ber–pikir**   itu
          but   RDP~child   D.PROX   3PL   NEG   know   VBLZ–think   D.DIST

       [About impolite teenagers:] '… but these kids they don't know (how) to **think (about)** those (feelings of mine)' [081115-001b-Cv.0037]

(38)   skarang   orang   su   tra   **pikir**   tentang
       now   person   already   NEG   think   about

       hal   ke–benar–ang
       thing   NMLZ–be.true–NMLZ

       'nowadays, the people already don't **think** about things (related to) truth' [081006-032-Cv.0016]

(39)   … karna   dia   **ber–pikir**   tentang   dia   punya   badang
          because   3SG   VBLZ–think   about   3SG   POSS   body

       '[she doesn't think about serving my or her guests] because she **thinks** about her body' [081006-032-Cv.0062]

Other **BER-**prefixed lexemes, such as **berbicara** 'speak', only have intransitive uses, as shown in (42) to (40).

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[115] The original recording says **kita i beribada selesay**. Most likely the speaker wanted to say **kita ibada selesay** 'after we have worshipped' but cut himself off to replace **ibada** 'worship' with **beribada** 'worship'.

(40)   baru   nanti   **ber–bicara**   untuk   nika
        and.then   very.soon   VBLZ–speak   for   marry.officially
        [About wedding customs:] 'and then very soon (they'll) **talk** about
        marrying' [081110-006-CvEx.0050]

(41)   de   **bicara**   trus
        3SG   speak   be.continuous
        'he kept **talking**' [080922-010a-CvNF.0145]

(42)   baru   de   **bicara**   sa   deng   bahasa   Inggris
        and.then   3SG   speak   1SG   with   language   English
        'and then she **talked** to me in English' [081115-001a-Cv.0229]

The corpus includes only two **BER-**prefixed lexemes that have distinct semantics vis-
à-vis their bivalent bases, namely *ajar* 'teach' and prefixed *blajar* 'study', and
angkat 'lift' and prefixed *brangkat* 'leave' as shown in (43) to (48). Both *ajar*
'teach' and *blajar* 'study' are used monotransitively as in (43) and (44), as well as
intransitively as in (45) and (46), respectively; in each case both lexemes maintain
their distinct semantics.

(43)   de   **ajar**   dorang   tu   untuk   baik
        3SG   teach   3PL   D.DIST   for   be.good
        'she **teaches** them there for (their own) good' [081115-001a-Cv.0216]

(44)   Ise   de   … ikut   bahasa   Inggris   **bl–ajar**   kursus
        Ise   3SG   follow   language   English   VBLZ–teach   course
        bahasa   Inggris   dulu
        language   English   be.prior
        'Ise will participate in an English course, (she'll) **study** an English
        language course first' [081025-003-Cv.0223]

(45)   de   suda   **ajar**   bagus   tiap   sore   itu
        3SG   already   teach   be.good   every   afternoon   D.DIST
        'she's already been **teaching** well, each and every afternoon' [081115-001a-
        Cv.0126]

(46)   dong   tida   **bl–ajar**   baik
        3PL   NEG   VBLZ–teach   be.good
        'they don't **study** well' [081115-001b-Cv.0067]

Bivalent *angkat* 'lift' and prefixed *brangkat* 'leave' have distinct semantics and a
distinct distribution. While *angkat* 'lift' is always used monotransitively as in (47),
brangkat 'leave' is always used intransitively as in (48).

(47)   bapa   de   **angkat**   rotang   besar
        father   3SG   lift   rattan   be.big
        'he father **picked-up** a big rattan (stick)' [080921-004a-CvNP.0084]

(48)   skarang   de   mo   **br–angkat**
        now   3SG   want   VBLZ–lift
        'then he wanted to **leave**' [080919-007-CvNP.0023]

In sum, with the exception of the last two lexemes, *BER-*prefixed verbs have the
same semantics as their respective bases. This suggests that affixation of verbal
bases with prefix *BER-* is not a productive process. Instead, the attested prefixed
lexemes and their bases are taken as pairs of words from two different speech
varieties: the unaffixed items are native Papuan Malay lexemes whereas the
corresponding affixed items are Indonesian lexemes.

    Given these properties, Papuan Malay *BER-* contrasts with the corresponding
prefix in other Malay varieties. In most eastern Malay varieties, corresponding
prefix *ba-* forms verbs with a variety of meanings. The most common ones are
durative and reflexive meanings, which are reported for Ambon Malay (van Minde
1997: 96–98) , Banda Malay (Paauw 2008: 249–250) ,[116] Manado Malay (Stoel
2005: 18–22) , North Moluccan / Ternate Malay (Taylor 1983: 18, and
Litamahuputty 2012: 125–127). In Kupang Malay (Steinhauer 1983: 46–49) and
Larantuka Malay (Paauw 2008: 249–254-255) , the prefix typically signals durative
and reciprocal meanings. In Standard Indonesian, the main function of
corresponding prefix *ber-* is to create monovalent verbs with reflexive meaning
(Englebretson 2003: 131, 2007: 96, and Ewing 2005: 251).

3.1.5.3.   Prefixed items derived from nominal, numeral or interrogative bases

The present corpus contains 33 *BER-*prefixed lexemes (with 375 tokens), as listed in
Table 17: 30 lexemes with nominal bases, two lexemes with numeral bases, and one
lexeme with an interrogative base. Generally speaking, the affixation process derives
monovalent verbs with the meaning of 'be/have/do what BASE indicates'.

    Most of the derived lexemes are low frequency words (29 lexemes, attested with
less than 20 tokens). Besides, the token frequencies for the respective bases are
(much) higher for most of the derived words (21 lexemes). Again, this is due to the
fact that Papuan Malay speakers typically use alternative analytical constructions to
convey the meanings of the prefixed lexemes. Further, most of the 33 items (25
items) were tentatively classified as SI-borrowings (for details see language internal
factor (g) on p. 115 in §3.1.1); in Table 17 these items are underlined.

Table 17:   Affixation with *BER-* of nominal, numeral, and interrogative bases

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*BER-* #	BW #
Nominal bases					
doa	'prayer'	***berdoa***	'pray'	136	20
arti	'meaning'	***brarti***	'mean'	89	7
diri	'self'	***berdiri***	'stand'	55	14

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[116] For Banda Malay, Paauw (2008: 249) reports that *ba-* does not form verbs with reflexive
       meaning.

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*BER-* #	BW #
usaha	'effort'	*berusaha*	'attempt'	25	2
dosa	'sin'	*berdosa*	'sin'	6	4
saksi	'witness'	*bersaksi*	'testify'	6	2
hasil	'result'	*berhasil*	'succeed'	6	13
kwasa	'power'	*berkwasa*	'be powerful'	4	25
hak	'right'	*berhak*	'have right'	4	15
sodara	'sibling'	*bersodara*	'be siblings'	3	127
kebung	'garden'	*berkebung*	'do farming'	3	61
ade-kaka	'siblings'	*brade-kaka*	'be siblings'	3	25
malam	'night'	*bermalam*	'overnight'	2	191
bahasa	'language'	*berbahasa*	'speak'	2	136
temang	'friend'	*bertemang*	'be friends'	2	85
kluarga	'family'	*berkluarga*	'have family'	2	49
gaya	'manner'	*bagaya*	'put on airs'	2	7
ana	'child'	*brana*	'give birth'	1	739
bua	'fruit'	*berbua*	'have fruit'	1	38
dara	'blood'	*berdara*	'bleed'	1	27
sifat	'character-istic'	*bersifat*	'have character-istics of'	1	18
duri	'thorn'	*berduri*	'have thorns'	1	8
harga	'value'	*berharga*	'be valuable'	1	4
syukur	'thanks'	*bersyukur*	'give thanks'	1	2
fungsi	'function'	*berfungsi*	'function'	1	1
gisi	'nutrient'	*bergisi*	'be nutritious'	1	1
isi	'content'	*baisi*	'be muscular'	1	1
komunikasi	'communica-tion'	*berkomuni-kasi*	'communicate'	1	1
kumis	'beard'	*bakumis*	'have a beard'	1	1
mekap	'make-up'	*bamekap*	'wear make-up'	1	1

Numeral bases

satu	'one'	*bersatu*	'be one'	6	516
empat	'four'	*berempat*	'be four'	1	66

Interrogative base

brapa	'how many, several'	*bebrapa*	'be several'	6	109

Affixation with *BER-* derives monovalent verbs from nominal, numeral, and interrogative bases. The derived verbs have the general meaning of 'be/have/do BASE'. Examples are *brarti* 'have the meaning of' or 'mean', *berdoa* 'do prayer' or 'pray', *bersatu* 'be one', or *bebrapa* 'be several'.[117] The monovalent verb *berdiri* 'stand' is an exception. Historically related to the noun *diri* 'self', it does not have a

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[117] See §5.8.4 for a discussion of interrogative *brapa* 'how many' and §5.10 regarding its uses as the quantifier 'several'.

transparent form-function relationship to its base. The transparent form-function relationship between the remaining 32 items and their bases suggests that these lexemes are the result of a productive affixation process. Two observations are made, however.

First, the data indicates that Papuan Malay speakers prefer to employ analytical constructions to express the meanings conveyed by the prefixed items, as illustrated in (49) to (54). To communicate 'have BASE', speakers typically use the existential verb *ada* 'exist' rather than the prefixed form as shown in (49) with *ada duri* vs. *berduri* 'have thorns'.

(49) ada   … dua macang jenis ada   yang **ber–duri**   ada   yang
      exist   two variety kind exist REL   VBLZ–thorn   exist REL

      tida … kang   ada   sagu yang tida **ada   duri**
      NEG   you.know exist sago REL   NEG   exist thorn

      'there are … two kinds (of sago palms), ones that **have thorns** and ones
      that don't (have thorns) … you know (there are) sago palms that don't **have
      thorns**' [081014-006-CvPr.0007/0009]

To express 'be BASE', speakers rather use a nominal predicate such as *ade-kaka* 'siblings' in (50), than the prefixed form such as *brade-kaka* 'be siblings' in (51).

(50) jadi saya dengang dia   **ade-kaka**   sunggu
                                    ySb-oSb
      so   1SG   with   3SG   siblings   be.true

      'so I and she **are** full **siblings**' [080927-009-CvNP.0044]

(51) jadi saya dengang kaka Nofita masi   **br–ade-kaka**
      so   1SG   with   oSb   Nofita still VBLZ–siblings

      'so I and older sister Nofita **are** still **siblings**' [080927-007-CvNP.0022]

To communicate 'do BASE', speakers typically employ alternative verbs. They tend to say, for example, *biking kebung* 'make/work a garden' as in (52), rather than use prefixed *berkebung* 'do farming' as in (53). Likewise, it is more common to say *taw bahasa X* 'speak language X' than to use prefixed *berbahasa X* 'speak language X' as in (54).

(52) kalo di   Arbais prempuang bisa   **biking kebung**
      if   at   Arbais woman   be.able   make   garden

      'as for Arbais, (there) the women can **work a garden**' [081014-007-
      CvEx.0035]

(53) bapa   pergi **ber–kebung** saya ikut
      father go   VBLZ–garden   1SG   follow

      '(whenever my) father went to **do farming** I went with (him)' [081110-008-
      CvNP.0002]

(54) jadi tong cuma **taw**   **bahasa**   **Yali** … tapi sa   bilang
      so   1PL   just know   language Yali   but   1SG   say

kamu	ber–syukur	karna	bisa	…	**ber–bahasa**	**Yali**
2PL	VBLZ–thank.God	because	be.able		VBLZ–language	Yali

'so we only **spoke Yali** … but I said, 'you (should) be grateful because (you) can **speak Yali**'' [081011-022-Cv.0101/0184]

Second, the exchange in (55) suggests that the high frequency items listed in Table 17 may well have non-compositional semantics for Papuan Malay speakers. In a conversation about religious affairs, the speaker produced *diberdoa* 'be prayed for'. This item is ungrammatical in both Papuan Malay and Standard Indonesian. Papuan Malay does not have a morphologically marked undergoer voice. The Standard Indonesian undergoer voice marker *di-* cannot co-occur with prefix *ber-*, but always replaces it. This example show that the speaker perceives *berdoa* 'pray' as a monomorphemic word to which she affixed the Indonesian undergoer voice marker *di-* in an attempt to approximate Indonesian.

(55) | bebang | masala | de | punya | dia | perlu | … | harus | **di–ber–doa** |
      |--------|--------|-----|-------|-----|-------|---|-------|----------------|
      | burden | problem | 3SG | POSS | 3SG | need | | have.to | UV–VBLZ–prayer |

[Conversation about problems of a church congregation:] '(all) burdens (and) problems (that) it has, (the congregation) needs … has to **be prayed for**' [080917-008-NP.0089/0091]

3.1.5.4.   Summary and conclusions

Prefix *BER-* is a polyfunctional affix that derives lexemes from verbal and nominal bases. This polyfunctionality suggests that affixation with *BER-* is a somewhat productive process (see language internal factor (d) on p. 114 in §3.1.1). Two other observations support this conclusion: (1) the large number of low frequency words and small number of high frequency words, and (2) the relative token frequencies with most bases having higher frequencies than the affixed lexemes.

Three other observations, however, do not support the conclusion that affixation with *BER-* is a productive process: (1) for the prefixed lexemes with verbal bases, the derived lexemes have the same semantics as their bases, and (2) for lexemes with nominal bases, speakers prefer to use alternative analytical constructions rather than the affixed lexemes, and (3) most of the lexemes with verbal or nominal bases were tentatively classified as SI-borrowings.

Taken together, these findings indicate that Papuan Malay speakers do not employ prefix *BER-* as a productive device to derive new words. This conclusion is also supported by the findings of a domain analysis which indicate that most of the attested tokens can be accounted for in terms of the variables of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations (details are discussed in §3.1.8, together with the findings for suffix *-nya* '3POSSR' and circumfix *ke-/-ang* 'NMLZ'). Therefore, these lexemes are best explained as code-switches with Indonesian. (See Adelaar 1992, Mintz 1994, and Sneddon 2010 for a detailed discussion of prefix *ber-* in Standard Indonesian and Standard Malay.)

The conclusion that prefix *BER-* is unproductive again sets Papuan Malay apart from other eastern Malay varieties. In regional varieties such as Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 96–98) , Banda Malay (Paauw 2008: 249–250) , Larantuka Malay

(Paauw 2008: 253–255), Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 18–22) , North Moluccan / Ternate Malay (Taylor 1983: 18), and (Litamahuputty 2012: 125–127) the prefix is a productive derivational device.[118] This distinction between Papuan Malay and the other eastern Malay varieties once again hints at the separate histories of both, discussed in §1.2.

3.1.6.   Suffix *-nya* **'3POSSR'**

Suffix **-nya** '3POSSR' is typically attached to nominal bases to indicate possessive relations, as illustrated in (56). In addition, a considerable number of lexemes are derived from verbal bases, while a small number of lexemes have prepositional, adverbial, locative, or demonstrative bases. The affixation process does not seem to be productive, as discussed below.

(56)   jadi   **ana–nya**   hidup   ana   itu   masi   ada
           so   child–3POSSR   live   child   D.DIST   still   exist
           'so **her child** lives, that child still exists' [080921-005-CvNP.0007]

The present corpus contains 123 lexical items (387 tokens) suffixed with **-nya**:[119]

1.   Suffixed items with nominal bases (82 items with 285 tokens)
2.   Suffixed items with verbal bases (36 items with 82 tokens)
3.   Suffixed items with other bases (five items with 20 tokens)

The corpus also contains seven formally complex words with non-compositional semantics. All seven items have adverbial function, such as **misalnya** 'for example' or **akirnya** 'finally'.

Suffixed lexemes with nominal bases are discussed in §3.1.6.1, those with verbal bases in §3.1.6.2, and those with other bases in §3.1.6.3. Pertinent variables of the communicative event that may impact the use of **-nya** are explored in §3.1.8. The main findings on suffix **-nya** are summarized and evaluated in §3.1.6.4.

3.1.6.1.   Suffixed items derived from nominal bases

The present corpus contains 81 **-nya**-suffixed lexemes (with 215 tokens) with nominal bases, where **-nya** typically signals possession. As an extension of the possessive-marking function, some of the derived items listed in Table 18 function as sentence adverbs, namely **maksutnya** '(someone) meant' (literally 'the purpose of'), **katanya** '(someone) said' (literally 'the word of'), and **artinya** 'that means' (literally 'the meaning of').

Derived words with token frequencies of five or more are listed in Table 18. All but one of the derived lexemes are low frequency words (80 items, attested with less than 20 tokens). Besides, the token frequencies for the respective bases are (much) higher for most of the derived words (65 lexemes). Of the 81 suffixed lexemes, 76

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[118]   Voorhoeve (1983: 4) considers prefix **ba-** to be unproductive.
[119]   The 123 suffixed lexemes include 68 hapaxes (P=0.1757); the 82 lexemes with nominal bases include 44 hapaxes (P=0.1543); the 36 lexemes with verbal bases include 21 hapaxes (P=0.2561); the five lexemes with other bases include three hapaxes (P=0.1500).

were tentatively classified as borrowings from Standard Indonesian (SI-borrowings) (for details see language internal factor (g) on p. 115 in §3.1.1); in Table 18 these items are underlined. The exceptions are the three derived lexemes that function as sentence adverbs, two of which are presented in context in (59) and (60).

The low token frequencies for the derived lexemes result from the fact that Papuan Malay speakers usually use an alternative strategy to express possessive relations. Instead of suffixing *-nya* to a nominal base, Papuan Malay encodes adnominal possession by an analytical construction with *punya*, or reduced *pu*, 'POSS' (see Chapter 9). The '*punya* #' column in Table 18 lists the token frequencies for adnominal possessive constructions with *punya*/*pu* 'POSS'. Examples are given in (57) and (58).

Table 18:   Affixation with *-nya* of nominal bases

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*-nya* #	*punya* #
nama	'name'	*namanya*	'the name of'	23	38
istri	'wife'	*istrinya*	'the wife of'	11	22
ana	'child'	*ananya*	'the child of'	7	119
orang	'person'	*orangnya*	'the person of'	6	8
ruma	'house'	*rumanya*	'the house of'	5	43
hasil	'product'	*hasilnya*	'the product of'	5	2
istila	'term'	*istilanya*	'the term of/for'	5	1
dalam	'inside'	*dalamnya*	'the inside of'	5	---
maksut	'purpose'	*maksutnya*	'(someone) meant'	70	3
kata	'word'	*katanya*	'(someone) said'	19	---
arti	'meaning'	*artinya*	'that means'	17	---

In (57), *-nya* is suffixed to the nominal base *nama* 'name', giving the possessive reading *namanya* 'her name'. By contrast, (58) shows the inherited analytical strategy of expressing the same meaning with possessive marker *pu* 'POSS'.

(57)   **nama–nya**   Madga
        name–3POSSR   Madga
        '**her name** is Madga' [081011-005-Cv.0027]

(58)   **de**   **pu**   **nama** Martin
        3SG   POSS   name   Martin
        '**his name** is Martin' [081011-022-Cv.0241]

The examples in (59) and (60) illustrate the uses of *maksutnya* '(someone) meant' and *katanya* '(someone) said', respectively, as sentence adverbs.

(59)   … **maksut–nya**   saya   harus   dayung   dulu   dengang prahu
            purpose–3POSSR   1SG   have.to   row   be.prior   with   boat
        [I'm getting ready, I take my bow and arrows and an oar,] **that means**, I have to row first with a boat' [080919-004-NP.0008]

(60) **kata–nya**   orang   Sulawesi   smua
      word–3POSSR   person   Sulawesi   all
      '**it's being said** (that) they are all Sulawesi people' [081006-032-Cv.0102]

3.1.6.2. Suffixed items derived from verbal bases

The present corpus contains 36 **-nya**-suffixed lexemes (with 82 tokens) with verbal
bases. Affixation with **-nya** derives nominals from verbal bases. The derived
nominals have a possessive reading, such as **ceritranya** 'the telling of' or 'his/her
telling'. As an extension of the nominalizing and possessive-marking function of
-nya, eight of the derived lexemes function as adverbs, such as **biasanya** 'usually'
(literally 'its being usual') or **kususnya** 'especially' (literally 'its being special').
Derived words with token frequencies of three or more are listed in Table 19.

     All 36 affixed lexemes are low frequency words, attested with less than 20
tokens. Moreover, the token frequencies for the respective bases are (much) higher
for all but one of the derived words (35 lexemes). This is due to the fact that Papuan
Malay speakers tend to use the respective bases, as in (61) to (64), rather than the
suffixed forms. Of the 36 derived lexemes, nine were tentatively classified as SI-
borrowings (for details see language internal factor (g) on p. 115 in §3.1.1); in Table
19 these items are underlined.

Table 19:   Affixation with **-nya** of verbal bases

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*-nya* #	BW #
_mo_	'want'	**_mawnya_**	'the wanting of'	6	972
ceritra	'tell'	**_ceritranya_**	'the telling of'	6	162
pegang	'hold'	**_pegangnya_**	'the holding of'	3	114
hidup	'live'	**_hidupnya_**	'the living of'	3	74
biasa	'be usual'	**_biasanya_**	'usually'	18	181
harus	'have to'	**_harusnya_**[120]	'appropriately'	7	379
kusus	'be special'	**_kususnya_**	'especially'	3	30

In (61), **-nya** is suffixed to the verbal base **mo** 'want' giving the nominalized form
mawnya 'the wanting of'. The example in (62) illustrates the preferred strategy of
expressing the same meaning in a verbal clause with the base **mo** 'want'.

(61) **maw–nya**   ke   kampung   maw   biking   apa   di   sana
      want–3POSSR   to   village   want   make   what   at   L.DIST
      [Addresses a teenager playing hooky:] '**your wish** (is to go) to the village,
      what do (you) want to do there?' (Lit. '**his wanting** (is) to the village')
      [081115-001a-Cv.0046]

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[120] Included in the six **harusnya** 'appropriately' tokens is one **seharusnya** 'properly' token.
       According to one consultant, both forms have the same semantics with **harusnya**
       'appropriately' being the more common form.

(62)   **ko   mo** ke kampung tapi ko   skola
        2SG want to   village   but   2SG go.to.school
        '**you want** (to go) to the village but you're going to school' [080922-001a-
        CvPh.0734]

In (63), **-nya** is suffixed to the verbal base **biasa** 'be usual' with adverbially used
biasanya 'usually' modifying the verb **dansa** 'dance'. More commonly, however,
speakers employ the base **biasa** 'be usual' as in (64) with adverbially used **biasa** 'be
usual' modifying the verb **maing** 'play'.

(63)   … dansa lemon-nipis itu   **biasa–nya**   dansa lemon-nipis
          dance citron   D.DIST   be.usual–3POSSR dance citron
        '[they make a ceremony, they sing on and on,] (they) dance that citron
        (group dance), **usually** (they) dance the citron (group dance)' [081110-005-
        CvPr.0098]

(64)   Herman dorang **biasa**   maing di   sini   tu
        Herman 3PL   be.usual play   at   L.PROX D.DIST
        'Herman and the others **usually** play right here' [080923-009-Cv.0017]

3.1.6.3.   Suffixed items derived from other bases

The present corpus contains five lexemes (with 20 tokens) which are derived from a
number of different bases. Two lexemes have prepositional bases and one has an
adverbial base, listed in Table 20, with **-nya** having adverb-marking function. In
addition, one lexeme has a demonstrative base and one a locative base, listed in
Table 21, with **-nya** having emphasizing function.

    The two lexemes with prepositional bases and the one with an adverbial base
have distinct meanings vis-à-vis their bases. These items usually function as
sentence adverbs as shown in (65) and (66). Again, the adverbial-marking function
of **-nya** seems to be an extension of its nominalizing and possessive-marking
function. For instance, **spertinya** 'it seems' can be literally translated as 'its being
similar to'. All five affixed lexemes are low frequency words, attested with less than
20 tokens. In addition, the token frequencies for the respective bases are (much)
higher for all of the derived words. All five suffixed lexemes were tentatively
classified as SI-borrowings; in Table 20 these items are underlined.

Table 20:   Affixation with **-nya** of prepositional and adverbial bases

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	***-nya*** #	BW #
Prepositional base					
sperti	'similar to'	___**spertinya**___	'it seems'	12	217
kaya	'like'	___**kayanya**___	'it looks like'	5	61
Adverbial bases					
memang	'indeed'	___**memangnya**___	'actually'	1	143

The examples in (65) and (66) illustrate the respective uses of *spertinya* 'it seems' and *kayanya* 'it looks like' as sentence adverbs.

(65) **sperti–nya**   de   suda   tinggalkang de   punya orang-tua
      similar.to–3POSSR 3SG   already leave   3SG   POSS   parent
      '**it seems** she already left her parents behind' [081110-005-CvPr.0086]

(66) **kaya–nya**   munta~munta
      like–3POSSR   RDP-vomit
      '**it looked like** (he was going to) vomit' [081025-008-Cv.0051]

When suffixed to demonstrative or locative bases, *-nya* functions as an emphasizer. This usage of *-nya* is very rare, however; attested are only the two lexemes listed in Table 21. Instead, to signal emphasis, Papuan Malay speakers typically employ a modifying demonstrative (see §7.1.2.3); this is shown with the token frequencies given in the 'DEM #' column, which refer to modification with a demonstrative. Examples are presented in (67) and (68).

Table 21:   Affixation with *-nya* of demonstrative and locative bases

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*-nya* #	DEM #
itu	'D.DIST'	*itunya*	'it!'	1	19
sini	'L.PROX'	*sininya*	'right here'	1	18

In (67), *-nya* is suffixed to locative *sini* 'L.PROX', giving the emphatic reading *sininya* 'right here'. In (68) the same meaning is expressed with an analytical construction in which a demonstrative modifies the locative.

(67) jatu di   sana   di   sini   di   **sini–nya**   ter–kupas
      fall at   L.DIST at   L.PROX at   L.PROX–3POSSR   ACL–peel
      [About a motorbike accident:] 'he fell (with his bike) over there, here, **right here** (his skin) was peeled off' [081014-013-NP.0001]

(68) a   di   **sini   tu**   bahaya
      ah! at   L.PROX D.DIST be.dangerous
      'ah, **right here** it is dangerous' [081011-001-Cv.0138]

3.1.6.4.   Summary and conclusions

Suffix *-nya* is a polyfunctional affix that derives lexemes from nominal, verbal and a number of other bases. Three observations indicate that affixation with *-nya* is a productive process: (1) the polyfunctionality of the suffix and the transparent form-function relationship between the derived lexemes and their respective bases, (2) the large number of low frequency words and small number of high frequency words, and (3) the relative token frequencies with most bases having higher frequencies than the affixed lexemes.

    Two other observations, however, do not support this conclusion: (1) speakers usually employ alternative strategies that express the same meanings as the suffixed items, and (2) most of the suffixed items were tentatively classified as SI-

borrowings. Also, the findings of a domain analysis suggest that most of the attested tokens can be accounted for in terms of the variables of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations. (Details are discussed in §3.1.8, together with the findings for prefix **BER-** 'INTR' and circumfix **ke-/-ang** 'NMLZ'.)

In considering these conflicting observations, two findings are given special weight, namely the fact that speakers prefer alternative strategies without affixation, and the findings of the domain analysis. Therefore, it is concluded that in Papuan Malay affixation with **-nya** is not used as a productive derivation device. Instead, the suffixed lexemes are best explained as code-switches with Indonesian. (See Mintz 1994 and Sneddon 2010 for a detailed discussion of suffix **-nya** in Standard Indonesian and Standard Malay.)

3.1.7.   Circumfix *ke-/-ang* 'NMLZ'

Circumfixation with **ke-/-ang** 'NMLZ' in Papuan Malay typically derives nouns from nouns. The circumfixed nouns typically denote stable conditions or attributes, as in (69). Some lexical items are also derived from nominal, numeral, or quantifier bases. The affixation process does not appear to be productive, as discussed below.

(69)   jadi   itu   suda   **ke–biasa–ang**   dari   dulu
        so   D.DIST   already   NMLZ–be.usual–NMLZ   from   be.prior

        'so already that (has become) a **habit** from the past' [081014-007-CvEx.0063]

The present corpus includes 65 lexical items (258 tokens) circumfixed with **ke-/-ang**:[121]

1.   Circumfixed items with verbal bases (57 items with 239 tokens)
2.   Circumfixed items with nominal or numeral/quantifier bases (eight items with 19 tokens)

The corpus also contains three formally complex words with non-compositional semantics, **kebaktiang** 'religious service', **kecelakaang** 'accident', and **kegiatang** 'activity'.

Circumfixed items with verbal bases are discussed in §3.1.7.1, and those with nominal, numeral, or quantifier bases in §3.1.7.2. Pertinent variables of the communicative event that may impact the use of **ke-/-ang** are examined in §3.1.8. The main findings on circumfix **ke-/-ang** are summarized and evaluated in §3.1.7.3.

3.1.7.1.   Circumfixed items derived from verbal bases

The corpus includes 57 **ke-/-ang** -circumfixed lexemes (with 238 tokens) with verbal bases, such as bivalent **turung** 'descend' or monovalent **biasa** 'be usual'. Of the 57 lexemes 52 are nouns and five are accidental verbs.

The 52 circumfixed nouns typically denote stable conditions or attributes in the sense of 'state/quality of being BASE'. Derived words with token frequencies of four

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[121]   The 65 circumfixed lexemes include 22 hapaxes (P=0.0853); the 57 lexemes with verbal bases include 17 hapaxes (P=0.0711); the ten lexemes verbs with nominal, numeral, or quantifier bases include five hapaxes (P=0.2631).

or more are listed in Table 22. Examples are presented in (70) and (71). All but one of the affixed lexemes are low frequency words (51 lexemes, attested with less than 20 tokens). Moreover, the token frequencies for the respective bases are (much) higher for most of the derived words (41 lexemes). Of the 52 circumfixed nouns, more than half (27 items) were tentatively classified as borrowings from Standard Indonesian (SI-borrowings) (for details see language internal factor (g) on p. 115 in §3.1.1); in Table 22 these items are underlined.

Table 22:   Affixation with *ke-/-ang* of verbal bases

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*ke-/-ang* #	BW #
biasa	'be usual'	*kebiasaang*	'habit'	21	185
merdeka	'be independent'	*kemerdekaang*	'freedom'	14	42
baik	'be good'	*kebaikang*	'goodness'	13	182
trang	'be clear'	*ketrangang*	'explanation'	11	4
tindis	'overlap'	*ketindisang*	'k.o.trap'	10	13
turung	'descend'	*keturungang*	'descent'	9	192
sempat	'have enough time'	*kesempatang*	'opportunity'	9	2
benar	'be true'	*kebenarang*	'truth'	9	16
hidup	'live'	*kehidupang*	'life'	8	74
nyata	'be obvious'	*kenyataang*	'reality'	8	1
takut	'feel afraid (of)'	*ketakutang*	'fear'		
sehat	'be healthy'	*kesehatang*	'health'	7	11
jahat	'be bad'	*kejahatang*	'evilness'	7	10
inging	'wish'	*keingingang*	'wish'	6	6
laku	'do'	*kelakuang*	'behavior'	6	5
mo	'want'	*kemawang*	'will'	5	972
lebi	'be more'	*kelebiang*	'surplus'	5	467
saksi	'testify'	*kesaksiang*	'testimony'	5	2
ada	'exist'	*keadaang*	'condition'	4	1,742
betul	'be true'	*kebetulang*	'chance'	4	123
kurang	'lack'	*kekurangang*	'shortage'	4	40

One *ke-/-ang*-lexeme and its base are given in context: *kebaikang* 'goodness' in (70) and its base *baik* 'be good' in (71).

(70)   dong   masi   ingat   de   pu   **ke–baik–ang**
        2PL   pray   1PL   3SG   POSS   NMLZ–be.good–NMLZ
        'they still remember his/her **goodness**' [081110-008-CvNP.0261]

(71)   knapa   orang   bilang, adu   ko   pu   sifat   **baik**
        why   person   say   oh.no!   2SG   POSS   characteristic   be.good
        'why do people say, 'oh no, your character is **good**'' [081110-008-CvNP.0134]

As an extension of its function to derive nouns that denote stable states or attributes, five **ke-/-ang**-circumfixed lexemes with verbal bases receive an accidental verbal reading, as listed in Table 23.[122] That is, these items indicate that the referent has undergone an accidental or unintentional action or event, such as **keliatang** 'be visible' or **ketinggalang** 'be left behind'. An example is presented in (72). All five affixed lexemes are low frequency words, attested with less than 20 tokens. Besides, the token frequencies for the respective bases are (much) higher for all of the derived words. Two of the five accidental verbs were tentatively classified as SI-borrowings; in Table 23 these items are underlined.

Table 23:   Verbs with circumfix **ke-/-ang** with verbal bases

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*ke-/-ang* #	BW #
liat	'see'	*keliatang*	'be visible'	6	467
tinggal	'stay'	*ketinggalang*	'be left behind'	5	515
taw	'know'	*ketawang*	'be found out'	1	603
lewat	'pass by'	*<u>kelewatang</u>*	'be overly abundant'	1	140
masuk	'enter'	*<u>kemasukang</u>*	'be possessed'	1	261

One **ke-/-ang**-lexeme and its base are given in context: **keliatang** 'be visible' in (72) and **liat** 'see' in (73). The verbal status of **keliatang** 'be visible' is evidenced by the fact that it is negated with **tida** 'NEG' (nominals cannot be negated with **tida** 'NEG'; see §5.2 and §13.1.1).

(72)   taw~taw   orang   itu   tida   **ke–liat–ang**
         suddenly   person   that   NEG   NMLZ–see–NMLZ
         'suddenly, that person wasn't **visible** (any longer)' [080922-002-Cv.0123]

(73)   tukang   ojek   ini   dia   tida   **liat**   kolam   ini
         craftsman   motorbike.taxi   D.PROX   3SG   NEG   see   big.hole   D.PROX
         'this motorbike taxi driver, he didn't **see** this big hole' [081015-005-NP.0009]

3.1.7.2.   Circumfixed items derived from nominal, numeral or quantifier bases

The corpus includes six **ke-/-ang**-circumfixed nouns with nominal bases (with eight tokens), and two nouns with numeral or quantifier bases (with 11 tokens), listed in Table 24. The lexemes with nominal bases express 'abstract concepts associated with BASE', while those with numeral or quantifier bases denote stable conditions in the sense of 'state of being BASE'.

    All eight affixed lexemes are low frequency words, attested with less than 20 tokens. Moreover, the token frequencies for the respective bases are (much) higher

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[122] In discussions about **ke-/-ang**-circumfixed lexemes with a verbal reading in standard Indonesian or Malay, the circumfix is typically glossed as 'ADVRS' ('adversative') (Englebretson 2003, and Kroeger 2005) or 'NONVOL' ('nonvolitional') (Englebretson (2007).

for all of the derived words. Seven of the eight derived lexemes were tentatively classified as SI-borrowings (for details see language internal factor (g) on p. 115 in §3.1.1); in Table 24 these items are underlined.

Table 24:   Affixation with **ke-/-ang** of nominal, numeral, and quantifier bases

BW	Gloss	Item	Gloss	*ke-/-ang* #	BW #
Nominal bases					
budaya	'culture'	**_kebudayaang_**	'civilization'	2	18
untung	'fortune'	**_keuntungang_**	'advantage'	2	26
camat	'subdistrict head'	**_kecamatang_**	'subdistrict'	1	22
hutang	'forest'	**_kehutangang_**	'forestry'	1	42
pegaway	'civil servant'	**_kepegawayang_**	'civil service'	1	16
uang	'money'	**_keuangang_**	'finances'	1	139
Numeral and quantifier bases					
banyak	'many'	**kebanyakang**	'majority'	10	184
satu	'one'	**_kesatuang_**	'unity'	1	514

One **ke-/-ang-**item and its base are given in context: **kebanyakang** 'majority' in (74) and **banyak** 'many' in (75).

(74)   smua   orang   **ke–banyak–ang**   mempunyai   masala   tapi …
        all   person   NMLZ–many–NMLZ   have   problem   but
        'all people, the **majority** have problems but …' [080917-010-CvEx.0162]

(75)   bua   apel   di   sini   **banyak**
        fruit   apple   at   L.PROX   many
        'here are **many** apples' (Lit. 'the apples are **many**') [080922-001a-CvPh.0408]

3.1.7.3.   Summary and conclusions

Circumfix **ke-/-ang** is a polyfunctional affix that derives lexemes from verbal, nominal, numeral, and quantifier bases. Three observations suggest that affixation with **ke-/-ang** is a productive process: (1) the polyfunctionality of the circumfix and the transparent form-function relationship between the derived lexemes and their respective bases, (2) the large number of low frequency words and small number of high frequency words, and (3) the relative token frequencies with most bases having higher frequencies than the affixed lexemes. On the other hand, however, more than half of the circumfixed lexemes were tentatively classified as SI-borrowings.

    These findings are further qualified by the results of a domain analysis. These results suggest that most of the attested tokens (with verbal, nominal and numeral/quantifier bases and including the hapaxes) can be accounted for in terms of the variables of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations. Hence, it

cannot be concluded that these items are the result of a productive derivation
process. (Details are given in §3.1.8, together with the findings for prefix *BER*-
'INTR' and suffix *-nya* '3POSSR'.)

Considering the conflicting observations, and taking the findings of the domain
analysis as the main decisive factor, it is concluded that in Papuan Malay affixation
with *ke-/-ang* is not used as a productive derivation device. Instead, the circumfixed
lexemes are best explained as code-switches with Indonesian. (See Adelaar 1992,
Mintz 1994, and Sneddon 2010 for a detailed discussion of circumfix *ke-/-ang* in
Standard Indonesian and Standard Malay.)

3.1.8.   Variables of the communicative event: Affixes *BER-* '**INTR**', *-nya* '**3POSSR**', and *ke-/-ang* '**NMLZ**'

To further investigate the degrees of productivity for prefix *BER-* 'INTR', suffix *-nya*
'3POSSR', and circumfix *ke-/-ang* 'NMLZ', a domain analysis was conducted. This
analysis focused on the variables of topics and/or role-relations. In all, 244 items[123]
with a total of 764 tokens were examined in terms of the variables of topics and/or
role-relations:

- 27 items prefixed with *BER-* with verbal bases (94 tokens)
- 30 items prefixed with *BER-* with nominal, numeral, and interrogative
  bases (95 tokens)
- 81 items suffixed with *-nya* with nominal bases (215 tokens)
- 36 items suffixed with *-nya* with verbal bases (82 tokens)
- 5 items suffixed with *-nya* with other bases (20 tokens)
- 57 items circumfixed with *ke-/-ang* with verbal bases (239 tokens)
- 8 items circumfixed with *ke-/-ang* with nominal and numeral/quantifier
  bases (19 tokens)

For the 244 affixed lexemes, most tokens (698/764 – 91%) can be explained in
terms of topics and/or role-relations. The remaining 66/764 tokens (9%) cannot be
accounted for in terms of these variables of the communicative event. These tokens
occurred when less-educated speakers (-EDC-SPK) conversed with fellow-Papuans of
equally low social standing (-STAT) about LOW topics, that is, casual daily-life
issues.[124] (See Table 25 and Chart 4; see also Appendix F for detailed tables and
charts for each of the three affixes.)

If the affixed items were the result of a productive affixation process, one would
expect the percentage of tokens that cannot be explained in terms of speaker
education levels, topics, and/or role-relations to be much higher than 9%. Instead,

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[123]   Six items with high token frequencies are excluded from the analysis: five *BER-*prefixed
items with more than 50 tokens and one *-nya*-suffixed item with 70 tokens. Given their
high token frequencies, it was assumed that speakers employ these items regardless of the
variables of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations.

[124]   As mentioned under Factor 3 'Relationships between interlocutors' in §1.5.1, all of the
recorded less-educated speakers belonged to the group of Papuans with lower social status
(-STAT), while the recorded Papuans with higher social status (-STAT), such as teachers,
government officials, or pastors, were all better educated.

most tokens (91%) seem to be conditioned by these variables of the communicative event. In turn, these findings do not support the conclusion that the affixed lexemes are the result of a productive derivation process. Instead, they seem to be code-switches with Indonesian.

The data presented in Table 25 and Chart 4 are discussed in more detail below.

Table 25:   Token frequencies for lexemes affixed with *BER-*, *-nya*, and *ke-/-ang* by speakers, topics, and interlocutors (246 items)[125]

	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens
Affixation with *BER-* (57 items)								
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	Total
+EDC-SPK	21	34	22	20	---	---	20	117
-EDC-SPK	4	9	11	---	11	**27**[126]	10	72
Subtotal	25	43	33	20	11	**27**	30	189
Affixation with *-nya* (122 items)								
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	Total
+EDC-SPK	33	35	12	41	---	---	57	178
-EDC-SPK	16	11	28	---	30	**26**	28	139
Subtotal	49	46	40	41	30	**26**	85	317
Affixation with *ke-/-ang* (65 items)								
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	Total
+EDC-SPK	16	46	14	38	---	---	45	159
-EDC-SPK	7	20	16	---	35	**13**	8	99
Subtotal	23	66	30	38	35	**13**	53	258
TOTAL (246 items)								
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	Total
+EDC-SPK	70	115	48	99	---	---	122	454
-EDC-SPK	27	40	55	---	76	**66**	46	310
Total	97	155	103	99	76	**66**	168	**764**

---

[125] Abbreviations: SPK = speaker, +EDC = better educated, –EDC = less educated, POL = politics, EDC = education, REL = religion, LOW = LOW topics, +STAT = higher social status, -STAT = lower social status, OUTSD = outsider.

[126] This total of 27 tokens includes ten *berusaha* 'attempt' tokens produced by the same speaker during the same conversation.

Chart 4:   Token frequencies for lexemes affixed with **BER-**, **-*nya***, or **ke-/-*ang*** by
              speakers, topics, and interlocutors
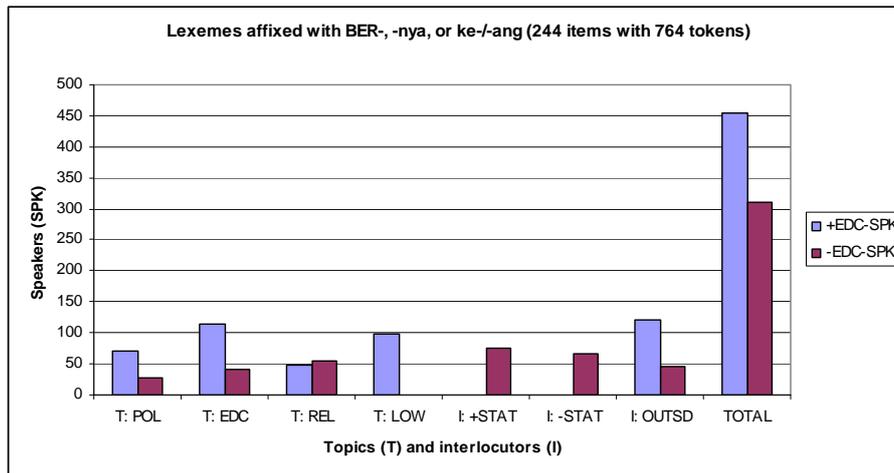
The data presented in Table 25 and Chart 4 show that for the 244 affixed lexemes,
most tokens (698/764 – 91%) can be explained in terms of speaker education levels,
topics, and/or role-relations between the speakers and their interlocutors (ILCT).

Most tokens (454/764 – 59%) were produced by +EDC-SPK, while 310/764
tokens (41%) were produced by -EDC-SPK.

The +EDC-SPK produced half of their tokens (233/454 – 51%) when talking about
HIGH topics. The remaining 221 tokens (49%) occurred when +EDC-SPK discussed
LOW topics with different interlocutors: 99/221 tokens (45%) with fellow-Papuans
(both +STAT and -STAT speakers), and 122 tokens (55%) with an outsider, namely
the author (OUTSD).

The -EDC-SPK produced 39% of their tokens (122/310) while discussing HIGH
topics. Most of their tokens were produced during conversations about LOW topics
(188/310 – 61%). More specifically, 76/188 tokens (40%) occurred when discussing
LOW topics with +STAT Papuans, and another 46/188 tokens (24%) were produced
during conversations with the author. The remaining 66/188 tokens (35%) occurred
during conversations with -STAT Papuans, and therefore cannot be explained in
terms of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations. This total of 66
tokens refers to 9% of the 764 tokens attested in the present corpus.[127]

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[127]   As for the attested hapaxes, the findings of this domain analysis suggest that most are
        conditioned by the variables of speaker education levels, topics, and/or role-relations:
        22/25 hapaxes prefixed with **BER-**, 59/68 hapaxes suffixed with **-*nya***, and 18/22 hapaxes
        circumfixed with **ke-/-*ang***. These items are best explained as code-switches with
        Indonesian. This leaves only three **BER-**hapaxes, nine **-*nya***-hapaxes, and four **ke-/-*ang*-**
        hapaxes that are unaccounted for in terms of language external factors and that are likely
        to be the result of a productive word-formation process. This, in turn, decreases the
        respective P values:

3.2. Compounding

Compounding denotes the "formation of a new lexeme by adjoining two or more lexemes" (Bauer 2003: 40). That is, a compound is "a word that is itself the combination of two or more words" (Booij 2007: 310). In Papuan Malay, however, the demarcation between compounds and phrasal expressions is unclear. That is, neither phonological, morphological, morphosyntactic, nor semantic criteria allow classifying word sequences unambiguously as either compounds or phrasal expressions, as shown in §3.2.1. Therefore, the term "collocation" (Krishnamurthy 2006) is employed as a cover term for such juxtaposed word sequences.

Such collocations always have a binary structure in that they consist of two juxtaposed lexemes. More specifically, three types of collocations can be distinguished, namely endocentric, exocentric, and coordinative collocations, as discussed in §3.2.2. The main points on compounding are summarized in §3.4.

3.2.1. Demarcation of compounds from phrasal expressions

Four different criteria have been suggested to distinguish compounds from phrasal expressions: phonological, morphological, morphosyntactic, and semantic criteria (Aikhenvald 2007: 24). They are discussed in turn in this section.

On phonological grounds, compounds can be distinguished from phrasal expressions in terms of their stress behavior. Compounds typically contain one primary stress, whereas in phrasal expressions each phonological word carries its own stress (Aikhenvald 2007: 25). This criterion also applies to Papuan Malay, as shown in (76) and (77). In the compound *kacang-hijow* 'mung bean' in (76), the penultimate syllable carries primary stress, while secondary stress is assigned to the alternating syllable preceding the one carrying the primary stress. By contrast, in the phrasal expression *kacang hijow* 'green bean' in (77) each constituent carries its own stress. In fast speech, however, it is difficult to distinguish both constructions on phonological grounds. Instead, the context is the determining factor to establish the intended meaning.

Phonological criteria

(76) /ˌka.tʃaŋ.ˈhi.dʒow/ **kacang-hijow** 'mung bean'

bean-be.green

(77) /ˈka.tʃaŋ ˈhi.dʒow/ **kacang hijow** 'green bean'

bean be.green

In terms of morphological criteria (Aikhenvald 2007: 26), Papuan Malay compounds are not distinct from phrasal expressions. As illustrated in (76) and (77),

---

(1) for three **BER**-hapaxes P=0.0156 (N=192) as opposed to P=0.0415 for 25 hapaxes (N=602) (N differs for the two P values, as five of the derived lexemes were excluded from the domain analysis),

(2) for nine **-nya**-hapaxes P=0.0284 (N=317) as opposed to P=0.1757 for 68 hapaxes (N=387) (N differs for the two P values, as one derived lexeme was excluded from the domain analysis), and

(3) for four **ke-/-ang**-hapaxes P=0.0155 as opposed to P=0.0853 for 22 hapaxes (N=258).

neither construction has an additional morpheme that would mark it as a compound or phrasal expression. Neither are the two constructions distinct in terms of their constituent order as in each case the head precedes the modifier.

On morphosyntactic grounds, compounds are usually distinct from phrasal expressions in that the components of a compound cannot be separated by inserting other morphemes (Aikhenvald 2007: 26). Such an insertion leads to the loss of their compound sense. This criterion also applies to Papuan Malay as shown in (78) and (79). When, for instance, the relativizer *yang* 'REL' is inserted in the compound *lemon-manis* 'orange' in (78), the compound sense is lost. The result is the phrasal expression *lemon yang manis* 'lemon which is sweet' or 'sweet lemon' in (79).

Morphosyntactic criteria

(78)   **lemon-manis**   'orange'
       lemon-be.sweet

(79)   **lemon yang manis**   'citrus which is sweet'
       lemon REL be.sweet

In cases such as the compound *orang-tua* 'parent' in (80) or the phrasal expression *orang tua* 'old person' in (81), however, it is difficult to distinguish both constructions on morphosyntactic grounds. Again, the context is the determining factor to establish the intended meaning.

Ambiguities with respect to morphosyntactic criteria

(80)   **orang-tua**   'parent'
       person-be.old

(81)   **orang tua**   'old person'
       person be.old

Semantically, compounds and phrasal expressions can be arranged on a scale from less to more compositional (Aikhenvald 2007: 28); the present corpus does not contain non-compositional compounds with idiosyncratic semantics.[128] This is illustrated in (82) to (86). Less compositional compounds are expressions such as *kampung-tana* 'home village' in (82), or *paduan-swara* 'choir' in (83). Compounds that are more compositional are those whose meaning is predictable from the meanings of its parts, such as *air-mata* 'tears' in (85) or *tali-prut* 'intestines' in (85). Very transparent compounds blend into phrasal expressions such as *uang jajang* 'pocket money' or 'money for snacks' in (86). On the one hand one could say that *uang jajang* 'pocket money' is a compound with an idiosyncratic meaning. On the other hand one could argue that this construction has a phrasal structure that denotes a purpose relation between the nominal head *uang* 'money' and its nominal modifier *jajang* 'snack'; hence, the construction *uang jajang* 'money for snacks' is a phrasal expression and not a compound. Finally, there are phrasal expressions with clear

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[128]   While Aikhenvald (2007: 28) suggests that compounds can also be compositional, Dryer (2007b: 175) maintains that compounds have "an idiosyncratic meaning not predictable from the meaning of the component parts, as compared with syntactic compounds, in which one noun is modifying a second noun in a productive syntactic construction".

compositional semantics, such as ***air sagu*** 'liquid of the sago palm tree' in (87). (For details on noun phrases with nominal modifiers see §8.2.2.)

Semantic criteria

(82)   **kampung-tana**   'home village'
        village-ground

(83)   **paduang-swara**   'choir'
        fusion-voice

(84)   **air-mata**   'tears'
        water-eye

(85)   **tali-prut**   'intestines'
        cord-stomach

(86)   **uang jajang**   'pocket money' / 'money for snacks'
        money snack

(87)   **air sagu**
        water sago   'liquid of the sago palm tree'

The data presented in this section shows that in Papuan Malay the demarcation between compounds and phrasal expressions is unclear. That is, neither phonological, morphological, morphosyntactic, nor semantic criteria allow the unambiguous classification of word sequences as either compounds or phrasal expressions. What can be said, however, is that some word combinations are "more compoundlike" while other "less compoundlike […] with no clear categorical distinction" along this "cline" (Lieber and Štekauer 2009: 14). Word combinations or collocations range from less compositional two-word expressions such as *kampung-tana* 'home village' to those with compositional transparent semantics such as *air sagu* 'liquid of the sago palm tree'.

3.2.2.   Classification of collocations

Collocations are defined as "word combinations which have developed an idiomatic semantic relation based on their frequent co-occurrence" (Bussmann 1996: 200; see also Krishnamurthy 2006). In Papuan Malay, three types of collocations are found: endocentric, exocentric, and coordinative ones. In the following they are discussed one by one.

In endocentric collocations, one component has head function while the subordinate component has modifying, content-specifying function, denoting "a sub-class of the items denoted by one of their elements" (Bauer 2003: 42). In Papuan Malay endocentric collocations, the head component or "fixed base" always precedes the modifier component or "replaceable 'collocate'" (Kavka 2009: 22), which can be a noun or a stative verb. Semantically, these 'N N' or 'N V' collocations encode different types of relationships between their components such as 'Element/Part-of', 'Subtype-of', or 'Characteristic-of' relations, as illustrated in Table 26. In addition, the corpus contains one collocation in which the modifying component is a numeral: *segi-empat* 'quadrangle' (literally 'side-four').

Table 26:   Endocentric 'N N/V' collocations

Item	Gloss	Literal translation	Semantic relation
tali-prut cord-stomach	'intestines'	'cord of the stomach'	'Element/Part-of'
lemon-manis lemon-be.sweet	'orange'	'sweet citrus'	'Subtype-of'
kreta-api carriage-fire	'train'	'carriage of fire'	'Characteristic-of'

In exocentric collocations, none of the constituents "functions as its head" (Booij 2007: 313). They "denote something which is not a sub-class" of either of their components; that is, "they are not hyponyms of either of their elements" (Bauer 2003: 42), as shown in Table 27. The collocation **kepala-batu**, literally 'head-stone', for instance, does not refer to some kind of head. Instead, it denotes a 'pig-headed person'. Likewise, in **bapa-ade**, literally 'father-younger.sibling' neither of the two components serves as the content-specifying element. These examples also illustrate that exocentric collocations typically consist of two juxtaposed nouns.

Table 27:   Exocentric 'N N' collocations

Item	Gloss
kepala-batu head-stone	'pig-headed person'
mata-hari eye-day	'sun'
bapa-ade father-ySb	'father's younger brother' (FyB) / 'mother's younger sister's husband' (MyZH)

The distinction between endocentric and exocentric collocations is not always clear-cut, however, as shown in Table 28. The kinship terms **bapa-tua** 'uncle' (literally 'father-be.old') and **mama-tua** 'aunt' (literally 'mother-be.old') qualify as exocentric collocations on semantic grounds but as endocentric collocations on syntactic grounds. Both terms are exocentric in that they "denote something which is not a sub-class" of either of their components (Bauer 2003: 42): **bapa-tua** does not refer to an 'old father', neither does **mama-tua** refer to an 'old mother'. Instead, **bapa-tua** denotes a 'parent's older brother' (PoB) or a 'parent's older sister's husband' (PoZH), while **mama-tua** designates a 'parent's older sister' (PoZ) or a 'parent's older brother's wife' (PoBW). Syntactically, however, **tua** 'be old' is subordinate to the head **bapa**/**mama** 'father/mother' and has modifying content-specifying function. Hence, both kinship terms also qualify as endocentric collocations.

Table 28:   Endocentric versus exocentric collocations: Ambiguities

Item	Gloss
bapa-tua father-be.old	'parent's older brother' (PeB) / 'parent's older sister's husband' (PeZH)
mama-tua mother-be.old	'parent's older sister' (PeZ) / 'parent's older brother's wife' (PeBW)

Coordinative collocations designate entities made up of two nominal components that "can be interpreted as being joined by 'and'" (Bauer 2009: 351). That is, in such collocations both components "are of semantically equal weight" (Bussmann 1996: 221). The nominal components can be antonyms, synonyms, or different parts or aspects of the designated concept, as shown in Table 29.

Table 29:   Coordinative 'N N' collocations

Item	Gloss	Semantic relation
ade-kaka ySb-oSb	'siblings'	Antonyms
kasi-sayang love-love	'deep love'	Synonyms
guntur-kilat thunder-lightening	'thunderstorm'	Different parts/aspects
tete-moyang grandfather-ancestor	'ancestors'	Different parts/aspects

3.3.   Reduplication

Reduplication refers to the "repetition of phonological material within a word for semantic or grammatical purposes" (Rubino 2011: 1). In Papuan Malay, as in other Austronesian languages, reduplication is a very productive morphological device to derive new words.

In terms of lexeme formation, three different types of reduplication are attested: full, partial, and imitative reduplication. The most common type is full reduplication which involves the repetition of an entire root, or derived lexeme; bound morphemes cannot be reduplicated. Full reduplication typically applies to content words, although some function words can also be reduplicated. Partial and imitative reduplication occur only very rarely. As for lexeme interpretation, the reduplicated lexemes express a variety of meanings, such as plurality, variety, intensity, continuation, repetitiveness, or vagueness. Reduplication, including lexeme formation and interpretation, is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

3.4.   Summary

This section briefly summarizes the main points on affixation and compounding.

1.   Affixation

Affixation in Papuan Malay has very limited productivity. This conclusion is based on an investigation of six affixes: the prefixes *TER-* 'ACL', *PE(N)-* 'AG', and *BER-* 'INTR', the suffixes *-ang* 'PAT' and *-nya* '3POSSR', and the circumfix *ke-/-ang* 'NMLZ'. Given the sociolinguistic profile of Papuan Malay (lack of language awareness, diglossic distribution with Indonesian, negative language attitudes towards Papuan Malay, substantial amount of language contact, and high degree of bilingualism) no productivity testing was conducted, as a substantial amount of interference from Indonesian was expected. This interference would have skewed testees' naïve judgments. Instead, the six affixes were examined in terms of seven language internal and two language external factors considered relevant in establishing the degree of productivity of these affixes.

    The results of this investigation are as follows:

1.   Papuan Malay *TER-* 'ACL' has limited productivity; it indicates accidental or unintentional actions or events. In other eastern Malay varieties and in Standard Malay, the prefix is rather productive; here it also signals accidental or unintentional actions or events.
2.   Papuan Malay *-an* 'PAT' has limited productivity; it typically designates the patient or result of an action. As for other eastern Malay varieties, the suffix is only mentioned for Ambon Malay; its degree of productivity is unclear. In Standard Malay the suffix is very productive. In both varieties, the suffix also indicates the patient or product of an action.
3.   Papuan Malay *PE(N)-* 'AG' has marginal productivity, at best. It typically denotes the subject of the action, event, or state specified by the verbal base; some of the affixed lexemes also receive an intensified intransitive or monotransitive reading. As for other eastern Malay varieties, the prefix seems to have retained its productivity only in Ternate Malay. In Standard Malay, the suffix is very productive. In all the other Malay varieties the prefix also denotes the subject of the action or state specified by the verbal base. A verbal interpretation, but not the intensified reading, is also reported for other eastern Malay varieties. In Standard Malay, by contrast, only lexemes with a monovalent stative base can function as monovalent stative verbs.
4.   Papuan Malay *BER-* 'INTR' is unproductive, whereas in other eastern Malay varieties and Standard Malay the prefix is very productive.
5.   Papuan Malay *-nya* '3POSSR' and *ke-/-ang* 'NMLZ' are unproductive. The same applies to other eastern Malay varieties, while both affixes are very productive in Standard Malay.

2.   Compounding

In Papuan Malay the demarcation between compounds and phrasal expressions is unclear. Neither phonological, morphological, morphosyntactic, nor semantic criteria allow the unambiguous classification of two juxtaposed nouns as compounds and phrasal expressions. Therefore, the term "collocation" is employed as a cover term for such word combinations that differ in transparency from non-compositional idiosyncratic semantics to compositional transparent semantics. Three different

types of collocations are attested, endocentric, exocentric, and coordinative ones. Given the lack of a clear demarcation between compounds and phrasal expressions, it remains unclear to what degree compounding is a productive process.

4. Reduplication

Reduplication refers to "the morphological operation in which a new word (form) is created by copying a word or a part thereof, and affixing that copy to the base (Booij 2007: 321). In Papuan Malay, as in other Austronesian languages, reduplication is a very productive morphological device to derive new words (Himmelmann 2005: 121–125).

With respect to lexeme formation, Papuan Malay makes use of three different types of reduplication: (1) full reduplication, (2) partial reduplication, and (3) imitative reduplication. Alternatively, Wiltshire and Marantz (1978: 558) refer to these reduplication types as "exact total reduplication", "exact partial reduplication", and "inexact partial reduplication", respectively. In terms of lexeme interpretation, a variety of meanings can be attributed to the reduplicated lexemes, such as plurality and diversity, intensity, or continuation and repetition.

Reduplication in terms of lexeme formation is described in §4.1 while lexeme interpretation is discussed in §4.2. This discussion is followed by a comparison of reduplication across different eastern Malay varieties in §4.3. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §4.4.

4.1. Lexeme formation

A phonological approach to reduplication is Marantz's (1982: 436) prosodic template model which views reduplication as "normal affixation" with "one unique feature", namely "the resemblance of the added material to the stem being reduplicated". More specifically, "every reduplication process may be characterized by a 'skeleton' of some sort", either a phonemic melody, "a C-V skeleton, a syllabic skeleton, or a skeleton of morpheme symbols" (1982: 439). The four-tiered representation in (1), taken from Marantz (1982: 437), illustrates how the segments of the four skeleta are linked to each other.

(1)   phonemic melody   p1 p2 p3 p4 p5 p6 p7 …

        C-V skeleton   C   V   C   C   V   C   V

        syllabic skeleton   σ   σ   σ

        morpheme symbol   μ
        p1 = phoneme
        σ = syllable
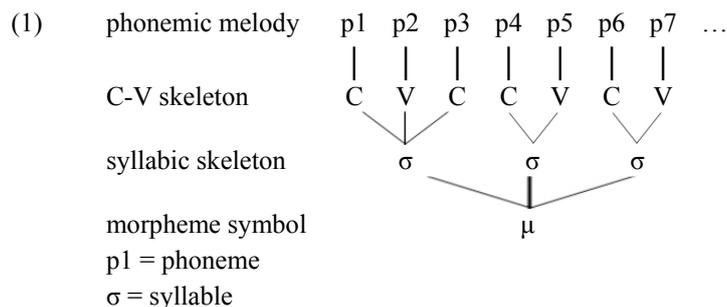
During reduplication, an affixed skeleton receives its phonemic content by "the copying of the stem's phonemic melody on the same tier as the melody and on the same side of the stem melody to which the affix is attached … along with some specific constraints on the autosegmental association of the phonemes of the copied melody with the Cs and Vs of reduplicating morphemes" (Marantz 1982: 445).

Full and partial reduplication use two different types of skeleta. In full reduplication, the affix is a morphemic skeleton or, more specifically, the

morphological word. In partial reduplication, the added material is a syllabic skeleton. In Papuan Malay, this syllabic skeleton is a closed, heavy syllable which gets prefixed to the base. This shows, that in Papuan Malay reduplication in general is prefixal rather suffixal.

Both types of lexeme formation are described in §4.1.1.1 and §4.1.1.2, respectively. Imitative reduplication is discussed in §4.1.1.3.[129]

4.1.1.   Full reduplication

In full reduplication, "the reduplicant matches the base from which it is copied without phoneme changes or additions" (Rubino 2011: 2). That is, in terms of Marantz's (1982) prosodic template model, full morpheme reduplication involves "the addition of a morphemic skeleton to a stem. The morphemic skeleton, lacking a syllabic skeleton, a C-V skeleton, and a phonemic melody, borrows all three from the stem to which it attaches" (1982: 456).

Full reduplication of morphological words is illustrated with the two examples in (2): reduplication of the root **dorang** '3PL', resulting in **dorang~dorang** 'RDP~3PL' in (2a), and reduplication of the derived word **tingkatang** 'level' (**tingkat-ang** 'floor-PAT'), resulting in '**tingkatang~tingkatang** 'RDP~level' in (2b). In each case, the content of the reduplicative affix is obtained by copying the phonemic melody of the base over the morphemic skeleton of the reduplicating affix. This applies to roots as in (2a) as well as to derived words as in (2b).

(2)   a.   [ˌdo.raŋ.ˈdo.raŋ]

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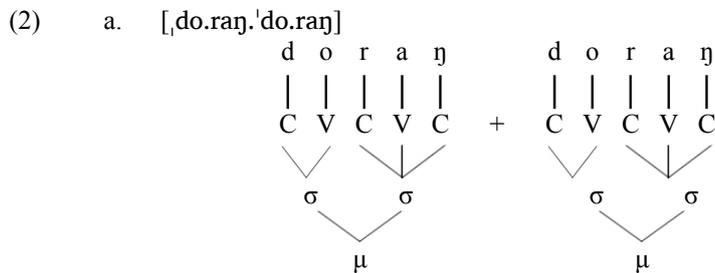
[129]   An alternative, morphological, approach to reduplication is Inkelas and Zoll 's (2005) Morphological Doubling Theory (MDT). Inkelas and Zoll (2005: 25) view reduplication as a process which "couples morphological constituents which agree in their semantic (and syntactic) specifications". While Inkelas and Zoll 's (2005) Morphological Doubling Theory seems to be a convenient model to describe full reduplication in Papuan Malay, it appears that the processes involved in partial reduplication are best explained in terms of Marantz 's (1982) prosodic template model. To better compare full and partial reduplication in Papuan Malay, Marantz 's (1982) model with its skeletal framework is applied to both types of reduplication.

b. [tiŋ.ˌka.taŋ.tiŋ.ˈka.taŋ]

t i ŋ k a t a ŋ   t i ŋ k a t a ŋ
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
C V C C V C V C   +   C V C C V C V C

      σ   σ   σ   σ   σ   σ

              μ   μ
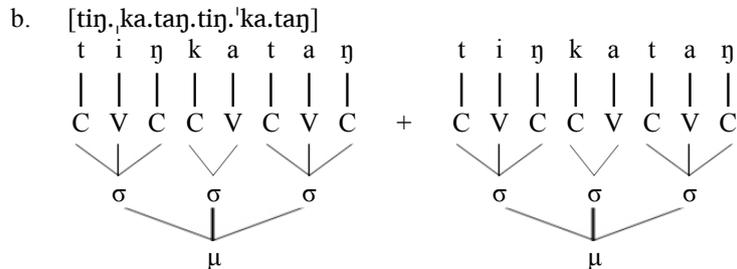
In Papuan Malay, only free morphemes are reduplicated; bound morphemes such as
prefixes are never reduplicated (see Table 1 in §4.1.1.1). Full reduplication is
attested for content words (§4.1.1.1) and some function words (§4.1.1.3). The corpus
also includes a few reduplicated items that do not have an unreduplicated single base
(§4.1.1.2). Reduplication of reduplicated bases is unattested.

4.1.1.1.   Reduplication of content words

Full reduplication most commonly applies to content words. Attested are
reduplicated nouns, verbs, adverbs, numerals, and quantifiers, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1:   Reduplication of content words

Word class	Base	Gloss	Reduplication
Nouns	*ade*	'younger sibling'	*ade~ade*
	bua	'fruit'	*bua~buaang*
	tingkatang	'level'	*tingkatang~tingkatang*
	tulang	'bone'	*tulang~tulang*
Verbs	*baik*	'be good'	*baik~baik*
	ceritra	'fold'	*ceritra~ceritra*
	talipat	'fold'	*talipat~talipat*
	tumpuk	'pile'	*bertumpuk~tumpuk*
Adverbs	*baru*	'recently'	*baru~baru*
	skarang	'now'	*skarang~skarang*
	sring	'often'	*sring~sring*
Numerals	*satu*	'one'	*satu~satu*
	dua	'two'	*dua~dua*
	lima	'five'	*lima~lima*
Quantifier	*banyak*	'many'	*banyak~banyak*
	sedikit	'few'	*sedikit~sedikit*
	sembarang	'any (kind of)'	*sembarang~sembarang*

Four of the content words listed in Table 1 involve affixation: *bua* 'fruit' and
reduplicated *bua~bua-ang* (suffix *-ang* 'PAT'), *tumpuk* 'pile' and reduplicated
ber-tumpuk~tumpuk (prefix *BER-* 'INR'), *tingkat-ang* 'level' and reduplicated
tingkat-ang~tingkat-ang (suffix *-ang* 'PAT'), and *ta-lipat* 'be folded' and

reduplicated ***ta-lipat~ta-lipat*** (prefix ***TER-*** 'ACL'). The four lexeme pairs illustrate that reduplication may precede affixation as with ***bua*** 'fruit' or ***tumpuk*** 'pile' or follow affixation as with ***tingkatang*** 'level' or ***talipat*** 'be folded'. These examples also show that reduplication only affects free morphemes while affixes are never reduplicated.

   Reduplication of content words is demonstrated with the three examples in (3) to (5). Reduplication of a noun is illustrated in (3); in this context reduplicated ***ade*** 'younger sibling' conveys plurality. The utterance in (4) includes a reduplicated verb; in this context, ***lari*** 'run' expresses continuation. And the example in (5) illustrates reduplication of an adverb; in this context prohibitive ***jangang*** 'NEG.IMP, don't' denotes intensity. The three examples illustrate only three of the different meanings expressed with reduplication. Depending on the context, a reduplicated noun can also signal repetition, to name just one other meaning aspect. Along similar lines, a reduplicated verb can also express aimlessness, among other meanings. This variety of different meanings is discussed in detail in §4.2.

(3)   jadi   saya   saya   deng   sa   pu   **ade~ade**   tinggal   di   ruma
        so   1SG   1SG   with   1SG   POSS   RDP~ySb   stay   at   house
        'so I, I and my **younger siblings** stayed at the house' [081014-014-NP.0002]

(4)   kitong   dua   **lari~lari**   sampe   di   Martewar
        1PL   two   RDP~run   reach   at   Martewar
        'the two of us **kept running** all the way to Martewar' [080923-010-CvNP.0009]

(5)   …   tapi   **jangang~jangang**   hujang   di   tenga   jalang
            but   RDP~NEG.IMP   rain   at   middle   street
        '[I want to go to (my) gardens,] but **let's hope** it **won't** rain in the middle of the way' [Elicited BR120813.031]

4.1.1.2.   Reduplication of function words

Some Papuan Malay functions words can also be reduplicated. Attested are reduplicated personal pronouns, demonstratives, locatives,[130] interrogatives, causative verb ***kasi*** 'give', and reciprocity marker ***baku*** 'RECP', as listed in Table 2.

Table 2:   Reduplication of function words

Word class	Base	Gloss	Reduplication
Personal pronouns	***saya*** ***kamu*** ***dorang***	'1SG' '2PL' '3PL'	***saya~saya*** ***kamu~kamu*** ***dorang~dorang***
Demonstratives	***ini*** ***itu***	'D.PROX' 'D.DIST'	***ini~ini*** ***itu~itu***

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[130]   While reduplication of ***sana*** 'L.DIST' is unattested in the present corpus, it does occur, following one consultant.

Word class	Base	Gloss	Reduplication
Demonstratives	*sini* *situ* *sana*	'L.PROX' 'L.MED' 'L.DIST'	*sini~sini* *situ~situ* *sana~sana*
Interrogatives	*siapa* *apa* *kapang*	'who' 'what' 'when'	*siapa~siapa* *apa~apa* *kapang~kapang*
Causative verb	*kasi*	'give'	*kas~kas*
Reciprocity marker	*baku*	'RECP'	*baku~baku*

Reduplication of three different types of functions words and the different meaning aspects conveyed is illustrated in (6) to (8): personal pronouns in (6), locatives in (7), and interrogatives in (8).

(6) **kamu~kamu** ini   bangung, bangung
    RDP~2PL   D.PROX wake.up   wake.up
    Collectivity: '**you all** here wake-up!, wake-up!' [081115-001a-Cv.0330]

(7) ko   lari suda   ke **sana~sana**
    2SG run   already   to RDP~LOC.DIST
    Diversity: 'you run to **somewhere** over there' [Elicited BR120813.016]

(8) … sa   tra   perna lari ke **siapa~siapa**
     1SG NEG   once   run   to RDP~who
    Intensity: '[even (when) my children were already sick,] I've never run to **anyone** (for black-magic help)' [081006-034-CvEx.0028]

4.1.1.3.   Reduplication without corresponding single base

Across word classes, some reduplicated forms do not have an unreduplicated single base. Attested are four nouns, three verbs, one quantifier, and one conjunction, as listed in Table 3.

Table 3:   Reduplication without corresponding single base

Word class	Base	Reduplicated item	Gloss
Nouns	*alang* *kura* *pori* *soa*	*alang-alang* *kura-kura* *pori-pori* *soa-soa*	'cogongrass' 'turtle' 'pore' 'monitor lizard'
Verbs	*belit* *gong* *tele*	*belit-belit* *gong-gong* *tele-tele*	'curve' 'bark (at)' 'talk excessively'
Quantifier	*masing*	*masing-masing*	'each'
Conjunction	*gara*	*gara-gara*	'because'

4.1.2.   Partial reduplication

Partial reduplication is rare in Papuan Malay. This type of reduplication "involves the reiteration of only part of the semantic-syntactic or phonetic-phonological constituent whose meaning is accordingly modified" (Moravcsik 1978: 304).

That is, the added material is not a morphemic skeleton as in the case of full reduplication but the reduplicant is a C-V skeleton or a syllabic skeleton which gets prefixed to the base. If the reduplicant is a C-V skeleton, the "entire phonemic melody of the stem is copied over the affixed C-V skeleton and linked to C and V 'slots' in the skeleton" (Marantz 1982: 437) (concerning the principles involved in this linking see Marantz 1982: 446–447). A "syllabic skeleton, lacking a phonemic melody and a C-V skeleton, borrows both from the stem to which it attaches" (1982: 437).

In Papuan Malay, the reduplicant is a closed heavy syllable which is prefixed to the stem from which it borrows the phonemic melody and C-V skeleton, as shown in (9). In (9a), for example, the initial closed syllable [bap] is copied over the reduplicating syllabic skeleton. With vowel-initial stems, the initial VC is copied over the reduplicating syllabic skeleton. This is shown in (9c) with the initial VC [an] which is copied over the prefixed CVC syllable. These examples also show that the prefixed syllable does not take into account the syllable structure of the base.

(9)   a.   b   a   p   a   b   a   p   a
                 | | | | | | |
                 C   V   C   +   C   V   C   V

                        σ   σ   σ   = [bap.ˈba.pa]

          b.   b   a   r   u   b   a   r   u
                 | | | | | | |
                 C   V   C   +   C   V   C   V

                        σ   σ   σ   = [bar.ˈba.ru]

          c.   a   n   a   a   n   a
                     | | | | |
                 C   V   C   +   C   V   C   V

                        σ   σ   σ   = [a.ˈna.na]

d.

```
        a   p   a                    a   p   a
        |   |                        |   |   |
    C   V   C          +        C    V   C   V
     \  |  /                     \   |    \  /
        σ                           σ        σ          = [a.ˈpa.pa]
```

In Papuan Malay, partial reduplication is only attested for disyllabic lexical roots with penultimate stress. It always involves the partial reduplication of the stressed penultimate syllable of the base, as shown in Table 4. The results are trisyllabic words with penultimate stress. If the base has a CV.CV(C) syllable structure, stress in the reduplicated word remains on the penultimate syllable of the base, as in **bapa~bapa** [bap.ˈba.pa] 'fathers'. With vowel-initial stems, Papuan Malay copies the initial VC sequence, as in **ana~ana** [a.ˈna.na] 'children'. In this case, the reduplicant's segments do not originate from one and the same syllable of the base. That is, partial reduplication in Papuan Malay – as is the case in other languages – can be "oblivious to the prosodic structure of the base from which it copies a melody" (Wiltshire and Marantz 1978: 562). The partially reduplicated forms are alternants of fully reduplicated ones and have the same semantics; [a.ˈna.na] 'children', for instance, is an alternant of [ˌa.na.ˈana] 'children'.

Table 4:   Partial reduplication

Base	Gloss	Reduplicated item	
ana	'child'	***ana~ana***	[a.ˈna.na]
apa	'what'	***apa~apa***	[a.ˈpa.pa]
bapa	'father'	***bapa~bapa***	[bap.ˈba.pa]
baru	'be new, recently'	***baru~baru***	[bar.ˈba.ru]

4.1.3.   Imitative reduplication

The third attested type of reduplication is imitative or rhyming reduplication. Also being referred to as "echo construction", this type "involves reduplication with some different phonological material, such as a vowel or consonant change or addition, or morpheme order reversal" (Rubino 2011: 2).

Imitative reduplication in Papuan Malay is unproductive and rare; attested are only the three lexemes listed in Table 5. The reduplicated component resembles the base in part but also differs from it, in that imitative reduplication involves a vowel change. For one of the attested lexemes, the bare base is also inexistent: ****ngyaung***.

Table 5:   Imitative reduplication with vowel change

Reduplicated item	Gloss	Base	Gloss
ngying~ngyaung	ideophone: cockatoo call	****ngyaung***	---
tuk~tak	ideophone: bang!	***tak***	ideophone: bang!
bola~balik	'move back and forth'	***balik***	'return'

4.2.   Lexeme interpretation

In Papuan Malay, as in other languages, reduplication conveys a variety of different meanings, such as plurality and diversity, intensity, or continuation and repetition. Some of these meaning aspects tend to be limited to certain word classes, while others are conveyed by a variety of different word classes.

The meaning aspects of reduplicated Papuan Malay content words are examined in §4.2.1 to §4.2.4, those of reduplicated function words in §4.2.5. The underlying general meaning or gesamtbedeutung of reduplication is explored in §4.2.6.

4.2.1.   Reduplication of nouns

Across languages, reduplication of nouns has been found to express a variety of meanings such as "number […], case, distributivity, indefiniteness, reciprocity, size (diminutive or augmentative), and associative qualities" (Rubino 2011). In Papuan Malay, the following meaning aspects are attested: plurality and diversity (§4.2.1.1), repetition (§4.2.1.2), and indefiniteness (§4.2.1.3). Reduplicated nouns can also undergo an interpretational shift and receive a verbal or adverbial reading (§4.2.1.4).

4.2.1.1.   Plurality and diversity

A major function of noun reduplication is to signal plurality, given that in Papuan Malay bare nouns are not marked for number. Instead, speakers express plurality as deemed necessary. Depending on the context, the lexical item **ana** 'child', for instance, could also be read as 'children'. One strategy to express plurality overtly is reduplication of nouns.[131] Overall, however, speakers use reduplication only when an unambiguous plural reading is important to them and when the context does not allow such an unambiguous interpretation.

Cross-linguistically, three types of plurality have been identified which are encoded by noun reduplication (Wiltshire and Marantz 1978: 561): collectivity, diversity (or variety), and distributivity.[132] Of these three types, Papuan Malay uses two, namely collectivity as in (10) and (11), and diversity as in (12) and (13). Another type of plurality is indefiniteness (Rubino 2011), which is also found in Papuan Malay, as demonstrated in (16) and (17) in §4.2.1.3.

Reduplication of nouns most often indicates collectivity in the sense of 'all BASE', as shown with **ana~ana** 'children' in (10) and **orang~orang** 'people' in (11).

Reduplicated nouns: Collectivity

(10)   **ana~ana** su   pergi kerja **ana~ana** su   kawin
          RDP~child already go   work RDP~child already marry.inofficially
          [About lonely parents:] '**all the children** already went to work (elsewhere),
          all the children are already married' [080917-010-CvEx.0071]

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[131]   Alternative strategies to indicate plurality are modification with a numeral or quantifier (§8.3), or with a plural pronoun (§6.2.2 and §8.2.3).

[132]   Wiltshire and Marantz (1978: 561) refer to "collectivity" as "simple plurality".

(11)   e,   **orang~orang**   itu   dong   **mara~mara**
        hey! RDP~person   D.DIST   3PL   RDP~feel.angry(.about)

'hey, **all those people**, they'll be really angry (with you)' [080917-008-NP.0053]

Less often, reduplicated nouns signal diversity such as ***bua~bua*** 'various fruit (trees)' in (12), or ***pohong~pohong*** 'various trees' in (13).

      Reduplicated nouns: Diversity

(12)   **bua~bua**   di   sini   banyak
        RDP~fruit   at   L.PROX   many

'there are a many **different kinds of fruit (trees)** here' (Lit. '**the various fruit (trees)** here are many') [080922-001a-CvPh.0425]

(13)   …   ini   suda   tida   begini   lagi   suda   ada
            D.PROX   already   NEG   like.this   again   already   exist

pohong~pohong
RDP~tree

'[in five years, yes,] this (garden) won't be same (as) there are already **various trees** (here)' [081029-001-Cv.0007]

4.2.1.2.   Repetition

Reduplication of nouns denoting periods of the day can indicate repetition. This is illustrated with ***pagi~pagi*** 'every morning' in (14), and ***malam~malam*** 'every evening' in (15). (For alternative readings of reduplicated nouns expressing time divisions, see (17) in §4.2.1.3, and (23) and (24) in §4.2.1.4.)

(14)   **pagi~pagi**   biking   te
        RDP~morning   make   tea

'**every morning** (they) made tea' [081025-009a-Cv.0023]

(15)   ko   jangang   ikut~ikut   orang   tua   **malam~malam**
        2SG   NEG.IMP   RDP~follow   person   old   RDP~night

'don't keep hanging out with the grown-ups **every evening**' [081013-002-Cv.0005]

4.2.1.3.   Indefiniteness

Depending on the context, reduplicated nouns may signal indefiniteness by referring "to an unspecified member of a group" (Brown 2006), in the sense of 'any' or 'some'. This is illustrated with ***om~om*** 'any one of the uncles' in (16), and ***malam~malam*** 'at some point in the evening' in (17). (For alternative interpretations of reduplicated nouns signaling time divisions, see (14) and (15) in §4.2.1.2, and (23) and (24) in §4.2.1.4.)

(16)   baru   titip   di, ini,   **om~om**   dorang
        and.then   deposit   at   D.PROX   RDP~uncle   3PL
        'leave (the letter) with, what's-its-name, **any one of the uncles**' [080922-
        001a-CvPh.0602]

(17)   dia   lewat   pante   **malam~malam**
        3SG   pass.by coast   RDP~night
        'he drove along the beach **at some (point in) the evening**' [081006-020-
        Cv.0016]

4.2.1.4.   Interpretational shift

Reduplicated nouns can also undergo an "interpretational shift" or "type coercion"
(Booij 2007: 212). Depending on the larger linguistic context, such a shift can result
in a stative verbal reading of reduplicated nouns as in (18) to (20), or in an adverbial
reading as in (21) to (24).

Interpretational shift resulting in a stative verbal reading of reduplicated nouns
usually applies to reduplicated kinship terms, taking the predicate slot in nonverbal
clauses. This is illustrated with *ana* 'child' in (18) and *tete* 'grandfather' in (19). In
this context, the reduplicated nouns receive a stative verbal rather than a nominal
reading. That is, referring to specific age groups, they designate pertinent attributes
of their base words, as in *ana~ana* ' be quite small' (literally 'RDP~child') in (18),
or *tete~tete* 'be quite old' (literally 'RDP~grandfather') in (19). In addition, the
corpus contains one example in which a non-kinship term, namely the common
noun *rawa* 'swamp', undergoes a similar interpretational shift, receiving a stative
verbal reading in *rawa~rawa* 'be swampy' in (20).

    Reduplicated nouns: Stative verbal reading

(18)   waktu   itu   sa   masi   **ana~ana**
        time   D.DIST   1SG   still   RDP~child
        'at that time I was still **quite small**' [080922-008-CvNP.0004]

(19)   pace   ni   de   su   **tete~tete**   tapi   masi
        man   D.PROX   3SG   already   RDP~grandfather   but   still

        maing   deng   ana~ana   muda
        play   with   RDP~child   be.young
        'this guy, he's already **quite old** but he still hangs out with the young
        people' [Elicited BR120813.003]

(20)   masi   **rawa~rawa**
        still   RDP~swamp
        [About a road building project:] '(the area is) still **swampy**' [081006-033-
        Cv.0027]

Interpretational shift can also affect reduplicated location nouns or nouns denoting
periods of the day, with the reduplicated nouns receiving an intensified or emphatic
adverbial reading. This is illustrated with the location nouns *depang* 'front' in (21)
and *samping* 'side' in (22), and the temporal nouns *pagi* 'morning' in (23) and

malam 'night' in (24). (For alternative readings of reduplicated nouns designating time divisions, see (14) and (15) in §4.2.1.2, and (17) in §4.2.1.3.)

Reduplicated nouns: Adverbial reading

(21) sa   tunjuk **depang~depang** muka blajar untuk mandiri
      1SG   show   RDP~front   front study   for   stand.alone
      'I point **right into** (their) faces (and tell them), 'study to become independent'' [081115-001a-Cv.0054]

(22) jalang di **samping~samping** itu   pagar itu
      walk   at RDP~side   D.DIST fence D.DIST
      '(he/she) walked **right next to**, what's-its-name, that fence' [081025-006-Cv.0094]

(23) … **pagi~pagi**   jam lima sa   su   masuk di kamar
         RDP~morning   hour five 1SG already   enter   at room
      [About disciplining ill-behaved teenagers:] '[tonight I'll still sleep,] (but tomorrow) **early in the morning** at five o'clock I will already have gone into (their) room' [081115-001a-Cv.0325]

(24) **malam~malam** Ise bawa pulang   dia pi   tidor dengang
      RDP~night   Ise bring go.home 3SG go   sleep with

      de   punya mama
      3SG   POSS   mother

      [About a crying child:] '**late at night** Ise brought (her) home so that she (would) go and sleep with her mother' [081006-025-CvEx.0007]

4.2.2.   Reduplication of verbs

Cross-linguistically, reduplication of verbs tends to encode meaning aspects such as "distribution of an argument, tense, aspect (continued or repeated occurrence; completion; inchoativity), attenuation, intensity, transitivity (valence, object defocusing), or reciprocity" (Rubino 2011; see also Wiltshire and Marantz 1978: 561). In Papuan Malay, the following meaning aspects are attested: continuation, repetition, and habit (§4.2.2.1), plurality and diversity (§4.2.2.2), intensity (§4.2.2.3), immediacy (§4.2.2.4), aimlessness (§4.2.2.5), attenuation (§4.2.2.4), and imitation (§4.2.2.7). Reduplicated verbs can also undergo interpretational shift, in that they can receive an adverbial or nominal reading (§4.2.2.8).

4.2.2.1.   Continuation, repetition, and habit

A major function of verb reduplication is to indicate continuation, repetition, or habit.

The function of signaling continuation is demonstrated with a dynamic verb in (25) and a stative verb in (26). The function of signaling repetition of an action is shown in (27).

Reduplicated verbs: Continuation and repetition

(25)　… ada　　setan　　　datang　**ganggu~ganggu**　kitorang
　　　　　exist　evil.spirit　come　　RDP~disturb　　　　1PL

　　　'[when (we) sleep at night,] there is an evil spirit (who) comes and
　　　continuously bothers (us)' [081006-022-CvEx.0168]

(26)　sa　　pu　　temang　de　　**sakit~sakit**　di　Dok-Dua
　　　1SG　POSS　friend　3SG　RDP~be.sick　at　Dok-Dua

　　　'my friend is being **sick continuously** in the Dok-Dua (hospital)' [Elicited
　　　BR120813.036]

(27)　baru　　　de　　pi　**bicara~bicara**　sa　　begini
　　　and.then　3SG　go　RDP~speak　　　　1SG　like.this

　　　'but then he went to **talk** about me like this **again and again**' [081025-009b-
　　　Cv.0006]

As an extension of marking continuation or repetition, reduplicated verbs may also
signal habit, as shown in (28).

Reduplicated verbs: Habit

(28)　begitu　　de　　besar　baru　　　de　　**nakal~nakal**　　　　begini
　　　like.that　3SG　be.big　and.then　3SG　RDP~be.mischievous　like.this

　　　'he grew up like that, and now he's **mischievous** like this **all the time**'
　　　[080917-010-CvEx.0044]

4.2.2.2.　Plurality and diversity

Verb reduplication may also indicate plurality or diversity of the clausal subject. The
function of signaling plurality is illustrated with the examples in (29) and (30), while
the diversity-marking function of reduplicated verbs is shown in (31) and (32).

(29)　dong taru piring~piring　kaleng　yang　**piring**　yang　**bagus~bagus**
　　　3PL　put　RDP~plate　　　tin.can　REL　　plate　　REL　　RDP~be.good

　　　[About honoring guests:] 'they place tin plates (in front of them) that are
　　　plates that are **good**' [081014-010-CvEx.0015]

(30)　**pisang Sorong**　sana　　tu,　　iii,　**besar~besar**　manis
　　　banana　Sorong　L.DIST　D.DIST　oh!　RDP~be.big　　　sweet

　　　'those **bananas (from) Sorong** over there, oooh, (they) are **all big** (and)
　　　sweet' [081011-003-Cv.0017]

(31)　ko　　pu　　**kwe**　**kras~kras**
　　　2SG　POSS　cake　RDP~be.harsh

　　　'your **various cakes** are **hard**' [Elicited BR120813.034]

(32)　**mobil**　di　jalang　**rusak~rusak**　　karna　　　banjir
　　　car　　　at　street　RDP~be.damaged　because　flooding

　　　'the **various cars** in the street were **broken** because of the flooding'
　　　[Elicited BR120813.035]

4.2.2.3. Intensity

Also, quite commonly reduplicated verbs signal intensity. In such cases, reduplicated dynamic verbs receive the reading 'BASE intensely', as in (33) and (34), while reduplication of stative verbs translates with 'very BASE', as in (35) and (36).

Reduplicated verbs: Intensity

(33) baru   dia   tertawa de   **tertawa~tertawa**
      and.then 3SG   laugh   3SG   RDP~laugh
      'but then he laughed, he **laughed intensely**' [080916-001-CvNP.0004]

(34) orang   **bertriak~triak**   tu
      person   RDP~scream   D.DIST
      'the people were really **screaming intensely**' [081006-022-CvEx.0007]

(35) sa   jalang   sampe   sa   su   **swak~swak**
      1SG   walk   until   1SG   already   RDP~be.exhausted
      'I walked until I was already **very exhausted**' [081025-008-Cv.0038]

(36) … dong   tu   **pintar~pintar**
      3PL   D.DIST   RDP~be.clever
      'they (EMPH) are **very clever**' [081109-001-Cv.0117]

When reduplicated verbs are negated with *tra* 'NEG' or *jangang* 'don't', they express an intensified negative in the sense of 'not BASE at all', as shown in (37) and (38).

Negation of reduplicated verbs

(37) sa   **tra**   **takut~takut**   siapa   pun
      1SG   NEG   RDP~feel.afraid(.of)   who   even
      'I'm **not afraid at all** of anybody' [081006-034-CvEx.0026]

(38) **jangang**   **bli~bli**   di   sini   ini   su   malam
      NEG.IMP   RDP~buy   at   L.PROX   D.PROX   already   night

      '(you) **shouldn't buy** (your sweets at the kiosk) here **at all** (because) it is already night' [080917-008-NP.0061]

4.2.2.4. Immediacy

Reduplicated verbs can indicate immediacy in the sense of 'as soon as BASE', for example. This is illustrated with the reduplicated dynamic verbs in (39) and (40).

(39) **pulang~pulang**   dari   kantor   pace   de   tidor
      RDP~go.home   from   office   man   3SG   sleep

      '**as soon as** (he) **came home** from the office, the man slept' [Elicited BR120813.007]

(40)   mace   ni   **datang~datang** trus   de   makang
        woman   D.PROX   RDP~come   next   3SG   eat
        '**as soon as** this woman **arrived**, she ate' [Elicited BR120813.008]

4.2.2.5. Aimlessness

Quite often, reduplication adds the connotation of aimlessness or casualness. That is, reduplicated verb may signal that an activity is done repeatedly without a specific goal, as in (41) and (42).

(41)   sa   itu   sa   pegang sagu   sa   makang **jalang~jalang**
        1SG   D.DIST   1SG   hold   sago   1SG   eat   RDP~walk
        'as for me, I was holding (some) sago, I ate (it) while **strolling around**'
        [081025-009a-Cv.0073]

(42)   malam   kitong   **duduk~duduk** kitong **menyanyi~menyanyi**
        night   1PL   RDP~sit   1PL   RDP~sing
        'in the evening we were **sitting around**, we were **singing casually**'
        [081025-009a-Cv.0001]

4.2.2.6. Attenuation

Depending on the context, reduplicated stative verbs may signal attenuation in the sense of 'rather BASE', as demonstrated in (43) and (44).

(43)   … biking macang kam   pu   Jayapura pu   sayur
          make   variety 2PL   POSS   Jayapura POSS   vegetable
        gnemo   yang   **pahit~pahit**   itu
        melinjo REL   RDP~be.bitter   D.DIST
        '[then she asked, 'you don't fear the bitter (taste of melinjos)?, then mama
        Pawla said,] 'do you think this (melinjo) is like your Jayapura melinjo
        vegetable which is **somewhat bitter**?'' [080923-004-Cv.0016]

(44)   badan   **kurus~kurus**   rambut ini   tebal   de   pu
        body   RDP~be.thin   hair   D.PROX   be.thick 3SG   POSS
        kuku   ini   **panjang~panjang** kaki   **kurus~kurus**
        digit.nail D.PROX RDP~be.long   foot   RDP~be.thin
        '(his) body was **somewhat thin**, (his) hair was thick, his fingernails were
        rather long, (and his) legs were **rather thin**' [081006-035-CvEx.0077]

4.2.2.7. Imitation

Reduplicated verbs may mark imitation in the sense of 'something is an imitation of X' or 'something is similar to X'. This is illustrated with the dynamic verbs in (45) and (46), and the stative verbs in (47) and (48).

(45) sa   tendang dia   di   kaki   sampe de   **lari~lari babi**
      1SG   kick   3SG   at   leg   reach 3SG   RDP~run pig

      'I kicked him against (his) lower leg with the result that he **staggered**' (Lit.
      'he **ran~ran** (like) **a pig** (which has been shot)') [Elicited BR120813.004]

(46) dia   **mati~mati ayam**
      3SG   RDP~die   chicken

      'he had an **epileptic seizure**' (Lit. 'he **died~died** (like) **a chicken**'; that is,
      he was shaking like a chicken with its head cut off) [Elicited BR120813.006]

(47) pace ni   de   su   **tua~tua**   **kladi**   tapi suka
      man   D.PROX   3SG   already RDP~be.old   taro.root   but   enjoy

      cari   prempuang   muda
      search woman   be.young

      'this guy, he's already **very old** but (he) likes to have young women' (Lit.
      'he's **old~old** (like) **a taro root**)' [Elicited BR120813.038]

(48) prempuang itu   de   pu   kulit **hitam~hitam** panta   blanga
      woman   D.DIST 3SG POSS skin   RDP~be.black   buttock cooking.pot

      'that woman, her skin is **black** (like) the bottom of a frying pan' (Lit. 'her
      skin is **black~black** (like) **the bottom** …') [Elicited BR120813.046]

4.2.2.8. Interpretational shift

Reduplicated verbs can also undergo an interpretational shift (Booij 2007: 212).
Such a shift can result in a nominal reading of reduplicated verbs, as in (49) and
(50), or an adverbial reading, as in (51) to (53).

Reduplicated verbs with a nominal reading typically denote the instrument of the
action specified by the verbal base, such as *garo~garo* 'rake' (literally
'RDP~scratch') in (49) or *gait~gait* 'pole' (literally 'RDP~hook') in (50).

Reduplicated verbs: Nominal reading

(49) tadi   de   pake **garo~garo** buat garo   rumput
      earlier 3SG use   RDP~scratch   for   scratch grass

      'earlier he took a **rake** to rake the grass' [Elicited BR120813.010]

(50) sa   gait mangga deng **gait~gait**
      1SG   hook mango   with RDP~hook

      'I plucked mangoes with a **pole**' [Elicited BR120813.033]

Reduplicated verbs can also receive an adverbial reading, as in (51) to (53). Certain
reduplicated dynamic verbs may take on the function as modal adverbs, such as
taw~taw 'suddenly' (literally 'RDP~know') in (51). Some reduplicated stative verbs
are used as temporal adverbs such as *lama~lama* 'gradually' (literally 'RDP~be.long
(of duration))' in (52), while others are used as manner adverbs, such as *cepat~cepat*
'quickly' (literally 'RDP~be.fast') in (53).

Reduplicated verbs: Adverbial reading

(51) **taw~taw**   orang   itu   tida   keliatang
      RDP~think   person   D.DIST   NEG   be.visible
      'suddenly, that person wasn't visible (any longer)' [080922-002-Cv.0123]

(52) **lama~lama**   de   padat   itu   macang aspal
      RDP~be.long(.of.duration) 3SG   be.solid D.DIST   variety asphalt
      '**gradually**, the lime stone becomes solid like asphalt' [081011-001-Cv.0304]

(53) yo, pak   Hendrik ini   de   bilang mandi **cepat~cepat**
      yes father Hendrik D.PROX 3SG   say   bathe   RDP~be.fast
      'yes, Mr. Hendrik here, he said, 'bathe **quickly**'' [080917-008-NP.0133]

4.2.3.   Reduplication of adverbs

Reduplication of adverbs typically signals intensity, similar to the reduplication of verbs, discussed in §4.2.2 (concerning the similarities between adverbs and verbs, see also §5.4). This is illustrated with the three examples in (54) to (56).

(54) de   bilang de   mo   kerja tapi **paling~paling** de   tidor
      3SG say   3SG want work but   RDP~most   3SG   sleep
      'he says, he wants to work but **most likely** he'll sleep' [Elicited
      BR120813.015]

(55) **skarang~skarang** de   ada   di   polisi
      RDP~now   3SG   exist at   police
      '**right now** he/she is at the police (station)' [Elicited BR131231.002]

(56) sa   pu   kaka **sring~sring** ke   Jayapura
      1SG POSS oSb   RDP~often   to   Jayapura
      'my older sibling (travels) to Jayapura very often' [Elicited BR131231.001]

4.2.4.   Reduplication of numerals and quantifiers

Across languages, reduplication of numerals "has been found to express various categories including collectives, distributives, multiplicatives, and limitatives" (Rubino 2011). In Papuan Malay, reduplicated numerals typically express collectivity or distributiveness, while quantifiers signal distributiveness.

   Reduplicated numerals have two meaning aspects. They may express collectivity in the sense of 'all BASE' as in (57) and (58), or signal distributiveness in the sense of 'BASE by BASE' as in (59) and (60).

Reduplication of numerals: Collectivity and distributiveness

(57) yo, kas   tinggal **dua~dua**
      yes give   stay   RDP~two
      'yes, let **both of them** stay' [080919-006-CvNP.0018]

(58)   … karna   pesta   tu   de   su   kasi   mati   **tiga~tiga**
        because   party   D.DIST 3SG   already give   die   RDP~three
        '[he/she has three pigs (but)] because of that festivity he/she already killed
        all three of them' [Elicited BR120813.043]

(59)   … jadi   lega   ada   lepas~lepas   **satu~satu**
        so   be.relieved   exist   RDP~free   RDP~one
        '[fortunately, (the people) over there have already received Jesus,] so (you)
        can feel relieved, they were freed **one-by-one**' [081025-007-Cv.0017]

(60)   sa   minum   **lima~lima**   mangkok
        1SG   drink   RDP~five   cup
        [About the lack of water during a retreat:] 'I drank **five** cups (**every
        morning**)' (Lit. '**five-by-five** cups') [081025-009a-Cv.0070]

Reduplicated quantifiers signal distributiveness, as in (61) and (62).

        Reduplication of quantifiers: Distributiveness

(61)   … kariawan   dong   **banyak~banyak**   dong   baru   turung   ini
        employee   3PL   RDP~many   3PL   recently descend   D.PROX
        [Waiting for other boat passengers:] 'the employees came recently
        down(stream) **in groups of numerous people**' (Lit. '**many-by-many**')
        [080922-001a-CvPh.0812]

(62)   dong   blum   isi   selaing   dong   isi   **sedikit~sedikit**   to?
        3PL   not.yet   fill   besides   3PL   fill RDP~few   right?
        [About how best to distribute food during a retreat:] 'they haven't yet filled
        (their plates), moreover **each one of them** (should) fill (their plates with)
        little (food), right?' (Lit. '**little by little**') [081025-009a-Cv.0081]

4.2.5.   **Reduplication of function words**

Reduplication of function words occurs considerably less often than that of content
words. This section describes reduplication of the following function words:
personal pronouns (§4.2.5.1), demonstratives and locatives (§4.2.5.2), interrogatives
(§4.2.5.3), and causative verb **kasi** 'give' and reciprocity marker **baku** 'RECP'
(§4.2.5.4).

4.2.5.1.   Personal pronouns

Reduplication of personal pronouns has three meaning aspects. Depending on the
context, reduplicated personal pronouns signal collectivity as in (63), disparagement
as in (64), or imitation[133] as in (65).

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[133] As mentioned in §4.2.2.7, the term *imitation* includes meanings such as 'something is an
imitation of X' or 'something is similar to X'.

(63) **kamu~kamu** ini   bangung   bangung   bangung   bangung
     RDP~2PL   D.PROX wake.up   wake.up   wake.up   wake.up
     '**all of you** here wake-up, wake-up, wake-up, wake-up' [081115-001a-Cv.0329]

(64) knapa **saya~saya** saja yang bapa   kasi   tugas
     why   RDP~1SG   just   REL   father give   duty
     'why is it (always) **poor me** whom father gives chores' [Elicited BR120813.025]

(65) **dorang~dorang** tra   perna kasi   bersi   halamang
     RDP~3PL   NEG   ever   give   be.clean yard
     '**people like them** never clean (their) yard' [Elicited BR120813.024]

4.2.5.2. Demonstratives and locatives

Reduplicated demonstratives express diversity as in (66) and (67).[134] Depending on the context, reduplicated locatives may signal diversity as in (68), or emphasize the core meaning of the respective locative, as in (69).

(66) setela itu   nanti   buat   **ini~ini**
     after   D.DIST very.soon make   RDP~D.PROX
     'soon after that (they) did **these various** (things)' [080923-013-CvEx.0030]

(67) … yang laing   **itu~itu**   honorer   smua   itu
     REL   be.different RDP~D.DIST be.honorary all   D.DIST
     '[there are no school teachers, only him and Markus,] (as for) the others, **those various** (teachers) are all honorary (teachers)' [081011-024-Cv.0054]

(68) jadi de   bapa   ke Jayapura tinggal   **situ~situ**
     so   3SG father to   Jayapura   stay   RDP~L.MED
     'so her father (went) to Jayapura and lived **there in a number of different places**' [081011-023-Cv.0163]

(69) … di   sini   ada   air   mari   **sini~sini**
     at   L.PROX exist   water   hither RDP~L.PROX
     '[(you) may fish from up here,] here is water, (come) here, **right here**' [081025-003-Cv.0093]

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[134] Demonstrative sequences such as *itu tu* 'D.DIST D.DIST' also convey intensity or emphasis, as discussed in detail in§7.1.2.3. Given its phonological properties, however, juxtaposed *itu tu* 'D.DIST D.DIST' is not taken as an instance of partial reduplication. As discussed in §4.1.1.2, partial reduplication of the stem *itu* 'D.DIST' should result in the reduplicated form *it~itu* 'D.DIST~D.DIST'. Therefore, *itu tu* 'D.DIST D.DIST' is taken as an instance of demonstrative stacking (see §5.6.4).

4.2.5.3. Interrogatives

Reduplication of interrogatives signals indefiniteness, as shown in (70) to (73). That is, speakers employ reduplication "when not all members of a class of objects are referred to, but when any one or some one member of it is" (Moravcsik 1978: 319), such as *siapa~siapa* 'anybody' in (70) or *mana~mana* 'wherever' in (72).

(70)   yo,   tida bole kas   taw   **siapa~siapa**
        yes   NEG   may   give know   RDP~who
        'yes, (you) must not tell **anybody**' [080922-001a-CvPh.0288]

(71)   saya tida biking **apa~apa** karna   babi   suda   mati
        1SG   NEG   make   RDP~what   because pig   already die
        [About hunting a wild pig:] 'I didn't do **anything** because the pig was already dead' [080919-004-NP.0023]

(72)   di   **mana~mana** smua pake ini   tajam   besi   ini
        at   RDP~where   all   use   D.PROX   be.sharp metal D.PROX
        [About sagu production:] '**no matter where** everybody uses it, this sharp metal' [081014-006-CvPr.0059]

(73)   nanti   **kapang~kapang** ka ko   jalang~jalang ke   mari
        very.soon RDP~when   or 2SG   RDP~walk   to   hither
        'later **whenever** (you have time) you come here' [Elicited BR120813.029]

Alternatively, speakers may use the bare interrogative followed by the focus adverb *saja* 'just' to encode indefinite referents, as discussed in §5.8.8.

4.2.5.4. Causative verb *kasi* 'give' and reciprocity marker *baku* 'RECP'

Reduplication of the causative verb *kasi* 'give' and reciprocity marker *baku* 'RECP', as in (74) and (75) respectively, signals repetition or continuation. (For more details on causative and reciprocal constructions, see §11.2 and §11.3, respectively.)

(74)   knapa kam **kas~kas** bangung dia de   masi   mo   tidor
        why   2PL RDP~give   wake.up 3SG 3SG still want sleep
        'why do you **keep** waking him up?, he still wants to sleep' (Lit. '**give~give** to wake up') [080918-001-CvNP.0039]

(75)   itu   sampe tong **baku~baku** tawar   ini   deng dosen
        D.DIST   reach 1PL   RDP~RECP   bargain D.PROX   with lecturer
        'it got to the point that we and the lecturer were arguing **constantly with each other**' [080917-010-CvEx.0177]

4.2.6. Gesamtbedeutung of reduplication

Reduplication in Papuan Malay conveys a number of different meaning aspects ranging from plurality and diversity to disparagement and imitation. This variety in meaning raises two questions: first, does reduplication have a "gesamtbedeutung" or

underlying "general meaning" (Jakobson 1984), and second, is there a specific
relation between the meaning and the syntactic class of the base word.

Table 6 lists the Papuan Malay word classes which attract reduplication and the
meaning aspects they convey.

Table 6:   Word classes and meaning aspects in reduplication

Dimension		Meaning aspects	Word class of base
Augmentation	Quantity	Continuation/repetition/habit	N, V, CAUS, RECP
	Quantity	Plurality/diversity	N, V, DEM, LOC
	Quantity	Collectivity	NUM, PRO
	Quantity	Distributiveness	NUM, QT
	Intensity	Intensity	V, ADV, LOC
	Intensity	Immediacy	V
Diminution		Disparagement	PRO
		Indefiniteness	N, INT
		Aimlessness	V
		Attenuation	V
		Imitation	V, PRO

Some of the meaning aspects which reduplication in Papuan Malay conveys include
"contradictory senses" (Moravcsik 2013: 130). The aspect *immediacy*, for instance,
represents an increase in intensity, while the aspect *aimlessness* refers to a decrease
in intensity. This phenomenon that reduplication brings together a variety of
meanings, some of which are opposite, is quite common cross-linguistically (see, for
instance, Kiyomi 2009: 1151, Mattes 2007: 124–125, Moravcsik 2013: 129–133,
and Regier 1994).

Examining the "crosslinguistically recurrent semantic properties of
reduplication", Moravcsik (2013: 131) comes to the conclusion that

> reduplication may be viewed as a marking device to indicate that the word is
> to be understood in an out-of-the-ordinary sense: the meaning deviates from
> the normal sense of the base either by being "more" or by being "less".

These contradictory meaning aspects of augmentation and diminution have also
been noted for Malayo-Polynesian languages. In her study on reduplication in 30 of
these languages, Kiyomi (2009: 1151) considers these two meanings of
reduplication to be

> two manifestations of the same semantic principle of 'a …er degree of …',
> which is projected in the opposite directions. Then one can postulate that the
> prototypical meanings of reduplication represent the semantic principle 'A
> HIGHER/LOWER DEGREE OF …'

The overview presented in Table 6 indicates that this semantic principle of "a …er
degree of …" in terms of augmentation or diminution also accounts for the different
meaning aspects of reduplication in Papuan Malay.

In Papuan Malay, the notion of 'higher degree of …' involves augmentation in
terms of quantity or intensity. Moravcsik (1978: 317, 321) specifies that in the

context of reduplication quantity can refer to the "participants of [an] event or the events themselves", while intensity refers to the amount of "energy investment or size of effect". In Papuan Malay, augmentation of quantity includes meaning aspects such as plurality or repetition, while increase in intensity includes the meaning aspects of intensity and immediacy, as listed in Table 6.

The notion of 'lesser degree of …' involves diminution which typically "adds the meaning of smallness to the stem meaning" (Kiyomi 2009: 1153). As Jurafsky (1993: 424) points out, however, the diminutive exhibits a variety of "metaphorical extensions" which involve "meaning shifts from the physical world to the social domain, and from the physical world to the conceptual or category domain". Such semantic extensions of the diminutive are also found in Papuan Malay, in that the semantic effect of diminution brings together the meaning aspects of disparagement, indefiniteness, aimlessness, attenuation, and imitation.

The *disparagement* sense is linked to the notion of diminution metaphorically in that it has to do with *social importance or power*. The *indefiniteness* sense is also a metaphorical extension in that it conveys *toned-down reference*. Likewise, the *aimlessness* sense is linked to the notion of diminution in that it denotes actions which are done with *less intensity*. The *attenuation* sense is a metaphorical extension of the core sense *size* in that it denotes properties which are *weaker*, or activities which are carried out *less intensely*. The *imitation* sense refers to objects or activities which copy or imitate what the base denotes. This sense is linked to the core sense of diminution in that the objects and activities are not identical with their models but merely resemble them *a little bit*. (See Jurafsky 1993: 426, 430, Mattes 2007: 125, and Moravcsik 2013: 129–130; see also Mattes, p.c. 2013.)

In summarizing the above and in applying Kiyomi's (2009: 1151) terminology, it is concluded that in Papuan Malay, the gesamtbedeutung of reduplication is 'a HIGHER/LOWER DEGREE OF …'. Table 7 gives examples for the two dimensions of augmentation and diminution conveyed by reduplication.

Table 7:   Gesamtbedeutung of reduplication

Dimensions		Item	Gloss	
Augmentation	Quantity	***ana~ana***	RDP~child	'children'
	Intensity	***pintar~pintar***	RDP~be.clever	'be very clever
Diminution	Attenuation	***kurus~kurus***	RDP~be.thin	'rather thin'
	Imitation	***mati~mati***	RDP~die	'die like …'

With respect to the relation between the meaning and the syntactic class of the base word, two major observations are made. First, across word classes, reduplicated lexemes differ in terms of the meaning aspects which they convey. Second, meaning aspects differ as regards the range of word classes they attract for reduplication.

First, concerning the reduplicated lexemes and the meaning aspects they convey, the gathered data indicates that within certain word classes reduplication tends to convey more than one specific meaning. Reduplication in certain verbs, for example, can express immediacy while in other verbs it signals continuation or repetition. It is notably content words which carry this variety of different meanings, that is, nouns, verbs, and numerals. In addition, reduplication within two classes of function words

also conveys more than one meaning aspect, namely in the classes of personal pronouns and locatives. Reduplication within the other three classes of function words, by contrast, tends to carry specific meanings: reduplicated demonstratives express diversity, interrogatives indicate indefiniteness, and the causative and reciprocity markers signal continuation or repetition. In relating the word classes which attract reduplication to certain meaning aspects, it is noted, however, that the meaning of a given reduplicated form is more than the meaning of its constituents. The fact that the entire reduplicated form and not its individual constituents carry this meaning, indicates a "holistic" or constructional meaning of the reduplicated forms (Booij 2013: 260–261).

Second, regarding the meaning aspects and the range of word classes they attract for reduplication, the continuation/repetition/habit meaning aspect brings together the largest number of different word classes, namely nouns, verbs, and the causative and reciprocity markers. The meaning aspect of plurality/diversity also brings together several word classes, namely nouns, verbs, demonstratives, and locatives. Another pertinent meaning aspect is intensity, which attracts three different word classes for reduplication. Four more meaning aspects, which attract two word classes each for reduplication, are collectivity, distributiveness, indefiniteness, and imitation. The remaining meaning aspects seem to attract only one word class each for reduplication, that is, verbs for casualness, immediacy, and attenuation, and personal pronouns for disparagement. These observations suggest that there is not a specific, one-to-one relation between the meaning and the syntactic class of the base word.

4.3.   Reduplication across eastern Malay varieties

Reduplication is also very common in other eastern Malay varieties, such as Ambon Malay (AM) (van Minde 1997: 112–140) , Banda Malay (BM) (Paauw 2008: 160, 206), Kupang Malay (KM) (Paauw 2008: 160, 171–173, 206, 252–253), Larantuka Malay (LM) (Paauw 2008: 161, 171–173, 206, 256–258), Manado Malay (MM) (Stoel 2005: 25–28) , or Ternate Malay (TM) (Litamahuputty 2012: 136–139). This section compares reduplication across these Malay varieties in terms of lexeme formation (§4.3.1), lexeme interpretation (§4.3.2), and interpretational shift (§4.3.3), as far as mentioned in the literature. For comparison, reduplication in Papuan Malay is also included. Also included for comparison is Standard Indonesian (SI) (MacDonald 1976, Mintz 2002, and Sneddon 2010).

4.3.1.   Lexeme formation

Similar to Papuan Malay, the above-mentioned six Malay varieties also employ full reduplication, as shown in Table 8. Typically, reduplication affects content words, while reduplication of function words does not occur everywhere. Manado and Ternate Malay also employ reduplication of bound morphemes. The data in Table 8 also shows which varieties use a combination of reduplication and affixation, and in which varieties reduplicated forms without corresponding base words are found. Besides Papuan Malay, only two of the six other eastern Malay varieties use partial and imitative reduplication, namely Ambon and Larantuka Malay.

Table 8:   Lexeme formation across eastern Malay varieties and Standard Indonesian[135]

1. Full reduplication								
a) Content words (productive)								
N	PM	AM	BM	KM	LM	MM	TM	SI
V	PM	AM		KM	LM	MM	TM	SI
ADV	PM	AM				MM		SI
NUM	PM	AM		KM		MM		SI
QT	PM				LM			
b) Function words (unproductive)								
PRO	PM	AM		KM	LM	MM		SI
DEM	PM	AM						
LOC	PM	AM						
INT	PM	AM		KM	LM			
CAUS	PM							
RECP	PM					MM	TM	
c) Bound morphemes (unproductive)								
PFX						MM	TM	
d) Reduplication and affixation (productive)								
RDP prec. AFFX	PM	AM			LM	MM		SI
AFFX prec. RDP	PM	AM		KM				SI
e) No corresponding base words (unproductive)								
N	PM	AM						SI
V	PM	AM						SI
QT	PM							
ADV		AM						SI
CNJ	PM	AM						SI
2. Partial reduplication								
productive	PM	AM			LM			
unproductive								SI
3. Imitative reduplication (unproductive)								
	PM	AM			LM			SI

The data given in Table 8 shows that reduplication in Ambon Malay is about as pervasive as in Papuan Malay, with both varieties sharing many features. This applies to the attested reduplication types (full, partial, and imitative), as well as to the attested morpheme types which can be reduplicated. For the five other eastern Malay varieties and Standard Indonesian, reduplication seems to play a much lesser role, as shown by the gaps in Table 8. For the eastern Malay varieties, this applies

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[135] Abbreviations: AFFX = affixation; prec. = precedes.

especially to the reduplication of function words; furthermore, these varieties appear
not to have reduplicated forms which lack a corresponding unreduplicated base.
Two explanations present themselves for these observations. One explanation is that
the commonalities between Papuan Malay and Ambon Malay, together with the lack
of overlap with the five other eastern Malay varieties, are due to the distinct history
of Papuan Malay, argued for in §1.2. An alternative explanation is that the
differences among the eastern Malay varieties are due to differing degrees of depth
with which the different authors describe reduplication in the Malay varieties
presented in Table 8. This grammar on Papuan Malay, as well as that of Ambon
Malay, and also those of Standard Indonesian, describe reduplication as a word-
formation process rather thoroughly, while the descriptions of the five other eastern
Malay varieties mention only the most salient features of reduplication in these
varieties; hence, the rather large number of gaps in Table 8.

4.3.2.   Lexeme interpretation

As in Papuan Malay, the gesamtbedeutung of reduplication in the six other eastern
Malay varieties is 'a HIGHER/LOWER DEGREE OF …'. Table 9 gives examples for this
gesamtbedeutung across the seven Malay varieties.

Table 9:   Gesamtbedeutung of reduplication across eastern Malay varieties

Dimensions[136]	Malay	Item	Gloss	
AUG.QUANT	PM	*bua~bua*	RDP~fruit	'various fruits'
	AM	*kata~kata*	RDP~word	'words'
	BM	*orang~orang*	RDP~person	'people'
	KM	*buku~buku*	RDP~book	'books'
	LM	*ana~ana*	RDP~child	'children'
	MM	*dua~dua*	RDP~two	'all two, both'
	TM	*ular~ular*	RDP~snake	'snakes'
AUG.INTENS	PM	*pintar~pintar*	RDP~be.clever	'be very clever
	AM	*biru~biru*	RDP~be.green	'be very green'
	LM	*uma~ame*	RDP~chew	'chew wildly'
	MM	*kita~kita*	RDP~1SG	'constantly me'
	TM	*ba~ba–diang*	RDP~INT–be.quiet	'be very quiet'
DIM	PM	*kurus~kurus*	RDP~be.thin	'rather thin'
	AM	*malu~malu*	RDP~be.ashamed	'shy as'
	KM	*apa~apa*	RDP~what	'anything'
	LM	*apa~apa*	RDP~what	'anything'
	MM	*saki~saki*	RDP~be.sick	'sickly'

Table 10 demonstrates in more detail which word classes attract reduplication and
which meaning aspects they convey in all seven Malay varieties.

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[136]   Abbreviations: AUG = augmentation, DIM = diminution, QUANT = quantity, INTENS =
intensity.

First, the data in Table 10 shows that across the seven Malay varieties, reduplication of content words tends to convey more than one meaning aspect, while reduplicated function words tend to carry specific meaning aspects, such as indefiniteness for interrogatives. The exception is Manado Malay, where reduplication of content words tends to carry a specific meaning, such as plurality for nouns.

Second, the data in Table 10 illustrates that in the other eastern Malay varieties some meaning aspects also attract a wider range of word classes for reduplication than other meaning aspects. This applies to the plurality/diversity, the intensity, the continuation/repetition/habit, and the indefiniteness meaning aspects.

Of all the eastern Malay varieties, the different meaning aspects attested in Papuan attract the widest range of different word classes. For Ambon Malay, the range of attracted word classes is also rather large. In the other eastern Malay varieties, however, the attracted range of word classes is much smaller. At this point, it remains unclear, though, whether these smaller ranges are due to inherent properties of these varieties or due to incomplete documentation in the respective literature.

Table 10: Word classes and meaning aspects in reduplication across eastern Malay varieties[137]

	PM	AM	BM	KM	LM	MM	TM
Augmentation (quantity)							
Continuation/ repetition/habit	N, V, ADV, RECP, CAUS	V		V	V	V, PFX	V, PFX
Plurality/ diversity	N, V, DEM, LOC	N, V	N	N	N	N	N, V
Collectivity	NUM, PRO	NUM				NUM	
Distributiveness	NUM, QT						
Involvement						PRO	
Totality		N	N				
Casualness	V				V		V
Augmentation (intensity)							
Intensity/ Immediacy	V, ADV, LOC V	V, ADV			V	ADV	V, PFX
Diminution							
Disparagement	PRO						
Indefiniteness	N, INT	DEM, INT		PRO, INT	PRO, INT		
Attenuation	V	V					

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[137] In Table 10, the category of prefixes (PFX) in Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 27) and Ternate Malay (Litamahuputty 2012: 139) includes the reciprocal marker **baku** 'RCP'. Reduplicated Ternate Malay "activity words" (Litamahuputty 2012: 136–138) are included in the word class of verbs.

	PM	AM	BM	KM	LM	MM	TM
Vagueness Imitation	V, PRO	ADV V, PRO					

Overall, there is not a specific, one-to-one relation between the meaning aspects of the reduplicated lexemes and the syntactic class of the corresponding base words in any of the Malay varieties discussed here.

4.3.3.   Interpretational shift

Interpretational shift of reduplicated lexemes, as described for Papuan Malay (see §4.2.1.4 and §4.2.2.8), is also attested for Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 118, 123, 125), Larantuka Malay (Paauw 2008: 126, 270), Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 26), and Ternate Malay (Litamahuputty 2012: 220).

With respect to the patterns of interpretational shift, two observations are made, summarized in Table 11. First, in each of the varieties for which interpretational shift is mentioned, it is content words that may undergo such a shift. Second, the Malay varieties differ in terms of the syntactic categories of the base and the readings which the reduplicated forms can receive. In Papuan and Ambon Malay, nouns and verbs can undergo interpretational shift, while in Manado Malay only nouns and in Larantuka and Ternate Malay only verbs are affected. Most often, such shifts result in the reduplicated form receiving an adverbial reading. Such is the case in Papuan, Ambon, Larantuka, and Ternate Malay; the exception is Manado Malay. Considerably less often the shift results in a nominal reading (Papuan and Ambon Malay) or verbal reading (Papuan Malay) of reduplicated lexemes.

Table 11:   Patterning of interpretational shift across eastern Malay varieties

Syntactic category		Reduplicated forms and their meanings		Received reading
Nouns	PM	***rawa~rawa*** RDP~swamp	'be swampy'	verbal
		malam~malam RDP~night	'late at night'	adverbial
	AM	***malang~malang*** RDP~night	'during the night'	adverbial
	MM	***opa~opa*** RDP~grandfather	'quite old'	verbal
Verbs[138]	PM	***gait~gait*** RDP~hook	'pole'	verbal
		baru~baru~ RDP~be.new	'just now'	adverbial

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[138]   The 'verb' category includes Manado Malay adjectives and Ternate Malay "quality words" (Litamahuputty 2012: 136–138).

Syntactic category	Reduplicated forms and their meanings		Received reading
AM	***gai~gai*** RDP~hook	'pole'	nominal
	kamuka~kamuka RDP~go.first	'formerly, earlier'	adverbial
LM	***tiba~tiba*** RDP~arrive	'suddenly'	adverbial
TM	***asik~asik*** RDP~busy	'busily'	adverbial

The ability of reduplicated lexemes to undergo interpretational shift seems to be best explained in terms of a slot filling-function of reduplication. Cross-linguistically, temporal noun phrases, for instance, are prone to fill adverbial slots; an example is the English sentence 'she came home late at night'.

Hence, in this grammar of Papuan Malay, the interpretational shifts described in §4.2.1.4 and §4.2.2.8 are taken to result from a slot filling-function of reduplication. That is, reduplication enables base words to fill different syntactic slots, such as an adverbial or nominal slot.

In Ternate Malay, interpretational shifts also seem to be the results of a slot-filling function of reduplicating, with Litamahuputty (2012: 220) noting that "both reduplicated quality words and activity words may serve to express manner when they immediately follow an activity". For Ambon Malay, by contrast, van Minde (1997: 118, 123, 125) considers the observed interpretational shifts as "transpositions" which result from "derivational" processes. For Manado Malay, Stoel (2005: 26) notes that when kinship terms or similar words are reduplicated "then the reduplicated form is an adjective referring to a certain age group". This statement suggests that Stoel (2005) considers interpretational shifts to result from a category-changing function of reduplication. For Larantuka Malay, Paauw (2008: 126, 270) does not discuss the attested interpretational shifts.

4.4. Summary

Reduplication in Papuan Malay is a very productive morphological device for deriving new words. In terms of lexeme formation, three different types of reduplication are attested: full, partial, and imitative reduplication. The most common type is full reduplication, which involves the repetition of an entire root, stem, or word; bound morphemes are not reduplicated. Full reduplication usually applies to content words, although some function words can also be reduplicated. Partial and imitative reduplication are rare. The gesamtbedeutung of reduplication is "a HIGHER/LOWER DEGREE OF …" in the sense of augmentation and diminution (Kiyomi 2009: 1151). There is, however, no specific, one-to-one relation between the meaning aspects of the reduplicated lexemes and the syntactic class of the corresponding base words.

A comparison of reduplication in Papuan Malay and five other eastern Malay varieties shows that Papuan Malay shares many features with Ambon Malay. In both

varieties, reduplication plays an important role. In Banda, Manado, Larantuka, and Ternate Malay, by contrast, reduplication seems to be much less pervasive. These commonalities and differences may well point to the particular history of Papuan Malay, argued for in §1.2. The observed differences could, however, also result from gaps in the descriptions of Banda, Manado, Larantuka, and Ternate Malay.

5.   Word classes

5.1.   Introduction

This chapter discusses the Papuan Malay word classes, or parts of speech. Some of the word classes are examined in more detail in separate chapters.

The notion of "word class" is defined as a class of "words that share morphological or syntactic properties" (Asher 1994: 5188). In general, pertinent criteria for establishing class membership are a "word's distribution, its range of syntactic functions, and the morphological or syntactic categories for which it is specifiable" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 1–2). In Papuan Malay, morphological criteria do not play a major role in distinguishing different word classes, given the lack of inflectional morphology and the rather limited productivity of derivational patterns (see §3.1). Instead the main criteria for defining distinct word classes are their syntactic properties.

Based on their syntactic properties, three open and several closed lexical classes are distinguished. It is acknowledged, however, that Papuan Malay has membership overlap between a number of categories (see §5.16). Most of this variation involves verbs, including overlap between verbs and nouns, which is typical of Malay varieties and other western Austronesian languages. In discussing lexical and syntactic categories in western Austronesian languages,[139] Himmelmann (2005: 127) points out, that "the syntactic distinction between nouns and verbs is often somewhat less clearly delineated in that word-forms which semantically appear to be verbs easily and without further morphological modification occur in nominal functions and vice versa". This applies especially to languages with "multifunctional lexical bases, that is, "lexical bases which occur without further affixation in a variety of syntactic functions" (2005: 129).

Regarding the analytical consequences of such overlap, Himmelmann (2005: 128) notes that most authors "assume underlying syntactic differences based on the semantics of the forms", analyzing such instances of variation "as involving zero conversion". As far as the description of regional Malay varieties is concerned, this approach is accepted by, for example, van Minde (1997) in his grammar of Ambon Malay, by Stoel (2005) in his description of Manado Malay, and by Paauw (2008: 250) in his discussion of regional Malay varieties such as Banda Malay, Kupang Malay, or Larantuka Malay. Some authors, however, "argue for a basic lack of a morphosyntactic noun/verb distinction", as Himmelmann (2005: 128) points out. Examples for this alternative approach are Gil's (2013) description of Riau Indonesian (see also Gil 1994), Himmelmann's (2008) analysis of Tagalog (see also Himmelmann 1991), and Litamahuputty's (2012) grammar of Ternate Malay.

In discussing Papuan Malay lexical and syntactic categories in this grammar, nouns and verbs are analyzed as belonging to distinct word classes, in spite of the attested variation in membership, discussed in §5.16. This approach is chosen because of the distinct syntactic properties of the categories under discussion, as

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[139]   More specifically, Himmelmann (2005: 112) refers to western Austronesian "symmetrical voice languages", that is languages that have "at least two voice alternations marked on the verb, neither of which is clearly the basic form".

shown in more detail throughout this chapter. In cases of variation, the category membership of a given lexeme can usually be deduced from the context in which an utterance occurs. Rather than proposing additional special word classes for lexical items with dual distribution, the lexemes in question are analyzed as having dual class membership and the variation as involving zero conversion.

In the next two sections, the two major open lexical classes of nouns and verbs are discussed. The class of nouns, described in §5.2, includes common nouns, proper nouns, and location nouns. Verbs, discussed in §5.3, are divided into trivalent, bivalent, and monovalent verbs, with the class of monovalent verbs including dynamic and stative verbs. Adverbs, discussed in §5.4, constitute the third open word class. The closed word classes are then described, that is, personal pronouns in §5.5, demonstratives in §5.6, locatives in §5.7, interrogatives in §5.8, numerals in §5.9, quantifiers in §5.10, numeral classifiers in §5.11, prepositions in §5.12, and conjunctions in §5.13. The remaining two sections of this chapter discuss tags, placeholder and hesitation makers, interjections, and idiophones (§5.14), and kinship terms (§5.15). The final section of this chapter (§5.16) discusses the categories with variation in word class membership.

5.2.   Nouns

Papuan Malay has a large open class of nouns which refer to persons, things, and places, as well as abstract concepts and ideas. Papuan Malay nouns have the following defining syntactic and functional properties:

1. Head function in noun phrases is predominant (Chapter 8); in addition, nouns also have predicative function in non-verbal clauses (Chapter 12).
2. Argument function (subject, object, or indirect object) in verbal clauses is predominant (Chapter 11).[140]
3. Quantification (with numerals and quantifiers) and modification with adnominal constituents (including verbs, personal pronouns, demonstratives, locatives, interrogatives, other nouns, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and/or relative clauses) (Chapter 8).
4. Negation only with **bukang** 'NEG' (§13.1).
5. In adnominal possessive constructions, nouns can express the possessor and/or the possessum (Chapter 9).

Morphological properties do not play a major role in defining nouns as a distinct word class. This is due to the lack of inflectional morphology and the limited role of derivational processes. The latter include reduplication, and, to a limited extent, affixation with suffix **-an** or prefix **PE(N)-** (for details see §3.1.3 and §3.1.4).

Nouns are distinct from other word classes such as verbs (§5.3), personal pronouns (§5.5), and demonstratives (§5.6) in terms of the following distributional properties:

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[140] As Givón (2001: 59) points out, it is technically speaking "not the noun but rather the *noun phrase* that assumes the various grammatical roles … However, within the noun phrase, a noun is typically the syntactic and semantic *head*, defining the type of entity involved. All other elements in the noun phrase are *modifiers* of that head noun".

1. Nouns are distinct from verbs (a) in terms of their predominant functions as heads in noun phrases and as arguments in verbal clauses, (b) in that they can be quantified, and (c) in that they are only negated with **bukang** 'NEG'.
2. Unlike adverbs, nouns (a) have predicative uses, and (b) can modify other nouns.
3. Nouns are distinct from personal pronouns, in that nouns (a) can be modified with personal pronouns, while personal pronouns are not modified with nouns, and (b) can express the possessum in adnominal possessive constructions, while personal pronouns do not take this slot.
4. Nouns can be modified with demonstratives, whereas demonstratives cannot be modified with nouns.

Based on their syntactic properties, the nouns are divided into the following classes: common nouns (§5.2.1), proper nouns (§5.2.2), location nouns (§5.2.3), and direction nouns (§5.2.4). Also included is a section on time-denoting nouns (§5.2.5).

5.2.1. Common nouns

Common nouns have general reference, in that they "do not refer to individual entities ('tokens') but only connote classes ('types') of entities" (Givón 2001: 58). In Papuan Malay, two types of common nouns can be distinguished, count nouns and mass nouns. While a count noun designates "a separate, one of a number of such entities which can be counted", a mass noun "denotes a quantity or mass of unindividuated material" (Asher 1994: 5108, 5144). Examples of count and mass nouns, both concrete and abstract, are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Count and mass nouns

Concrete count nouns		Abstract count nouns	
ana	'child'	*adat*	'tradition'
bawang	'onion'	*berkat*	'blessing'
celana	'trouser'	*dosa*	'sin'
daung	'leaf'	*jatwal*	'schedule'
hutang	'forest'	*kwasa*	'power'
jaring	'net'	*pamali*	'taboo'
sumur	'well'	*tanggal*	'date'
tikus	'rat'	*tuju*	'goal'

Concrete mass nouns		Abstract mass nouns	
ampas	'waste'	*cinta*	'love'
busa	'foam'	*baw*	'smell'
dara	'blood'	*dana*	'funds'
garam	'salt'	*duka*	'grief'
minyak	'oil'	*hikmat*	'wisdom'
nasi	'cooked rice'	*iman*	'faith'
susu	'milk'	*ongkos*	'expenses'
te	'tea'	*umur*	'age'

Count nouns can be modified with numerals as in (1) and (2) as well as with quantifiers as in (3) to (6). The numerals and quantifiers can occur in prehead position, as in (1), (3), or (5), or in post-head position as in (2), (4), or (6). (Concerning the position of adnominal numerals vis-à-vis their head nominal and the semantics, see §5.9 and §8.3.1.)

       Count nouns[141]

(1)   **dua orang**   'two people'
        two person

(2)   **orang dua**   'both people'
        person two

(3)   **banyak orang** 'many people'
        many person

(4)   **orang banyak** 'many people'
        person many

(5)   **sedikit orang** 'few people'
        few person

(6)   **orang sedikit** 'few people'
        person few

Mass nouns can be modified with quantifiers, which always occur in post-head position, as in (7) and (8). That is, the quantifiers cannot occur in post-head position, as shown with the ungrammatical constructions in (9) and (10). Also, mass nouns cannot co-occur with numerals, neither in pre- nor in post-head position, as shown in (11) and (12). (As for the position of adnominal quantifiers vis-à-vis their head nominal and the semantics involved, see §5.10 and §8.3.2.)

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[141]   Documentation of count nouns: *dua* 'two' 080919-001-Cv.0022, BR111017-002.003, *banyak* 'many' 081006-023-CvEx.0007, 081029-004-Cv.0021, *sedikit* 'few' BR111021.014, BR111021.015.

Mass nouns[142]

(7)   ***sagu banyak***   'lots of sago'
        sago many

(8)   ***sagu sedikit***   'little sago'
        sago few

(9)   ****banyak sagu***   Intended reading: 'lots of sago'
        many sago

(10)   ****sedikit sagu***   Intended reading: 'little sago'
        few sago

(11)   ****dua sagu***   *'two sago'
        two sago

(12)   ****sagu dua***   *'two sago'
        sago two

5.2.2.   Proper nouns

Proper nouns have specific reference in that they "refer to individual entities (or specific groups)" (Givón 2001: 58). Hence, proper nouns are distinct from common nouns, which have general reference. More specifically, proper nouns express the names of specific people and geographical places. In Papuan Malay proper nouns are distinct from common nouns in terms of the following properties:

1.   Proper nouns can be modified with the following constituents: monovalent stative verbs, personal pronouns, demonstratives, locatives, interrogatives, numerals, quantifiers, or relative clauses (Chapter 8). Unlike common nouns, they are not readily modified with other nouns, noun phrases, or prepositional phrases.
2.   Proper nouns always occur as bare nouns; they are not reduplicated (Chapter 4.1.1.1).
3.   Proper nouns typically express the possessor but not the possessum in adnominal possessive constructions (Chapter 9).
4.   Proper nouns may be loan words.

Some examples of person and place names attested in the present corpus are presented in Table 2. Original Papuan Malay names, however, do not exist as such. The person names are very commonly taken from the Bible or originate from European languages. Family or clan names and place names originate from local languages, such as the Papuan language Isirawa (see also §1.1.2). The examples in Table 2 also illustrate that person names with more than two syllables are most commonly shortened to two-syllable names.

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[142]   Documentation of mass nouns: ***banyak*** 'many' BR111021.015, BR111021.017, ***sedikit*** 'few' BR111021.016, BR111021.018, ***dua*** 'two' BR111021.019, BR111021.020.

Table 2:   Proper nouns: Person and place names

Male person names		Female person names	
Long form	Short form	Long form	Short form
Abimelek	*Abi*	*Antonia*	*Anto*
Benyamin	*Beni*	*Fransiska*	*Siska*
Dominggus	*Domi*	*Gerice*	*Ice*
Edwart	*Edo*	*Hendrika*	*Ika*
Hermanus	*Herman*	*Isabela*	*Ise*
Kornelius	*Kori*	*Magdalena*	*Magda*
Lodowik	*Lodo*	*Pawlina*	*Pawla*
Martinus	*Tinus*	*Samalina*	*Lina*
Pontius	*Ponti*	*Sarlota*	*Ota*
Sokarates	*Ates*	*Yohana*	*Hana*
Clan and family names		Place names	
Aweta	*Manierong*	*Arbais*	*Mararena*
Cawem	*Merne*	*Betaf*	*Rotea*
Catwe	*Sefanya*	*Dabe*	*Sarmi*
Domanser	*Sope*	*Karfasia*	*Takar*
Kaywor	*Yapo*	*Liki*	*Webro*

Modification of proper nouns with monovalent stative verbs, personal pronouns,
demonstratives, locatives, interrogatives, numerals, quantifiers, and relative clauses
is illustrated in (13) to (20), respectively.[143]

(13)   ***Jayapura besar itu***   'that big (city of) Jayapura'
         Jayapura be.big. D.DIST

(14)   ***Iskia de***   'Iskia' (Lit. 'he Iskia')
         3SG

(15)   ***Sarmi itu***   'that (city of) Sarmi'
         Sarmi D.DIST

(16)   ***Paynete situ***   'Paynete there'
         Paynete L.MED

(17)   ***Muay mana?***   'which Muay?'
         Muay where?

(18)   ***Suebu satu ni***   'this certain (member of the)
         Suebu one D.PROX   Suebu (family)

(19)   ***Sope banyak***   'many Sope (family members')
         Sope many

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[143]   Documentation of modifiers: verb 081011-024-Cv.0142, pronoun 080916-001-
        CvNP.0003, demonstrative 080917-008-NP.0043, locative 080917-008-NP.0118,
        interrogative 080922-001a-CvPh.1245, numeral 080922-002-Cv.0052, quantifier 080922-
        010a-NF.0269, relative clause 080919-006-CvNP.0017.

(20) ***Wili yang tinggal***   '(it's) Wili who'll stay'
      Wili REL stay

When addressing interlocutors or talking about others, speakers very commonly introduce person names with common nouns that indicate kinship relations or are used as honorifics, as shown in Table 3. Likewise, place names are often preceded by common nouns denoting geographical entities.

Table 3:   Introduced person and place names[144]

Introduced person names	
ade Aris	'younger sibling Aris'
mama Sance	'mama Sance'
bapa-tua Fredi	'uncle Fredi'
tete Daut	'grandfather Daut'
mace Agustina	'Ms. Agustina'
pace Alpeus	'Mr. Alpeus'
Introduced places names	
kampung Harapang	'village of Harapang'
kota Sarmi	'city of Sarmi'
kali Biri	'river Biri'
pulow Sarmi	'island of Sarmi'

5.2.3.   Location nouns

Location nouns, or locative nouns, designate locations rather than physical objects. The Papuan Malay location nouns are given in Table 4, together with their token frequencies in the present corpus.

Table 4:   Papuan Malay location nouns

Item	Gloss	# tokens
atas	'top'	146
bawa	'bottom'	116
blakang	'backside'	92
dalam	'inside'	230
depang	'front'	102
luar	'outside'	79
pinggir	'border'	23
samping	'side'	24
sebla	'side'	110

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[144]   Documentation of person names: 080922-001a-CvPh.1096, 081011-024-Cv.0123, 081014-005-Cv.0002, 081014-014-CvNP.0084.
Documentation of place names: 080922-002-Cv.0049, 080917-008-NP.0018, 081025-008-Cv.0008, 080917-008-NP.0126.

Item	Gloss	# tokens
sekitar	'vicinity'	17
tenga	'middle'	42

Location nouns are distinct from common nouns (§5.2.1) in terms of the following properties:

1.   In their nominal uses, location nouns (a) only occur in prepositional phrases, (b) can be modified with nouns, demonstratives, or locatives, but with no other constituents, and (c) do not take the possessor or possessum slots in adnominal possessive constructions.[145]

2.   In their adnominal uses, location nouns are juxtaposed to common nouns only; that is, unlike common nouns, they cannot be stacked.

Location nouns are distinct from direction nouns (§5.2.4) in that they can be modified with juxtaposed adnominal nouns, while direction nouns cannot be modified in this way.

    The nominal uses of the location nouns are discussed in §5.2.3.1 and their adnominal uses in §5.2.3.2.

5.2.3.1.   Nominal uses

In their nominal uses, the location nouns always occur inside prepositional phrases and are typically modified with a juxtaposed adnominal noun such that 'PREP N.LOC N'. Semantically, N.LOC N noun phrases are characterized by the subordination of the adnominal noun in N2 position under the head nominal location noun in N1 position (see also §8.2.2).

    The main function of location nouns is to specify the spatial relationship between a figure and the ground (Levinson and Wilkins 2006: 3), with the ground being encoded by the juxtaposed adnominal noun. The location nouns more fully specify the spatial relationship between figure and ground than is achieved by a bare preposition that introduces the ground. This is illustrated with the contrastive examples in (21) to (23) and in (24) and (25).

    'PREP N.LOC N' versus 'PREP N' prepositional phrases

(21)   ***di***   ***atas***   ***pohong***   'in the top of the tree'   [081006-023-CvEx.0061]
       at   top   tree

(22)   ***di***   ***bawa***   ***pohong***   'under the tree'   [081109-002-JR.0002]
       at   bottom   tree

(23)   ***di***   ***pohong***   'in the tree   [081006-023-CvEx.0080]
       at   tree

(24)   ***di***   ***pinggir***   ***kali***   'alongside the river'   [081011-001-Cv.0167]
       at   border   river

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[145]   The exception is ***blakang*** 'backside'. It also has the body part meaning 'back'. As such it can denote the possessum in an adnominal possessive construction such as ***sa pu blakang*** '1SG POSS backside' 'my back' [081015-005-NP.0032].

(25) **di**   **kali**   'in the river'   [080919-004-NP.0030]
      at   river

More examples illustrating the nominal uses of locations nouns in prepositional
phrases are given in (26) to (36).

Location nouns with nominal modifier[146]

(26) **atas**   'top'   **dari atas kursi**   'from the top of the
                                from top chair   chair'

(27) **bawa**   'bottom'   **di bawa meja**   'below the table'
                                at bottom table

(28) **blakang** 'backside'   **dengang blakang kapak** 'with the backside of the
                                with backside axe   axe'

(29) **dalam**   'inside'   **di dalam kamar**   'inside the room'
                                at inside room

(30) **depang**   'front'   **di depang greja tu**   'in front of that church'
                                at front church

(31) **luar**   'outside'   **ke luar negri**   'abroad'
                                to outside country

(32) **pinggir** 'border'   **di pinggir jalang**   'alongside the road'
                                at border road

(33) **samping** 'side'   **di samping ruma**   'beside the house'
                                at side house

(34) **sebla**   'side'   **ke sebla darat**   'landwards'
                                to side land

(35) **sekitar** 'vicinity'   **di sekitar Pante-Barat** 'in the vicinity of Pante-
                                at vicinity Pante-Barat Barat'

(36) **tenga**   'middle'   **di tenga hutang**   'in the middle of the
                                at middle forest   forest'

In the examples in (26) to (36), the ground, encoded by the adnominal noun in N2
position, is mentioned overtly. If the ground is understood from the context, though,
the adnominal noun denoting it can be omitted and the location noun is used as an
independent nominal as in (37) to (40). In (37) the ground is understood from the
speech situation: it is the house where the speech acts occurs. In (38) to (40) the
ground is understood from the discourse: it is **kitorang tiga** 'we three' in (38),
sumur 'well' in (39), and **bandara** 'airport' in (40).

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[146] Documentation: **atas** 'top' 081025-008-Cv.0162, **bawa** 'bottom' 081025-009b-Cv.0018,
       blakang 'backside' 081106-001-Ex.0002, **dalam** 'inside' 081025-006-Cv.0039, **depang**
       'front' 081115-001a-Cv.0139, **luar** 'outside' 081025-003-Cv.0159, **pinggir** 'border'
       080918-001-CvNP.0060, **samping** 'side' 081014-014-CvNP.0046, **sebla** 'side' 081109-
       001-Cv.0026, **sekitar** 'vicinity' 081011-024-Cv.0140, **tenga** 'middle' 080927-009-
       CvNP.0037.

Location nouns with omitted nominal modifier

(37) tida usa   kamu duduk **di depang**
      NEG   need.to 2PL   sit   at   front

      ana   prempuang itu   duduk **di blakang**
      child woman   D.DIST sit   at   backside

      'it's not necessary that you sit **in front (of the house)**, as for girls, (they) sit
      in the back (of the house)' [081115-001a-Cv.0317]

(38) kitorang tiga   … naik   di motor   … Martina **di tenga**
      1PL   three   ascend   at motorbike   Martina   at   middle

      'we three … got onto the motorbike … Martina was **in the middle**'
      [081015-005-NP.0020]

(39) sumur itu   masi   ada   … **di dalam tu**   ada   senjata
      well   D.DIST still exist   at   inside D.DIST   exist rifle

      'that well still exists … **inside there** are rifles' [080922-010a-CvNF.0120-
      0121]

(40) pas   turung   bandara Sentani pas   de   ketemu dengang
      be.exact descend airport Sentani be.exact 3SG   meet   with

      Wamena dorang, pas   Wamena dong **di pinggir situ**
      Wamena 3PL   be.exact Wamena 3PL   at   border   L.MED

      'the moment (he) landed (at) Sentani airport, he met the Wamena people,
      right then the Wamena people were (sitting) **alongside (the airstrip) there**'
      [081109-009-JR.0003]

The examples in (39) and (40) also illustrate that an independently used location
noun can be modified with a demonstrative or a locative, respectively.

   As shown so far, location nouns more fully specify the spatial relationship
between a figure and the ground than is achieved by a bare preposition that
introduces the ground. If the specific spatial relationship can be deduced from the
context, though, the location noun can be omitted as illustrated with elided *atas* 'top'
in (41) and *dalam* 'inside' in (42).

Omitted location nouns

(41) de   kas   turung   mama   Petrus **dari** ~~atas~~ **kursi** to?
      3SG give descend mother Petrus   from   ~~top~~   chair   right?

      'he (the evil spirit) threw mother Petrus **from (the top of her) chair**,
      right?' [081025-008-Cv.0158]

(42) dong mandi **di** ~~dalam~~   **kamar mandi sana**
      3PL   bathe   at   ~~inside~~ room   bathe   L.DIST

      'they were bathing **in(side of) the bathroom over there**' [081109-001-
      Cv.0081]

5.2.3.2.   Adnominal uses

In their adnominal uses, the location nouns are juxtaposed to common nouns or, although much less frequently, to common nouns with juxtaposed adnominal personal pronouns, such that 'N (PRO) N.LOC'. In their adnominal uses, they signal locational relations. Overall, though, the adnominal uses of location nouns are marginal: of a total of 981 tokens, only 35 (4%) have adnominal uses, whereas 946 have nominal uses (96%).

In designating locational relations, the location nouns have restrictive function. That is, they signal that the referent encoded by the head nominal is precisely the one situated in the spatial location designated by the location noun. Thereby, the location noun aids the hearer in the identification of the referent, as in *jalang atas* 'upper road' in (43), *rem blakang* 'rear brakes' in (44), or *tetangga dong sebla* 'them neighbors (that are) next door' in (49). The locational relation can also be figurative as in *generasi bawa* 'next generation' in (51) or *dunia luar* 'outside world' or temporal as in *bulang depang* 'next month' in (52). Adnominal uses for *sekitar* 'vicinity' are unattested in the present corpus.

Locational relations: Spatial and figurative[147]

(43)	*atas*	'top'	*jalang atas* road top	'the upper road' (Lit. 'the road on top')
(44)	*blakang*	'backside'	*rem blakang* brake backside	'rear brakes'
(45)	*dalam*	'inside'	*kolor dalam* shorts inside	'undershorts'
(46)	*luar*	'outside'	*dunia luar* world outside	'outside world'
(47)	*pinggir*	'border'	*tana pinggir* ground border	'the ground along the side'
(48)	*samping*	'side'	*sak samping* bag side	'side pocket
(49)	*sebla*	'side'	*tetangga dong sebla* neighbor 3PL side	'the neighbors next door'
(50)	*tenga*	'middle'	*kolam tenga* big.hole middle	'the pond in the middle'
(51)	*bawa*	'bottom'	*generasi bawa* generation bottom	'next generation' (Lit. 'generation at the bottom')
(52)	*depang*	'front'	*bulang depang* month front	'next month' (Lit. 'month in front')

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[147] Documentation: *atas* 'top' BR111031-001.005, *blakang* 'backside' 081022-002-Cv.0013, *dalam* 'inside' 081025-006-Cv.0023, *luar* 'outside' 081029-002-Cv.0033, *pinggir* 'edge' 080923-010-CvNP.0010, *samping* 'side' BR111031-001.004, *sebla* 'side' 081006-035-CvEx.0067, *tenga* 'middle' 081014-006-Pr.0037, *bawa* 'bottom' 081011-024-Cv.0148, *depang* 'front' 080921-011-Cv.0012.

5.2.4.   Direction nouns

Direction nouns express cardinal directions and relative directions. The former designate the four principal compass points, while the latter express left-right orientation. The Papuan Malay direction nouns are presented in Table 4, together with their token frequencies in the present corpus (given their low token frequencies, most examples in this section are elicited).

Table 5:   Papuan Malay cardinal and relative directions

Item	Gloss	# tokens
utara	'north'	---
slatang	'south'	---
barat	'west'	10
timur	'east'	5
kiri	'left'	1
kanang	'right	2

Direction nouns have the following distributional properties:

1.   Direction nouns occur in prepositional phrases as independent heads of the noun phrase within the prepositional phrase; they do not occur as head nominals in unembedded noun phrases.
2.   Direction nouns have adnominal uses; that is, they occur in noun phrases with a preceding noun as nominal head.
3.   Direction nouns can be modified with adnominally used demonstratives or locatives.

Direction nouns are distinct from common nouns (§5.2.1) and location nouns (§5.2.3) in terms of the following properties:

1.   Contrasting with common nouns, direction nouns (a) do not head noun phrases, (b) are only modified with demonstratives and locatives, and (c) do not occur in adnominal possessive constructions, neither as the possessor nor as the possessum.
2.   Contrasting with location nouns, direction nouns do not occur with juxtaposed adnominal nouns when employed as nominals in prepositional phrases.

Direction nouns typically occur as complements in prepositional phrases, as shown with the four cardinal directions in (53) to (56) and the two relative directions in (57) and (58). Direction nouns can be modified with demonstratives as in *utara ini* 'this north' in (53) or *kiri ini* 'this left' in (57), or with locatives as in *slatang sana* 'south over there' in (54) or *kana sana* 'right over there' in (58).

    Direction nouns as complements in prepositional phrases

(53)   sa   pu   prahu hanyut sampe ke   **utara ini**
        1SG   POSS boat   drift   reach   to   north   D.PROX
        'my boat drifted up to the **north here**' [Elicited BR130103.018]

(54) pohong gaharu   tu   paling banyak di **slatang sana**
      tree   agarwood D.DIST most   many   at south   L.DIST
      'agarwood trees are most common in the **south over there**' [Elicited
      BR130103.017]

(55) de   blang, a   sa   datang dari **barat**
      3SG   say   ah! 1SG   come   from west
      'he said, 'ah, I come from the **west**'' [080922-010a-CvNF.0237]

(56) pesawat ini   de   terbang ke **timur** dulu
      airplane D.PROX 3SG fly   to east   be.prior
      'this plane it flies to the **east** first' [Elicited BR130103.014]

(57) pesawat de   terbang dari **kiri ini**,   baru   lewat
      airplane 3SG fly   from left   D.PROX   and.then pass.by
      sana   trus ke Wamena
      L.DIST next to Wamena
      'the plane flies from the **left here** and passes by over there (and) and then
      (it flies on) to Wamena' [Elicited BR130103.022]

(58) ko   jalang trus   baru   ko   putar
      2SG   walk   be.continuous   and.then 2SG   turn.around
      ke   **kanang sana**
      to   right   L.DIST
      'you walk on only then you turn to the **right over there**' [Elicited
      BR130103.005]

In (57) and (58) the preposition is obligatory. With certain verbs such as *belok* 'turn'
in (59), however, the preposition may also be omitted, an alternation that requires
further investigation.

      Elision of the preposition

(59) di jembatang depang ko   belok Ø **kanang** trus   di jembatang
      at bridge   front   2SG turn   right   next   at bridge
      depang lagi   ko   belok Ø **kiri**
      front   again 2SG   turn   left
      'at the bridge ahead you turn **right**, and then at the next bridge you turn
      left' [Elicited BR130103.002]

In their adnominal uses, the direction nouns are juxtaposed to a head nominal.
Semantically, these noun phrases designate 'subtype-of' relations as in ***bagiang
barat*** 'western part' and ***bagiang timur*** 'eastern part' in (60), or they denote
locational relations as in ***sebla kiri*** 'left side' in (61), or in ***tangang kanang*** 'right
hand/arm' in (62).

      Adnominal uses of direction nouns

(60) kalo **bagiang barat** itu   kasiang prempuang tokok prempuang
      if   part   west   D.DIST pity   woman   tap   woman

```
        ramas  tapi   kalo  bagiang timur  tida
        press  but    if    part    east   NEG
```
        [About regional differences within the regency:] 'as for the **western part**
        there, (it's a) pity, the women tap (and) the women press (the sagu) but as
        for the **eastern part** (it's) not (like that)' [081014-007-CvEx.0025-0026]

(61)   lapangang bola kaki ada   di **sebla kiri**
        field   ball foot exist at side   left
        'the football field is on the **left side**' [Elicited BR130103.011]

(62)   tulang yang **tangang kanang** ini   su   kluar   ke samping
        bone   REL hand   right   D.PROX already go.out to side
        [About an accident:] 'the bone of the **right arm** here already stuck out
        sideways' [081108-003-JR.0006]

5.2.5.   Time-denoting nouns

The label 'time-denoting nouns' refers to nouns which denote time units (§5.2.5.1),
the periods of the day (§5.2.5.2), the days of the week and months of the year
(§5.2.5.3), and relative time (§5.2.5.4). Time-denoting nouns have the same
syntactic properties as common nouns (for details see §5.2.)

5.2.5.1.   Time units

Table 6 lists the different time-denoting nouns that divide a year into smaller units.

Table 6:   Time units

Item	Gloss	Item	Gloss
titik	'second'	*minggu*	'week'
minit	'minute'	*bulang*	'month'
jam	'hour'	*taung*	'year'
hari	'day'		

The time units listed in Table 6 are count nouns that can be modified with numerals
or quantifiers as illustrated in (63) to (65). In addition to designating a time unit,
minggu 'week' also denotes a day of the week, namely 'Sunday' (see Table 8).

(63)   bapa   bilang begini,   tunggu **lima blas minit** to?
        father say   like.this wait   five teens minute   right?
        'father said like this, 'wait **fifteen minutes**, right?!'' [081025-006-Cv.0175]

(64)   jadi baru   **sembilang bulang** sa   pi layani di greja   itu
        so   recently nine   month   1SG go serve   at church D.DIST
        'so it's just been **nine months** (that) I've been serving in that church'
        [080927-006-CvNP.0010]

(65) **setiap hari** dong latiang
      every day PL practice
      '**every day** they practice' [081109-006-JR.0001]

5.2.5.2. Periods of the day

Table 7 presents the time-denoting nouns for the four periods of the day. More specifically, *pagi* 'morning' designates the period from just after midnight until about eleven o'clock, while *siang* 'midday' refers to the time from eleven o'clock until fourteen hours. The next period, *sore* 'afternoon', lasts until about eighteen hours when darkness sets in, while *malam* 'night' denotes nighttime.

Table 7:   Periods of the day

Item	Gloss	Item	Gloss
pagi	'morning'	*sore*	'afternoon'
siang	'midday'	*malam*	'night'

The four periods-of-the-day expressions are count nouns that can be modified with numerals or quantifiers as shown in (66) and (67). In addition, these expressions are also used as modifiers within noun phrases as in (68) to (70).

     Head and modifier functions

(66) saya hanya bisa makang kasi makang dorang **satu malam** saja
      1SG only be.able eat give eat 3PL one night just
      'I can only eat, feed them just **one night**' [081011-020-Cv.0080]

(67) ko harus **setiap pagi** harus jalang trus
      2SG have.to every morning have.to walk be.continuous
      [About attending school:] 'you have to (go to school) **every morning**, (you) have to go regularly' [080917-007-CvHt.0004]

(68) tra ada **snek pagi**
      NEG exist snack morning
      'there was no **morning snack**' [081025-008-Cv.0079]

(69) **hari senin sore itu** smua harus hadir
      day Monday afternoon D.DIST all have.to attend
      [About volleyball training:] '**next Monday afternoon** everyone has to attend' [081109-001-Cv.0053]

(70) dari jam dua blas tong makang sampe **jam satu siang**
      from hour two teens 1PL eat until hour one midday
      'we ate from twelve o'clock until **one o'clock midday**' [081025-008-Cv.0085]

Within the clause, the four expressions typically occur at clause boundaries. Most often, they occur in clause-initial position where they set the temporal stage for the entire clause. Alternatively, although less often, the temporal expressions occur in

clause-final position, where they are less prominent. This is illustrated in (71) to (74) with near contrastive examples. The time expression ***pagi*** 'morning' occurs in clause-initial position in (71) and in clause-final position in (72). Likewise, ***malam*** 'night' occur in clause-initial position in (73) and in clause-final position in (74).

      Positions within the clause

(71)   **pagi**   kitong   datang   lagi   dong   kasi   makang
        morning 1PL   come   again   3PL   give   eat
        [About a youth retreat:] '**in the morning**, we came again, they fed (us)' [081025-009a-Cv.0024]

(72)   kemaring   sa   datang   **pagi**
        yesterday 1SG   come   morning
        'yesterday, I came **in the morning**' [080922-002-Cv.0021]

(73)   … **malam** sa   berdoa
          night   1SG   pray
        '[when they said (that) he was very very sick,] **in the evening** I prayed (for him)' [080923-015-CvEx.0010]

(74)   pas   bapa   berdoa **malam itu**,   pagi   de   meninggal
        be.exact father pray   night   D.DIST morning 3SG   die
        '(my) father prayed **that evening**, and right away in the morning he (the boy) died' [081025-009b-Cv.0039]

The periods-of-the-day expressions are also used in greetings, as illustrated in (75) to (78).

      Usage in greetings

(75)   slamat   **pagi**   pak
        be.safe morning father
        'good **morning** Sir' [080923-011-Cv.0002]

(76)   slamat   **siang**   ana
        be.safe midday   child
        'good **midday** child' [080922-001a-CvPh.1260]

(77)   slamat   **sore**   smua
        be.safe afternoon all
        'good **afternoon** you all' [081110-002-Cv.0001]

(78)   slamat   **malam** pak   pendeta
        be.safe night   father pastor
        'good **evening** Mr. Pastor' [080925-003-Cv.0240]

5.2.5.3.   Days of the week and months of the year

The seven days of the week and the twelve months of the year are listed in Table 8.

Table 8:   Days of the week and months of the year

Days of the week			
Item	Gloss	Item	Gloss
senin	'Monday'	***jumat***	'Friday'
slasa	'Tuesday'	*saptu*	'Saturday'
rabu	'Wednesday'	*minggu*	'Sunday'
kamis	'Thursday'		
Months of the year			
Item	Gloss	Item	Gloss
januari	'January'	***juli***	'July'
februari	'February'	*agustus*	'August'
maret	'March'	*september*	'September'
april	'April'	*oktober*	'October'
mey	'May'	*nofember*	'November'
juni	'Juni'	*desember*	'December'

Typically, the days of the week and the months of the year occur in N1 N2 noun phrases, headed by the common nouns *hari* 'day' and ***bulang*** 'month', respectively (see Table 6; see also §8.2.2). Examples for the days of the week are given in (79) and (80) and for the months of the year in (81). Occasionally, however, speakers omit *hari* 'day' or ***bulang*** 'month' as with *rabu* 'Wednesday' in (80) and with ***oktober*** 'October' and *januari* 'January' in (82), respectively.

(79)   yo   bapa,   **hari minggu** sa   datang
         yes   father   day   Sunday   1SG   come
         'yes father, **on Sunday** I'll come' [080922-001a-CvPh.0344]

(80)   **hari slasa**   itu   …   de   pu   ana   prempuang meninggal
         day   Tuesday   D.DIST   3SG   POSS   child   woman   die

         jadi   tong   tinggal   di   ruma   sampe   **rabu**
         so   1PL   stay   at   house   until   Wednesday
         'that **Monday** … his daughter died, so we stayed at home until **Wednesday**' [080925-003-Cv.0001]

(81)   ko   pu   alpa   banyak   di   **bulang oktober**
         2SG   POSS   be.absent many   at   month   October
         'you have lots of (unexcused) absences in **October**' [081023-004-Cv.0015]

(82)   o   nanti   **oktober**   e   **januari** baru   kitong   antar
         oh!   very.soon   October   uh   January   and.then   1PL   bring
         [About wedding customs:] 'oh later in **October** uh **January**, and then we'll bring (our daughter to your house)' [081110-005-CvPr.0049]

5.2.5.4.   Relative time

Relative time is expressed with the three time-denoting nouns and two phrasal expressions presented in Table 9.

Table 9:   Relative time

Item	Gloss
kemaring dulu yesterday be.prior	'the day before yesterday'
kemaring	'yesterday, some time ago'
hari ini day D.PROX	'today'
besok	'tomorrow, some time in the future'
lusa	'the day after tomorrow'

Within the clause, the relative-time denoting expressions typically occur in clause-initial position. Here they set the temporal stage for the entire clause, similar to the nous denoting periods of the day, discussed in §5.2.5.2. This is illustrated with the examples in (83) to (85). Alternatively, but less often, the relative-time expressions occur in clause-final position where they are less prominent, as shown in (86). The contrast in meaning conveyed by the different positions within the clause is illustrated with **besok** 'tomorrow' in the near contrastive examples in (85) and (86). By fronting **besok** 'tomorrow' in (85), the speaker accentuates the temporal setting of the entire clause. This is not the case in (86), where **besok** 'tomorrow' occurs between the subject and the predicate, where it is less salient.

The examples in (83) and (85) also illustrate that the temporal scope of **kemaring** 'yesterday' and **besok** 'tomorrow' is larger than the preceding or following 24-hour period, respectively. Generally speaking **kemaring** 'yesterday' denotes a past point in time such as **kemaring** 'some time ago' in (83). Along similar lines, **besok** 'tomorrow' refers to a future point in time which in (85) is **besok** 'next year'.

Positions within the clause

(83) **kemaring dulu**   sa   deng nene   nene   jam   dua
       yesterday be.prior 1SG with grandmother grandmother hour two
       malam datang deng menangis
       night come   with cry
       '**the day before yesterday** I and grandmother, at two in the morning
       grandmother came crying …' [081014-008-CvNP.0001]

(84)   yo, **hari ini**   suda   ko   su   skola
       yes day D.PROX   already   2SG already go.to.school
       'yes, **today** you already went to school' [080917-003a-CvEx.0006]

(85)   kalo **besok**   de   itu   hadir   ke   sana   tu
       if   tomorrow   3SG   D.DIST attend to   L.DIST D.DIST

> biking de   sperti   bos
> make   3SG   similar.to boss
>
> [About an event planned for the next year:] 'if **next year** he (the mayor'),
> what's-its-name, (comes and) attends (the retreat) over there, treat him like
> a boss' [081025-009a-Cv.0172]

(86) bapa   nanti   **besok**   hadir   di   ini   retrit   pemuda
      father very.soon   tomorrow   attend at   D.PROX   retreat   youth

      [About an event planned for the next year:] 'you ('father') (have to) attend,
      what's-its-name, the youth retreat **next year**' [081025-009a-Cv.0175]

In addition, the corpus includes a small number of utterances in which the nouns
designating relative-time occur as subjects in nonverbal clauses. This is illustrated
with **besok** 'tomorrow' and **lusa** 'the day after tomorrow' in (87).

> Subject-function in nonverbal clauses

(87) **besok**   hari Kamis   **lusa**   hari Jumat baru   …
      tomorrow   day Thursday   day.after.tomorrow   day Friday and.then

      '**tomorrow** is Thursday, **the day after tomorrow** is Friday and then …'
      [080917-003a-CvEx.0006]

Like other nouns, relative-time denoting nouns also have adnominal uses as shown
in (88) and (89). In their adnominal uses, they occur in post-head position and have
restrictive function. That is, they specify whether the period or point in time encoded
by the head nominal is situated in the future or in the past, as in *hari minggu besok*
'next Sunday' in (88) or *taung kemaring* 'a few years back' in (89).

> Adnominal uses

(88) yo   memang   **hari Minggu besok**   sa   datang
      yes   indeed   day Sunday tomorrow   1SG   come

      'yes, indeed, **next Sunday** I'll come' [080922-001a-CvPh.0346]

(89) banyak mati   di   lautang kas   tenggelam sampe   **taung kemaring**
      many   die   at   ocean   give sink   until   year   yesterday

      taung … dua   ribu   dua
      year   two   thousand   two

      [About people in a container who died in the ocean:] 'many died in the
      (open) ocean, (the murderers) sank (the containers), (many died in the open
      ocean) until **a few years back**, (until) the year 2002' [081029-002-Cv.0025]

Relative-time expressions also occur as complements in prepositional phrases as, for
instance, in *sampe besok* 'until the next day' (literally 'until tomorrow') in (90).
This example also illustrates that *besok* 'tomorrow' denotes relative time. As the
events described here happened in the past, *besok* 'tomorrow' refers to a future point
in time relative to the narrated events. Hence, *besok* translates as 'the next day'.
(Prepositions encoding time are discussed in more detail in §10.1.)

Complements in prepositional phrases

(90) sa   minum lagi trus sa   tinggal **sampe besok**
      1SG   drink again next 1SG   stay   until   tomorrow

[About recovering from an accident:] 'I took (medicine) again, then I
stayed **until the next day**' (Lit. '**until tomorrow**') [081015-005-NP.0042-
0043]

5.3.   Verbs

Papuan Malay has a large open class of verbs which express actions, events, and
processes, as well as states or more time-stable properties. They have the following
defining syntactic and functional properties:

1.   Valency: each verb takes a specific number of arguments (§5.3.1).
2.   Predicative function is predominant; they also have attributive uses in
      noun phrases (§5.3.2).
3.   Modification with adverbs, including intensification and grading
      (§5.3.4 and §5.3.5).
4.   Negation with **tida** 'NEG' or **tra** 'NEG' (§5.3.6).
5.   Occurrence in causative and in reciprocal constructions (§5.3.7
      §5.3.8).

Morphological properties play only a minor role in defining verbs as a distinct word
class, due to the lack of inflectional morphology and the limited role of derivational
processes. The latter include reduplication (for details see §4.2.2), and, to a limited
extent, affixation with prefix **TER-** or suffix **-an** (§5.3.9; see also 3.1).

Verbs are divided into three classes on the basis of their valency and their
tendency to function predicatively, namely trivalent, bivalent, and monovalent
verbs. In turn, monovalent verbs are further divided into dynamic and stative verbs.
That is, Papuan Malay does not have a distinct class of adjectives. Instead, "the four
core semantic types" of dimension, age, value, and color which are "typically
associated with the word class adjective" (Dixon 2004: 4) are encoded with
monovalent stative verbs. The two criteria of valency and prevalent predicative
function also account for the other properties of verbs, listed above and discussed in
more detail in the following sections.

Verbs are distinct from nouns (§5.2) and adverbs (§5.4) in terms of the following
distributional properties:

1.   Contrasting with nouns, verbs (a) have valency,[148] (b) are negated
      with **tida**/**tra** 'NEG', (c) occur as predicates in comparative
      constructions, and (d) occur as predicates in reciprocal constructions.

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[148] It is acknowledged that some authors maintain that nouns have valence, for instance, van
       Valin and LaPolla (1997) discuss the "layered structure of adpositional and noun phrases"
       (1997: 52–67) and the "semantic representation of nouns and noun phrases" (1997: 184–
       195), and van Valin (2001: 89–92) examines "[t]ypes of dependencies". See also Croft 's
       (1991: 62–79) discussion on "Structural markedness and the semantic prototypes", as well

2.   Unlike adverbs, verbs (a) are used predicatively, and (b) can modify nouns.

The following sections explore the characteristics and properties of verbs in more detail. As for their syntactic properties the following topics are discussed: valency in §5.3.1, predicative and attributive functions in §5.3.2, adverbial modification in §5.3.3, intensification in §5.3.4, grading in §5.3.5, negation in §5.3.6, occurrences in causative constructions in §5.3.7, and uses in reciprocal constructions in §5.3.8. Finally, the morphological properties of verbs are briefly examined in §5.3.9. In each section, dynamic verbs are discussed first, and stative verbs second. Dynamic verbs, in turn, are described in order from those with three arguments to those with one argument, regardless of their type and token frequencies. Each section also discusses the type and token frequencies in the present corpus for the respective properties and summarizes these frequencies in a table. These tables form the basis for the summary in §5.3.10.

5.3.1.   Valency

Papuan Malay verbs are classified into three classes on the basis of "valency" which is defined as a "weighting or quantification of verbs in terms of the number of dependents (or arguments or valents) they take" (Asher 1994: 5185). That is, Papuan Malay has verbs with one, two, or three core arguments. Examples are given in Table 10: verbs that have two or three arguments are listed first, followed by verbs with one argument. Monovalent verbs are further distinguished according to their semantics into dynamic and stative verbs, and other properties, discussed in the following sections.

Table 10:   Tri-, bi-, and monovalent verbs

Trivalent verbs			
ambil	'fetch'	*kasi*	'give'
bawa	'bring'	*kirim*	'send'
bli	'buy'	*minta*	'request'
ceritra	'tell'		
Bivalent verbs			
antar	'bring'	*kubur*	'bury'
bunu	'kill'	*lawang*	'oppose'
cabut	'pull out'	*maki*	'abuse (verbally)'
dorong	'push'	*mara*	'feel angry (about)'
ejek	'mock'	*naik*	'ascend'
ganas	'feel furious (about)'	*pake*	'use'
ganggu	'disturb'	*rabik*	'tear'
hela	'haul'	*simpang*	'store'
ikut	'follow'	*tarik*	'pull'

as Allerton (2006), Sommerfeldt and Schreiber (1983), and van Durme and Institut for Sprog og Kommunikation (1997).

jual	'sell'	*usir*	'chase away'
Monovalent dynamic verbs			
bernang	'swim'	*kembali*	'return'
bocor	'leak'	*lari*	'run'
datang	'come'	*maju*	'advance'
duduk	'sit'	*mandi*	'bathe'
gementar	'tremble'	*oleng*	'shake'
guling	'roll over'	*pergi*	'go'
hidup	'live'	*sandar*	'lean'
hosa	'pant'	*sante*	'relax'
jalang	'walk'	*terbang*	'fly'
jatu	'fall'	*tinggal*	'stay'
Monovalent stative verbs			
abu	'be dusty'	*muda*	'be young'
bagus	'be good'	*nyamang*	'be comfortable'
cantik	'be beautiful'	*panas*	'be hot'
dinging	'be cold'	*puti*	'be white'
enak	'be pleasant'	*renda*	'be low'
gila	'be crazy'	*sakit*	'be sick'
hijow	'be green'	*swak*	'be exhausted'
jahat	'be bad'	*tinggi*	'be tall'
kecil	'be small'	*tua*	'be old'
lema	'be weak'	*waras*	'be sane'

Trivalent verbs have three core arguments, that is, a subject and two grammatical objects. This is illustrated with *kasi* 'give' in (91). It is important to note, however, that the attested trivalent verbs allow and do not require three syntactic arguments (Margetts and Austin 2007: 401). (See §11.1.3 for details.)

   Trivalent verbs with three core arguments

(91)   dia **kasi** kitong daging
       3SG give   1PL   meat
       'he **gave** us (fish) meat' [080919-004-NP.0061]

Bivalent verbs have two core arguments, a subject and one grammatical object. This is shown with *pukul* 'hit' in (92) and *mara* 'feel angry (about)' in (93). Bivalent verbs also allow, but do not require, two syntactic arguments. (For details see §11.1.2.)

   Bivalent verbs with two core arguments

(92)   bapa   de   **pukul** sa   deng pisow
       father 3SG hit   1SG with knife
       '(my) husband **hit** me with a knife' [081011-023-Cv.0167]

(93)   … jadi   sa   **mara**   dia
             so   1SG   feel.angry(.about) 3SG
         '[he doesn't report to me in a good way,] so I **feel angry about** him'
         [081011-020-Cv.0107]

Monovalent verbs have only one core argument. They are further divided into dynamic and stative verbs. Dynamic verbs such as *lari* 'run' in (1) denote actions involving one participant, while stative verbs, such as *besar* 'be big' or *kecil* 'be small' in (95), express states or more time-stable properties.

         Monovalent verbs with one core argument

(94)   Nofita   de   **lari**   dari   saya
         Nofita   3SG   run   from   1SG
         'Nofita **ran (away)** from me' [081025-006-Cv.0324]

(95)   kepala   ni   **besar**   baru   badan   ni   **kecil**
         head   D.PROX be.big   and.then   body   D.PROX   be.small
         '(his) head here **is big** but (his) body here **is small**' [081025-006-Cv.0280]

In the present corpus, the class of trivalent verbs is the smallest one with seven, as shown in Table 11. A small majority of attested verbs are bivalent with 535 entries (52%), while 490 verbs are monovalent (48%). Most of the monovalent verbs are stative (351/490 – 72%), while 139 verbs are dynamic (28%).

Table 11:   Verb type frequencies

Verb class	Frequencies	
	#	%
V.TRI	7	0.7%
V.BI	535	51.8%
V.MO	490	47.5%
V.MO(DY)	(139)	(28.4%)
V.MO(ST)	(351)	(71.6%)
Total	1,032	100%

In addition, the corpus contains 43 derived monovalent verbs prefixed with *TER-* that denote accidental or unintentional actions or events (167 tokens). These lexemes are examined in detail in §3.1.2.3, and briefly reviewed in §5.3.9; therefore, they are not further discussed in this section.

5.3.2.   Predicative and attributive functions

Verbs can function predicatively as well as attributively. The identified verb classes display clear distributional preferences, however. Dynamic verbs typically "describe activities, which generally involve movement and/or change, and are normally extended in, and delimited in, time" (Dixon 1994: 31). Therefore, they usually function predicatively, and less frequently attributively. Monovalent stative verbs, by contrast, express "states" (Asher 1994: 5174) or more time-stable properties, and

typically occur as adnominal modifiers in noun phrases, although they also have predicative function. In the present corpus, all dynamic verbs have predicative function, while only 40% of the stative verbs (139/351) are used predicatively.

In their predicative uses, verbs act "as 'comment' on a given noun as 'topic'" (Dixon 1994: 31). This typical function of dynamic verbs is demonstrated with bivalent ***bunu*** 'kill' in (96). The predicative use of monovalent stative verbs is illustrated with ***tinggi*** 'be high' in (97).

Predicative uses

(96)   bapa   Iskia   dong   **bunu**   **babi**
        father   Iskia   3PL   kill   pig
        'father Iskia and his companions **killed a pig**' [080917-008-NP.0120]

(97)   glombang   itu   **tinggi**
        wave   D.DIST   be.high
        'that wave **was high**' [080923-015-CvEx.0016]

In their attributive function within noun phrases, the modifying verbs serve to specify or restrict "the reference of the noun" (Dixon 1994: 31). This is achieved in one of two ways, as Dixon (1994) points out, and as illustrated in (98) to (102). One option is that the modifying verb occurs directly "with a noun in a noun phrase", while the second option is indirect "modification through the medium of a relative clause" (1994: 31).

The examples in (98) illustrate that all verb types can occur in noun phrases as adnominal modifiers in post-head position, both with agentive and non-agentive head nominals (the examples in (98e) and (98f) are elicited).

Attributive uses: Verb-via-juxtaposition modification

Trivalent verbs (elicited)

(98)   e.   **sifat**   **kasi**   f.   **tukang**   **bli**
              spirit   give   craftsman   buy
              'disposition of giving'   'one who likes to buy'

Bivalent verbs

        g.   **ana**   **angkat**   h.   **tukang**   **minum**
              child   lift   craftsman   drink
              'adopted child'   'drunkard'

Monovalent dynamic verbs

        i.   **sabun**   **mandi**   j.   **tukang**   **jalang**
              soap   bathe   craftsman   walk
              'bathing soap'   'one who likes to walk around'

Monovalent stative verbs

k. **bua**   **mera**   l. **orang**   **tua**
fruit   be.red   person   be.old
'red fruit'   'old person'

The second option of modifying nouns within a noun phrase is by placing the verb within a relative clause, as illustrated in (99) to (102). This "verb-via-relative-clause modification" (Dixon 2004: 19) typically applies to dynamic verbs, such as (monotransitively used) trivalent *bawa* 'bring' in the elicited example in (99), bivalent *kawin* 'marry unofficially' in (100), or monovalent dynamic *tinggal* 'stay' in (101).

Attributive uses: Verb-via-relative-clause modification

(99)   ojek   **yang bawa** tete   tu   su   pulang
motorbike.taxi   REL   bring   grandfather   D.DIST   already   go.home
'that motorbike taxi driver **who brought** grandfather has already returned home' [Elicited MY131119.001]

(100) orang Papua **yang kawin**   orang pendatang de tinggal …
person Papua REL   marry.inofficially person stranger   3SG stay
'a Papuan person **who married** a stranger, he/she'll stay (in Papua)' [081029-005-Cv.0046]

(101) … buat sodara~sodara **yang tinggal** di   kampung
for   RDP~sibling   REL   stay   at   village
'[we cut (the pig meat) up that day, we divided (it) for us who cut (it) up that day, (and) then] for the relatives and friends **who live** in the village' [080919-003-NP.0014]

(102) de   ada   potong ikang **yang besar** di pante
3SG exist cut   fish   REL   be.big   at coast
'at the beach he was cutting up a fish **that was big**' [080919-004-NP.0061]

While all verb types can be used attributively, the data in the present corpus indicate clear distributional preferences, presented in Table 12. Monovalent stative verbs most often occur in noun phrases which involve direct modification via juxtaposition, although stative verbs also occur in "verb-via-relative-clause modification", such as *besar* 'be big' in (102). Dynamic verbs, by contrast, most often occur in noun phrases which involve "verb-via-relative-clause modification". Cross-linguistically these preferences are rather common (Dixon 1994: 31).

So far 612 noun phrases have been identified which involve verb-via-juxtaposition modification, and 834 noun phrases with verb-via-relative-clause modification. This total of 1,446 noun phrases involves 36 noun phrases (2.5%) which are formed with seven distinct trivalent verbs, 432 noun phrases (29.9%) formed with 146 distinct bivalent verbs, 170 noun phrases (11.8%) formed with 37 distinct monovalent dynamic verbs, and 808 noun phrases (55.9%) are formed with 146 distinct monovalent stative verbs. About two thirds of the attested 808 attributively used monovalent stative verbs, occur in noun phrases with verb-via-juxtaposition modification (520/808 – 64%), while only about one third occurs in

noun phrases with verb-via-relative-clause modification (288/808 – 36%). The opposite holds for dynamic verbs. The vast majority of attributively used trivalent verbs (35/36 – 97%), bivalent verbs (371/432 – 86%), and monovalent dynamic verbs (140/170 – 82%) occur in noun phrases with verb-via-relative-clause modification. By contrast only few trivalent verbs (1/36 – 3%), bivalent verbs (61/432 – 14%), and monovalent dynamic verbs (30/170 – 18%) are used in noun phrases with verb-via-relative-clause modification.

Table 12:   Attributive uses of verbs within noun phrases[149]

	Token frequencies		Type frequencies	
	Via juxtaposition		Different verbs	
Verb class	#	%	#	%
V.TRI	1	0.2%	1	1.0%
V.BI	61	10.0%	27	26.0%
V.MO(DY)	30	4.9%	10	9.6%
V.MO(ST)	520	85.0%	66	63.5%
Total	612	100.0%	104	100.0%
	Via relative-clauses		Different verbs	
Verb class	#	%	#	%
V.TRI	35	4.2%	5	2.2%
V.BI	371	44.5%	119	51.5%
V.MO(DY)	140	16.8%	27	11.7%
V.MO(ST)	288	34.5%	80	34.6%
Total	834	100.0%	231	100.0%
	Totals		Totals	
Verb class	#	%	#	%
V.TRI	36	2.5%	6	1.8%
V.BI	432	29.9.%	146	43.6%
V.MO(DY)	170	11.8%	37	11.0%
V.MO(ST)	808	55.9%	146	43.6%
Total	1,446	100.0%	335	100.0%

5.3.3.   Adverbial modification

In their predicative uses, tri-, bi-, and monovalent verbs can be modified with an adverb, as shown in (103) to (110). In (103) to (106), the temporal adverb *langsung* 'immediately' modifies trivalent *kasi* 'give', bivalent *tanya* 'ask', monovalent dynamic *pulang* 'go home', and stative *basa* 'be wet', respectively.

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[149]   As percentages are rounded to one decimal place, they do not always add up to 100%.

Adverbial modification with temporal adverb *langsung* 'immediately'

(103) pace   dong   **langsung**   **kasi**   dia   senter
      man   3PL   immediately   give   3SG   flashlight
      'the men **immediately gave** him a flashlight' [Elicited BR130221.013]

(104) sa   **langsung**   **tanya**   dorang
      1SG   immediately   ask   3PL
      I **immediately asked** them' [080919-007-CvNP.0045]

(105) sa   **langsung**   **pulang**
      1SG   immediately   go.home
      'I **went home immediately**' [081014-008-CvNP.0018]

(106) bapa   **langsung**   **diam**
      father   immediately   be.quiet
      'the gentleman **was quiet immediately**' [080917-010-CvEx.0213]

Along similar lines, frequency adverb *lagi* 'again, also' modifies the verbs in (107) to (110). (For more details on adverbs see §5.4.)

Adverbial modification with frequency adverb *lagi* 'again, also'

(107) Dodo   **ambil**   Agus   air   **lagi**
      Dodo   fetch   Agus   water   again
      'Dodo **fetched** water for Agus **again**' [Elicited BR130409.001]

(108) sa   **tampeleng**   dia   **lagi**
      1SG   slap.on.face.or.ears   3SG   again
      'I **slapped** him **across the face again**' [081013-002-Cv.0007]

(109) nanti   Lodia   dong   **datang**   **lagi**
      very.soon   Lodia   3PL   come   again
      'very soon Lodia and her companions will **also come**' [081006-016-Cv.0010]

(110) … sampe   mungking   dua   taung   baru   **rame**   **lagi**
        until   maybe   two   year   and.then   be.crowded   again
      '[it goes on like that] for maybe two years before (the situation gets) **lively again**' [081025-004-Cv.0102]

5.3.4.   Intensification

In their predicative uses, monovalent stative and bivalent verbs can be intensified with the degree adverbs *skali* 'very' or *terlalu* 'too', as shown in (111) to (114). While *skali* 'very' follows the verb as in (111) and (112), *terlalu* 'too' precedes it as in (113) and (114). Intensification of predicatively used monovalent dynamic and trivalent verbs is unattested in the present corpus. Furthermore, intensification of attributively used verbs is unattested. (For details on degree adverbs see §5.4.7.)

Intensification

(111)   sa   **snang**   **skali** dong pu   cara   masak
         1SG   feel.happy(.about) very   3PL   POSS manner cook
         'I **very (much) enjoy** their way of cooking' [081014-017-CvPr.0029]

(112)   Aris **tinggi**   **skali**
         Aris be.high   very
         'Aris **is very tall**' [080922-001b-CvPh.0026]

(113)   … ade   kecil   **terlalu** **menangis** kitorang
            ySb   be.small too   cry   1PL
         '[Hana's husband didn't come along,] the small younger sibling **cried too
         much** (for) us' [080921-002-Cv.0008]

(114)   sa   liat mama **terlalu**   **baik**
         1SG   see   mother exceedingly be.good
         'I see you ('mother') **are too good**' [081115-001a-Cv.0324]

As mentioned, intensification of monovalent dynamic verbs is unattested in the
present corpus. According to one consultant, though, it is possible to intensify them
with the expressions *terlalu banyak* 'too much' or *terlalu sedikit* 'too little', as in
terlalu banyak tidor 'sleep too much' in the elicited example in (115) and *terlalu
sedikit lari* in the elicited example in (116).

Grading of monovalent dynamic verbs with *terlalu banyak*/*sedikit* 'too
much/little'

(115)   Dodo de   **terlalu** **banyak** **tidor**
         Dodo 3SG   too   many   sleep
         'Dodo **sleeps too much**' [Elicited BR130410.005]

(116)   Dodo de   **terlalu** **sedikit** **lari**
         Dodo 3SG   too   many   run
         'Dodo **runs too little**' [Elicited BR130410.008]

In addition, one of the consultants came up with the two examples in (117) and
(118), respectively, in which dynamic *lari* 'run' and *tunduk* 'bow' are directly
modified with *terlalu* 'too'. In (117), however, *lari* means 'deviate' rather than
'run', and *tunduk* 'bow' in (118) receives the stative reading 'be obedient'.

Grading of monovalent dynamic verbs with *terlalu banyak*/*sedikit* 'too
much/little'

(117)   prahu ini   pu   ukurang   **terlalu** **lari** dari ukurang
         boat   D.PROX   POSS measurement too   run   from measurement
         yang ko   kasi
         REL   2SG   give
         'the size of this boat **deviates too much** from the size that you gave'
         [Elicited BR130410.017]

(118)   Agus   de   **terlalu   tunduk**
         Agus   3SG   too   bow
         'Agus **is too obedient**' [Elicited BR130410.004]

In the present corpus, monovalent stative verbs are intensified considerably more frequently than bivalent verbs, while intensification of trivalent and monovalent dynamic verbs is unattested, as shown in Table 13. The corpus contains 155 verb phrases, made up of 80 different verbs, in which *skali* 'very' intensifies a verb. Most of these verbs are stative ones (81%), accounting for 80% of *skali*-intensification tokens. The corpus also contains 33 verb phrases, formed with 27 different verbs, in which *terlalu* 'too' intensifies a verb. Again, most of the intensified verbs are stative ones (74%) accounting for 73% of *terlalu*-intensification tokens.

Table 13:   Intensification of verbs

	Token frequencies		Type frequencies	
	skali-intensification		Different verbs	
Verb class	#	%	#	%
V.TRI	0	---	0	---
V.BI	31	20.0%	15	18.7%
V.MO(DY)	0	---	0	---
V.MO(ST)	124	80.0%	65	81.3%
Total	155	100.0%	80	100.0%
	terlalu-intensification		Different verbs	
Verb class	#	%	#	%
V.TRI	0	---	0	---
V.BI	9	27.3%	7	25.9%
V.MO(DY)	0	---	0	---
V.MO(ST)	24	72.7%	20	74.1%
Total	33	100.0%	27	100.0%

5.3.5.   Grading

In their predicative uses, monovalent stative and bivalent verbs can occur with grading adverbs, as shown in (119) to (122), whereas grading of monovalent dynamic and trivalent verbs is unattested. The comparative degree is marked with the grading adverb *lebi* 'more' and the superlative degree with **paling** 'most'; both adverbs precede the verb. (For details on degree adverbs see §5.4.7; for details on comparative clauses see §11.5.)

Grading of bivalent verbs

(119) a,   dong   mala   **lebi** **sayang** saya
       ah!   3PL   in.fact more   love   1SG
       'ah, they actually **loved** me **more**' [Elicited BR130221.034][150]

(120) tempat itu   sa   **paling** **takut**
       place   D.DIST 1SG   most   feel.afraid(.of)
       'that place I **feel most afraid of**' [081025-006-Cv.0287]

Grading of monovalent stative verbs

(121) yo   kaka, itu   yang **lebi** **baik**   untuk saya
       yes   oSb   D.DIST REL   more   be.good   for   1SG
       [Talking about her husband:] 'yes older sibling, that (is the one) who is
       better for me' [081110-008-CvNP.0178]

(122) puri   tu   **paling** **besar**
       anchovy-like.fish D.DIST most   be.big
       'that anchovy-like fish is **the biggest**' [080927-003-Cv.0002]

Again, monovalent dynamic verbs differ from monovalent stative and bivalent verbs
in that they are not directly modified with a grading adverb. Instead they are
modified with *lebi banyak* to indicate comparative degree, as in *lebi banyak
bertriak* 'scream more' in (123), and with *paling banyak* to indicate superlative
degree, as in *paling banyak tertawa* 'laugh most' in (124).

Grading of monovalent dynamic verbs

(123) Dodo **lebi** **banyak** **bertriak** dari Agus
       Dodo more   many   scream   with Agus
       'Dodo **screams more** than Agus' [Elicited BR130221.025]

(124) Dodo **paling** **banyak** **tertawa**
       Dodo most   many   scream
       'Dodo **laughs most**' [Elicited BR130221.030]

In terms of frequencies in the present corpus, monovalent stative verbs are graded
considerably more often than bivalent verbs, as shown in Table 14. The corpus
contains 54 *lebi*-comparative constructions, formed with 22 different verbs. Of
these, 77% are monovalent stative, accounting for 89% of the attested comparative
constructions. In addition, the corpus contains 46 *paling*-superlative constructions,
formed with 30 different verbs. Again, most of these verbs are monovalent stative
(80%) which account for 83% of superlative constructions. Cross-linguistically, this
distributional pattern corresponds to the "prototypical comparative scheme" in
which the parameter of comparison "is typically expressed by an adjective, in a
language with a large open class of adjectives; or else by a stative verb (with an
adjective-like meaning)" (Dixon 2008: 787).

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[150] The elicited example in (119) is the corrected version of the original recording ***dong
       mana lebi sayang saya*** 'they even[SPM] love me more' [081110-008-NPHt.0021]. That is,
       the speaker mispronounced ***mala*** 'in.fact', realizing it as ***mana***.

Table 14:   Grading of verbs

	Token frequencies		Type frequencies	
	CMPR-constructions		Different verbs	
Verb class	#	%	#	%
V.TRI	0	---	0	---
V.BI	6	11.1%	5	22.7%
V.MO(DY)	0	---	0	---
V.MO(ST)	48	88.9%	17	77.3%
Total	54	100%	22	100%
	SUPL-constructions		Different verbs	
Verb class	#	%	#	%
V.TRI	0	---	0	---
V.BI	8	17.4%	6	20.0%
V.MO(DY)	0	---	0	---
V.MO(ST)	38	82.6%	24	80.0%
Total	46	100%	30	100%

5.3.6.   Negation

Verbs are negated with *tida* 'NEG' or with *tra* 'NEG'. This is demonstrated with
trivalent *kasi* 'give' in (125), bivalent *pake* 'use' in (126), monovalent dynamic
datang 'come' in (127), and monovalent stative *baik* 'be good' in (128). These
examples also illustrate that both negators are used interchangeably (for more details
on negation see §13.1).

(125)   kaka   su   bilang de   begitu   sa   **tra kasi** ko   jempol
        oSb   already say   3SG like.that 1SG NEG give   2SG   thumb
        'I ('older sibling') already told him like that, 'I **won't give** you a thumbs
        up'' [081115-001a-Cv.0042]

(126)   kalo   saya   berburu **tida pake** anjing malam   hari   saya   kluar
        if   1SG   hunt   NEG use   dog   night   day   1SG   go.out
        'if I hunt and **don't take** dogs, I leave at night' [080919-004-NP.0002]

(127)   de   **tra**   datang   … de   **tida**   datang
        3SG   NEG   come   3SG   NEG   come
        'she did **not** come … she did **not** come' [081010-001-Cv.0204-0205]

(128)   nanti   dia   pikir saya   **tida baik**
        very.soon 3SG   think 1SG   NEG   be.good
        'later he'll think that I'm **not good**' [080919-004-NP.0052]

5.3.7. Causative constructions

Papuan Malay syntactic causatives are monoclausal V_1V_2 constructions in which a causative verb V_1, namely trivalent *kasi* 'give' or bivalent ***biking*** 'make', encodes the notion of cause while the V_2 denotes the notion of effect. Syntactic causatives have monovalent or bivalent bases.

In the present corpus, *kasi* 'give' is used most often with bivalent bases, which are mostly agentive (AGT). Less often, *kasi* 'give' occurs with monovalent bases, which can be agentive or non-agentive (NON-AGT). Most monovalent bases are dynamic, whereas stative bases, which are usually non-agentive, are much fewer. Most monovalent dynamic bases, in turn, are agentive, while non-agentive dynamic bases are rare. By contrast, ***biking*** 'make' always takes monovalent bases. Typically, these bases are stative and non-agentive, although non-agentive dynamic bases are also possible. Causatives with monovalent agentive bases are only possible if the causee is inanimate or animate but helpless. In the present corpus only ***biking***-causatives with stative non-agentive bases are attested.

Monovalent and bivalent verbs can occur in syntactic causative constructions, while causative constructions with trivalent verbs are unattested. In syntactic causatives, a serial verb construction V_1V_2 encodes the causation. The causative verb V_1, namely trivalent *kasi* 'give', or its short form *kas*, or bivalent ***biking*** 'make', expresses the cause event, while the V_2 denotes the caused event. In ***kasi***-causatives the V_2 can be bivalent or monovalent, while in ***biking***-causatives the V_2 is always monovalent. (See §11.2 for a detailed discussion of causative constructions.)

Causative constructions with *kasi* 'give' are presented in (129) to (131). The V_2 is bivalent ***masuk*** 'enter' in (129), monovalent dynamic ***bangung*** 'wake up' in (130), and stative ***sembu*** 'be healed' in (131). (For more details on ***kasi***-causatives, see §11.2.1.2.)

Causative constructions with *kasi* 'give'

(129) dong **kas** **masuk** korek di sini
       3PL give enter matches at L.PROX
       'they **inserted** matches here' (Lit. '**give to enter**') [081025-006-Cv.0182]

(130) sa takut skali jadi sa **kas** **bangung** mama
       1SG feel.afraid(.of) very so 1SG give wake.up mother
       'I felt very afraid, so I **woke up** you ('mother')' (Lit. '**give to wake up**') [080917-008-NP.0031]

(131) ko **kasi** **sembu** sa punya ana ini
       2SG give be.healed 1SG POSS child D.PROX
       '[Addressing an evil spirit:] 'you **heal** this child of mine!' (Lit. '**give to be healed**') [081006-023-CvEx.0031]

In causatives with ***biking*** 'make', the V_2 is always monovalent. Most often, the monovalent verb is stative, such as ***pusing*** 'be dizzy/confused' in (133). However, ***biking***-causatives can also be formed with non-agentive dynamic bases, such as ***tenggelam*** 'sink' in the elicited example in (133). If the causee is inanimate, or

animate but helpless, the base can also be agentive dynamic, such as ***hidup*** 'live' in the elicited example in (134). (For more details on ***biking***-causatives, see §11.2.1.3.)

Causative constructions with ***biking*** 'make'

(132)   yo, dong dua deng Wili tu   **biking pusing**   mama
         yes 3PL   two with Wili D.DIST make   be.dizzy/confused mother
         'yes! he and Wili there **worried** their mother' (Lit. '**make to be dizzy/confused**') [081011-003-Cv.0002]

(133)   banyak mati di lautang, **biking tenggelam**
         many   die   at ocean   make   sink
         [About people in a container who died in the ocean:] 'many died in the (open) ocean, (the murderers) **sank** (the containers)' [Elicited BR131103.003]

(134)   … tapi dong **biking** bangkit   dia lagi,   **biking hidup** dia
           but   3PL   make   be.resurrected 3SG again   make live   3SG
         [About sorcerers who can resurrect the dead:] '[he's already (dead),] but they **resurrect** him again, **make** him **live**' [Elicited BR131103.005]

Concerning the frequencies of mono- and bivalent verbs in causative constructions, the data in the present corpus indicate that bivalent and monovalent verbs typically occur in ***kasi***-causative constructions, while monovalent verbs most often occur in ***biking***-causatives, as shown in Table 15. The corpus contains 478 ***kasi***-causative constructions, formed with 81 different verbs. Most verbs in ***kasi***-constructions are bivalent (48%), accounting for 68% of ***kasi***-causatives. By contrast, ***biking***-causatives are always formed with monovalent verbs. In all, the corpus contains 25 ***biking***-causative, formed with 16 different verbs.

Table 15:   Causative constructions with ***biking*** 'make' and with ***kasi*** 'give'

Verb class	Token frequencies		Type frequencies	
	kasi-causatives		Different verbs	
	#	%	#	%
V.TRI	0	---	0	---
V.BI	327	68.4%	39	48.1%
V.MO(DY)	115	24.1%	18	22.2%
V.MO(ST)	36	7.5%	24	29.6%
Total	478	100%	81	100%
Verb class	***biking***-causatives		Different verbs	
	#	%	#	%
V.TRI	0	---	0	---
V.BI	0	---	0	---
V.MO(DY)	0	---	0	---
V.MO(ST)	25	100%	16	100%
Total	25	100.0%	16	100.0%

5.3.8.   Reciprocal constructions

Verbs can occur in reciprocal constructions in which the reciprocity marker **baku** 'RECP' precedes the verb (for more details on reciprocal constructions, see §11.3). This is illustrated with trivalent **ceritra** 'tell' in (81), bivalent **gendong** 'hold' in (136), and monovalent dynamic **saing** 'compete' in (137). Reciprocal constructions with monovalent stative verbs are unattested.

(135)   Markus   deng   Yan   dong   **baku   ceritra**
         Markus   with   Yan   3SG   RECP   tell

         'Markus and Yan were **talking to each other**' [Elicited BR130601.001][151]

(136)   kitong   **baku   gendong**   to?   baku   gendong
         1PL   RECP   hold   right?   RECP   hold

         'we'll **hold each other**, right?, (we'll) **hold each other**' [080922-001a-CvPh.0695]

(137)   ade-kaka   **baku   saing**
         ySb-oSb
         siblings   RECP   compete

         'the siblings were **competing with each other**' [080919-006-CvNP.0001]

The data in the present corpus indicates the following frequency patterns for reciprocal constructions, as shown in Table 16. The present corpus contains 101 reciprocal constructions formed with 42 different verbs. Most of these verbs are bivalent (88%), accounting for 94% of reciprocal constructions.

Table 16:   Reciprocal constructions

	Token frequencies		Type frequencies	
	RECP-constructions		Different verbs	
Verb class	#	%	#	%
V.TRI	1	1.0%	1	2.4%
V.BI	95	94.1%	37	88.1%
V.MO(DY)	5	5.0%	4	9.5%
V.MO(ST)	0	---	0	---
Total	101	100%	42	100%

5.3.9.   Morphological properties

Papuan Malay has only two somewhat productive affixes, as discussed in Chapter 3, prefix **TER-** 'ACL' and suffix **-an** 'NMLZ'. Mono- and bivalent verbs can be prefixed with **TER-** 'ACL' to derive verbs which denote accidental or unintentional actions or events. Examples are given in Table 17, such as bivalent **angkat** 'lift' and **lempar**

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[151]   The present corpus contains one reciprocal construction formed with trivalent **ceritra** 'tell', similar to the elicited one in (81). Most of the utterance is unclear, however, as the speaker mumbles.

'throw', monovalent dynamic *jatu* 'fall', and stative *lambat* 'be slow' and *sala* 'be wrong'. Likewise, mono- and bivalent verbs are suffixed with *-an* 'NMLZ' to derive nouns, such as bivalent *jual* 'sell' and *pake* 'use', monovalent dynamic *jalang* 'walk' and *libur* 'take vacation', and stative *pica* 'be broken' and *sial* 'be unfortunate'. Some lexemes suffixed with *-an* 'NMLZ' also function as verbs, such as *jualang* 'merchandise, to sell' (for details see §3.1.2 and §3.1.3). Affixation of trivalent verbs does not occur.

Table 17:   Affixation of verbs

BF	Gloss	Item	Gloss
Prefix *TER-*: Derived verbs denoting accidental actions			
angkat	'lift'	*trangkat*	'be lifted up'
lempar	'throw'	*talempar*	'be thrown'
jatu	'fall'	*terjatu*	'be dropped, fall'
lambat	'be slow'	*terlambat*	'be late'
sala	'be wrong'	*tasala*	'be mistaken'
Suffix *-an*: Derived nouns			
jual	'sell'	*jualang*	'merchandise, to sell'
pake	'use'	*pakeang*	'clothes'
jalang	'walk'	*jalangang*	'route'
libur	'take vacation'	*liburang*	'vacation'
pica	'be broken'	*picaang*	'splinter'
sial	'be unfortunate'	*sialang*	's.o. unfortunate/ill-fated'

In the present corpus, affixation of bivalent bases occurs much more often than that of monovalent bases, as shown in Table 18. Regarding prefix *TER-* 'ACL', the corpus includes 43 lexemes derived from verbal bases with a total of 166 tokens. Most of them are bivalent verbs (88%), accounting for 92% of all *TER-*tokens. As for suffix *-an* 'NMLZ', the corpus contains 69 lexemes with verbal bases, with a total of 403 tokens. Again, most of the verbal bases are bivalent (90%), accounting for 89% of all *-an*-tokens.

Table 18:   Affixation of verbs

	Token frequencies		Type frequencies	
	*TER-*affixation		Different verbs	
Verb class	#	%	#	%
V.TRI	0	---	0	---
V.BI	153	91.6%	38	88.4%
V.MO(DY)	1	0.6%	1	2.3%
V.MO(ST)	13	7.8%	4	9.3%
Total	167	100.0%	43	100.0%

	Token frequencies		Type frequencies	
	-an affixation		Different verbs	
Verb class	#	%	#	%
V.TRI	0	---	0	---
V.BI	357	88.6%	62	89.9%
V.MO(ST)	12	3.0%	3	4.3%
V.MO(DY)	34	8.4%	4	5.8%
Total	403	100.0%	69	100.0%

5.3.10.   Summary

Tri-, bi-, and monovalent verbs have partially distinct and partially overlapping properties, which are summarized in Table 5 (in this table bi- and trivalent verbs are listed summarily in the column 'Valency of 2 or 3'). They are distinct from each other in terms of two main criteria, namely their valency and their function, which is mainly predicative. Related to the criterion on valency is the ability of verbs to occur in causative and reciprocal expressions and to be affixed. Therefore Table 5 lists these characteristic under the label 'valency'. The criterion of function has to do with the predicative (PRED) and attributive (ATTR) uses of the verbs, their negation, and adverbial modification. Hence, Table 5 lists these characteristic under the label 'function'.

Table 19:   Properties of tri-, bi-, and monovalent verbs[152]

Main criteria	Properties	Valency of 2 or 3	Valency of 1 dynamic	stative
Function	Adverbial modification	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Negation (*tida* or *tra*)	Yes	Yes	Yes
	PRED uses	Most often	Most often	Less often
	ATTR uses (via relative clause)	Most often	Less often	Less often
Valency	Base for *TER-* affixation	Most often	Less often	Less often
	Base for *-an* affixation	Most often	Less often	Less often
	Causative (*kasi*)	Most often	Less often	Less often
	Reciprocal	Most often	Less often	No
	Valency >1	Yes	No	No
	Causative (*biking*)	Less often	No	Most often
Function	ATTR uses (via juxtaposition)	Less often	No	Most often
	Intensification (*skali*)	Less often	No	Most often
	Intensification (*terlalu*)	Less often	No	Most often
	Grading (*lebi*)	Less often	No	Most often
	Grading (*paling*)	Less often	No	Most often

In terms of valency, Papuan Malay has three verb classes, mono-, bi- and trivalent verbs. Related to the valency criterion is the ability of verbs to be used in causative constructions. All three verb types occur in causatives formed with *kasi* 'give'. Most often, however, *kasi*-causatives are formed with bi- or trivalent verbs. By contrast, causative constructions with *biking* 'make' are typically formed with stative verbs; dynamic verbs do not occur in *biking*-causatives. Also related to the valency criterion is the ability of bi- and trivalent verbs to occur in reciprocal expressions. Monovalent dynamic verbs, by contrast, occur only rarely in such expressions, while reciprocal constructions with stative verbs are unattested. Finally, with respect to affixation, it is typically bivalent verbs that form the bases for lexemes prefixed with *TER-* or suffixed with *-an*.

     With respect to their function, all verbs are used predicatively, though dynamic verbs are used much more often than stative verbs. In their predicate uses, all three verb types can be modified adverbially and all verbs are negated with *tida*/*tra* 'NEG'. Less often, verbs have attributive function in noun phrases. Verb-via-juxtaposition modification most commonly applies to stative verbs, while modification with dynamic verbs typically involves verb-via-relative-clause modification. Related to their attributive uses is the intensification and grading of verbs. Typically, this

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[152]   See van Klinken (1999: 51–53) for a similar approach to distinguishing different verb classes.

applies to monovalent stative verbs, while intensification and grading of bivalent verbs occurs much less often. Monovalent dynamic and trivalent verbs are neither intensified nor graded.

5.4.   Adverbs

Papuan Malay also has a large open class of adverbs, which modify constituents other than nouns. Their main function is to indicate aspect, frequency, affirmation and negation, modality, time, focus, and degree. Within the clause, the adverbs most commonly occur pre-predicate. Unlike the other two open lexical classes of nouns and verbs, Papuan Malay adverbs are not used predicatively.

Cross-linguistically, Haser and Kortmann (2006: 66) note that in terms of their semantics and morphology, "adverbs are most closely related to adjectives, from which they are often derived". With the restriction that Papuan Malay has a class of monovalent stative verbs instead of adjectives (see §5.3.1), this observation also seems to apply to the Papuan Malay adverbs. First, a number of adverbs are related to monovalent stative verbs, such as the temporal adverb **dulu** 'in the past, first' which is related to stative **dulu** 'be prior' (see §5.4.5), or the focus adverb **pas** 'precisely' which is related to stative **pas** 'be exact' (see §5.4.6; see also §5.16). Second, manner is expressed through stative verbs (see §5.4.8). Third, reduplicated verbs can receive an adverbial reading due to an interpretational shift. Examples are **baru~baru** 'just now' with its stative base **baru** 'be new' (see §5.4.5; see also §4.2.2.8). In Papuan Malay this link with verbs extends to dynamic verbs, in that reduplicated dynamic verbs can also receive an adverbial reading. Examples are the modal adverbs **kira~kira** 'probably' and **taw~taw** 'unexpectedly' which are related to the respective dynamic verbs **kira** 'think' and **taw** 'know' (see §5.4.4; see also §5.16).

In addition to this prominent link with verbs, Papuan Malay adverbs are also related to nouns, although this link appears to be less prominent. First, a number of modal adverbs are historically derived from nouns by unproductive affixation with -**nya** '3POSSR'. Examples are **artinya** 'that means' (literally 'its meaning'), **katanya** 'it is being said' (literally 'his/her word'), or **maksutnya** 'that is to say' (literally 'its purpose'). Second, reduplicated nouns can receive an adverbial reading due to an interpretational shift (see §4.2.1.4).

The adverbs occur in different positions within the clause. They can take a pre-predicate or post-predicate position, with the pre-predicate position being the most common. There are also a fair number of adverbs which can occur in both positions. For the pre-predicate adverbs two positions are possible, directly preceding the predicate and preceding the subject. Likewise, two positions are possible for the post-predicate adverbs, directly following the predicate and, in clauses with peripheral adjuncts, following the adjunct. Depending on their positions within the clause, the adverbs differ in terms of their semantic effect. Generally speaking, pre-predicate adverbs which precede the subject have scope over the entire proposition. The semantic effect of pre-predicate adverbs which directly precede the predicate, and of post-predicate adverbs is more limited. Overall, however, these distinctions are subtle, as shown with the temporal adverb **langsung** 'immediately' in §5.4.5.

The following sections describe the adverbs in terms of their positions within the clause and their overall semantic functions. Aspect adverbs are discussed in §5.4.1, frequency adverbs in §5.4.2, modal adverbs in §5.4.4, affirmation and negation adverbs in §5.4.3, temporal adverbs in §5.4.5, focus adverbs in §5.4.6, and degree adverbs in §5.4.7. Papuan Malay does not have manner adverbs; instead, manner is expressed through stative verbs which always follow the main verb, as briefly discussed in §5.4.8. Each of these sections includes a table which lists the different adverbs and indicates whether they take a pre-predicate (PRE-PRED) and/or post-predicate (POST-PRED) position within the clause. The different positions are also illustrated with (near) contrastive examples. An investigation of the semantic effects encoded by these positions, however, is left for future research. Also left for future research is the question of which adverbs can co-occur and in which positions.

Following the description of the different types of adverbs, §5.4.9 summarizes the main points of this section, especially with respect to the interplay between syntactic properties and functions of the adverbs.

5.4.1.   Aspectual adverbs

The aspectual adverbs, presented in Table 20, provide temporal information about the event or state denoted by the verb in terms of their "duration or completion" (Asher 1994: 5094). Thereby they differ from the temporal adverbs presented in §5.4.5, which designate temporal points (Givón 2001: 91–92). Aspectual **blum** 'not yet' and **masi** 'still' have prospective meanings; that is, they point "forward to possible transitions in the future" (Smessaert and ter Meulen 2004: 221). More specifically, **blum** 'not yet' indicates that the event or state denoted by the verb is not yet completed, while **masi** 'still' signals that the event or state is still continuing. Aspectual **suda** 'already', by contrast, has a retrospective meaning; that is, it marks "a realized transition in the past" (2004: 221) (**suda** 'already' is very often shortened to **su**). Besides, **suda** 'already' can signal imperative mood, in which case it occurs in clause-final position, as discussed in §13.3. Progressive aspect is not encoded by an adverb except with the existential verb **ada** 'exist'; for expository reasons, however, the progressive marking function of **ada** 'exist' is discussed here (existential clauses are discussed in §11.4).

The three adverbs always occur in pre-predicate position, as shown in Table 20. This applies to their uses in verbal clauses, as in (138) and (139), and nonverbal clauses, as in (142) to (144). Likewise, adverbially used **ada** 'exist' precedes the predicate, as shown in (140), (141), and (145).

Table 20:   Aspectual adverbs and adverbially used **ada** 'exist' and their positions within the clause

Item	Gloss	Position within the clause	
		PRE-PRED	POST-PRED
blum	'not yet'	X	
masi	'still'	X	
suda	'already'	X	
ada	'exist'	X	

In verbal predicate clauses, the aspectual adverbs and adverbially used *ada* 'exist' modify dynamic verbs, as in (138) and (140), or stative verbs as in (139) and (141).

Aspectual adverbs and adverbially used *ada* 'exist' modifying verbal predicates

(138) a   mama   **blum** mandi mama   **masi** bangung tidor
       ah!   mother not.yet   bathe mother still   wake.up sleep
       'ah, I ('mother') have **not yet** bathed, I ('mother') am **still** waking up'
       [080924-002-Pr.0007]

(139) ana   itu   de   **suda**   besar   betul,   de   **suda**   besar   …
       child D.DIST 3SG   already   be.big   be.true 3SG   already   be.big
       '(when) that child is **already** really grown-up, (when) he/she's **already**
       grown-up, …' [081006-025-CvEx.0005]

(140) sa   pu   maytua **ada** **tidor** karna   hari   blum   siang
       1SG   POSS   wife   exist   sleep   because day   not.yet day
       'my wife **was sleeping** because it wasn't daylight yet' [080919-004-NP.0026]

(141) dong   bilang, a   de   **ada**   **sakit**
       3PL   say   ah!   3SG   exist   be.sick
       'they said, 'ah, he's **sick'' [080919-007-CvNP.0025]

The examples in (142) to (145) demonstrate the uses of the aspectual adverbs and adverbially used *ada* 'exist' in nonverbal predicate clauses. (An alternative analysis of clauses with *ada* 'exist', such as the one in (145), is presented in §11.4.1.)

Aspectual adverbs modifying nonverbal predicates

(142) itu   kang   **blum**   musim   ombak
       D.DIST   you.know   not.yet   season   wave
       [About traveling by high or low tide:] 'that is **not yet** the wavy season, you
       know' [080927-003-Cv.0020]

(143) Roni   **masi** deng   de   pu   temang~temang
       Roni   still   with   3SG   POSS   RDP~friend
       'Roni is **still** with his friends' [081006-031-Cv.0011]

(144) sa   **su**   di   Arare   sama   Pawla
       1SG   already   at   Arare   to   Pawla
       'I (would) **already** be in Arare with Pawla' [081025-009a-Cv.0110]

(145) ana~ana   prempuang   dong   **ada**   di   depang
       RDP~child   woman   3PL   exist   at   front
       'the girls **are being** in front' [080921-004a-CvNP.0066]

5.4.2. Frequency adverbs

The frequency adverbs listed in Table 21 "typically indicate the number of times something happened" during a given time interval (Doetjes 2007: 688). The frequency adverbs always occur in pre-predicate position.[153]

Table 21:   Frequency adverbs and their positions within the clause

Item	Gloss	Position within the clause	
		PRE-PRED	POST-PRED
biasanya[154]	'usually'	X	
perna	'ever, once'	X	
jarang	rarely'	X	
kadang(-kadang)	'sometimes'	X	
slalu	'always'	X	
sring	'often'	X	

The pre-predicate position of the frequency adverbs is illustrated in (146) to (149). The adverbs can directly precede the predicate, such as *kadang-kadang* 'sometimes' in (146) or *perna* 'ever' in (148), or they can precede the subject, such as *kadang(-kadang)* 'sometimes' in (147) or *perna* 'ever' in (149). These examples also show that frequency adverbs not only modify verbal predicates as in (146) to (148), but also nonverbal predicates as in (149). The semantics conveyed by the different positions have to do with scope.

    Frequency adverbs in clause-initial and pre-predicate position

(146)   yo, de   **kadang-kadang** terlalu, ini,   egois
         yes 3SG sometimes   too   D.PROX be.egoistic
         'yes, she's **sometimes** too, what's-its-name, egoistic' [081115-001a-Cv.0218/0220]

(147)   **kadang**   sa sa buang bola sama Wili deng Klara to?
         sometimes 1SG 1SG discard ball to   Wili with Klara right?
         '**sometimes** I, I threw the ball to Wili and Klara, right?' [081006-014-Cv.0005]

(148)   de   **perna** kasi makang sa   pu   ana
         3SG ever   give eat   1SG POSS child
         'she **once** fed my child' [081110-008-CvNP.0050]

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[153] In the present corpus only *biasanya* 'usually' and *perna* 'ever' are attested in the clause-initial position; for the remaining frequency adverbs, their uses in this position were established by means of elicitation.

[154] The adverb *biasanya* 'usually' is historically derived: *biasa-nya* 'be.usual-3POSS' (for details on suffixation with *-nya* '3POSS', see §3.1.6).

(149)   … **perna** kitong dua di apa   kantor Golkar
            ever   1PL   two at what   office Golkar

'[so I and, what's-his-name, Noferus here,] **once** the two of us were at the
Golkar office' [080923-009-Cv.0050]

5.4.3.   Affirmation and negation adverbs

The affirmation and negation adverbs listed in Table 22 indicate general affirmation,
negation, or prohibition, and provide responses to polar questions (see also Chapter
13).

Table 22:   Papuan Malay affirmation and negation adverbs

Item	Gloss	Position within the clause	
		PRE-PRED	POST-PRED
yo	'yes'	X	
bukang	'NEG, no'	X	
tida/*tra*	'NEG, no'	X	
jangang	'NEG.IMP, don't'	X	

The four adverbs always take a pre-predicate position. While affirmative *yo* 'yes' is
always fronted, the two negative and the one prohibitive adverbs directly precede
the predicate. Affirmative *yo* 'yes' is often realized as *ya*, and negative *jangang*
'NEG.IMP' is quite commonly shortened to *jang*. Examples are provided in (150) to
(153): affirmation with *yo* 'yes' in (150), negation with interchangeably used *tra*
'NEG' and *tida* 'NEG' in (151), and with *bukang* 'NEG' (152), and prohibition with
jangang 'NEG.IMP' in (153). Negation and prohibition are discussed in more detail in
§13.1 and §13.2, respectively.

        Affirmation and negation adverbs: Examples

(150)   **yo**, tikus de   loncat ke   klapa   lagi
            yes   rat   3SG jump   to   coconut again

'**yes**, the rat also jumped over to the coconut tree' [080917-003b-CvEx.0025]

(151)   de   **tra** datang … de   **tida** datang
            3SG NEG come   3SG NEG   come

'she did **not** come … she did **not** come' [081010-001-Cv.0204-0205]

(152)   saya **bukang** anjing hitam
            1SG NEG   dog   be.black

'I'm **not** a black dog' [081115-001a-Cv.0266]

(153)   Nofi **jangang** ganggu kaka, ade tu,   e?
            Nofi NEG.IMP disturb oSb   ySb D.DIST   e?

'Nofi **don't** bother that older relative, younger relative, eh?' [081011-009-
Cv.0013]

5.4.4. Modal adverbs

The modal adverbs presented in Table 23 "express the subjective evaluation of the speaker towards a state of affairs" (Bussmann 1996: 751). This includes "epistemic" adverbs which "denote the speaker's attitude toward the truth, certainty or probability of the state or event" or "evaluative" adverbs which express "the speaker's *evaluative* attitudes, i.e. judgments of *preference* for or *desirability* of a state or event" (Givón 2001: 92–93). Most of these adverbs are historically derived by (unproductive) affixation (for details on affixation see §3.1).

All modal adverbs take a pre-predicate position. Besides the adverbs listed in Table 23, degree adverb **paling** 'most' also has an epistemic function when it precedes the subject, as discussed in §5.4.7.

Table 23:   Papuan Malay modal adverbs and their positions within the clause

Item	Literal	Gloss	Position PRE-PRED	POST-PRED
Epistemic adverbs				
kata-nya	'word-3POSSR'	'it's being said'	X	
kira~kira	'RDP-think'	'probably'	X	
memang		'indeed'	X	
misal-nya	'example-3POSSR'	'for example'	X	
mungking		'maybe'	X	
pasti		'certain'	X	
pokok-nya	'main-3POSSR'	'the main thing is'	X	
sebenar-nya	'one:be.true-3POSSR'	'actually'	X	
sperti-nya	'similar.to-3POSSR'	'it seems'	X	
arti-nya	'meaning-3POSSR'	'that means'	X	
maksut-nya	'purpose-3POSSR'	'that is to say'	X	
Evaluative adverbs				
akir-nya	'end-3POSSR'	'finally'	X	
coba	'try'	'if only'	X	
harus-nya	'have.to-3POSSR'	'appropriately'	X	
muda~muda-an	'RDP~be.easy-PAT'	'hopefully'	X	
taw~taw	'RDP~know'	'suddenly'	X	

The pre-predicate position of the modal adverbs is demonstrated in (154) to (157). Typically, they precede the subject. This is illustrated with epistemic **memang** 'indeed' in (154) and **pasti** 'definitely' in (155), and with evaluative **akirnya** 'finally' in (156) and **taw~taw** 'suddenly' in (157). Functioning at clause level, the epistemic adverbs introduce propositions which offer explanations and clarifications for the events depicted in the preceding discourse, while the evaluative adverbs provide an evaluation of the events described in the preceding discourse.

Modal adverbs in pre-predicate position preceding the subject

(154)   kas   tinggal   **memang**   de   nakal
        give   stay   indeed   3SG   be.mischievous
        'let it be, **indeed**, he is mischievous' [081015-001-Cv.0027]

(155)   **pasti**   de   pulang
        definitely   3SG   go.home
        '**certainly**, she'll come home' [081006-019-Cv.0010]

(156)   **akirnya**   asap~asap   naik,   langsung   api   menyala
        finally   RDP~smoke   ascend   immediately   fire   flame
        '**finally** smoke ascended, immediately the fire flared up' [080922-010a-CvNF.0079]

(157)   **taw~taw**   orang   itu   tida   keliatang
        suddenly   person   D.DIST   NEG   be.visible
        '**suddenly**, that person wasn't visible (any longer)' [080922-002-Cv.0123]

While evaluative modal adverbs always precede the subject, most epistemic adverbs can take two pre-predicate positions. Besides preceding the subject, as in (154) and (155), they can also directly precede the predicate. The exceptions are *artinya* 'that means' and *maksutnya* 'that is to say', both of which always precede the subject. This position directly preceding the predicate is illustrated with *memang* 'indeed' in (159) and with pasti 'definitely' in (158) (compare both examples with the examples in (154) and (155), respectively). Both examples also show that modal adverbs not only occur in verbal clauses as in (158), but also in non-verbal clauses, as in (159).

Modal adverbs in pre-predicate position preceding the subject or the predicate

(158)   jangang   ko   singgung, tapi   ini   **memang**   bukti
        NEG.IMP   2SG   offend   but   this   indeed   proof
        [About problems with the local elections:] 'don't feel offended but this is **indeed** the proof' [081011-024-Cv.0150]

(159)   … tapi   de   **pasti**   kasi   swara
          but   3SG   definitely   give   voice
        [About meeting strangers in remote areas:] '[most likely, he/she won't know your name yet,] but he/she'll **definitely** call (you)' [080919-004-NP.0078]

5.4.5.   Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs "are periphrastic indicators of temporal relations" (Payne 1997: 220). The Papuan Malay temporal adverbs are listed in Table 24. Within the clause, almost all of them occur in pre-predicate or in post-predicate position. The

exceptions are **baru** 'recently' and **baru~baru** 'just now' which only occur in pre-predicate position.[155]

Table 24: Temporal adverbs and their positions within the clause

Item	Gloss	Position within the clause	
		PRE-PRED	POST-PRED
dulu	'in the past, first'	X	X
lama~lama	'gradually'	X	X
langsung	'immediately'	X	X
nanti	'very soon'	X	X
sebentar	'in/for a moment'	X	X
skarang	'now'	X	X
tadi	'earlier'	X	X
baru	'recently'	X	
baru~baru	'just now'	X	

Examples for the pre-predicate position are given in (160) to (163), and for the post-predicate position in (164) to (167). The different meaning aspects conveyed by both positions are discussed in connection with the examples in (169) to (171).

In pre-predicate position, the adverbs can directly precede the predicate, such as *langsung* 'immediately' in (160) and *nanti* 'very soon' in (162), or precede the subject, such as *langsung* 'immediately' in (161) and *nanti* 'very soon' in (163).

Temporal adverbs in pre-predicate position

(160) de **langsung** ke asrama polisi cari bapa
       3SG immediately to dormitory police search father
       'he (went) **immediately** to the police dormitory to look for father' [081011-022-Cv.0242]

(161) wa, ko datang, **langsung** ko lapar?
       wow! 2SG come immediately 2SG be.hungry
       'wow, you come (here, and) **immediately** you're hungry?' [081110-002-Cv.0049]

(162) … dang ko **nanti** kena picaang
       and 2SG very.soon hit splinter
       '[don't (go down to the beach, (it's) dirty,] and **later** you'll run into broken glass and cans' [080917-004-CvHt.0002]

(163) **nanti** bapa mo brangkat **nanti** bapa kas taw
       very.soon father want leave very.soon father give know

---

[155] Some of the adverbs listed in Table 24 are derived from monovalent stative verbs: *baru* 'be new', *dulu* 'be prior', *skarang* 'be current', and *tadi* 'be recent' (variation in word class membership is discussed in §5.16).

sama   bapa-ade   pendeta
with   uncle   pastor

'**very soon** I ('father') will leave (and) **then** I'll inform uncle pastor'
[080922-001a-CvPh.0339]

The post-predicate position is illustrated in (164) to (167). In clauses with peripheral adjuncts, the adverbs follow the predicate and precedes the adjunct, such as *nanti* 'very soon' in the elicited example in (164) and *langsung* 'immediately' in (166). Clauses, in which the temporal adverb follows the peripheral adjunct are either ungrammatical, such as *nanti* 'very soon' in (165), or only marginally grammatical such as *langsung* 'immediately' in the elicited contrastive examples in (167).

Temporal adverbs in post-predicate position

(164)   tong   pergi   **nanti**   ke   Sarmi
        1PL   go   very.soon   to   Sarmi

'we'll go **very soon**' to Sarmi' [Elicited MY131113.001]

(165)   *   tong   pergi   ke   Sarmi   **nanti**
            1PL   come   to   Sarmi   very.soon

Intended reading: 'we'll go to Sarmi **very soon**' [Elicited MY131113.002]

(166)   … tak!,   masuk   **langsung**   di   bawa   meja   sana
          bang!   enter   immediately   at   bottom   table   L.DIST

[About a small boy who had a collision with an evil spirit:] 'whump! **immediately** (the kid) went under the table over there' [081025-009b-Cv.0029]

(167)   ?? … tak!,   masuk   di   bawa   meja   sana   **langsung**
              bang!   enter   at   bottom   table   L.DIST   immediately

Intended reading: 'whump! (the kid) went under the table over there **immediately**' [Elicited MY131113.003]

The meaning aspects conveyed by the different positions of the temporal adverbs have to do with scope. This is demonstrated with *langsung* 'immediately' in three (near) contrastive examples: the pre-predicate position following the subject is shown in (168), the pre-predicate position preceding the subject in (169), and the post-predicate position in (170).

Positions and scope of temporal adverbs

(168)   bapa   **langsung**   diam
        father   immediately   be.quiet

'the gentleman was **immediately** quiet' [080917-010-CvEx.0186]

(169)   **langsung**   dong   diam
        immediately   3PL   be.quiet

'**immediately** they were quiet' [080922-003-Cv.0085]

(170)   bapa   de   diam   **langsung**
        father   3SG   be.quiet   immediately

'the gentleman was quiet **immediately**' [080917-010-CvEx.0191]

Only one temporal adverb has clear distinct meanings depending on its positions, namely ***dulu*** 'in the past, first'. Pre-predicate ***dulu*** translates with 'in the past', whereas post-predicate ***dulu*** translates with 'first', as shown in (171).

Temporal ***dulu*** 'in the past, first' in clause-initial and post-predicate position

(171) **dulu**   kitong pu   orang-tua itu   tida bisa
       in.the.past 1PL   POSS parent   D.DIST NEG be.capable

       berhubungang   **dulu**
       have.sexual.intercourse   first

       '**in the past** our parents couldn't have sex **first** (before getting married)'
       [081110-006-CvEx.0012]

Temporal ***baru*** 'recently' and ***baru~baru*** 'just now' only occur in pre-predicate position, as in (172) and (173). While ***baru*** 'recently' directly precedes the predicate, ***baru~baru*** 'just now' precedes the subject. In addition, ***baru*** 'recently' (literally 'be new') is also used as a conjunction, as discussed in §14.2.3.2.

Temporal ***baru*** 'just now' and ***baru~baru*** 'quite recently' in pre-predicate position only

(172) kariawan   dong   **baru**   lewat
       employee   3PL   recently   pass.by

       'the employees **recently** walked by' [080922-001a-CvPh.0830]

(173) **baru~baru** de   masuk   ruma-sakit
       just.now   3SG   enter   hospital

       '**just now**, he got into hospital' [081115-001a-Cv.0070]

5.4.6.   Focus adverbs

Focus adverbs indicate "an accentual peak or stress which is used to contrast or compare [… an] item either explicitly or implicitly with a set of alternatives" (Hoeksema and Zwarts 1991: 52). That is, focus adverbs highlight information and signal some kind of restriction, thereby adding emphasis to an utterance. Hence, they are also known as "emphatic" adverbs (Givón 2001: 94). In Papuan Malay, almost all focus adverbs take a pre-predicate position, as shown in Table 25. The exceptions are ***juga*** 'also', ***lagi*** 'again, also', and ***saja*** 'just' which take a post-predicate position. While the latter two only occur in post-predicate position, ***juga*** 'also' also takes a pre-predicate position.

Table 25:   Focus adverbs and their positions within the clause

Item	Gloss	Position within the clause	
		PRE-PRED	POST-PRED
apalagi	'moreover'	X	

Item	Gloss	Position within the clause	
		PRE-PRED	POST-PRED
kecuali	'except'	X	
kususnya[156]	'especially'	X	
cuma	'just'	X	
hanya	'only'	X	
justru	'precisely'	X	
mala	'instead'	X	
pas	'precisely'	X	
juga	'also'	X	X
lagi	'again, also'		X
saja	'just'		X

The pre-predicate position of the focus adverbs is illustrated in (174) to (178). Focus adverbs typically precede the subject. This is shown with *cuma* 'just' in (174) and *hanya* 'only' in (176). Most of them can also take a pre-predicate position directly preceding the predicate; the exceptions are *apalagi* 'moreover', and *kecuali* 'except' which always precede the subject. The position directly preceding the predicate is shown with *cuma* 'just' in (175) and *hanya* 'only' in (177), respectively. Another exception is pre-predicate *juga* 'also', which always directly precedes the predicate, as in (178); for its post-predicate uses see (179). These examples also illustrate that focus adverbs not only modify verbal predicates, as in (174), and (176) to (178), but also nonverbal predicates, such as the numeral predicate *dua* 'two' in (174).

Focus adverbs in clause-initial and pre-predicate position

(174) baru~baru de su turung, **cuma** de su pulang
just.now 3SG already descend just 3SG already go.home
[Reply to an interlocutor who is looking for someone:] 'just now he already came by, (it's) **just** (that) he already went home' [080922-001a-CvPh.0554]

(175) … tapi [sa pu alpa] **cuma** dua
but 1SG POSS be.absent just two
[About unexcused school absences:] '[I was absent many times,] but I had just only two (official) absences' (Lit. 'my being absent was **just** two') [081023-004-Cv.0014]

(176) jadi kalo nika di kantor itu begitu, **hanya** dong bilang
so if marry at office D.DIST like.that only 3PL say
nika sipil
marry be.civil
[About marrying civically:] 'so if (one) marries at the office it's like that, **only** (that) they call (it) 'marrying civically'' [081110-007-CvPr.0030]

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[156] The adverb *kususnya* 'especially' is historically derived: *kusus-nya* 'be.special-3POSS' (for details on suffixation with *-nya* '3POSS', see §3.1.6).

(177) prempuang **hanya** duduk makang pinang saja
      woman   only   sit   eat   betel.nut just
      'the girls **just** sit (around) and eat betel nut' [081014-007-CvEx.0045]

(178) Ise dong **juga** duduk di sana
      Ise 3PL also   sit   at L.DIST
      'Ise and the others are **also** sitting over there' [081025-009b-Cv.0075]

Three focus adverbs take a post-predicate position, namely *juga* 'also', *lagi* 'again, also', and *saja* 'just'. This is demonstrated with the examples in (179) to (181). (As shown in (178), *juga* 'also' can also take a pre-predicate position.) In clauses with peripheral adjuncts, the three adverbs can directly follow the predicate, such as the first *juga* 'also' token in (179) and *lagi* 'again, also' in (180). Alternatively, they can follow the adjunct, such as the second *juga* 'also' token in (179) and *lagi* 'again, also' in (181). Focus adverb *saja* 'just' has the same distributional properties as *lagi* 'again, also'. The semantics expressed with the different positions again have to do with scope.

     Focus adverbs in post-predicate position

(179) dari sini   deng Papua-Lima, kembali **juga** deng Papua-Lima
      from L.PROX with Papua-Lima return   also   with Papua-Lima
      … ke sana   deng Papua-Lima kembali deng Papua-Lima **juga**
        to L.DIST with Papua-Lima return with Papua-Lima also
      '(I'll leave) from here with the Papua-Lima (ship) and return **also** with the Papua-Lima (ship) … (I'll get) over there with the Papua-Lima (ship and) **also** return with the Papua-Lima (ship)' [080922-001a-CvPh.0483/0493]

(180) de kembali **lagi** ke Papua
      3SG return   again   to Papua
      'he came back **again** to Papua' [081025-004-Cv.0008]

(181) sa pulang   ke Waim **lagi**
      1SG go.home to Waim again
      'I went home to Waim **again**' [081015-005-NP.0051]

5.4.7. Degree adverbs

The degree adverbs listed in Table 26 "describe the extent of a characteristic. They can be used to emphasize that a characteristic is either greater or less than some typical level" (Biber et al. 2002: 209). Most of the degree adverbs occur in pre-predicate position. The exception is *skali* 'very', which takes a post-predicate position. Semantically, most of the adverbs are "amplifiers or intensifiers" which "increase intensity", while two are "diminishers or downtoners" which "decrease the effect of the modified item" (2002: 209). Two of the amplifiers modify gradable verbs, namely *lebi* 'more' and *paling* 'most'. The former signals comparative degree while the latter marks superlative degree.

Table 26:   Degree adverbs and their positions within the clause

Item	Gloss	Position within the clause	
		PRE-PRED	POST-PRED
Amplifiers/intensifiers			
lebi	'more'	X	
paling	'most'	X	
terlalu	'too'	X	
skali	'very'		X
Diminishers/downtoners			
agak	'rather'	X	
hampir	'almost'	X	

The four amplifiers modify monovalent stative and bivalent verbs, as discussed in §5.3.4 and §5.3.5 (comparative constructions are discussed in §11.5). The amplifiers occur in pre-predicate position, following the subject, such as *paling* 'most' in (182). Furthermore, *paling* 'most' can precede the subject, although not very often. In this clause-initial position it functions as an epistemic modal adverb which has scope over the entire proposition, as in (183) (modal adverbs are discussed in §5.4.4).

      Amplifier degree adverbs

(182)   ana   ini   **paling** bodo
         child D.PROX most   be.stupid
         'this child is **most** stupid' [081011-005-Cv.0035]

(183)   waktu saya bilang sa   mo   biking acara,   **paling** sa   tra
         time   1SG   say   1SG want make   ceremony most   1SG NEG
         kerja, sa   sebagey kepala acara   pesta
         work   1SG   as   head   ceremony party
         'when I say, I want to hold a festivity, **most likely** I won't (have to) work, I'll be the head of the festivity, party' [080919-004-NP.0068]

The intensifier *terlalu* 'too' also occurs in pre-predicate position, as in (184). By contrast, *skali* 'very' takes a post-predicate position, as illustrated in (185) to (187). In clauses with peripheral adjuncts, as in (186), *skali* 'very' follows the predicate, such as *enak* 'be pleasant' in (186). Clauses in which *skali* 'very' follows the peripheral adjunct, as in (187), are ungrammatical.

      Intensifier degree adverbs

(184)   a,   ko   **terlalu** bodo
         ah!   2SG   too   be.stupid
         'ah, you are **too** stupid' [080917-003a-CvEx.0009]

(185)   ade bongso   jadi ko   sayang dia **skali** e?
         ySb youngest.offspring so   2SG love   3SG very   eh
         '(your) youngest sibling, so you love her **very much**, eh?' [080922-001a-CvPh.0302]

(186)   kamu orang-tua enak   **skali** di   sana
         2PL   parent   be.pleasant very at   L.DIST
         'you, the parents, (have) **very pleasant** (lives) over there' (Lit. 'you … are **very pleasant**') [081115-001a-Cv.0106]

(187)   * kamu orang-tua enak   di   sana   **skali**
           2PL   parent   pleasant at   L.DIST very
         Intended reading: 'you, the parents, (have) **very pleasant** (lives) over there' [Elicited MY131113.004]

The diminishers *agak* 'rather' and *hampir* 'almost' also occur in pre-predicate position, as illustrated in (188) to (191). Always directly preceding the verb, *agak* 'rather' modifies stative verbs, as in (188). Clauses in which *agak* 'rather' precedes the subject, as in (189), are ungrammatical. Diminisher *hampir* 'almost' typically modifies dynamic verbs, as in (190) and (191).[157] The adverb can directly precede the predicate, as in the elicited example in (190), or precede the subject, as in (191). In the present corpus, *hampir* 'almost' always occurs in the latter position, where the adverb has scope over the entire proposition.

      Diminisher/downtoner degree adverbs

(188)   sa   su   **agak**   besar
         1SG already rather be.big
         [About the speaker's childhood:] 'I was already **rather** big' [080922-008-CvNP.0025]

(189)   * **agak** sa   su   besar
           rather 1SG already be.big
         Intended reading: 'I was already **rather** big' [Elicited MY131113.006]

(190)   dong **hampir** bunu bapa
         3PL   almost   kill   father
         'they **almost** killed (my) father' [Elicited MY131113.005]

(191)   **hampir** dong bunu bapa
         almost   3PL   kill   father
         '(it) **almost** (happened that) they killed (my) father' [081011-022-Cv.0210]

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[157] According to one consultant, some Papuan Malay speakers also use *hampir* 'almost' to modify stative verbs. Much more often though they employ a construction with *su mulay* 'already start to' as in the example below:
     baru kita pergi skola, **suda**   **mulay** **sembu**
     then   1PL   go   school already start   be.healed
     [After an accident:] 'and then we went (back) to school, (our wounds) **were almost healed**' (Lit. '**already started to be healed**') [081014-012-NP.0005]

5.4.8.   Expressing manner

Papuan Malay does not have manner adverbs. Instead, manner is expressed through
stative verbs, as shown in (192) to (197). The modifying stative verbs always take a
post-predicate position. In (192), for instance, post-predicate stative ***kras*** 'be harsh'
modifies stative ***sakit*** 'be sick', and in (195) ***trus*** 'be continuous' modifies ***tatap dia***
'observe him'. In verbal clauses with peripheral adjuncts, the modifying stative verb
can directly follow the predicate as in (196), or follow the adjunct, as in (197).

(192)   baru   satu kali   sa   sakit   **kras**
         and.then   one   time   1SG   be.sick be.harsh
         'but then one time I was **badly** sick' [080922-008-CvNP.0009]

(193)   e,   kam   mandi   **cepat**   suda!
         hey!   2PL   bathe   be.fast   already
         hey, you bathe **quickly**!' [080917-008-NP.0128]

(194)   dong   dua   lari   **trus**
         3PL   two   run   be.continuous
         [About a motorbike trip:] 'the two of them drove **continuously**' [081015-
         005-NP.0011]

(195)   langsung   sa   tatap   dia   **trus**
         immediately   1SG   gaze.at 3SG   be.continuous
         'immediately I gazed at him **continuously**' [081006-035-CvEx.0071]

(196)   de   buka   **trus**   siang   malam
         3SG   open   be.continuous   day   night
         [About opening hours of an office] 'it is open **continuously** day and night'
         [081005-001-Cv.0003]

(197)   … terendam   di   air   **trus**
            be.soaked   at   water   be.continuous
         [About a motorbike that got stuck in a river:] '[(the motorbike) is still there
         …,] (it) is immersed in water **continuously**' [081008-003-Cv.0026]

5.4.9.   Summary

The Papuan Malay adverbs take different positions within the clause, that is, they
can occur in pre-predicate or in post-predicate position. The most common position,
however, is the pre-predicate one. There are also a fair number of adverbs which can
occur in both positions.

   For the pre-predicate adverbs two positions are attested, one directly preceding
the predicate and one preceding the subject. A fair number of pre-predicate adverbs
can occur in both positions. Likewise, for the post-predicate adverbs two positions
are attested, one directly following the predicate and, in clauses with peripheral
adjuncts, one following the adjunct. Most post-predicate adverbs can occur in both
positions. In terms of their functions, the adverbs designate aspect, frequency,

affirmation and negation, modality, time, focus, and degree; manner is expressed through stative verbs in post-predicate position.

The data show the following interplay between syntactic properties and functions of the adverbs:

1.   Aspect adverbs:

     They only occur in pre-predicate position, directly preceding the predicate.

2.   Frequency adverbs:

     They only occur in pre-predicate position where they can directly precede the predicate or precede the subject.

3.   Affirmation and negation adverbs:

     They always occur in a predicate position. The affirmation adverb always precedes the subject, while the three negation adverbs directly precede the predicate.

4.   Modal adverbs:

     All epistemic and evaluative adverbs take a pre-predicate position, preceding the subject. Besides, most of the epistemic adverbs can also directly precede the predicate; the exceptions are *artinya* 'that means' and *maksutnya* 'that is to say' which always precede the subject.

5.   Temporal adverbs:

     All but two can occur in pre- or post-predicate position. In pre-predicate position, the adverbs can directly precede the predicate or the subject. In post-predicate position, they always follow the predicate and, in clauses with peripheral adjuncts, precede the adjunct. Two adverbs only occur in pre-predicate position, namely *baru* 'recently' and *baru~baru* 'just now'.

6.   Focus adverbs:

     All but three only occur in pre-predicate position where they can directly precede the predicate or the subject. The exceptions are *juga* 'also', *lagi* 'again, also', and *saja* 'just', which take a post-predicate position. While *lagi* 'again, also', and *saja* 'just' only occur in post-predicate position, *juga* 'also' also takes a pre-predicate position. In post-predicate position, the three adverbs can either directly follow the predicate or, in clauses with peripheral adjuncts, follow the adjunct.

7.   Degree adverbs:

     All but one only take a pre-predicate position, where most of them directly precede the predicate. The exception is *hampir* 'almost' which can also precede the subject. The one degree adverb which does not occur in pre-predicate position is *skali* 'very'. It only occurs in post-predicate position, directly following the predicate.

These distributional preferences are summarized in Table 27.

Table 27:   Papuan Malay adverbs and their positions within the clause

Adverb type	Positions within the clause	
	PRE-PRED	POST-PRED
Aspect	all ADV	none
Frequency	all ADV	none
Affirmation/negation	all ADV	none
Modal	all ADV	none
Temporal	all ADV	most ADV
Focus	most ADV	three ADV
Degree	most ADV	one ADV

As for those adverbs which can take more than one position within the clause, the semantic distinctions conveyed by the different positions have to do with scope. Overall, however, these distinctions are subtle and require further investigation.

Papuan Malay does not have manner adverbs. Instead, manner is expressed with monovalent stative verbs which always take a post-predicate position.

5.5.   Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns "are a class of linguistic signs that are used to refer to human individuals and inanimate entities" (Helmbrecht 2004: 49). As such, they designate "speech-act-participants […] and non-speech-act participants" (Bhat 2007: 26).

The Papuan Malay personal pronoun system, presented in Table 1, distinguishes singular and plural numbers and three persons. They do not mark case, clusivity, gender, or politeness.

Table 28:   Personal pronoun system with long and short forms

	Long forms	Short forms
1SG	*saya*	*sa*
2SG	*ko*	---
3SG	*dia*	*de*
1PL	*kitong*	*tong*
1PL	*kita*	*ta*
1PL	*kitorang*	*torang*
2PL	*kamu*	*kam*
2PL	*kamorang*	---
3PL	*dorang*	*dong*

Each personal pronoun has at least one long and one short form, except for the second person singular pronoun. The first person plural pronoun has three long and three short forms, and the second person plural pronoun has two long forms and one

short form. The use of the long and short pronoun forms does not mark grammatical distinctions but represents speaker preferences. These distributional preferences are discussed in detail in §6.1.1.

The Papuan Malay personal pronouns have the following distributional properties:

1. Substitution for noun phrases (pronominal uses) (§6.1).
2. Modification with demonstratives, locatives, numerals, quantifiers, and/or relative clauses (pronominal uses) (§6.1).
3. Co-occurrence with noun phrases (adnominal uses): NP PRO (§6.2).

Personal pronouns are distinct from other word classes such as nouns (§5.2) and demonstratives (§5.6) in terms of the following distributional properties:

1. Personal pronouns are distinct from nouns in that personal pronouns (a) very commonly modify nouns, while nouns do not modify personal pronouns; and (b) only designate the possessor in adnominal possessive constructions, while nouns can also express the possessum.
2. Unlike demonstratives, personal pronouns (a) express person and number, and (b) signal definiteness, while demonstratives indicate specificity.

The personal pronouns have pronominal and adnominal uses. This is illustrated with two examples. The utterance in (198) demonstrates the pronominal uses of short *sa* '1SG' and long *dia* '3SG', while the example in (199) shows the adnominal uses of short *dong* '3PL'. The personal pronouns are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

(198) ana   itu   **sa**   paling   sayang   **dia**   **tu**   ana   itu
       child   D.DIST   1SG   most   love   3SG   D.DIST   child   D.DIST
       'that child, **I** love **her (EMPH)** most, that child' [081011-023-Cv.0097]

(199) **Natanael**   **dong**   menang
       Natanael   3PL   win
       [About a volleyball game:] '**Natanael and his friends** won' [081109-001-Cv.0002]

5.6.   Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic expressions that orient the hearers, and focus their "attention on entities in the situation surrounding the interlocutors" or "in the speech situation" (Diessel 1999: 93–94). Papuan Malay has a two-term demonstrative system: proximal *ini* 'D.PROX' and distal *itu* 'D.DIST', together with their reduced fast-speech forms *ni* 'D.PROX' and *tu* 'D.DIST'. The demonstratives signal specificity by pointing to "a particular instance of an entity" (Andrews 2007: 148): *ini* 'D.PROX' indicates proximity of this entity, while *itu* 'D.DIST' signals its distance – in spatial and in non-spatial terms.

Papuan Malay demonstratives have the following distributional properties:

1. Co-occurrence with noun phrases (adnominal uses): N/NP DEM (§5.6.1).

    2.   Substitution for noun phrases (pronominal uses) (§5.6.2).
    3.   Modification with relative clauses (pronominal uses (§5.6.2).
    4.   Co-occurrence with verbs or adverbs (adverbial uses) (§5.6.3).
    5.   Stacking of demonstratives: DEM DEM and N DEM DEM (§5.6.4).

Demonstratives are distinct from other word classes such as personal pronouns
(§5.4) and locatives (§5.7) in terms of the following syntactic properties:

    1.   Demonstratives are distinct from personal pronouns, in that
            demonstratives (a) have adverbial uses, (b) can be stacked, (c) can
            take the possessum slot in adnominal possessive constructions, and (d)
            signal specificity, while personal pronouns express definiteness.
    2.   Contrasting with locatives, demonstratives (a) are employed as
            independent nominals in unembedded noun phrases, (b) occur in
            adnominal possessive constructions either as the possessor or the
            possessum, and (c) can be stacked.

The adnominal uses of the demonstratives are discussed in §5.6.1, their pronominal
uses in §5.6.2, their adverbial uses in §5.6.3, and stacking of demonstratives in
§5.6.4. A full discussion of the Papuan Malay demonstratives is presented in §7.1.

5.6.1.   Adnominal uses

Adnominally used demonstratives occur in post-head position at the right periphery
of the noun phrase. That is, all noun phrase constituents occur to the left of the
demonstrative, with the demonstrative having scope over the entire noun phrase as
illustrated in (200) to (202). Constituents occurring to the right of the demonstratives
such as *liar* 'wild' in (203) are not part of the noun phrase: *liar* 'wild' is a clausal
predicate. The examples in (200) and (201) show that the demonstratives signal
specificity (and not definiteness). The noun phrase *tanta dia itu* 'that aunt' (literally
'that she aunt') designates a specific and definite referent with distal *itu* 'D.DIST'
indicating specificity while adnominally used *dia* '3SG' signals definiteness (§5.4).
By contrast, the noun phrase *ana kecil satu ini* 'this particular small child' in (201)
denotes a specific but indefinite referent with proximal *ini* 'D.PROX' again indicating
specificity while post-head *satu* 'one' signals indefiniteness (see also §5.9.4).

        Post-head demonstratives: Scope

(200)   Wili   ko   jangang   gara~gara   **tanta   dia   itu**
        Wili   2SG   NEG.IMP   RDP~irritate aunt   3SG   D.DIST
        'you Wili don't irritate **that aunt**' [081023-001-Cv.0038]

(201)   baru   **ana   kecil   satu   ini**   de   tra   gambar
        and.then child be.small one   D.PROX   3SG   NEG   draw

        ana   murit   satu   ni   de   tra   gambar
        child   pupil   one   D.PROX 3SG   NEG   draw

        'but then **this particular small child**, he doesn't draw, **this particular
        pupil-child**, he doesn't draw' [081109-002-JR.0002]

(202) Papua-Satu ada   muncul dari **laut** **sana**   **itu**
       Papua-Satu exist   appear from sea   L.DIST   D.DIST

       '(the ship) Papua-Satu is appearing from **the sea over there (EMPH)**'
       [080917-008-NP.0129]

(203) … karna   **babi** **ini**   liar
         because pig   D.PROX   be.wild

       '… because **this pig is wild**' [080919-004-NP.0019]

Demonstratives can also modify constituents other than nouns, namely personal
pronouns as in (204), interrogatives as in (205), or locatives as in (206).

> Post-head demonstratives: Modifying personal pronouns, interrogatives, or
> locatives

(204) **ko**   **itu**   manusia   yang tra   taw   bicara temang
       2SG   D.DIST human.being   REL   NEG   know   speak   friend

       '**you (EMPH)** are a human being who doesn't know how to talk (badly
       about) friends' [081115-001a-Cv.0245]

(205) ana   laki~laki   ini   de   mo   ke   **mana** **ni**
       child RDP~husband D.PROX   3SG   want to   where   D.PROX

       '**this boy, where (EMPH)** does he want to (go)?' [080922-004-Cv.0017]

(206) di   **sini**   **tu**   ada   orang   swanggi   satu
       at   L.PROX   D.DIST exist person nocturnal.evil.spirit one

       '**here (EMPH)** is a certain evil sorcerer' [081006-022-CvEx.0150]

5.6.2.   Pronominal uses

In their pronominal uses, the demonstratives stand for noun phrases, as illustrated in
(207) to (212). They occur in all syntactic positions within the clause. In (207), a
demonstrative takes the subject slot, in (208) the direct object slot, and in (209) the
indirect object slot.

> Pronominal uses in argument position

(207) yo,   **itu**   mo   putus
       yes   D.DIST   want break

       [About redirecting a river for a street building project:] 'yes, **it** (the river) is
       going to get dispersed' [081006-033-Cv.0064]

(208) ko   suka   makang   **ini**
       2SG   like   eat   D.PROX

       'do you like to eat **these** (that is, fried bananas)?' [081006-023-CvEx.0071-
       0072]

(209) dong   percaya   **sama**   **itu**
       3PL   trust   to   D.DIST

       'they believe **in those** (that is, in evil spirits)' [081006-023-CvEx.0001]

In their pronominal uses, the demonstratives can be modified with relative clauses, as in (210).

Modification of pronominally used demonstratives with relative clauses

(210) sa   pili   **ini**   yang mera,   ade pili   **itu**   yang
       1SG   choose   D.PROX   REL   be.red   ySb choose   D.DIST   REL
       warna   puti
       color   be.white

[About buying new shirts:] 'I chose **this** (one) which is red, (my) younger sibling chose **that** (one) which is (of) white (color)' [Elicited MY131119.004]

Pronominally used demonstratives also occur in adnominal possessive constructions (see Chapter 9). They can designate the possessor as in (211) or the possessum as in (212).

Pronominal uses in adnominal possessive constructions

(211) bapa   masi kenal … **ini**   **pu**   **muka**
       father still know   D.PROX   POSS   face

       'do you ('father') still know … **this (one)'s face**?' [080922-001a-CvPh.1123]

(212) ko   ambil dulu   **ade   pu   itu**
       2SG   fetch   be.prior   ySb   POSS D.DIST

       'you pick up (the fish) first, **that (fish) of the younger sister**' (Lit. '**younger sibling's that (fish)**') [081006-019-Cv.0002]

5.6.3.   Adverbial uses

In their adverbial uses, the demonstratives co-occur with verbs as in ***percaya tu*** 'really believe' in (213) or with adverbs as in ***skarang ini*** 'right now' in (214).

(213) jadi dong   **percaya   tu**   sama setan
       so   3PL   trust   D.DIST   to   evil.spirit

       'so they **really believe** in evil spirits' [081006-023-CvEx.0004]

(214) **skarang ini**   kamu nakal
       now   D.PROX   2PL   be.mischievous

       '**right now** you're mischievous' [081115-001a-Cv.0085]

5.6.4.   Stacking of demonstratives

Papuan Malay also allows the stacking of demonstratives. In (215), short proximal *ini* 'D.PROX' modifies the pronominally used long proximal demonstrative, such that 'DEM DEM'. In (216), short distal *itu* 'D.DIST' modifies a nested noun phrase with the adnominally used long distal demonstrative, such that '[[N DEM] DEM]'.

(215) ada   segala macang tulang dia buang   [**ini**   **ni**]
       exist   all   variety bone   3SG throw(.away)   D.PROX   D.PROX
       'there were all kinds of bones, he threw away **these very (ones)**' [080922-
       010a-CvNF.0101]

(216) waktu kitorang masuk di [[**ruma** **itu**]   **tu**]   …
       when   1PL   go.in   at house   D.DIST   D.DIST
       'when we moved into **that very house**, …' [081006-022-CvEx.0167]

5.7.   Locatives

Locatives provide orientation to the hearer in the outside world and in the speech
situation by signaling distance, both spatial and non-spatial. Hence, they are similar
to the demonstratives. The demonstratives, however, draw the hearer's attention to
specific entities in the discourse or surrounding situation. The locatives, by contrast,
focus the hearer's attention to the specific location of these entities and the relative
distance of this location "to the deictic center" (Diessel 2006: 431).

Papuan Malay has a distance oriented three-term locative system: proximal *sini*
'L.PROX', medial *situ* 'L.MED', and distal *sana* 'L.DIST'. Their distributional
properties are as follows:

1.   Substitution for noun phrases embedded in prepositional phrases
      (pronominal uses) (§5.7.1).
2.   Modification with demonstratives or relative clauses (pronominal
      uses) (§5.7.1).
3.   Co-occurrence with noun phrases in post-head position (adnominal
      uses) (§5.7.2).

Locatives are distinct from other word classes such as personal pronouns (§5.4) or
demonstratives (§5.6) in terms of the following syntactic properties:

1.   They only occur in prepositional phrases; that is, they do not occur as
      nominal heads in unembedded noun phrases.
2.   They can be modified with adnominally used demonstratives and
      relatives clauses, but with no other adnominal modifier; hence,
      locatives cannot be stacked.
3.   They do no occur in adnominal possessive constructions as possessor
      or as possessum.

The pronominal uses of the locatives are discussed in §5.7.1 and their adnominal
uses in §5.7.2. Generally speaking, the pronominally used locatives provide
additional information about the location of an entity, information non-essential for
its identification. Adnominally used locatives, by contrast, limit the referential scope
of their head nominals and thereby assist in the identification of their referents. A
full discussion of the Papuan Malay locatives is found in §7.2.

5.7.1.   Pronominal uses

In their pronominal uses the locatives substitute or stand for noun phrases, as illustrated with the four elicited contrastive examples in (217). Distal *sana* 'L.DIST' in (217b) substitutes for the noun phrase ***ruma yang paling di bawa itu*** 'that house that's the furthest down' in (217a). The ungrammatical example in (217c) and the only marginally acceptable example grammatical example in (217d) show that the locative replaces the entire noun phrase and not only its nominal head ***ruma*** 'house'.

Pronominal uses: Substitution for noun phrases

(217) a. sa   tinggal di **ruma yang paling di bawa itu**
           1SG   stay   at house REL   most   at bottom D.DIST

       'I live in **the house that's the furthest down there**' [Elicited FS120314-001.007]

       b. sa   tinggal di **sana**
           1SG   stay   at L.DIST

       'I live **over there**' [Elicited FS120314-001.008]

       c. * sa   tinggal di **sana   yang paling di bawa   itu**
              1SG   stay   at L.DIST   REL   most   at bottom D.DIST

       Intended reading: 'I live **over there that's the furthest down**' [Elicited FS120314-001.010]

       d. ?? sa   tinggal di **sana   itu**
              1SG   stay   at L.DIST   D.DIST

       Intended reading: 'I live **over there**' [Elicited FS120314-001.008]

Locatives are always embedded in prepositional phrases. The prepositional phrase can be a peripheral adjunct, as in the first clause in (218) or in (220), a prepositional predicate, as in the second clause in (218), or an adnominal prepositional phrase, as in (219). Usually, the locatives are introduced with an overt preposition as in (218) or (219). The preposition may, however, also be elided as in (220): the omitted preposition is allative *ke* 'to' (elision of prepositions is discussed in §10.1.5).

Pronominal uses in prepositional phrases

(218) ko   datang **ke sini**   nanti   bapa   **ke situ**   …
       2SG   come   to L.PROX   very.soon   father to   L.MED

       'you come **here**, then I ('father') (go) **there** …' [080922-001a-CvPh.0462]

(219) **orang dari sana   itu**   … dorang itu   kerja sendiri
       person from L.DIST D.DIST   3PL   D.DIST   work   be.alone

       '**those people from over there**, …. they work by themselves' [081014-007-CvEx.0050]

(220) kam   datang **Ø sini**,   kam   biking kaco   saja
       2PL   come   L.PROX   2PL   make   be.confused   just

       'you come **here**, you're just stirring up trouble' [081025-007-Cv.0013]

The pronominally used locatives can be modified with demonstratives or relative clauses. Modification with the demonstratives typically involves short distal ***tu*** 'D.DIST' as in (221), while modification with long distal ***itu*** 'D.DIST' is only attested for the non-proximal locatives, as in ***sana itu*** 'over there (EMPH)' in (222). These distributional patterns still require further investigation. Modification with proximal ***ini*** 'D.PROX' is unattested but possible, as shown in the elicited example in (223). Modification with relative clauses is also possible, as illustrated for proximal ***sini*** 'L.PROX' in (224) and medial ***situ*** 'L.MED' in (225). In the present corpus, however, such modification is rare and unattested for distal ***sana*** 'L.DIST'.

    Modification of pronominally used locatives

(221)   sampe di **sini**   **tu**   dia langsung sakit karna   …
        reach   at   L.PROX D.DIST 3SG immediately be.sick because
        'having arrived **here (EMPH)**, he was sick immediately because (he hadn't eaten)' [081025-008-Cv.0050]

(222)   dong lobe   ke **sana**   **itu**
        3PL   walk.searchingly.with.lamp to   L.DIST   D.DIST
        'they walk searchingly with lights **to over there (EMPH)**' [081108-001-JR.0002]

(223)   di   **sini**   **ni**   orang tida taw makang pinang
        LOC(at) L.PROX D.PROX person NEG know eat   betel.nut
        '**here (EMPH)** people don't habitually eat betel nut' [Elicited BR111017.001]

(224)   di **sini**   **yang** tra   banyak
        at   L.PROX REL   NEG   many
        [About logistic problems:] '(it's) **here where** there weren't many (passengers)' [081025-008-Cv.0140]

(225)   … sa   mandi di situ, di **situ**   **yang** mungking nangka
           1SG bathe at   L.MED at L.MED REL   maybe   jackfruit
        '[I saw (the poles),] I bathed there, **there where** (there are) maybe jackfruits' [080922-010a-CvNF.0298]

5.7.2.   Adnominal uses

Adnominally used locatives always occur in post-head position. Most commonly, they occur in noun phrases embedded in prepositional phrases, as illustrated in (226). In (226a), proximal ***sini*** 'L.PROX' modifies the locational noun ***sebla*** 'side'; the noun phrases is introduced with allative ***ke*** 'to'. In (226b) distal ***sana*** 'L.DIST' modifies the noun ***laut*** 'sea'; the preposition is locative ***di*** 'at, in'.

Adnominal uses in embedded noun phrases

(226) a. **ke sebla sini**   b. **di laut sana**
         to   side   L.PROX   at   sea   L.DIST
         'to the side here'   **'in the ocean over there'**
         [081011-001-Cv.0148]   [080917-006-CvHt.0004]

Adnominally used locatives also occur in unembedded noun phrases as in (227), although considerably less frequently. In (227a), proximal **sini** 'L.PROX' modifies the personal pronoun **dong** '3PL', while in (227b) medial **situ** 'L.MED' modifies the noun phrase **orang kantor** 'office employees'.

Adnominal uses in unembedded noun phrases

(227) a. **dong sini**   b. **orang kantor situ**
         3PL   L.PROX   person office   L.MED
         'they here'   **'the office employees**
         [080922-001a-CvPh.0556]   **there'** [081005-001-Cv.0018]

5.8. Interrogatives

Papuan Malay has seven interrogatives. Marking a clause as a question, they signal to the hearer which piece of information is being asked for. In that function, they form content questions, that is, questions which "involve a request for a specific piece of new information" (Kroeger 2004: 139).[158] Given this common function, the Papuan Malay interrogatives are discussed collectively in this section. In terms of their syntax, however, it is not argued here that the interrogatives form a discrete word class vis-à-vis other constituents such as personal pronouns or demonstratives. This investigation is left for future research.

    The Papuan Malay interrogatives and their functions within the clause are presented in Table 29. All but one of them are used pronominally; the exception is **brapa** 'how many'. Most of them also have predicative uses; the exceptions is **kapang** 'when'. The majority of interrogatives also have adnominal uses, except for **bagemana** 'how', **kapang** 'when', and **knapa** 'why'. In addition, three interrogatives are used as placeholders. In their pronominal and adnominal uses, the interrogatives typically remain *in-situ*, that is, in the position of the constituents they replace (see also Dryer 2011b).

Table 29:   Papuan Malay interrogatives and their functions within the clause[159]

Item	Gloss	Functions within the clause			
		PRONOM	ADNOM	PRED	PL-HOLD
siapa	'who'	X	X	X	X
apa	'what'	X	X	X	X
mana	'where, which'	X	X	X	

---

[158] For a discussion of other types of questions see §13.2.
[159] Abbreviations: PRONOM = pronominal, ADNOM = adnominal, PRED = predicative, PL-HOLD = placeholder.

Item	Gloss	Functions within the clause			
		PRONOM	ADNOM	PRED	PL-HOLD
brapa	'how many'		X	X	
bagemana	'how'	X		X	X
kapang	'when'	X			
knapa	'why'	X		X	

In their predicative uses, most of the interrogatives can take two positions, as shown in Table 30. That is, most of them can remain *in-situ*, in the unmarked clause-final position, following the clausal subject, or they can be fronted to the marked clause-initial position, preceding the subject. The exception is *brapa* 'how many', which always remains *in-situ*. There are also two interrogatives that take a pre-predicate position, following the subject. These positions and the semantics they are convey are discussed in detail in the following sections.

Table 30:   Predicatively used interrogatives and their positions within the clause[160]

Item	Gloss	Position within the clause		
		CL-INITIAL	CL-FINAL	PRE-PRED
siapa	'who'	X	X	
apa	'what'	X	X	
mana	'where, which'	X	X	
brapa	'how many'		X	
bagemana	'how'	X	X	
kapang	'when'	X	X	X
knapa	'why'	X		X

In the following, the interrogatives are described in turn, *siapa* 'who' in §5.8.1, *apa* 'what' in §5.8.2, *mana* 'where, which' in §5.8.3, *brapa* 'how many' in §5.8.4, *bagemana* 'how' in §5.8.5, *kapang* 'when' in §5.8.6, and *knapa* 'why' in §5.8.7. Some of the interrogatives also express non-interrogative indefinite meanings; this function is summarily discussed in §5.8.8.

5.8.1.   *siapa* **'who'**

The interrogative *siapa* 'who' questions the identity of human referents. Its pronominal uses are illustrated in (228) to (235), its adnominal uses in (236) and (237), and its predicative uses in (238) and (239). In addition, *siapa* 'who' serves as a placeholder as shown in (240); it is also used in one-word utterances.

    In its pronominal uses, *siapa* 'who' occurs in all syntactic positions, as shown (228) to (235), typically remaining *in-situ*. In the verbal clause in (228), *siapa* 'who' takes the subject slot. In the present corpus, however, verbal clauses with *siapa* 'who' in the subject slot are rare. Typically, speakers use equative nominal clauses when they want to question the identity of the clausal subject. In such nonverbal clauses, *siapa* 'who' takes the subject slot while a headless relative clause takes the

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[160]   Abbreviations: CL = clause, PRE-PRD = pre-predicate.

predicate clause. This is shown with the elicited contrastive example in (229). In this equative clause, *siapa* 'who' is the subject, while the headless relative clause *yang suru …* '(the one) who told …' is the predicate. Likewise in (230), the interrogative takes the subject slot while the headless relative clause *yang datang …* '(the one) who came …' takes the predicate slot. (For details on relative clauses see §14.3.2.)

      Pronominal uses of *siapa* 'who': Subject slot

(228)   e,   **siapa** suru   kam minum~minum di sini?
         hey who order 2PL RDP~drink   at   L.PROX
         'hey, **who** told you to keep drinking here' [081014-005-Cv.0006]

(229)   e,   **siapa** yang suru   kam minum~minum di sini?
         hey who REL   order 2PL RDP~drink   at   L.PROX
         'hey, **who** (is the one) who told you to keep drinking here' [Elicited MY131112.004]

(230)   **siapa** yang datang jemput saya?
         who   REL   come   pick.up 1SG
           '**who** (is the one) who came (and) picked me up?' [080918-001-CvNP.0001]

Interrogative *siapa* 'who' also takes non-subject slots. In (231), *siapa* 'who' takes the direct object, in (232) the indirect object slot, in (233) the oblique object slot, and in (234) the peripheral adjunct slot. Also, *siapa* 'who' questions the possessor's identity in adnominal possessive constructions, as in (235).

      Pronominal uses of *siapa* 'who': Non-subject slots

(231)   dong cari   **siapa**?
         3PL   search who
         'for **whom** are they looking?' [080921-010-Cv.0010]

(232)   kwe   mo   pi   kasi **siapa** di sana?
         cake want go give who   at   L.DIST
         'as for the cake, **to whom** do (you) want to go and give (it) over there?' [080922-001a-CvPh.0670]

(233)   … ke mana?, ke kampung deng **siapa**?
           to   which   to   village   with   who
         [Talking to her young son:] '[do you want to leave today?,] where to?, to the village?, with **whom**?' [080917-003a-CvEx.0048-0044]

(234)   baru   nanti minggu keduanya   sembayang di **siapa**?
         and.then later week   second:3POSSR worship   at who
         'then later in the second week (of this month), (we'll) worship at **whose** (place)?' (Lit. 'at **who**') [081011-005-Cv.0037]

(235)   **siapa** **pu**   mata yang buta?
         who   POSS eye   REL   be.blind
         '**whose** eyes are blind?' [080922-001a-CvPh.0142]

As a nominal modifier, *siapa* 'who' takes the position of a modifying noun which it replaces. This illustrated with the interrogative clauses (236) and (237).

Adnominal uses of *siapa* 'who'

(236) [**prempuang   siapa**]   biking   sa   jadi   bingung?
       woman   who   make   1SG   become   be.confused

       '**which woman** made me become confused?' [080922-004-Cv.0028]

(237) skarang   sa   tanya,   [**orang   siapa**]   yang   benar?
       now   1SG   ask   person   who   REL   be.true

       'now I asked, '**which person** (is the one) who is right?' [080917-010-CvEx.0197]

In its predicative uses, *siapa* 'who' occurs in equative nominal predicate clauses where it questions the identity of the clausal subject, as shown in (238) and (239) (for more details on nominal clauses see §12.2). The interrogative can remain *in-situ*, in the clause-final position, following the subject as in (238), or it can be fronted to the marked clause-initial position, preceding the subject, as in (239). In the present corpus, the token frequencies for both positions are about the same. When speakers want to accentuate the subject, such as *ini* 'D.PROX' in (238), the interrogative remains *in-situ*, where it is less prominent. When, by contrast, speakers want to stress the questioning of the subject's identity, they front *siapa* 'who' to the clause-initial position, as in (239). Besides their different functions, the contrastive examples in (238) and (239) also have distinct intonation contours. When *siapa* 'who' remains *in-situ*, as in (249), the clause has a rising intonation, typical of interrogatives. When it is fronted, the clause has a falling intonation, typical of declaratives. In both cases, *siapa* 'who' is marked with a slight increase in pitch of its stressed penultimate syllable ("´").

Predicative uses of *siapa* 'who'

(238) ini   **siápa**?   ini   **siápa**?
       D.PROX   what   D.PROX   what

       '**who** is this? **who** is this?' [080916-001-CvNP.0006]

(239) **siápa**   ini?
       what   D.PROX

       '**who** is this?' [081011-023-Cv.0104]

In addition, *siapa* 'who' functions as a placeholder when speakers do not recall a referent's name, as in (240).

Interrogative *apa* 'what': Placeholder uses

(240) Sarles   antar   **siapa**,   Bolikarfus
       Sarles   bring   who   Bolikarfus

       'Sarles gave a ride to, **who-is-it**, Bolikarfus' [081002-001-CvNP.0031]

Rather commonly, speakers employ the interrogative in one-word utterances, when they question the identity of a referent, in the sense of 'who (do you mean)?'

5.8.2.   *apa* **'what'**

The interrogative *apa* 'what' questions the identity of non-human referents, namely, entities and events; in addition, it can question reason. The pronominal uses of *apa* 'what' are illustrated in (241) to (246), its adnominal uses in (247) and (248), and its predicative uses in (249) and (250). The interrogative is also used as a placeholder as shown in (251); it is also used in one-word utterances.

In its pronominal uses, *apa* 'what' occurs in all syntactic positions, as demonstrated in (241) to (246), always remaining *in-situ*. In the elicited verbal clause in (241), *apa* 'what' takes the subject slot. While this construction is grammatically correct and acceptable, verbal clauses with *apa* 'what' in the subject slot are unattested in the present corpus. Instead, speakers always use equative clauses when they want to question the identity of the clausal subject, similar to the questions formed with *siapa* 'who' in (229) and (230) (§5.8.1). This is demonstrated with the contrastive equative clause in (242). In this example, *apa* 'what' takes the subject slot, while the headless relative clause *yang su gigit …* '(the one) who has already bitten …' takes the predicate clause. (For details on relative clauses see §14.3.2.)

> Pronominal uses of *apa* 'what': Subject slot

(241) **apa** su   gigit sa   pu   lutut
       what already bite 1SG POSS knee

   '**what** has bitten my knee?' [Elicited MY131112.005]

(242) **apa** yang su   gigit sa   pu   lutut?
       what REL   already bite 1SG POSS knee

   '**what** (is it) that has bitten my knee?' [080916-001-CvNP.0004]

Interrogative *apa* 'what' also takes non-subject slots. In (243), *apa* 'what' takes the direct object slot, in (244) the oblique object slot, and in (245) the peripheral adjunct slot. Besides, speakers use *apa* 'what' to question reasons or motives, as in (246).

> Pronominal uses of *apa* 'what': Non-subject slots

(243) kam   cari   **apa**?
       2PL   search what

   '**what** are you looking for?' [080917-006-CvHt.0001]

(244) tokok sagu tu   deng **apa** ini?
       tap   sago D.DIST with what D.PROX

   '**what** are you pounding that sagu with?' [081014-006-CvPr.0014]

(245) kamu ana   skola itu   makang pinang   untuk **apa**?
       2PL   child school that eat   betel.nut for   what

   '**what** are you, (as) school kids, eating betel nut for?' [081002-003-Cv.0002]

(246) de   bilang, ko   tidor   **apa**?
       3SG   say   2SG   sleep   what
       'he said, '**why** are you sleeping?'' [081006-034-CvEx.0022]

In its adnominal uses, *apa* 'what' takes the position of a nominal modifier which it replaces, such as the name of a weekday in (247), or the name of a clan in (248).

Adnominal uses of *apa* 'what'

(247) [**hari apa**] baru   sa   minta   ijin?
       day   what   and.then   1SG   request   permission
       [A school boy asking his mother:] 'on **which day** will I ask for permission (to be absent)?' [080917-003a-CvEx.0003]

(248) dia   tanya   saya, ko   [**marga   apa**]?
       3SG   ask   1SG   2SG clan   what
       'he asked me, '**which clan** do you (belong to)?'' (Lit. 'you are **what clan**')
       [080922-010a-CvNF.0281]

In its predicative uses, *apa* 'what' questions the identity or pertinent characteristics of the clausal subject (for more details on nominal predicate clauses see §12.2). Like *siapa* 'who' (§5.8.1), *apa* 'what' can remain in the unmarked clause-final position, as in (249). Alternatively, it can be fronted to the marked clause-initial position, as in (250), where it stresses the questioning of the subject's identity or characteristics. The contrastive clauses in (249) and (250) have the same distinct intonation contours as the corresponding questions with *siapa* 'who' in (238) and (239) (§5.8.1). Clauses with *in-situ apa* 'what', as in (249), have the typical rising interrogative intonation. Clauses with fronted *apa* 'what' have the typical falling declarative intonation. Like *siapa* 'who', *apa* 'what' is marked with a slight increase in pitch of its stressed penultimate syllable ("´").

Predicative uses of *apa* 'what'

(249) ⎯⎯   ⎯
                          ⎯
       ini   **ápa**?
       D.PROX   what
       '**what** is this?' [081109-001-Cv.0012]

(250) ⎯\   ⎯⎯   ⎯\
       adu,   **ápa**   ini?
       oh.no!   what   D.PROX
       'oh no, **what** is this?' [081109-001-Cv.0012]

In addition, *apa* 'what' functions as a placeholder, when speakers do not recall the name of a lexical item, as in (251).

Placeholder uses of *apa* 'what'

(251) de   bisa   bantu   deng   **apa**,   ijasa
       3SG   be.capable   help   with   what   diploma

'he can help (us) with, **what-is-it**, the diploma' [081011-023-Cv.0107]

Speakers also employ *apa* 'what' in one-word utterances to question the overall situation in the sense of 'what (is wrong)?', or to signal lack of understanding, in the sense of 'what?', for example during phone conversations with a bad connection.

5.8.3.   *mana* **'where, which'**

The interrogative *mana* 'where, which' questions locations and single items. Its pronominal uses are illustrated in (252) and (253), its adnominal uses in (254) and (255), and its predicative uses in (256) to (258). The interrogative is also used in one-word utterances, as shown in (259).

In its pronominal uses as the head of a noun phrase, *mana* 'where, which' questions locations, as in (252) and (253). More specifically, it functions as the complement in a prepositional phrase which is headed by a preposition encoding location (details on prepositional phrases are provided in Chapter 10).

Pronominal uses of *mana* 'where, which'

(252) ko   tinggal   **di   mana**?
       2SG   stay   at   where

'**where** do you live?' [080922-010a-CvNF.0237]

(253) ko   datang   **dari   mana**?
       2SG   come   from   where

'**from where** do you come?' [080922-010a-CvNF.0236]

In its adnominal uses, *mana* 'where, which' questions single entities among larger numbers of identical or similar entities expressed by its referents, as in (254) and (255).

Adnominal uses of *mana* 'where, which'

(254) kalo   [**ana   mana**]   yang   sa   duduk   ceritra   deng   dia,
       if   child   where   REL   1SG   sit   tell   with   3SG

       itu   ana   itu,   de   hormat   torang
       D.DIST   child   D.DIST   3SG   respect 1PL

[Conversation about a certain teenager:] 'as for **which kid** with whom I sit and talk with, that is that kid, she respects us' [081115-001a-Cv.0282]

(255) dong   bilang,   [**badan   mana**]   yang   sakit?
       3PL   say   body   where   REL   be.sick

'they said, **which (part of your) body** (is the one) which is hurting?'' [081015-005-NP.0031]

In its predicative uses, *mana* 'where, which' occurs in prepositional predicates which question the subject's location (for details on prepositional predicates see

§12.4). Like predicate clauses with *siapa* 'who' (§5.8.1) and *apa* 'what' (§5.8.2), prepositional predicates with *mana* 'where, which' can take two positions. They can remain *in-situ*, following the clausal subject, as in (256). Alternatively, they can be fronted to the marked clause-initial position, where they stress the questioning of the subject's location, as in the elicited example in (257). In the present corpus, though, the preposition is always omitted from fronted prepositional predicates, as in (258).

Predicative uses of *mana* 'where, which'

(256)   sabung   mandi   di   **mana**?
        soap   bathe   at   where
        '**where** is (our) soap?' [081025-006-Cv.0026]

(257)   di   **mana**   sabung   mandi?
        at   where   soap   bathe
        '**where** is (our) soap?' [Elicited MY131112.006]

(258)   Nofi,   ∅   **mana**   kitong   pu   ikang~ikang?
        Nofi   where   1PL   POSS   RDP~fish
        'Nofi, **where** are our fish?' [080917-006-CvHt.0002]

Quite commonly, the interrogative is used to form one-word utterances in which case it questions an entire proposition, as in (259).

One-word utterances with *mana* 'where, which'

(259)   Speaker-2:   di   **mana**?
                     at   where

        [Speaker-1: '(I used to) stay with my aunt Marta']
        Speaker-2: '**where**?' [080922-002-Cv.0029-0030]

5.8.4.   *brapa* **'how many'**

The interrogative *brapa* 'how many' questions quantities of countable entities and, together with quantifier *banyak* 'many', of non-countable entities. Its adnominal uses are illustrated in (260) to (262), and its predicative uses in (264) and (266). In addition, *brapa* 'how many' functions as a mid-range quantifier that expresses the notion of 'several', as shown in (268).

Most often, *brapa* 'how many' functions as a nominal modifier which takes the position of the numeral or quantifier it replaces. Corresponding to the syntax of adnominally used numerals and quantifiers, it precedes or follows its head nominal, as in (260) to (262). In pre-head position of countable referents, *brapa* 'how many' questions the absolute numbers of items denoted by the head nominals, as in (260). In post-head position of countable referents, it questions unique positions within series, as in (261). When following mass nouns, the interrogative questions the non-numeric amounts of its referents, as in (262). Like quantifiers, the interrogative does not occur in pre-head position of mass nouns. If the referent's identity is known from the context, the head nominal can be omitted, as with numerals and other quantifiers. This is illustrated in (263), where the omitted head is *rupia* 'rupiah'. (Details on numerals and quantifiers are given in §5.9 and §5.10.)

Adnominal uses of *brapa* 'how many'

(260)   **brapa**   **bulang** dorang skola   ka?
        how.many   month   3PL   go.to.school   or
        '(for) **how many months** will they go to school?' [081025-003-Cv.0207]

(261)   jadi mama, mama   pulang   **jam brapa**?
        so   mother mother go.home hour how.many
        'so mama, **what time** will you ('mother') come home?' (Lit. '**how manyeth hour**') [080924-002-Pr.0002]

(262)   ko   minta   **minyak**   **brapa**   **banyak**?
        2PL   request   cooked.rice   how.many   many
        '**how much oil** do you request' [Elicited BR120520.001]

(263)   kemaring   dapat   **brapa**   Ø?
        yesterday   get   how.many
        [Collecting money for a project:] '**how many (rupiah)** did (you) get yesterday?' [080925-003-Cv.0090]

The predicative uses of *brapa* 'how many' are shown in (264) to (267). Like *siapa* 'who' (§5.8.1), *apa* 'what' (§5.8.2), and *mana* 'where, which' (§5.8.3), *brapa* 'how many' can remain in the unmarked clause-final position, as in (264) and (266), or it can be fronted to the marked clause-initial position, as in (265) and (267). Again, the fronting of the interrogative serves to emphasize the questioning, namely of numeric quantities in (265), and of non-numeric quantities in (267). These two examples are elicited, though, as interrogatives with fronted *brapa* 'how many' are unattested in the presented corpus. (See also §12.3 for details on numeral and quantifier predicate clauses.)

Predicative uses of *brapa* 'how many'

(264)   bapa   pu   ana~ana   **brapa**?
        father POSS RDP~child how.many
        '**how many** children do you ('father') have?' (Lit. 'father's children are **how many**?') [080923-009-Cv.0010]

(265)   **brapa**   bapa   pu   ana~ana?
        how.many   father POSS RDP~child
        '**how many** children do you ('father') have?' [Elicited MY131112.007]

(266)   tong pu   uang   **brapa**?
        1PL   POSS money how.many
        '**how much** money do we have?' (Lit. 'our money is **how many**?') [081006-017-Cv.0015]

(267)   **brapa**   tong pu   uang?
        how.many   1PL   POSS money
        '**how much** money do we have?' [Elicited MY131112.008]

Besides its uses as an interrogative, *brapa* 'how many' also functions as a mid-range quantifier in the sense of 'several'. It typically precedes its head nominal, where it

denotes the non-numeric quantities of its referents, as in (268). Thereby, it signals the composite nature of its referents and conveys a sense of individuality, as is typical of adnominally used quantifiers in this position (§5.10 and §8.3.2).

Quantifier uses of **brapa** 'how many' in the sense of 'several'

(268) jadi skarang ada **brapa**, masi ada **brapa daera**
so now exist how.many still exist how.many area
yang blum taw Tuhan di Papua
REL not.yet know God at Papua
'so nowadays there are **several**, (there are) still **several areas** in Papua that don't yet know God' [081006-023-CvEx.0084]

5.8.5. *bagemana* **'how'**

The interrogative ***bagemana*** 'how' questions manner or circumstance in the sense of 'how, what (is it) like'. The interrogative has pronominal uses, as illustrated in (269) and (271), and predicative uses, as shown in (272) to (275). In addition, ***bagemana*** 'how' has placeholder uses as in (276). It also occurs in one-word utterances, as in (277) and (278).

In its pronominal uses, ***bagemana*** 'how' can remain *in-situ*, in the unmarked clause-final position, or can occur in the marked clause-initial position. In the clause-final position, the interrogative questions the specific manner of an event or activity such as the best way of transporting a pig in (269). In the clause-initial position, the scope of ***bagemana*** 'how' is larger. Here it questions an entire proposition, as in (270) and (271), and not only a specific manner, as in (269). The example in (271) also shows that, depending on the context, fronted ***bagemana*** 'how' also question reasons.

Pronominal uses of ***bagemana*** 'how'

(269) … adu, babi ni sa harus angkat **bagemana**?
oh.no! pig D.PROX 1SG have.to lift how
'[the pig was very big, I alone could not transport it, I thought,] 'oh no!, this pig, **how** am I going to transport it?'' [080919-003-NP.0008]

(270) **bagemana** kitong mo dapat uang?
how 1PL want get money
'**how** are we going to get money?' [080927-006-CvNP.0041]

(271) de tanya juga, **bagemana** ko bisa kasi ana ini?
3SG ask also how 2SG be.able give child D.PROX
[About bride-price children:] 'she also asked (me), '**how** can you give this child (of yours away)?'' [081006-026-CvEx.0003]

When used predicatively, ***bagemana*** 'how' can remain *in-situ*, as in (272) and (274), or can be fronted, as in (273) and (275). Similar to the predicative uses of the interrogatives discussed in the previous sections, the clause-final *in-situ* position is the unmarked one where the interrogative is less prominent in comparison to the clause-initial subject, as shown in (272). When placed in the marked clause-initial

position, by contrast, ***bagemana*** 'how' accentuates the questioning of the subject's circumstance, as in (273). In addition, predicatively used ***bagemana*** 'how' inquires about the well-being of one's interlocutor(s) as in (274) and (275).

Predicative uses of ***bagemana*** 'how'

(272) dong tida taw itu, Yesus itu, injil itu **bagemana**?
3PL NEG know D.DIST Jesus D.DIST Gospel D.DIST how
'they don't know, what-'s-his-name, Jesus, (they don't know) **what** the Gospel (is like)' (Lit. 'the gospel is **how**?') [081006-023-CvEx.0005]

(273) … susa liat setan itu **bagemana** rupa setan
be.difficult see evil.spirit D.DIST how form evil.spirit
[About evil spirits:] '[but for us who … already believe in Jesus, we can't,] (for us) it is difficult to see that evil spirit, **what** the evil spirit's face (is like)' (Lit. '**how** (is) the evil spirit's form?') [081006-022-CvEx.0069]

(274) yo, ko Herman **bagemana**?
yes 2SG Herman how
[Greeting a visitor:] 'yes, **how** are you, Herman?' [081014-011-CvEx.0072]

(275) eh, **bagemana** ipar?, sore dari Jayapura?
hey! how sibling-in-law afternoon from Jayapura
[Greeting a visitor:] 'hey, **how** (is it going) brother-in-law?, good afternoon! (did you just get here) from Jayapura?' [081110-002-Cv.0003]

Another use of ***bagemana*** 'how' is that of a placeholder, as shown in (276).

Placeholder uses of ***bagemana*** 'how'

(276) … sa macang, sa macang **bagemana**, e, rasa sa …
1SG variety 1SG variety how uh feel 1SG
'[so when I (went) to Biak there, I felt very strange] I kind of, I kind of, **what-is-it**, uh, felt (that) I …' [081011-013-Cv.0009]

In one-word utterances, ***bagemana*** 'how' questions the circumstances of an event or state, as in (277), or signals lack of understanding as in (278).

One-word utterances with ***bagemana*** 'how'

(277) saya tanya saya punya bapa, **bagemana**?
1SG ask 1SG POSS father how
'I asked my father, '**how** (did this happen)?'' [080921-011-Cv.0012]

(278) **bagemana**? **bagemana**?
how how
[During a phone conversation with a bad connection:] '**what**?, **what**?' [080922-001b-CvPh.0027]

5.8.6.   *kapang* **'when'**

The interrogative ***kapang*** 'when' questions time. Always used pronominally, ***kapang*** 'when' usually occurs in clause-initial position, as shown with its first and third occurrences in (279). Here, ***kapang*** 'when' questions the temporal setting of the events or states expressed by the entire clause. When the temporal setting is less important, ***kapang*** 'when' occurs in clause-final position, as shown with the second ***kapang*** 'when' token in (279). Hence, the different positions of ***kapang*** 'when' within the clause have functions which parallel those of the time-denoting nouns which the interrogative replaces (see §5.2.5). Alternatively, but rarely, the interrogative occurs between the subject and the predicate, as in (280). According to one consultant, this position of ***kapang*** 'when' is acceptable, although the semantics conveyed by this position are still ill understood.

Pronominal uses of ***kapang*** 'when'

(279) **kapang** kita mo   antar?, kitong antar   **kapang**? …
       when   1PL   want deliver 1PL   deliver when

       kapang kitong antar dia?
       when   1PL   bring 3SG

       [Discussing when should the bride's parents will bring their daughter to the groom's parents:] '[they (the bride's parents) start asking, '…,] **when** should we bring her? we bring her **when**?, … **when** do we bring her?''
       [081110-005-CvPr.0043-0044]

(280) kasiang, sa   **kapang** mandi deng dorang lagi   e?
       pity   1SG   when   bathe with 3PL   again eh

       [About a sick boy:] 'what a pity, **when** will I bathe with them ('my friends') again, eh?' [081025-009b-Cv.0044]

5.8.7.   *knapa* **'why'**

The interrogative ***knapa*** 'why' questions reasons and motives. Its pronominal uses are illustrated in (281) to (283), its predicative uses in (284), and its uses in one-word utterances in (285).

Typically, ***knapa*** 'why' is used pronominally. Most often it occurs in clause-initial position, as in (281). In clauses marked with an initial conjunction, ***knapa*** 'why' follows the conjunction as in (282). Alternatively, but rarely, ***knapa*** 'why' occurs between the subject and the predicate, as in (283). According to one consultant, this position of ***knapa*** 'why' is acceptable; the semantics of this position still need to be investigated, though.

Pronominal uses of ***knapa*** 'why'

(281) e,   **knapa** kam kas~kas   bangung dia?
       hey! why   2PL RDP~give   wake.up 3SG

       'hey, **why** do you keep waking him up?' [080918-001-CvNP.0039]

(282)   tapi **knapa** ana   ini   sakit?
        but   why   child D.PROX be.sick
        'but **why** is this child sick' [080917-010-CvEx.0133]

(283)   … Matius itu   dia   **knapa** maju   begitu?
           Matius D.DIST   3SG   why   advance   like.that
        '[as for Matius, I'm very surprised,] Matius there, **how come** he could
        advance like that?' [081006-032-Cv.0025]

Interrogative *knapa* 'what' can also be used predicatively, as in (284). In this case,
the interrogative translates with 'what happened'.

       Predicative uses of *knapa* 'why'

(284)   bapa   ko   **knapa**?
        father 2SG   why
        [After an accident]: 'Sir, **what happened**?' (Lit. 'you father (are) **why**?')
        [081108-001-JR.0005]

The interrogative can also form one-word utterances in which case it questions an
entire proposition, as in (285).

       One-word utterances with *knapa* 'why'

(285)   Speaker-2: e,   **knapa**?
                     hey!   why
        [About the birth of twins] [Speaker-1: '… as for the girl, they say it's an
        evil spirit, so they kill (her)']
        Speaker-2: '**why**?' [081011-022-Cv.0147-0151]

5.8.8.   Interrogatives denoting indefinite referents

Cross-linguistically, interrogatives may also function as "general indefinites" by
referring "to a general population, of unknown size" (Dixon 2010b: 401). In this
case, the interrogatives translate with 'whoever', 'whatever', 'wherever', etc.

    In Papuan Malay, the indefinite reading is achieved by juxtaposing the focus
adverb *saja* 'just', as illustrated in (286) to (292). In the present corpus, this function
of the interrogatives is only attested for *siapa* 'who', *apa* 'what', *mana* 'where,
which', and *brapa* 'how many', as shown in (286) to (290). The elicited respective
examples in (290) to (292) illustrate, however, that *bagemana* 'how', *kapang*
'when', and *knapa* 'why' can also have this function.

(286)   kalo ko   liat **ko   pu   sodara siapa saja** kalo dia …
        if   2SG see   2SG   POSS sibling who   just   if   3SG
        'when you see **your relatives whoever** (they are), when he/she …' [080919-
        004-NP.0078]

(287)   bicara **apa   saja**, bicara saja
        speak   what   just   speak   just
        'speak (to me about) **whatever**, just speak (to me)' [080922-001a-CvPh.1174]

(288) di **mana saja** bapa bisa   tinggal, di **tempat mana saja**
       at where just father be.able stay   at   place   where just
       'I ('father') can live **wherever**, (I can) live in **whatever place**' [080922-
       001a-CvPh.1116]

(289) kalo di situ kang,   **jam brapa   saja** bisa
       if   at L.MED you.know hour how.many   just be.able
       'as for (the office) there, you know, (you) can (go there) **any time**' (Lit.
       '**just (the) how manyeth hour**') [081005-001-Cv.0001]

(290) sa tra mo   taw!, **bagemana saja** ko harus   pigi skola!
       1SG NEG want know   how   just 2SG have.to go   school
       [Addressing a child who does not want to go to school for various reasons:]
       'I don't want to know!, you have to go to school, **no matter what**!' (Lit.
       '**just how**') [Elicited MY131112.001]

(291) **kapang saja** ko bisa   datang
       when   just 2SG be.capable come
       'you can come **whenever**' (Lit. '**just when**') [Elicited MY131112.002]

(292) **knapa saja** sa pu   kaka de mo   pulang   Jayapura
       why   just 1SG POSS oSb 3SG want go.home Jayapura
       'my older sibling wants to return to Jayapura, **whatever for**' (Lit. '**just
       why**') [Elicited MY131112.002]

5.8.9.   Summary

In requesting specific types of information, the Papuan Malay interrogatives have a
variety of functions within the clause. With few exceptions, they have pronominal,
adnominal, and predicative uses. The exceptions are ***brapa*** 'how many', which does
not have pronominal uses, and ***kapang*** 'when' and ***knapa*** 'why', which only have
pronominal uses.

   In their pronominal and adnominal uses, the interrogatives typically remain *in-
situ*. In their predicative uses, by contrast, most of them can occur in two positions.
They can either remain ***in situ***, that is, in the clause-final position, or they can be
fronted to the clause-initial position. When speakers want to accentuate the subject,
the interrogative remains *in-situ* in the unmarked clause-final position. When, by
contrast, speakers want to emphasize the fact that they are requesting specific types
of information, such as the identity of the subject or its location, they front the
interrogative to the marked clause-initial position where it is more salient. The
exceptions are ***brapa*** 'how many', which is always clause-final, and ***knapa*** 'why',
which does not occur clause-finally. In addition, ***kapang*** 'when' and ***knapa*** 'why'
may occur in a clause-internal position, between the subject and the predicate,
although this is rare. The semantics conveyed by this position still need to be
investigated.

5.9.   Numerals

Numerals "designate numbers, quantities, and any other countable divisions"
(Bussmann 1996: 820). The Papuan Malay cardinal numbers are presented in §5.9.1,
ordinal numbers in §5.9.2, and distributive numbers in §5.9.3. In §5.9.4 an
additional non-enumerating function of the numeral *satu* 'one' is presented.

5.9.1.   Cardinal numerals

Papuan Malay has a decimal numeral system. The basic cardinal numerals, along
with some examples of how they are combined, are presented in Table 31.

Table 31:   Basic Papuan Malay cardinal numerals[161]

#	Numbers	#	Numbers
1	*satu*	100	*sratus* one:hundred
2	*dua*	102	*sratus dua* one:hundred two
3	*tiga*	200	*dua ratus* two hundred
4	*empat*	234	*dua ratus tiga pulu empat* two hundred three tens four
5	*lima*	1.000	*sribu* one:thousand
6	*enam*	1.004	*sribu empat* one:thousand four
7	*tuju*	2.000	*dua ribu* two thousand
8	*dlapang*	2.013	*dua ribu tiga blas* two thousand three teens
9	*sembilang*	10.000	*spulu ribu* one:tens thousand
10	*spulu* one:tens	32.000	*tiga pulu dua ribu* three tens two thousand
11	*seblas* one:teens	980.000	*sembilang ratus dlapang pulu ribu* nine hundreds eight tens seven
12	*dua blas* two teens	1.000.000	*satu juta* one million

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[161]   The numerals *sratus* 'one hundred' and *sribu* 'one thousand' are historically derived by
    non-productive affixation with the prefix *s(e)-*.

#	Numbers	#	Numbers
20	*dua pulu* two tens	1.000.000.000	*satu milyar* one billion
21	*dua pulu satu* two tens one	zero	*kosong* be empty
30	*tiga pulu* three tens		

As illustrated in Table 31, complex numerals are formed by indicating the number of units of the highest power of ten, followed by the number of units of the next lower power down to the simple units or DIGITS of one to ten. The individual components of complex numbers are combined by juxtaposition. The formulas for forming complex numerals are presented in (294) and (294):

> Formulas for complex numerals

(293)   Complex numerals with tens (*pulu*)
>   (DIGIT *juta*) (DIGIT *ribu*) (DIGIT *ratus*) (DIGIT *pulu*) DIGIT

(294)   Complex numerals with teens (*blas*)
>   (DIGIT *juta*) (DIGIT *ribu*) (DIGIT *ratus*) DIGIT *blas*

Most often, cardinal numerals are used attributively to enumerate entities. In this function they may precede or follow their head nominal. With a preposed numeral, the noun phrase signals the absolute number of items denoted by the head nominal, as in *tiga orang* 'three people' in (295). Thereby the composite nature of countable referents is underlined. Post-head numerals, by contrast, express exhaustivity of definite referents such as *pace dua ini* 'both of these men' in (296), or denote unique positions within a series. (For details on the attributive uses of numerals see §8.3.1.)

> Attributively used numerals

(295)   kitorang   **tiga   orang**
>   1PL   three   person
>   '[on that trip] we (were) **three people**' [081015-005-NP.0004]

(296)   **pace   dua   ini**   dong   dua   dari   pedalamang
>   man   two   D.DIST   3PL   two   from   interior
>   '**both these men**, the two of them are from the interior' [081109-010-JR.0001]

When the identity of the referent was established earlier or can be deduced from the context, the head nominal can be omitted, as in (297).

> Numerals with omitted head nominal

(297)   Ika   biasa   angkat   itu   **dlapang   pulu   sembilang**   Ø
>   Ika   be.usual   pick-up D.DIST   eight   ten   nine
>   'Ika usually lifts, what's-its-name, **eighty-nine** (kilogram)' [081023-003-Cv.0004]

The examples in (295) and (297) also illustrate that numerals can be used with countable nouns that are animate or inanimate, respectively.

In addition to their attributive uses, numerals are used predicatively. In (298), for example, the numeral *dua blas* 'twelve' functions as a predicate that provides information about the numeric quantity of its subject *de* '3SG' ('the moon'). (For details on numeral predicate clauses see §12.3).

Predicatively used numerals

(298)   di   kalender de   **dua   blas**
        at   calendar 3SG   two   tens
        'in the calendar there are **twelve** (moons)' (Lit. 'it ('the moon') **is twelve**')
        [081109-007-JR.0002]

The basic mathematical functions of the cardinal numerals are presented in Table 32.

Table 32:   Mathematical functions

Item	Sign	Gloss
tamba add	+	'plus'
kurang lack	–	'minus'
kali time	x	'times'
bagi divide	/	'divide'

In natural conversations, however, calculations occur only very rarely. Therefore, the following examples are elicited: the function of addition is presented in (299), subtraction in (300), multiplication in (301), and division in (302).

Addition

(299)   dua   babi **tamba** tiga   babi sama   dengang lima   babi
        two   pig   add   three pig   be.same   with   five   pig
        'two pigs **plus** three pigs are five pigs' [Elicited BR120820.001]

Subtraction

(300)   lima babi **kurang** tiga   babi sama   dengang dua   babi
        five pig   lack   three pig   be.same   with   two   pig
        'five pigs **minus** three pigs are two pigs' [Elicited BR120820.002]

Multiplication

(301)   dua   babi **kali** tiga   babi sama   dengang enam babi
        two   pig   times   three pig   be.same   with   six   pig
        'two pigs **times** three pigs are six pigs' [Elicited BR120820.003]

Division

(302) enam babi **bagi** tiga babi sama dengang dua babi
       six   pig divide three pig be.same with   two pig
       'six pigs **divided by** three pigs are two pigs' [Elicited BR120820.004]

5.9.2.   Ordinal numerals

Papuan Malay employs two strategies to express the notion of ordinal numerals. For kinship terms the concept of ordinal numerals is encoded by a 'NNum' noun phrase headed by the noun *nomor* 'number', as shown in (303) and (304). This noun phrase '*nomor* Num' gives the ordinal reading 'Num-th' such as *yang nomor tiga* 'third' in (303) or *nomor empat* 'fourth' in the elicited example in (304).

Inherited strategy

(303) saya tida bole kasi sama bapa punya sodara
       1SG NEG may give to   father POSS sibling

       ana   prempuang **yang** sa bilang **nomor** **tiga**
       child woman   REL   1SG say   number   three
       [About bride-price children:] 'I shouldn't have given to father's sibling the daughter that, as I said, was **(my) third (child)**' (Lit. '**number three**') [081006-024-CvEx.0088]

(304) Aleks ini   sa pu tete   pu ade **nomor** **empat**
       Dafit D.PROX 1SG POSS grandfather POSS ySb number   four
       'Aleks here is my grandfather's **fourth** youngest sibling' (Lit. '**number four**') [Elicited BR120821.002]

According to one consultant, the strategy presented in (303) and (304) is the inherited Papuan Malay strategy to express the notion of ordinal numbers. This strategy used to be employed not only for kinship terms but for countable nouns in general. With the increasing influence of Standard Indonesian, however, Papuan Malay speakers have started employing ordinal numbers of Indonesian origins more frequently. Hence, in the present corpus the ordinal numbers for countable nouns other than kinship terms are of Standard Indonesian origins, such as *kedua* 'second' in (305) or *ketiga* 'third' in the elicited example in (306).

Borrowed strategy

(305) distrik **kedua** di mana
       district second   at where
       'where is the **second** district?' [081010-001-Cv.0071]

(306) ini   bibit nangka yang **ketiga** yang sa bli
       D.PROX 1SG   POSS   REL third   REL 1SG buy
       'this is the **third** jackfruit seedling that I bought' [Elicited BR120821.003]

5.9.3. Distributive numerals

The notion of 'one by one' or 'two by two' is expressed through reduplication of the numeral. Distributive numerals express that "a property or action" applies "to the individual members of a group, as opposed to the group as a whole" (Crystal 2008: 154). This is illustrated with *satu~satu* 'one by one' or 'in groups of one each' in (307), and with *dua~dua* 'two by two' or 'in groups of two' in (308). (See also §4.2.4.)

(307)   tong   tiga   cari   jalang   **satu~satu**
        1PL   three   search   street   RDP~one

        'the three of us looked for a path (through the river) **one-by-one**' [081013-003-Cv.0003]

(308)   tong   minum   **dua~dua**   glas   ato   **tiga~tiga**   glas
        1PL   drink   RDP~two   glass   or   RDP~three   glass

        [About the lack of water during a retreat:] 'we drank **two glasses each** or **three glasses each** (per day)' (Lit. '**two by two** or **three by three**') [081025-009a-Cv.0069]

5.9.4. Additional function of *satu* 'one'

In addition to its enumerating function in postposed position, attributively used *satu* 'one' is employed to encode "specific indefiniteness" (Crystal 2008: 444). That is, in NNum-NPs adnominal *satu* 'one' denotes specific but nonidentifiable referents, giving the specific indefinite reading 'N *satu*' 'a certain N'. The specific indefinite referent may be animate human such as *ade satu* 'a certain younger sibling' in (309) or inanimate such as *kampung satu* 'a certain village' in (310). The referent of *ojek satu* in (310) can be interpreted as the animate referent 'motorbike taxi driver', or as the inanimate referent 'motorbike taxi'.

(309)   ada   **ade**   **satu**   di   situ
        exist   ySb   one   at   L.MED

        '(there) is **a certain younger sibling** there' [080922-004-Cv.0018]

(310)   sa   pas   jalang   kaki   sampe   di   **kampung**   **satu**   Wareng
        1SG   be.exact   walk   foot   reach   at   village   one   Wareng

        ada   **ojek**   **satu**   turung
        exist   motorbike.taxi   one   descend

        'right at the moment when I was walking on foot as far as **a certain village** (named) Wareng, there was **a certain motorbike taxi (driver** who) came down (the road)' [080923-010-CvNP.0001]

5.10. Quantifiers

Quantifiers are non-numeric expressions that denote definite or indefinite quantities of their referents (Loos et al. 2003: 525). The Papuan Malay universal and mid-range quantifiers are discussed in §5.10.1, and distributive quantifiers in §5.10.2.

5.10.1. Universal and mid-range quantifiers

The Papuan Malay quantifiers are listed in Table 33, following Gil's (2001b) distinction of universal and mid-range quantifiers.[162]

Table 33:   Papuan Malay quantifiers[163]

Universal quantifiers	
smua	'all'
segala	'all'
masing-masing	'each'
(se)tiap	'every'
sembarang	'any'
Mid-range quantifiers	
banyak	'many'
sedikit	'few, a little'
stenga	'half'

Noun phrases with adnominal quantifiers have syntactic properties similar to those with adnominal numerals, as illustrated in (311) to (318). Noun phrases with pre-head quantifiers ('QtN-NP') express non-numeric amounts or quantities of the items indicated by their head nominals. Thereby, the composite nature of countable referents is accentuated. Post-head quantifiers, by contrast, may denote exhaustivity of indefinite referents or signal unknown positions within series or sequences; they modify countable as well as uncountable referents. The data in (311) to (318) show that not all quantifiers occur in all positions. Only four quantifiers occur in either pre- or in post-head position, namely ***smua*** 'all', ***banyak*** 'many', ***sedikit*** 'few', and ***masing-masing*** 'each'). These quantifiers can modify both count and mass nouns. The remaining five quantifiers, by contrast, occur in pre-head position only, namely ***segala*** 'all', ***sembarang*** 'any', ***(se)tiap*** 'every', and ***stenga*** 'half'. These quantifiers modify count nouns only. Four of the quantifiers are used with either animate or inanimate referents, namely ***smua*** 'all', ***banyak*** 'many', ***sedikit*** 'few', and ***masing-masing*** 'each'. By contrast, ***sembarang*** 'any' is only used with animate referents, and ***setiap*** 'every' and ***stenga*** 'half' with inanimate referents. Universal ***segala*** 'all' is only used in combination with the noun ***macang*** 'variety'. (For details on the attributive uses of quantifiers see §8.3.2.)

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[162]   Following Gil (2011: 1), the expression ***sembarang*** 'any' is a "free-choice universal quantifier".

[163]   In addition, the interrogative pronoun ***brapa*** 'how many' is used as an adnominal mid-range quantifier (see §5.10).

Adnominal quantifiers in preposed and postposed position[164]

			Pre-head position	Post-head position
(311)	a.	Count N	**smua** masala all problem '**all** problems'	pemuda **smua** youth all '**all of** the young people'
	b.	Mass N		gula **smua** sugar all '**all** (of the) sugar'
(312)	a.	Count N	**banyak** orang many person '**many** people'	orang **banyak** person many '**many** people'
	b.	Mass N		te **banyak** tea many '**lots of** tea'
(313)	a.	Count N	**sedikit** orang few person '**few** people'	kladi **sedikit** taro.root few '**few** taro roots'
	b.	Mass N		air **sedikit** water little '**little** water'
(314)		Count N	**masing-masing** trek each truck '**each** truck'	trek **masing-masing** truck each '**each** truck'
(315)		Count N	**segala** macang all variety '**every**thing, whatever'	
(316)		Count N	**sembarang** orang any person '**any** person, **any**body'	
(317)		Count N	**setiap** lagu every song '**every** song'	
(318)		Count N	**stenga** jam half hour '**half** an hour'	

When the identity of the referent was established earlier or can be deduced from the context, the head nominal can be omitted. Not all quantifiers, however, are used in

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[164] Documentation: *smua* 'all' 081006-030-CvEx.0009, 080921-004b-Cv.0026, BR111021.012; *banyak* 'many' 081006-023-CvEx.0007, 081029-004-Cv.0021, 081011-001-Cv.0240; *sedikit* 'few' BR111021-001.004, BR111021-001.006, 081006-035-CvEx.0050; *masing-masing* 'each' BR111021.010, BR111021.009, *setiap* 'every' 080923-016-CvNP.0002; *sembarang* 'any' 080927-006-CvNP.0035; *segala* 'all' 081006-032-Cv.0017; stenga 081115-001b-Cv.0056.

noun phrases with elided head nominal. Attested are only ***banyak*** 'many' as in (319), ***sedikit*** 'few' as in (320), and ***smua*** 'all' as in (321).

Quantifiers with omitted head nominal

(319) **banyak** Ø mati di, e, di di pulow~pulow, **banyak** mati di lautang Ø
       many   die at uh at at RDP~island   many   die at ocean
       '[there are many Papuans who died,] **many** (Papuans) died on, uh, on on
       the islands, **many** (Papuans) died on the ocean' [081029-002-Cv.0024-0025]

(320) di sini   yo   fam   Yapo ini   ada   **sedikit** Ø
       at L.PROX yes family.name Yapo D.PROX exist few
       'here, yes, there are (only) **few** Yapo family (members)' (Lit. 'this Yapo
       family is **few** (people)') [080922-010a-CvNF.0274]

(321) … mobil blakos,   Ø **smua** naik   di blakang
          car   pick-up.truck   all   climb at backside
       '[we took] a pick-up truck, **all** (passengers) got onto its loading space'
       [081006-017-Cv.0001]

In addition to their attributive uses, quantifies are used predicatively. In (322), for instance, predicatively used ***banyak*** 'many' conveys information about the non-numeric quantity of its subject ***picaang*** 'splinter'. (For details on quantifier predicate clauses see §12.3).

Predicatively used quantifier

(322) … picaang juga **banyak**
          splinter also many
       '[at the beach] there are also **lots of** splinters' (Lit. 'the splinters (are) also
       many') [080917-006-CvHt.0008]

5.10.2.   Distributive quantifiers

The notion of 'little by little' or 'many by many' is expressed through reduplication of the quantifier, similar to the formation of distributive numerals presented in (307) (§5.9.3) (see also §4.2.4). Distributive quantifiers denote an event that affects an indefinite number of members of a group or set at different points in time. In (323), for example, ***uang banyak~banyak*** denotes 'sets of lots of money', while in (324) ***sedikit~sedikit*** designates 'sets of little (food)'.

(323) bapa   kirim **uang** **banyak~banyak**
       father send   money RDP~many
       [Phone conversation:] 'father send **lots of money at regular intervals**'
       (Lit. '**lots by lots of money**') [080922-001a-CvPh.0440]

(324)   dong   blum   isi   selaing   dong   isi   **sedikit~sedikit**   to?
         3PL   not.yet   fill   besides   3PL   fill   RDP~few   right?

[About organizing the food distribution during a retreat:] 'they haven't yet filled (their plates), moreover they'll fill (their plates only) with **little** (food), right?' (Lit. '**little by little (food)**') [081025-009a-Cv.0081]

5.11. Numeral classifiers

Papuan Malay has a very reduced inventory of numeral classifiers, unlike many other western Austronesian languages (Himmelmann 2005: 173). Attested is only one classifier, the common noun *ekor* 'tail'. Following a post-head numeral, *ekor* 'tail' is used to count animals as shown in (325). (Common nouns are described in detail in §5.2.1.)

        Enumeration of animals

(325)   dong   dua   dapat   ikang   ini   **tiga**   **ekor**
         3PL   two   get   fish   D.PROX   three   tail

         dapat   **ikang**   **tiga**   **ekor**   dong   dua   …
         get   fish   three   tail   3PL   two

         'the two of them get these fish, **three (of them)**, having gotten **three fish**, the two of them …' (Lit. '**three tails**') [081109-011-JR.0003]

Enumeration of people and objects, by contrast, is done without a numeral classifier as shown in (326) and (327), respectively.

        Enumeration of people and objects

(326)   jadi   saya   **empat**   **ana**
         so   1SG   four   child

         'so I (have) **four children**' [081006-024-CvEx.0002]

(327)   …   orang   Sarmi   harus   siap   untuk   orang   Sorong
              person   Sarmi   have.to   provide   for   person   Sorong

         spulu   **kaing**   **itu**   **kaing**   **adat**   **itu**
         ten   cloth   D.DIST   cloth   tradition   D.DIST

         '[as bride-price] a Sarmi person has to provide a Sorong person with **those ten cloths**, **those traditional cloths**' [081006-029-CvEx.0012]

5.12. Prepositions

Adpositions are function words that combine with noun phrases and denote grammatical and semantic relations between their complements and the predicate. (See Bussmann 1996: 934, and Dryer 2011a: 1.) Papuan Malay, as most western Austronesian languages, and SVO languages in general, employs prepositions rather than postpositions.

Papuan Malay prepositions have the following defining characteristics:

1.   Prepositions introduce prepositional phrases with an overt noun phrase complement which may neither be fronted nor omitted (see Chapter 10).
2.   All prepositions introduce peripheral adjuncts within the clause (see Chapter 10).
3.   Most of the prepositions also introduce nonverbal predicates and/or oblique arguments (see§12.4, and §11.1.3.2, respectively).
4.   Some of the prepositions also introduce prepositional phrases that function as modifiers within noun phrases (see §8.2.7).

Papuan Malay has eleven different prepositions, presented in Table 34. Three groups of prepositions are distinguished according to the semantic relations between their complements and the predicate: prepositions encoding (1) location in space and time, (2) accompaniment/instruments, goals, and benefaction, and (3) comparisons.

Table 34:   Papuan Malay prepositions according to the semantic relations between their complements and the predicate[165]

1. Prepositions encoding location in space and time (§10.1)		
Preposition	Gloss	Semantic relations
di	'at, in'	static location
ke	'to'	movement towards a referent
dari	'from'	movement from a source location
sampe[166]	'until'	movement toward a non-spatial temporal endpoint
2. Prepositions encoding accompaniment/instruments, goals, and benefaction (§10.2)		
Preposition	Gloss	Semantic relations
deng(an)	'with'	accompaniment
sama	'to'	goal
untuk	'for'	benefaction
buat	'for'	benefaction

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[165]   Both *untuk* 'for' and *buat* 'for' introduce beneficiaries and benefactive recipients. Benefactive *untuk* 'for', however, has a wider distribution and more functions than *buat* 'for' in that *untuk* 'for' (1) combines with demonstratives, (2) introduces inanimate referents, and (3) introduces circumstance. For details see §10.2.3 and §10.2.4.
Both *kaya* 'like' and *sperti* 'similar to' signal likeness in terms of appearance or behavior. They differ in scope, however. Similative *kaya* 'like' signals overall resemblance between the two bases of comparison. The scope of *sperti* 'similar to', by contrast, is more limited: it signals likeness or resemblance in some, typically implied, respect. For details see §10.3.1 and §10.3.2.

[166]   The preposition *sampe* 'until' is related to the bivalent verb *sampe* 'reach' which designates direction up to a location (see §10.1.4).

3. Prepositions encoding comparison (§10.3)		
Preposition	Gloss	Semantic relations
sperti	'similar to'	similarity
kaya	'like'	similarity
sebagey	'as'	equatability

The complement in a prepositional phrase is obligatory. If the semantic relationship between this complement and the predicate can be deduced from the context, two of the prepositions of location may be omitted, locative *di* 'at, in' and allative *ke* 'to'. A full discussion of the Papuan Malay prepositions and prepositional phrases is given in Chapter 10.

Besides introducing prepositional phrases, some of the prepositions are also used as conjunctions, namely temporal *sampe* 'until', comitative *dengang* 'with', goal-oriented *sama* 'to', benefactive *untuk* 'for', similative *sperti* 'similar to' and similative *kaya* 'like' (see §5.13 and §14.2). As conjunctions they introduce different types of clauses.

5.13. Conjunctions

Conjunctions are function words "that are used to connect words, phrases, or clauses" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45). This also applies to the Papuan Malay conjunctions, which have the following defining characteristics:

  1. Conjunctions combine different constituents, namely clauses, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, and verbs; they do not head phrases.
  2. Conjunctions occur at the periphery of the constituents they mark.
  3. Conjunctions form intonation units with the constituents they mark, although they do not belong to them semantically.

The Papuan Malay conjunctions can be divided into two major groups, namely those combining same-type constituents, such as clauses with clauses, and those linking different-type constituents, such as verbs with clauses.

Conjunctions combining clauses are traditionally divided into coordinating and subordinating ones (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45). With respect to clause linking in Papuan Malay, however, there is no formal marking of this distinction. That is, in terms of their morphosyntax and word order, clauses marked with a conjunction are not distinct from those which do not have a conjunction. (See also Haspelmath 2007a: 46-47.)

Table 35 gives an overview of the Papuan Malay conjunctions attested in the present corpus. They are grouped in terms of the types of the constituents they combine and the semantic relations they signal. Two of the conjunctions are listed twice as they mark more than one type of semantic relation, namely *baru* 'and then, after all, and *sampe* 'until, with the result that'.

Table 35:   Papuan Malay conjunctions

I. Conjunctions combining same-type constituents (§14.2)

1. Conjunctions marking addition (§14.2.1)

Conjunction	Gloss	Semantic relations
dang	'and'	Addition
dengang	'with'	Addition
sama	'to'	Addition

2. Conjunctions marking alternative (§14.2.2)

Conjunction	Gloss	Semantic relations
ato	'or'	Alternative
ka	'or'	Alternative

3. Conjunctions marking time and/or condition (§14.2.3)

Conjunction	Gloss	Semantic relations
trus	'next'	Sequence (neutral)
baru	'and then'	Sequence (contrastive)
sampe	'until'	Anteriority
seblum	'before'	Anteriority
kalo	'if, when'	Posteriority / Condition

4. Conjunctions marking consequence (§14.2.4)

Conjunction	Gloss	Semantic relations
jadi	'so, when'	Result / Cause
supaya	'so that'	Purpose
untuk	'for'	Purpose
sampe	'with the result that'	Result
karna	'because'	Cause (neutral)
gara-gara	'because'	Cause (emotive)

5. Conjunctions marking contrast (§14.2.5)

Conjunction	Gloss	Semantic relations
tapi	'but'	Contrast
habis	'after all'	Contrast
baru	'after all'	Contrast
padahal	'but actually'	Contrast
biar	'although'	Concession

6. Conjunctions marking similarity (§14.2.6)

Conjunction	Gloss	Semantic relations
sperti	'similar to'	Similarity (partial)
kaya	'like'	Similarity (overall)

I. Conjunctions combining same-type constituents (§14.2)		
II. Conjunctions combining different-type constituents (§14.3)		
Conjunction	Gloss	Syntactic function
bahwa	'that'	Complementizer
yang	'REL'	Relativizer

Some of the conjunctions have developed from prepositions, namely time-marking *sampe* 'until', additive *dengang* 'with' and *sama* 'to', consequence-marking **untuk** 'for', and similarity-marking *sperti* 'similar to' and *kaya* 'like' (prepositions are discussed in §5.12 and variation in word class membership between prepositions and conjunctions in §5.16). Besides, alternative-marking *ka* 'or' is also used to mark interrogative clauses (see §13.2.3).

A full discussion of the Papuan Malay conjunctions and the constituents they link is found in Chapter 14.

5.14. Tags, placeholders and hesitation markers, interjections, and onomatopoeia

5.14.1. Tags

Tags are short questions "tagged onto the end of a statement (or imperative) acting to confirm or query what is being said" (Asher 1994: 5179). Papuan Malay has three tags, *to* 'right?', *e* 'eh?' and **kang** 'you know?', as shown in (328) to (334). All three of them have a rising intonation.

With *to* 'right?', speakers ask for agreement or disagreement, as in (328) and (329),[167] while with **kang** 'you know?' speakers assume their interlocutors to agree with their statements, as in (329) and (330). Speakers use *to* 'right?' at the end of an utterance. When employing **kang** 'you know?', by contrast, they usually continue their utterance and add further information related to the issue under discussion. In this context, **kang** 'you know?' quite often co-occurs with *to* 'right?', as in (329).

Tags: *to* 'right?' and **kang** 'you know'

(328) sebentar   pasti   hujang karna   awang   hitam   **to**?
       in.a.moment   definitely rain   because   cloud   be.black right?
       'in a bit it will certainly rain because of the black clouds, **right?**' [080919-005-Cv.0016]

(329) de   suda   tidor,   **kang**?,   dia   hosa **to**?
       3SG   already   sleep   you.know   3SG   pant right?
       'she was already sleeping, **you know?**, she has breathing difficulties, **right?**' [080916-001-CvNP.0005]

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167 The tag *to* 'right?' is a loan word from Dutch, which uses *toch* 'right?' as a tag.

(330)   dong   bilang   soa-soa   **kang**?,   kaya   buaya   begitu
   3PL   say   monitor.lizard   you.know   like   crocodile   like.that
   'they call (it) a monitor lizard, **you know?**, (it's) like a crocodile' [080922-
   009-CvNP.0053]

Like *to* 'right?', *e* 'eh?' occurs at the end of an utterance, and like *kang* 'you know',
e 'eh?' assumes agreement. Its uses seem to be more restricted, though, than those of
the two other tags. Speakers tend to employ *e* 'eh?' as a marker of assurance, that is,
when they want to give assurance, as in (331), or ask for assurance as in (332) and
(333). As an extension of this assurance-marking function, *e* 'eh?' is also used to
mark imperatives, as in (334) (see also §13.3.1).

   Tags: *e* 'eh?'

(331)   saya   cabut   ko   dari   skola   itu   **e**?
   1SG   pull.out   2SG   from   school   D.DIST   eh
   'I'll take you out of school there, **eh?**' [080922-001a-CvPh.0199]

(332)   bapa   datang   **e**?   bapa   datang   **e**?
   father   come   eh   father   come   eh
   'you ('father') will come (here), **eh?**, you ('father') will come (here), **eh?**'
   [080922-001a-CvPh.1072]

(333)   ade   bongso   jadi   ko   sayang   dia   skali   **e**?
   ySb   youngest.offspring   so   2SG   love   3SG   very   eh
   '(your) youngest sibling, so you love her very much, **eh**?' [080922-001a-
   CvPh.0302]

(334)   hari   minggu   ko   ke   ruma   **e**?   ke   Siduas   punya   ruma   **e**?
   day   Sunday   2SG   to   house   eh   to   Siduas   POSS   house   eh
   'on Sunday you go to the house, **eh?!**, to Siduas' house, **eh?!**' [080922-001a-
   CvPh.0341]

5.14.2.   Placeholders and hesitation markers

Papuan Malay has a number of placeholders, namely the three interrogatives *siapa*
'who', *apa* 'what' and *bagemana* 'how' and the two demonstratives *ini* 'D.PROX'
and *itu* 'D.PROX'. They function "as temporary substitutes for specific lexical items
that have eluded the speaker" (Hayashi and Yoon 2006: 499). The five placeholders
are discussed in the respective sections on interrogatives (see §5.8) and
demonstratives (see §7.1.2.6).

  Hesitation markers, by contrast, have no lexical meaning. As "vocal indicator[s]"
their main function is to "fill pause[s]" (Asher 1994: 5122). The main Papuan Malay
hesitation marker is *e(m)* 'uh', as in (335); alternative realizations are *u(m)* 'uh' as
in (336), or *a(m)*, *mmm*, or *nnn* 'uh'.

(335)   kalo   sa   su   pake,   **em**,   kaca-mata   tu   mungking …
   if   1SG   already   use   uh   glasses   D.DIST   maybe
   'if I'd been wearing, **uh**, those (sun)glasses, maybe …' [080919-005-
   Cv.0007]

(336) pace Oktofernus de, **u**, masi urus   dorang sana
      man Oktofernus 3SG uh still   arrange 3PL   L.DIST
      'Mr. Oktofernus, **uh**, was still taking care of them over there' [081025-008-Cv.0121]

5.14.3. Interjections

Interjections typically "constitute utterances by themselves and express a speaker's current mental state or reaction toward an element in the linguistic or extralinguistic context" (Ameka 2006: 743). Hence, "interjections are context-bound linguistic signs" (2006: 743). That is, their interpretation depends on the specific context in which they uttered. One example is Papuan Malay *adu* 'ouch!, oh no!'. Depending on the context, the interjection expresses pain, 'ouch!', or disappointed surprise, 'oh no!'.

Two major types of interjections are distinguished, that is, primary and secondary interjections (Ameka 2006: 744–745). Papuan Malay primary interjections are presented Table 36 and in the examples in (337) to (339), and secondary interjections in Table 35 and in the examples in (340) to (342).

Primary interjections are defined as "little words or 'non-words', which […] do not normally enter into construction with other word classes". Examples of the Papuan Malay primary interjections, listed in Table 36, include words used for expressing emotions such as *ba* 'humph!', getting attention such as *e* 'hey', or addressing animals, such as *ceh* 'shoo'.

Table 36:   Papuan Malay secondary interjections

Item	Gloss	Semantics: Interjection used …
a	'ah!, oh boy!, ugh!'	to express emotions ranging from contentment to acute discomfort or annoyance
adu	'ouch!, oh no'	to express pain or disappointed surprise
ale	'wow!'	to express surprise or to attract attention
ay	'aah!, aw!'	to express surprise or affection
ba	'humph!'	to express disgust or denigration
ceh	'shoo!'	to chase something away
e	'ha!, hey!, eh?'	to express emphasis or astonishment or to attract attention
ha	'huh?'	to express surprise, disbelief, or confusion
hm	'pfft'	to express sarcasm or disagreement
hura	'hooray!'	to express joy, approval, or encouragement
i	'ugh!, oh no!, oh!'	to express disgust, irritation or disappointed surprise
isss	'stop!'	to stop someone/-thing or to attract attention
mpfff	'ugh!'	to express displeasure, or incredulity
na	'well'	to introduce a comment or statement, or to resume a conversation
o	'oh!'	to express surprise
oke	'OK'	to express agreement

Item	Gloss	Semantics: Interjection used …
prrrt	'pfft!'	to express sarcasm or disagreement
sio	'alas!'	to express sorrow or pity
sss	'pfft!'	to express sarcasm or disagreement
ssshhht	'shhh!'	to silence someone
tsk-tsk	'tsk-tsk'	to express disapproval
uy	'o boy!'	to express surprise or to attract attention
wa	'wow!'	to express surprise or exasperation

Examples of primary interjections are presented in (337) to (339).

Primary interjections

(337) **a**,   saya bisa   pulang   karna   sa   su   dapat babi
       ah! 1SG be.capable go.home because 1SG already get   pig
       '**ah!**, I can return home because I've already got the pig' [080919-004-NP.0024]

(338) **mpfff**, Yonece de   liat~liat sa   smes   di   net   to?
       ugh!   Yonece 3SG RDP~see   1SG smash at (sport.)net right?
       [About a volleyball game:] '**ugh!**, Yonece saw (that) I was going to smash, right?' [081109-001-Cv.0160]

(339) **o**,   dong mara   **e**?
       oh! 3PL   feel.angry(.about) eh
       '**oh!**, they'll be angry, **eh?**' [080917-008-NP.0054]

Secondary interjections are defined as "words that have an independent semantic value but which can be used conventionally as nonelliptical utterances by themselves to express a mental attitude or state" (Ameka 2006: 744). Examples of the Papuan Malay secondary interjections, listed in Table 37, include words for expressing emotions such as *sunggu* 'good grief', as well as routine expressions for thanking, greetings, or leave-taking, such as *da* 'goodbye'. Some of them have independent uses such as *damay* 'peace' while others are only used as interjections, such as *ayo* 'come on!'. Remarkably, many secondary interjections are loan words, such as *bahaya* 'great!, be dangerous' (Sanskrit), *mama* 'oh boy, mother' (Dutch), or *sip* 'that's fine' (English).

Table 37:   Papuan Malay secondary interjections

Item	Gloss	Basic meaning	Source language
bahaya	'great!'	'be dangerous'	Sanskrit
damay	'my goodness'	'peace'	
mama	'oh boy!'	'mother'	Dutch
sialang	'damn it!'	'bad luck'	
sunggu	'good grief!'	'be true'	
tobat	'go to hell'	'repent'	Arabic
tolong	'please!'	'help'	
amin	'amen'		Arabic

Item	Gloss	Basic meaning	Source language
ayo	'come on!'		
da	'goodbye'		Dutch
enta	'who knows'		
haleluya	'hallelujah'		Hebrew via Dutch
halow	'hello'		Dutch
shalom	'peace be with you!'		Hebrew via Dutch
sori	'excuse me!'		English
sip	'that's fine!'		English
trima-kasi	'thank you!'		

Examples of secondary interjections are presented in (340) to (342).

Secondary interjections

(340) **damay**, sa   bulang oktober sa   pu   alpa   cuma dua saja
       peace 1SG month October 1SG POSS be.absent   just two just
       '**my goodness!**, in October I, I had just only two absences' [081023-004-
       Cv.0014]

(341) sa   bilang, o   **sunggu** ini   kalo Hendro ini   de
       1SG   say   oh! be.true D.PROX if   Hendro D.PROX 3SG

       su   angkat deng   piring
       already   lift   with   plate
       'I said, 'oh **good grief!**, what's-his-name, as for this Hendro, he would
       already have taken (all the cake) with the plate' [081011-005-Cv.0028]

(342) kasi   nasi   suda,   **ayo**
       give   cooked.rice   already   come.on!
       'give me rice!, **come on!**' [080922-001a-CvPh.1208]

5.14.4.   Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia refers to the "creation of words by direct imitation of a sound like or
associated with their referent" (Asher 1994: 5151). Quite a few of the Papuan Malay
onomatopoeic words presented in Table 38 emulate the sound of a sudden
percussion, such as *cekkk* 'wham'. Other words are *fuuu* 'fooo' which imitates the
sound of blowing air, or *piiip* 'beep' which emulates the blowing of a horn.

Table 38:   Papuan Malay onomatopoeic words

Item	Semantics
cekkk	Sound of a heavy blow
dederet	Sound of a drum
fuuu	Sound of blowing air
kkkhkh	Sound of an object falling or collapsing with a dull or heavy sound
mmmuat	Sound of kissing

Item	Semantics
ngying-ngyaung	Sound of a cockatoo calling
pak, tak, tang, wreeek	Sound of banging, of a punch to the jaw, or of colliding bodies, slamming objects
piiip	Sound of blowing a horn
shhht	Sound of an object moving through air or water
srrrt	Sound of pulling, tearing or cutting
ssst	Sound of vomiting
tak	Sound of knocking
tpf	Sound of spitting out a mouthful of liquid
trrrt	Sound of running feet
wruaw	Sound of heavy breathing or suffocation
wuuu	Sound of shouting

Examples of onomatopoeic words in context are presented in (343) to (345).

(343)   sa   ayung   dia   tiga   kali,   **pak**   **pak**   **pak**
         1SG   hit   3SG   three   time   bang!   bang!   bang!
         'I hit him three times, **bang!**, **bang!**, **bang!**' [080923-010-CvNP.0018]

(344)   … kitong   liat,   uy   cahaya   **shhht**   de   datang   sperti
           we   see   boy!   glow   swish   3SG   come   similar.to
         lampu   itu   petromaks   itu
         lamp   D.DIST   kerosene.lantern   D.DIST
         '[when the evil spirit comes from afar,] we see, oh boy!, a glow, **swish!**, he/she comes (with a noise) like that, what's-its-name, kerosene pressure lantern' [081006-022-CvEx.0153]

(345)   de   pegang   di   batang   leher   baru   de   ramas   tete,
         3SG   hold   at   stick   neck   and.then   3SG   press   grandfather
         tete   **wruaw**   **wruaw**
         grandfather   wheeze!   wheeze!
         'he held (grandfather) by (his) throat, and then he pressed grandfather('s throat and) grandfather (went) '**wheeze!**, **wheeze!**'' [081015-001-Cv.0012/0014]

Onomatopoeic words belong to the larger class of idiophones which "report an extralinguistic event like a sound, a smell, a taste, a visual impression, a movement, or a psychic emotion" (Kilian-Hatz 2006: 510). Extralinguistic events other than the onomatopoeic sound imitations presented in Table 38, however, have not been identified in the present corpus.

5.15. Kinship terms

This section presents the most common Papuan Malay terms for consanguineal and affinal kin. An initial investigation of the kinship system indicates that Papuan

Malay uses a combination of Iroquois and Hawaiian terminologies and makes a
relative age discrimination.

Before presenting the Papuan Malay kinship terms, Table 39 lists the standard
symbols used to abbreviate basic terms.

Table 39:   Symbols for kinship terms

Terms	Symbols	Terms	Symbols	Terms	Symbols
father	F	brother	B	husband	H
mother	M	sister	Z	wife	W
parent	P	sibling	Sb	spouse	Sp
son	S	older	o		
daughter	D	younger	y		
child	C				

More complex kinship terms are expressed by chains of these abbreviations, such as
FZ for 'father's sister' or MF for 'mother's father'.

5.15.1.   Consanguineal kin

The kinship system is Iroquois, in that Papuan Malay makes a distinction in the first
ascending generation between 'same-sex' and 'cross-sex' parents' siblings in a
bifurcate merging pattern, as demonstrated in Table 40. Contrasting with typical
Iroquois systems, however, the cross-parallel distinction only applies to parents'
younger siblings. That is, only parents' same-sexed younger siblings are considered
as consanguines: **bapa-ade** 'uncle' (literally 'younger father') and **mama-ade** 'aunt'
(literally 'younger mother'). Parents' opposite-sexed younger siblings are called **om**
'uncle' and **tanta** 'aunt'; both terms are loan words from Dutch. By contrast, Papuan
Malay does not distinguish between parents' older siblings of opposite sex. That is,
all parents' older siblings are considered as consanguines regardless of their sex:
bapa-tua 'uncle' (literally 'old father') and **mama-tua** 'aunt' (literally 'old mother').
The six consanguineal terms also extend to affinal kin, as discussed in §5.15.2.

With respect to other generations, the kinship system is Hawaiian, in that it
extends bilaterally, without making distinctions between lineal and collateral
consanguines, or between cross and parallel consanguines. Consequently, Papuan
Malay does not distinguish between siblings and cousins, as shown in Table 40.
That is, children of parents' siblings are also classified as siblings. In addition, the
system makes a relative age discrimination. Older siblings and children of parents'
older siblings are called **kaka** 'older sibling' while younger siblings and children of
parents' younger siblings are called **ade** 'younger sibling'. The same relative age
discrimination applies to cousins in the second degree of collaterality: their relative
ages are determined by the ages of the linking grandparents. With the exception of
the reference term **orang-tua** 'parent', speakers use the consanguineal terms, listed
in Table 40, both for reference and for address.

Table 40:   Papuan Malay kinship terms: Consanguineal kin

Item	Gloss	Symbol	Relation
bapa	'father'	F	father
mama	'mother'	M	mother
orang-tua	'parent'	P	parent
ana	'child'	C	child
kaka	'older sibling'	oSb	older sibling
		PoSbC	parent's older sibling's child
ade	'younger sibling'	ySb	younger sibling
		PySbC	parent's younger sibling's child
bapa-tua	'uncle'	PoB	parent's older brother
bapa-ade	'uncle'	FyB	father's younger brother
om	'uncle'	MyB	mother's younger brother
mama-tua	'aunt'	PoZ	parent's older sister
mama-ade	'aunt'	MyZ	mother's younger sister
tanta	'aunt'	FyZ	father's younger sister
tete	'grandfather'	PF	parent's father
		PPB	parent's parent's brother
nene	'grandmother'	PM	parent's mother
		PPZ	parent's parent's sister
cucu	'grandchild'	CC	child's child

To signal the gender of a sibling or child, the kinship terms ***kaka*** 'older sibling', ***ade*** 'younger sibling', and ***ana*** 'child' are modified with the common nouns ***laki~laki*** 'man' or ***prempuang*** 'woman', giving ***kaka laki~laki*** 'older brother', ***ade prempuang*** 'younger sister', or ***ana laki~laki*** 'son'.

5.15.2.   Affinal kin

The Papuan Malay affinal terms, listed in Table 41, include two terms for spouse, that is, ***paytua*** 'husband' and ***maytua*** 'wife', and two terms for in-laws, namely ***mantu*** 'parent/child in-law' and ***ipar*** 'sibling in-law'. Speakers employ these terms for both reference and address.

Papuan Malay distinguishes between in-laws belonging to different generations and those belonging to the same generation, as illustrated in Table 41.

The expression for in-laws belonging to the first ascending or descending generation is the self-reciprocal term ***mantu*** 'parent/child in-law'. This term, however, does not occur on its own. It is always modified with the common nouns ***bapa*** 'father', ***mama*** 'mother', or ***ana*** 'child' to specify the affinal relationship, giving ***bapa mantu*** 'father in-law', ***mama mantu*** 'mother in-law', or ***ana mantu*** 'child in-law'.

The term for same-generation in-laws is ***ipar*** 'sibling in-law'. This self-reciprocal term extends to spouses' siblings and those siblings' spouses, as well as to

children's spouses' parents (co-parents-in-law). Again, a relative age discrimination is made similar to that for siblings: ***kaka ipar*** 'older sibling in-law' and ***ade ipar*** 'younger sibling in-law').

Table 41:   Papuan Malay kinship terms: Affinal kin

Item	Gloss	Symbol	Relation
paytua ***maytua***	'husband' 'wife'	H W	husband wife
mantu	'parent/child in-law'	SpP CSp	spouse's parents child's spouse
ipar	'sibling in-law'	SbSp SpSb SpSbSp CSpP	sibling's spouse spouse's sibling spouse's sibling's spouse child's spouse's parents

The six consanguineal terms that distinguish between 'same-sex' and 'cross-sex' parents' siblings in the first ascending generation, mentioned in §5.15.1, also extend to affinal kin, as shown in Table 42.

Table 42:   Papuan Malay consanguineal terms extending to affinal kin

Item	Gloss	Symbol	Relation
bapa-tua ***bapa-ade*** ***om***	'uncle' 'uncle' 'uncle'	PoZH MyZH FyZH	parent's older sister's husband mother's younger sister's husband father's younger sister's husband
mama-tua ***mama-ade*** ***tanta***	'aunt' 'aunt' 'aunt'	PoBW FyBW MyBW	parent's older brother's wife father's younger brother's wife mother's younger brother's wife

5.16.   Variation in word class membership

Papuan Malay has variation in word class membership between (1) verbs and nouns, (2) verbs and adverbs, (3) verbs and conjunctions, (4) verbs and prepositions, (5) prepositions and conjunctions, and (6) numeral classifiers and nouns.

Crosslinguistically, the shift of word categories, or grammaticalization, occurs quite commonly. Generally speaking, it "is a unidirectional process; that is, it leads from less grammatical to more grammatical forms and constructions" (Heine and Kuteva 2002: 4). Or in other words, "the shift from major categories to minor ones (N > Preposition/Conjunction, V > Auxiliary/Preposition) is much more frequent crosslinguistically than its opposite", as Wischer (2006: 133) points out.

Therefore, in discussing variation in Papuan Malay word class membership between verbs and adverbs/conjunctions/prepositions, the verbs are taken as the source forms from which the respective adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions derived. In the same way, numeral classifiers are taken to have derived from nouns. As for variation between prepositions and conjunctions, Heine and Kuteva (2002: 4)

notes that cross-linguistically "[p]repositions often develop into conjunctions". Very likely, this observation also applies to the variation between prepositions and conjunctions in Papuan Malay. The dual membership of lexemes as verbs and nouns, however, is less clear-cut, as discussed in Paragraph 1 below.

1.   Verbs and nouns (see §5.3 and §5.2)

A number of lexemes have dual membership as verbs and nouns. Nine such lexemes have been identified so far; they are listed in Table 43, together with the token frequencies of their uses as verbs and nouns. The eight lexemes fall into two classes. First, verbs and their associated instrument, result, patient, agent, or location nouns; the present corpus contains four such verb-noun pairs. The first two lexemes are most often used as verbs, that is, **gambar** 'draw', and **jalang** 'walk'. The remaining two lexemes are most often used as nouns, that is, **dayung** 'paddle' and **musu** 'enemy'. The second group of lexemes with dual membership are affixed items: two items suffixed with **-ang** and two prefixed with **PE(N)-**. Structurally, the four lexemes are nouns. In their actual uses, however, they are (more) often used as verbs (for a detailed discussion on affixation see §3.1).

Table 43:   Variation in word class membership between nouns and verbs

Item	VERB Gloss		#	>/<	NOUN Gloss		#
gambar	'draw'	V.BI	21	>	'drawing'	RES	2
jalang	'walk'	V.MO	398	>	'road'	LOC	71
dayung	'paddle'	V.BI	3	>	'paddle'	INS	8
jubi	'bow shoot'	V.BI	20	>	'bow and arrow'	INS	14
musu	'hate'	V.BI	3	>	'enemy'	PAT	7
jualang	'sell'	V.BI	7	<	'merchandise'	PAT	1
latiang	'practice'	V.BI	12	<	'practice'	PAT	5
pencuri	'steal (EMPH)'	V.BI	5	<	'thief'	AGT	7
pamalas	'be very listless'	V.MO	12	<	'lazy person'	AGT	2

2.   Verbs and adverbs (see §5.3 and §5.4)

Some verbs also have adverbial function. Five such lexemes have been identified so far. Most of them are more often used as adverbs than as verbs, as shown in Table 44; the exception is bivalent **coba** 'try' which is also used as an evaluative modal adverb (§5.4.4).

Table 44:   Variation in word class membership between verbs and adverbs

Item	Source form: VERB Gloss		#	>	Derived form: ADV Gloss	#
baru	'be new'	V.MO	24	>	'recently'	66
coba	'try'	V.BI	36	>	'if only'	14
dulu	'be prior'	V.MO	63	>	'in the past, first'	286

	Source form: VERB			>	Derived form: ADV	
Item	Gloss		#		Gloss	#
pas	'be exact'	V.MO	26	>	'precisely'	110
skarang	'be current'	V.MO	21	>	'now'	282

3.   Verbs and conjunctions (see §5.3 and §5.13)

Some monovalent stative and bivalent verbs are zero-derived into the conjunction class, as listed in Table 45. Again, the lexemes differ in terms of the relative token frequencies of the source forms and the derived conjunctional forms. For the first three items, the verbal source forms have higher token frequencies, whereas the last three lexemes are predominantly used as conjunctions.

Table 45:   Variation in word class membership between verbs and conjunctions

	Source form: VERB			>	Derived form: CNJ	
Item	Gloss		#		Gloss	#
biar	'be permitted'	V.MO	67	>	'although'	39
coba	'try'	V.BI	36	>	'if only'	14
habis	'be used up'	V.MO	48	>	'after all'	21
sampe	'reach'	V.BI	251	>	'until'	257
baru	'be new'	V.MO	24	>	'and then, after all'	986
jadi	'become'	V.BI	173	>	'so, since'	1,213
trus	'be continuous'	V.MO	3	>	'next, and then'	396

4.   Verbs and prepositions (see §5.3 and §5.12)

Two prepositions are derived from bivalent verbs:

  − The benefactive preposition *buat* 'for' is derived from *buat* 'make'.
  − The temporal preposition *sampe* 'until' is derived from *sampe* 'reach'.

5.   Prepositions and conjunctions (see §5.12 and §5.13)

Six Papuan Malay prepositions are also used as conjunctions.

  − Temporal *sampe* 'until' also functions as a conjunction that introduces temporal or result clauses.
  − Comitative *dengang* 'with' and goal preposition *sama* 'to' also function as conjunctions that combine noun phrases; occasionally, *dengang* 'with' also links verb phrases.
  − Benefactive *untuk* 'for' also functions as a conjunction that introduces purpose clauses.
  − Similative *sperti* 'similar to' and *kaya* 'like' also functions as conjunctions that introduce simulative clauses.

6.   Numeral classifiers and nouns (see §5.11 and §5.2)

Papuan Malay has only one classifier, the common noun *ekor* 'tail' which is used to count animals.

Papuan Malay displays variation in word class membership, most of which involves verbs. Overall, the observed variation corresponds to grammaticalization processes observed cross-linguistically, in that it involves a shift of word categories from major ones to minor ones (see Heine and Kuteva 2002: 4, and Wischer 2006: 133). The exception is the dual membership of lexemes as verbs and nouns, which is typical, though, for Malay varieties and other western Austronesian languages.

5.17. Summary

In Papuan Malay, the main criteria for defining distinct word classes are their syntactic properties, due to the lack of inflectional morphology and the rather limited productivity of derivational patterns. Three open and a number of closed lexical classes can be distinguished. The open word classes are nouns, verbs, and adverbs. The major closed word classes are personal pronouns, interrogatives, demonstratives, locatives, numerals, quantifiers, prepositions, and conjunctions. At the same time, however, Papuan Malay has membership overlap between a number of categories, most of which involve verbs. This includes overlap between verbs and nouns which is typical of Malay varieties and other western Austronesian languages. However, nouns, verbs, and adverbs have distinct syntactic properties which warrant their analysis as distinct word classes.

Papuan Malay nouns and verbs are distinct in terms of the following syntactic properties: (a) nouns canonically function as heads in noun phrases and as arguments in verbal clauses; (b) verbs canonically function as predicates and have valency; (c) nouns are negated with *bukang* 'NEG', whereas verbs are negated with *tida*/*tra* 'NEG'; (d) only nouns can be quantified; and (e) only verbs occur as predicates in comparative constructions, and in reciprocal constructions. Based on their syntactic properties, nouns are divided into four groups, namely common, proper, location, and direction nouns. Verbs fall into four groups, namely trivalent, bivalent, monovalent dynamic and monovalent stative verbs which have partially distinct and partially overlapping properties. The four groups of verbs can be distinguished in terms of two main criteria which also account for most of their other properties, namely their valency and their function which is mainly predicative.

Adverbs are distinct from nouns and verbs in that adverbs, unlike nouns and verbs, (a) cannot be used predicatively; and (b) cannot modify nouns. Overall, adverbs are most closely related to verbs; some adverbs, however, are more closely linked with nouns than with verbs. Within the clause, adverbs can take different positions. The semantic effects of these positions, however, are yet to be investigated.

Personal pronouns, demonstratives, and locatives are distinct from nouns in that (a) all four of them can modify nouns, while the opposite does not hold; and (b) in adnominal possessive constructions, personal pronouns and interrogatives only take the possessor slot while nouns also take the possessum slot. Personal pronouns,

interrogatives, and demonstratives are distinct in that (a) personal pronouns express number and person, while interrogatives and demonstratives do not; (b) personal pronouns indicate definiteness, while demonstratives signal specificity; (c) only interrogatives can express indefinite referents; (d) only demonstratives can be stacked. Demonstratives are distinct from locatives, in that demonstratives (a) are used as independent nominals in unembedded noun phrases while locatives always occur in prepositional phrases; (b) can take the possessor or the possessum slot in adnominal possessive constructions while locatives do no occur in these constructions; and (c) can be stacked.

6.   Personal pronouns

This chapter describes the personal pronoun system in Papuan Malay. As "inherent referential and definite expressions", personal pronouns (henceforth 'pronouns') "are a class of linguistic signs that are used to refer to human individuals and inanimate entities" (Helmbrecht 2004: 26, 49). In this function, they denote "speech-act participants (first and second persons) and non-speech-act participants" (Bhat 2007: 26).

The Papuan Malay pronouns express person and number values, while they mark neither case, clusivity, gender, nor politeness. They have the following distributional properties:

1.   Substitution for noun phrases (pronominal uses) (§6.1).
2.   Modification with demonstratives, locatives, numerals, quantifiers, and/or relative clauses (pronominal uses) (§6.1).
3.   Co-occurrence with noun phrases (adnominal uses): NP PRO (§6.2).

The Papuan Malay pronoun system, presented in Table 1, distinguishes singular and plural numbers and three persons by "combining person and number in an unanalyzable person-number stem" (Daniel 2011: 3). Hence, in terms of Daniel's (2011: 3) typology of personal pronouns, Papuan Malay is a 'Type 4' language.

The pronoun system does not mark case (Bhat 2011), clusivity (Filimonova 2005), gender (Siewierska 2011), or politeness (Helmbrecht 2011). Also, the third person pronouns are unrelated to the demonstratives *ini* 'D.PROX' and *itu* 'D.DIST' (Bhat 2011).

Table 1:   Pronoun system with long and short forms and token frequencies

| | Long pronoun forms | | | Short pronoun forms | | | Total |
		#	%		#	%	#
1SG	*saya*	1,014	23%	*sa*	3,465	<u>77%</u>	4,479
2SG	---	---	---	*ko*	1,338	100%	1,338
3SG	*dia*	1,285	28%	*de*	3,347	<u>72%</u>	4,632
1PL	*kitong*	604	50%	*tong*	594	50%	1,198
1PL	*kita*	391	<u>95%</u>	*ta*	11	5%	402
1PL	*kitorang*	112	<u>77%</u>	*torang*	34	23%	146
2PL	*kamu*	337	<u>53%</u>	*kam*	300	47%	637
3PL	*dorang*	464	23%	*dong*	1,526	<u>77%</u>	1,990

Each pronoun has at least one long and one short form, except for the second person singular pronoun *ko* '2SG'. The token frequencies and percentages given in Table 1 indicate clear preferences for most of the pronoun forms (the percentages for the most frequent forms are underlined). As for the first person singular and the third person singular pronouns, the short forms are used much more often than the respective long forms. By contrast, for the first and second person plural pronouns, the long forms are used more frequently than the respective short forms, that is, for the first person plural a total of 1,107 long form tokens (63%) versus a total of 639 short form tokens (37%) and for the second person plural a total of 337 long form

tokens (53%) versus a total of 300 short form tokens (47%).[168] These distributional distinctions are not grammatically determined. Instead they represent speaker preferences which are discussed in more detail in the following two sections.[169]

Papuan Malay pronouns very often co-occur with nouns or noun phrases, as shown in (1). This chapter argues that 'PRO NP' constructions in which a pronoun precedes a noun or noun phrase, as in **ko** [**sungay ko**] 'you, [you river]', constitute appositional constructions, with the pronouns having pronominal function. 'NP PRO' constructions in which the pronoun follows a noun or noun phrase, as in **sungay ko** 'you river', by contrast, are analyzed as noun phrases with adnominally used pronouns in post-head position. To demonstrate this distinction, appositional 'PRO NP' constructions and adnominal 'NP PRO' are discussed in some detail in §6.1.6 and §6.2, respectively.

(1)   … tida   perna   dia   liat,   **ko**   **sungay**   **ko**   bisa   terbuka
          NEG   once   3SG   see   2SG   river   2SG   be.able   be.opened

        begini
        like.this

        [Seeing the ocean for the first time:] '[never before has he seen, what, a river that is so very big like this ocean,] never before has he seen **you**, **you river** can be wide like this?' [080922-010a-CvNF.0212-0213][170]

The following sections discuss the pronouns in more detail. Their pronominal uses are examined in §6.1, and their adnominal uses in §6.2. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §6.3.

6.1.   Pronominal uses

This section explores three major aspects with respect to the pronominal uses of the pronouns: (1) the distribution of the long and short pronoun forms within the clause (§6.1.1), (2) their modification (§6.1.2), and (3) their uses in different constructions, namely adnominal possessive constructions (§6.1.3), inclusory conjunction constructions (§6.1.4), summary conjunction constructions (§6.1.5), and appositional constructions (§6.1.6).

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[168]   First person plural: Alternatively, one could treat long **kitong** '1PL' and **kitorang** '1PL' and short **tong** '1PL' and **torang** '1PL' are not distinct forms but allomorphs. As for short **ta** '1PL', one could argue that, given its low token numbers, this is not a phonologically distinct form but the result of a phonetic deletion of the first syllable. (Tadmor, p.c. 2013) Second person plural: In addition, the corpus contains one token of an alternative long form, namely **kamorang** '2PL'. Its origins are yet to be established.

[169]   A topic for further investigation is whether these distributional distinctions are possibly phonologically determined.

[170]   Addressing a non-speech-act participant such as **sungay** 'river' with second person **ko** '2SG' serves as a rhetorical figure of speech (for details see ''NP 2SG' noun phrases as rhetorical figures of speech ("apostrophes")' in §6.2.1.1).

6.1.1. Distribution of pronouns within the clause

Regarding the distribution of the long and short pronoun forms within the clause, two topics are examined in more detail: (1) the syntactic slots that the pronouns take (§6.1.1.1), and (2) their positions within the clause (§6.1.1.2).

6.1.1.1. Pronouns in different syntactic slots

Both the long and the short pronoun forms occur in all syntactic positions within the clause, as shown in Table 2 to Table 4 (in the examples the respective pronouns are underlined for easier recognition).[171] All long pronoun forms can take the subject, direct object, and indirect object slots. Likewise, all short pronoun forms can take the subject slot. As for the direct object slot, however, speakers much more often employ the long rather than the short forms, with the result that not all short pronoun forms are attested. This distinction in distribution is even more pronounced for the indirect object slot: the long pronoun forms take this slot considerably more often than the short forms. These preferences interrelate with the distributional pattern of the pronouns within the clause, as discussed in detail in §6.1.1.2.

Table 2 illustrates the uses of the pronouns in the subject slot.

Table 2: Pronouns in the subject slot[172]

Example	Literal translation	Free translation
Long pronoun forms		
saya tidor	1SG sleep	'I slept'
ko ana mama	2SG child mother	'you're mama's child'
dia tertawa	3SG laugh	'he laughed'
kitorang bunu dorang	1PL kill 3PL	'we killed them'
kitong kembali dari sana	1PL return from L.DIST	'we returned from there'
kita jalang	1PL walk	'we walked'
kamu bisa blajar	2PL be.capable study	'you can study'
dorang mara	3PL feel.angry(.about)	'they felt angry'
Short pronoun forms		
sa bilang	1SG say	'I said'
de tertawa	3SG laugh	'he laughed'
torang berdoa	1PL pray	'we prayed'
tong jalang kaki	1PL walk foot	'we walked on foot'

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[171] The free translations in Table 2 to Table 4 are taken from the glossed recorded texts. Therefore, the tenses may vary; likewise, the translations for *dia*/*de* '3SG' vary.

[172] Documentation: Long pronoun forms – 081006-025-CvEx.0006, 080917-003b-CvEx.0017, 080916-001-CvNP.0004, 081006-022-CvEx.0116, 080917-008-NP.0113, 080919-004-NP.0033, 081115-001a-Cv.0160, 081011-023-Cv.0296; short pronoun forms – 080916-001-CvNP.0001, 080916-001-CvNP.0004, 081029-005-Cv.0007, 080917-008-NP.0113, 080919-004-NP.0036, 081011-022-Cv.0242, 081015-005-NP.0039.

Example	Literal translation	Free translation
***ta* potong babi**	1PL cut pig	'we cut up the pig'
***kam* cari bapa**	2PL search father	'you'll look for father'
***dong* bilang**	3PL say	'they said'

Table 3 demonstrates the uses of the pronouns in the direct object slot. In this position only short *ta* '1PL' is unattested in the present corpus, due to the overall low token frequencies for *kita*/*ta* '1PL' (see Table 1; see also Footnote 168 on p. 304).

Table 3:   Pronouns in the object slot[173]

Example	Free translation
Long pronoun forms	
dong pukul <u>saya</u> menangis 3PL hit 1SG cry	'they hit <u>me</u> until I cried'
nanti guru~guru cari <u>ko</u> very.soon RDP~teacher search 2SG	'very soon the teachers will look for <u>you</u>'
sa tanya <u>dia</u> begini 1SG ask 3SG like.this	'I asked <u>him</u> like this'
de bawa <u>kitorang</u> menyebrang 3SG bring 1PL cross	'he brought <u>us</u> across'
dia kasi <u>kitong</u> daging 3SG give 1PL meat	'he gave <u>us</u> meat'
dong suru <u>kita</u> begitu 3PL order 1PL like.that	'they order <u>us</u> like that'
sa masi tunggu <u>kamu</u> 1SG still wait 2PL	'I still wait for <u>you</u>'
sa memang titip <u>dorang</u> sama tanta Defretes 1SG indeed deposit 3PL to aunt Defretes	'indeed I left <u>them</u> with aunt Defretes'
Short pronoun forms	
de pukul <u>sa</u> 3SG hit 1SG	'he hit <u>me</u>'
sa tanya <u>de</u> begini 1SG ask 3SG like.this	'I asked <u>her</u> like this'
***bapa bawa <u>torang</u>* ke Biak** father bring 1PL to Biak	'father brought <u>us</u> to Biak'

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[173]   Documentation: Long pronoun forms – 080917-004-CvHt.0001, 080917-007-CvHt.0005, 081025-006-Cv.0152, 081015-005-NP.0021, 080919-004-NP.0061, 081115-001a-Cv.0169, 081010-001-Cv.0161, 081006-009-Cv.0010; short pronoun forms – 081011-023-Cv.0167, 081014-016-Cv.0001, 081115-001a-Cv.0283, 080922-002-Cv.0127, 081025-009a-Cv.0026, 081006-009-Cv.0017.

Example	Free translation
dong kasi <u>tong</u> playangang 3PL give 1PL service	'they'll give <u>us</u> a service'
sa tunggu <u>kam</u> 1SG wait(.for) 2PL	'I'll wait for <u>you</u>'
sa titip <u>dong</u> sama Defretes 1SG deposit 3PL to Defretes	'I left <u>them</u> with Defretes'

Table 4 shows the uses of the pronouns in the indirect object slot. In this position, three short forms are unattested, namely ***de*** '3SG', ***torang*** '1PL', and ***ta*** '1PL'; two short forms only occur with adnominal modifiers, namely ***tong*** '1PL' and ***kam*** '2PL'.

Table 4:   Pronouns in the indirect object slot[174]

Example	Free translation
Long pronoun forms	
de balik kepala <u>sama saya</u> 3SG turn.head to 1SG	'she turned (her head) <u>to me</u>'
dong ofor <u>ke ko</u> dulu 3PL give to 2SG be.prior	'they passed (the ball) <u>to you</u> first'
bapa mo bicara <u>deng dia</u> father want speak with 3SG	'I ('father') want to speak <u>with you</u>'
dong tra suka bergabung <u>deng kitorang</u> 3PL NEG enjoy gather.together with 1PL	'they don't like to hang out <u>with us</u>'
de ada duduk <u>deng kitong</u> 3SG exist sit with 1PL	'she was sitting <u>with us</u>'
Raymon minta <u>sama kita</u> Raymon request to 1PL	'Raymon asked (the bride-pride) <u>from us</u>'
sa tinggal <u>sama kamu</u> 1SG stay to 2PL	'I stayed <u>with you</u>'
macang kitong musu <u>deng dorang</u> kind 2PL enemy with 3PL	'(it was) like we were enemies <u>with them</u>'
Short pronoun forms	
de bilang <u>sama sa</u> begini 3SG say to 1SG like.this	'he spoke <u>to me</u> like this'

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[174] Documentation: Long pronoun forms – 081025-006-Cv.0043, 081109-001-Cv.0160, 080922-001a-CvPh.1209, 081014-015-Cv.0002, 081025-006-Cv.0240, 081006-024-CvEx.0021, 080919-006-CvNP.0014, 081025-009a-Cv.0157; short pronoun forms – 080917-008-NP.0163, 080925-003-Cv.0096, 080922-001a-CvPh.0339, 081109-001-Cv.0087.

Example	Free translation
*itu **dari tong** sendiri* D.DIST from 1PL be.alone	'that depends <u>on us</u> alone'
*… yang telpon **sama kam** dua* … REL phone to 2PL two	'… who'll phone both of <u>you</u>'
*de … ada mandi **deng dong** di itu* 3SG … exist bathe with 3PL at D.DIST	'she … was bathing <u>with them</u> at what's-its-name

6.1.1.2.   Pronouns within the clause

Concerning the syntactic slots that the pronouns take, the distributional distinctions between the long and short pronoun forms interrelate with the distributional pattern of the pronouns within the clause.

The data in the present corpus show a clear preference for the 'heavy' long pronoun forms to occur in clause-final position, regardless of their grammatical functions. This preference does not apply to other positions. That is, in clause-initial or clause-internal position, the long and the short pronoun forms occur, regardless of their grammatical function and their position vis-à-vis the predicate. This observed distributional pattern is a reflection of the cross-linguistic tendency for the clause-final position to be "the preferred site for 'heavy' constituents" which has to do "with processing considerations" (Butler 2003: 179; see also Hawkins 1983: 88–114).

So far 710 clauses with clause-final pronoun have been identified in the present corpus. In 62 clauses, *ko* '2SG' takes the clause-final position; given that for the second person singular pronoun only one form exists, it is excluded from further analysis. This leaves 648 clauses with clause-final pronoun. In almost all clauses, it is a long pronoun form that occurs in clause-final position (97% – 630/648), as shown in Table 5. Only rarely, a short pronoun form occurs in this position (3% – 18/648); two of the short forms are not attested at all in clause-final position, namely *de* '3SG' and *kam* '2PL'.

Table 5:   Pronouns in clause-final position

		Long pronoun forms		Short pronoun forms			Total
		#	%		#	%	#
1SG	*saya*	210	<u>97%</u>	*sa*	7	3%	217
3SG	*dia*	236	<u>99%</u>	*de*	2	1%	238
1PL	*kitorang*	18	<u>82%</u>	*torang*	4	18%	22
1PL	*kitong*	15	<u>100%</u>	*tong*	0	0%	15
1PL	*kita*	7	<u>100%</u>	*ta*	0	0%	14
2PL	*kamu*	49	<u>98%</u>	*kam*	1	2%	50
3PL	*dorang*	95	<u>96%</u>	*dong*	4	4%	99
	Total	630	<u>97%</u>		18	3%	648

	Long pronoun forms		Short pronoun forms		Total
	#	%	#	%	#
2SG	*ko*				62
Total					710

This tendency for the clause-final position to be the preferred site for the 'heavy' long pronoun forms, affects the choice of pronoun form for the direct and indirect object slots, as shown in (2) to (8).

Illustrations are given in (2) to (8). When the direct object occurs in clause-internal position, both the long and the short pronoun forms are used such as long *dia* '3SG' in (2) or short *dong* '3PL' in (3). When the direct object occurs in clause-final position, speakers typically take the long pronoun form such as *saya* '1SG' in (4). Only rarely do speakers employ a short pronoun form in clause-final position, such as *sa* '1SG' in (65). For pronouns in the indirect object slot these distributional preferences are even more pronounced. When the indirect object occurs in clause-internal position, the long and the short pronoun forms are used such as long *dorang* '3PL' in (6) or short *sa* '1SG' in (7). By contrast, in clause-final position only the long pronoun forms are used such as *dia* '3SG' in (8).

(2)   sa   su   pukul **dia** di kamar
      1SG   already hit   3SG   at room
      'I've already hit **her** in (her) room' [081115-001a-Cv.0271]

(3)   kaka kirim **dong** uang
      oSb   send   2PL   money
      'the older sibling sent **them** money' [080922-001a-CvPh.0860]

(4)   baru   de   taru kepala dekat **saya**
      and.then 3SG   put   head   near   1SG
      'and then she put her head close to **me**' [081025-006-Cv.0043]

(5)   dulu   bole bapa   gendong **sa**   skarang …
      be.prior may   father hold   1SG   now
      [Talking to her father:] 'in former times you ('father') were allowed to hold **me**, now …' [080922-001a-CvPh.0699]

(6)   kasiang sa   kapang mandi **deng dorang** lagi   e?
      pity   1SG   when   bathe with 3PL   again eh
      [About a sick boy:] 'what a pity, when will I go swimming **with them** ('my friends') again, eh?' [081025-009b-Cv.0044]

(7)   de   bilang **sama sa** begini,   …
      3SG   say   to   1SG   like.this
      'he said **to me** like this, …' [080917-008-NP.0163]

(8)   … besar **di dia**, jadi saya panggil Ida tu   mama
         be.big at 3SG so   1SG call   Ida D.DIST mother

         '[I grew up in Ida's and her husband's (home) …] (I) grew up at **hers**, so I
         call Ida there mother' [080927-007-CvNP.0017/0019]

6.1.2.   Modification of pronouns

Pronouns are readily modified with a number of different constituents, namely
demonstratives, locatives, numerals, quantifiers, prepositional phrases, and/or
relative clauses, as illustrated with the examples in (9) to (17).

    Proximal demonstrative *ini* 'D.PROX' modifies long *saya* '1SG' in (9), while
distal *itu* 'D.DIST' modifies *ko* '2SG' in (10). In both examples, the demonstratives
signal the speakers' psychological involvement with the events talked about. In (11),
distal locative *sana* 'L.DIST' modifies short *dong* '3SG', designating the referent's
location relative to that of the speaker. In the present corpus, pronouns are quite
often modified with demonstratives, while modification with locatives is rare. (For
details on demonstratives and locatives and their different functions see Chapter 7.)

        Modification of pronouns with demonstratives or locatives

(9)   jadi **saya ini**   ana   mas-kawin
         so   1SG   D.PROX child bride.price

         'so **I (EMPH)** am a bride-price child' [081006-028-CvEx.0016]

(10)   a,   ko   ke laut   dulu, dong ada   tunggu **ko   itu**
         ah! 2SG to   ocean prior 3PL exist wait   2SG D.DIST

         'ah, you (go down) to the ocean first, they are waiting for **you (EMPH)**!'
         [081015-003-Cv.0003]

(11)   **dong sana**   cari   anging
         3PL   L.DIST search wind

         '**they over there** are looking for a breeze' [081025-009b-Cv.0076]

Modification with numerals typically involves the numeral *dua* 'two', as with short
tong '1PL' in (12), but construction with *tiga* 'three' are also found. In the present
corpus, modification with quantifiers is limited to universal *smua* 'all' and mid-
range *brapa* 'how many', as shown with long *kamu* '2PL' in (13) and long *dorang*
'3PL' in (14), respectively. Modification with other quantifiers is also possible,
though, as shown with midrange *banyak* 'many' in the elicited example in (15). (See
also §8.3 on adnominal numerals and quantifiers and §5.10 on the quantifier uses of
interrogative *brapa* 'how many'.)

        Modification of pronouns with numerals or quantifiers

(12)   **tong dua**   mandi, pas   Nofita   de   datang
         1PL   two   bathe   be.exact Nofita 3SG come

         '**the two of us** were bathing, at that moment Nofita came' [081025-006-
         Cv.0328]

(13)   saya   liat   **kamu   smua**   tapi   kamu   …
       1SG   see   2PL   all   but   2PL

       'I see **all of you** but you …' [080921-006-CvNP.0006]

(14)   sa   maki   **dorang   brapa   itu**
       1SG   abuse.verbally 3PL   how.many   D.DIST

       'I verbally abused **several of them there**' (Lit. '**they how many there**')
       [080923-008-Cv.0012]

(15)   sa   maki   **dorang   banyak   itu**
       1SG   abuse.verbally 3PL   many   D.DIST

       'I verbally abused **many of them there**' [Elicited BR111021.024]

Pronouns can also be modified with prepositional phrases as illustrated with *dong*
'3PL' in (16), or with relative clauses as shown with short *sa* '1SG' in (17).

          Modification of pronouns with prepositional phrases or relative clauses

(16)   tapi   **dong   di   sana   tu**   tida   taw   pencuri
       but   3PL   at   L.DIST D.DIST   NEG   know   steal/thief

       'but **them over there (EMPH)** never steal' (Lit. 'don't know to steal')
       [081011-022-Cv.0293]

(17)   waktu   de   kawin   mas-kawin   itu   **sa   yang   ambil**
       when   3SG marry.unofficially bride.price that   1SG   REL   get

       'when she marries, that bride-price, (it's) **me who'll get** (it)' [081006-025-
       CvEx.0024]

6.1.3.   Personal pronouns in adnominal possessive constructions

Pronouns also occur in adnominal possessive constructions; overall, the short forms
are preferred over the long forms, as shown in Table 6.

    The present corpus contains a total of 1,692 adnominal possessive constructions.
In 160 constructions, *ko* '2SG' takes the possessor slot; again, it is excluded from
further analysis given that it has only one form. This leaves 1,532 adnominal
possessive constructions. In 1,097 constructions the possessor slot is filled with a
short pronoun (72%) as compared to only 435 constructions (28%) in which a long
pronoun takes the possessor slot. The exception is first person plural *kitong*/*tong*
'1PL': speakers employ long *kitong* '1PL' almost as often as short *tong* '1PL'.

Table 6:   Pronominally used pronouns in adnominal possessive constructions

		Long pronoun forms			Short pronoun forms		Total
		#	%		#	%	#
1SG	*saya*	83	16%	*sa*	422	84%	505
3SG	*dia*	106	17%	*de*	508	83%	614
1PL	*kitorang*	9	90%	*torang*	1	10%	10
1PL	*kitong*	40	49%	*tong*	42	51%	82
1PL	*kita*	17	93%	*ta*	1	7%	29
2PL	*kamu*	12	27%	*kam*	32	73%	44
3PL	*dorang*	8	8%	*dong*	91	92%	99
	Total	435	28%		1,097	72%	1,532
2SG	*ko*						160
	Total						1,692

In (18), one possessive construction is presented in context with long *dia* '3SG' taking the possessor slot in (18). (For a detailed discussion of adnominal possessive constructions see Chapter 9.)

(18)   nanti   **dia   pu   maytua**   tanya,   ko   dapat   ikang   di   mana
         later   3SG   POSS   wife   ask   2SG   get   fish   at   where

         'later **his wife** will ask, 'where did you get the fish?'' [080919-004-NP.0062]

6.1.4.   Personal pronouns in inclusory conjunction constructions

Papuan Malay also employs plural personal pronouns in inclusory conjunction constructions, such that 'PRO-PL *(dua) deng(an)* NP' or 'PRO-PL (two) with NP'. The conjunct that designates the entire set is encoded by a plural personal pronoun. This conjunct is inclusory in that it "identifies a set of participants that includes the one or those referred to by the lexical noun phrase" (Lichtenberk 2000: 1), hence it is an "inclusory pronoun" (2000: 2) or "inclusory conjunct" (Haspelmath 2007a: 33). Both conjuncts are linked by means of overt coordination with the comitative marker *deng(an)* 'with', with the inclusory conjunct preceding the included conjunct, as shown in (19) to (22).

     Typically, the inclusory conjunct is encoded by a dual construction formed with a plural personal pronoun and the adnominally used numeral *dua* 'two', such that 'PRO-PL *dua*'. In (19), for instance, the speaker talks about herself and her husband. That is, the entire set consists of two referents with the inclusory conjunct *tong dua* 'we two' including the conjunct *bapa* 'father' in its reference. Only rarely is the inclusory conjunct encoded by a bare plural personal pronoun, as in (20). In this example, the entire set consists of the speaker, his wife, and their children, with the included conjunct *ana~ana* 'children' being subsumed under the inclusory conjunct *tong* '1PL'.

Plural and dual inclusory conjunction constructions

(19)   … **tong   dua   deng   bapa   tu**   sayang   dia
           1PL   two   with   father   D.DIST   love   3SG

'[but this child] **I and (my) husband (EMPH)** love her' [081115-001a-Cv.0251]

(20)   malam   hari   atur   **tong   deng   ana~ana**   makang
           night   day   arrange   1PL   with   RDP~child   eat

'in the evening (my wife) arranges (the food), **we and the children** eat' [080919-004-NP.0007]

All three plural personal pronouns can take the inclusory conjunct slot. Examples are presented in (21) to (22) with first and second plural *kitong* '1PL' and *dong* '3SG', respectively. Most often the participants are encoded by a proper noun as in (21), or, although less frequently, by a noun phrase as in (22), or also in (19).

Inclusory conjunction constructions formed with the first and third person plural pronouns

(21)   … brarti   ko   balik   **kitong   dua   deng   Siduas** su
           mean   2SG   turn.around   1PL   two   with   Siduas   already

tida   ada
NEG   exist

'[(when I) get to there (to Sorong, but) you're still on the island, wow,] that means (by the time) you've returned (to Sorong) **I and Siduas** will already have left' [080922-001a-CvPh.0759]

(22)   **dong   dua   dengang   Natanael   pu   maytua**   langsung
           3PL   two   with   Natanael   POSS   wife   immediately

pake   spit
use   speedboat

'**he/she and Natanael's wife** immediately took the speedboat' [081014-008-CvNP.0006]

In addition, the present corpus contains two inclusory conjunction constructions, presented in (23) and (24), in which the inclusory conjuncts are used for joining two noun phrases. Following Haspelmath (2007a), such inclusory conjunction constructions have also been described for other languages, especially in Polynesia. More specifically, Haspelmath (2007a: 35) notes that in such a construction the "first conjunct precedes the inclusory pronoun, which is then followed by the other included conjunct(s) in the usual way".

Inclusory conjunction constructions conjoining two noun phrases

(23)   **Dodo   kam   dua   deng   Waim**   ceritrakang   dulu
           Dodo   2PL   two   with   Waim   tell   be.prior

'**you (SG) Dodo and Waim** talk first' [081011-001-Cv.0001]

(24)   **Tinus   dorang   dua   dengang**   Martina   **ini**,   dong   dua   lari
           Tinus   3PL   two   with   Martina   D.PROX   3PL   two   run

      trus,   dorang dua   lari sampe di   kali
      be.continuous 3PL   two run   reach   at   river
      '**Tinus and Martina here**, the two of them drove on, the two of them
      drove all the way to the river' [081015-005-NP.0011]

The inclusory conjunction constructions in (19) to (22) contrast with "comitative conjunction constructions" (Haspelmath 2007a: 33) with comitative ***dengang*** 'with', which denote additive relations (see also §14.2.1.2). They also contrast with 'N PRO-PL' noun phrases with an associative inclusory reading, discussed in §6.2.2.2. Both contrasts are illustrated with the examples in (25) and (26).

    While the constructions in (19) to (22) receive an inclusory reading, the comitative 'N1 ***dengang*** 'with' N2' conjunction construction in (25) receives an additive reading. That is, in a comitative conjunction construction, the conjunction of "two set-denoting NPs […] '{A, B} and {C, D}' yields the set {A, B, C, D}" (Haspelmath 2007a: 33). In inclusory conjunction constructions, by contrast, "some members of the second conjunct set are already included in the first conjunct set"; hence the result of the coordination is not the "union, but the ***unification*** of the sets [such that] '{A, B, C} and {B}' yields the set {A, B, C}" (2007a: 33).

      Comitative 'N1 ***dengang*** 'with' N2' conjunction construction

(25)   baru   siapa **Sarles dengang dong dua** turung
        and.then who   Sarles   with   3PL   two   descend
        bli   ni
        buy   D.PROX
        'and then who, **Sarles and the two of them** came down and bought this'
        [081022-003-Cv.0012]

The contrast between the constructions in (19) to (22) and the one in (26) is pragmatic, and concerns "the relative degrees of discourse salience of the two sets of participants, the overtly and the covertly encoded ones" (Lichtenberk 2000: 27). In (21) to (22), the covertly encoded participants subsumed under the adnominal dual constructions are more salient and therefore mentioned first. The overtly encoded participants, by contrast, are less salient and therefore mentioned second. In the 'N PRO-PL' noun phrase in (26), by contrast, the overtly encoded participant ***bapa*** 'father' is more salient and therefore mentioned first. The covertly encoded participants subsumed under the adnominal dual construction ***dorang dua*** 'they two' are less salient and of subordinate status.

      'N PRO-PL' noun phrase with an associative reading

(26)   **bapa dorang dua** pulang   hari Minggu cepat
        father 3PL   two   go.home   day   Sunday be.fast
        '**father and he** returned home quickly on Sunday' [080925-003-Cv.0163]

6.1.5.   Personal pronouns in summary conjunctions

The plural personal pronouns also occur in "summary conjunction" constructions, a term adopted from Haspelmath (2007a: 36). Following a set of conjoined noun

phrases, a resumptive plural pronoun "sums up the set of conjuncts and thereby indicates that they belong together and that the list is complete" (2007a: 36).[175] Examples are presented in (27) to (29). The set can consist of just two conjuncts as in (27), or of three or more as in (28). Typically the conjuncts are conjoined without an overt coordinator, as in (27) and (28). When the set of conjuncts is limited to two, as in (29), the conjuncts may also be linked with an over coordinator, usually comitative *dengan* 'with'. (For details on the combining of noun phrases, see §14.2.)

Resumptive plural personal pronouns in summary conjunction constructions

(27)   **mama bapa   tong**   mo   sembayang
         mother father   1PL   want   worship
         '**we mother and father** want to worship' [080917-003b-CvEx.0020]

(28)   … **Hurki** e **Herman Nusa**, em, **Oktofina kamu** duduk situ
             Hurki   uh Herman Nusa uh Oktofina 2PL   sit   L.MED
         '[in the evening (I said),] '**you (PL) Hurki**, uh **Herman, Nusa**, uh
         Oktofina sit there'' [081115-001a-Cv.0085]

(29)   **mama deng bapa   dong**   su   meninggal
         mother with father 3PL   already   die
         '**they mother and father** have already died' [080919-006-CvNP.0012]

When the number of conjuncts is limited to two, Papuan Malay speakers often employ a dual construction in which the adnominal pronoun is modified with the numeral *dua* 'two' as in (30) and (31). In such a "dual conjunction" construction (Haspelmath 2007a: 36), the conjuncts are most often conjoined with an overt coordinator, as in (30), although coordination without an overt coordinator is also possible, as in (31).

Resumptive plural personal pronouns in dual conjunction constructions

(30)   **sa   deng Eferdina kitong dua** pi berdoa tugu   itu
         1SG   with Eferdina 1PL   two go pray   monument   D.DIST
         '**the two of us (that is) I and Eferdina** go (and) pray over that statue'
         [080917-008-NP.0003]

(31)   Rahab de   bilang, **bapa   mama   kam dua** liat dulu
         Rahab 3SG   say   father mother 2PL two see   be.prior
         'Rahab said, **the two of you, (that is) father** (and) **mother**, have a look!''
         [081006-035-CvEx.0044]

6.1.6.   Personal pronouns in appositional constructions

Pronouns very commonly occur in 'PRO NP' constructions in which a pronominally used pronoun precedes a noun or noun phrase. These constructions are analyzed as appositional constructions, with appositions being defined as "two or more noun phrases having the same referent and standing in the same syntactical relation to the

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[175] Haspelmath (2007a: 36) maintains that it is "a final numeral or quantifier that sums up the set of conjuncts"; pronouns are not mentioned.

rest of the sentence" (Asher 1994: 5193). Such 'PRO NP' constructions are distinct from the 'NP PRO' constructions discussed in §6.2, in which an adnominally used pronoun follows its head nominal. To validate this distinction, appositional 'PRO NP' constructions are described in some detail in this section.

Papuan Malay 'PRO NP' appositions may be restrictive or nonrestrictive depending on their semantic function within the clause. The referent is typically human with consultants agreeing that 'PRO NP' expressions with nonhuman referents are unacceptable. The present corpus contains only one exception in which the referent is an inanimate entity, presented in (1), repeated as (34). As discussed in ''NP 2SG' noun phrases as rhetorical figures of speech ("apostrophes")' in §6.2.1.1, however, the construction in (34) involves "a *personification* of the nonhuman object that is addressed" (Abrams and Harpham 2009: 314).

Appositional 'PRO NP' constructions are formed with all persons and number; those with singular pronouns are presented in (32) to (36) and those with plural personal pronouns in (37) to (40). Dual constructions are also possible, as shown in (41). Appositions can be bare nouns as in (32), noun phrases with modifiers as in (33), or coordinate noun phrases as in (41). In terms of intonation, the data in the present corpus does not indicate a clear pattern: the apposition can be set off from the preceding pronoun by a comma intonation ("|"), as in (32), or can follow it with no intonation break as in (33).

The appositional constructions with singular pronouns in (32), (33) and (36) are nonrestrictive with the appositions *mama* 'mother' in (32), *prempuang cantik* 'beautiful woman' in (33), and *ana* 'child' in (36) providing additional optional information not needed for the identification of their pronominal referents. The constructions in (34) and (35), by contrast, are restrictive with the appositions *sungay ko* 'you river' and *Agus ni* 'this Agus' giving information needed for the identification of the referent *dia* '3SG'.

Appositions with singular personal pronouns: 'PRO-SG NP'

(32)   … yo, akirnya **sa** | **mama** berdoa   berdoa
              yes   finally   1SG   mother   pray   pray
         '[so in fifth grade she broke-off school,] yes, finally **I, (a/her) mother**, prayed (and) prayed' [081011-023-Cv.0178]

(33)   kalo ko   tida   skola   **ko   prempuang   cantik**   nanti …
         if   2SG NEG   go.to.school   2SG   woman   be.beautiful   later
         'if you don't go to school, later **you, a beautiful woman**, …' [081110-008-CvNP.0043]

(34)   … tida perna dia   liat, **ko   sungay   ko**   bisa   terbuka
              NEG   once   3SG   see   2SG   river   2SG   be.able   be.opened
         begini
         like.this
         [Seeing the ocean for the first time:] '[never before has he seen, what, a river that is so very big like this ocean,] never before has he seen **you, you river** can be wide like this?' [080922-010a-CvNF.0212-0213]

(35) dia   tanya **dia** | **Agus ni**,   ko   ada   kapur ka
      3SG   ask   3SG   Agus D.PROX 2SG   exist lime   or
      'he asked **him**, **Agus here**, 'do you have lime (powder)?'' [080922-010a-
      CvNF.0034]

(36) … tapi **de   ana**   juga   cepat   ikut   terpengaru
        but   3SG   child   also   be.fast follow   be.influenced
      '… but **he/she**, **a kid**, also quickly follows (others) to be influenced'
      [080917-010-CvEx.0001]

Most often appositional constructions are formed with plural personal pronouns,
such that 'PRO-PL NP'. Semantically, 'PRO-PL NP' are distinct from 'PRO-SG NP'
constructions in that they not only indicate the definiteness of the apposited noun
phrases, but also their plurality, as shown in (37) to (40). For instance, **pemuda**
'youth' in (37) or **IPA satu** 'Natural Science I (student)' in (38) receive their plural
reading from the preceding plural personal pronouns. If deemed necessary, speakers
can specify the number of the apposited noun phrases with an adnominal numeral or
quantifier as in **tiga orang itu** 'those three people' in (39), or in **brapa prempuang**
'several women' in (40).

        Appositions with plural personal pronouns: 'PRO-PL NP'

(37) **tong   pemuda ini**   mati   smua
      1PL   youth   D.PROX die   all
      '**we**, **the young people here**, have all lost enthusiasm' [081006-017-Cv.0014]

(38) tadi   **kam IPA   satu** tra   maing
      earlier 2PL   natural.sciences one   NEG   play
      'earlier, **you**, **the Natural Science I (students)**, didn't play' [081109-001-
      Cv.0162]

(39) **dong   tiga   orang   itu**   datang   duduk
      3PL   three person D.DIST come   sit
      '**they**, **those three people**, came (and) sat (down)' [081006-023-CvEx.0074]

(40) … sa   maki   **dorang brapa   prempuang** di   situ
        1SG   abuse.verbally 3PL   how.many woman   at   L.MED
      '[last month,] I verbally abused **them**, **several women**, there' [080923-008-
      Cv.0001]

When the number of referents encoded by the apposited noun phrase is limited to
two, Papuan Malay speakers also use dual constructions in which the pronoun is
modified with the numeral **dua** 'two', as in (41). In the present corpus, however,
such constructions are rare and the dual constructions are always formed with the
third person plural pronoun.[176]

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[176] The 'PRO NP' constructions presented in this section were analyzed as appositions. One
      question for further research is whether these constructions could instead be analyzed as
      noun phrases with pre-head pronouns. It is expected that such preposed pronouns would
      have an individuating function given that other pre-head determiners, namely numerals or
      quantifiers, also have an individuating function (see §8.3). One problem with such an

Appositions with dual constructions: 'PRO-PL *dua* NP'

(41) **dorang dua ade kaka itu** Agus dengan Fredi tra baik
    3PL   two   ySb oSb D.DIST Agus with   Fredi NEG be.good

'**the two of them**, **those siblings**, Agus and Fredi, are not good' [081014-003-Cv.0012]

6.2. Adnominal uses

Papuan Malay pronouns are very often employed as determiners in post-head position, such that 'NP PRO'. As "personal determiners", following Lyons's (1999: 141) terminology, they "combine with nouns to produce expressions whose reference is thereby determined in terms of the identity of the referent". That is, they indicate "which member of which subset of a set of entities is being referred to" (Lyons 1977: 454–455).

In this determiner function, the Papuan Malay pronouns signal the person and number of their referents. Moreover, as "definite expressions" (Helmbrecht 2004: 26), the pronouns indicate that the addressees are assumed to be able to identify the referent of an expression (see also Bhat 2007: 11, and Lyons 1999: 26–32). Hence, it is argued here that – given the lack of inflectional person-number marking on nouns and verbs and further given the lack of definite articles – it is the adnominally used pronouns that allow the unambiguous identification of the referents as speakers or addressees, or as individuals or entities being talked about. Hence, Papuan Malay post-head pronouns are neither resumptive pronouns nor agreement markers.

This is illustrated with the example in (42). In the 'NP 2SG' noun phrase *Wili ko* 'you Wili', the second person pronoun marks the person spoken to as the intended addressee. In the 'NP 3SG' noun phrase *tanta dia itu* 'that aunt' (literally 'that she aunt'), the third person pronoun signals that the interlocutors are assumed to know the referent. The brackets indicate the constituent structure within the noun phrase. Details are discussed in §6.2.1 and §6.2.2.

'NP 2SG' and 'NP 3SG' noun phrases

(42) [**Wili ko**] jangang gara~gara [**tanta dia itu**]
     Wili   2SG   NEG.IMP RDP~irritate aunt   3SG D.DIST

[Addressing a young boy:] '**you Wili** don't irritate **that aunt**!' [081023-001-Cv.0038]

Adnominal pronouns are available for all person-number values, with the exception of the first person singular. This unexpected restriction may have to do with the function of the adnominally used pronoun which is to disambiguate the participants in a speech act, as discussed in detail throughout this section. It seems that Papuan Malay presumes addressees to have difficulties in identifying first person plural, second person and third person participants. To disambiguate the referents, the respective nouns can be modified with the appropriate pronouns. With first person

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analysis, however, would be 'PRO NP' constructions with singular pronouns, as in (32) to (36), given that singular pronouns would hardly have an individuating function. (For a discussion of the determiner function of post-head pronouns see §6.2.)

singular referents, however, no such difficulties are expected. Hence, such referents do not need to be disambiguated, as demonstrated with example in (43).[177]

The utterances in (43) are part of a conversation between a mother and her son. As the family wants to go on a trip, the son wants to obtain a leave of absence from school. He is afraid, though, that his mother will not remind him in time to ask for this leave. In trying to soothe him, his mother tells him that she will remind him in time and that she will not depart without him. In doing so, the speaker alternatively refers to herself with the noun *mama* 'mother' and with first person singular *sa* '1SG'. In this context, *mama* 'mother' unambiguously refers to the speaker. Hence, there is no need to further disambiguate the referent by adding the first person singular pronoun.

Speech acts with first person singular referents

(43) hari jumat ko mo jalang, baru **mama** kas taw …
      day Friday 2SG want walk and.then mother give know

      sa tida bisa kas tinggal ko … hari jumat ko
      1SG NEG capable give stay 2SG day Friday 2SG

      mo jalang, baru **mama** kasi ingat
      want walk and.then mother give remember

      'on Friday (when) you want to go (and ask for the leave), **I ('mama')** will remind (you) … **I** cannot leave you (behind) … on Friday (when) you want to go, **I ('mama')** will remind you' [080917-003b-CvEx.0011/0015/0020]

Table 7 gives an overview of the adnominal uses of pronouns as determiners (in the examples the respective noun phrases are underlined for easier recognition).[178]

Table 7: Adnominal pronouns as determiners[179]

Example	Free translation
Long pronoun forms	
de bilang, a <u>om ko ini</u> tra liat … 3SG say ah uncle 2SG D.PROX NEG see	'he said, 'a <u>you uncle here</u> didn't see …''
Wili ko jangang gara-gara <u>tanta dia itu</u> Wili 2SG IMP-NEG irritate aunt 3SG D.DIST	'you Wili don't irritate <u>that aunt</u>'
jadi <u>nene kitorang ini</u> masak so grandmother 1PL D.PROX cook	'so <u>we grandmothers here</u> cook'

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177 See also Bickel and Witzlack-Makarevich 's (15) cross-linguistic study on "Referential scales and case alignment", which shows that "first person singular is indeed often treated differently from other persons".

178 The free translations in Table 7 are taken from the glossed texts. Therefore, the tenses may vary; likewise, the translations for *dia*/*de* '3SG' vary.

179 Documentation: Long pronoun forms – 080923-009-Cv.0051, 081023-001-Cv.0038, 080924-001-Pr.0008, 081110-005-Pr.0107, 080923-012-CNP.0011, 080919-003-NP.0002; short pronoun forms – 081011-023-Cv.0167, 081115-001a-Cv.0001, 081006-009-Cv.0013, 081014-015-Cv.0006, 081006-024-CvEx.0043.

Example	Free translation
jadi <u>laki~laki kitong</u> harus bayar … so man 1PL have.to pay	'so <u>we men</u> have to pay …'
<u>bangsat kamu tu</u> tinggal lari</u> rascal 2PL D.DIST stay run	'<u>you rascals there</u> keep running'
… biking malam untuk <u>anjing dorang</u> make night for dog 3PL	'[the sagu porridge that my wife] had made at night for <u>the dogs</u>'
Short pronoun forms	
… sampe <u>bapa de</u> pukul sa deng pisow until father 3SG hit 1SG with knife	'… until (my) <u>husband</u> hit me with a knife
itu yang <u>Lodia torang</u> bilang … D.DIST REL Lodia 1PL say	'that's why <u>Lodia and her companions including me</u> said …'
… <u>Pawlus tong</u> bicara sama dia itu Pawlus 1PL speak to 3SG D.DIST	'<u>Pawlus and his companions including me</u> spoke to him (EMPH)'
kamu <u>ana prempuang kam</u> latiang 2PL child woman 2PL practice	'you, <u>you girls</u> practice'
tong biasa tanya sama <u>kaka dong</u> 1PL be.usual ask to oSb 3PL	'we usually ask <u>the older siblings</u>'

Some of the examples in Table 7 do not readily translate into English, as "personal determiners" in English are subject to constraints concerning their person-number values (Lyons 1999: 27). In English, only 'we' and 'you (PL)' occur freely as determiners, while 'you (SG)' occurs in exclamations only; the remaining personal pronouns do not have any determiner uses.[180] Other languages, however, are less constrained. In German, for example, the first and second persons, both singular and plural, occur as determiners, while the third person does not (1999: 142); see also (Helmbrecht 2004: 189) for the determiner uses of personal pronouns). Along similar lines, in the Oslo dialect of Norwegian, the female third person singular pronoun functions as a determiner (Johannessen 2006). In addition, pronouns can occur as determiners with proper names in some Germanic languages, such as German, Icelandic, and Norwegian: in German it is the first or second person singular pronouns (Roehr 2005: 264ff), in Icelandic it is the third person pronouns and the first and second person plural pronouns (Sigurðsson 2006: 218ff), and in Northern Norwegian it is the third person singular pronoun (Matushansky 2008: 581). Still other languages are "completely unconstrained in this respect" (Lyons 1999: 142), as for instance Warlpiri (Hale 1973 in Lyons 1999: 142).

Lyons (1999: 134) suggests, "that personal pronouns are the pronominal counterpart of definite articles". This is the case for Warlpiri which has "no definite article" but "a full paradigm of personal determiners" (1999: 142, 144). And it is also the case for Papuan Malay which has no definite article either but an almost complete paradigm of personal determiners, the exception being the first singular

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[180] English examples are 'we teachers', 'you students', or 'you idiot' (Lyons 1999: 451).

person. Other Austronesian languages, by contrast, which do have a definite article also employ this article as a determiner with proper names. Examples, provided in Campbell (2000a), are Balinese (Kersten 1948), Chamorro (Topping and Ogo 1960), and Fijian (Milner 1959 and Schütz and Komaitai 1971), and, presented in Campbell (2000b), Malagasy (Arakin 1963), Maori (Krupa 1967), Minangkabau (Moussay 1981), Tagalog (Cabrera et al. 1965 and Ramos 1971), Tahitian (Arakin 1981), and Tongan (Churchward 1953).

As for noun phrases with adnominal plural personal pronouns in other regional Malay varieties, only limited information is available. Brief descriptions or examples are offered for Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997), Balai Berkuak Malay (Tadmor 2002), Dobo Malay (Nivens, p.c. 2013), Kupang Malay (Grimes and Jacob 2008), Manado Malay (Stoel 2005), and Sri Lanka Malay (Slomanson 2013). In each case, however, the descriptions are limited to the associative plural interpretation of 'NP PRO-PL' expressions (see §6.2.2.3). A determiner function of the pronouns is not mentioned in any of these descriptions.

In addition, some descriptions of regional Malay varieties mention 'NP PRO' constructions, most of which are analyzed as topic-comment constructions.

- Ambon Malay: Van Minde (1997: 284) mentions constructions in which "a preposed NP is copied by a co-referential pronoun in the remainder of the clause". In each case, the pronoun is the short third person singular *de* '3SG'. In addition, van Minde (1997: 285) presents examples in which a pronoun follows a noun phrase with an adnominal demonstrative at its right periphery.
- Banda Malay: (Paauw 2008: 165) gives examples of 'NP PRO' constructions which he also analyzes as topic-comment constructions. The pronoun is third person singular *dia* '3SG' and the preceding noun phrase is set off with an adnominal demonstrative.
- Northern Moluccan Malay: Voorhoeve (1983: 5) analyzes similar constructions as topic-comment constructions "in which the topic is cross-referenced by a pronoun subject in the comment". Again, the pronoun is third person singular *dia* '3SG' and the preceding noun phrase is set off with an adnominal demonstrative.
- Papuan Malay: Paauw (2008: 166–168) presents 'NP PRO' constructions in which the short third person forms *de* '3SG' and *dong* '3PL' occur between a subject and a verb. Paauw (2008) analyzes these pronouns as "proclitics" that function as subject agreement markers on verbs.

In the following sections, the adnominal uses of the pronouns are examined in detail. That is, these sections discuss the function of the pronouns to signal definiteness and person-number values, whereby they allow the unambiguous identification of the referents as speakers or addressees, or as third-person participants.

The adnominal uses of the singular personal pronouns are discussed in §6.2.1 and those of the plural personal pronouns in §6.2.2. For the singular personal pronouns a major issue is the question whether 'NP PRO' expressions are indeed noun phrases with adnominal pronouns or whether these expressions should be analyzed as topic-comment constructions, as in other regional Malay varieties. For the plural personal pronouns, two interpretations of 'NP PRO' constructions are

discussed, additive, and associative inclusory plurality. In giving examples for 'NP PRO' expressions, brackets are used to signal the constituent structure within the noun phrase, where deemed necessary.

6.2.1.   Adnominal singular personal pronouns

In their determiner uses, the singular personal pronouns indicate the definiteness, that is, identifiability, as well as the person and the number, namely singularity, of their referents. 'NP PRO-SG' expressions with *ko* '2SG' are presented in §6.2.1.1, and those with *dia*/*de* '3SG' in §6.2.1.2. In all examples given in §6.2.1.1 and §6.2.1.2, the 'NP PRO-SG' expressions constitute intonation units, unless mentioned otherwise; that is, the pronouns are not set off from their head nominals by a comma intonation. In addition, however, the present corpus also contains 'NP PRO-SG' expressions in which the nouns are set off from the following pronouns by intonation; these noun phrases are briefly discussed in §6.2.1.3. Finally, §6.2.1.4 presents the reasons for analyzing 'NP PRO-SG' expressions as noun phrases with adnominal pronouns rather than as topic-comment constructions.

6.2.1.1.   <u>'NP 2SG' noun phrases</u>

'NP 2SG' noun phrases have three different functions: (1) in direct speech they mark the person spoken to as the intended addressee, (2) in direct quotations they signal that the referent is the addressee of the reported speech, and (3) as rhetorical figures of speech they give "a sudden emotional impetus" (Abrams and Harpham 2009: 313) to a speaker's discourse. These functions are explored one by one, followed by a summary of the syntactic and lexical properties of 'NP 2SG' noun phrases.

'NP 2SG' noun phrases in direct speech

In direct speech, speakers employ 'NP 2SG' noun phrases when they want to send an unambiguous signal that the person spoken to is indeed the intended addressee. In such noun phrases, the second person *ko* '2SG' marks the referent encoded in the head nominal as the addressee of the utterance. The head nominal can be a common noun or a proper noun, as shown in (44) to (47).

'NP 2SG' noun phrases in direct speech

(44)   [**mama-ade ko**] masak daging sa   biking papeda   e?
          aunt   2SG   cook   meat   1SG   make   sagu.porridge eh
          '**you aunt** cook the meat, I make the sagu porridge, eh?' [080921-001-CvNP.0073]

(45)   [**mace   ko**] rasa lucu   jadi
          woman   2SG   feel   be.funny   so
          [Reaction to a narrative:] 'because **you Madam** would have felt funny' [081010-001-Cv.0206]

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

(47)   [**Susana   ko**]   pigi   kaka   cebo
        Susana   2SG   go   oSb   wash.after.defecating
        [Addressing her three-year old daughter:] '**you Susana**, go, (your) older
        sister will wash (you)!' [081014-006-CvPr.0048]

When the head nominal is a common noun, second person *ko* '2SG' indicates "which
member of which subset of a set of entities is being referred to" (Lyons 1977: 454–
455). Thereby the pronoun allows the unambiguous identification of the addressee
as the intended referent. Often speakers chose this strategy when they address an
individual in a group of several interlocutors as in (44) and (45), or when they give
an order to someone, as in (68) and (47).

When *ko* '2SG' co-occurs with a proper noun, as in (68) or (47), one might argue
that such noun phrases are redundant with the pronoun as adnominal determiner
being superfluous, since proper nouns are "inherently definite" (Helmbrecht 2004:
190). In Papuan Malay, however, 'PN 2SG' expressions constitute direct speech-act
strategies which allow speakers, unlike the indirect strategies presented in (48) and
(49), to single out participants and to mark them unambiguously as the intended
referents of the proper nouns. Being addressed with such a 'PN 2SG' noun phrase
leaves the addressees little room for interpretation.

Most often, however, speakers are less direct and do not address their
interlocutors with an 'NP 2SG' expression. Instead, they tend to use more indirect,
face-preserving strategies by addressing them with a kinship term or their proper
name. This applies especially when issuing a request or an order, as shown in (48)
and (49). In (48), a daughter asks her father for money by addressing him with the
kinship term *bapa* 'father'. In (49), a father requests his daughter to talk to him by
addressing her with her proper name *Nofela*.

        Indirect forms of address with bare proper noun or kinship term

(48)   **bapa**   ingat   tong   itu   uang!
        father   remember   1PL   D.DIST   money
        '**you ('father')** remember our, what's-its-name, money!' [080922-001a-
        CvPh.0857]

(49)   **Nofela**   bicara   suda!
        Nofela   speak   already
        '**you ('Nofela')** speak (to me)!' [080922-001a-CvPh.0805]

'NP 2SG' noun phrases in reported speech

Speakers also employ 'NP 2SG' noun phrases when they report direct speech. This
reporting is usually done through quoting. In general, direct quotations serve "to
dramatize and highlight important elements in a narrative", while indirect speech
"seems less vivid and colorful", as Bublitz et al. (2006: 552) point out. The same

seems to apply to Papuan Malay, as speakers typically use quotes when reporting direct speech, as in (50) and (51);

When relating what had been said to a particular individual, speakers usually begin the quote with an 'NP 2SG' noun phrase, which has two functions. First, it indicates the referent as the addressee of the reported speech. Second, 'NP 2SG' noun phrases mark the referent as familiar or given. Thereby they signal the hearers that they should be able to identify the referent. Subsequently, speakers continue the direct quote by referring to, or "addressing", the referent with bare *ko* '2SG', as in (51). Note that the first occurrence of *Iskia* in (51) is not part of the quote but the direct object of *bilang* 'say'.

(50)   de   bilang, **Salomina ko**   bisa   liat orang   di   luar?
       3SG   say   Salomina 2SG   be.able see   person at   outside
       [About hospitality:] '[(my father said to me,) 'if you close the door, can you see the people outside?',] he said, 'can **you Salomina** see the people outside?'' [081110-008-CvNP.0104]

(51)   tong dua   bilang Iskia, **Iskia ko**   temani,   **ko**   temani
       1PL   two   say   Iskia   Iskia   2SG   accompany 2SG   accompany
       karna   su   larut   malam   sedikit
       because   already   be.protracted   night   few
       'the two of us said to Iskia, '**you Iskia** come with (us), **you** come with (us) because it's already a bit late in the evening' [081025-006-Cv.0325/0327]

'NP 2SG' noun phrases as rhetorical figures of speech ("apostrophes")

'NP 2SG' noun phrases also serve as rhetorical figures of speech. Speakers suddenly interrupt the flow of their discourse and employ a noun phrase modified with second person *ko* '2SG', whereby they unexpectedly address a different audience of absent persons or nonhuman entities. This "turning away from an audience and addressing a second audience" (Bussmann 2000: 75) as a rhetorical figure of speech has been termed "apostrophe". Speakers employ "apostrophes" to give "a sudden emotional impetus" (Abrams and Harpham 2009: 313) to their discourse and thereby to create an emotional reaction in their audience. Following Kacandes (1994), this emotional reaction to apostrophe can be explained "by its power of calling another into being"; that is, "[t]he audience witnesses an invigoration of a being who previously was not 'present'". Moreover, the "[l]inguistic properties of the second-person pronoun invite the hypothesis that one also reacts strongly to apostrophe because one can so easily become the 'you' and thus feel oneself called into the relationship it creates" (Kacandes 1994).

This also seems to apply to 'NP 2SG' noun phrase apostrophes in Papuan Malay as illustrated in (52) to (54). Structurally, these utterances resemble direct quotations. Contrasting with the direct speech situations in (44) to (47), however, the addressed referents were not present when the utterances occurred. And in contrast to the reported speech situation in (50) and (51), the speakers in (52) to (54) do not relate direct quotes. Instead, they "turn away" from their audience to "address a second audience of human or nonhuman referents.

The example in (52) is part of a story about a fight between *Martin* and *Fitri*, with the speaker relating how *Martin* attacked *Fitri*. Notably, neither *Martin* nor *Fitri* were present when the speaker recounted the incident. First, the speaker refers to *Martin* as a third-person actor (first occurrence of *Martin*), as is typical of narratives with non-speech-act participants, and then as one of the addressees (second occurrence of *Martin*). More specifically, the speaker first refers to *Martin* with a 'NP 3SG' noun phrase, as in *Martin dia lewat* 'Martin went past' (literally 'he Martin'), or the third person pronoun, as in *de lompat* 'he jumped' (see §6.2.1.2). *Fitri* returns the attack and kicks *Martin* badly. At this point, the speaker interrupts the flow of her narrative about the two non-speech-act participants and employs the 'NP 2SG' noun phrase *Martin ko* 'you Martin' to relate that *Martin* fell to the ground. In turning away from her audience and addressing absent *Martin*, the speaker gives "emotional impetus" to the fact that *Martin* went down after having been kicked, thereby creating an emotional reaction in her audience.

'NP 2SG' noun phrases in apostrophes: Human referents

(52) **Martin dia** lewat   tete,   de   lompat   mo   pukul Fitri
     Martin 3SG pass.by grandfather 3SG jump   want hit   Fitri

     …   Fitri kas   naik   kaki di sini,   **Martin ko**   jatu,
          Fitri give ascend foot at L.PROX Martin 2SG   fall

     dia   lari ke mari, dia mo   pukul Fitri
     3SG   run to hither 3SG want hit   Fitri

     [About a fight between Fitri and Martin:] '**Martin** went past grandfather, he jumped (and) wanted to hit Fitri [and Fitri caught his foot and] Fitri kicked (Martin) here, **you Martin** fell, (then) he ran (over) here, he wanted to hit Fitri' [081015-001-Cv.0018-0019]

'NP 2SG' apostrophes are also formed with nonhuman referents. They "imply a ***personification*** of the nonhuman object that is addressed" (Abrams and Harpham 2009: 314). In (53), for instance, the speaker recounts a stormy boat trip. Suddenly, she turns away from her audience to address the main protagonist ***anging*** 'wind' with the 'NP 2SG' noun phrase ***anging ko*** 'you wind'. In the example in (1), repeated as (54), the speaker relates how one of his ancestors came down to the coast. Seeing the ocean for the first time, he mistakes it for a wide river. At this point the speaker turns away from his audience to address this ***sungay*** 'river' with the 'NP 2SG' noun phrase ***sungay ko*** 'you river'. Note that the apostrophe is part of an appositional 'PRO NP' construction with preposed ***ko*** '2SG', such that ***ko sungay ko*** 'you, you river' (see §6.1.6).

'NP 2SG' noun phrases in apostrophes: Nonhuman referents

(53) … **anging ko** datang suda,   hujang besar   datang suda
        wind   2SG   come   already   rain   be.big come   already

     [About a storm during a boat trip:] '**you wind** already came up, a big rain already came up' [080917-008-NP.0137]

(54) … tida perna dia liat, [**ko**] [**sungay ko**] bisa   terbuka
        NEG   once 3SG see   2SG   river   2SG   be.able be.opened

begini
like.this

[Seeing the ocean for the first time:] '[never before has he seen, what, a river that is so very big like this ocean,] never before has he seen **you, you river** can be wide like this?' [080922-010a-CvNF.0212-0213]

'NP 2SG' noun phrases and their head nominals

This section summarizes the syntactic and lexical properties of 'NP 2SG' noun phrases.

In the present corpus, 'NP 2SG' noun phrases typically take the subject slot in clause-initial position, as in (49) to (54). There are a few exceptions, however: in (55) **babi ko** 'you pig' occurs as an exclamation in clause-final position; in (57) **kaka ko** 'you older sibling' denotes the possessor in an adnominal possessive construction which, in turn, takes the clausal object slot; and in (58) **pace ko** 'you man' expresses the possessor in an adnominal possessive construction which, in turn, takes the complement slot in a prepositional phrase. The referent can be encoded with common nouns as in (48) or (55), proper nouns as in (49) or (68), or noun phrases with adnominal modifier as in (56) or (59) to (61). The referent is typically human; it can, however, also be inanimate such as **anging** 'wind' in (53).

The utterances in (49) to (53) and (57) to (61) also show that **ko** '2SG' is freely used as a determiner and not only in exclamations, as in (55) and (56).

(55)   … dasar bodo   **babi ko**
              base   be.stupid pig   2SG
         '[you (SG) here, do you (SG) have ears (or) not,] (you are of course) stupid, **you pig**' [081014-016-Cv.0047]

(56)   **babi puti   ko**   dari   atas   turung
         pig   be.white 2SG   from   top   descend
         [About an acquaintance:] '**you white pig** came down from up (there)' [081025-006-Cv.0262]

(57)   sa   taw   **kaka ko**   pu   ruma
         1SG   know   oSb   2SG   POSS   house
         'I know **you older brother**'s house' [080922-010a-CvNF.0238]

(58)   nanti kitong lewat   di   **pace ko**   pu   kampung itu
         later 1PL   pass.by at   man   2SG   POSS   village   D.DIST
         'later we'll pass by **you man**'s village there' [081012-001-Cv.0017]

(59)   de   blang, a,   **om   ko   ini**   tra   liat …
         3SG   say   ah!   uncle 2SG   D.PROX   NEG   see
         'he said, 'ah, **you uncle here** didn't see …'' [080923-009-Cv.0051]

(60)   **Barce ko   ini**   ko   takut
         Barce   2SG   D.PROX   2SG   feel.afraid(.of)
         '**you Barce here**, you feel afraid' [081109-001-Cv.0131]

(61)   **Eferdina ko itu**   ko   taw   kata   pis   ka   tida
        Eferdina 2SG D.DIST 2SG know word please[E] or NEG
        '**you Eferdina there**, do you know the word 'please' or not?' [081115-001a-
        Cv.0145]

6.2.1.2.   'NP 3SG' noun phrases

In 'NP 3SG' noun phrases, the determiner pronouns indicate and accentuate that the
speakers assume their interlocutors to know the referents, encoded by the head
nominals. That is, marking referents as familiar or given, *dia*/*de* '3SG' signals the
hearers that they should be in a position to identify them. The determiner uses of
dia/*de* '3SG' can be situational or anaphoric. Both uses are discussed one by one,
followed by a summary of the syntactic and lexical properties of 'NP 3SG' noun
phrases.

Situational uses of **dia/de** *'3SG' in 'NP 3SG' noun phrases*

In the situational uses of determiner *dia*/*de* '3SG', "the physical situation in which
the speaker and hearer are located contributes to the familiarity of the referent of the
definite noun phrase" (Lyons 1999: 4). This is illustrated with the utterances in (62)
to (64).
     In (62), the situation is an obvious one: the hearer *Wili* has been irritating his
tanta 'aunt' and is told to stop doing this. In (63), the speaker illustrates local bride-
price customs with an example. The determiner *de* '3SG' marks the familiarity of the
referent *bapa* 'father'. This in turn leads the interlocutor to interpret *bapa* 'father' as
the speaker's husband. In (64), the interlocutors discuss motorbike problems.
Suddenly, the speaker quotes what *Dodo de* 'Dodo' (literally 'he Dodo') had said.
Dodo had not been mentioned earlier and was not present at this conversation.
Determiner *de* '3SG', however, signals the hearers that they are familiar with the
referent which, in turn, leads them to interpret the referent as the speaker's older
brother *Dodo*.

(62)   Wili   ko   jangang   gara~gara   [**tanta dia   itu**]
        Wili   2SG   NEG.IMP RDP~irritate   aunt   3SG D.DIST
        'you Wili don't irritate **that aunt**' [081023-001-Cv.0038]

(63)   macang   kalo [**bapa de**] kasi   nona   ini,   a,   nanti …
        variety   if   father 3SG   give   girl   D.PROX ah!   later
        [About bride-price children:] 'for example, if (my) **husband** gives this
        (our) girl (to our relatives), ah, later …' [081006-024-CvEx.0079]

(64)   [**Dodo de**] bilang, adu   coba   ko   kas   taw   sa
        Dodo   3SG   say   oh.no! try   2SG   give   know 1SG
        '**Dodo** said, 'oh no, if only you had let me know'' [081014-003-Cv.0029]

Anaphoric uses of **dia**/**de** *'3SG' in 'NP 3SG' noun phrases*

In the anaphoric uses of determiner **dia**/**de** '3SG', the referents of the definite noun phrases are "familiar not from the physical situation but from the linguistic context" (Lyons 1999: 4), as they were mentioned earlier in the discourse.

When introducing new protagonists, speakers typically introduce these individuals or entities with bare common or proper nouns. At their next mention, these non-speech participants are encoded with 'NP 3SG' noun phrases, with the third person pronoun marking the referents as definite. This, in turn, signals the hearers that they are assumed to be familiar with the referents. This strategy is illustrated with the two narrative extracts in (65) and (66).[181]

The utterances in (65) are part of a narrative about some bad news that the speaker received from his grandmother. The speaker introduces his grandmother as a new protagonist with the bare kinship term **nene** 'grandmother'. This introduction involves two mentions of **nene** 'grandmother'; the repetition gives the speaker time to reflect who it was that had been accompanying his grandmother when they met. Following this introduction, the speaker employs the 'NP 3SG' noun phrase **nene de** 'grandmother' (literally 'she grandmother'), which marks the new character as given and familiar.

              Anaphoric uses of **dia**/**de** '3SG': Example #1

(65)   … pas   ketemu deng sa   pu   **nene**,   **nene**,
          be.exact meet   with 1SG POSS grandmother grandmother

        trus   kaka laki~laki,   mama-tua pu   ana
        next   oSb   RDP~husband aunt   POSS child

        '[I passed by (and) reached the village market there, I was sitting, standing there,] right then (I) met my **grandmother**, **grandmother** and then (my) older brother, aunt's child'

        baru   **nene**   **de**   mulay tanya saya, **de**   blang …
        and.then grandmother 3SG   start   ask   1SG   3SG   say

        'and then **grandmother** started asking me, **she** said, …' [080918-001-CvNP.0056-0057]

The utterance in (66) occurred during a narrative about a bad-mannered intruder and a young woman named **Rahab** who observed this person's behavior. Employing a bare proper noun, the speaker introduces **Rahab** as a new character on the scene. At its next mention, this new protagonist is encoded by the 'NP 3SG' noun phrase **Rahab de** 'Rahab' (literally 'she Rahab'), which marks this non-speech participant as given and familiar. In the following, the speaker refers to **Rahab** with the bare third person pronoun **de** '3SG'.

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[181] Introducing new characters with a bare noun and subsequently marking them as familiar with the adnominally used third person pronoun as a potential discourse strategy in Papuan Malay was brought to the author's attention by van Engelenhoven (p.c. 2013).

Anaphoric uses of *dia*/*de* '3SG': Example #2

(66)   baru   de   luda~luda keee,   … **Rahab** yang liat, **Rahab de**
        and.then 3SG   RDP~spit spoot!   Rahab REL   see   Rahab 3SG

        jemur~jemur pakeang begini   baru   **de**   perhatikang, …
        RDP~be.dry   clothes   like.this and.then 3SG observe

        [About a bad-mannered intruder:] 'and then he was spitting 'spoot!' … (it was) **Rahab** who saw (it), **Rahab** was drying clothes at that moment, then **she** noticed …' [081006-035-CvEx.0042]

'NP 3SG' noun phrases and their head nominals

This section summarizes the syntactic and lexical properties of 'NP 3SG' noun phrases.

    'NP 3SG' noun phrases in the present corpus typically take the subject slot in clause-initial position, as in (63) to (66). Other slots, however, are also possible, such as the direct object in (62), or the possessor in (67). The referent can be expressed with common nouns as in (63) or (65), proper nouns as in (64) or (66), or noun phrases with adnominal modifier, as in (62) or (67). Further, determiner *dia*/*de* '3SG' occurs in complex noun phrases, as in *bapa dari Jepan dia* 'the man from Japan' (literally 'he man from Japan') in (68), or *kaka pendeta di Mambramo de tu* 'that older pastor sibling from the Mambramo area' (literally 'that he older pastor …') in (69). The referents in 'NP 3SG' noun phrases are usually human, but they can also be animate nonhuman such as *kaswari* 'cassowary' in (70), or inanimate such as *bua mangga* 'mango fruit' in (71).

Determiner uses of *dia*/*de* '3SG'

(67)   … di dano situ   di [[**kaka laki~laki**   **de**] pu   [tempat situ]]
        at   lake L.MED at oSb   RDP~husband 3SG POSS place   L.MED

        '[we wanted to pray a whole night while picnicking, at what's-its-name,] at the lake there, at **the older brother**'s place there' [080922-002-Cv.0090]

(68)   … karna   ini   **bapa dari Jepan dia** suda   kutuk
        because D.PROX father from Japan 3SG already curse

        kota ini
        city   D.PROX

        '… because, what's-his-name, **the gentleman from Japan** already cursed this city' [080917-008-NP.0021]

(69)   **kaka pendeta di Mambramo de tu**   jual RW
        oSb   pastor   at   Mambramo 3SG D.DIST sell cooked.dog.meat

        '**that older sibling pastor at (the) Mambramo (area)** sells cooked dog meat' [081011-022-Cv.0105]

(70)   … ato **kaswari dia** ada   berdiri pas   perhatikang begini   …
        or   cassowary 3SG exist stand be.exact watch   like.this

        '[if you see a cassowary's footprint] or **the cassowary** is standing right there watching (you) like this, …' [080923-014-CvEx.0022]

(71)   … bawa   anaang   pinang,   anaang   sagu,   bibit   klapa,   bibit
         bring   offspring betel.nut offspring sago   seedling   coconut seedling
         pisang, … mungking **bua   mangga   de**   punya   bibit   …
         banana   maybe   fruit   mango   3SG   POSS   seedling
         [About wedding customs:] '[(when) we bring (our son,] (we) bring betel
         nut seedlings, sago seedlings, coconut seedlings, banana seedlings, …
         maybe **seedlings of the mangga fruit**, …' [081110-005-CvPr.0056-0057]

6.2.1.3.   'NP PRO-SG' expressions with comma intonation

The present corpus also contains 'NP PRO-SG' expressions in which the nouns are set
off from the following pronouns by a comma intonation ("|"), as in (72) to (75).

In 'NP PRO-SG' expressions with second person *ko* '2SG', the marked-off nouns
function as vocatives (VOC), that is, as "forms of direct address" (Lyons 1999: 152).
Cross-linguistically, 'VOC PRO' expressions serve to specify "a person out of a group
of persons while using a second person singular pronoun" with the vocative noun
being "separated from the rest of the sentence by intonation" (Bhat 2007: 46). This
strategy of singling out and addressing particular individuals through a 'VOC PRO'
expression is shown in (72) and (73), respectively: *mama* 'mother' and *Ise* are
vocatives which are set off from second person *ko* '2SG' with a distinct comma
intonation. Hence, these expressions cannot be interpreted as 'NP 2SG' noun phrases.

         Topic-comment constructions with comma intonation: 'NP | 2SG'

(72)   trus   Martina de   tanya saya,   **mama** | **ko**   rasa   bagemana?
         next   Martina 3SG   ask   1SG   mother   2SG   feel   how
         'and then Martina asked me, '**mother**, how do **you** feel?'' [081015-005-
         NP.0018]

(73)   jadi Ise ni   tong su   bilang dia,   **Ise** | **ko**   tinggal
         so   Ise D.PROX 1PL   already say   3SG   Ise   2SG   stay
         di   sini   suda!
         at   L.PROX   already
         'so Ise here, we already told her, '**Ise**, **you** stay here!'' [080917-008-NP.0026]

'NP 3SG' expressions with a comma intonation are analyzed as topic-comment
constructions. In such a construction, the "topic is generally expected to continue"
and therefore "third person pronouns […] are used in order to represent the
continued occurrence of a topic" (Bhat 2007: 209). That is, in an 'NP, 3SG'
expression the preposed noun phrase signals the topic, while co-referential *dia*/*de*
'3SG' has comment function. This strategy of forming topic-comment constructions
is shown in (74) and (75): *orang Senggi* and *Klara* designate the topics while *dia*
'3SG' and *de* '3SG' function as comments, respectively.

         Topic-comment constructions with comma intonation: 'NP | 3SG'

(74)   baru   dia   datang, orang   Jayapura sana,   kawang itu,
         and.then   3SG   come   person   Jayapura L.DIST   friend   D.DIST

orang Senggi | **dia** datang de   duduk
person Senggi   3SG   come   3SG   sit

[Talking about a friend:] 'and then she came, (the) person (from) Jayapura over there, that friend, **(the) person (from) Senggi**, **she** came (and) she sat (down)' [080917-008-NP.0107]

(75) Klara | **de** lompat satu kali tu
      Klara   3SG   jump   one   time D.DIST

'**Klara**, **she** jumped once (EMPH)' [081025-006-Cv.0218]

As an aside, it should be reiterated that topic-comment constructions with no comma intonation are also possible. In this type of topic-comment constructions, the topic is expressed in a noun phrase with a pronoun determiner and demonstrative modifier, as in (60), repeated as (76), and in (61) in §6.2.1.1. Very often, however, the preposed topical noun phrase does not contain a pronoun determiner, as in the topic-comment constructions *ade ini de* 'this younger sibling, he/she' in (77), and in *Ise ni de* 'Ise here, she' in (78). In such 'NPDEM PRO-SG' constructions, the demonstrative sets aside the topic and therefore no comma intonation is needed.

Topic-comment constructions with demonstrative: 'NPDEM PRO-SG'

(76) [**Barce ko   ini**]   [**ko**] takut
      Barce   2SG   D.PROX   2SG   feel.afraid(.of)

'**you Barce here**, **you** feel afraid' [081109-001-Cv.0131]

(77) baru   [**ade ini**]   [**de**] sakit
      and.then ySb   D.PROX   3SG   be.sick

'and then **this younger sibling, he/she** is sick' [080917-002-Cv.0020]

(78) … [**Ise ni**]   [**de**] su   mulay takut   ini
        Ise   D.PROX   3SG   already start feel.afraid(.of) D.PROX

'[this tree began shaking, shaking like this, and] **Ise here, she** already started feeling afraid' [080917-008-NP.0028]

At this stage in the research on Papuan Malay, it is not possible to tell if there are rules governing the choice between 'NP, PRO-SG' and 'NPDEM PRO-SG' topic-comment constructions. To answer this question more research is needed.

6.2.1.4. Analysis of 'NP PRO-SG' expressions as noun phrases and not as topic-comment constructions

There are four reasons for analyzing the 'NP 2SG' expressions in (49) to (61) and the 'NP 3SG' constructions in (62) to (71) as noun phrases with pronominal determiner and not as topic-comment constructions.

First, 'NP PRO-SG' expressions can occur in positions other than the clause-initial subject slot, as shown with the 'NP 2SG' noun phrases in (55), (57), and (58), and the 'NP 3SG' noun phrases in (62) and (67). In these positions, however, the respective common nouns cannot be interpreted as topics in topic-comment constructions. This is due to the fact that topicalized constituents do not remain *in-situ* but are fronted to the clause-initial position (see also §1.4.1.4).

Second, an 'NP PRO-SG' expression can be modified with a demonstrative, as in the 'NP 2SG' noun phrases in (59) to (61), or the 'NP 3SG' noun phrases in (62) or (69). In these 'NP PRO-SG' expressions, the demonstratives have scope over the pronouns. The fact that the pronouns occur in noun phrases with adnominal demonstrative, in turn, supports the conclusion that in 'NP PRO-SG' expressions the pronoun functions as determiner. Moreover, in two of the examples, an 'NP PRO-SG DEM' expression has topic function in topic-comment constructions, namely the 'NP 2SG DEM' noun phrases in (60) and (61). In both cases, the preposed noun phrases are copied by co-referential *ko* '2SG' which has comment function.[182] Neither bare ***Barce*** in (60), nor bare ***Eferdina*** in (61) can be topics in topic-comment constructions. Instead it is the entire noun phrase, including determiner *ko* 'SG', which has topic function. This, in turn, also supports the conclusion that in 'NP PRO-SG' expressions, the pronoun functions as a pronominal determiner.

Third, by indicating person, singularity, and definiteness of their referents, determiner pronouns have pertinent discourse functions. In direct speech, 'NP PRO-SG' expressions with second person *ko* 'SG' mark the referent of the head nominal unambiguously as the intended addressee. In reported speech, 'NP 2SG' noun phrases indicate that the referent is the addressee of the direct quotation. In addition, they signal the hearers that they are in a position to identify the referent. Finally, as apostrophes in rhetoric figures of direct speech they serve as "exclamatory addresses". 'NP PRO-SG' expressions with third person *dia*/*de* '3SG' signal and accentuate that the speakers expect their hearers to be familiar with the referents encoded by their head nominals. That is, the interlocutors are communicated that they should be able to identify the referents.

Fourth, the present corpus includes a number of utterances, in which speakers repeat an 'NP PRO-SG' expression as a form of hesitation or delay; in each case the pronoun is third person *dia*/*de* '3SG'. Two of these repetitions are presented in (79) and (80). It is noted that the speakers do not repeat the respective bare nouns ***pace*** 'man' and ***Markus***, but the 'NP 3SG' expressions *pace de* 'the man' (literally 'he man') and *Markus de* 'Markus' (literally 'he Markus'). This suggests that they perceive these expressions to be cohesive entities which, in turn, supports their analysis as single noun phrases.

(79) [**pace de**], [**pace de**] mandi rapi,   de   mandi rapi
      man   3SG   man   3SG   bathe be.neat 3SG   bathe be.neat
      '**the man**, **the man** bathed neatly, he bathed neatly' [081109-007-JR.0002]

(80) akirnya [**Markus de**], [**Markus dia**] turung   begini
      finally   Markus   3SG   Markus   3SG   descend like.this
      'finally **Markus**, **Markus** came down (to the coast) like this' [080922-010a-CvNF.0204]

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[182]   There is no comma intonation between the topical noun phrases and the pronominal comments in (60) and (61).

6.2.2.   Adnominal plural personal pronouns

Plural personal pronouns also function as determiners in noun phrases, as illustrated in (81) and (82). They signal the definiteness and person-number values of their referents, and thereby allow their unambiguous identification.

(81)   [**pemuda dong**] snang   skali
        youth   3PL   feel.happy(.about)   very
        '**the young people** feel very happy' (Lit. '**youth they**') [080925-003-Cv.0220]

(82)   [**Ise   dong**] su   datang
        Ise   3PL   already   come
        '**Ise and her companions including herself** already came' (Lit. '**Ise they**') [080925-003-Cv.0169]

The examples in (81) and (82) also show that 'N PRO-PL' noun phrases have two readings.

First with an indefinite referent, such as **pemuda** 'youth' in (81), 'N PRO-PL' noun phrases have an additive plural reading. Second with a definite referent such as **Ise** in (82), 'N PRO-PL' noun phrases receive an associative inclusory plural reading. This makes Papuan Malay belong to the large group of languages in Asia where the "associative plural marker […] is also used to express additive plurals" (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011: 5–6). Therefore, in terms of Daniel and Moravcsik's (2011: 6) typology of associative plurals, Papuan Malay is a 'Type 1' language.

The additive plural interpretation of 'N PRO-PL' noun phrases is discussed in §6.2.2.1 and the associative inclusory plural reading in §6.2.2.2. These descriptions are followed in §6.2.2.3 by a brief overview of the associative plural in other regional Malay varieties.

6.2.2.1.   Additive plural interpretation

In 'N PRO-PL' noun phrases with indefinite referents, adnominal plural personal pronouns have two functions. They signal the definiteness of their referents and an additive plural reading of the respective noun phrases with the basic meaning of 'the Xs'.

The additive interpretation implies referential homogeneity of the group. That is, "every referent of the plural form is also a referent of the stem" (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011: 1). In (83), for example, **kitorang** '1PL' denotes the plurality of its bare head nominal **nene** 'grandmother', while in (84) **kamu** '2PL' signals the plurality of **bangsat** 'rascal', and in (85) **dong** '3PL' indicates the plurality of **anjing** 'dog'. These examples illustrate that the referent is always animate. It can be human as in (83) and (84), or nonhuman as in (85); inanimate referents are unattested.

Additive plural interpretation with bare head nominal

(83)   jadi **nene**   **kitorang ini**   masak
        so   grandmother   1PL   D.PROX   cook
        'so **we grandmothers here** cook' [080924-001-Pr.0008]

(84) **bangsat kamu tu**   tinggal lari ke sana   ke mari
       rascal   2PL   D.DIST stay   run to L.DIST to hither
       '**you rascals there** keep running back and forth' [080923-012-CvNP.0011]

(85) … di   mana **anjing dong** gong-gong
          at   where dog   3PL   bark(.at)
       '[I just ran closing in on the pig] where **the dogs** were barking' [080919-
       003-NP.0007]

In (83) to (85) the number of referents is left unspecified. When this number is
limited to two, speakers very often use a dual construction, such that 'bare N PRO-PL
dua'. In such a construction, the two referents are not explicitly mentioned but
subsumed under the postposed adnominal numeral ***dua*** 'two', as in (86) and (87).

      Additive dual interpretation

(86) **laki~laki**   **kam dua** sapu
       RDP~husband 2PL   two   sweep
       '**you two boys** sweep' [081115-001b-Cv.0010]

(87) **pace   dorang   dua   ini**   ke   atas
       man   3PL   two   D.PROX to   top
       '**the two men here** (went) up (there)' [081006-034-CvEx.0010]

6.2.2.2. Associative inclusory plural interpretation

'N PRO-PL' noun phrases with a definite referent and an adnominal plural personal
pronoun receive an associative inclusory plural reading. The reading is "associative"
in that it has the basic meaning of "'X and X's associate(s)', where all members are
individuals, X is the focal referent, and the associate(s) form a group centering
around X" (Moravcsik 2003: 471). In Papuan Malay, the "focal referent" is always
encoded with a noun or noun phrase heading the phrasal construction, while the
"associates" are encoded with a post-head plural personal pronoun. In (88) and (89),
for instance, ***Lodia*** and ***Pawlus*** are the focal referents while the pronouns ***torang***
'1PL' and ***dorang*** '3PL' denote the associates, respectively.

    The reading of 'N PRO-PL' noun phrases is not only associative, but also
"inclusory" in that "all members of the plural set are summarily referred to by a
pronoun" (Moravcsik 2003: 479). That is, the reference of the pronoun includes the
reference of the focal referent, such that 'PRO including X' (see also Gil 2009, and
Haspelmath 2004: 25). In (88), for instance, the pronoun ***torang*** '1PL' includes not
only the companions and the speaker, but all members of the plural set, "including
Lodia". That is, the 'N PRO-PL' noun phrase ***Lodia torang*** does not signal an additive
relation in the sense of 'Lodia plus we companions'. Likewise in (89), the reference
of ***dorang*** '3PL' includes not only the associates of the focal referent ***Pawlus***, but all
members of the plural set, "including Pawlus".

Associative inclusory plural interpretation

(88)   itu   yang **Lodia torang** bilang begini   …
       D.DIST   REL   Lodia 1PL   say   like.this
       'that's why **Lodia and we companions including her** said like this, …'
       (Lit. '**Lodia we**') [081115-001a-Cv.0001]

(89)   tanta ada   mara   **Pawlus dorang**
       aunt   exist   be.angry Pawlus 3PL
       'aunt is being angry with **Pawlus and his companions including Pawlus**'
       (Lit. '**Pawlus they**') [081006-009-Cv.0002]

In the following, the semantic properties of associative inclusory expressions are
examined. Also discussed are the lexical classes used in these expressions and the
types of relationships expressed within the associated groups.

   Associative inclusory expressions imply two distinct semantic properties, namely
"referential heterogeneity", and "reference to groups" (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011:
1–3). The notion of "referential heterogeneity" implies that "the associative plural
designates a heterogeneous set" (2011: 1). This is shown in (90) to (92). In (90),
bapa Iskia dong 'father Iskia and them' does not denote several people called *Iskia*;
neither does *bapa desa dorang* 'father mayor and them' refer to more than one
mayor. The same applies to the examples in (91) and (92) (in this context *dokter*
'doctor' has a definite reading as the local hospital has only one doctor). In each
case, the plural personal pronoun encodes a heterogeneous set of associates
"centering around X", the focal referent. Moreover, the pronouns include the focal
referents in their reference.

   Associative inclusory plural interpretation with the third person plural
   pronoun

(90)   **bapa   Iskia   dong** bunu babi, **bapa   desa   dorang**
       father Iskia   3PL   kill   pig   father village 3PL

       dong   bunu   babi
       3PL   kill   pig
       '**father Iskia and his companions including Iskia** killed a pig, **father
       mayor and his companions including the mayor**, they killed a pig'
       [080917-008-NP.0120]

(91)   Ise   ko   tinggal di   sini   suda deng **mama-tua   dorang**!
       Ise   2SG   stay   at   L.PROX just   with   aunt   3PL
       'you Ise just stay here with **aunt and her companions including aunt**!'
       [080917-008-NP.0026]

(92)   **dokter   dorang** bilang begini   …
       doctor   3PL   say   like.this
       '**the doctor and his companions including the doctor** said like this, …'
       [081015-005-NP.0047]

The semantic property of "reference to groups" refers to a high degree of internal
cohesion within the plural construction. That is, the focal referent and the associates

form "a spatially or conceptually coherent group" (Moravcsik 2003: 471). In (90) and (91), for instance, the 'N PRO' noun phrases denote coherent groups of inherently associated individuals, namely **bapa Iskia dong** 'father Iskia and them', **bapa desa dorang** 'father mayor and them', and **mama-tua dorang** 'aunt and them', respectively. Moreover, the groups referred to are "asymmetric, or ranked" (2003: 471). That is, the associative plural names its pragmatically most salient or highest ranking member, the focal referent, such as **bapa Iskia** 'father Iskia' and **bapa desa** 'father mayor' in (90), or **mama-tua** 'aunt' in (91). The remaining members of the plural set, by contrast, are not fully enumerated but subsumed under the plural pronoun **dong** / **dorang** '3PL'.

Typically, the associates are encoded with the third person plural pronoun. Less frequently, the associates are encoded with the first person plural pronoun, as in (88), repeated as (93), or with the second person plural pronoun as in (94) and (95). In associative inclusory expressions formed with the second person plural pronoun, the focal referent is typically the addressee as in (94). Alternatively, although much less often, one of the associates can be the addressee as in (95) (the focal referent **Lodia** was not present during this conversation).

Associative inclusory plural interpretation with the first and second person plural pronouns

(93)   itu   yang   **Lodia torang**   bilang   begini   …
        D.DIST   REL   Lodia 1PL   say   like.this

        'that's why **Lodia and her companions including me** said like this, …'
        [081115-001a-Cv.0001]

(94)   **tanta   Oktofina   kam**   pulang   jam   brapa?
        aunt   Oktofina   2PL   go.home   hour   how.many

        'what time did **you aunt Oktofina and your companions including you (Oktofina)** come home?' [081006-010-Cv.0001]

(95)   **Lodia   kam**   pake   trek   ke   sana   baru   sa   …
        Lodia   2PL   use   truck   to   L.DIST   and.then   1SG

        '**Lodia and her companions including you (addressee)** took the truck to (go) over there, and then I …' [081022-001-Cv.0001]

In (88) to (95), the number of referents is not specified. When only two participants are involved, however, that is the focal referent plus one associate, Papuan Malay speakers very often use a dual construction, such that 'bare N PRO-PL **dua**', as in (96). Like dual constructions with an additive reading (§6.2.2.1), the associate is not explicitly mentioned but subsumed under the post-head numeral **dua** 'two'.

Associative inclusory dual interpretation

(96)   **om   kitong   dua**   kluar   mo   pergi   cari   pinang
        uncle   1PL   two   go.out   want   go   search   betel.nut

        '**uncle and I** went out and wanted to look for betel nuts' [081006-009-Cv.0014]

In terms of the lexical classes employed in associative plural expressions, Daniel and Moravcsik (2011: 3) observe "a clear preference for associative plurals formed

from proper names over kin terms over non-kin human common nouns over non-human nouns". This also applies to Papuan Malay, in that the focal referents in associative inclusory expressions are formed from human nouns while non-human animate focal referents are unattested. Among human nouns in the present corpus, however, kin terms as in (91) are more common than proper names as in (88). This has to do with the fact that culturally people prefer not to use proper names, if they have another option, especially if the person is older and/or present. In addition, although not very often, associative plural expressions are formed from non-kin terms such as the title noun expression ***bapa desa*** 'father mayor' in (90), or the common noun ***dokter*** 'doctor' in (92). (See also Moravcsik 2003: 471–473.)

Concerning the relationship between the focal referent X and the associates, Daniel and Moravcsik (2011: 3) note that "the group may be: (i) X's family, (ii) X's friends, or familiar associates, or (iii) an occasional group that X is a member of" with "kin forming the most commonly understood associates". Papuan Malay also conforms to this cross-linguistic finding in that the associates are most often X's family as in (91). Less commonly, X's associates are friends or companions in a shared activity as in (92). Associative plurals denoting occasional groups or, following Moravcsik (2003: 473), "incidental association", have not been identified in the present corpus.

6.2.2.3.   Associative plural in other regional Malay varieties

The associative plural interpretation for noun phrases with adnominal plural personal pronoun is also quite common for other regional Malay varieties, such as Ambon, Bali Berkuak, Dobo, Kupang, Manado, or Sri Lanka Malay. In Ternate Malay, however, pronouns do not have adnominal functions (Litamahuputty 2012: 141). The associative plural reading of noun phrases with adnominal plural personal pronoun found in regional Malay varieties is illustrated in the examples in (97) to (102).

In Ambon Malay, Dobo Malay, Kupang Malay, and Sri Lanka Malay, the adnominal pronoun is postposed as in Papuan Malay, as demonstrated in (97) to (100). In Balai Berkuak Malay or Manado Malay, by contrast, the pronoun is in pre-head position, as shown in (101) and (102).

In all examples, the pronoun is the third person plural pronoun. In most varieties only the short pronoun form is used as for instance in Ambon or Dobo Malay, as shown in (97) and (98). Only in Manado Malay, the short and long forms are used, as shown in (102). Contrasting with Papuan Malay, these regional Malay varieties do not use the first and second person plural pronouns to express associative plurality.

Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 169)

(97)   **mama**   **dong**   'mother and the others'
      mother   3PL

Dobo Malay (Nivens, p.c. 2013)

(98)   **pa**   **Kace**   **dong**   'Mr. Kace and his associates'
      man   Kac   3P

		e	L	

Kupang Malay (Grimes and Jacob 2008)

(99)	**Yan**	**dong**	'Yan and his family / mates'
	Yan	3PL	

Sri Lanka Malay (Slomanson 2013)

(100)	**Miflal**	**derang**	'Miflal and his friends'
	Miflal	3PL	

Balai Berkuak Malay (Tadmor 2002: 7)

(101)	**sidaq**	**Katalq**	'Katalq and her gang'
	3PL	Kat	
		alq	

Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 30)

(102)	**dorang**/**dong**	**Yoram**	'Yoram and his family'
	3PL	Yoram	

In short, among the eastern Malay varieties Papuan Malay is unique given that associative plural expressions are formed with all three plural persons, including the long and the short pronoun forms. This different behavior of Papuan Malay 'N PRO-PL' noun phrases supports the conclusion put forward in §1.2 that the history of Papuan Malay is different from that of the other eastern Malay varieties.[183]

6.3.   Summary

The Papuan Malay pronoun system distinguishes singular and plural numbers and three persons. In addition to signaling the person-number values of their referents they also signal their definiteness. Each pronoun has at least one long and one short form, with the exception of the second person singular pronoun **ko** '2SG'. The use of the long and short forms does not mark grammatical distinctions but represents speaker preferences. The pronouns have pronominal and adnominal uses.

In their pronominal uses, the pronouns substitute for noun phrases and designate speech roles. The long and short pronoun forms occur in all syntactic slots within the clause. For the direct and indirect object slots, however, speakers use the long forms much more often. This preference interrelates with the preferred use of the 'heavy' long pronoun forms in clause-final position, which, in turn, reflects the cross-linguistic tendency for the clause-final position to be taken by 'heavy' constituents. In adnominal possessive constructions, the pronouns only take the possessor slot; most often the short pronouns take this slot. Pronouns also occur in inclusory conjunction, summary conjunction, and appositional constructions.

In their adnominal uses, the pronouns occur in post-head position and function as determiners. That is, signaling definiteness and person-number values, the pronouns allow the unambiguous identification of their referents. As determiners, the pronoun forms of all person-number values are employed, with the exception of the first person singular. NP PRO' noun phrases with plural personal pronouns have two

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[183]   It is important to note, though, that the observed differences could also result from gaps in the descriptions of the other eastern Malay varieties.

possible interpretations. With indefinite referents, they have an additive plural reading and with definite referents an associative inclusory reading.

7. Demonstratives and locatives

This chapter discusses the Papuan Malay demonstratives and locatives, focusing on their different functions and domains of use. Demonstratives and locatives are deictic expressions that provide orientation to the hearer in the outside world and in the speech situation. Papuan Malay employs a two-term demonstrative system and a three-term locative system as shown in Table 1.

Table 1:   Papuan Malay demonstratives and locatives

Papuan Malay DEM			Gloss
proximal	*ini* / *ni*	'D.PROX'	'this'
distal	*itu* /*tu*	'D.DIST'	'that'
Papuan Malay LOC			Gloss
proximal	*sini*	'L.PROX'	'here'
medial	*situ*	'L.MED'	'there'
distal	*sana*	'L.DIST'	'over there'

Both systems are distance oriented in that they "indicate the relative distance of a referent in the speech situation vis-à-vis the deictic center" which "is defined by the speaker's location at the time of the utterance" (Diessel 2006: 430). The unmarked deictic center is defined by the speaker in the 'here' and 'now'. In reported direct speech and narratives, however, the deictic center is readjusted to the reported speech situation and defined by the quoted speakers and the location and time of their speaking.

While their major domain of use is to provide spatial orientation, the demonstratives and locatives also signal distance in metaphorical terms. Their main domains of use are presented in Table 2.

Table 2:   Demonstratives (DEM) and locatives (LOC) and their of domains of use

Domains of use	Function	DEM	LOC
Spatial	to provide spatial orientation to the hearer	X	X
Figurative locational	to signal a figurative locational endpoint		X
Temporal	to indicate the temporal setting of the situation or event talked about	X	X
Psychological	to signal the speakers' psychological involvement with the situation or event talked about	X	X
Identificational	to aid in the identification of definite or identifiable referents	X	
Textual anaphoric	to keep track of a discourse antecedent	X	X
Textual discourse deictic	to establish an overt link between two propositions	X	

Domains of use	Function	DEM	LOC
Placeholder	to substitute for specific lexical items in the context of word-formulation trouble	X	

In the following sections the demonstratives (§7.1) and locatives (§7.2) are investigated in more detail. The ways in which the demonstratives and locatives can be combined are discussed in §7.3. The different findings for the demonstratives and locatives are summarized and compared in §7.4.

7.1.   Demonstratives

In the following sections, the syntactic properties and forms of the Papuan Malay demonstratives are reviewed and discussed (§7.1.1), followed by an in-depth discussion of their different functions and domains of use (§7.1.2).

7.1.1.   Syntax and forms of demonstratives

The distributional properties of the demonstratives are briefly reviewed in §7.1.1.1. This review is followed in §7.1.1.2 by a discussion of the distribution and frequencies of the long and short demonstrative forms.

7.1.1.1.   Distributional properties of demonstratives

The Papuan Malay demonstratives have the following distributional properties (for more details see §5.6):

1.   Co-occurrence with noun phrases (adnominal uses): N/NP DEM (§5.6.1)
2.   Substitution for noun phrases (pronominal uses) (§5.6.2)
3.   Modification with relative clauses (pronominal uses (§5.6.2).
4.   Co-occurrence with verbs or adverbs (adverbial uses) (§5.6.3)
5.   Stacking of demonstratives: DEM DEM and N DEM DEM (§5.6.4)

7.1.1.2.   Distribution of the long versus short demonstrative forms

This section investigates the distribution and frequencies of the long versus the short demonstrative forms and explores the factors that contribute to this distribution. The data show that the reduced demonstrative forms are fast-speech phenomena that fulfill the same syntactic functions as the long forms. With two exceptions they are also employed in the same domains of use.

The corpus contains a total of 2,304 *ini* 'D.PROX' tokens of which 2,046 (88.8%) are the long form and 258 (11.2%) the short form, as shown in Table 3. The number of *itu* 'D.DIST' token is considerably larger with a total of 4,159 token of which 3,491 (83.9%) are the long form and 668 (16.1%) the short form.

Table 3:   Demonstratives according to their phonological environment

	ini		*itu*		*ni*		*tu*	
Clause-initial	86	4%	279	8%	7	3%	28	4%
Post-vowel	1,156	**57%**	1,671	**48%**	222	**86%**	531	**80%**
Post-nasal	432	21%	833	24%	18	7%	67	10%
Post-consonant	372	18%	708	20%	11	4%	42	6%
Total	**2,046**	100%	**3,491**	100%	**258**	100%	**668**	100%

The long forms occur in all phonological environments with Table 3 indicating some differences in distribution, however. First, the high number of long demonstratives (about 50%) that follow lexical items with word-final vowels is due to the fact that in Papuan Malay more lexical items have a word-final vowel than a word-final nasal or consonant. Second, the low number of long demonstratives (<10%) in clause-initial position is due to the fact that the number of pronominally used demonstratives is much lower than that of adnominally or adverbially used ones.

The short forms also occur in all phonological environments. Table 3 shows, however, that most of them (≥80%) occur after lexical items with a word-final vowel. The percentage of short demonstratives following lexical items with word-final nasal or consonant is considerably lower compared to the long forms.

Interestingly, the short demonstratives also occur in clause-initial position: of the seven short *ini* 'D.PROX' tokens occurring clause-initially, five occur at the beginning of an utterance. The remaining two tokens occur clause-initially in the middle of an utterance. In both cases the preceding clause-final lexical item has a word-final vowel which appears to be conditioning these two short forms. Of the 28 short *itu* 'D.DIST' tokens occurring clause-initially, eleven occur at the beginning of an utterance. The remaining 17 tokens occur clause-initially in the middle of an utterance. Of these, 14 tokens are conditioned by the preceding word-final phoneme: in eleven cases the preceding clause-final lexical item has a word-final vowel while in the remaining three cases the preceding clause-final lexical item has coda /t/.

These findings suggest that for the most part the short demonstrative forms are conditioned by the environment of their occurrence and constitute fast-speech phenomena. The listed exceptions require further investigation.

The short demonstratives fulfill the same syntactic functions as the long ones. With two exceptions they are also employed in the same domains of use. The data does, however, suggest some preferences. Table 4 presents the short demonstratives according to their syntactic functions. The data show a clear preference for their adnominal uses. Of the 209 adnominally used short *ini* 'D.PROX' tokens, 170 (81%) modify noun phrases with nominal heads, while 34 (16%) modify noun phrases with pronominal heads; the remaining five tokens modify interrogatives. Likewise, of the 482 adnominally used short *itu* 'D.DIST' tokens, 345 (72%) modify noun phrases with nominal heads, while 105 (22%) modify noun phrases with pronominal heads, and 30 (6%) modify locatives; the remaining two tokens modify interrogatives. Considerably less frequently, the short demonstratives have pronominal uses (≤8%) and adverbial uses (≤13%). (Given their large numbers, the long demonstratives have not been quantified according to their syntactic functions.)

Table 4:   Reduced demonstratives according to their syntactic functions

Syntactic functions	*ni*		*tu*	
Adnominal uses	209	**81%**	482	**72%**
Pronominal uses	20	8%	44	7%
Adverbial uses (verbal modifier)	20	8%	86	13%
Adverbial uses (adverbial modifier)	9	3%	56	8%
Total	258	100%	668	100%

The short demonstratives are also employed in the same domains of use as the long ones, except for the identificational and placeholder uses. Given their rather frequent alternative readings (§7.1.2), the demonstratives have not been quantified according to their domains of use.

   Table 5 and Table 6 present an overview of the short demonstratives according to their syntactic functions and domains of use. For *ini* 'D.PROX' in Table 5, its syntactic functions are exemplified as follows: adnominal in (1) to (4), pronominal in (5), and adverbial in (6) and (7). Its domains of use are given as follows: spatial in (1a) and (5a), temporal in (1b), psychological in (1c) (emotional involvement), (3), (4), (6) and (7) (vividness), and (2) (contrast), textual in (5b) (anaphoric) and (5c) (discourse deictic).

Table 5:   Short *ini* 'D.PROX': Syntactic functions and domains of use[184]

Papuan Malay with gloss	Free translation
1. Adnominal uses (modifies nouns) / Spatial uses in (a), temporal uses in (b), psychological uses (emotional involvement) in (c)	
a. ***bawa* mace *ni* *ke ruma-sakit*** bring woman D.PROX to hospital	'(I) brought **(my) wife here** to the hospital'
b. **hari *ni* *ko kasi makang*** day D.PROX 2SG give food	'**today** you give food (to others)'
c. ***kalo* Ise *ni* *selesay* …** if Ise D.PROX finish	'when **this (my daughter) Ise** has finished (school) …'[185]
2. Adnominal uses (modifies personal pronouns) / Psychological uses (contrast)	
kitong *ni* *tra bisa* 1PL D.PROX NEG be.able	**we, by contrast**, can't (work like that)'
3. Adnominal uses (modifies demonstratives) / Psychological uses (vividness)	
dia buang* ini *ni 3SG throw(.away) D.PROX D.PROX	'he threw away **these very (ones)**'

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[184] Documentation: (1) 081025-003-Cv.0042, 081110-008-NPHt.0254, 081025-003-Cv.0135; (2) 081014-007-Pr.0053; (3) 080922-010a-NF.0101; (4) 080922-004-Cv.0017; (5) 080922-010a-NF.0081, 080917-006-CvHtEx.0005, 080917-010-CvEx.0116; (6) 080919-005-Cv.0015; (7) 080922-001a-CvPh.0735.

[185] The referent *Ise* was not present when the speaker talked about his daughter; hence proximal *ini* 'D.PROX' does not have spatial uses in this context.

Papuan Malay with gloss	Free translation
4. Adnominal uses (modifies interrogatives) / Psychological uses (vividness)	
de mo ke **mana ni** 3SG want.to LOC(to) where D.PROX	'**where (EMPH)** does he want to go?'
5. Pronominal uses / Spatial uses in (a), textual uses (anaphoric) in (b), textual uses (discourse deictic) in (c)	
a. *ada* **ni** exist D.PROX	'(the fish) are **here**'
b. *de menyala* **ni** 3SG put.fire.to D.PROX	'he puts fire to **this**'
c. **ni** *usul saja* D.PROX proposal just	'**this** is just a proposal'
6. Adverbial uses (modifies verbs) / Psychological uses (vividness)	
sa masi **hidup ni** 1SG still live D.PROX	'I'm still **very much alive**'
7. Adverbial uses (modifies adverbs) / Psychological uses (vividness)	
… tapi **skarang ni** *ada libur* … but now D.PROX exist vacation	'but **right now** (we) are on vacation'

Table 6 lists the syntactic functions and domains of use of *itu* 'D.DIST'. Its syntactic functions are listed as follows: adnominal in (1) to (5), pronominal in (6), and adverbial in (7) and (8). Its domains of use are given as follows: spatial in (6a), temporal in (1a), psychological in (1b) and (4) (emotional involvement), (3) and (7) (vividness), and (2) and (8) (contrast), textual in (1c) (anaphoric), and (6b) and (6c) (discourse deictic).

Table 6:   Short *itu* 'D.DIST': Syntactic functions and domains of use[186]

Papuan Malay with gloss	Free translation
1. Adnominal uses (modifies nouns) / Temporal uses in (a), psychological uses (emotional involvement) in (b), discourse uses (anaphoric) in (c)	
a. **Rabu tu** *… ko datang* Wednesday D.DIST 2SG come	'**next Wednesday** you'll come'
b. **ko pu swara tu** *bahaya* 2SG POSS voice D.DIST be.dangerous	'**that voice of yours** is dangerous'
c. **Herman tu** *biasa tida …* Hermanus D.DIST be.usual NEG …	'**that Herman** usually cannot …'

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[186] Documentation: (1) 081011-005-Cv.0001, 081025-009b-Cv.0016, 081014-004-Cv.0019; (2) 080922-001a-CvPh.0455; (3) 081115-001a-Cv.0145; (4) 081109-001-Cv.0092; (5) 081006-022-CvEx.0150; (6) 081025-009b-Cv.0006, 081006-022-CvEx.0113, 081013-002-Cv.0003; (7) 081023-001-Cv.0020; (8) 081115-001a-Cv.0058.

Papuan Malay with gloss	Free translation
2. Adnominal uses (modifies personal pronouns) / Psychological uses (contrast)	
sa tu *rajing skola* 1SG D.DIST be.diligent go.to.school	'**I, nonetheless**, go to school diligently'
3. Adnominal uses (modifies demonstratives) / Psychological uses (vividness)	
itu tu *kata~kata dasar …* D.DIST D.DIST RDP~word base	'**that very** (word belongs to) the basic words …'
4. Adnominal uses (modifies interrogatives) / Psychological uses (emotional involvement)	
itu **apa tu***?* D.DIST what D.DIST	'**what (EMPH)** was that?[187]
5. Adnominal uses (modifies locatives) / Psychological uses (vividness)	
di **sini tu** *ada orang swanggi satu* LOC(at) L.PROX D.DIST exist person nocturnal.evil.spirit one	'**here (EMPH)** there is a certain evil sorcerer'
6. Pronominal uses / Spatial uses in (a),discourse uses (discourse deictic) in (b) and (c)	
a. *de ada* **tu***, de ada* **tu** 3SG exist D.DIST 3SG exist D.DIST	'she is **over there**, she is **over there**'
b. *dorang liat kitorang,* **tu** *heran* 3PL see 1PL D.DIST feel surprised (about)	'they see us, **that's** surprising'
c. **tu yang** *sa tampeleng Aleks* D.DIST REL 1SG slap Aleks	'**that's why** I slapped Aleks in the face'
7. Adverbial uses (modifies verbs) / Psychological uses (vividness)	
tong **maing tu** *hancur* 1PL play D.DIST be.shattered	'we did our **very playing** poorly'
8. Adverbial uses (modifies adverbs) / Psychological uses (contrast)	
de **skarang tu** *tida terlalu …* 3SG now D.DIST NEG too	'he's **now (as opposed to the past)** not too …'

In summary, the data in the present corpus suggests that the short demonstrative forms are fast-speech phenomena that for the most part are conditioned by their phonological environment. The data also show that the long and short demonstrative forms fulfill the same syntactic functions. Moreover, they are employed in the same domains of use with two exceptions (the identificational and placeholder uses).

7.1.2.   **Functions of demonstratives**

The Papuan Malay demonstratives have a range of different functions and uses which are discussed in more detail in the following sections: spatial uses in §7.1.2.1,

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[187] In her utterance the speaker conveys her anger about the referee of a volleyball game by whom she felt cheated.

temporal uses in §7.1.2.2, psychological uses in §7.1.2.3, identificational uses in §7.1.2.4, textual uses in 7.1.2.5, and placeholder uses in §7.1.2.6. Unless the context of an utterance is clear and explicit, the specific domain of use of the demonstrative may have multiple possible readings

7.1.2.1.   Spatial uses of demonstratives

The major domain of use for the demonstratives is to provide spatial orientation. This is achieved by drawing the hearer's attention to specific entities in the discourse or surrounding situation. Proximal *ini* 'D.PROX' indicates that the referent is conceived as spatially close to the speaker, whereas *itu* 'D.DIST' signals that the referent is conceived as being located further away. This distinction is shown in three sets of contrastive examples.

In the first set of examples in (1) the contrast is illustrated for the adnominally used demonstratives, each of them modifying the common noun *ruma* 'house'. This example is part of a conversation that took place at the speaker's house. Employing *ini* 'D.PROX', the speaker relates her plans to move from her current house, *ruma ini* 'this house', to a different house in a neighboring village. Because the new house is smaller than the older one, the speaker's husband is going to enlarge *ruma itu* 'that house', with *itu* 'D.DIST' indicating that the new house is located at some distance.

Spatial uses: Examples set #1

(1)   ini   kasi tinggal ana~ana   dong tinggal tong pi
        D.PROX give stay   RDP~child 3PL   stay   1PL   go

        tinggal di   Sawar sana   … **ruma   ini**   tinggal …
        stay   at   Sawar L.DIST   house D.PROX stay

        baru   **ruma   itu**   biking besar
        and.then house D.DIST   make   be.big

        '(we'll) leave this (house) behind, the children will stay (here), (and) we'll move to Sawar over there …, (we'll) leave **this house** behind … and then (we'll) make **that house** (in Sawar) bigger' [081110-001-Cv.0012/0022/0025/0027]

The second set of examples in (2) and (3) illustrates how the pronominally used demonstratives signal spatial distance. The example in (2) occurred when the speaker and his brother were fishing. When asked where he had put the fish they had just caught, the speaker employs *ini* 'D.PROX' to convey that the fish *ada ini* 'are here', in the bucket right next to him. In (3), the speaker replies to the question where a certain other person was. Employing *itu* 'D.DIST' the speaker states that *de ada itu* 'she is over there'.

Spatial uses: Examples set #2

(2)   ada   **ni**
        exist   D.PROX

        [Reply to a question:] '(the fish) are **here**' [080917-006-CvHt.0005]

(3)   de   ada   **tu**   de   ada   **tu**
         3SG   exist D.DIST   3SG   exist D.DIST
         [Reply to a question:] 'she's **over there**, she's **over there**' [081025-009b-
         Cv.0006]

In the third set of examples in (4) and (5), the demonstratives are used adverbially.
The utterance in (4) occurred during a discussion about the teenagers living in the
house. Noting that they are ill-behaved, the speaker uses *ini* 'D.PROX' to assert that
they *tinggal ini* 'live here' in this house. In (5) the speaker relates that she used to
live in a different part of the regency, namely in Takar. Employing *itu* 'D.DIST', the
speaker maintains that she used to *tinggal itu* 'live there'.

         Spatial uses: Examples set #3

(4)   ko   **tinggal   ini**
         2SG   stay   D.PROX
         'you **live here**' [081115-001b-Cv.0030]

(5)   waktu   kitong   dari   Jayapura   baru   pulang   ke   kampung
         when   1PL   from   Jayapura   and.then   go.home   to   village
         di   Takar   Pante-Timur   baru   kitong   **tinggal   itu**
         at   Takar   Pante-Timur   and.then   1PL   stay   D.DIST
         'when we (were back) from Jayapura, then (we) returned home to the
         village at Takar at Pante-Timur, and then we **lived there**' [081006-022-
         CvEx.0159]

7.1.2.2.   Temporal uses of demonstratives

In their temporal uses, the demonstratives signal the temporal setting of the situation
or event talked about in terms of some temporal reference point. This function is
attested for the adnominally, pronominally, and adverbially used demonstratives.
    The (near) contrastive examples in (6) to (8) demonstrate the temporal uses of
the adnominally used demonstratives. Proximal *ini* 'D.PROX' signals that the event is
temporally close to the current speech situation as in *hari ni* 'today' in (6). By
contrast, *itu* 'D.DIST' indicates that the temporal reference point is located at some
distance from the current speech situation, either in the past as in *hari itu* 'that day'
in (7) or in the future as in *Rabu tu hari Kamis itu* 'next Wednesday, next
Thursday' in (8).

         Temporal uses of the adnominally used demonstratives

(6)   **hari   ni**   ko   kasi   makang   nanti   …
         day   D.PROX   2SG   give   food   very.soon
         [About helping each other:] '**today** you feed (others), at some point in the
         future [they'll feed your children]' [081110-008-CvNP.0254]

(7)   yo,   dong   dua   pergi   ke   skola   lagi   **hari   itu**   dong
         yes   3PL   two   go   to   school   again   day   D.DIST   3PL

<div style="margin-left:2em">

ada   meter   sedikit
exist meter   few

'yes, they both went to school, **that day** they were a little drunk' [081115-001a-Cv.0038]

</div>

(8)   **Rabu   tu   hari Kamis   itu**   ko   datang   …
       Wednesday D.DIST   day Thursday   D.DIST   2SG   come

       '**next Wednesday, next Thursday**, you'll come …' [081011-005-Cv.0001]

Pronominally used demonstratives also have temporal uses as shown in (9) and (10). Again, *ini* 'D.PROX' in (9) indicates that the event is temporally close to the current speech situation: *ini* 'right now'. Distal *itu* 'D.DIST' in (10), by contrast, signals temporal distance: *itu* 'then, that's when'.

Temporal uses of the pronominally used demonstratives

(9)   mandi cepat~cepat **ini**   tong   mo   lanjut   lagi
       bathe RDP~be.fast D.PROX   1PL   want   continue again

       'bathe very quickly, **right now** we want to continue further' (Lit. '**this (is when)**') [080917-008-NP.0134]

(10)   satu kali tong pergi berdoa … **itu**   de   ikut
       one   time 1PL   go   pray   D.DIST   3SG   follow

       'one time we went to pray …, **at that time** she (my daughter) also followed (us)' (Lit. '**that (is when)**') [080917-008-NP.0175]

The temporal uses of the adverbially used demonstratives are illustrated in (11) and (12). Again, *ini* 'D.PROX' signals temporal proximity as in *ada datang ini* 'is coming right now' in (11), while *itu* 'D.DIST' indicates temporal distance as in *bangung itu* 'woke up at that time' in (12).

Temporal uses of the adverbially used demonstratives

(11)   … o   betul Papua-Satu ini   **ada   datang   ini**
          oh!   true   Papua-Satu D.PROX   exist   come   D.PROX

       '[and then we saw,] 'oh!, (it's) true, this Papua-Satu (ship) is **coming right now**'' (Lit. '**this coming**') [080917-008-NP.0130]

(12)   sa   bawa   pulang   … mace   **bangung itu**   dia   suda
       1SG   bring go.home   woman   wake.up   D.DIST   3SG   already

       snang   karna   liat ada   makangang
       feel.happy(.about) because see   exist   food

       'I brought home (the game that I had shot) … (when my) wife **got up at that time**, already she was glad because (she) saw there was food' (Lit. '**that waking up**') [080919-004-NP.0030/0032]

7.1.2.3.   Psychological uses of demonstratives

In their psychological uses, the demonstratives signal the speakers' psychological involvement with the situation or event talked about (Lakoff 1974: 347). Three

major domains of psychological use are attested: emotional involvement, vividness, and contrast.

Demonstratives signaling emotional involvement

Speakers employ the demonstratives to signal their emotional involvement, close association, and/or attitudes concerning the subject matter. Proximal *ini* 'D.PROX' indicates emotional proximity or positive attitudes, while *itu* 'D.DIST' signals emotional distance or negative attitudes, as illustrated in three sets of examples.

In the first set of examples in (13) and (14), the demonstratives modify the personal pronoun *ko* '2SG'. In (13), a mother scolds her daughter for having ripped off the blossoms of the garden's flowers. In shouting at her youngest, she uses *ini* 'D.PROX', thereby signaling her nevertheless close emotional involvement with her daughter. By contrast, in (14) a teacher is exasperated with one of his students who does not know the English word 'please'. In voicing his frustration, the speaker uses *itu* 'D.DIST' and thereby signals his momentary emotional distance from the referent.

Demonstratives signaling emotional involvement: Examples set #1

(13)   ko   liat Luisa pu   bagus,   suda   kembang   banyak
        2SG   see   Luisa POSS   be.good   already   flowering many

        ko   ini   bunga   tida   slamat
        2SG   D.PROX   flower   NEG   safe

        [After the speaker's daughter ripped off blossoms:] 'you see Luisa's (flowers) are good, (they are) already flowering a lot, **you (EMPH)**, the flowers (you picked) can't be saved' [081006-021-CvHt.0002]

(14)   Dodo   kipas   de   suda   mo   **ko   tu**   ora   orang
        Dodo   beat   3SG   already   want   2SG   D.DIST   TRU-person   person

        bilang   please,   kata   pis   saja   tida   taw   goblok
        say   please[E] word   please[E]   just   NEG   know   be.stupid

        'Dodo reprimanded her immediately, **you there**, people[TRU], people say 'please', don't (you) know the word 'please'?!, (you're) stupid!' [081115-001a-Cv.0140]

In the second set of examples in (15) and (16), each demonstrative modifies the common noun *ana* 'child'. The utterance in (15) is part of a story about a motorbike accident that the speaker had in a remote area of the regency. The speaker relates how her nephew came and picked her up and took her all the way to the next hospital in the regency capital. In choosing *ini* 'D.PROX', the speaker signals her emotional closeness to the referent, who was not present when the speaker related her story; in fact, at that time the nephew was living about 300 km away. The utterance (16) occurred during a conversation about the speaker's youngest brother. Her interlocutors relate several complaints about the referent, who was present during the conversation. Finally, the speaker joins her interlocutors and comments that *ana kecil itu* 'that small child' constantly changes his opinion. By employing *itu* 'D.DIST', the speaker, who often criticizes her brother publicly, signals that she wishes to dissociate herself from her brother.

Demonstratives signaling emotional involvement: Examples set #2

(15) baru **sa punya ana ini** mantri de pi ambil saya
and.then 1SG POSS child D.PROX male.nurse 3SG go fetch 1SG

'and then **this child of mine**, the male nurse came to get me' [081015-005-NP.0044]

(16) putar putar **ana kecil itu**
turn.around turn.around child be.small D.DIST

'(he's) constantly changing (his) opinion, **that small child**' [081011-003-Cv.0016]

In third set of examples in (17) and (18), each demonstrative modifies an adnominal possessive construction with the possessum *swara* 'voice'. The utterance in (17) is part of a conversation about the young people living in the house, none of whom is present at this conversation. The speaker relates that the teenagers enjoy singing. Using direct speech, the speaker conveys her positive attitudes about the teenagers' singing: they should sing more in public because *kamu pu swara ini* 'these voices of yours' are good. The utterance in (18) occurred during a conversation outside at night. When one of the teenagers laughs out loudly, the others reprimand her. Employing *itu* 'D.DIST' in *ko pu swara tu* 'that voice of yours', the speaker conveys her negative attitudes about this behavior.

Demonstratives signaling emotional involvement: Examples set #3

(17) … dang menyanyi … **kamu pu swara ini** bagus
and sing 2PL POSS voice D.PROX be.good

'[come in front] and sing … **these voices of yours** are good' [081014-015-Cv.0026/0028]

(18) **ko pu swara tu** bahaya, ko stop
2SG POSS voice D.DIST be.dangerous 2SG stop

'**that voice of yours** is dangerous, stop it' [081025-009b-Cv.0016]

Demonstratives signaling vividness

The emotional involvement does not need to be as substantial as described in 'Demonstratives signaling emotional involvement' above. The demonstratives are also used in more general terms to indicate that the subject matter is vivid "to the mind of the speaker" (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 278). To signal that an event or situation is of special interest to them, the speakers use the demonstratives adnominally or adverbially, or employ demonstrative stacking. This section discusses both of these strategies.

The first strategy to signal vividness is to employ the demonstratives adnominally or adverbially to modify and thereby intensify nominal and pronominal constituents as in (19) and (20), or verbs as in (21) and (22).

In the first set of examples in (19) and (20), the short demonstrative forms modify nominal and pronominal constituents.

The utterance in (19) occurred after the speaker had been provoked verbally by an older relative. In her reaction, the speaker modifies the constituents *bapa-tua*

'uncle' and **emosi** 'feel angry (about)' with **ini** 'D.PROX', thereby emphasizing them. In choosing the proximal rather than the distal demonstrative to modify the constituent **bapa-tua** 'uncle', the speaker also signals that the referent is still near by.

The utterance in (20) is part of a conversation about the work stamina of a wife from the Pante-Barat area. When she and her husband lived in a different area, the women from that area were surprised how hard the Pante-Barat woman worked. The utterance in (20) relates the husband's response to these women. Having referred to his wife twice with the personal pronoun **de** '3SG', the speaker refers to her again. This time he modifies the personal pronoun with short **itu** 'D.DIST', thereby emphasizing it. This example again illustrates the at times overlapping functions of the demonstratives. In addition to signaling vividness, the distal demonstrative also signals that the referent was not present in the speech situation.

Adnominal uses to signal vividness

(19)   sa   bilang, adu,   **bapa-tua ni**   mancing
        1SG   say   oh.no!   uncle   D.PROX   fish.with.rod
        emosi   ni
        feel.angry(.about) D.PROX
        [After having been provoked:] 'I said, 'oh no, **uncle here** is provoking
        (our) emotions (EMPH)'' [081025-008-Cv.0124]

(20)   … de   bilang, … de   suda   biasa   de   bisa   kerja
          3SG   say   3SG   already   be.usual   3SG   be.able work
        de   tu   kerja   kaya   laki~laki
        3SG   D.DIST   work   like   RDP~husband
        '[and then he (my) husband ('father') told (them),] he said, '…she's already
        used to (working like this), she can work (hard), **she (EMPH)** works like a
        man'' [081014-007-CvEx.0049-0050]

In the second set of examples in (21) and (22), the demonstratives are used adverbially to signal vividness. In (21), **ini** 'D.PROX' modifies the verb **hidup** 'live', resulting in the emphatic reading **hidup ini** 'to be very much alive'. Along similar lines, in (22), **itu** 'D.DIST' modifies the verb **lompat** 'jump', giving the emphatic reading **lompat itu** 'really jumped'. Again, these examples illustrate the overlapping functions of the demonstratives. In addition to indicating vividness, they also have temporal uses: they signal temporal proximity indicating present tense in (21), and temporal distance indicating past tense in (22).

Adverbial uses to signal vividness

(21)   wa,   sa   masi   **hidup ni**   kam   suda   hinggap di
        wow!   1SG   still live   D.PROX   2PL   already   perch   at
        sa   punya   badan
        1SG   POSS   body
        [After having been pestered by flies:] 'wow!, I'm still **very much alive**,
        you (blue flies) had already perched upon my body' [080919-005-Cv.0015]

(22) sunggu   sa   **lompat itu**   dengan tenaga
      be.true   1SG   jump   D.DIST   with   energy
      'truly, I **really jumped** with energy' [081025-006-Cv.0220]

The second, although less common, strategy to signal vividness is the stacking of demonstratives: the first demonstrative is always a long one, while the second is always the corresponding short one. In these constructions, the first demonstrative may be used adnominally as in (23) and (24), or pronominally as in (25) and (26). In each case, the result of the stacking is an emphatic reading of the entire noun phrase. In (23) and (24) the second demonstrative modifies a nested noun phrase with an adnominal demonstrative such that '[[N DEM] DEM]'. The result of the stacking is an emphatic reading in the sense of 'this/that very N': *orang ini ni* 'this very person' in (23) and *ruma itu tu* 'that very house' in (24).

Adnominal uses of stacked demonstrative stacking to signal vividness

(23) [[**orang ini**]   **ni**]   percaya sama Tuhan   Yesus
      person   D.PROX   D.PROX   trust   to   God   Jesus
      '**this very person** believes in God Jesus' [081006-022-CvEx.0177]

(24) waktu kitorang masuk di [[**ruma itu**]   **tu**]   …
      when   1PL   enter at house   D.DIST   D.DIST
      'when we moved into **that very house**, …' [081006-022-CvEx.0167]

In (25) and (26) the second demonstrative modifies a pronominally used first one. The result is an emphatic reading in the sense of 'this/that very (one)': *ini ni* 'these very (ones) in (25) and *itu tu* 'those very (ones)' in (26).

Pronominal uses of stacked demonstrative stacking to signal vividness

(25) ada   segala macang tulang dia buang   [**ini**   **ni**]
      exist all   variety bone   3SG throw(.away)   D.PROX   D.PROX
      'there were all kinds of bones, he threw away **these very (ones)**' [080922-010a-CvNF.0101]

(26) ko   taw   kata   pis   ka   tida   [**itu**   **tu**]   kata~kata
      2SG   know   word   please[E]   or   NEG   D.DIST   D.DIST   RDP~word
      dasar yang harusnya   kamu   taw
      base   REL   appropriately   2PL   know
      [Addressing a school student:] 'do you know the (English) word 'please' or not?, **that very** (word belongs to) the basic words that you should know' [081115-001a-Cv.0145]

While unattested in the corpus, speakers do allow one combination of non-identical demonstrative stacking in elicitation. Acceptable is the order of proximal *ini* 'D.PROX' followed by distal *itu* 'D.DIST', as shown in (27). The reverse order is not permitted by speakers even in elicitation, as illustrated in (28). At this point in the research on Papuan Malay, however, the semantics of 'N *ini tu*' constructions as compared to 'N *ini ni*' and 'N *itu tu*' constructions remain uncertain.

Non-identical stacked demonstratives

(27) **orang   ini   tu**   percaya sama Tuhan Yesus
      person D.PROX D.DIST   trust   to   God   Jesus
      '**that person here** believes in God Jesus' [Elicited BR111017.009]

(28) * **orang itu   ni**   percaya sama Tuhan Yesus
         person D.DIST   D.PROX   trust   to   God   Jesus
      Intended reading: '**this person there** believes in God Jesus' [Elicited
      BR111017.010]

Demonstratives signaling contrast between two entities

In their contrastive uses, the demonstratives signal contrast between a discourse
referent and another entity, thereby conveying the speakers' attitudes about the
subject matter. This contrastive use is illustrated with three sets of examples.

    In the first set of examples in (29) and (30), the demonstratives modify the
personal pronoun *saya* '1SG', each time indicating an explicit contrast.

    In (29), the speaker compares the ill-behaved young people living in the house to
himself. While they have the privilege of staying with relatives in the regional city
to complete their secondary schooling, he had to stay with strangers when he was
young. This contrast is indicated with *ini* 'D.PROX'.

      Demonstrative signaling contrast: *saya ini* '1SG D.PROX'

(29) kamu   ana~ana   skarang ini   susa   … **saya**   **ini**
      2PL   RDP~child   now   D.PROX   be.difficult   1SG   D.PROX

      tinggal dengan   orang
      stay   with   person

      'you, the young people, nowadays are difficult … **I, by contrast**, stayed
      with (other) people' (Lit. '**this I**') [081115-001b-Cv.0038/0040]

The exchange in (30) occurred during a phone conversation when a daughter asked
her father to buy her a cell-phone. In (30a) her father suggests that a cell-phone
would distract her from her studies. The daughter responds with the contrastive
statement in (30b) in which *itu* 'D.DIST' modifies *saya* '1SG', resulting in the
contrastive reading *sa tu* 'I, nevertheless'. As already mentioned, the exact semantic
distinctions between *ini* 'D.PROX' and *itu* 'D.DIST' need further investigation. The
use of *itu* 'D.DIST' with *saya* '1SG' is especially surprising given that a first person
singular pronoun is inherently proximal. A temporal non-contemporaneous
interpretation is not likely since the speaker talks about her behavior in general.

      Demonstrative signaling contrast: *saya itu* '1SG D.DIST'

(30) a. Father: kalo   bli   HP   di   situ   nanti   su
                   if   buy   cell.phone at   L.MED   very.soon   already
                   tra   bisa   skola   maing HP   saja
                   NEG   be.able   go.to.school   play   cell.phone   just

          Father: 'if (you) buy a cell-phone there then (you) won't be able to do
          (any) schooling, (you'll) just play (with your) cell-phone

b. Daughter: **sa tu** rajing skola
          1SG D.DIST be.diligent go.to.school

Daughter: '**I, nonetheless**, go to school diligently' (Lit. '**that I**')
[080922-001a-CvPh.0448/0455]

In the second set of examples in (31) and (32), the demonstratives modify the personal pronoun *ko* '2SG': while the contrast is implicit in (31), it is explicit in (32).

The example in (31) is part of joke about a boy who chooses to attend a choir rather than a karate club together with his friends. The father is upset about his son's choice. Finally, he vents his anger with a contrastive statement in which *ini* 'D.PROX' modifies *ko* '2SG'. Thereby, the father contrasts his son implicitly with his friends: *ko ni* 'and what about you'.

Demonstrative signaling contrast: ***ko ini*** '2SG D.PROX'

(31) dep bapa liat~liat dia setiap hari … sampe dep
     3SG:POSS father RDP~see 3SG every day until 3SG:POSS

bapa su mara, **ko ni** setiap hari ko
father already feel.angry(.about) 2SG D.PROX every day 2SG

ikut latiang paduang-swara trus, kalo dong pukul
follow practice choir be.continuous if 3PL hit

ko ko bisa tangkis ka tida
2SG 2SG be.able ward.off or NEG

'his father sees him (practicing in a choir) [while his other friends practice self-defense] until his father gets angry (with his son), '**and what about you**, each and every day you attend the choir practice, (but) if someone hits you, can you defend (yourself) or not?' (Lit. '**this you**') [081109-006-JR.0001-0003]

In (32), an aunt gives advice to her niece who had been insulted by her younger cousin. Agreeing that the younger cousin has lighter skin and longer hair than the referent, the speaker continues her advice with a contrastive statement in which *itu* 'D.DIST' modifies *ko* '2SG': *ko itu* 'you, however'.

Demonstrative signaling contrast: ***ko itu*** '2SG D.DIST'

(32) ade tu biar puti rambut mayang tinggal rambut
     ySb D.DIST permit be.white hair palm.blossom stay hair

panjang, **ko itu** jalang
be.long 2SG D.DIST walk

'let that younger sister have light skin, (let her have) hair that's long down to her bottom, **you, however**, go (your own way)' (Lit. '**that you**') [081115-001a-Cv.0244]

In the third set in (33), the demonstratives modify temporal adverbs, thereby signaling temporal contrasts. In (33), a wife and her husband recount how a young man damaged his leg during a motorbike accident. In (33a) the wife relates that *skarang* 'now' the referent walks crookedly. Her husband continues the narrative in (33b) with a contrastive statement in which *itu* 'D.DIST' modifies the temporal

adverb ***dulu*** 'in the past', thereby signaling a temporal contrast: ***dulu itu*** 'in the past, however'. Subsequently, the wife further elaborates on the referent's condition. She concludes the exchange with yet another contrastive statement in (33c) in which ***ini*** 'D.PROX' modifies the temporal adverb ***skarang*** 'now', again signaling a temporal contrast: ***skarang ini*** '(it's) just now'.

Demonstrative signaling contrast: Modifying temporal adverbs

(33)   a. Wife: skarang   ada   jalang bengkok   sedikit
                    now   exist   walk   be.crooked few

          Wife: 'now he's walking a little crookedly (because of his motorbike accident)'

       b. Husband: **dulu**   **itu**   de   jalang lurus
                    in the past   D.DIST 3SG   walk   be.straight

          Husband: '**in the past, however**, he walked straight'

       c. Wife: … ini   bengkok   ini   kaki ini
                    D.PROX be.crooked D.PROX foot D.PROX

                    skarang ini   baru   ada   baik~baik
                    now   D.PROX recently exist RDP~be.good

          Wife: 'this (foot) was crooked here, this foot, (**it's) just now** that (it got) well' [081006-020-Cv.0006-0007/0013]

7.1.2.4.   Identificational uses of demonstratives

The demonstratives have identificational uses when they appear in the subject slot of a nominal predicate clause (§12.2). In this context, the demonstratives aids in the identification of a definite or identifiable referent encoded by the predicate. For instance, ***ini*** 'D.PROX' takes the subject slot in (34) and ***itu*** 'D.DIST' in (35). In this domain of use the long demonstratives are attested.

(34)   **ini**   daging yang saya bawa antar   buat   sodara dorang
       D.PROX meat   REL   1SG   bring deliver for   sibling 3PL
       '**this** is the (wild pig) meat that I brought (and) delivered for them relatives' [080919-003-NP.0021]

(35)   **itu**   kali   Biri
       D.DIST river Biri
       '**that** is the Biri river' [081025-008-Cv.0006]

7.1.2.5.   Textual uses of demonstratives

In their textual uses, the demonstratives provide discourse orientation. Two major uses can be distinguished, following Diessel (1999: 93): "anaphoric" and "discourse deictic" uses. (See also Himmelmann 1996.)

Anaphoric uses

In their anaphoric uses, the demonstratives "are coreferential with a prior NP" and thereby "keep track of discourse participants" (Diessel 1999: 93).

When used anaphorically, the demonstratives corefer with a referent or an event. In these contexts they may be employed adnominally as in (36) and (37), pronominally as in (38) and (39), or adverbially as in (40) and (41). The exact semantic distinctions between *ini* 'D.PROX' and *itu* 'D.DIST' as participant tracking devices, however, are yet to be investigated in more detail.

The examples in (36) and (37) demonstrate the adnominal anaphoric uses of the demonstratives. The utterances in (36) are part of a joke about a school student who does not know to draw. The teacher orders the students to *gambar monyet* 'draw a monkey'. When the *monyet* 'monkey' is mentioned the next time, it is marked with *ini* 'D.PROX' thereby indicating co-reference with this particular monkey. The example in (37) is part of a narrative that describes how the speaker's ancestor first came down to the coast where he finds a *bua mera* 'red fruit'. At its next mention, the noun phrase *bua mera* 'red fruit' is marked with *itu* 'D.DIST' to signal co-reference with that particular fruit.

Adnominal anaphoric uses

(36)　ibu　　mulay suru　ana~ana　murit　mulay gambar **monyet**　di
　　　woman　start　order　RDP~child　pupil　start　draw　　monkey　at

　　　atas　pohong pisang　… trus　de　　gambar　**monyet ini**
　　　top　　tree　　banana　　next　3SG　draw　　　monkey　D.PROX

　　　di　bawa　　pohong　pisang
　　　at　bottom　tree　　　banana

　　　'Ms. (Teacher) starts ordering the students to start drawing **a monkey** on a banana tree … and then he draws **this monkey** under the banana tree'
　　　[081109-002-JR.0001-0002]

(37)　trus　di　situ　　… ada　**bua　mera**　… de　　pegang
　　　next　at　L.MED　　exist　fruit　be.red　　3SG　hold

　　　bua　mera　itu　　dang　de　　jalang
　　　fruit　be.red　D.DIST　and　3SG　walk

　　　'and then there … was **a red fruit** … he took **that red fruit** and he walked (further)' [080922-010a-CvNF.0218-219]

The examples in (38) and (39) illustrate the pronominal anaphoric uses of the demonstratives. The remark in (38) is part of a description of sagu production. After having introduced the main tool, *penokok kayu* 'wooden pounder', the speaker replaces it at its next mention with *ini* 'D.PROX'. In (39) the speaker talks about a female weight lifter. Noting that she is talking about weights in kilogram, she employs short *itu* 'D.DIST' which is coreferent with *de pu brat* 'her weights'.

Pronominal anaphoric uses

(38)   ada   **penokok kayu** … smua orang tokok dengan **ini**
        exist pounder wood   all   person tap   with   D.PROX

'there is **a wooden pounder** … all people pound (sagu) with **this**' [081014-006-CvPr.0011/0057]

(39)   prempuang Bandung itu   **de   pu   brat**   yang itu
        woman   Bandung D.DIST   3SG   POSS be.heavy   REL   D.DIST

        sa   angkat **tu**   kilo   … dlapang pulu tiga
        1SG   pick-up D.DIST kilogram   eight   tens three

'that woman from Bandung, **her weights** which I lifted, **that** (is in) kilogram … eighty three (kilogram)' [081023-003-Cv.0003]

The examples in (40) and (41) illustrate the adverbial anaphoric uses of both demonstratives. The utterance in (40) is part of a narrative about a youth retreat. During their journey to the retreat, the teenagers meet an old woman who gives them advice for the retreat. The woman mentions the verb *jalang* 'walk' three times while advising the teenagers where to walk and how to behave. When she mentions *jalang* 'walk' again, she marks it with *ini* 'D.PROX'.

Adverbial anaphoric uses of *ini* 'D.PROX'

(40)   kamu   **jalang jalang** baik~baik   saja kamu tinggal kamu **jalang**
        2PL   walk   walk   RDP~be.good just 2PL   stay   2PL   walk

        tida   bole   ini   ini   … kamu **jalang ini**
        NEG   be.permitted   D.PROX   D.PROX   2PL   walk   D.PROX

        untuk apa   pekerjaang Tuhan
        for   what   work   God

'you **travel**, just **travel** well, (when) you stay (at Takar and when you) **walk around** (in Takar), (you) shouldn't (do) this (and) this, … you (do) **this traveling** for, what, God's work' [081025-008-Cv.0142/0144]

The exchange (41) occurred between two sisters just before the youth retreat. In (41a) the younger one states that she wants to *jalang* 'travel' to the youth retreat without, however, attending the services; instead she plans to stay at the guesthouse. Her older sister responds in (41b) that in that case it were better if she stayed home. Being upset about this reaction, the younger one asks her older sister in (41c) why she said so. In her reply in (41d), the older sister mentions *jalang* 'walk' again, this time modifying it with *itu* 'D.DIST'.

Adverbial anaphoric uses of *itu* 'D.DIST'

(41)   a.   Younger sister: sa   **jalang** tra   sembayang tinggal di   ruma
                                1SG walk   NEG   worship   stay   at   house

              Young sister: 'I'll **go** (to the youth retreat, but) I won't worship, (I'll) stay at the house'

        b.   Older sister: kalo   mo   tinggal di   ruma   tinggal di
                            if   want   stay   at   house stay   at

ruma	sini	…
house	L.PROX

Older sister: 'if (you) want to stay at the house, stay home …'

c.   Younger sister: knapa
                       Why

Young sister: 'why?'

d.   Older sister: orang   **jalang   itu**   mo   pergi   sembayang
                     person   walk   D.DIST   want   go   worship

Older sister: 'people (doing) **that traveling** want to go worship'
[081006-016-Cv.0012-0015]

Alternatively, however, one might argue that in (40) and (41) the demonstratives do not function as participant tracking devices, but rather signal emotional involvement.

Discourse deictic uses

In their discourse deictic uses, the demonstratives are not coreferent with the referent of a previously established noun phrase. Instead, they are coreferential with a preceding or following proposition. That is, they "establish an overt link between two propositions: the one in which they are embedded and the one to which they refer" (Diessel 1999: 101). As illustrated in (42) to (46), only the pronominally used demonstratives have discourse deictic uses.

Proximal *ini* 'D.PROX' may refer to a preceding statement as in (42) or to a following statement as in (43). The example in (42) is part of a conversation about difficult children. Maintaining that children should be disciplined, the speaker makes a number of suggestions how to do so. Employing short *ini* 'D.PROX', the speaker summarizes her previous statements. Thereby she creates a link to her closing statement that her interlocutor should decide for herself what to make of these suggestions. In (43), *ini* 'D.PROX' creates a link to the following direct quote.

Discourse deictic uses of *ini* 'D.PROX'

(42)   …   **ni**   usul   saja   jadi   kaka   sendiri   …
           D.PROX   proposal   just   so   oSb   be.alone

'**this** is just a proposal, so (you) older sister (have to decide for) yourself …' [080917-010-CvEx.0116]

(43)   pace   de   bilang   **ini**,   mace   ko   sendiri   yang   ikut   …
       man   3SG   say   D.PROX   wife   2SG   be.alone   REL   follow

'(my) husband said **this**, 'you wife yourself (should) go (with them) …''
(Lit. '(it's) you wife yourself who …') [081025-009a-Cv.0032]

Distal *itu* 'D.DIST' is used only to create a link to a preceding statement, as in (44). This example is part of joke about an uneducated person who notes that *di kalender dua blas* 'in the calendar are twelve (moons)' while *di langit ini Cuma satu* 'in this sky is only one'. Distal *itu* 'D.DIST' summarizes these remarks, creating an overt link to the speaker's conclusion that this state of affairs is *tipu skali* 'very deceptive'.

Discourse deictic uses of *itu* 'D.DIST'

(44) masa   di kalender dua blas, baru   di langit
      be.impossible at calendar two teens and.then at sky

      ini   cuma satu …, **itu**   tipu   skali
      D.PROX   just one   D.DIST   cheat   very

      [Joke:] '(it's) impossible, in a calendar are twelve (moons), but in the sky
      here is only one (moon) … **that's** very deceptive'' [081109-007-JR.0003]

The discourse deictic uses of *itu* 'D.DIST' are very commonly extended to that of a
"sentence connective" that signals "a causal link between two propositions" (Diessel
1999: 125), as illustrated in (45) and (46). Standing alone, *itu* 'D.DIST' introduces a
reason relation as in (45). When co-occurring with the relativizer *yang* 'REL', *itu*
'D.DIST' marks a result relation as in (46).

In (45), the speaker recounts a conversation with a local doctor after a motorbike
accident. In using *itu* 'D.DIST' the doctor summarizes the speaker's comments
concerning her health and creates an overt link to his explanation why she is in pain.
In this context *itu* 'D.DIST' functions as a causal link that marks a reason relation.

Discourse deictic uses of *itu* 'D.DIST': Marker of a reason relation

(45) sa   bilang, tulang baw   yang pata, tulang rusuk, o,   a,
      1SG   say   bone   shoulder REL break bone   rib   oh! ah!

      mama   **itu**   hanya ko   jatu kaget
      mother D.DIST   only   2SG fall feel.startled(.by)

      'I said, '(it's my) shoulder bone that is broken, (my) ribs', (the doctor said,)
      'oh! ah, Mother **that is** just **because** you're in shock' [081015-005-NP.0048]

The utterance in (46) is part of a conversation about the speaker's husband who had
fallen sick after a straining journey. Recounting some details about the journey, the
speaker relates that her husband had returned home hungry. At the beginning of the
next clause *itu* 'D.DIST' summarizes this account and, combined with the relativizer
yang 'REL', signals a reason relation: *itu yang de sakit* 'that's why he's sick'.

Discourse deictic uses of *itu* 'D.DIST': Marker of a result relation

(46) pace de   tida makang … lapar   **itu**   **yang** de   sakit
      man   3SG NEG   eat   be.hungry   D.DIST   REL   3SG   be.sick

      'he (my) husband hadn't eaten … (he was) hungry, **that's why** he's sick'
      [080921-004b-CvNP.0003/0007]

7.1.2.6. Placeholder uses of demonstratives

The demonstratives are also employed pronominally as "placeholders" in the context
of "word-formulation trouble": they function "as temporary substitutes for specific
lexical items that have eluded the speaker" (Hayashi and Yoon 2006: 499). Attested
as placeholders, however, are only the long demonstrative forms.

As placeholders the demonstratives can substitute for any lexical item, such as
nouns as in (47), personal pronouns as in (48), or verbs as in (49). More
investigation is needed, though, to account for the alternation of *ini* 'D.PROX' and *itu*

'D.DIST' in this context. In most cases, as in (48) and (49), the demonstrative is set off from the subsequently produced target word by a comma intonation ("|"). Often, however, there is no audible pause between the placeholder and the target word as in (47).

Placeholder for a proper noun

(47)   … saya   ingat   **ini**   **Ise**
        1SG   remember   D.PROX   Ise

        '(at that particular time) I remembered, **what's-her-name, Ise**' [080917-008-NP.0102]

Placeholder for a personal pronoun

(48)   wa,   **ini** | **kitong**   lari~lari   kemaring   sampe   …
        wow   D.PROX   1PL   RDP~run   yesterday reach

        'wow, **what's-their-name**, **we** drove yesterday all the way to …' [081006-033-Cv.0007]

Placeholder for a verb

(49)   skarang   sa   **itu** | **simpang**   sratus   ribu
        now   1SG   D.DIST   store   one.hundred   thousand

        'now I (already), **what's-its-name**, **set aside** one hundred thousand (rupiah)' [081110-002-Cv.0039]

While in (47) to (49), the demonstratives are used referentially to substitute for a lexical item, this does not seem to be the case in (50). In this example, *itu* 'D.DIST' appears to be used as a non-referential "interjective hesitator" that signals "the speaker's hesitation in utterance production" (Hayashi and Yoon 2006: 512–513). This is evidenced by the fact that *itu* 'D.DIST' does not agree with adnominally used *ini* 'D.PROX', which modifies the head nominal *pace* 'man'. Further investigation is required, however, to explore whether and in which ways Papuan Malay makes a distinction between the placeholder and non-referential hesitator uses of its demonstratives and whether it may in fact be using this right-displacement as a deliberate construction for emphasis in some contexts (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 36).

Interjective hesitator

(50)   yo   **itu**   **itu**   **pace**   **ini**   de   baru   ambil   …
        oh!   D.DIST   D.DIST   man   D.PROX   3SG   recently   fetch

        'oh, **umh**, **umh**, **this man**, he recently took …' [081011-009-Cv.0007]

7.2.   Locatives

In the following sections, the syntactic properties and forms of the Papuan Malay locatives are reviewed and discussed (§7.2.1), followed by an in-depth discussion of their different functions and domains of use (§7.2.2).

7.2.1.   Syntax and forms of locatives

The distributional properties of the locatives are briefly reviewed in §7.2.1.1. This review is followed in §7.2.1.2 by a discussion of the distribution and frequencies of pronominally versus adnominally used locatives.

7.2.1.1.   Distributional properties of locatives

The Papuan Malay locatives have the following distributional properties (for more details see §5.7):

1.   Substitution for noun phrases that occur in prepositional phrases (pronominal uses) (§5.7.1)
2.   Modification with demonstratives or relative clauses (pronominal uses) (§5.7.1)
3.   Co-occurrence with noun phrases in post-head position (adnominal uses) (§5.7.2)

7.2.1.2.   Distribution of the pronominal versus the adnominally used locatives

This section describes the distribution and frequencies of the pronominally versus adnominally used locatives (their semantic distinctions are discussed in §7.2.2.1).

The corpus includes a total of 1,367 locative tokens: 494 *sini* 'L.PROX' (36%), 412 *situ* 'L.MED' (30%), and 461 *sana* 'L.DIST' (34%) tokens. Most commonly the locatives are employed pronominally (≥75%), while their adnominal uses are considerably less common (≤25%), as shown in Table 7.

Table 7:   Locatives according to their syntactic functions

	sini 'L.PROX'		*situ* 'L.MED'		*sana* 'L.DIST	
Pronominal uses	416	84%	345	84%	345	75%
Adnominal uses	78	16%	67	16%	116	25%
Total	494		412		461	

The distribution of the pronominally used locatives is presented in Table 8 (see also §5.7.1). In their pronominal uses, as already mentioned, the locatives always occur in prepositional phrases. Most often they are introduced with an overt preposition: 384 *sini* 'L.PROX' (92%), 302 *situ* 'L.MED' (87%), and 311 *sana* 'L.DIST' (90%) tokens. When the context allows the disambiguation of the semantic role or relationship of the locative, however, the preposition can also be deleted (see also §10.1.5): 32 *sini* 'L.PROX' (8%), 45 *situ* 'L.MED' (13%), and 34 *sana* 'L.DIST' (10%) tokens. Overall, however, pronominally used locatives with zero-preposition are rather rare (≤12%).

Table 8:   Pronominally used locatives in prepositional phrases (PP) with or
            without preposition (PREP)

	sini 'L.PROX'		*situ* 'L.MED'		*sana* 'L.DIST	
PP with PREP	384	92%	302	88%	311	90%
PP with zero PREP	32	8%	43	12%	34	10%
Total	416		345		345	

The distribution of the adnominally used locatives is presented in Table 9 (see also
§5.7.2). In their adnominal uses, the locatives most commonly co-occur with noun
phrases that occur in prepositional phrases (≥80%). Like the pronominally used
locatives, the vast majority of adnominally used locatives occur in prepositional
phrases with an overt preposition: 46 *sini* 'L.PROX' (59%), 55 *situ* 'L.MED' (84%),
and 86 *sana* 'L.DIST' (74%) tokens. Far fewer locative tokens occur in prepositional
phrases with zero preposition: 16 *sini* 'L.PROX' (21%), 6 *situ* 'L.MED' (9%), and 16
sana 'L.DIST' (14%) tokens. The number of locative tokens occurring in
unembedded noun phrases is equally low or still lower (≤21%): 16 *sini* 'L.PROX'
(21%), 5 *situ* 'L.MED' (7%), and 14 *sana* 'L.DIST' (12%) tokens.

Table 9:   Adnominally used locatives in prepositional phrases and unembedded
            noun phrases

	sini 'L.PROX'		*situ* 'L.MED'		*sana* 'L.DIST	
PP with PREP	46	59%	55	84%	86	74%
PP with zero PREP	16	21%	6	9%	16	14%
NP	16	21%	5	7%	14	12%
Total	78		65		116	

7.2.2.   Functions of locatives

The locatives have a number of different functions and uses which are discussed in
more detail in the following sections: spatial uses in §7.2.2.1, figurative locational
uses in §7.2.2.2, temporal uses in §7.2.2.3, psychological uses in §7.2.2.4, and
textual uses in 7.2.2.5.

7.2.2.1.   Spatial uses of locatives

In their spatial uses, the Papuan Malay locatives designate the location of an entity
relative to that of the speaker and focus the hearer's attention to the specific location
of these entities. In the following, two issues are explored in more detail: the
semantic distinctions between the three locatives, and the semantic distinctions
between the pronominally and adnominally used locatives.

Semantic distinctions between the three locatives

Generally speaking, proximal *sini* 'L.PROX' signals proximity to a deictic center, while distal *sana* 'L.DIST' expresses distance from this center. Medial *situ* 'L.MED' indicates mid distance; that is, the referent is more remote from the speaker than the referent of *sini* 'L.PROX' but not as far as the referent of *sana* 'L.DIST'. The actual distances signaled with the locatives are relative, however, and depend on the speakers' perceptions. The data also shows that the locatives are very commonly used independently of the parameter of visibility. Although *sini* 'L.PROX' most commonly denotes visible locations, it can also refer to invisible ones; likewise, the non-proximal locatives can refer to visible or invisible locations.

The spatial uses of *sini* 'L.PROX' are illustrated in (51) and (52). The semantic distinctions between *sini* 'L.PROX' and *sana* 'L.DIST' are shown in (53). The spatial uses of *situ* 'L.MED' and its semantic distinctions from *sini* 'L.PROX' and *sana* 'L.DIST' are illustrated in (54) and (55).

The examples in (51) and (52) illustrate the spatial uses of *sini* 'L.PROX'. In both cases, adnominally used *sini* 'L.PROX' indicates the location of an entity close to the speaker: *ember sini* 'the bucket here' in (51) and *Sawar sini* 'Sawar here' in (52). The actual distances signaled with *sini* 'L.PROX' differ, however, depending on the speakers' perceptions. In (51), *ember sini* 'the bucket here' is standing right next to the speaker. By contrast in (52), *Sawar sini* 'Sawar here' denotes a location that is situated about ten kilometers away from the speaker's location. The speaker, however, perceives *Sawar* as being close to his own location given that *Apawer* is situated still further away. The examples in (51) and (52) also illustrate that *sini* 'L.PROX' is used independently of the parameter of visibility: the locative is used for a visible location in (51) and for an invisible one in (52).

Spatial uses of *sini* 'L.PROX'

(51)   sa   su   taru   di   **ember   sini**
        1SG   already   put   at   bucket   L.PROX
        'I already put (the fish) in **the bucket here**' [080917-006-CvHt.0003]

(52)   de   mulay   turung   dari   Apawer   …   sampe   di   **Sawar   sini**
        3SG   start   descend   from   Apawer   reach   at   Sawar   L.PROX
        'he (the ancestor) started coming down from Apawer … (and) reached
        Sawar here' [080922-010a-CvNF.0149]

The example in (53) illustrates the semantic distinctions between *sini* 'L.PROX' and *sana* 'L.DIST'. The utterance occurred during a conversation outside at night. Noting that their neighbors are also sitting outside, the speaker employs the distal locative to refer to the neighbors' location *sana* 'over there' and the proximal locative to refer to their own location *sini* 'here'.

Spatial uses of *sini* 'L.PROX' and *sana* 'L.DIST'

(53)   dong   juga   duduk   di   **sana**   tong   juga   duduk   di   **sini**
        3PL   also   sit   at   L.DIST   1PL   also   sit   at   L.PROX
        'they also sit (outside) **over there**, we also sit (outside) **here**' [081025-009b-
        Cv.0075]

The examples in (54) and (55) show the spatial uses of *situ* 'L.MED' and its semantic distinctions from *sini* 'L.PROX' and *sana* 'L.DIST'.

The exchange in (54) took place at night in front of the house while a meeting took place inside in the living room where the teenagers usually sleep. The young people were waiting for the guests to leave so that they could go to sleep. Employing *situ* 'L.MED', the first teenager wonders what the adults are doing *situ* 'there' in the living room. Finally, the second teenager suggests they do not wait any longer: using *sini* 'L.PROX' she proposes that they sleep *luar sini* 'outside here'. The utterance in (55) occurred during a conversation about a street-building project. The speaker informs his interlocutor that the construction work has already reached the village of *Warmer*, located to the east of the interlocutors' location. Employing *situ* 'L.MED' and *sana* 'L.DIST', the speaker maintains that the construction work would continue *dari situ* 'from there (Warmer)' further eastwards *ke sana* 'to over there'.

Spatial uses of *situ* 'L.MED'

(54) a. Teenager-1: dong   dong   biking   apa   **situ**   …
                       3PL   3PL   make   what L.MED

        Teenager-1: 'what are they they doing **there**? …'

      b. Teenager-2: yo,   kitong tidor   **luar**   **sini**
                       yes   1PL   sleep   outside   L.PROX

        Teenager-2: 'yes, we sleep **outside here**' [080921-009-Cv.0001/0013]

(55) yo.   mulay   menuju   jembatang   Warmer   …   kalo   dari   **situ**
      yes   start   aim.at   bridge   Warmer   if   from   L.MED

      ke   **sana**,   o   itu   dia   …
      to   L.DIST   oh!   D.DIST 3SG

      'yes, (they) started working towards the Warmer bridge … when (they'll work the stretch of the street) from **there** to **over there**, oh, what's-its-name, it …' [081006-033-Cv.0013/0015/0017]

The examples in (53) and (55) show that distances signaled with the non-proximal locatives are relative. In (53) *sana* 'L.DIST' refers to the neighbor's house, situated about fifty meters away from where the speakers are sitting. By contrast, *situ* 'L.MED' in (55) is used of the village of Warmer which is located several kilometers away from the speaker's location, while *sana* 'L.DIST' refers to the area beyond Warmer. These examples also show that the non-proximal locatives are used independently of the parameter of visibility. Distal *sana* 'L.DIST' is used for a visible location in (53) and an invisible one in (55). Medial *situ* 'L.MED' refers to a visible location in (54) and an invisible one in (55).

Semantic distinctions between the pronominally and adnominally used locatives

In designating the location of a referent relative to that of the speaker, Papuan Malay makes a distinction between the pronominally and the adnominally used locatives.

Pronominally used locatives provide additional information about the location of an entity or referent without restricting its referential scope. Adnominally used locatives, by contrast, have a restrictive function, thereby assisting the hearer in the identification of the referent. That is, by directing the hearer's attention to the referent's location, adnominal locatives indicate that the referent is precisely the one situated in the location designated by the locative. This distinction is illustrated with the (near) contrastive examples in (56) and (57).

The prepositional phrases with pronominally used *sini* 'L.PROX' in (56a) and (57a) provide additional information about the location of the referents, information that is non-essential for their identification: *orang di sini* 'the people here' in (56a) and *dorang di sini* 'them here' in (57a). By contrast, in (56b) and (57b) the respective head nominals *orang* 'person' and *dorang* '3PL' are modified with *sini* 'L.PROX'. In both cases, the locative indicates that the referents of *orang* 'person' and *dorang* '3PL' are precisely the ones located *sini* 'here' as opposed to other locations: *orang sini* 'the people that are here' in (56b) and *dorang sini* 'they that are here' in (57b).

Adnominally versus pronominally used locatives

(56) a. **orang di sini**   bilang   pake~pake
          person   at L.PROX   say   practice.black.magic

          '**the people here** say 'black magic'' [081006-022-CvEx.0028]

      b. jadi **orang sini**   bilang kemaring   dulu
          so   person L.PROX   say   yesterday be.prior

          'so **the people (that are) here** say 'the day before yesterday''
          [081006-019-Cv.0015]

(57) a. Lodia datang ke mari de   kas   bodo   **dorang di sini**
          Lodia come   to hither 3SG give be.stupid 3PL   at L.PROX

          '(when) Lodia came here, she told **them here** how stupid they were'
          (Lit. 'made **them here** stupid') [081115-001a-Cv.0136]

      b. baru   sa   liat **dorang sini**   su   terlalu enak
          and.then 1SG see   3PL   L.PROX   already too   be.pleasant

          [Comment about ill-behaved teenagers:] 'and then I see **(that) they
          (that are) here** already (have) too pleasant (lives)' [081115-001a-
          Cv.0311]

7.2.2.2. Figurative locational uses of locatives

The spatial uses of the locatives can be expanded to figurative locational uses in narratives. Employing a locative preceded by *sampe di* 'reach at', the narrators bring their stories to a figurative locational endpoint. Such uses are attested for *sini* 'L.PROX' as in (58) and *situ* 'L.MED' as in (59), but not for *sana* 'L.DIST'.

(58)   … sa   su   sembu,   trima-kasi sampe di **sini**
         1SG   already be.healed thank.you   reach   at L.PROX
        '[after this accident] I already recovered, thank you! **this is all**' (Lit. 'reach
        here') [081015-005-NP.0051]

(59)   sa   pikir   mungking   sampe di **situ**   dulu
        1SG   think   maybe   reach   at L.MED   be.prior
        'I think maybe **that's all** for now' (Lit. 'reach **there**') [080919-004-NP.0083]

7.2.2.3.   Temporal uses of locatives

The locative *situ* 'L.MED' also has temporal uses, which proximal and distal
locatives do not have. Preceded by the preposition *dari* 'from', *situ* 'L.MED' signals
the temporal setting of the event talked about with respect to some temporal
reference point in the past, as illustrated in (60). Overall, however, this domain of
use is not very common, with the corpus containing only two such occurrences.

(60)   **dari** **situ**   sa   punya   mama   tida   maw jualang
        from   L.MED   1SG   POSS   mother   NEG   want merchandise

        pagi   lagi
        morning   again

        '**from that moment on** my mother didn't want to do any more vending in
        the morning' (Lit. '**from there**') [081014-014-NP.0006]

7.2.2.4.   Psychological uses of locatives

The locatives also have limited psychological uses to signal the speaker's
psychological involvement. In discussing their spatial uses (§7.2.2.1), it was already
mentioned that the locatives signal relative distances, that is, distance as perceived
by the speaker. This perception, however, is linked to the speakers' attitudes and
emotional involvement as illustrated in (61) and (62).

   The corpus contains a fair number of utterances in which the speakers switch
from *sana* 'L.DIST' to *situ* 'L.MED' to refer to the same location. With this switch the
speakers indicate that the location has become vivid to their minds and
psychologically closer than *sana* 'L.DIST' would signal.

   In (61) a father relates that he will bring his two oldest children to the provincial
capital Jayapura for further schooling once the younger one has finished high
school. Anaphorically used *sana* 'L.DIST' signals that Jayapura is at considerable
distance from the speaker's current location (ca. 300 km). The subsequent use of
situ 'L.MED' indicates that with his two children going to live there, distant Jayapura
has become psychologically much closer.

        Psychological uses: Example #1

(61)   kalo Ise ni   selesay saya mo   bawa dong dua
        if   Ise D.PROX finish   1SG   want bring 3PL   two

ke **sana**   tinggal di **situ**
to   L.DIST   stay   at   L.MED

'when Ise here has finished (her schooling) I want to bring the two of them
to (Jayapura) **over there** to live **there**' [081025-003-Cv.0135]

Likewise in (62) the speaker switches from *sana* 'L.DIST' to *situ* 'L.MED' to refer to
the Mambramo area *sana* 'over there', situated about 100 km to the west. The
switch occurs at the moment when the speaker considers his own involvement with
the Mambramo area, namely that he has never been *situ* 'there'. Again, this switch
indicates that the location talked about has become more vivid and psychologically
closer to the speaker's mind.

Psychological uses: Example #2

(62)   kaka   dong   di **sana**   sodara   banyak skali … sa   juga
        oSb   3PL   at   L.DIST   sibling   many   very   1SG   also

        blum   perna sa   kunjungang ke **situ**
        not.yet once   1SG   visit   to   L.MED

        'they older relatives **over there**, (the) relatives are very many in (the
        Mambramo area), … me too, I have never been **there**' [080922-010a-
        CvNF.0158]

7.2.2.5.   Textual anaphoric uses of locatives

In their textual uses, locatives are only used anaphorically: they are co-referential
with a discourse antecedent that denotes a location. In (63) *sini* 'L.PROX' corefers
with the place where the speaker was standing, namely where there were *daung
klapa … itu* 'those coconut leaves'. Medial *situ* 'L.MED' in (64) corefers with *laut*
'sea', and *sana* 'L.DIST' in (65) with *sa pu temang* 'my friend'. The three examples
also show that in their anaphoric uses the locatives may be employed pronominally
as in (63) and (64), or adnominally as in (65).

(63)   baru   daung klapa   itu   **daung klapa   yang saya ada**
        and.then leaf   coconut D.DIST leaf   coconut REL   1SG   exist

        berdiri itu   … sa   bilang … dari **sini**   sa   kutuk dia
        stand   D.DIST   1SG   say   from L.PROX 1SG   curse   3SG

        'and then those coconut leaves, **those coconut leaves where I was
        standing** … I said, '… from **here** I curse him (the evil spirit)'' [080917-008-
        NP.0101/0103]

(64)   ey,   kam dua pi mandi di **laut**   suda!,   trus   kam
        hey!   2PL   two go bathe at   sea   already next 2PL

        dua   cuci   celana di **situ**
        two   wash trouser at   L.MED

        [A mother addressing her young sons:] 'hey, you two go bathe in the **sea**
        already!, then you two wash (your) trousers **there**!' [080917-006-CvHt.0007]

(65) tong dari **sa** **pu** **temang** pinjam trening untuk besok
1PL from 1SG POSS friend borrow tracksuit for tomorrow

… tu yang tadi sa ke **temang sana**
D.DIST REL earlier 1SG to friend L.DIST

'we (are back) from **my friend** (from whom we) borrowed a tracksuit for tomorrow … that's why a short while ago I (went) to (my) **friend over there**' [081011-020-Cv.0052/0056]

7.3. Combining demonstratives and locatives

Demonstratives and locatives can be combined with an adnominally used demonstrative modifying a pronominally used locative. In these constructions, the demonstrative serves to intensify the locative, resulting in an emphatic reading that conveys vividness.

Short distal *itu* 'D.DIST' modifies proximal *sini* 'L.PROX' in (66) and medial *situ* 'L.MED' in (67). In (68) long distal *itu* 'D.DIST' modifies distal *sana* 'L.DIST'.

(66) dorang tida bisa dekat sama dorang … di **sini** **tu**
3PL NEG be.able near with 3PL at L.PROX D.DIST

ada orang swanggi satu de bertobat …
exist person nocturnal.evil.spirit one 3SG repent

'they (the evil spirits) can't be close to them (God's children)… **here (EMPH)** is one evil sorcerer, he has become a Christian [and now he tells others about these things]' [081006-022-CvEx.0146/0150]

(67) tida bisa kamu tinggal di situ, di **situ** **tu**
NEG be.able 2PL stay at L.MED at L.MED D.DIST

ruma tu ada setan banyak
house D.DIST exist evil.spirit many

'you can't live there, **there (EMPH)**, (in) that house are many evil spirits' [081006-022-CvEx.0164]

(68) … Papua-Satu ada muncul dari laut **sana** **itu**
Papua-Satu exist appear from ocean L.DIST D.DIST

'[have a look first] (the ship) Papua-Satu is appearing from the ocean, (from) **over there (EMPH)**' [080917-008-NP.0129]

In all attested combinations, it is the distal demonstrative that modifies a locative. Modification of a locative with proximal *ini* 'D.PROX' is also possible although unattested, as discussed in §5.7.1).

7.4. Summary

The Papuan Malay demonstratives and locatives are deictic expressions. They provide orientation to the hearer in the outside world and in the speech situation, in spatial as well as in non-spatial domains. Both deictic systems are distance oriented, in that they signal the relative distance of an entity vis-à-vis a deictic center. At the

same time, the two systems differ in a number of respects. They are distinct both in terms of their syntactic characteristics and forms and in terms of their functions.

The differences between the demonstratives and the locatives with respect to their syntactic characteristics and forms are summarized in Table 10.

Table 10:   Syntax and forms of the demonstratives (DEM) and locatives (LOC)

Syntax and forms	DEM	LOC
Deictic forms	Two term system: – proximal ***ini*** 'D.PROX' – distal ***itu*** 'D.DIST'	Three-term system: – proximal ***sini*** 'L.PROX' – medial ***situ*** 'L.MED' – distal ***sana*** 'L.DIST'
Distributional properties	– adnominal uses – pronominal uses – adverbial uses	– adnominal uses – pronominal uses
Pronominal uses	– in unembedded NPs – in PPs – in adnominal possessive constructions	– in PPs
Adnominal uses	– can be stacked	---

The main distinctions between the demonstratives and the locatives in terms of their various functions are summarized in Table 11.

Table 11:   Functions of the demonstratives (DEM) and locatives (LOC)

Domains of use	DEM	LOC
Spatial	provide spatial orientation by drawing the hearer's attention to specific entities in the discourse or surrounding situation	provide spatial orientation by designating the location of an entity and focusing the hearer's attention to its specific location
Figurative locational	---	signal a figurative locational endpoint
Temporal	indicate the temporal setting of an event/situation	indicate the temporal setting of an event/situation (medial locative only)
Psychological	indicate the speakers' emotional involvement with an event/situation signal vividness indicate contrast	indicate the speakers' emotional involvement with an event/situation signal vividness
Identificational	aid in the identification of	---

Domains of use	DEM	LOC
	referents (long forms)	
Textual anaphoric	keep track of discourse participants	keep track of the location of an entity
Textual discourse deictic	establish an overt link between two propositions	---
Placeholder	substitute for specific lexical items the context of word-formulation trouble (long forms)	---

In summary, with respect to their syntactic properties, the demonstratives have a wider range of uses (adnominal, pronominal, and adverbial uses) than the locatives. Likewise, in terms of their functions, the demonstratives have a wider range of uses than the locatives. The locative system, by contrast, allows finer semantic distinctions to be made than the demonstrative system, given that the former expresses a three-way deictic contrast, whereas the latter expresses a two-way deictic contrast.

8. Noun phrases

8.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the Papuan Malay noun phrase with its different types of structures. Also included is a description of noun phrase apposition; noun phrase coordination is not discussed here but in Chapter 14. "Traditionally, the term 'noun phrase' has then been used to describe any phrase consisting of a noun as its central constituent (or 'head') and capable of functioning as an argument (e.g., subject or object) in a sentence" (Payne 2006: 712).

An overview of the possible constituents of the Papuan Malay noun phrase is given in Table 1 (the parenthesis in the table header signal that the modifiers are optional). Modifying elements listed in the same column represent choices; constituents in the same row do not necessarily co-occur.

Table 1:   Possible constituents of the Papuan Malay noun phrase

(MOD)	HEAD	(MOD)			
		Post-1	Post-2	Post-3	Post-4
INT NUM QT POSSR-NP	N	V N PP RC	PRO	DEM LOC INT NUM QT	DEM
	PRO	PP RC		LOC NUM QT	DEM
POSSR-NP	DEM	RC			DEM
	LOC	RC			DEM
POSSR-NP	INT	RC			DEM

The overview in Table 1 shows that different types of constituents can function as the head of a noun phrases. The head can be a noun such as **ana** 'child' in (1), a personal pronoun such as **dong** '3PL' in (2), a demonstrative such a **itu** 'D.DIST' in (3), a locative such as **situ** 'L.MED' in (4), or an interrogative such as **mana** 'where, which' in (5). Head nouns allow the widest range of modifiers, while personal pronouns, demonstrative, locatives, and interrogatives allow only a subset of modifiers, as shown throughout this chapter.

Types of constituents functioning as heads in noun phrases

(1)   kitong   cari   **ana**   kecil   itu
       1PL   search   child   be.small   D.DIST
       'we were looking for that small **kid**' [080921-004a-CvNP.0070]

(2)   **dong** dua tu   ikut
        3PL   two D.DIST follow
        [About an upcoming event:] 'both of **them** there are going to participate'
        [081115-001a-Cv.0115]

(3)   **itu**   tu   rahasia mo   mo   biking apa   ka   mo   …
        D.DIST   D.DIST secret   want want make   what   or   want
        [About raising children:] '**that** (EMPH) is the secret (when we) want want to
        do something or want to …' [080917-010-CvEx.0160]

(4)   e, sa   tinggal di **situ**   tu
        uh 1SG   stay   at L.MED   D.DIST
        'uh, I lived **there (EMPH)**' [080922-002-Cv.0112]

(5)   ana   laki~laki   ini   de   mo   ke   **mana** ni
        child RDP~husband   D.PROX   3SG want to   where D.PROX
        'this boy, **where** (EMPH) does he want to (go)?' [080922-004-Cv.0017]

The minimal noun phrase consists of a bare head nominal. Modifiers are optional
and occur in pre- and/or post-head position. Attested in the present corpus is the co-
occurrence of up to three post-head constituents. Modifiers listed in the same pre- or
post-head slots in Table 1 do not co-occur, with one exception discussed below.

   Pre-head modifiers can be numerals such as ***empat*** 'four' in (6), quantifiers such
as ***smua*** 'all' in (7), the interrogative ***brapa*** 'how many' as in (8), or possessor noun
phrases in adnominal possessive constructions such ***bapa*** 'father' or ***siapa*** 'who' in
(9). Pre-head modifiers do not co-occur, with one exception. The interrogative ***brapa***
'how many' can co-occur with certain numerals, such as ***ratus*** 'hundred', or ***ribu***
'thousand', as in ***brapa ratus orang*** 'several hundred people' in (10).

        MOD − HEAD

(6)   jadi saya **empat ana**
        so   1SG   four   child
        NUM − HEAD: 'so, I (have) **four children**' [081006-024-CvEx.0002]

(7)   **smua buku** bisa   basa
        all   book   be.able   be.wet
        QT − HEAD: '**all books** could get wet' [080917-008-NP.0189]

(8)   de   su   umur **brapa   taung** Musa ni
        3SG already age   how.many year   Musa D.PROX
        'he is already how old, Musa here?' (Lit. '(his) age (is) **how many years**?')
        [080922-001a-CvPh.1191]

(9)   **bapa pu sandal** siapa yang bawa, ini   **siapa pu sandal**
        father POSS sandal who   REL bring D.PROX   who   POSS sandal
        '**father's sandals**, who took (them)?, these (sandals) belong to **whom**?'
        (Lit. 'are **whose sandals**' [080925-004-Cv.0006]

(10)   … tentara   itu   ada   **brapa   ratus   orang**
          soldier   D.DIST   exist   how.many   hundred   person
          '[one time, I brought the military (into the forest),] those soldiers were
          several hundred people' [081029-005-Cv.0131]

The post-head modifier slots attract a wider range of constituents: verbs, nouns, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses occur in slot Post-1, personal pronouns in slot Post-2, demonstratives, locatives, interrogatives, numerals, and quantifiers in slot Post-3. In addition, the demonstratives also occur in slot Post-4. The modifiers occurring in slot Post-1 have attributive function, while those in slot Post-2 to Post-4 have determining function.

      Modifiers listed in the same slot do not co-occur, whereas those listed in different slots may do so, as demonstrated in (11) to (17). In *pisang Sorong sana tu* 'those bananas (from) Sorong over there' in (11), an adnominally used noun co-occurs with a locative and a demonstrative. In *tangang pendek satu tu* 'that one short-handed (one)' in (12), an adnominally used stative verb co-occurs with a numeral and a demonstrative. In *babi puti ko* 'you white pig' in (13), an adnominally used verb co-occurs with a personal pronoun. In *pace dorang dua ini* 'the two men here' in (14), an adnominally used personal pronoun co-occurs with a numeral and a demonstrative. In *kaka dari Mambramo satu* 'a certain older brother from (the) Mambramo (area)' in (15), an adnominally used prepositional phrase co-occurs with a numeral. In *dong di Papua tu* 'they in Papua there' in (16), an adnominally used prepositional phrase co-occurs with a demonstrative. Finally, in *kata itu tu* 'those very words' in (17) two adnominally used demonstratives co-occur.

          HEAD − MOD

(11)   **pisang   Sorong   sana   tu**,   iii,   besar~besar   manis
          banana   Sorong   L.DIST   D.PROX   oh!   RDP~be.big   sweet
          HEAD − N − LOC − DEM: '**those bananas (from) Sorong over there**, oooh,
          (they) are all big (and) sweet' [081011-003-Cv.0017]

(12)   **tangang   pendek   satu   tu**   ((laughter))
          hand   be.short   one   D.DIST
          HEAD − V − NUM − DEM: [About an acquaintance:] '**that one short handed
          (one)** ((laughter))' [081006-016-Cv.0036]

(13)   **babi   puti   ko**   dari   atas   turung
          pig   be.white   2SG   from   top   descend
          HEAD − V − PRO: [About an acquaintance:] '**you white pig** came down from
          up (there)' [081025-006-Cv.0262]

(14)   **pace   dorang   dua   ini**   ke   atas
          man   3PL   two   D.PROX   to   top
          HEAD − PRO − NUM − DEM: '**both of the two men here** (went) up (there)'
          [081006-034-CvEx.0010]

(15) trus tamba **kaka dari Mambramo satu**
      next add   oSb   from Mambramo   one
      HEAD – PP – NUM: [About forming a sports team:] 'then add **a certain older brother from (the) Mambramo (area)**' [081023-001-Cv.0002]

(16) **dong di Papua tu**   dong makang papeda
      3PL   at Papua D.DIST 3PL   eat   sagu.porridge
      HEAD – PP – DEM: '**they in Papua there**, they eat sagu porridge' [081109-009-JR.0001]

(17) **kata itu   tu**   yang biking sa   bertahang
      word D.DIST D.DIST REL   make   1SG   hold.(out/back)
      HEAD – DEM – DEM '(it was) **those very words** that made me hold out' [081115-001a-Cv.0235]

This brief overview shows that Papuan Malay employs two distinct types of noun phrase structures: (1) a head – modifier or 'N-MOD' structure, and (2) a modifier – head or 'MOD-N' structure. The particular structure of a noun phrase depends on the syntactic properties of its adnominal constituents:

- N-MOD structure with adnominally used verbs, nouns, personal pronouns, demonstratives, locatives, interrogatives, and prepositional phrases.
- N-MOD or MOD-N structure with adnominally used numerals and quantifiers (the constituent order depends on the semantics of the phrasal structure).
- MOD-N structure in adnominal possessive constructions.

Noun phrases with an N-MOD structure are examined in §8.2 and those with an N-MOD or MOD-N structure in §8.3. Adnominal possessive constructions with a MOD-N structure are briefly mentioned in §8.4, and fully discussed in Chapter 9. In giving examples, brackets are used to indicate the constituent structure within the noun phrase, where deemed necessary. In addition, apposition is discussed in §8.5. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §8.6.

8.2.   N-MOD structure

In noun phrases with an N-MOD structure, the head occurs in initial position followed by the modifying elements. The following modifiers are discussed: verbs (§8.2.1), nouns (§8.2.2), personal pronouns (§8.2.3), demonstratives (§8.2.4), locatives (§8.2.5), interrogatives (§8.2.6), prepositional phrases (§8.2.7), and relative clauses (§8.2.8).

8.2.1.   Verbs [N V]

Adnominally used verbs always follow their head nominals such that 'N V', as shown in (18) to (27). Most often, the adnominal modifier is a stative verb, as in (18) to (21), although noun phrases with adnominally used dynamic verbs also occur, as in (22) to (25). (The distributional preferences of attributively used stative and dynamic verbs are discussed in §5.3.2.)

In noun phrases with adnominally used stative verbs, as in (18) to (21), the head nominal is typically a bare noun as in (18), or a reduplicated noun as in (19). The adnominal modifier is usually a bare stative verb, such as ***besar*** 'be big' in (18) or ***panjang*** 'be long' in (19). However, the modifier can also be a multi-word phrase with an overt coordinator as in ***puti dengan hitam*** 'white and black' in (20), or with juxtaposed constituents as in the elicited near contrastive example in (21). Overall, though, multi-word modifier phrases are rare and limited to phrases with two adnominally used verbs.

Noun phrases with adnominal stative verbs

(18)   sa   su   liat   ada   **pohong besar** di depang
       1SG already see   exist   tree   be.big at   front
       'I already saw there was a **big tree** in front' [081025-008-Cv.0019]

(19)   langsung   **kuku~kuku**   **panjang** kluar
       immediately RDP~digit.nail be.long   leave
       'immediately (his) **long claws** came out' [081115-001a-Cv.0077]

(20)   sa   pu   bapa   kubur sa   pu   tete   pu
       1SG POSS father bury   1SG POSS grandfather POSS
       [**kaing** [**puti**   **dengan**   **hitam**]]
       cloth   be.white with   be.black
       'my father buried my grandfather's **white and black cloth**' [081014-014-NP.0047]

(21)   sa   pu   bapa   kubur sa   pu   tete   pu
       1SG POSS father bury   1SG POSS grandfather POSS
       [**kaing** [**hitam**   **puti**]]
       cloth   be.black be.white
       'my father buried my grandfather's **white (and) black cloth**' [Elicited BR130221.036][188]

Adnominally used dynamic verbs denote activities, associated with the head nominal, as in (22) to (25). The head nominal can denote an agent who carries out the activity encoded by the verb, as with monovalent ***jalang*** 'walk' in (22), or a patient who undergoes this activity, as with bivalent ***bakar*** 'burn' in (23). The head can also express a spatial or temporal location where the activity occurs as with monovalent ***mandi*** 'bathe' in (24) and ***bangung*** 'get up' in (25), respectively.

Noun phrases with adnominal dynamic verbs

(22)   ana   itu   **tukang**   **jalang**
       child D.DIST craftsman walk
       'that kid **doesn't like staying at home**' (Lit. '**specialist (in) walk(ing)**') [080927-001-Cv.0007]

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[188] According to one consultant, Papuan Malay speakers prefer ***hitam puti*** 'black (and) white over ***puti hitam*** 'white (and) black', although both constructions are acceptable.

(23)   pi   ambil   **kayu   bakar**,   **kayu   bakar**   buat   Natal
         go   fetch   wood   burn   wood   burn   for   Christmas
         '(we) went to get **firewood**, **firewood** for Christmas' (Lit. '**wood to burn**')
         [081006-017-Cv.0014]

(24)   tra   ada   **kamar   mandi**
         NEG   exist   room   bathe
         'there weren't (any) **bathrooms**' (Lit. '**room (where) to bathe**') [081025-
         009a-Cv.0059]

(25)   sa   pu   **jam~jam   bangung**   bukang   jam   empat
         1SG   POSS   RDP~hour   get.up   NEG   hour   four
         'my **time to get up** is not four o'clock' (Lit '**hours (when) to wake-up**')
         [081025-006-Cv.0061]

Noun phrases with adnominally used verbs can further be modified with numerals.
In the present corpus, the adnominally used numeral is always the numeral *satu*
'one', as in (26) and (27).

        Noun phrases with adnominal verbs and numerals

(26)   [[[**tangang   pendek**]   **satu**   **tu**]   ((laughter))
         hand   be.short   one   D.DIST
         [About an acquaintance:] '**that one short-handed (one)** ((laughter))'
         [081006-016-Cv.0036]

(27)   [[**kampung   tua**]   **satu**]   yang   perna   om   Wili   …
         village   be.old   one   REL   once   uncle   Wili
         '**a certain old village** where uncle Wili once …' [080922-010a-CvNF.0290]

8.2.2.   Nouns [N N]

In noun phrases with adnominally used nouns, a post-head noun N2 modifies the
head nominal N1 "in a productive syntactic construction" (Dryer 2007b: 175), such
that 'N1 N2'. Characterized by the semantic subordination of the N2 modifier under
the head nominal N1, the semantics of such constructions are compositional.

    In Papuan Malay, the distinction between a noun phrase with an adnominally
used noun, hereafter N1N2-NP, and a compound with juxtaposed nominal
constituents is not clear-cut, however. Word combinations or collocations range
from two word expressions with compositional transparent semantics such as *air
sagu* 'liquid of the sago palm tree', to less compositional two-word expressions,
such as *kampung-tana* 'home village' (literally 'village-ground'). This section
focuses on N1N2-NPs; the demarcation of such phrasal expression from compounds,
and compounding in general, are discussed in §3.2.1.

    N1N2-NPs denote important features for subclassification of the superordinate
head nominal. Typically, the head of an N1N2-NP is a noun, as shown in (28) to (42).
Less often, the head is a deverbal constituent as in (43) and (44). Semantically,
N1N2-NPs denote a wide range of associative relations between the N1 and the N2, as
shown in (28) to (44): part-whole, element-of, property-of, associated-with, name-
of, subtype-of, composed-of, and purpose-for relations, as well as locational

relations, temporal relations, and event relations. N1N2-NPs encode inalienable and alienable concepts.

Inalienable 'part-whole' relations of body parts and plants are given in (28) and (29), respectively, while (30) illustrates an alienable 'element-of' relation. (More types of 'element-of' relations are found in Table 2.)

'Part-whole' and 'element-of' relations

(28) sa   bilang, **tulang bahu**   yang pata
      1SG   say   bone   shoulder   REL   broken
      'I said, '(it's my) **shoulder bone** that is broken'' [081015-005-NP.0048]

(29) adu   sa   pu   **daung bawang** itu
      oh.no! 1SG POSS leaf   onion   D.DIST
      [After someone had plucked some onion leaves:] 'oh no, my **onion leaves**
      there!' [081006-024-CvEx.0043]

(30) dong dua itu   **ketua**   **panitia**   itu
      3PL   two D.DIST chairperson   committee   D.DIST
      'those two of them are those **committee chair people**' [080917-002-Cv.0018]

N1N2-NPs expressing 'property-of' and 'associated-with' relations are given in (31) and (32), respectively.

'Property-of' and 'associated-with' relations

(31) dari situ   kembali ambil **seng**   **greja**
      from L.MED   return   fetch   corrugated.iron church
      'from there (I) returned (and) took **the corrugated iron sheets of the
      church**' [080927-004-CvNP.0005]

(32) … sa   su   bakar ruma itu,   **ruma   setan**   itu
        1SG   already burn   house D.DIST house evil.spirit D.DIST
      '[(if) I, umh, for example, were in Aruswar or Niwerawar,] I would already
      have burnt that house, that **evil spirit's house**' [081025-009a-Cv.0198]

'Name-of' relations are presented in (33) and (34). (Other types of 'name-of'
relations are found in Table 2.)

'Name-of' relations

(33) yo   bapa,   **hari Minggu** sa   datang
      yes father   day   Sunday   1SG   come
      'yes father, on **Sunday** I'll come' (Lit. '**Sunday day**') [080922-001a-
      CvPh.0344]

(34) knapa ko   gambar monyet di   bawa **pohong pisang**
      why   2SG draw   monkey at   under tree   banana
      'why did you draw the monkey under **the banana tree**?' [081109-002-
      JR.0004]

'Subtype-of' relations are presented in (35) to (37). The example in (37) also shows
that N1N2-NPs can have three nominal constituents: the first two nominals form a

nested N1N2 construction, namely ***ibu guru*** 'Ms. teacher'. This construction is modified by the third nominal ***Hendrika*** (N1N2-NPs with more than three nominal constituents are unattested in the present corpus.)

     'Subtype-of' relations

(35)   … maka   pake   [**bahasa** [**orang** **bisu**]]
          therefore use   language person be.mute
       '[she couldn't speak the Indonesian language,] therefore (she) used **sign language**' (Lit. '**language of mute people**') [081006-023-CvEx.0073]

(36)   … supaya Sarmi ada   [[**petinju** **prempuang**] satu]
          so.that Sarmi exist boxer   woman   one
       '… so that Sarmi has a certain **woman boxer**' [081023-003-Cv.0005]

(37)   [[[**ibu**   **guru**]   **Hendrika**] ini]   kasiang …
          woman teacher Hendrika   D.PROX pity
       '**Ms. Teacher Hendrika** here, poor thing …' [080916-001-CvNP.0005]

N1N2-NPs expressing 'composed-of' and 'purpose-for' relations are illustrated in (38) and (39), respectively.

     'Composed-of' and 'purpose-for' relations

(38)   smua jalang kaya **kapal** **kayu**
          all   walk   like   ship   wood
       '(they) all were strolling around like **wooden boats**' [081025-009a-Cv.0188]

(39)   yo, **net**   **laki~laki**   tong yang bli
          yes (sport.)net RDP~husband 1PL   REL   buy
       'yes, the (volley-ball) **net for men**, (it was) us who (bought it)' [081023-001-Cv.0012]

Locational and temporal relations between the N1 and N2 are illustrated in (40) to (42). The N2 denotes a locational relation in (40), and a temporal relation in (41). In (42) the first two nominals express a locational relation between the head ***ampas*** 'waste' and its modifier noun, the source ***pinang*** 'betel nut'. This N1N2 construction is modified with the third nominal ***malam*** 'night' which denotes a temporal relation. (Other types of locational relations are found in Table 2.)

     Locational and temporal relations

(40)   orang Papua bilang **jin**   **kayu**
          person Papua say   genie wood
       'Papuans call (them) **tree genies**' [081006-022-CvEx.0054]

(41)   [[**jam** **tiga**] **pagi**]?
          hour   three morning
       '(was it) **three o'clock in the morning**?' [080918-001-CvNP.0042]

(42)   [[[**ampas** **pinang**] **malam**] tu]   sa   taru
          waste   betel.nut night   D.DIST 1SG put
       'that **evening's betel nut waste**, I put (it aside)' [081025-006-Cv.0296]

An N1N2-NP can also be formed with a deverbal nominal head as in (43) and (44). Semantically, the N1N2-NP in (43) expresses an event relation in which adnominal *tugu* 'monument' is affected by the event expressed by the deverbal head N1. The N1N2-NP in (44) denotes a locational relation with the deverbal head N1 originating from the nominal spatial source N2.

Subordinate N1N2-NPs with deverbal constituent

(43) ada   [[**pasang tugu**]   **itu**]
      exist install   monument   D.DIST
      [Giving directions:] 'there is **that statue installation**' [080917-008-NP.0017]

(44) kalo angkat air   jemur di **panas mata-hari**
      if   lift   water   dry   at be.hot sun
      'when (you) fetch water, warm (it) up in **the heat of the sun**' [081006-013-Cv.0005]

Table 2 gives an overview of the different associative meaning relations expressed with N1N2-NPs.

Table 2:   Associative meaning relations encoded by N1N2-NPs

	Papuan Malay N1N2	Glosses	Free translation
1.	Part-whole relation – N1 is a part of N2: (a) human body part, (b) nonhuman body part, (c) plant part		
(a)	*urat kaki*	tendon foot	'foot tendon'
(b)	*duri ikang*	thorn fish	'fish bone'
(c)	*pelepa sagu*	stem sago	'sago stem'
2.	'Element-of' relation – N1 is an element of N2: (a) spatial location of a concrete object, (b) temporal location of an abstract object, (c) time segment within a time period, (d) member of an institution		
(a)	*blakang kapak*	backside axe	'backside of an axe'
(b)	*tenga sembayang*	middle worship	'middle of the worship'
(c)	*malam hari*	night day	'evening (of the day)'
(d)	*petugas polisi*	official police	'police official'
3.	Property relation – N1 is a property of N2		
	ruma orang	house person	'(other) people's house'
	cara orang Papua	way person Papua	'Papuan traditions'
4.	'Affiliated-with' relation: N1 is affiliated with N2		
	ruma setan	house evil.spirit	'house of an evil spirit'
	ana~ana iblis	RDP~child devil	'children of the devil'

	Papuan Malay N1N2	Glosses	Free translation
5.	Name-of relation – N2 designates the name of N1: (a) animal, (b) plant, (c) personal name, (d) clan/ethnic group, (e) disease, (f) building/institution, (g) language, (h) religion, (i) spatial location, (j) temporal location		
(a)	*ikang gurango*	fish shark	'shark fish'
(b)	*sayur bayam*	vegetable amaranth	'amaranth vegetable'
(c)	*nama Nofela*	name Nofela	'(of the) name Nofela
(d)	*marga Sope*	clan Sope	'Sope clan'
(e)	*penyakit malaria*	disease malaria	'malaria disease'
(f)	*greja Kema-Injil*	church Kema-Injil	'Kema-Injil church'
(g)	*bahasa Inggris*	language England	'English language'
(h)	*agama Kristen*	religion Christian	'Christian religion'
(i)	*kota Sarmi*	city Sarmi	'Sarmi city'
(j)	*hari Kamis*	day Thursday	'Thursday'
6.	'Subtype-of' relation – N2 designates a specific type of N1		
	ana murit	child school	'school kid'
	kaing sprey	cloth bed sheet	'bed sheets'
7.	'Composed-of' relation – N1 is composed of or made from N2		
	ruma batu	house stone	'stone house'
	kantong plastik	bag plastic	'plastic bag'
8.	'Purpose-for' relation: N1 is intended for / at the disposal of N2		
	net laki~laki	net man	'(volleyball) net for men'
	sikat gigi	brush tooth	'toothbrush'
9.	Locational relation: (a) N1 contains N2; (b) N1 is located at/in/on N2; (c) N1 originates from spatial location N2; (d) N1 originates from nonspatial source N2		
(a)	*lampu gas*	lamp gas	'gas lamp'
(b)	*jin~jin kayu*	genies wood	'tree genies'
(c)	*pisang Sorong*	banana Sorong	'bananas from Sorong'
(d)	*mop orang Sarmi*	joke people Sarmi	'joke by the Sarmi people'
10.	Temporal relation – N2 gives temporal specifications for N1		
	jam dua pagi	hour two morning	'two o'clock in the morning'
	hari Senin depang	day Monday front	'next Monday'
11.	Event relation: N2 is affected by event N1		
	pasang tugu	install monument	'statue installation'

8.2.3.   Personal pronouns [N PRO]

Papuan Malay noun phrases are often modified with personal pronouns in post-head position, such that 'N PRO'; the long and short pronouns are used interchangeably. Encoding the number and person of their referents, the adnominally used personal pronouns typically function as "personal determiners" (Lyons 1999: 141), which indicate "which member of which subset of a set of entities is being referred to" (Lyons 1977: 454–455). This also applies to Papuan Malay, in that the adnominally used personal pronouns signal the identifiability of their referents. (Personal pronouns and their adnominal uses are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.)

In signaling the definiteness, person, and number of their referents, the adnominally used personal pronouns are available for all person-number values, except for first person singular *saya*/*sa* '1SG'. This is shown with the three examples in (45) to (47).

Adnominal singular personal pronouns indicate the singularity of their referents, as shown with *ko* '2SG' and *dia* '3SG' in (45). In addition, they have pertinent discourse functions, discussed in detail in §6.2.1. Noun phrases with adnominally used plural personal pronouns have two readings. With an indefinite referent, such as *laki~laki* 'man' in (46), the noun phrase receives an additive plural reading. With a definite referent such as *Roni* in (47), the noun phrase receives an associative inclusory plural reading. Both readings are discussed in detail in §6.2.2.

Noun phrases with adnominal personal pronouns

(45)   **Wili   ko**   jangang   gara~gara   **tanta   dia   itu**
Wili   2SG   NEG.IMP   RDP~irritate   aunt   3SG   D.DIST

'**you Wili** don't irritate **that aunt**' [081023-001-Cv.0038]

(46)   jadi   **laki~laki**   **kitong**   harus   bayar   spulu   juta   sama   …
so   RDP~husband   1PL   have.to   pay   ten   million   with

'so **we men** have to pay ten million to …' [081110-005-CvPr.0107]

(47)   **Roni**   **dong**   kas   tinggal   itu   babi   di   sini
Roni   3PL   give   stay   D.DIST   pig   at   L.PROX

'**Roni and the others** left, what's-its-name, the pig here' [080917-008-NP.0135]

8.2.4.   Demonstratives [N DEM]

Within the noun phrase, adnominally used demonstratives are placed at the right periphery, where they have scope over the entire noun phrase, such that 'N DEM': proximal *ini* 'D.PROX' or distal *itu* 'D.DIST', or their respective reduced forms *ni* 'D.PROX' and *tu* 'D.DIST'. Like adnominally used personal pronouns (§8.2.3), the adnominal demonstratives function as determiners. Unlike the personal pronouns, however, they signal specificity rather than definiteness. That is, they mark an expression's referent "as a bounded, individuated entity in the message world" (Payne 1997: 234) whose identity is known to the speaker (see also Andrews 2007: 148).

The head nominal can be a noun such as ***ana*** 'child' in (48), a personal pronoun such as ***dia*** '3SG' in (48), a locative such as ***sana*** 'L.DIST' in (49), or another demonstrative such as ***itu*** 'D.DIST' in (50). (Demonstratives and their adnominal uses are discussed in detail in §7.1.)

(48) **ana   itu**   sa   paling sayang **dia   tu**
      child D.DIST   1SG   most   love   3SG   D.DIST
      '**that child**, I love **her (EMPH)** most' [081011-023-Cv.0097]

(49) sana,   te   ada   di   **sana   itu**
      L.DIST   tea   exist   at   L.DIST D.DIST
      'there, the tea is **over there (EMPH)**' [081014-011-CvEx.0010]

(50) … **itu   tu**   kata~kata   dasar yang harusnya   kamu   taw
         D.DIST   D.DIST   RDP~word   base   REL   appropriately 2PL   know
      [Addressing a school student:] '[do you know the (English) word 'please'
      or not?,] **that very** (word belongs to) the basic words that you should
      know' [081115-001a-Cv.0145]

8.2.5.   Locatives [N LOC]

Adnominally used locatives occur in post-head position, such that 'N LOC'. This is illustrated with proximal ***sini*** 'L.PROX' in (51), and distal ***sana*** 'L.DIST' as in (52). The head nominal may be a noun such as ***ana*** 'child' in (51), or a personal pronoun such as ***dong*** '3PL' in (52). (A detailed discussion on locatives and their adnominal uses is found in §7.2.)

(51) kamu   **ana~ana   sini   tu**   enak   skali
      2PL   RDP~child L.PROX D.DIST   be.pleasant very
      'you, **the young people here (EMPH)**, (live) very pleasant (lives)' [081115-
      001b-Cv.0060]

(52) **dong sana**   cari   anging
      3PL   L.DIST   search   wind
      '**they over there** are looking for a breeze' [081025-009b-Cv.0076]

8.2.6.   Interrogatives [N INT]

Most adnominally used interrogatives occur in post-head position, such that 'N INT': ***siapa*** 'who', ***apa*** 'what', ***mana*** 'where, which' and ***bagemana*** 'how'. Syntactically, the interrogatives remain ***in-situ***; that is, noun phrases with adnominally used interrogatives correspond to their non-interrogative expressions. This is illustrated with ***siapa*** 'who' in (53), and ***mana*** 'where, which' in (54).

The exception is ***brapa*** 'how many' which can precede or follow its head nominal, depending on the semantics of the phrasal structure, which are discussed in detail in §8.3.2. Thereby ***brapa*** 'how many' is similar to numerals and quantifiers, which have an 'N-MOD / MOD-N' structure. In (55), ***brapa*** 'how many' precedes a countable referent whereby it questions its absolute number, while in (56) the

interrogative follows a countable referent, whereby it questions a unique position within a series. In declarative sentences, ***brapa*** 'how many' also functions as a mid-range quantifier. This function is illustrated in §8.3.2, which discusses modification with quantifiers.

   The interrogatives always occur in noun phrases with nominal head such as the common noun ***kaka*** 'older sibling' in (53). Modification of personal pronouns or other constituents does not occur. (More details on the interrogatives and also their adnominal uses are found in §5.8.)

(53)   **kaka   siapa**
        oSb   who

        [Question about a relative] '**older sibling who**?' [080922-001a-CvPh.0840]

(54)   **jembatang   mana**
        bridge   where

        '**which bridge**?' [081006-020-Cv.0018]

(55)   yo,   **brapa   orang**   empat
        yes   how.many   person   four

        'yes, **how many people**? four?' [081011-005-Cv.0008]

(56)   yang   bongso   tu   **klas   brapa**
        REL   youngest.offspring   D.DIST   class   how.many

        [About the interlocutor's children:] 'the youngest one (goes into) **which class**?' [080923-009-Cv.0016]

8.2.7.   Prepositional phrases [N PP]

Noun phrases can be modified with prepositional phrases, such that 'N PP'. Overall, however, such noun phrases are uncommon. In the present corpus, four prepositions occur in adnominally used prepositional phrases, namely locative ***di*** 'at, in' as in (16), repeated as (57), elative ***dari*** 'from' as in (58), benefactive ***untuk*** 'for' as in (59), and similative ***sperti*** 'like' as in (60). (For a detailed discussion on prepositions and prepositional phrases see Chapter 10.)

      Noun phrases with adnominal prepositional phrases

(57)   **dong   di   Papua   tu**   dong   makang   papeda
        3PL   at   Papua   D.DIST   3PL   eat   sagu.porridge

        '**they in Papua there**, they eat sagu porridge' [081109-009-JR.0001]

(58)   itu   **iblis~iblis   dari   ruangang   ini**   yang   ganggu
        D.DIST   RDP~devil   from   room   D.PROX   REL   disturb

        'it's **the devils from this room** who are disturbing (you)' [081011-008-CvPh.0018]

(59)   di   sana   kang   masi   **tempat   untuk   kafir**
        at   L.DIST   you.know   still   place   for   unbeliever

        '(the area) over there, you know, is still **a location for unbelievers**' [081011-022-Cv.0238]

(60)   **orang~orang sperti begitu** yang tida mengenal Kristus
       RDP~person like   like.that REL NEG know   Kristus
       '(it's) **people like those** who don't know Christ …' [081006-023-CvEx.0034]

8.2.8.   Relative clauses [N RC]

Relative clauses are introduced with the relativizer *yang* 'REL'. They always follow their head nominal, such that 'N RC'. The head nominal can be a noun as in (61), a personal pronoun as in (62), a demonstrative as in (63), a locative as in (64), or an interrogative as in (65). The syntax of relatives clauses is discussed in detail in §14.3.2 (see also the respective sections in Chapter 5 on 'Word classes', as well as Chapter 6, and Chapter 7).

(61)   … tapi di sini   **prempuang yang tokok**
       but   at L.PROX woman   REL   tap
       '[at Pante-Timur all the men pound (sago),] but here (it's) **the women who pound** (sago)' [081014-007-CvEx.0073]

(62)   a, **ko yang tanya** to?
       ah! 2SG REL   ask   right?
       'ah, (it was) **you who asked**, right?' [080923-014-CvEx.0010]

(63)   **itu   yang orang Papua skarang maw**
       D.DIST REL   person Papua now   want
       '**that's what Papuans want nowadays**' [081025-004-Cv.0077]

(64)   di **sini   yang** tra   banyak
       at L.PROX REL   NEG many
       [About logistic problems:] '(it's) **here where** there weren't many (passengers)' [081025-008-Cv.0140]

(65)   kamu tida perna dengar **apa yang orang-tua bicara**
       2PL   NEG ever listen what REL   parent   speak
       'because you never listened to **what the elders said**' [081115-001a-Cv.0338]

8.3.   N-MOD / MOD-N structure

Noun phrases with adnominally used numerals or quantifiers can have an N-MOD or a MOD-N structure, depending on the semantics of the phrasal structure. When preposed, adnominal numerals and quantifiers signal individuality, while postposed numerals and quantifiers express exhaustivity or positions within series. Post-head numerals and quantifiers have scope over their head nominal including its verbal and/or nominal modifiers, while they, in turn, are within the scope of the demonstratives. Adnominally used numerals are discussed in §8.3.1, and adnominal quantifiers in §8.3.2.

8.3.1.   Numerals [N Num / NUM N]

Two types of noun phrases with adnominally used numerals can be distinguished:
(1) noun phrases with pre-head numerals, such that 'Num N', are presented in (66) to
(69), and (2) noun phrases with post-head numerals, such that 'N Num', are
illustrated in (70) to (73). (For a discussion of numerals as a word class see §5.9.)

   Noun phrases with preposed numerals ('NumN-NP') express a sense of
individuality by signaling the composite nature of their referents. This is achieved in
that NumN-NP s denote absolute numbers of items expressed by their head nominals,
including quantities as in (66) or periods of time as in (67).

   NumN-NPs denoting definite quantities of countable referents: Individuality

(66)   … brarti   suda   **empat orang**   bisa   masuk
        mean   already four   person   be.able   enter
        [About local elections:] '… that means that already **four people** can be
        included (in the list of nominees)' [080919-001-Cv.0149]

(67)   ini   untuk balita   dang bayi   yang usia dari
        D.PROX   for   children.under.five and   baby   REL   age   from

        lima taung ke   bawa   sampe   **dua   bulang**
        five   year   to   bottom   until   two   month
        'this is for children and babies who are **five years** down to **two months**'
        [081010-001-Cv.0197]

If the exact absolute number of items is unknown, two numerals can be juxtaposed
to indicate approximate quantities, as in (68) and (69). The approximated quantities
are usually rather small such as *satu dua* 'one or two' in (68) or *tiga empat* 'three or
four' as in (69). One consultant suggested that this preference for small quantities
might be due to politeness considerations so as to not overwhelm the addressee with,
for instance, long periods of time or large numbers of people.

   NumN-NumN-NPs denoting approximate quantities

(68)   jangang   ko   lama   ko   **satu dua   hari**   saja
        NEG.IMP   2SG   be.long   2SG   one   two   day   just
        'don't (stay) long, just **one** or **two days**' [080922-001a-CvPh.0736]

(69)   **tiga   empat   kluarga**   harus   ada   di   situ
        three   four   family   have.to   exist   at   L.MED
        '**three** or **four families** have to be there' [080923-007-Cv.0018]

Noun phrases with post-head numerals ('NNum-NP') signal exhaustivity of definite
referents, as in (70) and (71), or mark unique positions within series or sequences as
in (72) and (73).

   With head nominals undifferentiated in terms of their ranking, NNum-NPs
indicate exhaustivity of definite referents. The head can be a noun, as in the elicited
example in (70), or a personal pronoun as in (71).[189]

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[189] The elicited example in (70) is based on the example in (15).

NNum-NPs denoting definite quantities of countable referents: Exhaustivity

(70)   trus   tamba   [[[**kaka**   **dari**   **Mambramo**]   **tiga**]   **ni**]
          next   add   oSb   from   Mambramo   one   D.PROX
          [About forming a volleyball team:] 'and then add **these three older brothers from Mambramo**' [Elicited BR111018.004]

(71)   nanti   **kitong empat**   su   tidor   di   luar   …
          very.soon   1PL   four   already   sleep   at   outside
          'after **the four of us** had already been sleeping outside …' [081025-009a-Cv.0004]

With head nominals differentiated in terms of their ranking within a series, NNum-NPs serve to "identify a referent in terms of its order with respect to other referents" (Dryer 2007b: 164). That is, they signal unique positions within this ranking as in (72), or specify unique points in time as in (73).

NNum-NPs denoting definite quantities of countable referents: Unique positions or points in time

(72)   kitong   lari~lari   sampe   di   **SP**   **tuju**
          1PL   RDP~run   reach   at   transmigration.settlement   seven
          'we drove all the way to **transmigration settlement number seven**' (Lit. '**the seventh transmigration settlement**') [081006-033-Cv.0007]

(73)   **jam**   **dua**,   tong   kluar   dari   sini   **jam**   **satu**
          hour   two   1PL   leave   from   L.PROX   hour   one
          '(we arrived at) **two o'clock**, we left from here at **one o'clock**' [081025-008-Cv.0099]

In (74) to (76), the opposition between the pre- and post-head positions is illustrated with (near) contrastive examples. In (74) pre-head *dua* 'two' designates the absolute number of items expressed by its head. In (75) post-head *dua* 'two' modifies a head nominal undifferentiated in terms of its ranking, whereby it signals the exhaustivity of its referent. In (76) post-head *dua* 'two' signals a unique position within a series.

Opposition between NumN-NPs and NNum-NPs

(74)   saya   jaga   **dua**   **jam**,   yo   kurang   lebi   **dua**   **jam**   …
          1SG   guard   two   hour   yes   lack   more   two   hour
          'I kept watch for **two hours**, yes, more or less for **two hours** …' [080919-004-NP.0016]

(75)   **sidi**   **dua**   dia   potong
          CD.player   two   3SG   cut
          '**both CD players**, he destroyed (them)' [081011-009-Cv.0006]

(76)   ini   suda   **jam**   **dua**   malam
          D.PROX   already   hour   two   night
          'this is already **two o'clock** at night' [080916-001-CvNP.0001]

The data in (66) to (76) suggests that the NNum order is favored in more specific and definite constructions, namely to signal exhaustivity of definite referents or unique positions within series or sequences. The NumN order, by contrast, is associated with less specific or less definite constructions which express the absolute number of items denoted by the head nominal. These patterns contrast with Greenberg's (1978: 284) cross-linguistic findings concerning the word order in noun phrases with adnominal numerals:

> 44. The order noun-numeral is favored in indefinite and approximative constructions.

Greenberg (1978: 284) does note, however, that this statement is a generalization rather than a universal, given cross-linguistic variations in quantifier-noun [Q-N] order. Noting that "in some languages either QN or NQ may occur with any numeral" and that this "contrast of order may then have semantic or syntactic function", Greenberg (1978: 284) presents a number of languages that, like Papuan Malay, employ NNum order in definite constructions rather than in indefinite ones.

Following Greenberg (1978: 284), the Papuan Malay NNum order in definite constructions is a variation of a much more common NumN order for these constructions. In his critique of Greenberg's (1978: 284) generalization #44, Donohue (2005a) demonstrates, however, that the NNum order in definite constructions is not a mere "variation" found in "some languages". Rather, "there is a strong tendency for postnominal numerals to be interpreted in highly specific, highly definite ways" (2005a: 34). The data presented here suggests that the Papuan Malay word order in noun phrases with adnominally used numerals follows this same "strong tendency".

8.3.2. Quantifiers [N QT / QT N]

Noun phrases with adnominally used quantifiers have syntactic properties similar to those with adnominally used numerals. Noun phrases with pre-head quantifiers ('QtN-NP') express non-numeric amounts or quantities of the items indicated by their head nominals; they only modify countable referents. Noun phrases with post-head quantifier ('NQt-NP'), by contrast, either denote exhaustivity of indefinite referents or signal unknown positions within series or sequences; they modify countable as well as uncountable referents. (For a discussion of quantifiers as a word class see §5.10.)

The following adnominal quantifiers are attested: universal *smua* 'all', *segala* 'all', *masing-masing* 'each', *(se)tiap* 'every', and *sembarang* 'any', and mid-range *banyak* 'many', *sedikit* 'few', and *stenga* 'half'. In addition, the interrogative *brapa* 'how many' (§8.2.6) functions as a mid-range quantifier in declarative sentences.

Five quantifiers can occur in pre- or post-head position, namely *banyak* 'many', *brapa* 'how many', *masing-masing* 'each', *sedikit* 'few', and *smua* 'all', as shown in (81) to (96). The other four quantifiers, that is, *segala* 'all', *sembarang* 'any', *(se)tiap* 'every', and *stenga* 'half', only occur in pre-head position where they signal non-numeric quantities of countable referents, as illustrated in (77) to (80). While *sembarang* 'any' is only used with animate referents as in (78), *setiap* 'every' and *stenga* 'half' are only used with inanimate referents as in (79) and (80), respectively.

Quantifier **segala** 'all' is always combined with the noun **macang** 'variety' with **segala macang** expressing the notion of 'all kinds, whatever kind' as in (77).[190]

QtN-NPs denoting indefinite quantities of countable referents: Individuality

(77) **segala   macang**   dia   biking
      all   variety   3SG   make
      [About an ancestor's achievements:] '**all kinds (of things)**, he made (them)' [080922-010a-CvNF.0297]

(78) sa   tra   bisa   kasi   **sembarang   orang**
      1SG   NEG   be.able give   any   person
      'I can't give (the gasoline to just) **any person**' [081110-002-Cv.0080]

(79) **setiap   renungang   pagi**   sa   su   kasi   nasihat   itu
      every   meditation   morning   1SG   already give   advice   D.DIST
      '(during) **each morning devotions**, I already give (them) that (same) advice' [081115-001b-Cv.0008]

(80) mungking   **stenga   jam**   saja   sa   tidor
      maybe   half   hour   just   1SG   sleep
      'I slept for maybe just **half an hour**' [081115-001b-Cv.0056]

The quantifiers **banyak** 'many', **masing-masing** 'each', **sedikit** 'few', and **smua** 'all', as well as the interrogative **brapa** 'how many' can precede or follow their head nominals. Both phrasal structures serve distinct semantic functions similar to those of adnominal numerals, discussed in §8.3.1, although the contrast is more subtle.

QtN-NPs with pre-head **smua** 'all', **banyak** 'many', **sedikit** 'few', **masing-masing** 'each', and **brapa** 'how many' denote the non-numeric quantities of countable referents. Thereby, QtN-NPs express the composite nature of their referents which conveys a sense of individuality, such that 'Qt amount of N' as in (81) to (85). The corpus includes only few noun phrases with adnominally used **sedikit** 'few' all of which have **sedikit** 'few' in post-head position. According to one of the consultants, however, adnominal modification with pre-head **sedikit** 'few' is natural and common, as illustrated with the elicited example in (83).

QtN-NPs denoting indefinite quantities of countable referents: Individuality

(81) **smua   buku**   bisa   basa
      all   book   be.able   be.wet
      '**all books** could get wet' [080917-008-NP.0189]

(82) de   itu   kalo   **banyak   orang**   de   biasa   begitu
      3SG   D.DIST   when   many   person   3SG   be.usual   like.that
      'if there're **many people**, he's usually like that' [081025-006-Cv.0274]

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190 To express the notion of 'every person', speakers prefer quantification with **masing-masing** 'each'.

(83) de   itu   kalo   **sedikit orang** de   biasa   begitu
      3SG   D.DIST   when   many   person   3SG be.usual like.that
      'if there's **few people**, he's usually like that' [Elicited BR111021.004]

(84) bayar mas-kawin   ini   laing   **masing-masing budaya**
      pay   bride.price D.PROX   be.different   each   culture
      'paying this bride price is different (for) **each culture**' [081006-029-CvEx.0014]

(85) tentara itu   ada   brapa   ratus   orang, ada   sekitar
      soldier D.DIST   exist   how.many   hundred   person exist vicinity
      brapa   pleton
      how.many   platoon
      'those soldiers were several hundred people, (they) were approximately **several platoons**' [081029-005-Cv.0131]

NQt-NPs signal exhaustivity of indefinite countable referents or denote unknown positions within series of countable referents, as shown in (86) to (92). While the head is typically noun, as in (87), it can also be a personal pronoun as in (86).

With *smua* 'all', *banyak* 'many', *sedikit* 'few', or *masing-masing* 'each', NQt-NPs signal a contrastive sense of exhaustivity: N *smua* translates with 'the entire collection of N (with nobody/nothing missing)' as in (86), N *banyak* with 'many (and not just a few) N' as in (87), N *sedikit* with 'few (and not many) N' as in (88), and N *masing-masing* with 'each N' as in (90). As mentioned above, the present corpus includes only few noun phrases with adnominally used *sedikit* 'few' one of which is presented in (88): *ikang sedikit* 'few fish'. Alternatively, however, *ikang sedikit* could receive the predicative reading 'the fish are few'. Therefore, an additional elicited example is given in (89). The examples in (81) to (90) also illustrate that *smua* 'all', *banyak* 'many', *sedikit* 'few', and *masing-masing* 'each' can be used with animate or inanimate referents.

NQt-NPs denoting indefinite quantities of countable referents: Exhaustivity

(86) **tong   smua**   dari   kampung
      1PL   all   from   village
      '**we all** are from the village' [081010-001-Cv.0084]

(87) … baca   **buku   banyak   skali**
         read   book   many   very
      '… (I've) read **very many books**' [080917-010-CvEx.0172]

(88) kalo   **ikang   sedikit**   itu   untuk   tamu
      if   fish   few   D.DIST   for   guest
      'as for the **few fish**, those are for the guests' [081014-011-CvEx.0008]

(89) sa   ada   bawa   **kladi   sedikit**   buat   mama   dong
      1SG   exist   bring taro.root   few   for   mother   3PL
      'I'm bringing **a few taro roots** for mother and the others' [Elicited BR111021.006]

(90)   dong antar petatas   dengan sayur   dulu   taru tumpukang
     3PL   bring sweet.potato with   vegetable be.prior put   pile
     di **klompok masing-masing** begitu
     at group   each   like.that
     'first they bring the sweet potatoes and vegetables (and) place the piles (of
     food) in (front of) **each group** like that' [Elicited BR111021.001][191]

NQt-NPs with post-head ***brapa*** 'how many' can signal exhaustivity of its referents, as in (91), or mark unknown positions within series expressed by its referents, as in (92), depending on the semantics of the head nominal.

     NQt-NPs with post-head ***brapa*** 'how many'

(91)   sa   maki   **dorang brapa**   itu
     1SG abuse.verbally 3PL   how.many   D.DIST
     'I verbally abused **several of them** there' (Lit. '**they how many**') [080923-008-Cv.0012]

(92)   kalo di situ   kang,   **jam brapa**   saja   bisa
     if   at L.MED   you.know hour how.many just   be.able
     'as for (the office) there, you know, (you) can (go there) **any time**' (Lit. '**(the) how manyeth hour**') [081005-001-Cv.0001]

Noun phrases with uncountable referents are modified with post-head quantifiers only, as shown in (93) to (95). This restriction is due to the semantics of mass nouns which, per se do, not convey the sense of individuality encoded by the pre-head position of the quantifiers, illustrated in (78) to (92). Adnominal quantifiers for mass nouns are ***banyak*** 'many' as in (93), ***sedikit*** 'few' as in (94), or ***smua*** 'all' as in (95).

     NQt-NPs denoting indefinite quantities of uncountable referents: Exhaustivity

(93)   minum **te banyak**, minum te   dulu
     drink   tea many   drink tea be.prior
     'drink **lots of tea**, drink tea for now!' [081011-001-Cv.0240]

(94)   tida bisa   **air sedikit** pung sentu sa   pu   mulut
     NEG be.able water few   even touch 1SG   POSS mouth
     [About a sickness:] 'not even **the least bit of water** could touch my mouth' [081006-035-CvEx.0050]

(95)   … buka **de pu   kulit smua**
     open 3SG POSS skin all
     '(they skin him alive and) peel off **his entire skin**' [081029-004-Cv.0047]

Typically, post-head ***smua*** 'all' is adjacent to its source noun phrases. Alternatively, however, it can float to a clause-final position, as shown in (96) and (97).

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[191] The elicited example presented in (90) is the corrected version of the original recording ***tumpukang masing klompok masing-masing*** 'pile each[TRU] group each' [081014-017-CvPr.0043]. That is, the speaker started off by saying ***tumpukang masing-masing*** but she corrected herself, resulting in the truncated quantifier ***masing*** 'each[TRU]' and the missing locative preposition ***di*** 'at'.

Floating adnominal quantifier *smua* 'all'

(96) **makangang** kas tinggal **smua**
food give stay all
'(he was made) to leave **all (his) food** (untouched)' [081025-008-Cv.0048]

(97) **dong** diam **smua**
3PL be.quiet all
'**they** were **all** quiet' [080922-003-Cv.0095]

8.4. MOD-N structure: Adnominal possession

In Papuan Malay, adnominal possessive relations between two noun phrases are marked with the possessive ligature **punya**, or reduced **pu** 'POSS'. Such possessive constructions have a MOD-N constituent order which is opposite to the canonical N-MOD structure. That is, the head nominal encoding the possessum (POSSM) takes the N2 slot, following the possessive ligature (LIG), whereas the modifier expressing the possessor (POSSR) takes the N1 slot, such that 'POSSR-NP – LIG – POSSM-NP'. This is shown with the adnominal possessive construction in (98).

(98)   POSSR LIG   POSSM
nanti **Hendro punya ade prempuang** kawin …
very.soon Hendro POSS ySb woman marry.inofficially
'eventually **Hendro's younger sister** would marry …' [081006-028-CvEx.0007]

Syntactically, a variety of constituents can encode the possessor and the possessum, as shown in (99). The possessor slot can be taken by a lexical noun as in (99a-b) a personal pronoun as in (99c-d), a demonstrative as in (99e), the interrogative *siapa* 'who' as in (99f), or a noun phrase as in (99g). The possessum can be encoded by a lexical noun as in (99c, f-e), a demonstrative as in (99a-b), the interrogative *siapa* 'who' as in (99d), or a noun phrase as in (99g). Possessive noun phrases with a personal pronoun possessum are unattested. (Adnominal possession, including the non-canonical functions of the possessive marker, is discussed in Chapter 9.)

Syntactic constituents of adnominal possessive constructions[192]

		POSSR	LIG	POSSM	Adnominal possessive construction
(99)	a.	N	*pu*	DEM	**ade** pu **itu** 'younger sister's (fish)'
	b.	N	*pu*	DEM	**Fitri** pu **ini** 'Fitri's (belongings)'
	c.	PRO	*punya*	N	**de** punya **bulu~bulu** 'its (the dog's) body hair'

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[192] Documentation: 080919-006-CvNP.0028, 080921-009-Cv.0020, 080922-001a-CvPh.1123, 080925-004-Cv.0006, 081006-019-Cv.0002, 081025-006-Cv.0058, 081106-001-Ex.0007.

	POSSR	LIG	POSSM	Adnominal possessive construction
d.	PRO	*pu*	INT	**sa** pu **siapa** 'whom of my (relatives)'
e.	DEM	*pu*	N	**ini** pu **muka** 'this (one's) face'
f.	INT	*pu*	N	**siapa** pu **sandal** 'whose sandals'
g.	NP	*pu*	NP	**mama Klara** pu **ana prempuang** 'mother Klara's daughter'

8.5.   Apposition

In an apposition two "or more noun phrases" have "the same referent" and stand "in the same syntactical relation to the rest of the sentence" (Asher 1994: 5093). Papuan Malay employs two types of appositional constructions, namely, apposition of a noun with another noun or noun phrase, such that 'N NP', and apposition of a personal pronoun with a noun or noun phrase, such that 'PRO NP'. This section describes 'N NP' appositions, while 'PRO NP' appositions are discussed in §6.1.6.

Papuan Malay 'N NP' appositions are restrictive. That is, the apposited or juxtaposed noun phrase is needed for the appropriate identification of the referent encoded by the initial noun. There are no formal distinctions, though, between the 'N NP' appositions discussed here and noun phrases with adnominally used nouns (N1N2-NP), discussed in §8.2.2; the distinction is based on semantics.

In the present corpus, 'N NP' appositions are rare, and in each case the initial noun encodes a kinship term, as in (100) and (101). The juxtaposed noun phrase *ibu pendeta* 'Ms. Pastor' in (100) is appositional to the first noun *kaka* 'older sibling'. It provides information necessary for the identification of the referent. In (101), the appositional noun phrase *ketua klasis* 'church district chairperson' serves as an identifying explanation for the reference of the initial noun *bapa* 'father'.

(100) bapa-ade   ini   kaka   **kaka   ibu   pendeta**   dengan   ini
        uncle   D.PROX   oSb   oSb   woman   pastor   with   D.PROX
        mama-tua   nene   ini   dong   tertawa
        aunt   grandmother   D.PROX   3PL   laugh
        'uncle here (and) older sibling, **older sibling, Ms. Pastor**, and, what's-her-name, aunt, grandmother here, they were laughing' [080922-001a-CvPh.0824]

(101) … bapa   di   dalam,   **bapa   ketua   klasis**
        father   at   inside   father   chairperson   church.district
        '[that's what I've never told older sibling, what's-his-name,] father (who's) inside, **father, the church district chairperson**' [080922-010a-CvNF.0104]

8.6.   Summary

The head of a noun phrase is typically a noun or personal pronoun. Further, although less common, demonstratives, locatives, or interrogatives can also function as heads. The canonical word order within the noun phrase is HEAD-MODIFIER. Depending on the syntactic properties of the adnominal constituents, though, a MODIFIER-HEAD order is also common. Attested in the present corpus is the co-occurrence of up to three post-head modifiers. The possible constituents of the maximally extended noun phrase and the order of these constituents is summarized in the template in Table 3 (the items in parenthesis are optional).

Table 3:   Template of the maximally extended noun phrase

(INT)		(V)		(DEM)	
(NUM)		(N)		(LOC)	
(QT)	HEAD	(PP)	(PRO)	(INT)	(DEM)
(POSSR-NP)		(RC)		(NUM)	
				(QT)	

The template in Table 3 shows that noun phrases with adnominally used verbs, nouns, personal pronouns, demonstratives, locatives, interrogatives, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses have an N-MOD structure. Adnominal possessive constructions, by contrast, have a MOD-N structure with the modifying possessor phrase occurring in pre-head position. Noun phrases with adnominally used numerals and quantifiers have an N-MOD or MOD-N structure depending on the semantics of the phrasal structure. Adnominally used demonstratives can occur in two slots. They can take the same slot as adnominally used locatives, interrogatives, numerals, or quantifiers, and in addition they can occur at the right periphery of the noun phrase where they have scope over the entire noun phrase.

   Papuan Malay uses two types of appositional constructions: those consisting of a noun followed by another noun or noun phrase, and those consisting of a personal pronoun followed by a noun or noun phrase, the latter being discussed in §6.1.6. Appositions with juxtaposed nouns or noun phrases are restrictive.

9. Adnominal possessive relations

In Papuan Malay, adnominal possessive relations between two noun phrases are encoded with the possessive ligature ***punya*** 'POSS'. The noun phrase preceding the ligature (LIG) designates the possessor (POSSR), while the noun phrase following it expresses the possessum (POSSM), such that 'POSSR-NP – ***punya*** 'POSS' – POSSM-NP'.

Besides its canonic function of expressing adnominal possession, ***punya*** 'POSS' serves other functions in 'POSSR-NP – ***punya*** 'POSS' – POSSM-NP' constructions. It is employed to mark and emphasize locational, temporal, or associative relations, to indicate beneficiary relations, or to signal speaker attitudes or evaluations; furthermore, the ligature is used in reflexive expressions.

The three constituents of an adnominal possessive construction have different realizations, as illustrated in Table 1. The possessive marker can be realized with long ***punya***, reduced ***pu***, clitic ***=p***, or a zero morpheme. The noun phrases expressing the possessor and possessum can belong to different syntactic categories. The most common constituents are lexical nouns and noun phrases. Demonstratives can also take either slot. Also very common are personal pronoun possessors. In non-canonical possessive constructions, the possessor and possessum slots can also be filled by verbs. In addition, mid-range quantifiers, temporal adverbs and prepositional phrases can take the possessum slot. In both canonical and non-canonical possessive constructions, the possessum can be omitted.

Table 1: Adnominal possessive constructions

POSSR	LIG	POSSM
Lexical nouns Noun phrases Demonstratives Personal pronouns Verbs	***punya*** ***pu*** ***pu*** ***=p*** ∅	Lexical nouns Noun phrases Demonstratives Verbs Quantifiers Adverbs Prepositional phrase ∅

Semantically, the possessor and the possessum can designate human, nonhuman animate, or inanimate referents. Overall, adnominal possessive constructions do not make a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, with one exception. Possessive constructions with omitted possessive marker signal inalienable possession of body parts or kinship relations.

In the following sections, adnominal possessive constructions are discussed in more detail. The possessive marker ***punya*** 'POSS' with its different realizations is examined in §9.1. The different realizations of the possessor and possessum noun phrases are described in §9.2. Non-canonical possessive constructions are discussed in §9.3. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §9.4.

9.1.   **Possessive marker** *punya* **'POSS'**

The possessive marker ***punya*** 'POSS' is related to the full bivalent verb ***punya*** 'have'
which is still used synchronically in two-argument clauses to predicate possession of
an indefinite possessum. In such clauses, the possessor is encoded by the
grammatical subject (S) while the indefinite possessum is the direct object (O) of the
verb (V) ***punya*** 'have'. This is illustrated in (1): the possessor ***sa*** '1SG' is the
grammatical subject while the possessum ***rencana*** 'thought' is the direct object of
punya 'have'. Overall, however, verbal clauses with ***punya*** 'have' are rather rare.
Instead, speakers typically express possession of an indefinite possessum with a
two-argument existential clause with ***ada*** 'exist'. This is demonstrated in (2): the
possessor ***sa*** '1SG' is the subject while the indefinite possessum ***ana*** 'child' is the
direct object of existential ***ada*** 'exist'. (This type of two-argument existential clause
is discussed in detail in §11.4.2.)

Predicative reading of ***punya*** 'have' constructions

(1)   S   V   O
    malam **saya**   suda   **punya**   **rencana**
    night   1SG   already   have   plan
    'the night (before I go hunting) **I** already **have a plan**' [080919-004-NP.0002]

Two-argument existential clause denoting possession

(2)   S   V   O
    sa   **ada**   **ana**,   jadi   sa   kasi   untuk   sa   pu   sodara
    1SG   exist   child   so   1SG   give   for   1SG   POSS   sibling
    '**I have children**, so I gave (one) to my relative' [081006-024-CvEx.0010]

The most common function of Papuan Malay ***punya*** 'POSS' is that of a ligature in
adnominal referential possessive constructions, that is, possessive constructions with
definite referents. Such constructions have the syntactic structure 'POSSR-NP ***punya***
POSSM-NP'. As illustrated in (3), this type of possessive construction contrasts with
the verbal constructions in (1) and (2): the possessive relation is not encoded by a
two-argument clause but in a single construction which consists of two noun
phrases, which in turn functions as an argument in a clause. Hence, ***sa*** '1SG' in (3) is
not a grammatical subject but the possessor. Likewise, ***ana ini*** 'this child' is not the
direct object of a verbal clause, but a definite possessum. The entire possessive
construction in (3) functions as the direct object of the causative construction ***kas
sembu*** 'heal'. The contrastive examples in (2) and (3) also illustrate the distinctions
between possession of an indefinite and a definite possessum, respectively.

Adnominal reading of ***punya*** 'POSS' constructions

(3)   POSSR-NP   LIG   POSSM-NP
    ko   kas   sembu   **sa**   **punya**   **ana**   **ini**
    2SG   give   be.healed   1SG   POSS   child   D.PROX
    [Addressing an evil spirit:] 'you heal **this child of mine**!' [081006-023-
    CvEx.0031]

Sometimes, however, it is ambiguous whether the ***punya*** construction should receive a predicative reading as in (4a) or adnominal interpretation as in (4b), as there is no difference in intonation or stress between both utterances.

Predicative and adnominal readings of ***punya*** 'have/POSS' constructions

(4)   a.   [de]   [**punya**]   [piring   kusus]
                 3SG   have/POSS   plate   be.special

                 Predicative reading: 'he/she **has** special plates' [081006-029-CvEx.0016]

         b.   [**de   punya   piring**]   [kusus]
                 3SG   have/POSS   plate   be.special

                 Adnominal reading: '**his/her plates** are special' [081006-029-CvEx.0016]

In adnominal possessive constructions, the ligature ***punya*** 'POSS' has four different realizations which are discussed in the following sections: long ***punya*** 'POSS' and its reduced form ***pu*** in §9.1.1, the clitic ***=p*** 'POSS' in §9.1.2, and elision in §9.1.3. In §9.1.4, possible grammaticalization of the possessive marker is examined.

9.1.1.   POSSR-NP *punya/pu* POSSM-NP

In adnominal possessive constructions, the possessive marker is most commonly realized with the long form ***punya*** 'POSS' or the reduced monosyllabic form ***pu*** 'POSS'. This reduction is independent of the syntactic or semantic properties of the possessor or possessum, as illustrated in (5).

Both ligature forms occur with possessors encoded by lexical nouns as in (5a-g), in personal pronouns as in (5h-i), or in noun phrases as in (5j-l). With either ligature form, the possessor can denote a human referent as in (5a-d, i-k), a nonhuman animate referent as in (5e-f, h), or an inanimate referent as in (5g, l). Likewise, the reduction is independent of the possessum's properties. Both markers occur with possessa encoded by nouns as in (5b, e-f, h, l), by demonstratives as in (5c-d), or by noun phrases as in (5a, g, i-k). With either marker, the possessum can express an inalienably possessed referent as in (5a-b, h, k) or an alienably possessed referent as in (5c-g, i-j, l).

(5)   Adnominal possessive constructions with the long possessive marker ***punya*** 'POSS' and short ***pu*** 'POSS'[193]

POSSR	LIG	POSSM	Possessive construction
a. N (HUM)	*punya*	NP (INAL)	***mama punya ade laki~laki*** mother POSS ySb man 'mother's younger brother'

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[193]   Documentation: 080919-004-NP.0013, 080919-006-CvNP.0028, 080922-001a-CvPh.0141, 081006-019-Cv.0002, 081006-022-CvEx.0029, 081006-022-CvEx.0084, 081110-002-Cv.0075, 081006-024-CvEx.0016, 081011-007-Cv.0003, 081025-006-Cv.0021, 081025-006-Cv.0058, 081106-001-Ex.0007.

	POSSR	LIG	POSSM	Possessive construction
b.	N (HUM)	*pu*	N (INAL)	*bapa pu mata* father POSS eye 'father's eyes'
c.	N (HUM)	*punya*	DEM (AL)	Fitri *pu ini* Fitri POSS D.PROX 'Fitri's (belongings)'
d.	N (HUM)	*pu*	DEM (AL)	*ade pu itu* ySb POSS D.DIST 'younger sister's (fish)'
e.	N (AN)	*punya*	N (AL)	*setan punya kwasa* evil.spirit POSS power 'force of an evil spirit'
f.	N (AN)	*pu*	N (AL)	*setan pu pake~pake* evil.spirit POSS black.magic 'an evil spirit's black magic'
g.	N (INAN)	*pu*	NP (AL)	*LNG pu terpol itu* LNG POSS container D.DIST 'metal jerry can'[194]
h.	PRO (AN)	*punya*	N (INAL)	*de punya bulu~bulu* 3SG POSS body.hair 'its (the dog's)body hair'
i.	PRO (HUM)	*pu*	NP (AL)	*de pu sikat gigi deng odol* 3SG POSS toothbrush with toothpaste 'her toothbrush and toothpaste'
j.	NP (HUM)	*punya*	NP (AL)	*orang Isirawa punya, apa, cara kawin* person Isirawa POSS what manner marry 'the Isirawas', what, way of marrying'
k.	NP (HUM)	*pu*	NP (INAL)	*mama Klara pu ana prempuang* mother Klara POSS child woman 'mother Klara's daughter'
l.	NP (INAN)	*punya*	N (AL)	*kebung ini punya hasil* garden D.PROX POSS product 'this garden's products'

With respect to the possessive marking of personal pronouns, there are no prosodic restrictions on the use of the two possessive marker forms: either can occur with the

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[194]   The proper noun *LNG* has developed from the noun phrase 'Liquified Natural Gas'.

long and the short pronoun forms, as illustrated in Table 2. (The pronoun **ko** '2SG' does not have a short form.)

Table 2:   Possessive marking of personal pronouns[195]

Possessive construction	Literal translation	Free translation
Possessive marking with **punya** 'POSS' Long personal pronoun form – **punya** 'POSS'		
saya punya sabit	1SG POSS sickle	'my sickle'
ko punya barang	2SG POSS stuff	'your belongings'
dia punya nama	3SG POSS name	'his name'
kitorang punya kekurangang	1PL POSS shortcoming	'our shortcoming'
kitong punya muka	1PL POSS face	'our faces'
kita punya bapa	1PL POSS father	'our father'
kamu punya otak	2PL POSS brain	'your brains'
dorang punya kampung	3PL POSS village	'their village'
Short personal pronoun form – **punya** 'POSS'		
sa punya nokeng	1SG POSS stringbag	'my stringbag'
de punya swami	3SG POSS husband	'her husband'
torang punya orang-tua	1PL POSS parent	'our parents'
tong punya ipar	1PL POSS sibling-in-law	'our sister in-law'
ta punya kampung	1PL POSS village	'our village'
kam punya nasip	2PL POSS destiny	'your destinies'
dong punya ruma	3PL POSS house	'their house'
Possessive marking with **pu** 'POSS' Long personal pronoun form – **pu** 'POSS'		
saya pu hasil kebung	1SG POSS product garden	'my garden products
ko pu kampung	2SG POSS village	'your village'
dia pu maytua	3SG POSS wife	'his wife'
kitorang pu keadaang	1PL POSS condition	'our condition'
kitong pu kawang	1PL POSS friend	'our friend'
kita pu adat	1PL POSS customs	'our customs'
kamu pu cara hidup	2PL POSS manner live	'your ways of life'

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[195]   Documentation: 080916-001-CvNP.0006, 080917-008-NP.0166, 080919-004-NP.0018, 080919-004-NP.0053, 080919-004-NP.0071, 080919-004-NP.0079, 080922-001a-CvPh.0834, 080922-002-Cv.0006, 080922-005-CvEx.0004, 080922-010a-NF.0002, 080922-010a-NF.0288, 081006-022-CvEx.0043, 081006-022-CvEx.0047, 081006-029-CvEx.0015, 081011-011-Cv.0055, 081011-011-Cv.0057, 081015-005-NP.0011, 081015-005-NP.0023, 081110-001-Cv.0026, 081110-002-Cv.0015, 081110-002-Cv.0018, 081110-003-Cv.0023, 081110-008-CvHt.0058, 081110-008-CvHt.0101, 081115-001a-Cv.0275, 081115-001b-Cv.0026, 081115-001b-Cv.0026, 081115-001b-Cv.0057.

Short personal pronoun form – *pu* 'POSS'		
sa pu motor	1SG POSS motorbike	'my motorbike'
de pu bahu	3SG POSS shoulder	'her shoulder'
tong pu pakeang	1PL POSS clothing	'our clothing'
ta pu orang-tua	1PL POSS parent	'our parents'
kam pu sabun	2PL POSS soap	'their soap'
dong pu jaring	3PL POSS net	'their net'

There are only two unattested combinations, namely the marking with short *pu* 'POSS' of the long third person plural pronoun *dorang* '3PL' and of the short plural pronoun *torang* '1PL'. The elicited examples below show, however, that possessive constructions with *torang*/*dorang pu* 'our/their' are possible:

(6) t**orang** / **dorang** **pu** **ruma** ada di situ
    1PL / 3PL   POSS house exist at L.MED
    '**our/their house** is over there' [Elicited BR111020-001.002-003]

The examples in Table 2 show that the reduction of the disyllabic form *punya* 'POSS' to monosyllabic *pu* 'POSS' does not interact with the long versus reduced shape of the personal pronoun. These findings contrast with those of Donohue (to be published) who found that the long pronoun forms may not co-occur with the reduced possessive marker *pu* 'POSS' (for more details see Donohue to be published: 24–25).

Very occasionally, the reduced ligature takes on the form /pum/, /pun/, or /puŋ/ 'POSS'. This variation is usually due to assimilation to the word-initial segment of the following possessum, as illustrated in Table 3. That is, speakers realize short *pu* 'POSS' with a word-final nasal which receives its place features from the onset segment of the following prosodic word; when the following word has a vowel as onset, the nasal is typically realized as velar [ŋ]. (For more details on nasal place assimilation see §2.2.1.)

Table 3:   Assimilation of short *pu* 'POSS'

Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/de pu**m b**apa/	*de pu bapa*	'his/her father'
/de pu**n t**eman~temaŋ/	*de pu temang~temang*	'his/her friends'
/dom pu**ŋ a**srama/	*dong pu asrama*	'their dormitory'
/sa pu**ŋ k**aka/	*sa pu kaka*	'my older sibling'

In a few cases, however, the reduced ligature takes on the form /puŋ/ regardless of the form of the following segment, as illustrated in (7) to (9): *sa* /puŋ/ *dusung* 'my gardens' in (7), *dong* /puŋ/ *peserta* 'their participants' in (8), or *tong* /puŋ/ *cara makang babi* 'our way of eating pig' in (9).

(7) ada **sa** **/puŋ/** dusung
    exist 1SG POSS garden
    '(over there) is **my** garden' [081110-008-CvNP.0009]

(8) **dong** **/puŋ/** peserta juga macang tra …
    3PL POSS participant also variety NEG
    '**their** participants also, like (they) didn't …' [081025-009a-Cv.0132]

(9) … **tong** **/puŋ/** cara makang babi juga
    1PL POSS manner eat pig also
    '[our way of eating is like just the Toraja one,] **our** way of eating pigs also'
    [081014-017-CvPr.0053]

9.1.2. POSSR-NP =*p* POSSM-NP

The possessive marker can be reduced further to =*p* 'POSS', if the possessor noun phrase ends in a vowel, as in (10) to (12). In this case, the marker is cliticized to the possessor. In this type of reduced possessive construction, the possessor is almost always a singular personal pronoun, such as short first person *sa* '1SG' or second person *ko* '2SG' in (10), or short third person *de* '3SG' as in (11). The possessor may, however, also be expressed by a noun as in (12), although in the present corpus this example is the only one attested. Again, the same construction is used for alienable and inalienable possession.

(10) sa bilang, i, **sa=p** **kaka**, de bilang **ko=p** **kaka**
    1SG say ugh! 1SG=POSS oSb 3SG say 2SG=POSS oSb
    'I said, 'ugh!, (that's) **my older sister**', she said, '**your older sister**?''
    [080919-006-CvNP.0026]

(11) de timbul **de=p** **cucu** tanya dia, tete knapa
    3SG emerge 3SG=POSS grandchild ask 3SG grandfather why
    '(when) he (grandfather) emerged, his grandchild asked him, 'grandfather, what happened?'' [081109-005-JR.0009]

(12) Fredi de pu **ade=p** **motor** …
    Fredi 3SG POSS ySb=POSS motorbike
    'Fredi's **younger brother's motorbike** …' [081002-001-CvNP.0058]

9.1.3. POSSR-NP ∅ POSSM-NP

The possessive marker can also be elided, as illustrated in (13) to (17). The elision is limited, however, to certain semantic kinds of possession. Attested are inalienable possession of body parts, as in (13) and (14), and kinship relations, as in (15) and (16). Most commonly, the possessor is human as in (13) to (16), but it may also be animate nonhuman as in (17).

In POSSR-POSSM constructions, the possessor is usually encoded by a short personal pronoun form, as in (15) to (17). Much less often, the possessor is expressed with a lexical noun such as *bapa* 'father' in (13). Also rather infrequently,

the possessor is expressed by a noun phrase such as ***pace de*** 'the man' in (14), where adnominally used ***de*** '3SG' modifies ***pace*** 'man' (for details on the adnominal uses of the personal pronouns, see §6.2).

(13)   adu,   **bapa**   ∅   **mulut**   jahat   skali
        oh.no!   father   mouth   be.bad   very
        'oh no, **father's language** is very bad' (Lit. '**father's mouth**') [080923-008-Cv.0019]

(14)   **pace   de**   ∅   **tangang**   kluar   ke   samping
        man   3SG   arm   get.out   to   side
        [About an accident:] '**the man's hand** stuck out sideways' [081108-001-JR.0003]

(15)   **de**   ∅   **mama   ini**   ke   atas
        3SG   see   3SG   POSS   wife
        '**his mother here** (went) up (there)' [080923-001-CvNP.0019]

(16)   dia   liat   dia   pu   maytua … ah,   **sa**   ∅   **maytua**   cantik
        3SG   see   3SG   POSS   wife   ah!   1SG   wife   be.beautiful
        'he saw his wife … 'ah, my wife is beautiful'' [080922-010a-CvNF.0020]

(17)   langsung   potong   dia   buang   tali-prutnya
        immediately   cut   3SG   throw(.away)   intestines:3POSSR
        de   ∅   **tali-prut**   buang   tinggal   isi   saja
        3SG   intestines   throw(.away)   stay   contents   just
        [About killing dogs:] 'cut him up at once (and) throw away the intestines, (after having) thrown away **his intestines**, just the meat remains' [081106-001-CvPr.0005]

Contrary to the possessive constructions presented in §9.1.1 and §9.1.2, the data presented in (13) to (17) shows that Papuan Malay also has the option to signal inalienable possession by omitting the possessive marker.

   This alienable versus inalienable distinction is also found in other Austronesian languages of the Papuan contact zone, whereas it is not found in Western Malayo-Polynesian languages. As in other Austronesian and Papuan languages of this contact zone (Klamer et al. 2008), it is body parts and kinship terms that can be inalienably possessed.[196]

9.1.4.   Grammaticalization of *punya* '**POSS**'

In §9.1.1 to §9.1.3, the reduction of possessive marker ***punya*** 'POSS' to its monosyllabic variants ***pu*** or ***=p*** 'POSS' and its omission in POSSR-POSSM

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[196]   Klamer et al. (2008: 116) note that this "innovation must have occurred prior to the population of Oceania", a conclusion that is based on Ross 's (2001) hypothesis that it "is also probable that the formal distinction between alienable and inalienable possession entered Proto-Oceanic or an immediate precursor through Papuan contact".

constructions was described. One explanation for this reduction would be to consider it as a fast speech phenomenon that high-frequency words tend to undergo.

Alternatively one could explain this reduction in terms of a grammaticalization process. As Bybee (2006: 719) observes, the phonetic reduction of high-frequency words "can lead to the establishment of a new construction with its own categories" and "the grammaticization of the new construction". One could argue that Bybee's (2006: 719) observation also applies to the high-frequency morpheme ***punya*** with its variable status between a full verb 'have', a clitic possessive marker, and a zero morpheme. That is, the variable status could be taken as an "as-yet incomplete grammaticalization" (Aikhenvald 2007: 59) from the independent lexical item ***punya*** 'have' via the possessive marker ***punya*** 'POSS' into a clitic ***=p*** 'POSS' or a new possessive construction without overt marker.[197]

In the present corpus, the reductions of the possessive marker to the clitic ***=p*** 'POSS' or a zero morpheme occur with about the same frequency. The two constructions usually only occur when the possessor is expressed with a short singular personal pronoun. It remains to be seen whether and to what extent over time (1) one of the constructions is going to become dominant, and (2) one or both constructions are going to occur with possessors encoded by the plural personal pronouns or common nouns. Such developments could be taken as an indication of a grammaticalization process of the possessive marker.

9.2. Realizations of POSSR-NP and POSSM-NP

This section discusses the different realizations of the possessor and possessum noun phrases in adnominal possessive constructions. The syntactic categories that can take the possessor or possessum slot, together with their semantic properties are discussed in §9.2.1.1. Elision of the possessum noun phrase is described in §9.2.1.2, followed by a brief discussion of recursive possessive constructions in §9.2.1.3.

9.2.1.1.   Syntactic and semantic properties

In adnominal possessive constructions, the possessor and/or possessum can be expressed by lexical nouns as in (18) and (19), by demonstratives as in (20) and (21), or by noun phrases as in (22) to (27). Further, the possessor can be encoded by a personal pronoun as in (24) to (27). Semantically, the possessor and the possessum can be human as in (18) and (26), nonhuman animate as in (19) and (21), or inanimate as in (28) and (24), respectively.

In (18) and (19), the possessor and the possessum are expressed by lexical nouns.

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[197]   One reason why ***punya*** constructions are so frequent in Papuan Malay and other eastern Malay varieties, is that unlike the western Malay varieties, the eastern Malay varieties do not use suffix ***-nya*** '3POSS' as a marker of possessive relations, as for instance in western Malay ***tangang-nya*** 'his/her hand' (Hammarström, p.c. 2013).

Lexical nouns expressing the possessor / possessum

(18)   sa   masi   ingat   **bapa   pu   muka**
        1SG   still   remember   father   POSS   front
        'I still remember **father's face**' [080922-001a-CvPh.1307]

(19)   … pake   **setan   punya kwasa**
          use   evil.spirit   POSS   power
        [About the power of evil spirits:] '[the sleeping person can't wake up
        because the sorcerers are] using **the evil spirit's power**' [081006-022-
        CvEx.0084]

In (20) the proximal demonstrative *ini* 'D.PROX' takes the possessor slot and in (21)
distal *itu* 'D.DIST' takes the possessum slot.

Demonstratives expressing the possessor / possessum

(20)   bapa   masi kenal kaka Siduas pu   masi kenal
        father still know oSb Siduas POSS   still know

        ini   pu   muka
        D.PROX   POSS   front
        'do you ('father') still know Siduas', still know **this (one)'s face**?' [080922-
        001a-CvPh.1123]

(21)   ko   ambil dulu   **ade   pu   itu**
        2SG   fetch be.prior ySb   POSS   D.DIST
        'you pick (it) up first, **that (fish) of (your) younger sister**' (Lit. '**younger
        sibling's that**') [081006-019-Cv.0002]

In (22) to (27), noun phrases take the possessor or the possessum slot (the scope of
the noun phrases is indicated with brackets). In (22) the possessor is encoded by a
noun phrase with a verbal modifier plus an adnominal demonstrative, while in (23)
the possessor is expressed by a coordinate noun phrase.

Noun phrases expressing the possessor

(22)   sebut   [[[**orang mati**] **tu**]   **pu**   [**nama**]]   karna   …
        name   person   die   D.DIST   POSS   name   because
        '(he has) to mention **that dead person's name** because …' [080923-013-
        CvEx.0019]

(23)   itu   ko   pu   [[**ko   deng   Mateus**] **pu**   [**tugas**]]
        D.DIST   2SG   POSS   2SG   with   Mateus   POSS   duty
        'that is your, **your and Mateus' duty**' [081005-001-Cv.0035]

In (24), the possessum is encoded by a noun phrase with an adnominally used stative
verb plus an adnominal demonstrative. In (25), a noun phrase with nominal modifier
plus an adnominal demonstrative takes the possessum slot. In (26) the possessum is
expressed by a coordinate noun phrase. In (9), repeated as (27), a noun phrase with a
modifying nonfinite clause takes the possessum slot. The examples in (24) to (27)
also illustrate that a personal pronoun can take the possessor slot; personal pronouns
do not take the possessum slot.

Noun phrases expressing the possessum

(24) [[**de**] **pu**   [[**cucu**   **kecil**] **itu**]]   tiap   hari   de
      3SG   POSS   grandchild be.small D.DIST   every   day   3SG
      menangis   trus
      cry   be.continuous
      '**that small grandchild** of his, every day he/she cries continuously'
      [081011-009-Cv.0055]

(25) sa   tida   maw [[**sa**] **punya** [[**sodara prempuang**] **itu**]]   mendrita
      1SG   NEG   want 1SG   POSS   sibling   woman   D.DIST   suffer
      'I don't want **that sister of mine** to suffer' [081006-024-CvEx.0108]

(26) nanti   [[**de**] **punya** [**bapa dengan mama**]] langsung   pergi …
      very.soon 3SG   POSS   father with   mother   immediately go
      'very soon **her father and mother** will go …' [081110-005-CvPr.0079]

(27) … [[**tong**] **pu**   [**cara**   [**makang babi**]]] juga
          1PL   POSS   manner   eat   pig   also
      '[our way of eating is like just the Toraja one,] **our way of eating pigs**
      also' [081014-017-CvPr.0053]

In (18) to (27) the possessor is always animate. It can, however, also be inanimate as
shown in (28).

Inanimate possessor

(28) … **LNG**   **pu**   **terpol** **itu**   tinggal
          liquified.natural.gas POSS   container D.DIST stay
      [About the need to buy gasoline:] '[those jerry cans] **that LNG jerry can**
      stays behind' (Lit. '**the LNG's container**') [081110-002-Cv.0075]

9.2.1.2.   Elision of the possessum noun phrase

It is also possible to omit the possessum when its identity was established earlier;
this applies to inalienably as well as alienably possessed referents, as illustrated in
(29) to (32). Such 'POSSESSOR *punya*' constructions are typically used in contexts
where the possessor identity is under discussion.

Most commonly, speakers employ long *punya* 'POSS', but as shown in (31) and
(32), constructions with reduced *pu* 'POSS' are also possible.[198] Elision of the

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[198] In his analysis of similar possessive constructions in Classical Malay, Yap et al. (2004:
       157) conclude that Classical Malay *(em)punya* constructions with omitted possessum
       denote "pronominal possessive constructions". More specifically, Yap (2007: 7)
       maintains that "in such constructions *(em)punya* identifies a possessee in relation to its
       possessor (the genitive function), while at the same time alluding to the morphologically
       unrealized possessee as well (the pronominal function). Consequently, possessive
       pronominal *(em)punya* allows us to focus on the possessor, while still referring to the
       possessee". It seems that this analysis is also applicable to Papuan Malay.

possessor is unattested. Instead speakers employ a demonstrative, as in (20), when the identity of the possessor has already been established.

(29) Nofi   tu   itu   bukang **bapa   Lukas   punya** Ø
      Nofi   D.DIST   D.DIST   NEG   father Lukas   POSS

      mama   Nofita   punya Ø
      mother Nofita   POSS

      'Nofi here, that's not **father Lukas'** (son nor) **mother Nofita's** (son)'
      [081006-024-CvEx.0011]

(30) itu   **de   punya**   Ø
      D.DIST   3SG   POSS

      'those are **his** (banana plants)' [081110-008-CvNP.0121]

(31) sedangkang   Pawlus ini   itu   **jin   pu**   Ø
      whereas   Pawlus D.PROX   D.DIST   genie   POSS

      'whereas Pawlus here, that's **the genie's** (child)' [081025-006-Cv.0278]

(32) ko   liat   **Luisa   pu**   Ø   bagus,   suda   kembang   banyak
      2SG   see   Luisa   POSS   be.good   already   flowering   many

      'you see **Luisa's** (flowers) are good, (they are) already flowering a lot'
      [081006-021-CvHt.0002]

9.2.1.3.   Recursive adnominal possessive constructions

Adnominal possessive constructions can be stacked to form recursive possessive constructions as illustrated in (33) to (35). Double possessive constructions as in (33) and (34) are quite common, especially to express kinship and social relations as in (33). Triple possessive constructions are also possible but extremely rare: the present corpus only contains one such construction, which is presented in (35) in slightly modified form.

(33) kalo memang **ko   punya maytua punya waktu** pas   di kapal …
      if   indeed   2SG POSS   wife   POSS   time   be.exact at ship

      'if indeed **your wife's time** (to give birth) is exactly (when you're) on the ship …' [080922-001a-CvPh.0010]

(34) ini   **kaka Natanael pu   laki   pu   mobil**
      D.PROX   oSb   Natanael POSS   husband POSS   car

      'this is **sister Natanael's husband's car**' [081006-015-Cv.0001]

(35) de$_i$ pu   ana   kawin   **de$_i$ pu   laki   punya**
      3SG   POSS   child   marry.inofficially   3SG   POSS   husband   POSS

kaka prempuang pu ana
oSb woman POSS child

'her$_i$ child (wants to) marry **the son of her$_i$ husband's older sister**'
[Elicited BR111020.026][199]

As discussed in §9.1.1, the long ligature form **punya** 'POSS' and **pu** 'POSS' are freely used in adnominal possessive constructions without any syntactic or semantic restrictions. This also applies to recursive possessive constructions, as illustrated in (33) to (35). In terms of attested frequencies in such constructions, however, short **pu** 'POSS' is employed more commonly than long **punya** 'POSS'.

9.3. Non-canonical adnominal possessive constructions

In addition to encoding adnominal possession, **punya** 'POSS' (including its reduced forms) also serves other functions in possessive constructions, namely (1) as an emphatic marker that signals locational relations or association (§9.3.1), (2) as a marker of beneficiary relations (§9.3.2), or (3) as an attitudinal intensifier or stance (§9.3.3). And (4), the possessive ligature is used in reflexive construction (§9.3.4).

   Syntactically, not only nouns, personal pronouns, noun phrases, or demonstratives can take the possessor or possessum slots. In addition, these slots can be filled by verbs. Further, the possessum slot can be taken by mid-range quantifiers, temporal adverbs, or prepositional phrases. Finally, the possessum can be omitted.

9.3.1. Locational relations and association

One non-canonical function of possessive constructions is to signal that the possessum is "perceived to be closely related" to the possessor, as Dixon (2010a: 278) puts it. In Papuan Malay, this includes locational relations, both spatial and temporal, and relations that express an association, as illustrated in (36) to (42). With this function of **punya** 'POSS', the possessive construction receives an emphatic reading; in the following examples the English translation attempts to convey this emphatic reading with the additional italicized information.

   The possessive marker can signal locational relations, or, employing Dixon's (2010a: 263) terminology, relations of "orientation or location". The locational relations can be spatial, as in (36) and (37), or temporal, as in (38) to (40).[200]

   In (36) and (37), **pu** 'POSS' marks spatial relations between the possessor and the possessum, with the possessive construction receiving an emphatic reading. In (36), a spatial referent, encoded with the proper noun **Jayapura**, takes the possessor slot. It denotes the location or source for the referent expressed by the possessum, **dua**

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[199] The subscript letters keep track of what each term refers to.
   The elicited utterance in (35) is based on an original triple possessive construction which contains the demonstrative **ini** 'D.PROX': **… de pu laki, ini, punya kaka prempuang pu ana**. In this context, **ini** 'D.PROX' functions as a placeholder and therefore does not mark off **de pu laki** 'her husband' as one noun phrase (see §7.1.2.6 for a discussion of the placeholder uses of demonstratives).

[200] Dixon 's (2010b: 263) term "orientation/location" refers to spatial relations; temporal relations are not mentioned.

blas orang 'twelve people'. In (37), the spatial referent, encoded in the prepositional phrase *di dalam itu* 'in that inside', takes the possessum slot.[201] It designates the location for the referent expressed by the pronominal possessor *de* '3SG'.

Spatial locational relations

(36) **Jayapura pu   dua blas orang** yang lulus   ka
      Jayapura   POSS   two tens person   REL   pass(.a.test)   or
      'aren't there **twelve people from Jayapura who graduated** (*as opposed to other cities with fewer graduates*)?' (Lit. '**Jayapura's twelve people**')
      [081025-003-Cv.0311]

(37) baru   ambil bayi   tu   bayi   yang **de   pu**
      and.then fetch palm.stem   D.DIST palm.stem   REL   3SG   POSS
      di   dalam   itu   kang   kaya kapas   to?
      at   inside   D.DIST   you.know   like cotton right?
      'and then (he) took that palm stem, **that inside (part) of it** (*as opposed to other parts*), the palm stem is like cotton, right?' [080922-010a-CvNF.0073]

In the elicited examples in (38) to (40), the possessive marker signals temporal locational relations. In these examples, the third person singular pronoun *de* '3SG' takes the possessor slot. It designates the temporal reference point for the event under discussion. The possessum slot is taken by a temporal expression such as *besok* 'tomorrow' in (38), *pagi* 'morning' in (39), or *malam* 'night' in (40). This temporal expression denotes a specific point in time relative to the temporal reference point expressed by the possessor.

Temporal locational relations

(38) … trus   sa   tinggal di   sana,   trus   **de   pu**   **besok**
          next   1SG   stay   at   L.DIST next   3SG   POSS   tomorrow
      baru   sa   kembali …
      and.then 1SG   return
      '[two days ago I went to Abepura,] and then I stayed there, and then **the** (*very*) **next day** only then did I return …' (Lit. '**its tomorrow**') [Elicited BR111020.008]

(39) dong kerja ruma   dari pagi   sampe   malam **de**   **pu**   **pagi**
      3PL   work   house from morning until   night 3SG   POSS   morning
      baru   dong kasi   selesay smua
      and.then 3PL   GIVE   finish   all
      'they worked on the house from morning until evening, **the** (*very*) **next morning** only then did they finish everything' (Lit. '**its morning**') [Elicited BR111020.009]

(40) Petrus deng Tinus dong pi mandi di pante tadi   pagi
      Petrus with Tinus 3PL   go bathe at coast earlier morning

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201 The locative preposition *di* 'at, in' can also be deleted (see §10.1.5) resulting in *de pu dalam itu* 'that inside (part) of it'.

de   pu   malam dong pi   ke   Jayapura
3SG POSS night 3PL   go to   Jayapura

'Petrus and Tinus went bathing at the beach this morning (and) **this** (*very*) **evening** they went to Jayapura' (Lit. '**its night**') [Elicited BR111020.009]

The possessive marker can also indicate an "association" between the possessum and the possessor (Dixon 2010a: 285), as in (41) and (42). In (41), ***punya*** 'POSS' signals that the possessum ***tu*** 'D.DIST' is associated with the possessor ***lima juta*** 'five million', giving the emphatic reading 'a minimum of five-million (*as opposed to lower prices*)'.[202] Along similar lines, in (42), the ligature indicates an association between the possessum ***tu*** 'D.DIST' and the possessor ***tingkat propinsi*** 'provincial level', resulting in the emphatic reading '(a meeting at) the provincial level (*and not at the regency level*)'.

Association

(41)   yang   mahal   yang di   atas satu jut
        REL   be.expensive REL   at   top   one   TRU-million

       lima   juta   punya   tu
        five   million   POSS   D.DIST

       '(traditional cloths from Sorong) which are expensive, which (cost) more than one million[TRU], **a minimum of five million** (*as opposed to lower prices*)' (Lit. '**that five million's** (price)') [081006-029-CvEx.0009]

(42)   kitong   ikut   ini   **tingkat propinsi punya   tu**
        1PL   follow   D.PROX   floor   province POSS   D.DIST

       'we attended (a meeting at), what's-its-name, **the provincial level** (*and not at the regency level*)' (Lit. '**that** (meeting) **of the provincial level**') [081010-001-Cv.0043]

9.3.2.   Beneficiary relations

The possessive marker ***punya*** 'POSS' is also used to signal beneficiary relations. Speakers employ this construction when they want to signal that the RECIPIENT is the beneficiary of a definite THEME, as discussed in §11.1.3.3. This is illustrated with ***simpang*** 'store' in (43) and ***bli*** 'buy' in (44). In both examples, the possessor expresses the BENEFICIARY or RECIPIENT of the event expressed by the verb, while the possessum denotes the anticipated object of possession or THEME.

(43)   mama   kitong suda   simpang **mama   punya   makang**
        mother 1PL   already   store   mother POSS   food

       'mother, we already put **food for you** aside' (Lit. '**mama's food**') [080924-002-Pr.0005]

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[202]   Alternatively, one might classify the possessive construction in (41) as an "'appositive genitive', where the two noun phrases are equated denotatively" (Quirk et al. 1972: 193).

(44)   dong   su   bli   **de   punya alat~alat   ini**
        3PL   already buy   3SG   POSS RDP~equipment D.PROX

        'they already bought **these utensils for him**' (Lit. '**his utensils**') [080922-
        001a-CvPh.0558]

9.3.3.   Intensifying function of *punya* '**POSS**'

Another non-canonical function of possessive ***punya*** '**POSS**' is that of an intensifier
or stance that signals speaker attitudes or evaluations. The attested data suggest three
different constructions in which Papuan Malay speakers use ***punya*** '**POSS**' in such a
way: constructions with (1) nominal possessor and quantifier possessum (§9.3.3.1),
(2) nominal possessor and verbal possessum (§9.3.3.2), and (3) verbal possessor and
verbal possessum (§9.3.3.3).

9.3.3.1.   <u>N-POSSR – ***punya*** – QT-POSSM constructions</u>

In the possessive constructions in (45) to (48), a nominal constituent takes the
possessor slot while a quantifier takes the possessum slot.

     Attested in the present corpus is only the one example in (45) in which the mid-
range quantifier ***banyak*** 'many' takes the possessum slot. A second, elicited
example is presented in (46). Possessive constructions with the mid-range quantifier
sedikit 'few, a little' are also possible as illustrated with the elicited examples in (47)
and (48). In these examples ***punya*** '**POSS**' functions as an attitudinal intensifier,
expressing speaker evaluations, such as feelings of annoyance in (45), of surprise in
(46) and in (47), or of alarm in (48).

(45)   baru,   mama,   setan   **pu   banyak** di   situ
        and.then   mother evil.spirit POSS   many   at   L.MED

        'and then, mother, (there) are **really many** evil spirits over there' (Lit.
        '**many of**') [081025-006-Cv.0062]

(46)   natal   tu   ana~ana   dong maing kembang-api **pu   banyak**
        Christmas D.DIST RDP~child   3PL play fire-cracker POSS   many

        'Christmas the children play with **really many** fire-crackers' (Lit. '**many
        of**') [Elicited BR111020.005]

(47)   di   gunung   itu   pohong **pu   sedikit**
        at   mountain D.DIST   tree   POSS   few

        'on that mountain, there are **very few** trees' (Lit. '**few of**') [Elicited
        BR111020.006]

(48)   tete   de   minum air   **pu   sedikit**
        grandfather 3SG drink water POSS   few

        'grandfather drinks **very little** water' (Lit. '**few of**') [Elicited BR111020.007]

Possessive constructions with other quantifiers or with numerals taking the
possessum slot are ungrammatical.

9.3.3.2.   N-POSSR – *punya* – V-POSSM constructions

In the possessive constructions in (49) to (53), a nominal constituent takes the possessor slot while a mono- or bivalent verb takes the possessum slot.

In the examples in (49) to (51), a monovalent verb takes the possessum slot. Again, *punya* 'POSS' functions as an attitudinal intensifier. In (49) *pu* 'POSS' adds emphasis to stative *malas* 'be listless'. In (50), *pu* 'POSS' precedes stative *brat* 'be heavy', and thereby signals feelings of annoyance. Finally, in (51), the possessive marker precedes dynamic *mendrita* 'suffer', thereby indicates negative feelings of disbelief.

> Intensifying function of *punya* 'POSS': Preceding monovalent verbs

(49)   dong   tida   taw   umpang   smua   tra   taw   toser
       3PL   NEG   know   pass.ball   all   NEG   know   pass.ball

    adu   sa   **pu**   **malas**
    oh.no!   1SG   POSS   be.listless

    [About playing volleyball:] 'none of them knows (how) to pass a ball, none of them knows (how) how to pass a ball, oh no, I'm **so very listless** (to play with them)' (Lit. '**the being listless of**') [081109-001-Cv.0127]

(50)   damay,   de   **pu**   **brat**
       peace   3SG   POSS   be.heavy

    'my goodness, he was **so heavy**' (Lit. '**the being heavy of**') [081025-009b-Cv.0041]

(51)   adu,   dong   dua   **pu**   **mendrita**
    oh.no!   3PL   two   POSS   suffer

    'oh no, the two of them were **suffering so much**' (Lit. '**the suffering of**') [081025-006-Cv.0059]

In (52) to (53), the possessum slot is taken by bivalent verbs. Again, the possessive marker has intensifying, asserting and/or evaluative function. With bivalent verbs, only short *pu* 'POSS' is attested while long *punya* 'POSS' does not occur; more investigation is needed however, to further explore these speaker preferences.

> Intensifying function of *punya* 'POSS': Preceding bivalent verbs

(52)   ka   Sarles   juga   de   **pu**   **maing**   **pisow**
    oSb   Sarles   also   3SG   POSS   play   knife

    'older brother Sarles also, he **has a fast and smart way of playing**' (Lit. '**the knife playing of**') [081023-001-Cv.0009]

(53)   baru   nanti   tong   **pu**   **lawang**   deng   siapa
    and.then   very.soon   1PL   POSS   oppose   with   who

    'and then later who will be **our opponent**?' (Lit. '**the opposing of**') [081109-001-Cv.0136]

9.3.3.3.   V-POSSR – *punya* – V-POSSM constructions

In non-canonical possessive constructions, both the possessor and the possessum
slot can be taken by verbs, as illustrated in (54) to (57). More specifically, a dynamic
verb takes the possessor slot, while a stative verb takes the possessum slot. Attested
in the present corpus is only one example in (54), while the examples in (55) to (57)
are elicited.

     With its intensifying function, *punya* 'POSS' signals an emphatic reading of both
the verbal possessor and the verbal possessum, as illustrated in (54): *mandi punya*
'really bathing' and *punya jaw* 'very far away (of)'.

(54)   dong mandi di kali Biri, mm-mm,   **mandi   punya   jaw**   itu
        3PL   bathe   at river Biri mhm   bathe   POSS   be.far   D.DIST

        [About a run-away boy:] 'they were bathing in the Biri river, mhm, (they
        were) **really bathing very far away**' (Lit. '**the being far away of the
        bathing**') [081025-008-Cv.0032-0033]

(55)   de   **kerja   punya   cepat**
        3SG   work   POSS   be.fast

        'he **really worked very fast**' (Lit. '**the being fast of the working**')
        [Elicited BR111020.022]

(56)   mama   de   **masak   punya   enak**
        mother   3SG   cook   POSS   be.pleasant

        'mother **really cooks very tastily**' (Lit. '**the being tasty of the cooking**')
        [Elicited BR111020.023]

(57)   Marice   deng   Matius   dong   dua   **bicara   punya   kras**
        Marice   with   Matius   3PL   two   speak   POSS   be.harsh

        'the two of them Marice and Matius **really spoke very loudly** (with each
        other)' (Lit. '**the being loud of the speaking**') [Elicited BR111020.024]

9.3.4.   *punya* **'POSS' in reflexive expressions**

The possessive marker *punya* 'POSS' is also employed to create reflexive
expressions. Reflexives typically designate constructions "where subject and object
refer to the same entity, explicitly […] or implicitly" (Asher 1994: 5164). Typically,
explicit reflexive expressions are formed with a reflexive pronoun "which refers to
the same person or thing as the subject of the verb" (1994: 5165). In Papuan Malay,
by contrast, reflexive relations are expressed with adnominal possessive
constructions where a personal pronoun in the possessor slot and the reflexive noun
diri 'self' in the possessum slot express the reflexive relationship between both, as
illustrated with *sa pu diri* 'myself' in (58) and *kita punya diri* 'ourselves' (59).

(58)   bukang   sa   rasa   bahwa   sa   ini   sa   banggakang
        NEG   1SG   feel   that   1SG   D.PROX   1SG   praise

sa	**pu**	**diri**	tapi	itu		yang	terjadi
1SG	POSS	self	but	D.DIST		REL	happen

'it not that I feel that I here, (that) I praise **myself**, but that's what happened' (Lit. '**the self of me**') [081110-008-CvNP.0152]

(59) | kita | rencana | manusia | yang | mengatur | **kita** | **punya** | **diri** |
|------|---------|---------|------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| 1PL | plan | human.being | REL | arrange | 1PL | POSS | self |

'we make plans, (it's us) human beings who manage **our own lives**' (Lit. '**the self of us**') [080918-001-CvNP.0032]

9.4.   Summary and discussion

In Papuan Malay, adnominal possessive constructions consists of two noun phrases linked with the possessive marker *punya* 'POSS', such that 'POSSESSOR *punya* POSSESSUM'. In addition to signaling adnominal possessive relations between two noun phrases, *punya* 'POSS' has a number of derived, non-canonical functions, namely (1) as an emphatic marker of locational relations or relations of association, (2) as a marker of beneficiary relations, (3) as an attitudinal intensifier or stance, and (4) as a ligature in reflexive constructions.

Such non-canonical functions of the possessive ligature have also been noted in other eastern Malay varieties, such as its function as a marker of beneficiary relations in Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 164), as an attitudinal intensifier in Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 45), or as a marker of locational or temporal relations in Ternate Malay (Litamahuputty 1994: 52–53, 96–97).

Moreover, some of these non-canonical functions have long been noted for Bazaar Malay and have been linked to the substratum influence of Chinese speech varieties, namely the function of *punya* 'POSS' to link a locative or temporal modifier or a modifying adjective in the possessor slot preceding the ligature with its head in the possessum slot (see Bao 2009, Lim 1988, Shellabear 1904: 6–7 , Winstedt 1913: 115, and Winstedt 1938: 41). Along similar lines, Yap (2007: 1, 8ff) shows that under the influence of southern Chinese speech varieties, the Colloquial Malay possessive marker developed into a "attitudinal intensifier" or "stance" that transforms statements into evaluative "assertions that are often laced with strong feelings, including feelings of awe, […] or feelings of incredulity or even annoyance". For the different synchronic functions of *(em)punya* in classical and colloquial Malay, Yap et al. (2004: 159) established the following development or grammaticalization path: "> lexical verb > genitive > pronominal > stance development". It seems that this grammaticalization path also applies to Papuan Malay *punya* 'POSS'.

Possessive constructions with *punya* 'POSS' have a number of different realizations. The possessive marker can be represented with long *punya*, reduced *pu*, clitic *=p*, or a zero morpheme. There are no syntactic or semantic restrictions on the uses of the long and reduced possessive marker forms. By contrast, omission of *punya* only occurs when the possessive construction expresses inalienable possession of body parts or kinship relations. The possessor and the possessum can be expressed with different kinds of syntactic constituents, such as lexical nouns, noun phrases, or demonstratives. In addition, personal pronouns can also express the

possessor. In non-canonical possessive constructions, verbs can also take the possessor and/or possessum slots. Further, mid-range quantifiers, temporal adverbs, and prepositional phrases can take the possessum slot. The possessum can also be omitted in canonical or non-canonical possessive constructions. Semantically, the possessor and the possessum can denote human, nonhuman animate, or inanimate referents.

10. Prepositions and the prepositional phrase

Prepositional phrases are constructions which "consist of a preposition followed by a noun phrase" such that 'PREP NP', with the preposition indicating the grammatical and semantic "relationship of the following noun phrase to the predicate" (Sneddon 2010: xxxii, 194).

Papuan Malay employs eleven prepositions that can be grouped semantically into (1) prepositions encoding location in space and time, (2) prepositions encoding accompaniment/instruments, goals, and benefaction, and (3) prepositions encoding comparisons. The defining characteristics of prepositions are discussed in §5.12.

Prepositional phrases have the following defining characteristics:

1. All prepositional phrases function as peripheral adjuncts; as such they do not have a grammatically restricted position within the clause but can be moved to different positions.
2. Most prepositional phrases also function as nonverbal predicates and/or oblique arguments (see §12.4, and §11.1.3.2, respectively).
3. Some prepositional phrases also function as modifiers within noun phrases (§8.2.7)
4. Prepositional phrases that function as nonverbal predicates can be modified by aspectual adverbs (§5.4.1), while prepositional phrases in other functions cannot.

In the following, Papuan Malay prepositional phrases are discussed according to the semantics of their prepositional head: location in space and time in §10.1, accompaniment/instruments, goals, and benefaction in §10.2, and comparisons in §10.3. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §10.4.

10.1. Prepositions encoding location in space and time

Papuan Malay employs four prepositions that express location in space and time: locative *di* 'at, in' designates static location (§10.1.1), allative *ke* 'to' denotes direction towards a location (§10.1.2), elative *dari* 'from' expresses direction away from or out of a location (§10.1.3), and lative *sampe* 'until' designates direction up to a non-spatial temporal location (§10.1.4).

10.1.1. *di* 'at, in'

Prepositional phrases introduced with locative *di* 'at, in' indicate static location in spatial and non-spatial figurative terms. Most often the preposition denotes location 'at' or 'in' a referent; depending on its context, though, it is also translatable as 'on'.

Very commonly, *di* 'at, in' introduces a peripheral location as in *di kampung* 'in the village' in (1) or *di dia* 'at her' in (2). When following placement verbs such as *taru* 'put' in (3), *di* 'at, in' introduces oblique locative arguments that indicate the location of the referent as in *di sini* 'here'. Frequently *di* 'at, in' also introduces nonverbal predicates as in (4) (see §12.4). Only rarely, *di* 'at, in' introduces locations encoded by adnominal prepositional phrases as in *pasar di bawa tu* 'the

market down there' in (5). The examples in (1) to (5) also show that *di* 'at, in'
introduces animate and inanimate, as well as nominal and pronominal referents.[203]

(1)   waktu saya dengan bapa   tinggal **di kampung** saya kerja
       time   1SG   with   father stay   at village   1SG   work
       sperti   laki~laki
       similar.to   RDP~husband
       'when I and my husband ('father') were living **in the village**, I worked like
       a man' [081014-007-CvEx.0048]

(2)   jadi saya besar di Ida dengan de   punya laki   tu
       so   1SG   be.big at Ida with   3SG POSS   husband D.DIST
       … besar **di dia**
          be.big at 3SG
       'so I grew up with Ida and that husband of her …, (I) grew up **at hers**'
       [080927-007-CvNP.0017/0019]

(3)   skarang kamu kasi terpol~terpol   taru **di sini**
       now   2PL   give RDP~jerry.can   put   at L.PROX
       'now you give (me) the jerry cans, put (them) **here**' [081110-002-Cv.0065]

(4)   sa   **di IPS   satu**
       1SG   at social.sciences one
       [About course tracks in high school:] 'I (am) **in Social Sciences I**' [081023-
       004-Cv.0020]

(5)   **pasar di bawa tu**   raaame
       market at bottom D.DIST   be.bustling
       '**the market down there** is very bustling' [081109-005-JR.0008]

10.1.2.   *ke* 'to'

Prepositional phrases introduced with allative *ke* 'to' denote direction towards a
referent. Following motion verbs such as *lari* 'run' in (6) or *datang* 'come' in (7), *ke*
'to' introduces oblique locative arguments which indicate the goal of the motion as
in *ke pante* 'to the beach' or *ke kitong* 'to us', respectively. Allative *ke* 'to' also
very often introduces nonverbal predicates as in (8). The three examples also show
that *ke* 'to' introduces animate and inanimate, as well as nominal and pronominal
referents.[204]

(6)   dong lari   **ke pante**
       3PL   run   to coast
       'they ran **to the beach**' [081115-001a-Cv.0008]

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[203] In the present corpus only the following pronominal complements of *di* 'at, in' are
       attested: 2SG, 1PL, and 3PL.
[204] In the present corpus only the following pronominal complements of *ke* 'to' are attested:
       1SG, 3SG, 2PL.

(7) … dia punya aroa datang **ke kitong** kasi tanda
      3SG POSS departed.spirit come to 1PL give sign

'[so when there is a another person (who) dies in a different village,] (then) his/her departed spirit comes **to us** (and) gives (us) a sign' [081014-014-NP.0048]

(8) sa **ke ruma-sakit**
      1SG to hospital

'I (went) **to the hospital**' [081015-005-NP.0047]

10.1.3. *dari* **'from'**

Prepositional phrases introduced with elative *dari* 'from' designate direction away from or out of a source location; depending on its context, though, *dari* also translates with 'of'. Most commonly, the source location is spatial. In addition, *dari* 'from' expresses non-spatial figurative sources, temporal starting points, and the notions of superiority and dissimilarity in comparison constructions.

Elative *dari* 'from' forms peripheral adjuncts as in *dari blakang* 'from the back' in (9). When following motion verbs such as *kluar* 'go out', it expresses the source of the motion in an oblique argument as in (10). Besides, elative *dari* 'from' expresses spatial source locations in nonverbal predicates as in (11). Much less often, *dari* 'from' introduces sources encoded by adnominal prepositional phrases as in (12).

   Introducing spatial source locations

(9) de tutup itu spit itu **dari blakang** …
      3SG close D.DIST speedboat D.DIST from backside

'(this wave,) it totally covered that that speedboat **from the back** [to the front]' [080923-015-CvEx.0021]

(10) … sa harus kluar **dari kam pu kluarga**
      1SG have.to go.out from 2PL POSS family

'[I hadn't thought that] I would have to depart **from your family**' [080919-006-CvNP.0012]

(11) tong smua **dari kampung**
      1PL all from village

'we all are **from the village**' [081010-001-Cv.0084]

(12) satu kali ini **de pu bapa pu temang dari skola**
      one time D.PROX 3SG POSS father POSS friend from school
      STT dorang pergi …
      theological.seminary 3PL go

'this one time **her father's friends from school**, theological seminary, they went …' [081006-023-CvEx.0062]

The source location indicated with *dari* 'from' can also be non-spatial figurative as in the prepositional predicate clauses *dari uang* 'up to the money' in (13) or *dari ko* 'up to you' in (14).

Introducing non-spatial figurative source locations

(13)   yo, tong mo   biking cepat smua itu   **dari uang**
       yes 1PL   want   make   be.fast all   D.DIST from money
       'yes, we want to do (it) quickly, all that (is) **up to the money**' (Lit. '**from money**') [080927-006-CvNP.0034]

(14)   pinda ke   IPA   itu   **dari ko**   saja
       move   to   natural.sciences D.DIST from 2SG   just
       'switching (from Social Sciences) to Natural Sciences, that (is) **up to you alone**' (Lit. '**from you**') [081023-004-Cv.0023]

The examples in (9) to (14) also illustrate that *dari* 'from' introduces animate and inanimate, as well as nominal and pronominal referents.[205]

Derived from its spatial semantics, *dari* 'from' also very commonly introduces non-spatial temporal source locations, which are always encoded by peripheral adjuncts. The temporal starting point can be encoded by a noun that indicates time as in *dari pagi* 'from the morning' in (15) or in a temporal adverb as in *dari dulu* 'from the past' in (16).

Introducing temporal starting points

(15)   tra   bole   tutup pintu **dari pagi**   buka pintu
       NEG   permitted close door   from morning   open door
       sampe   malam
       until   night
       'you shouldn't close the door, (you should keep it) open **from morning until night**' [081110-008-CvNP.0108]

(16)   jadi itu   suda   kebiasaang **dari   dulu**
       so   D.DIST already habit   from be.prior
       'so that (tradition) has already become a custom **from the past**' (Lit. '**from being prior**') [081014-007-CvEx.0063]

Finally, elative *dari* 'from' is also used in comparative constructions marking degree or identity. In such constructions, *dari* 'from' functions as the MARK of comparison which introduces the STANDARD. In (17), for instance, *dari* 'from' serves as the MARK in a in a comparative construction marking degree, namely superiority, while in (18) it serves as the MARK in a comparative construction marking identity, namely dissimilarity (for details on comparative constructions, see §11.5).

Introducing standards of comparison

(17)   … dia   lebi besar   **dari smua ana~ana**   …
          3SG   more be.big from all   RDP~child
       '[in that class] he's bigger **than all the kids** [in it]' [081109-003-JR.0001][206]

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[205] In the present corpus one pronominal complement of *dari* 'from' is unattested, namely 2PL.

(18)   sifat   ini   **laing   dari   ko**
        nature   D.PROX   be.different   from   2SG
        'this disposition is different **from you**' [081110-008-CvNP.0089]

10.1.4.   *sampe* **'until'**

The preposition *sampe* 'until' is related to the bivalent verb *sampe* 'reach' which designates direction up to a location (see §5.16). Derived from its core spatial semantics, the preposition *sampe* 'until' introduces non-spatial temporal endpoints which are always encoded by peripheral adjuncts. Most commonly, the temporal endpoint is expressed in a temporal noun that indicates time as in *sampe sore* 'until the afternoon' in (19). Given these semantics, *sampe* 'until' typically introduces nouns that indicate time, as in *sampe sore* 'until the afternoon' in (19); that is, *sampe* 'until' does not introduce animate or pronominal referents.

        Introducing time-denoting nouns

(19)   saya   tidor   **sampe   sore**
        1SG   sleep   until   afternoon
        'I slept **until the afternoon**' [081015-005-NP.0033]

Typically peripheral prepositional phrases can be moved to other positions within the clause with no change in meaning. This does not, however, apply to the example in (19). When the prepositional phrase is moved to the front it denotes the temporal starting rather than the temporal endpoint of *tidor* 'sleep', as in (20). Hence, the meaning changes to 'come afternoon on' (literally 'reaches the afternoon'). One initial explanation for this change in meaning could be that the utterance in (20) expresses a sequence of two events, namely the *sampe* 'reaching' of the afternoon and subsequently the *tidor* 'sleeping'. In that case, *sampe sore* would not express the prepositional phrase 'until afternoon' but the verbal clause 'reached the afternoon' or 'come afternoon'. This explanation, however, requires further investigation.

        Clause-initial position

(20)   **sampe   sore**   saya   tidor
        reach/until   afternoon   1SG   sleep
        '**come afternoon** I slept' (Lit. '**reached the afternoon**') [Elicited
        BR120817.008]

Temporal *sampe* 'until' also introduces temporal adverbs that denote a temporal endpoint as in *sampe skarang* 'until now' in (21). Overall, however, these constructions are very rare in the present corpus.

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[206]   The original recording says *dari smuat* rather than *dari smua* 'than all'. Most likely the speaker wanted to say *dari smua temang* 'than all friends' but cut himself off to replace *temang* 'friend' with *ana~ana* 'children'.

Introducing temporal adverbs

(21)   … tapi **sampe skarang**   blum   brangkat
            but   until   be.current   not.yet   leave

       '…but **until now** (the team) hasn't yet left' [081023-002-Cv.0001]

Also, and more often than introducing prepositional phrases, temporal *sampe* 'until'
functions as a conjunction which introduces temporal clauses (§14.2.3.3).

10.1.5.   Elision of prepositions encoding location

Two of the prepositions of location may be omitted if the semantic relationship
between the complement and the predicate can be deduced from the context. The
prepositions are locative *di* 'at, in', as illustrated with the contrastive examples in
(22) and (23), and allative *ke* 'to', as shown in (24) and (25).

     When locative *di* 'at, in' introduces a spatial location and combines with position
verb such as *tidor* 'sleep' as in (22) and (23), the preposition can be elided. Both the
preceding verb and the complement of *di* 'at, in' are already deictic and therefore
allow the elision of *di* 'at, in': the position verb *tidor* 'sleep' implies the notion of
static location, while the complement *sana* 'over there' signals the position location.

       Prepositional phrases with elided locative *di* 'at, in'

(22)   ko   punya mama   ada   tidor **di   sana**
         2SG   POSS   mother   exist   sleep   at   L.DIST

         'your mother is sleeping **over there**' [081006-025-CvEx.0007]

(23)   a,   omong   kosong,   ko   masuk tidor ∅   **sana**   suda
         ah!   way.of.talking   be.empty 2SG   enter   sleep   L.DIST   already

         ((('ah, nonsense, you just go inside (and) **sleep over there**' [081023-001-
         Cv.0057]

Along similar lines allative *ke* 'to' can be omitted, when the preposition introduces a
location and combines with a motion verb that also expresses direction such as
masuk 'enter' in (24) and (25). Again, both the verb and the complement of *ke* 'to'
are deictic, thereby allowing the elision of *ke* 'to': the verb *masuk* 'enter' implies
the notion of motion and direction, while the complement *hutang* 'forest' denotes
the location towards which the motion is directed.

       Prepositional phrases with elided allative *ke* 'to'

(24)   smua   masarakat   masuk   **ke   hutang**
         all   community   enter   to   forest

         'the entire community went **into the forest**' [081029-005-Cv.0012]

(25)   smua   masuk ∅   **hutang**
         all   enter   forest

         'all went **(into) the forest**' [081029-005-Cv.0111]

The elision typically affects prepositional phrases with common nouns denoting
locations as in (25) or locatives as in (23). In addition, the elision can also affect

prepositional phrases with location nouns as in (26) and (27): in (26) the omitted preposition is locative *di* 'at, in' whereas in (27) it is allative *ke* 'to'.

Prepositional phrases with elided preposition and location noun complement

(26)   baru   kitong   taru   ∅   **depang**   to?
        and.then   1PL   put   front   right?
        'and then we put (the cake down) **in front**, right?' [081011-005-Cv.0031]

(27)   itu   yang   sa   bilang kalo dong   pinda   ∅   **sebla**   bole
        D.DIST   REL   1SG   say   if   3PL   move   side   be.permitted
        'that's why I said, if they move **to the (other) side** (that's) alright' [081011-001-Cv.0144]

Elision of *di* 'at, in' and *ke* 'to' is not possible, though, in nonverbal prepositional predicate clauses as this would create nominal clauses with unacceptable semantics. This is illustrated with elided *di* 'at, in' in (28), which is based on the example in (4), and with elided *ke* 'to' in (29), which is based on the example in (8).

Nonverbal prepositional predicate clauses with elided locative *di* 'at, in' and allative *ke* 'to'

(28)   *   sa   ∅   **IPS**   **satu**
            1SG   social.sciences   one
        [About course tracks in high school:] *'I (am) **Social Sciences I**' [based on 081023-004-Cv.0020]

(29)   *   sa   ∅   **ruma-sakit**
            1SG   hospital
        *'I (am) **the hospital**' [based on 081015-005-NP.0047]

Elision of elative *dari* 'from' and temporal *sampe* 'until' is also not possible, as illustrated in (30) and (31). In the example in (30), which is based on (10), elative *dari* 'from' is omitted, resulting in an ungrammatical utterance. In the example in (31), which is based on (19), temporal *sampe* 'until' is elided. The result is a change in meaning of the entire utterance: 'I slept (the entire) afternoon'.

Prepositional phrases with elided elative *dari* 'from' and temporal *sampe* 'until'

(30)   *   … sa   harus   kluar   ∅   **kam**   **pu**   **kluarga**
               1SG   have.to   go.out   2PL   POSS   family
        *'[I hadn't thought that] I would have to depart **your family**' [Elicited BR120817.009]

(31)   saya   tidor   ∅   **sore**
        1SG   sleep   afternoon
        'I slept (the entire) **afternoon**' [Elicited BR120817.010]

10.2. Prepositions encoding accompaniment/instruments, goals, and benefaction

Papuan Malay employs four prepositions that encode accompaniment/instruments, goals, and benefaction: comitative ***deng(an)*** 'with' (§10.2.1), goal-oriented ***sama*** 'to' (§10.2.2), benefactive ***untuk*** 'for' (§10.2.3) and ***buat*** 'for' (§10.2.4).

10.2.1. *deng(an)* **'with'**

Prepositional phrases introduced with comitative ***dengan*** 'with', abbreviated as ***deng***, typically express accompaniment with animate or inanimate associates. Also very often, ***deng(an)*** 'with' introduces instruments. In addition, ***deng(an)*** 'with' introduces objects of mental verbs and the notion of identity in comparison constructions.

The associates introduced with ***deng(an)*** 'with' are most commonly animate human as in ***dengan mama-tua*** 'with aunt' in (32), ***dengan de pu temang~temang*** 'with his friends' in (33) or in ***deng kamu*** 'with you' in (34). These examples also show that the complements of ***deng(an)*** 'with' can be nouns or personal pronouns. Besides animate associates, ***deng(an)*** 'with' also introduces inanimate associates, as in ***dengan motor*** 'with (his) motorbike' in (35) or in ***dengan itu*** 'with those (spices)' in (36). The associates introduced with ***deng(an)*** 'with' are either encoded in peripheral adjuncts as in (32), or (34) to (36) or in nonverbal predicates as in (33). The example in (33) also illustrates that prepositional phrases functioning as nonverbal predicates can be modified by adverbs such as prospective ***masi*** 'still'; prepositional phrases in other functions cannot be modified in this way.

Introducing associates

(32)   sebentar   Hurki datang   ko   pulang   **deng   mama-tua**
        in.a.moment   Hurki come   2SG   go.home   with   aunt
        'in a moment (when) Hurki comes, you'll go home **with me** ('**aunt**')'
        [081011-006-Cv.0003]

(33)   Roni masi **deng   de   pu   temang~temang**
        Roni still   with   3SG   POSS   RDP~friend
        'Roni is still **with his friends**' [081006-031-Cv.0011]

(34)   slama   sa   tinggal **deng   kamu** sa   kerja
        as.long.as   1SG   stay   with   2PL   1SG   work
        'as long as I stayed **with you** I worked' [080919-006-CvNP.0014]

(35)   de   jatu **deng   motor**
        3SG   fall   with   motorbike
        'he fell **with (his) motorbike**' [081006-020-Cv.0008]

(36)   itu   nanti   kitong tumbuk baru   masak **deng   itu**
        D.DIST   very.soon   1PL   pound   and.then   cook   with   D.DIST
        'later we'll pound those (spices and) and then cook **with them**' [081010-001-Cv.0196]

Instruments introduced with comitative ***deng(an)*** 'with' are expressed in peripheral adjuncts as in ***deng pisow*** 'with a knife' in (37).

Introducing instruments

(37)   bapa   de   pukul   sa   **deng   pisow**
         father   3SG   hit   1SG   with   knife

'(my) husband stabbed me **with a knife**' [081011-023-Cv.0167]

In addition, comitative ***deng(an)*** 'with' introduces oblique arguments for mental verbs such as ***mara*** 'feel angry (about)' in (38), ***takut*** 'feel afraid (of)' in (39), or ***perlu*** 'need' in (40).[207]

Introducing objects of mental verbs

(38)   kalo   saya   mara   **dengan   orang** begitu   sa   takut
         if   1SG   feel.angry(.about) with   person like.that 1SG   feel.afraid(.of)

'if I was angry **with someone** like that I'd feel afraid' [081110-008-CvNP.0067]

(39)   adu,   kang   dong terlalu takut   **dengan   setan**
         oh.no!   you.know   3PL   too   feel.afraid(.of)   with   evil.spirit

'oh no, you know, they feel too afraid **of evil spirits**' [081025-006-Cv.0200]

(40)   mama-ade   sa   perlu **deng   mama-ade**
         aunt   1SG   need   with   aunt

'aunt, I need **you** ('**aunt**')' (Lit. 'need **with aunt**') [081014-004-Cv.0004]

Comitative ***deng(an)*** 'with' is also used in comparative constructions. As the MARK of comparison, ***deng(an)*** 'with' introduces the STANDARD of comparison in identity-marking constructions. In (41), for example, ***deng(an)*** 'with' serves as the MARK in a similarity construction, while in (42) it is the MARK in a dissimilarity construction (for more details on comparative constructions, see §11.5).

Introducing standards of comparison

(41)   de   sombong   sama   **deng   ko**
         3SG   be.arrogant   same   with   2SG

'she'll be as arrogant **as you** (are)' [081006-005-Cv.0002]

(42)   orang   Papua   beda   **dengan   orang   Indonesia**
         person Papua   be.different   with   person Indonesia

'Papuans are different **from Indonesians**' [081029-002-Cv.0009]

Besides introducing prepositional phrases, comitative ***deng(an)*** 'with' is also used as a conjunction which conjoins constituents (§14.2.1.2).

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[207] Bivalent verbs such as ***mara*** 'feel angry (about)' or ***takut*** 'feel afraid (of)' do not require but allow two syntactic arguments (see §5.3.1 and §11.1). That is, speakers quite commonly encode patients such as ***orang*** in (38) or ***setan*** 'evil spirit' in (39) as oblique arguments rather than as direct objects.

10.2.2. *sama* **'to'**

The goal preposition *sama* 'to' is related to the stative verb *sama* 'be same' (§5.16).[208] As a preposition, *sama* is rather general in its meaning; typically it translates with 'to' but depending on its context it also translates with 'of, from, with'. The complement always denotes an animate referent which can be encoded in a noun or in a personal pronoun.

As the exchange in (43) shows, *sama* 'to' usually introduces oblique goal or recipient arguments of transfer verbs such as *bawa* 'bring' in (43a) or *kasi* 'give' in (43b).

Introducing goals or recipients

(43) a. Speaker-1: ko   bawa   ke   sana   ko   **bawa** **sama** **ade**
                       2SG   take   to   L.DIST 2SG   take   to   ySb
           Speaker-1: 'bring (the ball) over there, **bring** (it) **to (your) younger cousin**'

      b. Speaker-2: e,   **kasi** bola   **sama** **ade**
                       hey! give   ball   to   ySb
           Speaker-2: 'hey, **give** the ball **to (your) younger cousin**' [081011-009-Cv.0015-0016]

Also very commonly, *sama* 'to' introduces oblique addressee arguments for communication verbs such as *bicara* 'speak' in (44) or *minta* 'request' in (45).

Introducing addressees

(44) sa   minta maaf,   e   tadi   sa   **bicara** kasar   **sama** **ko**
      1SG   ask   pardon uh   earlier   1SG   speak   be.coarse   to   2SG
      'I apologize, uh, a short while ago I **spoke to you** harshly' [081115-001a-Cv.0277]

(45) de   **minta** apa   **sama** **kitorang** kitorang kasi
      3SG   ask   what   to   1PL   1PL   give
      '(whenever) she (our daughter) **asks** something **from us**, we give (it to her)' [081006-025-CvEx.0022]

Goal preposition *sama* 'to' denotes the goal of a transfer or communication without concurrently marking this goal as the beneficiary of the event talked about. In this it contrasts with benefactive *untuk* 'for' and *buat* 'for'; compare the examples in (43b) and (44) with *kasi*/*bicara untuk* 'give/speak to and for' in (55) and (56) in §10.2.3 and with *kasi*/*bicara buat* 'give/speak to and for' in (65) and (66) in §10.2.4.

In addition, *sama* 'to' introduces oblique arguments of mental verbs such as *ingat* 'remember' in (46), *mara* 'feel angry (about)' in (47), or *takut* 'feel afraid (of)' in (48). Most of the objects of mental verbs introduced with *sama* 'to' can also occur with comitative *deng(an)* 'with' (§10.2.1): compare *mara sama* 'feel angry

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[208] In terms of its etymology, Tadmor (p.c. 2013) notes that "*sama* was borrowed from Sanskrit into Malay in ancient times with the meaning 'same'. Much later it also came to mean 'with' in Bazaar Malay".

about' in (47) with *mara dengan* 'feel angry with' in (38), or *takut sama* 'feel afraid of' in (48) with *takut dengan* 'feel afraid of' in (39).[207] Overall, however, the range of verbs is smaller for *sama* 'to' than for comitative *deng(an)* 'with'.

The semantic distinctions between *sama* 'to' and *deng(an)* 'with' are subtle. When speakers want to emphasize the agent of the mental verb they employ *sama* 'to'. If they want to signal that the object of the mental verb is also involved in the mental process talked about, they use comitative *deng(an)* 'with'. The contrastive examples in (47) and (48) illustrate this distinction.[209] In (47a) *sama* 'to' emphasizes the fact that the agent *de* '3SG' *mara* 'feels angry' with the patient *pak Bolikarfus* 'Mr. Bolikarfus' whereas the patient himself is not involved in this mental process. By contrast in (47b) *deng(an)* 'with' signals that in some ways the patient *pak Bolikarfus* 'Mr. Bolikarfus' has contributed to the agent's anger. Likewise, in (48a) *sama* 'to' focuses on the fact that the agent *dia* '3SG' is *takut* 'feel afraid (of)'; again, the patient *ana~ana Tuhan* 'God's children' is not involved in this mental process. In (48b), by contrast, *deng(an)* 'with' signals that the patient *ana~ana Tuhan* 'God's children' has contributed is in some ways to the agent's fear.

Introducing objects of mental verbs

(46) biar   dia   masi   muda   tapi Fitri   ingat   **sama Roni**
      although   3SG   still be.young   but   Fitri   remember   to   Roni
      'even though she was still young, Fitri was thinking **of Roni**' [081006-024-CvEx.0067]

(47) a. de   mara   **sama pak   Bolikarfus**
          3SG   feel.angry(.about)   to   father Bolikarfus
          'he was angry **about Mr. Bolikarfus**' [081014-016-Cv.0042]

      b. de   mara   **deng   pak   Bolikarfus**
          3SG   feel.angry(.about)   with   father Bolikarfus
          'he was angry **with Mr. Bolikarfus**' [Elicited BR120817.001]

(48) a. memang dia   takut   **sama ana~ana   Tuhan**
          indeed   3SG   feel.afraid(.of)   to   RDP~child God
          '(that evil spirit) indeed he feels afraid **of God's children**' [081006-022-CvEx.0175]

      b. memang dia   takut   **deng   ana~ana   Tuhan**
          indeed   3SG   feel.afraid(.of)   with   RDP~child God
          '(that evil spirit) indeed he feels afraid **of God's children**' [Elicited BR120817.001]

Furthermore, although not very frequently, *sama* 'to' introduces animate associates. As with comitative *deng(an)* 'with' (§10.2.1), associates are expressed in peripheral adjuncts as in *sama dorang* 'with them' in (49) or in nonverbal predicates as in *sama saya* 'with me' in (50).

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[209] The examples in (47a) and (48a) are taken from the corpus while the examples in (47b) and (48b) are elicited.

Introducing animate associates

(49)   Papeas   maing~maing **sama dorang**
       Papeas   RDP~play   to   3PL
       'Papeas is going to play **with them**' [080918-001-CvNP.0040]

(50)   hanya   tiga   saja **sama saya**
       only   three   just   to   1SG
       'just only three (of my children) are **with me**' [081006-024-CvEx.0001]

In addition to introducing prepositional phrases, although not very frequently, ***sama***
'to' functions as a conjunction that conjoins participants (§14.2.1.3).

10.2.3.   *untuk* **'for'**

The benefactive preposition ***untuk*** is usually translated with 'for'; depending on its
context, however, it is also translated with 'to, about'. The preposition introduces
animate and inanimate, as well as nominal and pronominal referents. In most cases,
the referents are beneficiaries or recipients (148 tokens). In this, ***untuk*** 'for' is
similar to benefactive ***buat*** 'for' (§10.2.4). Contrasting with ***buat*** 'for', however,
untuk 'for' has a wider distribution and more functions in that it (1) combines with
demonstratives, (2) introduces inanimate referents, and (3) introduces circumstance.

Beneficiaries introduced with ***untuk*** 'for' are typically animate human as in (51),
(53) or (54). The beneficiary can, however, also be animate nonhuman as in ***untuk***
anjing dorang 'for them dogs' in (52).

Usually, ***untuk*** 'for' follows bivalent verbs such as ***buat*** 'make, do' or ***biking***
'make' and introduces beneficiaries encoded by peripheral adjuncts, as in (51) or
(52), respectively. Only rarelyis the beneficiary encoded by a nonverbal
prepositional predicate (2 tokens), as in ***untuk tamu*** 'for the guests' in (53) or an
adnominal prepositional phrase (2 tokens), as in ***untuk kafir*** 'for unbelievers' in
(54). As for the low token frequencies of two each, one consultant suggested that
these constructions are not native Papuan Malay but represent instances of code-
switching with Indonesian. The low frequencies support this statement.

Introducing animate beneficiaries

(51)   Tuhan   buat   mujisat **untuk kita**
       God   make   miracle   for   1PL
       'God made a miracle **for us**' [080917-008-NP.0163]

(52)   … yang   sa   pu   bini   biking malam **untuk anjing dorang**
          REL   1SG   POSS wife   make   night   for   dog   3PL
       '[I fed the dogs with papeda] which my wife had made in the evening **for**
       the dogs' [080919-003-NP.0002]

(53)   ikang   sedikit itu   **untuk   tamu**
       fish   few   D.DIST   for   guest
       '(as for) the few fish, those are **for the guests**' [081014-011-CvEx.0008]

(54)   di   sana   kang   masi   **tempat   untuk   kafir**
       at   L.DIST   you.know   still   place   for   unbeliever

       '(the area) over there, you know, is still a location **for unbelievers**'
       [081011-022-Cv.0238]

With transfer verbs, ***untuk*** 'for' introduces benefactive recipients, and with
communication verbs it introduces benefactive addressees. That is, the referent is
not merely a recipient or addressee. Benefactive ***untuk*** 'for' indicates that the
referent is also the beneficiary of the transfer or communication, hence 'benefactive
recipient' and 'benefactive addressee'. This is illustrated with ***kasi untuk*** 'give to
and for' in (55), and ***bicara untuk*** 'speak to and for' in (56).

           Introducing benefactive recipients and addressees

(55)   sa   kasi   hadia   **untuk   kamu**
       1SG   give   gift   for   2PL

       'I'll give gifts **to you for your benefit**' [080922-001a-CvPh.1332]

(56)   jadi   sperti   itu   harus   bicara   **untuk   dorang**   ceritra
       so   similar.to   D.DIST   have.to   speak   for   3PL   tell

       untuk   dorang
       for   3PL

       'so it's like that, (we) have to speak **to them** (our children), talk **to them
       for their benefit**' [081014-007-CvEx.0136]

Besides introducing animate referents, ***untuk*** 'for' also introduces inanimate
beneficiaries that are concrete, abstract, or temporal. In (57), the beneficiary is
inanimate concrete: ***kamar mandi*** 'the bathroom'. In (58), the beneficiary is
inanimate abstract: distal demonstrative ***itu*** 'D.DIST' summarizes the speaker's
previous statements about balanced birth rates across families related by marriage.
In (59) and (60), the beneficiary is temporal: ***taung ini*** 'this year' in (59) and ***besok***
'tomorrow' in (60). Overall, however, these uses of benefactive ***untuk*** 'for' are quite
rare, with the corpus including only very few examples.

           Introducing inanimate beneficiaries

(57)   tong   mo   pake   **untuk   kamar   mandi**
       1PL   want.to   use   for   room   bathe

       'we want to use (the corrugated iron sheets) **for the bathroom** (roof)'
       [080925-003-Cv.0005]

(58)   …   lahir   ana   suku   A.,   a,   saya   lahir
           give.birth   child   ethnic.group   A.   ah!   1SG   give.birth

       suku   Y.   …   tujuangnya   hanya   **untuk   itu**
       ethnic.group   Y.   purpose:3POSSR   only   for   D.DIST

       [About the exchange of bride-price children:] '(our daughter) will give birth
       to a child (for) the A. family, well, I give birth for the Y. family … its
       purpose is only **for that** (namely, a balanced birth rate across families)'
       [081006-024-CvEx.0079]

(59) **untuk   taung   ini**   kam   kas   los   sa   dulu
      for   year   D.PROX   2PL   give   be. loose   1SG   be.prior
      '**for (the rest of) this year** you release me (from my duties) for now'
      [080922-002-Cv.0084]

(60) tong   dari   sa   pu   temang   pinjam   trening   **untuk   besok**
      1PL   from   1SG   POSS   friend   borrow   tracksuit   for   tomorrow
      'we (are back) from my friend (from whom we) borrowed a tracksuit **for
      tomorrow**' [081011-020-Cv.0052]

In addition, ***untuk*** 'for' introduces peripheral adjuncts that express the notion of
circumstance as in ***untuk seng itu*** 'about those corrugated iron sheets' in (61) or
untuk masala tahang lapar 'about the problem of enduring to be hungry' in (62).

        Introducing circumstance

(61) tanya   Sarles, bapa,   **untuk   seng**   **itu**
      ask   Sarles   father   for   corrugated.iron   D.DIST
      'father, ask Sarles **about/for those corrugated iron** (sheets)' [080925-003-
      Cv.0003]

(62) sa   bilang, **untuk   masala   tahang**   **lapar**   kitong
      1SG   say   for   problem   hold.(out/back)   be.hungry   1PL
      bisa   tahang   lapar   juga   e?
      be.able   hold (out/back)   be.hungry   also   eh
      'I say **about the problem of enduring to be hungry**, we can also endure
      being hungry, eh?' [081025-009a-Cv.0118]

Besides introducing prepositional phrases, benefactive ***untuk*** 'for' also functions as
a conjunction that introduces purpose clauses (§14.2.4.3).

10.2.4.   *buat* **'for'**

The preposition ***buat*** 'for' is related to the bivalent verb ***buat*** 'make' (see §5.16).[210]
The core semantics of the preposition ***buat*** 'for' are benefactive; that is, it introduces
beneficiaries and benefactive recipients. In this, it is similar to benefactive ***untuk***
'for'; otherwise, as already mentioned in §10.2.3, ***buat*** 'for' is more restricted in its
distribution and functions as it (1) does not combine with demonstratives, (2) only
rarely introduces inanimate referents, and (3) does not introduce other complements
such as circumstance.
    Most commonly, ***buat*** 'for' follows bivalent action verbs such as ***putar*** 'stir' and
introduces peripheral adjuncts denoting human beneficiaries as in ***buat de bapa*** 'for
her father' in (63). Considerably less frequently, ***buat*** 'for' introduces beneficiaries
encoded by adnominal prepositional phrases as in ***buat torang*** 'for us' in the
exchange in (64).

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[210]   In terms of its etymology, Tadmor (p.c. 2013) notes that "***buat*** 'make' is part of the
        inherited vocabulary of Malay. The development of the meaning 'for' is much more
        recent, in Bazaar Malay and colloquial Indonesian".

Introducing animate beneficiaries

(63)   Ika   biking papeda   putar **buat de   bapa**
        Ika   make   sagu.porridge   stir for   3SG   father

'Ika made sagu porridge, she stirred (it) **for her father**' [081006-032-Cv.0071]

(64)   a.   Speaker-1: sa   juga dengan ini   kaka siapa tu
                          1SG   also with   D.PROX   oSb who   D.DIST

        Speaker-1: 'I was also with, what's-his-name, that older brother who?'

        b.   Speaker-2: satpam   **buat torang**
                          security.guard   for   1PL

        Speaker-2: '**our** security guard' (Lit. 'the security guard **for us**' [081025-006-Cv.0111]

Benefactive **buat** 'for' also introduces benefactive recipients and addressees encoded by oblique arguments, similar to benefactive **untuk** 'for' (§10.2.3), as shown in (65) and (66), respectively. Hence, like **untuk** 'for', benefactive **buat** 'for' contrasts with goal-oriented **sama** 'to' (§10.2.2), which expresses recipients as in (43) and addressees as in (44) and (45) without signaling the concurrent notion of beneficiary.

Introducing benefactive recipients and addressees

(65)   slama   ini   de   tida kasi uang   **buat saya**
        as.long.as   D.PROX   3SG   NEG   give money for   1SG

'so far he hasn't given (any) money **to me for my benefit**' [081014-003-Cv.0034]

(66)   sa   perna bicara **buat satu ibu**   …
        1SG   once speak for   one woman

'once I talked **to a woman for her benefit** …' [081011-024-Cv.0073]

Benefactive **buat** 'for' also introduces inanimate beneficiaries as in the adnominal prepositional phrase **buat natal** 'for Christmas' in (67). This use, however, is very rare with the corpus including only this one example.

Introducing inanimate beneficiaries

(67)   pi   ambil kayu bakar, kayu bakar **buat Natal**
        go   fetch wood burn   wood burn   for   Christmas

'(we) went to get firewood, firewood **for Christmas**' [081006-017-Cv.0014]

10.3.   Prepositions encoding comparisons

Papuan Malay employs three prepositions of comparison: similative **sperti** 'similar to' (§10.3.1) and **kaya** 'like' (§10.3.2), and equative **sebagey** 'as' (§10.3.3). All three introduce similes that express explicit resemblance or equatability between two bases of comparison. (See also Longacre 2007: 383.)

10.3.1. *sperti* **'similar to'**

The preposition *sperti* 'similar to' introduces similes that highlight resemblance or likeness in some respect between the two bases of comparison. Hence, *sperti* 'like' is similar to *kaya* 'like'; for the distinctions between both similative prepositions see the discussion in §10.3.2.

Very commonly, *sperti* 'similar to' forms peripheral adjuncts as in *sperti klawar* 'similar to a cave bat' in (68). Also quite frequently, *sperti* 'similar to' expresses resemblance in oblique arguments of some bivalent verbs as in (69): *sperti manusia* 'similar to a human' is the oblique object of the change verb *jadi* 'become'. In addition, *sperti* 'similar to' introduces the simile in nonverbal predicates with the complement being a common noun, a personal pronoun as in *sperti ko* 'similar to you' in (70), or a demonstrative as in *sperti itu*' like that' in (71). Finally, although rather infrequently, *sperti* 'similar to' expresses resemblance in adnominal prepositional phrases as in *baju sperti ini* 'clothes like these' (72). The examples in (68) to (72) also illustrate that *sperti* 'similar to' introduces animate and inanimate, as well as nominal and pronominal referents.[211]

(68) de   bisa   terbang **sperti**   **klawar**
      3SG   be.able fly   similar.to cave.bat
      'he/she (the evil spirit) can fly **similar to a cave bat**' [081006-022-CvEx.0137]

(69) setan   itu   de   bisa   jadi   **sperti**   **manusia**
      evil.spirit D.DIST 3SG   be.able become similar.to human.being
      'that evil spirit, he/she can become **similar to a human**' [081006-022-CvEx.0010]

(70) kalo kaka **sperti**   **ko**   kaka   malu
      if   oSb   similar.to 2SG   oSb   feel.embarrassed(.about)
      'if I ('older sibling') were **similar to you**, I ('older sibling') would feel ashamed' [081115-001a-Cv.0040]

(71) mama   pu   hidup **sperti**   **itu**
      mother POSS   life   similar.to D.DIST
      'my ('mother') life is **like that**' [080922-001a-CvPh.0932/0938]

(72) dorang tida pake **baju sperti**   **ini**,   pake daung~daung
      3PL   NEG   use   shirt similar.to D.PROX   use   RDP~leaf
      'they don't wear **clothes like these**, (they) wear leaves' [081006-023-CvEx.0007]

In addition to introducing prepositional phrases, similative *sperti* 'similar to' is also used as a conjunction which introduces similarity clauses (§14.2.6).

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[211] In the present corpus only single pronominal complements of *sperti* 'similar to' are attested.

10.3.2.   *kaya* **'like'**

The core semantics of the preposition *kaya* 'like' are similative: it indicates likeness between the two bases of comparison similar to *sperti* 'similar to'.[212] Unlike *sperti* 'like', however, *kaya* 'like' does not combine with demonstratives. Moreover, *kaya* 'like' is semantically distinct from *sperti* 'similar to', as discussed below.

Most commonly, *kaya* 'like' forms peripheral adjuncts as in *kaya ular* 'like a snake' in (73). This example also illustrates that *kaya* 'like' co-occurs with some of the same verbs as *sperti* 'similar to', such as *terbang* 'fly' in (68) (§10.3.1). Less frequently, *kaya* 'like' introduces the simile in nonverbal predicates as in *kaya buaya* 'like a crocodile' in (74). These examples also illustrate that typically the referent is animate and nominal; for an inanimate referent see the example in (77) and for a pronominal referent see (76b).

> Signaling overall likeness or resemblance

(73)   bisa   terbang **kaya burung**, bisa   merayap **kaya ular**
    be.able   fly   like   bird   be.able   creep   like   snake
    '(the evil spirit) can fly **like a bird**, can creep **like a snake**' [081006-022-
    CvEx.0031]

(74)   dong bilang   soa-soa   kang?,   **kaya   buaya**
    3PL   say   monitor.lizard you.know like   crocodile
    'they call (it) a monitor lizard, **you know?**, (it's) like a crocodile' [080922-
    009-CvNP.0053]

The semantic distinctions between *kaya* 'like' and *sperti* 'similar to' are subtle. While both signal likeness in terms of appearance or behavior, they differ in terms of their semantic effect. Similative *kaya* 'like' signals overall resemblance between the two bases of comparison. By contrast, the semantic effect of *sperti* 'similar to' is more limited: it signals likeness or resemblance in some, most often implied, respect. This distinction is illustrated in the contrastive examples in (75) and (76).[213]

In (75a) *kaya* 'like' signals overall physical resemblance: the speaker's brother has the same facial features as their father. By contrast, in (75b) *sperti* 'similar to' signals limited or partial resemblance: that is, father and son share specific facial features. In (76a), a teacher relates a conversation she had with a socially maladjusted student. Employing *sperti* 'similar to', the teacher signals that she refers to some specific aspects of the student's behavior: *kalo kaka sperti ko* 'if I (older sibling) were like you (with respect to the behavior you're displaying at school)'. If, by contrast, the teacher had used *kaya* 'like', the semantic effect of the comparison would have been much wider, not only referring to the student's behavior at school but signaling overall resemblance between the speaker and her student.

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[212] In terms of its etymology, Tadmor (p.c. 2013) notes that the preposition *kaya* 'like' is distinct from the stative verb *kaya* 'be rich': stative "*kaya* 'be rich' "was borrowed from Persian into Classical Malay" while similative "*kaya* 'like' was borrowed from Javanese into colloquial varieties of Indonesian many centuries later. There is no etymological connection between the two".

[213] The examples in (75a) and (76a) are taken from the corpus while the examples in (75b) and (76b) are elicited.

Semantic distinctions between *kaya* 'like' and *sperti* 'like'

(75) a. de   pu   muka   **kaya de   pu   bapa**
          3SG   POSS   face   like   3SG POSS   father
          'his (my brother's) face is **like his father's (face)**' [080922-001a-CvPh.1445]

      b. de   pu   muka   **sperti   de   pu   bapa**
          3SG   POSS   face   similar.to 3SG POSS   father
          'his (my brother's) face is **like his father's (face)**' [Elicited BR120817.007]

(76) a. kalo   kaka   **sperti   ko**   kaka   malu
          if   oSb   similar.to 2SG oSb   feel.embarrassed(.about)
          'if I ('older sibling') were **like you**, I ('older sibling') would feel ashamed' [081115-001a-Cv.0040]

      b. kalo   kaka   **kaya ko**   kaka   malu
          if   oSb   like   2SG oSb   feel.embarrassed(.about)
          'if I ('older sibling') were **like you**, I ('older sibling') would feel ashamed' [Elicited BR120817.006]

Signaling overall resemblance, similative *kaya* 'like' is also employed when the speaker wants to make a more expressive, metaphorical comparison as in (77). This example also illustrates that the referent can be inanimate.

Introducing expressive similes

(77) smua   jalang **kaya kapal kayu**
      all   walk   like   ship   wood
      '[because they were so hungry] (they) all were strolling around **like wooden boats**' [081025-009a-Cv.0188]

Besides introducing prepositional phrases, similative *kaya* 'like' also functions as a conjunction that introduces similarity clauses (§14.2.6).

10.3.3. *sebagey* 'as'

The equative preposition *sebagey* 'as' introduces similes that express equatability between the two bases of comparison in terms of specific roles or capacity. Hence, *sebagey* 'as' contrasts with the similarity prepositions *sperti* 'similar to' (§10.3.1) and *kaya* 'like' (§10.3.2) which express resemblance and likeness.

Most commonly, the complement is expressed in an adnominal prepositional phrase. In (78), for example, *sebagey* 'as' links the head nominal *torang* '1PL' to the role-encoding adnominal constituent *kepala kampung* 'village heads'. Following mono- or bivalent action verbs, *sebagey* 'as' expresses equatability in peripheral adjuncts. In (79), for example, *sebagey* 'as' follows the communication verb *bicara* 'speak' and relates the role-encoding complement *ibu camat* 'Ms. Subdistrict-Head' to the clausal subject *ko* '2SG'. The corpus also includes two examples in which

sebagey 'as' introduces nonverbal predicates to express equatability, as for example in (80) between the predicate *kepala acara* 'as the head of the festivity' and the clausal subject *sa* '1SG'.

(78) torang **sebagey** **kepala** **kampung** juga penanggung-jawap
      1PL   as   head   village   also responsibility
      'we as **village heads** are also bearers of responsibility' [081008-001-Cv.0035]

(79) sebentar di Diklat   ko   bicara
      a.moment at government.education.program 2SG speak
      sebagey ibu   camat
      as   woman subdistrict.head
      'a bit later at the government education and training (office) you'll speak **as if you were Ms. Subdistrict-Head**' [081010-001-Cv.0099]

(80) paling sa   tra   kerja, sa   **sebagey** **kepala** **acara**
      most   1SG NEG work,   1SG as   head   festivity
      [About organizing a festivity:] 'most likely I won't (have to) work, I'll be **the head of the festivity**' (Lit. '**as the head …**') [080919-004-NP.0068]

As for the syntactic properties of its complements, the examples in (78) to (80) show that equative *sebagey* 'as' introduces common nouns, as similative *sperti* 'similar to' (§10.3.1) and *kaya* 'like' (§10.3.2) do. Unlike both similative prepositions, however, *sebagey* 'as' does not combine with personal pronouns. Neither does it combine with demonstratives as *sperti* 'similar to' does.

10.4. Summary

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition and a noun phrase complement which is obligatory and may not be fronted. The preposition indicates the grammatical and semantic relationship of the complement to the predicate. Prepositional phrases in Papuan Malay are formed with eleven different prepositions:

1. Prepositions encoding location in space and time: *di* 'at, in', *ke* 'to', *dari* 'from', and *sampe* 'until'

2. Prepositions encoding accompaniment/instruments, goals, and benefaction: *deng(an)* 'with', *sama* 'to', *untuk* 'for', and *buat* 'for'

3. Prepositions encoding comparisons: *sperti* 'similar to', *kaya* 'like', and *sebagey* 'as'

Prepositional phrases take on different functions within the clause and combine with different types of syntactic constituents. The complements of the prepositions take different semantic roles within the clause, depending on the prepositions they are introduced with. These findings are summarized in Table 1 to Table 3; in these tables, the prepositions are listed according to the order in which they are discussed in this chapter, starting with *di* 'at, in'.

Table 1 lists the three syntactic functions that prepositional phrases can take within the clause according to the prepositions they are introduced with, that is their

functions as peripheral adjuncts, nonverbal predicates, and arguments. In addition, Table 1 lists those prepositions that introduce modifying, adnominal prepositional phrase and those that are also used as conjunctions or adverbs.

Table 1:   Syntactic functions of prepositional phrases

	Clausal functions			Additional functions		
	Adjunct	Predicate	Argument	Modifier	Conjunc-tion	Adverb
di 'at, in'	X	X	X	X		
ke 'to'	X	X	X			
dari 'from'	X	X	X	X		
sampe 'until'	X				X	
deng(an) 'with'	X	X	X		X	X
sama 'to'	X	X	X		X	
untuk 'for'	X	X	X	X	X	
buat 'for'	X		X	X		
sperti 'similar to'	X	X	X	X	X	X
kaya 'like'	X	X			X	X
sebagey 'as'	X	X		X		

With respect to their complements, the data in Table 2 shows that the prepositions combine with different constituents from different word classes, namely nouns, personal pronouns, demonstratives, locatives, and temporal adverbs.

Table 2:   Word classes of complements

	Nouns (common)	Nouns (location)	Nouns (time)	Personal pronouns	Demon-stratives	Locatives	Adverbs-(temporal)
di 'at, in'	X	X		X		X	
ke 'to'	X	X		X		X	
dari 'from'	X	X	X	X		X	X
sampe 'until'			X				X
deng(an) 'with'	X			X	X		
sama 'to'	X			X	X		
untuk 'for'	X		X	X	X		X
buat 'for'	X			X			
sperti 'similar to'	X			X	X		
kaya 'like'	X			X			
sebagey 'as'	X						

Finally, the complements of prepositions take different semantic roles within the clause, depending on the prepositions they are introduced with. These different semantic roles are summarized in Table 3 with the primary role underlined.

Table 3: Semantic roles of complements

	Location	Association	Mental verb object	Instrument	Recipient	Beneficiary	Circumstance	Standard of comparison
di 'at, in' **ke** 'to' **dari** 'from' **sampe** 'until'	<u>X</u> <u>X</u> <u>X</u> <u>X</u>							
deng(an) 'with' **sama** 'to' **untuk** 'for' **buat** 'for'		<u>X</u> X	X X	X	<u>X</u> X X	<u>X</u> <u>X</u>	X	
sperti 'similar to' **kaya** 'like' **sebagey** 'as'								<u>X</u> <u>X</u> <u>X</u>

If the context allows the disambiguation of the semantic relationship of the complement to the predicate, two of the prepositions of location can be omitted: locative **di** 'at, in' and allative **ke** 'to'.

11. Verbal clauses

This chapter discusses different types of verbal predicate clauses in Papuan Malay. In verbal clauses a verb occupies the "semantic and syntactic core" of the clause (Givón 2001: 105). In Papuan Malay verbal clauses, the predicate typically follows the subject and, in transitive clauses, precedes the direct object. In negated verbal clauses, the negator precedes the predicate.

Verbal clauses can be distinguished "based on the argument structure of the verb, including the distinction between transitive and intransitive clauses" (Dryer 2007a: 250). These distinctions are discussed in §11.1. The subsequent sections describe special types of (in)transitive clauses: causative clauses in §11.2, reciprocal clauses in §11.3, existential clauses in §11.4, and comparative clauses in §11.5. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §11.6. Negation is described in §13.1.

11.1. Intransitive and transitive clauses

Papuan Malay verbal clauses can be intransitive, monotransitive, or ditransitive. Typically, intransitive clauses are formed with monovalent verbs which take one core argument; as discussed below, though, bi- and trivalent verbs also occur in monotransitive clauses. Monotransitive clauses are usually formed with bivalent verbs which take two core arguments, the subject and a direct object. These two types of verbs and verbal clauses are the most common ones in Papuan Malay. In addition, Papuan Malay has ditransitive clauses formed with a small number of trivalent verbs which take three core arguments, a subject and two objects. (See also Payne 1997: 154–155 and Dryer 2007a: 250–251.)

It is important to note, though, that the trivalent verbs do not "require" but "allow three syntactic arguments" (Margetts and Austin 2007: 401). Likewise, bivalent verbs allow but do not require two arguments. That is, in clauses with tri- or bivalent verbs, core arguments are often elided when they are understood from the context.

Given this syntactic mismatch between valency and transitivity, this section on transitivity is not organized in terms of intransitive, monotransitive, and ditransitive clauses. Instead, it is organized in terms of the valency of the verbs, and describes how the three verb classes are used in transitive and/or intransitive clauses. Verbal clauses with monovalent verbs are discussed in §11.1.1, with bivalent verbs in §11.1.2, and with trivalent verbs in §11.1.3. (The properties of verbs are described in §5.3. For details on optional linguistic expressions providing additional information about the setting of the events or states depicted by the verbs, see Chapter 10 and §5.2.5.)

11.1.1. Verbal clauses with monovalent verbs

Papuan Malay has a large open class of monovalent verbs. Involving only one participant, they always occur in intransitive clauses (490 are attested in the present corpus; for a list of examples see Table 10 in §5.3.1).

Semantically, the verbs can be divided into dynamic ones (139 verbs) and stative ones (351 verbs), as is typical of languages lacking a class of adjectives. The former

denote actions, while the latter designate states or more time-stable properties. Syntactically, however, there are no distinctions between dynamic and stative verbs.

Typically, monovalent verbs follow their clausal subjects, as shown with dynamic *lari* 'run' in (1), and with stative ***bagus*** 'be good' in (2).

Monovalent verbs with canonical subject-verb word order

(1)   o,   babi   **lari**
         oh   pig   run
         'o, the pig **ran**' [080919-004-NP.0021]

(2)   itu   **bagus**   skali
         D.DIST   be.good   very
         'that is very **good**' [081025-003-Cv.0267]

If speakers want to emphasize the predicate with a monovalent stative verb, they can front it, such as stative ***bagus*** 'be good' in (3). In this case, the predicate is set-off by a boundary intonation, which is achieved by marking the stressed syllable of the verb with a slight increase in pitch ("´"). Consultants disagree, however, whether monovalent dynamic verbs can be fronted. While two consultants stated that dynamic *jatu* 'fall' in the elicited example in (4) can be fronted, a third one rejected the example as ungrammatical. Furthermore, one of the consultants who accepted the verbal clause in (4) suggested that the fronting of monovalent dynamic verbs is a recent development and that older Papuan Malay speakers would not use such a construction.

Preposed monovalent verbs

(3)   **bágus**   skali   itu
         be.good   very   D.DIST
         'very **good** is that' [081025-003-Cv.0270]

(4)   o,   **játu**   dia!
         oh   fall   3SG
         'oh, he **fell**' [Elicited BR131227.001]

The subject can also be omitted if it can be inferred from the context. In (5) the elided subject is *sa* '1SG', and in (6) it is *de* '3SG'.

Elision of subject argument

(5)   siang Ø **jalang**,   trus malam Ø **duduk   menyanyi** sampe   jam   dua
         day   walk   next night   sit   sing   until   hour   two
         '(during) the day (I) **went** (over there), then in the evening (I) **sat about** (and) **sang** (songs) until two o'clock (in the morning)' [080923-003-CvNP.0002]

(6)   Speaker-2:   adu,   Ø   **nakal**
                      oh.no!   be.mischievous
         [Speaker 1: ah, that Petrus!]
         Speaker-2: oh no, (he's) **mischievous**' [081115-001a-Cv.0033]

11.1.2. Verbal clauses with bivalent verbs

Papuan Malay has a large open class of bivalent verbs (535 are attested in the present corpus; for a set of examples see Table 10 in §5.3.1). Bivalent verbs have two core arguments, a subject and an object. In terms of their semantic roles, "two-place predicates take an agentlike argument A, and a non-agent-like argument P" (Margetts and Austin 2007: 396). As mentioned, though, bivalent verbs in Papuan Malay allow but do not require two syntactic arguments. Examples of bivalent verbs are *bunu* 'kill' in (7) and *potong* 'cut' in (8).

Bivalent verbs with two arguments and canonical subject-verb-object order

(7) kalo ko masi mo berjuang kitorang **bunu** ko
if 2SG still want struggle 1PL kill 2SG
'if you still want to fight, we'll **kill** you' [081029-004-Cv.0072]

(8) jadi kamu **potong** sapi
so 2PL cut cow
'so you cut up the cow' [080925-005-CvPh.0007]

The monotransitive clauses in (7) and (8) also illustrate the canonical subject-verb-object order for bivalent verbs. If speakers want to emphasize the object, they can also front it. Unlike clauses with preposed monovalent verbs, though, there is no clear boundary intonation to set-off the preposed object arguments from the rest of the clause. In (9), the preposed object *paylot* 'pilot' is marked with a slight increase in pitch of its stressed penultimate syllable (" ´ ") and is separated from the rest of the clause with a comma intonation ("|"). Besides, the ultimate syllable of *bunu* 'kill' receives final lengthening, signaled with the vowel tripling. In (10), the preposed object remains unmarked but the clause-final verb *potong* 'cut' is marked with a slight increase in pitch of its stressed penultimate syllables.

Bivalent verbs with preposed object arguments

(9) páylot | dorang **bunuuu**
pilot 3PL kill
'the pilot they **killed**' [081025-004-Cv.0040]

(10) dong dua pu telefisi sidi dua dia **pótong**
3PL two POSS television CD.player two 3SG cut
'the television (and) both CDs of the two of them he **destroyed**' [081011-009-Cv.0006]

When one or both of the core arguments are understood from the context, they can be omitted, as shown in (11) to (16).[214] Elision of the object argument is illustrated for *bunu* 'kill' in (11), and *potong* 'cut (up)' in (12).

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[214] At this point in the research, the number of clauses with overt and elided core arguments has not been quantified to examine which strategy is preferred.

Elision of object argument and retention of subject argument

(11)   … kalo   prempuang   melahirkang   laki~laki   dong   **bunu**   Ø
             if   woman   give.birth   RDP~husband   3PL   kill

         '[indeed, these women can't live with men,] when a woman gives birth to a
         boy, they **kill** (him)' [081006-023-CvEx.0058]

(12)   … tong   **potong**   Ø   hari   itu
             1PL   cut   day   D.DIST

         '[we shouldered it, the pig, (and) carried (it) to the garden shelter,] we **cut**
         (it) **up** that day' [080919-003-NP.0013-0014]

Elision of the subject argument is demonstrated for **bunu** 'kill' in (13), and **potong**
'cut' in (14).

Elision of subject argument and retention of object argument

(13)   Ø   **bunu**   dia,   Ø   **bunu**   dia
             kill   3SG   kill   3SG

         '(they) **kill** him, (they) **kill** him' [081006-022-CvEx.0088]

(14)   baru   Ø   **potong**   pisang   di   tenga~tenga   to?
         and.then   cut   banana   at   RDP~middle   right?

         'and then (we) **cut** the bananas in the middle, right?' [080922-009-
         CvNP.0041]

Finally, speakers can also omit both core arguments at the same time, as shown for
bunu 'kill' in (15), and **potong** 'cut' in (16).

Elision of subject and object arguments

(15)   Ø   **bunu**   Ø   tapi   kasi   hidup   lagi
             kill   but   give   live   again

         [About sorcerers who can resurrect the dead:] '(they) **kill** (him) but (they)
         make (him) live again' [081006-022-CvEx.0087]

(16)   Ø   **potong**   Ø   kecil~kecil
             cut   RDP~be.small

         '(I) **cut** (the meat) very small' [080919-003-NP.0016]

11.1.3.   Verbal clauses with trivalent verbs

Papuan Malay has a small number of trivalent verbs with three core arguments, a
subject and two objects. In the present corpus seven trivalent verbs are attested:
ambil 'fetch', *bawa* 'bring', *bli* 'buy', *ceritra* 'tell', *kasi* 'give', *kirim* 'send', and
minta 'request'.

    In terms of their semantic roles, three-place predicates "take an agent-like A, a
participant that will label R on the basis of its most common role as recipient (but
that may also be a beneficiary, goal, addressee, location, or source), and a T
(typically some thing or information conveyed by A to R)" (Margetts and Austin

2007: 396). As mentioned, though, trivalent verbs in Papuan Malay allow but do not require three syntactic arguments.

Trivalent verbs exhibit dative alternation in that they appear in ditransitive clauses with double-object constructions (§11.1.3.1), or in monotransitive clauses with oblique constructions (§11.1.3.2). Alternatively, the R and T arguments can be combined into one noun phrase with an adnominal possessor (§11.1.3.3). Another option is to omit the R and/or T arguments (§11.1.3.4). The distributional frequencies for these strategies are discussed in §11.1.3.5.

11.1.3.1.   Double-object constructions

In Papuan Malay ditransitive clauses with double-object constructions, the R and T arguments are unflagged and occur in the order R-T. In this construction type, the semantically peripheral R is brought "center-stage" while the T has "status as the 'second object'" (Payne 1997: 173). Cross-linguistically, the R typically precedes the T which, as Malchukov et al. (2010: 16) suggest, "probably derives from the fact that the R is generally human (and often definite) and thus tends to be more topical than the T, which is typically inanimate (and often indefinite)". Double object constructions with R-T word order are presented in (17) to (23). Overall, however, double-object constructions are not very common in Papuan Malay. The present corpus contains only 30 constructions among a total of 1,160 verbal clauses formed with trivalent verbs (2.6%).[215]

Double-object constructions: R-T word order

(17)   mungking   de   suru   dia,   ko   **ambil**   sa   air!
        maybe   3SG   order   3SG   2SG   fetch   1SG   water
        'maybe he/she'll order him/her, 'you **fetch** me water!'' [081006-024-CvEx.0092]

(18)   tiga   orang   itu   datang   …   **bawa**   dong   pakeang
        three   person   D.DIST   come   bring   3PL   clothes
        'those three people came … (and) **brought** them clothes' [081006-023-CvEx.0074]

(19)   paytua   dia   **bli**   Andi   satu   set
        husband   3SG   buy   Andi   one   set
        'the gentleman **bought** Andi one (TV/CD) set' [081011-009-Cv.0055]

(20)   nanti   waktu   tidor   de   bilang,   a,   bapa   **ceritra**   ko
        very.soon   time   sleep   3SG   say   ah!   father   tell   2SG
        dongeng~dongeng   dulu
        RDP~legend   be.prior
        'later at bed-time he'll say, 'ah, I ('father') **tell** you some stories first''
        [081110-008-CvNP.0140]

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[215] This total excludes serial verb constructions formed with ***kasi*** 'give' (see §11.2.1.2).

(21)   skarang   dong   **kasi**   dia   senter
       now   3PL   give   3SG   flashlight
       'now they **give** him a flashlight' [081108-003-JR.0002]

(22)   sa   baru~baru   bilang,   …   kaka   **kirim**   dong   uang!
       1SG   just.now   say   oSb   send   3PL   money
       'just now I said, 'older sibling **send** them money!'' [080922-001a-CvPh.0860]

(23)   trus   sa   bukang   orang   miskin   **minta~minta**   kamu   uang
       next   1SG   NEG   person   be.poor   RDP~request   2PL   money
       'and I'm not a poor person (who) **keeps begging** you (for) money' [081011-020-Cv.0043/0045]

The T can also precede the R in double-object constructions, as shown in (24) and (25). This T-R order "is relatively widespread in South-East Asia", as Malchukov et al. (2010: 17) point out. Building on Dik and Hengeveld's (1997: 435–436) notion of "iconic sequencing", Malchukov et al. (2010: 17) suggest that "the order T-R is more iconic than the order R-T, because in the unfolding of the event the T is first involved in the action, which reaches the R only in a second step".

    In Papuan Malay, however, T-R constructions are even less common than R-T constructions; the present corpus contains 17 constructions among the total of 1,160 verbal clauses formed with trivalent verbs (1.5%). All of them are formed with *kasi* 'give', as in (24) and (25). In 12, the T is *nasihat* 'advice' as in (24), in two it is *ijin~ijin* 'permission' as in (25), and in the remaining three the Ts are *ana* 'child', *kemerdekaang* 'independence' and *swara* 'voice'.

          Double-object constructions: T-R word order

(24)   sa   bilang   begini,   sa   **kasi**   nasihat   kamu
       1SG   say   like.this   1SG   give   advice   2PL
       'I said like this, 'I **give** you advice' [081115-001a-Cv.0332]

(25)   adu,   nene   knapa   **kasi**   ijin~ijin   dia   begitu
       oh.no!   grandmother   why   give   RDP~permission   3SG   like.that
       'oh no!, why did you ('grandmother') **give** him permission like that?' [081014-008-CvNP.0026]

In double-object constructions the R is most often encoded by a pronoun, namely in 42/47 attested constructions (89%), as in (17) and (18). In the remaining five constructions, the R is encoded by a nominal. Three nominals occur in R-T constructions, namely in *bli Andi* 'buy Andi' in (19), and in *kirim bapa* 'send father', and *minta Noferus* 'request Noferus'. The remaining two occur in T-R constructions, namely in '*kasi nasihat* R' constructions. The respective Rs are *pendeta* 'pastor' and *ana~ana* 'children'. These distributional frequencies are discussed in §11.1.3.5.

11.1.3.2.   R-type oblique constructions

One alternative to double-object constructions is the "oblique strategy" (Margetts and Austin 2007: 411) in which "the verb takes only two direct arguments and the third participant is expressed as an oblique" (2007: 411).

In Papuan Malay oblique constructions the word order is T-R, with the R being expressed with a prepositional phrase; hence "R-type oblique" (Margetts and Austin 2007: 402, 413). Examples are given in (26) to (32). This T-R order for R-type obliques is also cross-linguistically the dominant one (Malchukov et al. 2010: 17).[216]

Overall, however, R-type oblique constructions are not very common in Papuan Malay. The present corpus contains only 41 R-type obliques among the total of 1,160 verbal clauses formed with trivalent verbs (3.5%). Moreover, in the present corpus, R-type obliques are not attested for all seven verbs (the examples for *bawa* 'bring' in (27), *bli* 'buy' in (28), and *kirim* 'send' in (31) are elicited). Most R-type obliques are introduced with the benefactive prepositions *buat* 'for' or *untuk* 'for' (26/41 tokens – 63%), while the remaining 15 R-type obliques are formed with goal-oriented *sama* 'to'. (The semantics of the three prepositions are discussed in §10.2.)

R-type oblique constructions

(26)   pi   **ambil** bola   sama   ade
        go   fetch   ball   to   ySb
        [Talking to a young boy:] 'go (and) **fetch** the ball for the younger sibling!'
        [081011-009-Cv.0022]

(27)   kemaring Lukas de   **bawa** kayu   bakar buat Dodo dorang
        yesterday Lukas 3SG   bring   wood   burn   for   Dodo 3PL
        'yesterday Lukas **brought** fire wood to Dodo and his associates for their benefit' [Elicited BR130221.035]

(28)   bapa   de   su   **bli**   baju   natal   buat sa   pu   ade
        father 3SG   already   buy   shirt Christmas for   1SG   POSS   ySb
        'father already **bought** a Christmas shirt for my younger sibling' [Elicited BR130221.002]

(29)   … nanti   sa   **ceritra** ini   sama   dia
           very.soon 1SG   tell   D.PROX   to   3SG
        '[when he has returned home,] then I'll **tell** this to him' [080921-010-Cv.0004]

(30)   sa   **kasi** hadia untuk kamu kalo kam   kenal bapa
        1SG   give   gift   for   2PL   if   2PL   know   father
        'I'll **give** a gift to you for your benefit if you recognize me ('father')'
        [080922-001a-CvPh.1334]

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216   Alternatively, the oblique strategy is also called "'dative alternation', earlier 'dative shift' or 'dative movement'" (Malchukov et al. 2010: 18); an alternative term for "R-type obliques" is "indirective alignment" (2010: 3).

(31)   kaka dorang su   **kirim** uang   banyak sama dong pu   mama
        oSb 3PL   already send   money many   to   3PL POSS mother
        'older sibling and his/her associates already **sent** lots of money to their
        mother' [Elicited BR130221.003]

(32)   de   bilang, yo,   sa   **minta**   maaf   sama paytua
        3SG say   yes 1SG request pardon to   husband
        'he said, 'yes, I **beg** pardon of (your) husband'' [081011-024-Cv.0140]

In the R-type oblique constructions in the present corpus, the R is most often
encoded by a noun or a noun phrase, namely in 28/41 attested constructions (68%),
as for instance in (26) and (27). In the remaining 13 constructions (32%), the R is
encoded by a pronoun, as in (29) or (30). The distributional frequencies and possible
explanations for them are further discussed in §11.1.3.5.

11.1.3.3.   Adnominal possessive constructions

Another alternative to encode the R and T arguments is to express them in an
adnominal possessive construction, in which "the agent and the theme are expressed
as syntactic arguments of the verb, while the R-type participant, which will be the
beneficiary with transfer verbs […], is expressed as a grammatical dependent of the
theme, namely as its possessor" (Margetts and Austin 2007: 426).

In Papuan Malay, speakers use adnominal possessive constructions when the T is
definite. The present corpus includes 14 such constructions among the 1,160 clauses
formed with trivalent verbs (1.2%). Examples are given for *ambil* 'fetch' in (33), *bli*
'buy' in (34), and *kasi* 'give' in (35). In each case, the possessor denotes the
benefiting R of the event expressed by the verb; the possessum denotes the T as the
anticipated object of possession (adnominal possession is described in Chapter 9). In
the present corpus, the possessor is typically encoded by a pronoun (13/14 tokens –
93%), as in (34) and (35). Only in one construction, presented in (33), the possessor
is expressed with a noun, namely the proper noun *Sofia*.

      Adnominal possessive constructions

(33)   mama   nanti   **ambil** [Sofia pu   ijasa   SD]
        mother very.soon fetch   Sofia POSS diploma primary.school
        'later you ('mother') **fetch** the primary school diploma for Sofia' (Lit.
        'Sofia's primary school diploma') [081011-023-Cv.0065]

(34)   dia punya ulang-taung kita **bli** [de   punya pakeang ulang-taung]
        3SG POSS birthday   1PL buy 3SG POSS clothes birthday
        '(for) her birthday we **buy** birthday clothes for her' (Lit. 'her birthday
        clothes') [081006-025-CvEx.0022]

(35)   ibu   distrik de **kasi** [kitong dua pu   uang   ojek]
        woman district 3SG give 1PL   two POSS money motorbike.taxi
        'Ms. District **gave** us two money for the motorbike taxis' (Lit. 'our two
        motorbike taxi money') [081110-002-Cv.0036]

11.1.3.4. Elision

Elision is a third alternative to double-object constructions and used when the T and/or R are understood from the context. In this case, one or both of them can be omitted. In the present corpus, this strategy is used in 1,058 verbal clauses of 1,160 clauses formed with trivalent verbs (91%).

Most often the R is elided and the T retained (601/1,058 tokens – 57%); these distributional frequencies are further discussed in §11.1.3.5. Examples are given for *bli* 'buy' in (36), *ceritra* 'tell' in (37), and *kirim* 'send' in (38).

Elision of R and retention of T

(36) kalo besok   ada   berkat   sa   **bli** Ø   komputer baru
      if   tomorrow exist blessing 1SG buy   computer be.new
      'if there is a (financial) blessing in the near future, I'll **buy** (us) a new computer' [081025-003-Cv.0086]

(37) malam nanti   Matias bilang, mama   **ceritra** Ø   dongeng ka?
      night very.soon Matias say   mother tell   legend   or
      'later tonight Matias will say, 'are you ('mother') going to **tell** (me) a story?'' [081110-008-CvNP.0142]

(38) bapa   **kirim** Ø   uang   banyak~banyak!
      father send   money RDP~many
      '[father I want to buy a cell-phone for myself,] father **send** (me) lots of money!' [080922-001a-CvPh.0440]

Constructions with elided T and retained R occur much less often in the present corpus (75/1,058 tokens – 7%). In most cases, the retained R is encoded as an oblique (49/75 tokens – 65%). This is demonstrated for *bawa* 'bring' in (39), *ceritra* 'tell' in (40), and *kasi* 'give' in (41).

Elision of T and retention of oblique R

(39) e,   ko   bawa   Ø   ke sana,   ko   **bawa** Ø   sama ade
      hey! 2SG bring   to L.DIST 2SG bring   to   ySb
      [Talking to a young boy:] 'hey, **bring** (the ball) over there, **bring** (the ball) to the younger sibling' [081011-009-Cv.0015]

(40) … baru   dia yang **ceritra** Ø   sama saya
        and.then 3SG REL   tell   to   1SG
      '[I'd already forgotten who this gentleman was,] and then (it was) him (who) **told** (this story) to me' [080917-008-NP.0005]

(41) ko   **kasi** Ø   sama kaka mantri,   e?
      2SG give   with oSb   male.nurse eh
      '**give** (the keys) to the older brother nurse, eh?' [080922-010a-CvNF.0167]

Less often (26/75 tokens – 35%), the retained R is encoded as a direct object. This is illustrated for *kasi* 'give' in (42), and *minta* 'request' in (43).

Elision of T and retention of direct-object R

(42) … hari ini   dorang bisa   **kasi** ko   Ø
      day D.PROX 3PL   be.capable give 2SG

'[if (you) say (you also want) a trillion (rupiah),] today they can **give** you (the money)' [081029-004-Cv.0023]

(43) piring~piring kosong,   sa   **minta** Ise Ø,   sa   bilang …
      RDP~plate   be.empty 1SG request Ise   1SG   say

'the (cake) plates were empty, I **asked** Ise (for a piece of cake), I said …' [081011-005-Cv.0034]

In constructions with elided T and retained R in the present corpus, the R is most often encoded by a nominal (56/75 tokens – 75%). This applies to oblique Rs (39/49 – 80%), as in (39), and to direct-object Rs (17/26 – 65%), as in (43). Retained pronominal Rs, by contrast, occur much less often (19/75 tokens – 25%), be they oblique Rs as in (40), or direct-object Rs as in (42). These distributional frequencies are discussed in §11.1.3.5.

Finally, elision can also affect the R and the T at the same time. That is, both can be omitted at once if they are understood from the context. In the present corpus, this applies to a substantial number of verbal clauses formed with trivalent verbs (382/1,160 tokens – 36%). This type of elision is illustrated for *ambil* 'fetch' in (44), *bli* 'buy' in (45), and *kirim* 'send' in (46).

Elision of R and T

(44) … Matias nanti   anjing, cepat, ko   **ambil** Ø Ø   dulu!
      Matias very.soon dog   be.fast 2SG fetch   be.prior

'[Matias, younger sister's fish fell down,] Matias, very soon the dogs (will get it), quick, you **fetch** (your sister the fish)!' [081006-019-Cv.0002]

(45) … de   pu   tete   tanya dia, ko **bli** Ø Ø di   mana?
      3SG POSS grandfather ask   3SG 2SG buy   at   where

'[when the grandchild emerged, he was holding a fried banana,] then his grandfather asked him, 'where did you **buy** (yourself the fried banana)?'' [081109-005-JR.0007]

(46) … mama   dong di kampung tra   **kirim** Ø Ø
      mother   3PL at village   NEG send

'[it's difficult, there is no money,] mother and the others in the village don't **send** (us money)' [080922-001a-CvPh.0943/0945]

11.1.3.5. Distributional frequencies

The above description of how Papuan Malay trivalent verbs are used in verbal clauses shows three types of variation, namely in word order, in encoding the R and T arguments, and in eliding one or both of these arguments. The data also indicate distributional preferences for these three variation types. Summarizing this variation, this section provides an explanation for the distributional frequencies and preferences in terms of salience.

Following Haspelmath (2007b: 92), the noted variation types, or "alignment alternations", are related to distinctions between the R and T arguments in terms of three "salience scales (animacy, definiteness, person)", with Haspelmath (2007b: 84) presenting the following conflated "individuation scale":[217]

> 1st/2nd > 3rd > proper noun > human > non-human

When the R is more salient than the T, speakers favor a double-object construction. This preference applies especially to pronominal Rs, which are the most salient ones. Otherwise, as Haspelmath (2007b: 83) states, the oblique construction is the favored one:

> Special ("indirective" or "dative") R-marking is the more likely, the lower the R is on the animacy, definiteness, and person scales.

The same distributional preferences apply to Papuan Malay, as illustrated in Table 2. Before discussing the distribution of nominal and pronominal Rs, however, Table 1 gives an overview of the distributional frequencies for trivalent verbs in the different constructions types discussed in the preceding sections.

Table 1 shows that Papuan Malay disfavors clauses in which both the R and T arguments are overtly mentioned. Double-object (DO) constructions are rare (4.1%); the 47 clauses include 30 clauses with R-T order and 17 with T-R order. Likewise, R-type oblique (Obl) constructions are rare (3.5%). Adnominal possessive (AdPoss) constructions with an R possessor occur even more rarely (1.2%). Instead, trivalent verbs usually occur in clauses with elided R and/or T arguments (91%; Table 3 gives details on elision).

Table 1:   Distributional preferences for trivalent verbs

	Token #	%
DO	47	4.1%
Obl	41	3.5%
AdPoss	14	1.2%
Elision	1,058	91.2%
Total	1,160	100%

As for the distribution of nominal and pronominal Rs, Table 2 indicates clear preferences. Five nominal Rs occur in double-object constructions (6%), and about one third in R-type oblique constructions (28/90 tokens – 31%). Besides, one nominal R is used in an adnominal possessive construction (1%). Instead, most nominal Rs occur in clauses with elided T arguments (56/90 tokens – 62%; Table 3 gives details on elision). By contrast, about half of the pronominal Rs occur in double-object constructions (42/87 tokens – 48%), while 13 Rs are used in R-type oblique constructions (15%). Another 13 Rs occur in adnominal possessive constructions (15%; compare with one token for nominal Rs). Yet another 19 Rs occur in clauses with elided T (22%; compare with 56 nominal Rs).

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[217]   See also Comrie 's (1989) animacy hierarchy, Dixon 's (1979: 85) agency scale, and Silverstein 's (1976) hierarchy of features.

Table 2:   Distribution of nominal (NOM) and pronominal (PRO) Rs[218]

	DO	Obl	AdPoss	Elision	Total
NOM-R	5	28	1	56	90
	5.6%	31.1%	1.1%	62.2%	100%
PRO-R	42	13	13	19	87
	48.3%	14.9%	14.9%	21.8%	100%
Total	47	41	14	75	177
	26.6%	23.2%	7.9%	42.4%	100%

This tendency for pronominal Rs to occur in double-object constructions, while nominal Rs are more often used in R-type oblique constructions is in line with Haspelmath's (2007b: 84) "individuation scale". As mentioned, this scale suggests that speakers favor a double-object construction when the R is more salient than the T, a preference that applies especially to pronominal Rs. Otherwise, speakers favor an oblique construction.

There is one exception, though. When speakers want to signal that a pronominal R is also the beneficiary of the transfer, they encode this R as an R-type oblique, which is introduced with benefactive **buat** 'for' or **untuk** 'for' (both prepositions and their semantics are discussed in §10.2). This benefactive marking of the R is not possible in double-object constructions. Hence, speakers have to use an R-type oblique construction; this applies to 13 pronominal Rs in the present corpus occurring in R-type oblique constructions. In nine of them (70%), the oblique is introduced with a benefactive preposition.

As already discussed, however, Papuan Malay disfavors constructions in which the R and T arguments are both overtly mentioned. Instead, trivalent verbs usually occur in clauses in which the R and/or T arguments are elided (1,058/1,160 tokens – 91%; see Table 1). Most often, the more salient R is omitted while the less salient T is retained (601/1,058 tokens – 57%), as shown in Table 3. Clauses in which the R and the T are both elided at the same time are also rather common (382/1,058 tokens – 36%). Only rarely, the T is omitted while the R is retained (75/1,058 tokens – 7%).

Retention of the R most often affects nominal Rs (NOM-R) (56/75 tokens – 75%); most of them are encoded as R-type obliques (39/56 tokens – 70%). Retention of pronominal Rs (PRO-R), which are more salient than nominal ones, is much less frequent (19/75 tokens – 25%). In light of the data given in Table 2, one would expect the 19 pronominal Rs to be encoded as direct objects rather than as R-type obliques. As shown in Table 3, however, ten of the 19 pronominal Rs are encoded as R-type obliques (53%). Again, this has to do with their marking as benefactive Rs: seven of the ten pronominal Rs are introduced with a benefactive preposition, similar to the 13 pronominal R-type obliques listed in Table 2.

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[218]   As percentages are rounded to one decimal place, they do not always add up to 100%.

Table 3: Distributional preferences for elided (elid.) and retained (ret.) arguments

	R elid. T ret.	T elid. DO-R ret.	T elid. Obl-R ret.	T elid. R elid.	Total
Distribution of elided and retained arguments					
Total	601 57%	26 2%	49 5%	382 36%	1,058 100%
Encoding of retained Rs					
NOM-R	---	17	39	---	56
PRO-R	---	9	10	---	19
Total	---	26 25%	49 75%	---	75 100%

An explanation for this preference to delete the R argument and to retain the T argument is given by Polinsky (1998) in her study on asymmetries in double-object constructions (DOC) in English. The author explains the optional deletion of the R arguments "as sensitive to topic", in that it applies "to those elements of [Information Structure …] that have already been activated and are accessible to speaker and hearer. More topical information is easily backgrounded, which explains why the recipient is more easily deleted" (1998: 416). Hence, Polinsky (1998: 407) presents the following implication: "If the patient of DOC can undergo optional deletion, the recipient of DOC can undergo optional deletion, too".

This observation that the more accessible argument can be deleted also provides an explanation for the preference of Papuan Malay to elide the more salient R argument and to retain the less salient T argument.

The observed tendency to omit the R and/or T arguments has also been noted for western Austronesian languages in general. In these languages, as Himmelmann (2005: 171) points out, "there are few (if any) morphosyntactic constraints on the omission of coreferential arguments in clause sequences. That is, the possibility to omit a coreferential argument is not restricted to subject arguments". This also applies to other eastern Malay varieties, such as Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 209), and Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 133–154). Along similar lines, Mosel (2010) notes that for the Oceanic language Teop that "[all] three arguments of ditransitive constructions can be elided in both topical and nontopical positions". These studies, however, do not discuss whether the languages under investigation have a preference for omitting the R or the T arguments in ditransitive constructions, and what the reasons for such a preference might be. An exception is Klamer and Moro's (2013) study on 'give'-constructions in heritage and baseline Ambon Malay. Noting that elision affects the R but not the T, the authors suggest that these distributional preferences are due to "a difference in the prominence of T and R" (2013: 9).

11.2. Causative clauses

Causative clauses are constructions which involve two events: "(1) the causing event in which the causer does something, and (2) the caused event in which the causee carries out an action or undergoes a change of condition or state as a result of the causer's action" (Song 2006: 265). Hence, causative constructions are the result of a valency-increasing operation: in addition to the arguments of the cause event, or "non-causative predicate", there is also the "causer" (Comrie 1989: 175). This valency-increasing operation is possible with intransitive and transitive events.

Cross-linguistically, four major strategies of encoding the notion of causation can be distinguished: lexical, morphological, syntactic, and periphrastic causatives. These constructions differ with respect to the degree of "structural integration" between the causing event, or the "predicate of cause", and the caused event, or the "predicate of effect" (Payne 1997: 159–160). Lexical causatives show a maximal degree of structural integration in that the cause and effect are encoded in a single lexical item. Periphrastic causative constructions, by contrast, show the least degree of structural integration in that the cause and effect are encoded in two separate clauses. Acccording to Kulikov (2001: 888–889), however, lexical causatives do not "qualify as *causatives sensu stricto*" as they do not involve a morphological or syntactic change; neither do periphrastic constructions qualify as *causatives sensu stricto* given their biclausal structure.

Morphological and syntactic causatives differ from lexical and periphrastic causatives in that they integrate the cause with the caused event into a single predication. Hence, a causativized intransitive event yields a transitive causative construction, while a causativized transitive caused event yields a ditransitive construction. The integration of the causer is achieved by demoting the agent of the caused event, the causee. Cross-linguistically, Comrie (1989: 176) notes the following grammatical relation hierarchy for this process: "subject > direct object > indirect object > oblique object"; that is, "the causee occupies the highest (leftmost) position on this hierarchy that is not already filled".

Papuan Malay uses three types of causative constructions: lexical, syntactic, and periphrastic causatives. The main topic of this section is syntactic causatives (§11.2.1), since only they qualify as *causatives sensu stricto* (Kulikov 2001: 888–889). Lexical and periphrastic causatives are mentioned only briefly in §11.2.2 and §11.2.3, respectively. The main points of this section are summarized in §11.2.4.

11.2.1. Syntactic causatives

In syntactic causatives, or "compound" causatives (Song 2011: 450), the notion of causation is encoded in a monoclausal construction which consists of two constituents, namely a causative verb, which expresses the notion of cause, and a second constituent that denotes the effect (Kulikov 2001: 887).

In Papuan Malay syntactic causatives, a serial verb construction V_1V_2 encodes the causation: the causative verb V_1 expresses the cause event and the V_2 the caused event. Two free verb forms are used as causative verbs: trivalent ***kasi*** 'give' and bivalent ***biking*** 'make'. In ***kasi***-causatives the V_2 can be monovalent or bivalent while in ***biking***-causatives the V_2 is always monovalent.

Semantically, causatives with **kasi** 'give' focus on the outcome of the causation or manipulation. Causatives with **biking** 'make', by contrast, focus on the manipulation of circumstances that ultimately leads to the caused event or effect. This is shown with the contrastive examples in (47) and (48) both of which are formed with monovalent stative **bersi** 'be clean'. In the elicited example in (47), **kasi bersi** 'cause to be clean' stresses the outcome of the washing process, namely that the clothes are clean. In the elicited example in (48), by contrast, **biking bersi** 'make clean' focuses on the manipulation itself, which leads to the effect that the clothes are clean.

> **kasi** 'give' versus **biking** 'make' causatives

(47)   malam   cuci   pakeang   **kasi bersi**   jemur
       night   wash   clothes   give be.clean   dry
       '(if you have to do laundry at night time) wash (your clothes), **clean** them, (and hang them up) to dry' [081011-019-Cv.0009]

(48)   malam   cuci   pakeang   **biking bersi**   jemur
       night   wash   clothes   make   be.clean   dry
       '(if you have to do laundry at night time) wash (your clothes), **clean** them, (and hang them up) to dry' [Elicited BR131103.001]

The following sections discuss the syntax and semantics of Papuan Malay syntactic causatives in more detail. The two verbs that qualify as causative verbs are presented in §11.2.1.1, followed by a description of syntactic causatives with the causative verb **kasi** 'give' in §11.2.1.2, and with **biking** 'make' in §11.2.1.3.

11.2.1.1.   Causative verbs

The Papuan Malay verbs which express the notion of cause in syntactic causatives, **kasi** 'give' and **biking** 'make', are used synchronically as full transitive verbs, as shown in (49) to (51). Trivalent **kasi** 'give' exhibits dative alternation, as illustrated with the double-object constructions in (49) and the R-type oblique construction in (50) (see §11.1.3 for more details on dative alternation). The transitive uses of **biking** 'make' are illustrated in (51).

(49)   a,   kam   **kasi**   sa   air   ka
       ah   2PL   give   1SG   water   or
       'ah, you **give** me water, please' [080919-008-CvNP.0005]

(50)   de   **kasi**   sratus   ribu   sama   Madga
       3SG   give   one.hundred   thousand   to   Madga
       'he **gave** one hundred thousand (rupiah) to Madga' [081014-003-Cv.0008]

(51)   Ika   **biking**   papeda
       Ika   make   sagu.porridge
       'Ika **made** sagu porridge' [081006-032-Cv.0071]

11.2.1.2.   Syntactic causatives with **kasi** 'give'

As a causative, trivalent **kasi** 'give', with its short form **kas**, is used with two types
of verbal bases: monovalent ones, as in (52) to (59), or bivalent ones as in (60) to
(63). Semantically, causative **kasi** 'give' highlights the outcome of a causation.

Monovalent bases

In causatives with monovalent bases, the agent of the caused event is demoted from
its intransitive subject function (S) to the transitive object or PATIENT (P) function,
while the incoming causer takes the transitive subject or AGENT (A) function
(Comrie 1989: 110–111). This strategy, which corresponds to Comrie's (1989: 176)
causative hierarchy, is also used in Papuan Malay causatives with monovalent bases.
This is illustrated with the causatives with monovalent non-agentive bases in (52) to
(55) and the causatives with monovalent agentive bases in (56) to (59).

   In causatives with monovalent non-agentive bases, the effect expression can be a
stative verb such as **panjang** 'be long' in (52), or a non-agentive dynamic verb such
as **gugur** 'fall (prematurely)' in (54). The resulting V_1V_2 expressions function as
transitive predicates.

       Causatives with monovalent non-agentive bases

(52)   … mama   harus   **kas**   **panjang** kaki
            mother   have.to   give   long   foot
         [Addressing someone with a bad knee:] '[you shouldn't fold (your) legs)
         under,] you ('mother') have to **stretch out** (your) legs' [080921-004a-
         CvNP.0069]

(53)   ko   **kasi** **sembu**   sa   punya   ana   ini!
            2SG   give   be.healed   1SG   POSS   child   D.PROX
         [Addressing an evil spirit:] 'you **heal** this child of mine!' [081006-023-
         CvEx.0031]

(54)   perna dia punya pikirang   untuk de   mo   **kasi**   **gugur**
            ever   3SG have   thought   for   3SG want   give   fall(.prematurely)
         'once she had the thought that she wanted to **abort** (the child)' [080917-010-
         CvEx.0097]

(55)   banyak mati di   lautang, **kas**   **tenggelam**
            many   die   at   ocean   give   sink
         [About people in a container who died in the ocean:] 'many died in the
         (open) ocean, (the murderers) **sank** (the containers)' [081029-002-Cv.0025]

In causatives with monovalent agentive bases, the effect expression is encoded by a
monovalent dynamic verb, as shown in (56) to (59).

Causatives with monovalent agentive bases

(56) sa di bawa, Roni **kas duduk** sa di atas
1SG at bottom Roni give sit 1SG at top
[A ten-year old boy on a truck-trip:] 'I was down (in the cargo area, but) Roni **enabled** me **to sit** on top (of the cab)' [081022-002-CvNP.0012]

(57) … tapi dong kasi bangkit dia lagi, **kasi hidup** dia
but 3PL give be.resurrected 3SG again give live 3SG
[About sorcerers who can resurrect the dead:] '[he's already (dead),] but they resurrect him again, **make** him **live**' [081006-022-CvEx.0095]

(58) kam **kas kluar** pasir dulu!
2PL give go.out sand be.prior
'you **remove** the sand first!' [080925-002-CvHt.0005]

(59) kam **kas kluar** Dodo dari dalam meja situ!
2PL give go.out Dodo from inside table L.MED
[About a fearful person hiding under the table:] 'you **remove** Dodo / **enable** Dodo **to get out** from under the table there!' [081025-009b-Cv.0028]

Cross-linguistically, causative constructions receive different readings, depending on the causee's level of agentivity (Kulikov 2001: 891–893). This also applies to Papuan Malay. When the causee has no control, the causative receives a "manipulative or directive" reading, while it receives an "assistive or cooperative" reading, when the causee has some level of agentivity (2001: 892).

In causatives with monovalent non-agentive bases, as in (52) to (55), the causer controls the event while the causee has no control. Hence, these causatives always receive a directive reading. Likewise, causatives with monovalent agentive bases receive a directive reading when the causee is inanimate, or animate but helpless. This is the case in (57) and (58). When, by contrast, the causee has some level of control, as in (56), the causation is less direct; hence, the causative receives an assistive reading. Sometimes, however, the reading of a causative is ambiguous, as in (59). If the causee *Dodo* is conscious and can move, the causative receives the assistive reading 'enable to come out'. But if *Dodo* is unconscious out of fear and thereby helpless, the causative receives the directive reading 'remove'.

Bivalent bases

In causatives with bivalent bases, the expected operation is for the PATIENT (P) of the caused event to retain its P function and for the AGENT (A) of the caused event to be demoted to the indirect object function (Comrie 1989: 176).

Papuan Malay, however, uses a different strategy, in that all the arguments involved shift their functions. That is, the A of the caused event, or causee, is demoted to the P function, while the P of the caused event is moved out of the core into an oblique slot. This is illustrated with the examples in (60) to (63).

In (60), for instance, the original A, or causee, *anjing* 'dog', is demoted to the P function and juxtaposed to the V₁V₂ construction. Semantically, the causee becomes the THEME argument of the causative expressions *kas makang* 'give to eat'. With the

P slot being taken, the original P *papeda* 'sagu porridge' is moved out of the core into an oblique slot.

Causatives with bivalent bases: Demoting the A and P functions

(60)   saya **kas   makang** anjing deng   papeda
         1SG   give eat   dog   with   sagu.porridge
         'I **fed** the dogs with papeda' [080919-003-NP.0002]

(61)   dia   **kasi minum** kitong dengan kopi   air
         3SG   give drink   1PL   with   coffee water
         'he'll **give** us coffee and water **to drink**' [080919-004-NP.0069]

(62)   sa   pikir   ko   **kasi naik**   kaca   mata di   sini
         1SG   think 2SG   give ascend   glass eye   at   L.PROX
         'I thought you'd **raised** (your) glasses up here (on your head)' [080919-005-Cv.0004]

(63)   … sa   **kas   naik**   Ø   di   atas   prahu
            1SG   give ascend   at   top   boat
         [About a sick boy:] '[I carried (him) on my shoulders all the way to the river …,] I **lifted** (him) onto the boat' [081025-009b-Cv.0041]

Causatives with bivalent bases also receive different readings depending on the causee's level of agentivity. In (60) and (61), the causees are able to control their own actions. Therefore, *kasi* 'give' receives an assistive or cooperative reading. In (62), by contrast, the causee is inanimate while in (63) the elided causee is animate but helpless. Hence, *kasi* 'give' receives a directive or manipulative reading.

11.2.1.3.   Syntactic causatives with *biking* 'make'

As a causative, bivalent *biking* 'make' is used with monovalent bases. Semantically, this causative type stresses the causer's manipulation of circumstances, which leads to the caused event or effect. That is, *biking*-causatives are causer-controlled, with the causee having no control. Therefore, causatives with *biking* 'make' are formed with monovalent non-agentive bases, or with monovalent agentive bases with inanimate or with animate but helpless causees. This is shown in (64) to (69). Overall, though, *biking*-causatives are rare in the present corpus.

   The causative in (64), for example, is formed with non-agentive stative *pusing* 'be dizzy/confused'. The use of *biking* 'make' stresses the manipulating behavior of the causer *ana~ana* 'children' which leads to the effect *pusing* 'be worried'; the causee *mama* 'mother' has no control. The elicited examples in (65) and (66) contrast with the corresponding *kasi*-causatives in (54) and (55). They show that *biking*-causatives are also formed with monovalent non-agentive dynamic bases, such as *gugur* 'abort' or *tenggelam* 'sink', respectively. Again, the manipulation itself is stressed. The base can also be agentive dynamic if the causee is animate but helpless. This is illustrated with the elicited example in (67), which contrasts with the corresponding *kasi*-causative in (57). The base is agentive dynamic *hidup* 'live' but the animate causee is helpless and therefore has no control.

   Causatives with monovalent non-agentive bases

(64)   ana~ana   **biking   pusing**   mama
        RDP~child make   be.dizzy/confused   mother
        'the kids **worry** (their mother)' (Lit. '**make to be dizzy/confused**')
        [081014-007-CvEx.0047]

(65)   perna dia punya pikirang untuk de   mo   **biking gugur**
        ever 3SG have thought for   3SG want make fall(.prematurely)
        'once she had the thought that she wanted to **abort** (the child)' [Elicited
        BR131103.002]

(66)   banyak mati di lautang, **biking   tenggelam**
        many   die   at ocean   make   sink
        [About people in a container who died in the ocean:] 'many died in the
        (open) ocean, (the murderers) **sank** (the containers)' [Elicited BR131103.003]

(67)   … tapi dong **biking** bangkit   dia lagi, **biking hidup** dia
          but 3PL   make   be.resurrected 3SG again make   live   3SG
        [About sorcerers who can resurrect the dead:] '[he's already (dead),] but
        they **resurrect** him again, **make** him **live**' [Elicited BR131103.005]

Causatives with agentive bases are unacceptable. This is due to the fact that ***biking***-causatives focus on the causer's manipulation of circumstances itself while the causee has no control. This is illustrated with the unacceptable ***biking***-causatives in (68) and (69), which are formed with monovalent dynamic ***duduk*** 'sit' and bivalent ***makang*** 'eat' respectively. The two elicited examples contrast with the corresponding ***kasi***-causatives in (56) and (60).

   Causatives with monovalent and bivalent agentive bases

(68)   * sa   di bawa,   Roni **biking duduk** sa   di atas
           1SG   at bottom Roni make   sit   1SG   at top
        Intended reading: 'I was down (in the cargo area, but) Roni **made** me **sit** on
        top (of the cab)' [Elicited BR131103.006]

(69)   * saya **biking   makang** anjing deng papeda
           1SG make   eat   dog   with sagu.porridge
        Intended reading: 'I **made** the dogs **eat** papeda' [Elicited BR131103.009]

11.2.2.   Lexical causatives

Unlike syntactic causatives, lexical causatives "are in a suppletive relation with their non-causative counterparts" (Kulikov 2001: 887). That is, the notion of causation is encoded in the semantics of the causative verb itself and not in an additional morpheme. This suppletive relation is shown with the pairs ***mati*** 'die' and ***bunu*** 'kill' in (70), and ***jatu*** 'fall' and ***tebang*** 'fell' in (71) and (72).

(70)   de   bisa   jalang gigit, **bunu** manusia,   sperti   ular,
        3SG capable   walk   bite   kill   human.being   similar.to snake

de   bisa   gigit, orang   **mati**
3SG   be.capable   bite   person die

[About an evil spirit:] 'it can go (and) bite (and) **kill** humans like a snake, it
can bite (and) someone **dies**' [081006-022-CvEx.0133]

(71)   … itu   yang monyet **jatu** dari   atas
             D.DIST REL   monkey fall   from   top

'…that's why the monkey **fell** off from the top (of the banana plant)'
[081109-002-JR.0005]

(72)   mo   **tebang** sagu
         want fell   sago

'(I) want to **fell** a sago tree' [081014-006-CvPr.0069]

11.2.3.   Periphrastic causative constructions

Papuan Malay also uses periphrastic causative constructions which involve two
predicates: (1) a "matrix predicate" which "contains the notion of causation", the
"predicate of cause", and (2) an embedded predicate which "expresses the effect of
the causative situation", the "predicate of effect" (Payne 1997: 159–160).

   Periphrastic causative constructions with *kasi* 'give' are given in (73) and (74),
and those with *biking* 'make' in (75) and (76). Besides, Papuan Malay forms
periphrastic causatives with a wide range of speech verbs; they are not further
discussed here.

(73)   kalo de   minta kesembuang, setan   **kasi de   sembu**
         if   3SG   ask   recovery   evil.spirit give 3SG   be.healed

'when he/she asks for recovery, the evil spirit **has her healed**' [081006-023-
CvEx.0082]

(74)   … baru   mo   biking papeda   **kasi ana~ana   makang**
             and.then want make   sagu.porridge give RDP~child food

'[they said (they) wanted to catch chickens,] and then (they) wanted to
make sagu porridge (and) **have the children eat**' [081010-001-Cv.0191]

(75)   de   pu   swami   **biking de   sakit   hati**   to?
         3SG   POSS husband make   3SG   be.sick   liver   right?

'her husband **made her feel miserable**, right?' [081025-006-Cv.0163]

(76)   kata itu   tu   yang **biking sa   bertahang**
         word D.DIST D.DIST REL   make   1SG   hold(.out/back)

'(it was) those very words that **made me hold out**' [081115-001a-Cv.0234]

11.2.4.   Summary

Papuan Malay employs three different strategies to express the notion of causation:
syntactic, periphrastic, and lexical causatives. The main focus of this section was to
describe the syntax and semantics of syntactic causatives. Lexical and periphrastic
causatives were discussed only briefly.

   Papuan Malay syntactic causatives are monoclausal V_1V_2 constructions in which a causative verb V_1, namely trivalent **kasi** 'give' or bivalent **biking** 'make', encodes the notion of cause while the V_2 denotes the notion of effect. Syntactic causatives have monovalent or bivalent bases. In causatives with monovalent bases, the grammatical relations correspond to those established by Comrie (1989: 176): the original A is demoted from its intransitive S function to the transitive P function, while the incoming causer takes the transitive A function. In causatives with bivalent bases, the original A is demoted to the P function while the original P is moved out of the core into an oblique slot.

   Semantically, causatives with **kasi** 'give' focus on the outcome of the manipulation, whereas causatives with **biking** 'make' focus on the manipulation of circumstances itself, which results in the effect. Both causative verbs typically generate "causer-controlled" causatives (Kulikov 2001: 892), in which the causer controls the event while the causee has no agentivity. This applies especially to **biking**-causatives which stress the manipulation itself. Causatives with **kasi** 'give' however, can also receive an assistive, rather than the typical directive, reading. This applies to agentive monovalent or bivalent bases when the causee has some level of agentivity.

   Most causative constructions in the present corpus are formed with **kasi** 'give', while causatives with **biking** 'make' are much fewer. Table 4 lists the type and token frequencies for both causative verbs in the present corpus.

Table 4:   Frequencies of causative constructions

Base	*kasi* 'give'		*biking* 'make'	
	Type #	Token #	Type #	Token #
V.MO(ST)	24	36	16	25
V.MO(DY)	18	115	0	0
V.BI	39	327	0	0
Total	81	478	16	25

In the present corpus, **kasi** 'give' is used most often with bivalent bases, which are mostly agentive (AGT). Less often, **kasi** 'give' occurs with monovalent bases, which can be agentive or non-agentive (NON-AGT). Most monovalent bases are dynamic, whereas stative bases, which are mostly non-agentive, are much rarer. Most monovalent dynamic bases, in turn, are agentive, while non-agentive dynamic bases are rare. By contrast, **biking** 'make' always takes monovalent bases which are typically stative and non-agentive. Causatives with monovalent non-agentive dynamic bases are also possible, although they are unattested in the present corpus. Causatives with monovalent agentive bases are only possible if the causee is inanimate or animate but helpless. Table 5 shows these distributional patterns.

Table 5:   Properties of causative constructions

Base	Agentivity	*kasi* 'give'	*biking* 'make'
V.MO(ST)	NON-AGT	Less often	Most often
V.MO(DY)	NON-AGT	Rarely	Possible although unattested
V.MO(DY)	AGT	Less often	Possible with inanimate or with animate but helpless causees although unattested
V.BI	AGT	Most often	Unacceptable

11.3.   Reciprocal clauses

Reciprocal clauses describe situations "in which two participants equally act upon each other" (Payne 1997: 181), with the two participants performing "two identical semantic roles" (Nedjalkov 2007: 6). That is, in reciprocal clauses "two subevents are shown as one event or situation" by presenting two predications as one (2007: 7).

Cross-linguistically, four major strategies of encoding the notion of reciprocity structurally are distinguished, following Nedjalkov (2007: 9–16): syntactic, morphological, clitic, and lexical constructions.[219] Syntactic reciprocals are formed with reciprocal pronouns or reciprocal adverbs. Morphological reciprocals are formed by means of affixation, reduplication, compounding, or periphrastic constructions involving an auxiliary.

Papuan Malay employs two of these strategies to express reciprocal relations: a syntactic strategy with the dedicated reciprocity marker *baku* 'RECP', discussed in §11.3.1, and a lexical strategy, briefly mentioned in §11.3.2.

11.3.1.   Syntactic reciprocals

Papuan Malay forms syntactic reciprocals with the dedicated reciprocity marker *baku* 'RECP'. A typical example is given in (77).

　　　Papuan Malay reciprocity marker *baku* 'RECP'

(77)　　kitong　dua　**baku　melawang**　gara-gara　ikang
　　　　1PL　　two　RECP　oppose　　　because　　fish
　　　　'the two of us are **fighting each other** because of the fish' [081109-011-JR.0008]

The present corpus contains 101 reciprocal clauses formed with 42 different verbs. The vast majority are bivalent: 37 verbs (88%) accounting for 95 tokens (94%). One reciprocal clause is formed with trivalent *ceritra* 'tell'. The remaining four verbs are monovalent dynamic (accounting for five tokens) (for details see §11.3.1.1).

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[219]　Nedjalkov (2007: 10) groups syntactic, morphological, and clitic reciprocal constructions together as grammatical or derived reciprocals.

Structurally, Papuan Malay uses two different types of syntactic reciprocals: (1) a "simple reciprocal construction" (§11.3.1.1), and (2) a "discontinuous construction" (§11.3.1.2), using Nedjalkov's (2007: 27–30) terminology. In simple reciprocals *baku* 'RECP' can receive a reciprocal or a sociative reading, while in discontinuous reciprocals the marker always receives a reciprocal reading.

Cross-linguistically, the reciprocity marker is classified in different ways; in some languages it is classified as a pronoun or an adverb, in others as an affix or an auxiliary (see Nedjalkov's 2007: 9–16 above-mentioned distinction of syntactic and morphological reciprocals). As for the Papuan Malay reciprocity marker, this grammar analyzes *baku* 'RECP' as an independent word and not as an affix, without, however, further specifying its morphosyntactic status at this point. This analysis as a separate word is based on the fact that *baku* 'RECP' can be reduplicated, as shown in (78). Affixes, by contrast, cannot be reduplicated, as discussed in §4.1.

Reduplication of *baku* 'RECP'

(78)   itu   sampe   tong   **baku~baku**   tawar   ini   deng   dosen
        D.DIST   reach   1PL   RDP~RECP   bargain   D.PROX   with   lecturer
        'it got to the point that we and the lecturer were arguing **constantly with each other**' [080917-010-CvEx.0177]

This analysis of *baku* 'RECP' as an independent word is also applied by Donohue (to be published: 33), while other researchers such as van Velzen (1995: 324) treat the reciprocity marker as a prefix. For most of the other eastern Malay varieties, the reciprocity marker is also treated as a prefix, namely for Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 101–105), Banda Malay (Paauw 2008: 250), Kupang Malay (Steinhauer 1983: 46), Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 23), North Moluccan / Ternate Malay (Taylor 1983: 19, Voorhoeve 1983: 4, and Litamahuputty 2012: 130–133).

11.3.1.1.   Simple reciprocal constructions

Most reciprocal constructions in the present corpus (86/101 – 85%) are "simple reciprocals". In such a construction, both participants are encoded as the clausal subject, which is called the "reciprocator", following Haspelmath's (2007c: 2092) terminology.[220] Hence, the typical structure for simple reciprocals is 'RECIPROCATOR *baku* V', as shown in (79) to (87). The reciprocator can be a coordinate noun phrase such as *nona~nona ana laki~laki* 'the girls (and) boys' in (79), or a plural personal pronoun such as *kamu* '2PL' in (80).

In 'RECIPROCATOR *baku* V' constructions, *baku* 'RECP' can receive a reciprocal reading in the sense of 'RECIPROCATOR V each other', or a sociative reading in the sense of 'RECIPROCATOR V together'.

'RECIPROCATOR *baku* V' constructions with a reciprocal reading are characterized by a reduction in syntactic valency, which corresponds to the reduction in semantic valency: with both participants being encoded by the clausal subject, the object that typically encodes a second participant is deleted. This is shown in (79) to (84); reciprocals with a sociative reading are given in (85) to (87).

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220   Nedjalkov (2007: 6) uses the term "reciprocant" rather than "reciprocator".

Typically, the verbal base in a 'RECIPROCATOR **baku** V' construction is bivalent
(80/86 reciprocals – 93%); the corpus also contains one reciprocal construction
formed with trivalent *ceritra* 'tell'. Examples are given in (79) to (81). These
examples show that the bases can have reciprocal/bidirectional semantics such as
cium 'kiss' in (79), or non-reciprocal/unidirectional semantics such as **benci** 'hate'
in (80). (Reciprocals with monovalent bases are presented in (82) and (83).)

> 'RECIPROCATOR **baku** V' constructions with bivalent verbs: Reciprocal
> reading

(79) nona~nona, ana   laki~laki   **baku**   **pacar** di   pinggir skola   …
      RDP~girl   child RDP~husband RECP   date   at   edge   school
      baku   **cium**   di   pinggir~pinggir
      RECP   kiss   at   RDP~edge
      'the girls (and) boys are **courting each other** at the edge of the school
      (grounds), … (they) are **kissing each other** at the edges (of the school
      grounds)' [081115-001a-Cv.0017]

(80) kamu tida bole **baku** **benci**, tida bole **baku**   **mara**
      2PL   NEG   may   RECP   hate   NEG   may   RECP   feel.angry(.about)
      'you must not **hate each other**, (you) must not **feel angry with each other**'
      [081115-001a-Cv.0271]

(81) Markus deng Yan dong **baku** **ceritra**
      Markus with Yan 3SG   RECP   tell
      'Markus and Yan were **talking to each other**' [Elicited BR130601.001][221]

'RECIPROCATOR **baku** V' constructions with monovalent dynamic bases are also
possible, but rare. Of the attested 86 simple reciprocals, only five are formed with
monovalent verbs (6%), namely with **bertengkar** 'quarrel' (1 token), **saing**
'compete' (1 token), **tampil** 'perform' (2 tokens), and **tanding** 'compete' (1 token)
(none of the four verbs occur in discontinuous reciprocal constructions). Examples
are given for **saing** 'compete' in (82) and for **tanding** 'compete' in (83).

> 'RECIPROCATOR **baku** V' constructions with monovalent dynamic verbs:
> Reciprocal reading

(82) ade-kaka **baku** **saing**
      ySb-oSb
      siblings   RECP   compete
      'the siblings were **competing with each other**' [080919-006-CvNP.0001]

(83) dong ada   brapa   orang   itu   **baku** **tanding** rekam
      3PL   exist how.many person D.DIST RECP   compete   record
      'they were (indeed) several people (who) were **competing with each other**
      to record (their songs)' [080923-016-CvNP.0006]

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[221] The present corpus contains one reciprocal construction formed with trivalent *ceritra*
      'tell', similar to the elicited one in (81). For the most part, however, the original utterance
      it unclear, as the speaker mumbles.

Most of the verbs used in reciprocal clauses in the present corpus also occur in non-reciprocal transitive clauses (38/42 verbs). This is illustrated with **gendong** 'hold' in (84). The remaining four verbs are only used in reciprocal constructions: bivalent **ancam** 'threaten' (1 token) and **cium** 'kiss' (2 tokens), and monovalent **bertengkar** 'quarrel' (1 token) and **tanding** 'compete' (1 token). Whether these verbs can also occur in non-reciprocal transitive clauses requires further investigation.

Reciprocal and non-reciprocal uses of verbs

(84) Nofela **gendong bapa** ato bapa yang **gendong Nofela**
      Nofela hold   father or   father REL   hold   Nofela

      deng Siduas ka … kitong **baku gendong** to?
      with   Siduas   or   1PL   RECP hold   right?

      [During a phone conversation between a father and his children:] 'you ('Nofela') will **hold me ('father')** or I ('father') will **hold you ('Nofela') and Siduas** … we'll **hold each other**, right?' [080922-001a-CvPh.0687/0695]

In the simple reciprocals presented so far, **baku** 'RECP' denotes reciprocal relations. Alternatively, though, 'RECIPROCATOR **baku** V' clauses can signal sociative relations in the sense of 'RECIPROCATOR V together'. "The sociative meaning (also called associative, collective, cooperative, etc.) suggests that an action is performed jointly and simultaneously by a group of people (at least two) named by the subject […] and engaged in the same activity" (Nedjalkov 2007: 33).

'RECIPROCATOR **baku** V' constructions with a sociative reading are characterized by valency retention, in that "the number of the participants increases without changing the syntactic structure" (Nedjalkov 2007: 22). This is illustrated with the examples in (85) and (87).

'RECIPROCATOR **baku** V' constructions: Sociative reading

(85) baru   kitong mulay **baku ojek**
      and.then 1PL   start RECP take.motorbike.taxi

      'and then we started **taking motorbike taxis together**' [081002-001-CvNP.0004]

(86) kitong mo   **baku bagi   swara** bagemana
      1PL   want RECP divide voice   how

      [About upcoming local elections:] 'how do we want to **share the votes together**?' [080919-001-Cv.0165]

(87) Aksamina deng Klara dong dua **baku rampas bola**
      Aksamina with Klara 3PL   two RECP seize   ball

      'both Aksamina and Klara **tackled the ball together**' [081006-014-Cv.0007]

Overall, the present corpus contains only few 'RECIPROCATOR **baku** V' constructions with a sociative reading. Further research is needed to determine whether there are any formal criteria that allow 'RECIPROCATOR **baku** V' constructions with a reciprocal reading to be distinguished from those with a sociative reading.

11.3.1.2.   Discontinuous reciprocal constructions

In discontinuous reciprocal constructions, only one of the participants is expressed as the subject, while the second participant "is a comitative phrase" (Nedjalkov 2007: 29). In Papuan Malay, this second participant, or "reciprocee" (Haspelmath 2007c: 2092),[222] is encoded by a prepositional phrase which is introduced with the comitative preposition *deng(an)* 'with' (see also §10.2.1). Hence, the structure for discontinuous reciprocals is 'RECIPROCATOR *baku* V *deng(an)* RECIPROCEE'.

Discontinuous reciprocals result in a reduction in syntactic valency, since the second participant is not encoded as the direct object but as a prepositional phrase. That is, the non-subject reciprocee is "a constituent of lower pragmatic and syntactic status", as Nedjalkov (2007: 28) points out; semantically, however, it is of the same status as the subject reciprocator.

In the present corpus, discontinuous constructions occur much less often than simple ones; only 15 of the 101 reciprocals are discontinuous (15%). All of them designate reciprocal relations in the sense of 'RECIPROCATOR V with RECIPROCEE', literally 'RECIPROCATOR V each other with RECIPROCEE'. Unlike the simple reciprocals in §11.3.1.1, discontinuous constructions do not express sociative relations.

In most of the discontinuous reciprocals (10/15 – 67%), the second participant is mentioned overtly, as in (88) to (90). (For discontinuous constructions with omitted reciprocee see the examples in (91) and (92).)

'RECIPROCATOR *baku* V *deng(an)* RECIPROCEE' constructions

(88)   … ko   laki~laki   bisa   **baku dapat deng** bapa
         2SG   RDP~husband be.capable   RECP   get   with   father

         '[I thought,] you, a man, can **meet with** me ('father')' (Lit. 'can **meet each other with** father') [080922-001a-CvPh.0234]

(89)   sa   tida   perna **baku mara**   **deng** orang   laing
         1SG   NEG   ever   RECP   feel.angry(.about)   with   person be.different

         'I never **get angry with** other people' (Lit. '**feel angry about each other with** another person') [081110-008-CvNP.0067]

(90)   … de   **baku tabrak**   **deng** Sarles
         3SG   RECP   hit.against   with   Sarles

         '[right then Sarles was standing by door,] it (the evil spirit) **collided with** Sarles' (Lit. '**hit against each other with** Sarles') [081025-009b-Cv.0026]

Given the lower pragmatic status of the reciprocee, it can also remain "unspecified" (Nedjalkov 2007: 42), as in (91) and (92). This applies to five of the 15 discontinuous constructions in the present corpus (33%). That is, if the second participant is understood from the context, or considered irrelevant, it can be omitted together with its preposition. In (91), the omitted reciprocee *orang* 'person' was mentioned earlier. In (92), the omitted reciprocee 'community' is understood from the context, as the topic of the narrative is communal life in the village.

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[222]   Nedjalkov (2007: 8) refers to non-subject reciprocants as "co-participants".

'RECIPROCATOR ***baku*** V Ø' constructions

(91) saya kalo macang **baku pukul Ø** rasa takut
     1SG   if   variety RECP   hit   feel feel.afraid(.of)

     '(as for) me, when (I) kind of **fight (with another person)**, I feel afraid'
     (Lit. '**hit each other**') [081110-008-CvNP.0066]

(92) … dia dapat babi, de biasa **baku bagi Ø**
        3SG get   pig   3SG be.usual RECP   divide

     [How to be a good villager:] '[when he catches fish,] (when) he catches a
     pig, he usually **shares** (it **with the community**)' (Lit. '**divides with each
     other**') [080919-004-NP.0063]

11.3.2. Lexical reciprocals

Lexical reciprocals "are words with an inherent reciprocal meaning" (Nedjalkov
2007: 14). Therefore, they do not need to be marked with the reciprocity marker
baku 'RECP', as illustrated in (93) to (95). All three examples denote "naturally
reciprocal events" (Kemmer 1993: 102), such as ***ketemu*** 'meet' in (93), or ***nika***
'marry' in (94).

(93) sa **ketemu** de   di kampus
     1SG meet   3SG at campus

     'I **met** him on the (university) campus' [080922-003-Cv.0102]

(94) dorang dua **nika**
     3PL   two marry.officially

     'the two of them **married**' [081110-005-CvPr.0095]

(95) kam dua **cocok**
     2PL two be.suitable

     'the two of you **match**' [080922-004-Cv.0033]

11.3.3. Summary

In Papuan Malay, the dedicated reciprocity marker ***baku*** 'RECP' signals reciprocity.
In reciprocity clauses two predications are presented with the two subjects of each
predication equally acting upon each other. The main focus of this description is
syntactic reciprocal constructions; lexical reciprocal were mentioned only briefly.
Two types of reciprocal constructions are attested, simple and discontinuous ones.

   In simple reciprocals, both participants are encoded by the clausal subject. The
base is most often a bivalent verb, although reciprocals with monovalent verbs are
also attested. Usually, these clauses are the result of a valency-reducing operation
and receive the reciprocal reading 'RECIPROCATOR V each other'. Alternatively,
these constructions can receive a sociative reading in which case the reciprocal
clause is characterized by valency retention. Further investigation is needed to
determine whether there are formal criteria to distinguish the reciprocal from the
sociative readings. The basic scheme for simple reciprocals is given in (96).

Scheme for simple reciprocals

(96)   RECIPROCATOR   ***baku***   V

In discontinuous reciprocals, one participant is encoded by the clausal subject while
the second one, the RECIPROCEE', is expressed in a prepositional phrase introduced
with comitative ***deng(an)*** 'with'. This type of reciprocal also results from a valency-
reducing operation and receives the reading 'RECIPROCATOR V with RECIPROCEE'.
The second participant can also be omitted if it is understood from the context. The
basic scheme for discontinuous reciprocals is given in (97).

Scheme for discontinuous reciprocals

(97)   RECIPROCATOR   ***baku***   V   (***deng(an)***   RECIPROCEE)

11.4.   Existential clauses

In Papuan Malay, existential clauses are formed with the existential verb ***ada*** 'exist'.
Structurally, two types of existential clauses can be distinguished: (1) intransitive
clauses with one core argument and (2) transitive clauses with two core arguments.

In one-argument clauses, ***ada*** 'exist' precedes or follows the theme expression
depending on the theme's definiteness. This clause type asserts the existence of an
entity, expresses its availability, or, with definite themes, denotes possession. In
two-argument clauses, ***ada*** 'links' the subject with the direct object. This clause type
signals possession of an indefinite possessum. One-argument clauses are described
in §11.4.1 and two-argument clauses in §11.4.2; §11.4.3 summarizes the main points
of this section. (Negation of existential clauses is discussed in §13.1.1.2.)

11.4.1.   One-argument existential clauses

In one-argument existential clauses, ***ada*** 'exist' precedes or follows the subject, or
theme expression, such that 'S V' or 'V S'. These differences in word order serve to
distinguish nonidentifiable themes from identifiable ones (Dryer 2007a: 241), as
shown with the near contrastive examples in (98) and (99). When the theme is
pragmatically indefinite or nonidentifiable, ***ada*** 'exist' precedes it, such that 'V S',
as in (98). When the theme is definite or identifiable, ***ada*** 'exist' follows it, such that
'S V', as in (99).

One-argument existential clauses: 'V S' versus 'S V' word order

(98)   ke   mari,   ada   **nasi**
         to   hither   exist   cooked.rice
         '(come) here, there's **cooked rice**' [081006-035-CvEx.0052]

(99)   **nasi**   ada   itu,   timba   suda!
         cooked.rice   exist   D.DIST   spoon   already
         '**the cooked rice** is over there, just spoon (it)!' [081110-002-Cv.0051]

In existential clauses with indefinite or nonidentifiable themes, fronted ***ada*** 'exist'
has two functions, as shown in (100) and (101). One is to convey the existence of an

entity, such that 'a THEME exists', as in (100), where ***ada*** 'exist' signals the existence of ***babi*** 'pig'. A second function is to signal availability in the sense of 'a THEME is available', as in (101), where ***ada*** 'exist' asserts the availability of ***kuskus*** 'cuscus' and other game; see also the example in (98).

> 'V S' word order: Existence or availability of an indefinite/nonidentifiable theme

(100) ada **babi** di situ
       exist pig   at L.MED
       'there is **a pig** there' [081006-023-CvEx.0004]

(101) maytua liat, wa,   kantong itu   fol,   ada   **kuskus**, ada
       wife   see   wow! bag   D.DIST be.full exist cuscus   exist
       tikus-tana,   ada   **kepiting** e, **ketang**, ada   **ikang**
       spiny.bandicoot exist crab   uh crab   exist fish
       [After a successful hunt:] '(my) wife saw, 'wow!, that bag is full', there was **cuscus**, there were **bandicoots**, there were **crabs**, uh, **crabs**, there were **fish**' [080919-004-NP.0031]

In existential clauses with definite or identifiable themes, post-posed ***ada*** 'exist' also has two functions, as demonstrated in (102) and (103). One function is to assert the existence of an already established theme, such that 'the THEME exists'. This is the case in the elicited example in (102), which contrasts with the existential clause in (100), and it also applies to the example in (103); see also the example in (99).

> 'S V' word order: Existence of a definite/identifiable theme

(102) **babi** ada   di situ
       pig   exist at L.MED
       '**the pig** is there' [Elicited MY131105.004]

(103) **saya** ada
       1SG   exist
       [About a motorbike accident:] '**I** am alive' [081015-005-NP.0024]

A second function of post-posed ***ada*** 'exist' is to designate possession of a definite or identifiable possessum, as shown in (104) and (105) (for existential clauses with an indefinite possessum see §11.4.2). To convey the notion of possession the theme is expressed in an adnominal possessive construction, such that 'POSSESSIVE NP EXISTS' or 'POSSESSOR has the POSSESSUM'. The clause in (104), asserts the known existence of ***bapa pu motor*** 'father's motorbike'. In this adnominal possessive construction, the possessor noun phrase ***bapa*** 'father' modifies the identifiable possessum noun phrase ***motor*** 'motorbike'; both constituents are linked with the possessive marker ***pu*** 'POSS' (for more details see Chapter 9). The same applies to the clause in (105) which signals possession of the definite possessum noun phrase ***dana*** 'funds'.

'S V' word order: Possession of a definite/identifiable theme

(104) **bapa   pu   motor**   ada
       father POSS   motorbike   exist

       [Reply to a question:] '**father** had **a motorbike**' (Lit. '**father's motorbike**
       exists') [080919-002-Cv.0012]

(105) kalo **sa   pu   dana** suda   ada   brarti   sa   undang …
       if   1SG   POSS   fund   already   exist   mean   1SG   invite

       [About a planned meeting:] 'if **I** already had **the funds**, that means I would
       invite …' (Lit. '**my funds** already exist') [081010-001-Cv.0131]

If the theme can be inferred from the context it can also be omitted as in (106). In
this example, the omitted theme is ***bagiang dana*** 'funding department'. Having been
presented in the previous clause, it is now omitted, which leaves ***ada*** 'exist' as the
sole constituent of the existential clause.

       Omitted theme expression

(106) **Ø   ada**,   de   punya   dana   sendiri
              exist   3SG   have   fund   be.alone

       '**(the funding department) exists**, it has its own funding' [081010-001-
       Cv.0174]

Definite or identifiable existential clauses also co-occur with prepositional phrases,
such as the locational phrase ***di situ*** 'there' in (107). This clause can be analyzed in
two ways. One analysis is that of an existential clause with a locational adjunct
which gives additional information about the theme's current location. This analysis
is substantiated by the contrastive example in (108), in which ***di situ*** 'there' is
fronted to the clause-initial position. This possibility of fronting the prepositional
phrase is typical for adjuncts. In (108) the fronting serves to emphasize the location
(concerning the rather common elision of locative ***di*** 'at', see §10.1.5). An
alternative analysis of (107) is that of a prepositional predicate clause with
progressive reading. This analysis is substantiated with the (near) contrastive
examples in (109) to (111). The example in (109) presents a nonverbal clause in
which ***di situ*** 'there' serves as the predicate. The example in (110) shows how a
prepositional predicate clause can undergo aspectual modification, as for instance
with the prospective adverb ***masi*** 'still'. The example in (111) shows the
progressive-marking function of existential ***ada*** 'exist' in verbal clauses (see also
§5.4.1). When presented with both analyses, however, one of the consultants
rejected the first analysis. Instead this consultant maintained that ***ada*** 'exist' in (107)
has the same function as ***masi*** 'still' in (110), namely to modify the prepositional
predicate ***di situ*** 'there'. The two analyses and the reading chosen by one of the
consultants for the clauses in (107) require further investigation.

       Alternative readings of clauses with definite/identifiable themes and post-
       posed prepositional phrases

(107) de   **ada**   di   situ,   Martina   **ada**   di   situ
       3SG   exist   at   L.MED   Martina   exist   at   L.MED

       'she **was (being)** there, Martina **was (being)** there' [081109-001-Cv.0087]

(108) … pace   de   tulis   di   kertas, suda,   situ   de   **ada**,
    man   3SG   write   at   paper   already L.MED   3SG   exist
    de   su   biking daftar
    3SG   already   make   list
    [Enrolling for a sports team:] '[Herman gave his name,] the man wrote (it)
    on a paper, that's it, there it **was**!, he (the man) had already made a list'
    [081023-001-Cv.0001]

(109) de   **di   situ**
    3SG   at   L.MED
    'he **(was) there**' [080922-010a-CvNF.0256]

(110) de   **masi**   di   situ
    3SG   still   at   L.MED
    'he (was) **still** there' [Elicited MY131105.002]

(111) de   **ada**   tidor   di   situ
    3SG   exist   sleep   at   L.MED
    'he **is** sleep**ing** there' [Elicited MY131105.003]

11.4.2. Two-argument existential clauses

In two-argument existential clauses, *ada* 'exist' links both core arguments. This type
of existential clause expresses possession of an indefinite possessum. As shown in
(112) and (113), the possessor noun phrase takes the subject slot and the possessum
noun phrase takes the direct object slot, such that 'POSSESSOR EXISTs POSSESSUM' or
'POSSESSOR has a POSSESSUM'. In (112) *ada* 'exist' links the possessor *sa* '1SG' with
the possessum *ana* 'child' which gives the possessive reading 'I have children'. The
possessum can be encoded by a bare noun as in (112), or by a noun phrase such as
dia punya jin 'her genies' in (113).[223]

(112) **sa   ada   ana**,   jadi   sa   kasi   untuk   sa   pu   sodara
    1SG   exist child   so   1SG   give   for   1SG   POSS   sibling
    '**I have children**, so I gave (one) to my relative' [081006-024-CvEx.0010]

(113) prempuang   iblis   itu   **ada   dia   punya   jin**
    woman   devil   D.DIST   exist   3SG   POSS   genie
    [About evil spirits taking on the form of women:] 'that woman spirit **has
    her (own) genies**' [081006-022-CvEx.0053]

Cross-linguistically, Stassen (2011b) identifies five major types of predicate
possession: Have-Possessive, Oblique Possessive, Genitive Possessive, Topic
Possessive, and Conjunctional Possessive. In terms of this classification, the

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[223] For an alternative strategy to express possession of an indefinite possessum see §12.2
   (nominal predicates).

existential possessive constructions in (112) to (113) are best explained as Topic Possessives.[224] According to Stassen (2009: 219),

> [in] a standard Topic Possessive, the possessee is the subject of the be-verb. […] The possessor is constructed as a sentential topic and may or may not be marked as such, for example by sentence-initial position …

Following this analysis, an alternative translation for the possessive construction *sa ada ana* 'I have children' in (112) would be: '(as for) me, children exist'.

11.4.3.   Summary

In Papuan Malay, existential clauses are formed with the existential verb *ada* 'exist'. Syntactically, two clause types can be distinguished: intransitive clauses with one core argument, and transitive clauses with two core arguments. Table 6 gives an overview of the different constructions and their functions, with one-argument clauses given in (1) and two-argument clauses in (2).

In one-argument clauses, *ada* 'exist' precedes the theme expression when this is pragmatically indefinite or nonidentifiable, as in (1a). This construction conveys the existence or availability of an entity. When the theme is definite or identifiable, *ada* 'exist' follows it, as in (1b). This construction asserts the existence of an already established theme or denotes possession of a definite/identifiable possessum. In two-argument clauses, *ada* 'exist' links the subject and direct object arguments. This type of existential clause indicates possession of an indefinite possessum, as in (2).

Table 6:   Overview of existential clause constructions

1. One-argument existential clauses	
a. *ada* 'exist' precedes indefinite/nonidentifiable THEME	
ada THEME 'a THEME exists'	Existence
'a THEME is available'	Availability
b. *ada* 'exist' follows definite/identifiable theme	
THEME *ada* 'the THEME exists'	Existence
'POSSESSOR has the POSSESSUM'	Possession
2. Two-argument existential clauses	
Possession of an indefinite possessum	
SUBJECT *ada* OBJECT 'POSSESSOR has a POSSESSUM'	

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[224] As for the remaining four types of possessive constructions, the data in the present corpus indicate the following: (1) the Have-Possessive is formed with the ditransitive verb *punya* 'have' (see (1) in §9.1), and the Genitive Possessive is used to encode possessive relations in which the possessum has a definite reading (see (104) and (105) in §11.4.1; see also Chapter 9). The Oblique and Conjunctional Possessive do not exist in Papuan Malay.

11.5. Comparative clauses

Comparative clauses with gradable predicates involve "two participants being compared, and the property in terms of which they are compared" (Dixon 2008: 788), as illustrated in (114) and (115). The two participants being compared are the COMPAREE, that is, the object of comparison, and the STANDARD of comparison, in Dixon's (2008) terminology. When the standard is expressed in a prepositional phrase, the preposition serves as the MARK of the comparison. The property attributed to the comparee and standard is the PARAMETER of comparison. The parameter is marked with an INDEX of comparison which signals the "ordering relation" between the comparee and the standard "to the degree or amount to which they possess some property" (Kennedy 2006: 690–691).

Degree-marking and identity-marking comparative clauses

(114)   COMPAREE   INDEX   PARAMETER   MARK   STANDARD
        dia   **lebi**   **tinggi**   dari   saya
        3SG   more   be.high   from   1SG
        'he/she is **taller** than me' (Lit. 'be **more tall** from me') [Elicited BR111011.002]

(115)   COMPAREE   PARAMETER   INDEX   MARK   STANDARD
        de   **sombong**   **sama**   deng   ko
        3SG   be.arrogant   be.same   with   2SG
        'she'll be **as arrogant as** you (are)' (Lit. 'be **arrogant same** with you') [081006-005-Cv.0002]

Degree-marking clauses, expressing the notion of superiority, as in (114), inferiority, or superlative, are discussed in §11.5.1. Identity-marking clauses, signaling similarity, as in (115), or dissimilarity, are described in §11.5.2. Both clause types differ in terms of their word order. In degree-marking clauses the parameter follows the index, while in identity-marking clauses the parameter precedes the index or is omitted.

11.5.1. Degree-marking comparative clauses

Degree-marking comparative clauses convey the notions of superiority, inferiority, and superlative in the sense of 'less than', 'more than' and 'most', respectively, such that 'COMPAREE is more/less/most PARAMETER (than STANDARD)'. In this type of comparative clause, the parameter follows the index, as illustrated in the superiority clause in (114). The following constituents serve as index: the grading adverb *lebi* 'more' signals superiority while *paling* 'most' marks superlative; the bivalent verb *kurang* 'lack' marks inferiority. The standard can be stated overtly, as in (116) and (117), or be omitted as in (118) to (121).

In clauses with an overt standard, the standard is expressed in a prepositional phrase which is introduced with the elative preposition *dari* 'from', as illustrated in (116) and (117). This preposition serves as the mark of the comparison. In the present corpus, however, degree-marking clauses with an overt standard are rare. The corpus contains only the two superiority clauses, one of which is given in (116).

Inferiority clauses with an overt standard are also possible, as shown with the elicited example in (117). Superlative clauses with an overt standard do not exist.

> Superiority and inferiority clauses with overt standard

(116)   di   klas   itu   dia   **lebi besar** dari smua ana~ana di   dalam
        at   class D.DIST 3SG   more be.big from all   RDP~child at   inside

   'in that class he's **bigger** than all the (other) kids in it' [081109-003-JR.0001]

(117)   saya   **kurang tinggi** dari   dia
        1SG   lack   be.high from   3SG

   'I am **shorter** than him/her' (Lit. '**lack being tall**') [Elicited BR111011.001]

Most often, the standard is elided in degree-marking clauses, as it is usually known from the discourse, as in the examples in (118) to (121). The superiority clause in (118) is part of a conversation about a village mayors' meeting which had been delayed several times. The speaker criticizes the fact that the mayors accepted this delay in spite of the fact that they had more authority than the elided standard 'those who caused the delay'. Likewise, in (119) to (121) the standard of comparison is known from the preceding discourse. Besides, the example in (121) shows that a superlative comparison can be reinforced with the degree adverb *skali* 'very'.

> Degree-marking clauses with omitted standard

(118)   kam   punya   fungsi   wewenang   **lebi   besar**   Ø
        2PL   POSS   function   authority   more   be.big

   [About a mayors' meeting:] 'your function (and) authority is **bigger** (than that of those who caused the delay)' [081008-003-Cv.0056]

(119)   … karna   itu   **kurang   bagus**   Ø
          because   D.DIST   lack   be.good

   '… because those (old ways) are **less good** (than our new ways)' (Lit. '**lack being good**') [080923-013-CvEx.0010]

(120)   puri   tu   **paling   besar**   Ø
        anchovy-like.fish   D.DIST   most   be.big

   'that anchovy-like fish is **the biggest** (among the larger pile of fish)' [080927-003-Cv.0002]

(121)   Aris   **paling   tinggi**   skali   Ø
        Aris   most   be.high   very

   'Aris is **the very tallest** (among the two of you)' [080922-001b-CvPh.0026]

In the present corpus, inferiority clauses formed with *kurang* 'lack' occur much less often than superiority clauses with *lebi* 'more'. Instead of stating that the comparee is inferior to the standard in terms of a specific quality, as in (117), repeated as (122), speakers prefer to use a superiority clause which asserts that the comparee is superior to the standard, as in (114), repeated as (123).

Inferiority versus superiority clauses

(122) saya **kurang tinggi** dari dia
      1SG lack   be.high from 3SG

      'I am **shorter** than him/her' (Lit. '**lack being tall**') [Elicited BR111011.001]

(123) dia **lebi tinggi** dari saya
      3SG more be.high from 1SG

      'he/she is **taller** than I am' [Elicited BR111011.002]

Alternatively, the attested inferiority clauses could be interpreted as instances of mitigation used for politeness. This mitigating function is also illustrated with the inferiority clauses in (124) and (125): the speakers assert that the respective referents possess less of the positive qualities of being *ajar* 'taught, educated' or *hati~hati* 'careful', instead of stating that they are 'impolite' or 'careless'.

Inferiority clauses: Mitigation function

(124) Klara **kurang ajar**
      Klara lack   teach

      'Klara was **impolite**' (Lit. '**lack being educated**') [081025-009a-Cv.0045]

(125) itu   karna   **kurang hati~hati**
      D.DIST because lack   RDP~liver

      'that (happened) because (I) was **careless**' (Lit. '**lack being careful**')
      [081011-017-Cv.0009]

For the most part, mitigating inferiority constructions are fixed expressions, such as the *kurang* 'lack' constructions presented in (119), (124) and (125).

    Superlative constructions have the additional function of expressing 'high degrees of parameter', as illustrated in (126) and (127). In (126), the superlative construction *paling emosi* 'feel most angry (about)' conveys that the speaker was 'very very angry'. Likewise in (127), the superlative construction signals 'high degrees of parameter'. The superlative clauses in (126) and (127) do not involve a comparison, unlike the superlative constructions in (120) and (121).

Superlative clauses: 'High degrees of parameter'

(126) **paling emosi**
      most   feel.angry(.about)

      '(I) **felt very very angry**' (Lit. '**most angry**') [081025-009a-Cv.0154]

(127) de   **paling takut**
      3SG most   feel.afraid(.of)

      'he **felt very very afraid**' (Lit. '**feel most afraid**') [081115-001a-Cv.0060]

In summary, the scheme for degree-marking comparative constructions in Papuan Malay is 'COMPAREE − INDEX − PARAMETER (− MARK − STANDARD)'.

11.5.2. Identity-marking comparative clauses

Identity-marking comparative clauses express similarity or dissimilarity between a comparee and a standard, in the sense of 'same as' or 'different from', respectively. In this type of comparative clause, the index follows the parameter, as illustrated with the similarity clause in (115), repeated as (128).

Identity-marking comparative clauses

(128) | COMPAREE | PARAMETER | INDEX | MARK | STANDARD |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| de | **sombong** | **sama** | deng | ko |
| 3SG | be.arrogant | be.same | with | 2SG |

'she'll be **as arrogant as** you (are)' [081006-005-Cv.0002]

Similarity comparisons are presented in (129) to (134) and dissimilarity comparisons in (137) and (138).

In similarity clauses, the index is the stative verb *sama* 'be same', and the mark is the comitative preposition ***deng(an)*** 'with'. The standard can be encoded in two ways. One option is to express it in a prepositional phrase, as in (128) to (130) (the second possibility is illustrated in (131) to (133)). In the similarity comparison in (129), the comparee and standard are considered to be similar in terms of a specific property, such that 'COMPAREE is as PARAMETER as STANDARD'. If, however, the parameter is known from the context, it can be omitted, such that 'COMPAREE is the same as STANDARD (in terms of an understood PARAMETER)', as in (130).

Similarity clauses: Standard is expressed in a prepositional phrase

(129) orang   itu   **ganas**   **sama**   deng
       person   D.DIST   feel.furious(.about)   be.same   with

       dong   pu   penunggu
       3PL   POSS   tutelary.spirit

       'those people were **as ferocious as** their tutelary spirits' [081025-006-Cv.0288]

(130) de   **Ø sama**   dengan   kitong   juga
       3SG   be.same   with   1PL   also

       'she is also **the same as** we are (in terms of **being foreign**)' [081010-001-Cv.0061]

Alternatively, the standard can be encoded as the clausal subject together with the comparee, such that 'COMPAREE & STANDARD are equally PARAMETER', as in (131) to (133). The standard and comparee can be encoded by a coordinate noun phrase, as in (131), or a plural personal pronoun, as in (132). Again, the parameter can be omitted if it is understood from the context, such that 'COMPAREE & STANDARD are the same (in terms of an understood PARAMETER), as in (133).

Similarity clauses: Standard is encoded as the clausal subject together with the comparee

(131) sa   deng mace   tu   **cocok**   **sama**
       1SG   with woman D.DIST be.suitable be.same
       'I and that woman are **equally well-matched**' [081011-022-Cv.0016]

(132) kam dua pu   mulut   **besar** **sama**
       2PL two POSS   mouth   be.big be.same
       'the two of yours mouth is **equally big**' [080922-004-Cv.0033]

(133) prempuang laki~laki   **Ø**   **sama**
       woman   RDP~husband   be.same
       'women (and) men are **the same** (in terms of **having leadership qualities**)'
       [081011-023-Cv.0244]

Not only the parameter, but also the standard can be omitted if it is understood from the context. In (134), for instance, the omitted standard is 'the Yali children', while the omitted parameter has to do with the fact that both the comparee and standard are adventurous and would rather roam the forest than study.

Similarity clauses with omitted standard and parameter

(134) misionaris~misionaris dong punya ana~ana   juga **sama**   saja
       RDP~missionary   3PL   POSS   RDP~child also be.same just
       'the missionaries' children are just **the same** (as the Yali children in terms
       of **being adventurous**)' [081011-022-Cv.0280]

Dissimilarity clauses are formed without an overt parameter. Instead, the comparee and standard are compared in terms of an understood attribute or quality, such that 'COMPAREE is different from STANDARD (in terms of an understood PARAMETER)', as illustrated in (137) to (138).

The index is the stative verb *laing* 'be different' or *beda* 'be different', and the mark is elative *dari* 'from' or comitative *deng(an)* 'with'. Dissimilarity comparisons are typically formed with *laing dari* 'be different from' as in (135). They signal that the two participants are dissimilar in terms of their overall nature. If speakers want to indicate that the two participants diverge from each other in terms of specific attributes or features rather than their overall nature, they use a dissimilarity clause formed with *beda dengan* 'be different with'. This is demonstrated with the elicited example in (136), which contrasts with the clause in (135). Another example is the dissimilarity clause in (137). Clauses formed with *beda dari* 'be different from' are also acceptable but considered to be Indonesian-like rather than typical Papuan Malay. Clauses formed with *laing dengan* 'be different from' are unacceptable.

Dissimilarity clauses: 'COMPAREE is different from STANDARD'

(135) sifat   ini   **laing**   **dari**   ko
       nature D.PROX be.different from   2SG
       'this disposition (of mine) is **different from** you (in every aspect)' [081110-
       008-CvNP.0089]

(136)   sifat   ini   **beda**   **dengan**   ko
        nature   D.PROX   be.different   with   2SG
        'this disposition (of mine) is **different from** you (in terms of some specific
        aspect)' [Elicited BR111011.008]

(137)   orang   Papua   **beda**   **dengan**   orang   Indonesia
        person   Papua   be.different   with   person   Indonesia
        'Papuans are **different from** Indonesians (in terms of their physical
        features)' [081029-002-Cv.0009]

If the comparee is understood from the context, it can be omitted, as shown in (138).

        Dissimilarity clauses with omitted comparee

(138)   banyak,   tapi   Ø **beda**   **dengan**   Jayapura   punya
        many   but   be.different   with   Jayapura   POSS
        [Comparing different melinjo varieties:] '(there're) lots (of melinjo), but
        (they're) **different from** Jayapura's (melinjo in terms of **being bitter**)'
        [080923-004-Cv.0010]

In summary, the scheme for identity-marking comparative constructions in Papuan
Malay is '(COMPAREE – PARAMETER) – INDEX – MARK – STANDARD'.

11.5.3.   Summary

Papuan Malay employs two structurally distinct types of comparative constructions:
(1) degree-marking clauses, and (2) identity-marking clauses.

   Degree-marking clauses signal superiority, inferiority, or superlative. The
following constituents serve as index: *lebi* 'more' (superiority), *kurang* 'lack'
(inferiority), and *paling* 'most' (superlative). The mark is elative *dari* 'from'. The
index precedes the parameter. The standard together with its mark can be omitted.
The basic scheme for this type of comparative clauses is given in (139).

        Scheme for degree-marking clauses

(139)   COMPAREE   INDEX   PARAMETER   (MARK   STANDARD)

Identity-marking clauses express similarity or dissimilarity. In similarity clauses the
index is *sama* 'be same' and the mark is comitative *dengan* 'with'. In dissimilarity
clauses, the index is *laing* 'be different' in combination with the mark *dari* 'from',
or *beda* 'be different' in combination with the mark *dengan* 'with'. Clauses formed
with *laing dari* 'be different from' indicate overall dissimilarity, whereas clauses
with *beda dengan* 'be different from' signal dissimilarity in terms of some specific
features. In identity-marking clauses the index follows the parameter, which is
optional. The standard is typically encoded in a prepositional phrase, with the
preposition serving as the mark of comparison. This scheme for identity-marking
clauses is illustrated in (140). In similarity clauses, the standard can also be encoded
as the clausal subject together with the comparee, as shown in (141).

Schemes for identity-marking clauses

(140)   (COMPAREE   PARAMETER)   INDEX   MARK   STANDARD

(141)   COMPAREE & STANDARD   (PARAMETER)   INDEX

11.6.   Summary

This chapter has described different types of verbal clauses. The most pertinent distinction is that between intransitive and transitive clauses. Given, however, that Papuan Malay verbs allow but do not require core arguments, there is no one-to-one correspondence between valency and transitivity. Trivalent verbs most often occur in monotransitive or intransitive clauses rather than in ditransitive clauses. Along similar lines, bivalent verbs are very commonly used in intransitive clauses.

Also discussed are causative clauses. They are the result of a valency-increasing operation. Papuan Malay causatives are monoclausal V_1V_2 constructions in which causative V_1 encodes the notion of cause while V_2 expresses the notion of effect. Papuan Malay has two causative verbs which usually produce "causer-controlled" causatives: trivalent *kasi* 'give', and bivalent *biking* 'make'. While *kasi*-causatives stress the outcome of the manipulation, *biking*-causatives focus on the manipulation of circumstances, which leads to the effect. Causatives with *kasi* 'give' can have mono- or bivalent bases, while *biking*-causatives always have monovalent bases.

Another type of verbal clauses is reciprocal clauses, formed with the reciprocity marker *baku* 'RECP'. In these clauses, two predications are presented as one, with two participants equivalently acting upon each other. In simple reciprocals, both participants are encoded as the clausal subject. In discontinuous reciprocals, the second participant is expressed with a comitative phrase. Both clause types typically result in a reduction in syntactic valency. The exception is simple constructions with a sociative reading which are characterized by valency retention.

Also discussed are existential clauses formed with the existential verb *ada* 'exist'. Two clause types can be distinguished: intransitive clauses with one core argument, and transitive clauses with two core arguments. In one-argument clauses, *ada* 'exist' precedes or follows the subject, or theme, depending on its definiteness. Existential clauses express existence, availability, or possession.

A final type of verbal clauses discussed in this chapter is degree-marking and identity-marking comparative clauses. Degree-marking clauses denote superiority, inferiority, or superlative. In these clauses, the parameter follows the index, the comparee takes the subject slot, and the optional standard is expressed in a prepositional phrase. Identity-marking clauses designate similarity or dissimilarity. In these constructions, the parameter either precedes the index or is omitted. The comparee takes the subject slot while the standard is usually expressed with a prepositional phrase. In similarity clauses, the standard can also be encoded as the clausal subject together with comparee.

12. Nonverbal clauses

This chapter discusses different types of nonverbal predicate clauses in Papuan Malay.

In nonverbal predicate clauses the main semantic content is not conveyed by a verb or verbal phrase. Instead, the "semantic predicate is expressed by a word or phrase of some other category" (Kroeger 2005: 48). In Papuan Malay verbal clauses, the predicate typically follows the subject and, in transitive clauses, precedes the direct object. In negated verbal clauses, the negator precedes the predicate.

Papuan Malay has three syntactically distinct types of nonverbal predicate clauses, namely, nominal, numeral/quantifier, and prepositional predicate clauses. Nominal predicates have ascriptive or equative function and also encode possession. Numeral and quantifier predicates have attributive function. Prepositional predicates encode locational or nonlocational relations between a FIGURE and the GROUND. Before discussing the three types of nonverbal clauses in more detail, §12.1 explores which constituents can fill the subject slot in nonverbal clauses. Nominal predicate clauses are described in §12.2, numeral and quantifier clauses in §12.3, and prepositional clauses in §12.4. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §12.5. (Negation of nonverbal clauses is discussed in §13.1.)

12.1. Nonverbal clause subjects

In nonverbal clauses, the subject can be a noun or noun phrase, a personal pronoun, or a demonstrative, as shown in (1) to (6). Alternatively, the subject can be elided if it is understood from the context, as shown in (7) and (8).

In the nominal clause in (1) and the quantifier clause in (3), the subject is a noun phrase or a noun, respectively. In the nominal clause in (2) and the prepositional clause in (5) the subjects are encoded as personal pronouns. And in numeral clause in (4) and the prepositional clause in (6), the subjects are expressed with demonstratives. (For a nominal clause with a demonstrative subject see (12) in §12.2, for a numeral clause with a personal pronoun subject see (19) in §12.3, and for a prepositional phrase with a noun phrase subject see (24) in §12.4.)

Subjects in nonverbal clauses

(1) **orang ini** muka baru
     person D.PROX face be.new

     '**this person** is a new person' [080919-004-NP.0079]

(2) **ko** prempuang Jayapura, de bilang, **ko** prempuang Demta
     2SG woman Jayapura 3SG say 2SG woman Demta

     ''**you**'re a Jayapura girl', he says, '**you**'re a Demta girl'' [081006-025-CvEx.0014]

(3) … **picaang** juga banyak
     splinter also many

     '[at the beach] there are also lots of **splinters**' (Lit. '**the splinters** (are) also many') [080917-006-CvHt.0008]

(4) **itu**   satu saja blum   brapa   …
     D.DIST one   just   not.yet   how.many
     [Conversation about cloths as a bride-price:] '**that** is just one (cloth and)
     not yet several (cloths) …' [081006-029-CvEx.0011]

(5) baru   Sarles ini   **de**   di   blakang   bapa
     and.then Sarles D.PROX   3SG at   backside   father
     'but then Sarles here, **he** was behind father' [081025-009b-Cv.0014]

(6) a   **itu**   di   Wakde   sana
     ah!   D.DIST   at   Wakde   L.DIST
     'ah, **that**'s in Wakde over there' [081006-016-Cv.0030]

If the subject can be inferred from the context it can also be elided. This is illustrated
with the two nominal clauses (7) and the prepositional clause in (8). In the two
nominal clauses in (7), the predicates **kitong pu ana** 'our child' and **tong punya
dara** 'our blood' are co-referential with **de** '3SG'. As the subject was already
introduced at the beginning of the utterance, it is omitted in the nominal clause. In
the prepositional clause in (8), the elided subject is **ko** '2SG', that is the addressee.

Elision of subjects in nonverbal clauses

(7) **de**   minta   apa,   kitong kasi   karna   ∅   kitong   punya ana
     3SG   request   what   1PL   give   because   1PL   POSS   child
     … ∅   masi   **tong**   **punya**   **dara**
         still   1PL   POSS   blood
     '**she** requests something, we give (it to her), because (**she**' s) our child, …
     (**she**'s) still our blood' [081006-025-CvEx.0020/0022]

(8) wa,   sa   pikir   ∅   masi   di   Arbais?
     wow!   1SG   think   still   at   Arbais
     [Addressing a guest:] 'wow!, I thought (**you**) were still in Arbais' [081011-
     011-Cv.0044]

12.2. Nominal predicate clauses

In nonverbal clauses with nominal predicates, a noun or a noun phrase conveys the
main semantic content.

In Papuan Malay, nominal clauses have three functions: (1) to describe the
subject, (2) to identify the subject, and (3) to express possession of an indefinite
possessum. Nominal predicates always receive a static reading.

Nominal predicates conveying a description of the subject are also referred to as
"ascriptive predications" (Hengeveld 1992: 101), as they describe a particular entity
that is denoted by the subject of the clause such that 'S is a member of N/NP'. That is,
an ascriptive clause asserts that this entity belongs to the class of entities specified in
the nonreferential nominal predicate. By contrast, nominal predicates expressing
identification are "equative predicates". They are referential and equate the
particular entity denoted by the subject of the clause to the entity specified in the
predicate such that 'S is N/NP'. (See Hengeveld 1992: 101, and Payne 1997: 105.) In

nominal clauses conveying the notion of possession the subject embodies the semantic role of possessor while the predicate functions as indefinite possessum such that 'POSSESSOR has a POSSESSUM'.

While ascriptive, equative, and possessive nominal predicates are semantically different, Papuan Malay does not distinguish them in terms of their syntactic or intonational features; all three predicate types are formed by juxtaposition of two noun phrases with the subject preceding the predicate. This is illustrated with the ascriptive clauses in (9) and (10), the equative clauses in (11) and (12), and the possessive clauses in (13) to (16).

In the ascriptive clause in (9), the subject *saya* '1SG' is asserted to belong to the class of *manusia* 'human being'. In the ascriptive clause in (10), the subject *ko* '2SG' is part of the class of *prempuang Demta* 'Demta girls'. The equative clauses in (11) identify the predicate *ade* 'younger sibling' with the subject *dia* '3SG'. This example also shows that nonverbal predicates can be modified with adverbs. Along similar lines, the equative clause in (12) identifies the predicate *klawar* 'cave bat' with the subject *itu* 'D.DIST'.

Ascriptive clauses

(9)   misalnya   saya   **manusia**   **biasa**
        for.example   1SG   human.being   be.usual
        [About humans and evil spirits:] 'for example, I **am a normal human being**' [081006-022-CvEx.0025]

(10)   ko   **prempuang Demta**, ko   pulang   ke Demta
        2SG   woman   Demta 2SG go.home   to Demta
        'you **are a Demta girl**, go home to Demta!' [081006-025-CvEx.0014]

Equative clauses

(11)   dia   masi   **ade**
        3SG   still   ySb
        'she's still (my) **younger sister**' [080927-009-CvNP.0038]

(12)   o,   itu   **klawar**
        oh!   D.DIST cave.bat
        'oh, that **was a bat**' [081023-001-Cv.0041]

The nominal clauses in (13) to (16) express possession of an indefinite possessum.[225] In (13), the subject *saya* '1SG' has the semantic role of possessor, while the predicate *empat ana* 'four children' functions as the possessum. In (14), the possessor *de* '3SG' is juxtaposed to the possessum *ana kecil* 'small child'. The possessive clauses in (13) and (14) encode inalienable possession relations. The clauses in (15) and (16), by contrast, denote alienable possession relations, namely between a human referent and animate nonhuman *ikang* 'fish' in (15) and inanimate *glang puti* 'silver/tin bracelets' in (16).

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[225] Alternatively, possession of an indefinite possessum can be encoded by an existential clause with *ada* 'exist' (for details see §11.4.2). Possession of a definite possessum is encoded by an adnominal possessive construction (for details see Chapter 9 and §11.4.1).

Possessive clauses: Possession of an indefinite possessum

(13) saya **empat ana**
      1SG   four   child

      'I **(have) four children**' [081006-024-CvEx.0001]

(14) baru   de   **ana   kecil**   lagi
      and.then 3SG   child   be.small   again

      'moreover, she **(has) a small child** again' [081010-001-Cv.0070][226]

(15) de   **satu** | sa   **satu**
      3SG   one   1SG   one

      [Joke about two fishermen:] 'he **(has) one (fish)**, I **(have) one (fish)**'
      [081109-011-JR.0008]

(16) orang   Biak   kang   **glang   puti**
      person Biak   you.know bracelet   be.white

      [About bride-price customs:] 'you know, the Biak people **(have) silver/tin
      bracelets**' [081006-029-CvEx.0007]

These examples also show that the predicate of a nominal clause can be a noun such
as **kaka** 'older sibling' in (11), or **klawar** 'cave bat' in (12), or a noun phrase, such
as **manusia biasa** 'normal human being' in (9) or **empat ana** 'four children' in (13).

If speakers want to emphasize the predicate, they can front it as for instance
orang pintar 'smart person' in (17). The predicate is set-off by a boundary
intonation in that the stressed penultimate syllable of the verbal modifier **pintar** 'be
clever' is marked with a slight increase in pitch ("´"). In the second clause in (17)
the speaker repeats his statement, this time however returning to the canonical
subject-predicate word order.

Fronted nominal predicates

(17) trus **orang píntar** dia, dia   orang   pintar
      next person be.clever 3SG   3SG   person   be.clever

      'and then **a smart person** he is, he's a smart person' [081029-005-Cv.0169]

12.3. Numeral and quantifier predicate clauses

In numeral and quantifier clauses, a numeral or quantifier conveys the main
semantic content; again, these predicates receive a static reading. As in nominal
clauses, the subject precedes the predicate. Structurally, numeral and quantifier
predicates are identical to noun phrases with postposed numeral or quantifier (see
§8.3). Semantically, numeral and quantifier clauses have attributive function in that
they express specific properties of the subject, namely those of number and quantity,
such that 'S is NUM/QT' as illustrated in (18) to (21).

In (18), a husband relates that in a neighboring village a woman gave birth to a
snake. His wife contradicts this statement, asserting that it was not one snake but
that the **ular** 'snake' were **dua** 'two'. The analysis of the **dua** 'two' as a numeral

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[226] In a different context, **de ana kecil** also receive the equative reading 'she is a small child'.

predicate and not as an adnominal modifier is confirmed by the following fact. In the context of these utterances one could insert existential *ada* 'exist' between the subject *ular* 'snake' and the predicate *dua* 'two' which would give the emphatic reading *ular ada dua* 'the snakes were indeed two' (see also §5.4.1). If *ular dua* was a noun phrase with the reading of 'two snakes', existential *ada* 'exist' would have to precede or follow the noun phrase such that *ada ular dua* 'there were two snakes' or *ular dua ada* 'the two snakes exist'. In (19) predicatively used *satu* 'one' and *dua blas* 'twelve' convey information about the numeric quantities of their respective subjects *bulang* 'moon' and *de* '3SG'. The first clause *di langit ini bulang satu* cannot be interpreted as a prepositional predicate clause (see §12.4) in which *bulang satu* functions as a noun phrase which takes the subject slot. Such a reading would imply that there are several moons with the speaker talking about one of them: *bulang satu* 'a certain moon' (see §5.9.4 for a more detailed discussion of *satu* 'one').

Numeral predicates

(18) a. Husband: dia melahirkang ular
           3SG give.birth snake

    Husband: 'she gave birth to a snake'

  b. Wife: ular **dua**
        snake two

    Wife: '**two** snakes' (Lit. 'the snakes were **two**' [081006-022-CvEx.0002-0003]

(19) di langit ini bulang **satu** tapi di kalender de **dua blas**
    at sky D.PROX month one but at calendar 3SG two tens
    'in this sky there is **one** moon, but in the calendar there are **twelve**' (Lit. 'the moon is **one** … it is **twelve**') [081109-007-JR.0002]

In (20) and (21), predicatively-used universal quantifier *banyak* 'lots of' and mid-range quantifier *sedikit* 'few' express the non-numeric quantities of their respective subjects *pisang masak itu* 'that ripe banana', and *orang Papua* 'Papuan people'.

Quantifier predicates

(20) baru dong bawa pisang masak pisang masak itu **banyak**
    and.then 3PL bring banana cook banana cook D.DIST many
    'and then they brought ripe bananas, those ripe bananas were **many**' [081006-023-CvEx.0071]

(21) orang Papua **sedikit**
    person Papua few
    'there are (only) **few** Papuan people' (Lit. '(the) Papuan people (are) **few**') [081029-005-Cv.0106]

12.4.   Prepositional predicate clauses

Nonverbal clauses with prepositional predicates convey information about the relation between a figure and a ground, such that 'FIGURE is in relation to GROUND'. The figure is encoded by the clausal subject and the ground by the complement of the prepositional phrase. This phrase is juxtaposed to the subject and functions as the clausal predicate. Semantically, two types of prepositional predicate clauses can be distinguished: locational clauses (§12.4.1), and nonlocational clauses (§12.4.2). The precise semantic relation between figure and ground is defined by the preposition that heads the prepositional phrase. (See Talmy 2000: 312.) (For a detailed discussion of prepositions and prepositional phrase see Chapter 10).

12.4.1.   Locational prepositional clauses

Locational predicate clauses typically express information about the locational relation, both spatial and figurative, between figure and ground, as shown in (22) to (26). In addition, locational predicates can have presentative function, as shown in (28). In Papuan Malay the specific kind of relation is conveyed by prepositions encoding location, namely locative *di* 'at, in', elative *dari* 'from', or allative *ke* 'to' (see also §10.1). The ground can be encoded by a common (proper) noun or a noun phrase. Unlike prepositional phrases in verbal clauses, locative *di* 'at, in' and allative *ke* 'to' cannot be omitted from prepositional clauses with nominal complements as this would result in nominal clauses with unacceptable semantics (for more details on the omission of prepositions encoding location, see §10.1.5); the exceptions are preposed prepositional clauses with locative complements, as in (28).

Locational spatial predicates denote static or dynamic relations between a figure and the ground, depending on the semantics of the preposition. In (22), locative *di* 'at, in' expresses the spatial location of the figure *dia* '3SG' at the ground *kampung* 'village'. In (23), elative *dari* 'from' conveys the motion of the figure *sa* '1SG' away from the source *Sawar*.[227] In (24) allative *ke* 'to' signals the motion of the figure *dep mama* 'her mother' towards the goal *Pante-Barat*.[228]

Static and dynamic spatial relations between figure and ground

(22)   memang   dia   **di   kampung**
        indeed   3SG   at   village
        'indeed, he was **in the village**' [080918-001-CvNP.0014]

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[227]   More frequently, however, motion away from a source is encoded by a verbal phrase such as ***kluar dari ruma*** 'left home' in the example below:
        sa   **kluar   dari   ruma**   sa   punya   orang-tua
        1SG   go.out   from   house   1SG   POSS   parent
        'I **left home**, my parents' (Lit. '**went out from** the house') [081115-001b-Cv.0045]

[228]   While this kind of prepositional predicate is not possible in English, it does occur in other languages such as colloquial German. Hence, (24) easily translates into ***ihre Mutter ist nach … Pante-Barat***.

(23) sa **dari Sawar**
     1SG from Sawar
     'I (just returned) **from Sawar**' [080927-004-CvNP.0003]

(24) dep mama **ke** ini **Pante-Barat**
     3SG:POSS mother to D.PROX Pante-Barat
     'her mother (went) **to**, what's-its-name, **Pante-Barat**' [080919-006-CvNP.025]

Locational predicates also express figurative locational relations between figure and ground. In (25), locative **di** 'at, in' conveys a figurative locational relation between the figure **saya** '1SG' and the ground **IPS satu** 'Social Sciences I'. Along similar lines, elative **dari** 'from' conveys a figurative relation in (26). This example is part of a conversation about a building project that was put on hold due to the lack of funding. The figure **smua itu** 'all that' refers to the delayed project while the ground **uang** 'money' denotes the nonspatial source from which this delay originates. Figurative predicates with allative **ke** 'to' are unattested.

     Figurative locational relation between figure and ground

(25) sa **di IPS** **satu**
     1SG at social.sciences one
     [About course tracks in high school:] 'I am **in Social Sciences I**' [081023-004-Cv.0020]

(26) smua itu **dari uang**
     all D.DIST from money
     'all that (depends) **on the money**' (Lit. '**from the money**') [080927-006-CvNP.0034]

If speakers want to emphasize the predicate, they can front it. The present corpus, however, includes only three utterances with fronted prepositional predicates, which presented in (27) to (29). In each case the locative preposition **di** 'at, in' is omitted and the complement is a locative such as proximal **sini** 'L.PROX' in (27), or medial **situ** 'L.MED' in (28) and (29). Fronted prepositional predicates with distal **sana** 'L.DIST' are also possible, but unattested in the present corpus. (For more details on the omission of prepositions encoding location, see §10.1.5.)

     Fronting of prepositional predicates

(27) **Ø sini** bua~bua banyak
        L.PROX RDP~fruit many
     '**here (EMPH)** are many different kinds of fruit (trees)' [080922-001a-CvPh.0418][229]

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[229] Alternatively, the utterance in (27) could be interpreted as a numeral predicate clause with a locational adjunct, with **bua~bua** 'RDP-fruit' as the subject, **banyak** 'many' as the predicate, and **sini** 'L.PROX' as a preposed locational adjunct, giving the literal reading 'here the various fruit (trees) are many'.

(28) sebla tida ada ruma **Ø situ** alang-alang
      side   NEG   exist house L.MED cogongrass
      'on that side aren't (any) houses, **there (EMPH)** (is only) cogongrass'
      [081025-008-Cv.0149]

(29) … **Ø situ** Natanael **Ø situ** Martin **Ø situ** Aleks
           L.MED Natanael L.MED Martin L.MED Aleks
      [Choosing among potential candidates for the upcoming local elections:]
      '[Burwas (village can have) two candidates,] **there (EMPH)** is Natanael,
      there (EMPH) is Martin, **there (EMPH)** is Aleks' [080919-001-Cv.0117]

12.4.2. Nonlocational prepositional clauses

Clauses with nonlocational predicates convey information about the nonlocational,
static relation between figure and ground. Overall, this type of prepositional clause
does not appear to be very common; the present corpus contains only few examples.

One type of nonlocational predicate is an "associative" or "comitative predicate"
(Dryer 2007a: 24). This predicate type is formed with prepositions encoding
accompaniment/instruments or goals, namely comitative ***deng(an)*** 'with' and goal
preposition ***sama*** 'to' (see also §10.2). In (30), ***deng(an)*** 'with' denotes the
accompaniment of the figure ***Roni*** by the ground ***de pu temang~temang*** 'his
friends'. In (31), ***sama*** 'to' signals the association of the implied figure ***ana*** 'child'
with the ground ***saya*** '1SG'.

Comitative predicates

(30) Roni masi **deng de pu temang~temang**
      Roni still with 3SG POSS RDP~friend
      'Roni is still **with his friends**' [081006-031-Cv.0011]

(31) hanya tiga saja **sama saya**
      only three just to 1SG
      'just only three (of my children) are **with me**' [081006-024-CvEx.0001]

Another type of nonlocational predicate is the "simulative predicate" (Dryer 2007a:
248), which is formed with prepositions encoding comparisons, that is, simulative
sperti 'similar to' and ***kaya*** 'like' and equative ***sebagey*** 'as' (see also §10.3.1 and
§10.3.2). In (32) ***sperti*** 'like' establishes a simulative relation between the figure ***de***
'3SG' and the ground ***Sofia***. In (33), ***sebagey*** 'as' expresses equatability between the
figure ***sa*** '1SG' and the ground ***kepala acara*** 'as the head of the festivity'.

Simulative predicates

(32) de **sperti Sofia**
      3SG similar.to Sofia
      'she's **similar to Sofia**' [081115-001a-Cv.0283]

(33) paling sa tra kerja, sa **sebagey kepala acara**
     most 1SG NEG work 1SG as head festivity
     [About organizing a festivity:] 'most likely I won't (have to) work, I'll be **the head of the festivity**' (Lit. '**as the head …**') [080919-004-NP.0068]

A third type of nonlocational clauses is the "benefactive predicate" (Dryer 2007a: 248), which is formed with the benefactive preposition ***untuk*** 'for' (see also §10.2.3). In (34), for instance, ***untuk*** 'for' conveys a benefactive relation between the figure ***itu*** 'D.DIST' and the ground ***masarakat*** 'community'. In the present corpus, however, benefactive predicates are rare.

     Benefactive predicates

(34) uang besarnya itu **untuk masarakat** tapi pejabat
     money be.big:3POSSR D.DIST for community but official
     yang makang banyak
     REL eat many
     'most of that money, that's **for the community** but (it's) the officials who take most (of it)' [081029-004-Cv.0002]

12.5. Summary

Papuan Malay employs three syntactically distinct types of nonverbal predicate clauses, namely nominal, numeral/quantifier, and prepositional predicate clauses. These clauses are formed by juxtaposition of the two main constituents; no copula intervenes. The three clause types also have distinct semantic functions. Nominal predicates have ascriptive or equative function and also encode possession. Numeral and quantifier predicates have attributive function. Prepositional predicates encode locational or nonlocational relations between a FIGURE and the GROUND.

13. Negative, interrogative, and directive clauses

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

13.1. Negative clauses

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

13.1.1. Negation with *tida*/*tra* 'NEG'

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

13.1.1.1. Negation of verbal clauses

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

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

Negation of verbal clauses with *tida*/*tra* 'NEG'

(1)	nanti	dia	pikir	saya	**tida**	**baik**	… nanti	de
	very.soon	3SG	think	1SG	NEG	be.good	very.soon	3SG

	pikir	kitong	**tra**	**baik**
	think	1PL	NEG	be.good

'very soon he'll think that I'm **not good**' … very soon he'll think that we are **not good**' [080919-004-NP.0052-0053]

(2)	de	**tra**	datang	… de	**tida**	datang
	3SG	NEG	come	3SG	NEG	come

'she did **not** come … she did **not** come' [081010-001-Cv.0204-0205]

(3)   sa   **tida pukul**   dorang
         1SG   NEG   hit   3PL
         'I **don't hit** them' [080917-010-CvEx.0048]

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

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

13.1.1.2.   Negation of existential clauses

Existential clauses are also negated with *tida*/*tra* 'NEG', as illustrated in (6) to (10).
Examples for negated one-argument clauses are given in (6) to (8), and for two-
argument clauses in (9) to (10). (Existential clauses are discussed in detail in §11.4.)
    The respective one-argument clauses in (6) and (7) illustrate negated existence
and negated availability of indefinite/nonidentifiable theme expressions. The
example in (8) demonstrates negation of a definite/identifiable theme expression.
One-argument clauses denoting negative possession of a definite/identifiable
possessum are not attested in the present corpus; instead, the preferred type of
existential clause to express negative possession are two-argument clauses, as shown
in (9) and (10).

         Negation of one-argument existential clauses with *tida*/*tra* 'NEG'

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

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

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

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

         Negation of two-argument existential clauses denoting possession

(9)   sodara prempuang itu   **tida   ada**   ana
         sibling woman   D.DIST NEG   exist child
         'that sister **doesn't have** children' [081006-024-CvEx.0005]

(10)   dong   **tra**   **ada**   air
         3PL   NEG   exist   water
         'they **didn't have** water' [080919-008-CvNP.0013]

13.1.1.3.   Negation of prepositional predicate clauses

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

         Negation of nonverbal prepositional clauses with **tida**/**tra** 'NEG'

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

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

13.1.1.4.   Negation of polar questions

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

         Negator **tida**/**tra** 'NEG' in responses to polar questions

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

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

13.1.2.   Negation with *bukang* **'NEG'**

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

     Nonverbal clauses are typically negated with **bukang** 'NEG', which always
precedes the nonverbal predicate. Prepositional predicates are the exception; they

are negated with *tida*/*tra* 'NEG' (see §13.1.1.3). In (15) and (16), *bukang* 'NEG' negates nominal predicates, and in (17) a quantifier predicate. (Nonverbal clauses are discussed in detail in Chapter 12.)

Negation of nonverbal clauses with *bukang* 'NEG'

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

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

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

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

Contrastive negation with *bukang* 'NEG'

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

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

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

(21)　　**bukang**　dong　taru　ijin　　　　tapi　dong　taru　hadir
　　　　NEG　　　3PL　　put　permission　but　3PL　　put　attend
　　　　[About students who falsified the attendance book:] '(the situation is) **not** (that) they wrote down (their absences as) permitted (absences), but they wrote (them) down as (having) attended' [081023-004-Cv.0018]

This function of ***bukang*** 'NEG' to signal contrastive negation has also been noted for Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 278–279), Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 59), Ternate Malay (Litamahuputty 1994: 224–225), and standard Malay and standard Indonesian (Himmelmann 2005: 127 and Kroeger 2012).

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

Contradiction of an interlocutor's statements with ***bukang*** 'NEG'

(22)   Speaker-2: **bukang**, de   punya   pacar
                    NEG   3SG   POSS   lover

[Speaker-1: '(it was) her husband!']
Speaker-2: '**no**, (it was) her lover' [081006-022-CvEx.0043-0045]

Finally, speakers employ ***bukang*** 'NEG' to give contrastive negative responses to polar questions, as in the elicited example in (23). This example contrasts with the one in (13) in which the speaker uses ***tida*** 'NEG' to respond to the same question as in (23). While ***tida*** 'NEG' in (13) merely negates a verbal construction, ***bukang*** 'NEG' in (23) marks contrastive negation, similar to its uses in (18) to (21). Again, speakers can add the correct response as in (23) or reply with bare ***bukang*** 'NEG'. (For more details on polar questions see §13.2.2.1.)

Contrastive uses of ***bukang*** 'NEG' in responses to polar questions

(23)   Speaker-2: **bukang**!, dia   balap
                    NEG   3SG   race

[About an accident:] [Speaker-1: 'what did he do? (was he) drunk?']
Speaker-2: '**no**!, (it happened because) he was racing (his motorbike)'
[Elicited MY131126.001]

13.2.   Interrogative clauses

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

13.2.1.   Content questions

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

13.2.2.   Polar questions

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

13.2.2.1.   Unmarked neutral polar questions

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

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

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

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

Polar questions: Positive answers

(24)   a.
       ▁▁ ▁▁ ▁▁ ▁
              ▁

    Speaker-1: trek de   isi   minyak?
           truck 3SG fill   oil
    Speaker-1: 'does the truck load gasoline?'

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

(25)   a. Speaker-1: o,   Ise sakit?
            oh!   Ise be.sick
    Speaker-1: 'oh, is Ise sick?'

    b.   Speaker-2: **mm-mm**
                         mhm

           Speaker-1: '**mhm**!' [080919-006-CvNP.0030-0031]

(26)   a.   Speaker-1: ade hari ini   ko   tra   skola?
                             ySb   day D.PROX 2SG NEG go.to.school

           Speaker-1: 'younger sister, don't you go to school today?'

    b.   Speaker-2: **yo**, sa   minta   ijin
                             yes 1SG request permission

           Speaker-2: '**yes**, I asked for a leave of absence' (Lit. 'request permission (to be absent from school)') [080922-001a-CvPh.0093-0094]

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

      Polar questions: Negative answers

(27)   a.   Speaker-1: dia biking apa? mabuk?
                             3SG make   what   drunk

           [About an accident:] Speaker-1: 'what did he do?, (was he) drunk?'

    b.   Speaker-2: **tida**, dia   balap
                             NEG   3SG race

           Speaker-2: '**no**!, he raced (his motorbike)' [081014-013-NP.0003-0004]

(28)   a.   Speaker-1: tra   dalam?
                             NEG   inside

           [Discussing the depth of a river mouth:] Speaker-1: 'isn't (it) deep?'

    b.   Speaker-2: **tra ada**, muara   baru   …
                             NEG exist river.mouth be.new

           Speaker-2: '**no**!, (this is) the new river mouth [(it's) the old river mouth that is (deep)]' [080927-003-Cv.0010-0011]

(29)   a.   Speaker-1: de   punya paytua?
                             3SG POSS   husband

           Speaker-1: '(was it) her husband?'

    b.   Speaker-2: **bukang**, de   punya pacar
                             NEG   3SG POSS lover

           Speaker-2: '**no**, (it was) her lover' [081006-022-CvEx.0044-0045]

At times, speakers employ an alternative strategy to respond to polar questions as shown in (30). Speakers may reply to a polar question without giving an explicit

answer in the affirmative or negative. Instead they provide additional information and leave it to their interlocutor to interpret this answer as a positive or a negative reply. This is shown with the implied negative answer in (30b). When interlocutors do not know the answer, they typically reply with ***tida/tra taw*** '(I) don't know'

Alternative answers to polar questions

(30)   a.   Speaker-1:   di   sini   tra   pahit?
                          at   L.PROX   NEG   be.bitter

[Discussing various melinjo varieties] Speaker-1: '(the melinjo varieties) here are not bitter?'

b.   Speaker-2:   Ø   Jayapura   pu   pahit
                        Jayapura   POSS   bitter

Speaker-2: '(**no**!, the ones from) Jayapura are bitter' [080923-004-Cv.0011-0012]

13.2.2.2.   Marked biased polar questions

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

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

Positively biased polar questions

(31)   a.   Speaker-1:   yang   dekat   ada   ruma   **to**?
                          REL   near   exist   house   right?

[Asking about a certain tree:] Speaker-1: '(the one that's) close by (where) the houses are, **right?**'

b.   Speaker-2:   **mm-mm**, ruma   di   pante
                          mhm   house   at   coast

Speaker-2: '**mhm**, the houses along the beach' [080917-009-CvEx.0012-0013]

(32) a. Speaker-1: o,   skarang orang su   daftar **e**?
                                oh!   now   person already enroll eh

[About local elections:] Speaker-1: 'oh, now people already (started) enrolling, **eh?**'

      b. Speaker-2: **yo**, tu   sa   pu   urusang
                            yes D.DIST 1SG POSS affairs

Speaker-2: '**yes**!, that's my responsibility' [081005-001-Cv.0031-0032]

(33) a. Speaker-1: jadi itu   nomor   rekening   itu
                            so   D.DIST number bank.account D.DIST

                                pace Natanael punya **yo**?
                                man Natanael POSS   yes

Speaker-1: 'so, what's-its-name, that bank account number is Mr. Natanael's, **yes**?'

      b. Speaker-2: **yo**, bukang sa   punya
                            yes NEG   1SG POSS

Speaker-2: '**yes**!, (it's) not mine' [080922-001a-CvPh.0078-0079]

Negatively biased polar questions formed with *to* 'right?' or *e* 'eh?'

(34) a. Speaker-1: ko **tra** taw   sa   skola dari   mana   **to**?
                          2SG NEG know 1SG school from where right?

Speaker-1: 'you don't know from which school I am, **right?**'

      b. Speaker-2: ∅ sa   **tida taw**   ((laughter))
                            1SG NEG know

Speaker-2: '(**yes**!), I **don't know**! ((laughter))' [080922-003-Cv.0031-0032]

(35) a. Speaker-1: **tida** di Beneraf **e**?
                          NEG at Beneraf eh

Speaker-1: '(they) are**n't** in Beneraf, **eh?**'

      b. Speaker-2: **mm-mm**
                          mhm

Speaker-2: '**mhm**!' [080925-003-Cv.0173-0174]

13.2.3. Alternative questions

Alternative questions, like polar questions, inquire about the "degree of truth of the questioned proposition" (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 179). Unlike polar questions, however, they "provide a list from which, the speaker suggests, the right answer might be drawn"; this list may contain a number of different "mutually exclusive" alternatives or it may "consist only of a proposition and its negation" (1985: 179).

In Papuan Malay, alternative questions are formed with the alternative-marking disjunctive *ka* 'or' (see also §14.2.2.2), as shown in (36) to (41). The alternatives can be overtly listed as in (36) or (37), in which case they are linked with post-posed *ka* 'or'. The question can also contain just one "proposition and its negation", as in (38) or (39), in which case the proposition is marked with *ka* 'or' followed by negator *tida* 'NEG'. Rather often, though, the negator is omitted, as in (40) or (41).

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

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

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

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

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

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

13.3. Directive clauses

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

13.3.1.   Imperatives and adhortatives

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

(46). In hortatives, by contrast, any person other than the addressee is "in control of the desired state of affairs" (2011: 1); hence, hortatives involve first and third persons, as shown in (47) to (51).

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

Imperatives: Syntactic structure as declarative clauses[230]

(42) a. **ko** bangung   b. e   bangung!
          2SG   wake.up   hey!   wake.up
          '**you** woke up' / '**you** wake up!   'hey, wake up!'

(43) a. **ko** pulang   b. pulang   suda!
          2SG   go.home   go.home already
          '**you** went home' / **you** go home!'   'go home already!'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[230] Documentation: *bangung* 'wake up' 081006-022-CvEx.0081, 080918-001-CvNP.0038;
       pulang 'go home' 081006-025-CvEx.0013, 081006-007-Cv.0001.

Hortatives with clause-initial **biar** 'let, allow'

(47) kalo nanti   tong maing **biar sa**   cadangang!
      if   very.soon   1PL   play   let   1SG   reserve
      'later when we play (volleyball), **let me** be a reserve!' [081109-001-Cv.0154]

(48) **biar tong** tinggal di situ!
      let   1PL   stay   at L.MED
      '**let us** live there!' [081110-008-CvNP.0091]

(49) yo, **biar de**   juga liat sa!
      yes let   3SG   also see   1SG
      'yes, **let her** also see me!' [081015-005-NP.0013]

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

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

First person plural hortatives without clause-initial **biar** 'let, allow'

(51) dia bilang, **Ø kitong dua** pulang!   … trus **kitong dua** pulang
      3SG say   1PL   two   go.home   next 1PL   two   go.home
      'he said, '**(let) the two of us** go home!' … then **the two of us** went home'
      [081015-005-NP.0035]

Papuan Malay also uses a number of strategies to strengthen or soften commands.
Strengthening is illustrated in (52) to (55) and softening in (56) to (61).
    Speakers can add **ayo** 'come on' or **suda** 'already' to commands or requests to
make them more urgent and to strengthen them. Urgency-marking **ayo** 'come on'
can occur clause-initially, as in the imperative in (52) and in the hortative in (53), or
clause-finally, also in (52); **ayo** 'come on!' does not occur in hortatives with third
persons. Urgency-marking **suda** 'already', by contrast, always takes a post-predicate
position as in the imperative in (54) and the hortative in (55).

Strengthening commands with **ayo** 'come on' or **suda** 'already'

(52) **ayo**,   jalang ke Ise!, **ayo**!
      come.on!   walk   to Ise   come.on!
      '**come on!**, go to Ise, **come on!**' [080917-008-NP.0065]

(53) **ayo**,   kitong dua jalang cepat!, kitong dua jalang cepat!
      come.on!   1PL   two walk   be.fast 1PL   two walk   be.fast
      '**come on!**, (let) the two of us walk fast!, (let) the two of us walk fast!'
      [081015-005-NP.0037]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(61) ko   kasi sama kaka mantri   **e**?!
      2SG   give to   oSb male.nurse   eh
      'give (the keys) to the male nurse, **eh?**!' [080922-010a-CvNF.0167]

13.3.2. Permissions and obligations

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

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

       Permissions with **bole** 'may'

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

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

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

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

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

       Obligations with **harus** 'have to'

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

(67)   **harus**   kitong   baik   deng   orang
       have.to   1PL   be.good   with   person

'we **have to (EMPH)** be / (it's) **obligatory** (that) we are good to (other) people' [081110-008-CvNP.0166]

13.3.3.   Prohibitives

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

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

Prohibitives with *jangang* 'NEG.IMP'

(68)   Wili   ko   **jangang**   gara~gara   tanta   dia   itu!
       Wili   2SG   NEG.IMP   RDP~irritate   aunt   3SG   D.DIST

[Addressing a young boy:] 'you Wili **don't** irritate that aunt!' [081023-001-Cv.0038]

(69)   kamorang   **jangang**   pukul   dia!
       2PL   NEG.IMP   hit   3SG

'**don't** beat him!' [081015-005-NP.0024]

(70)   **jangang**   ko   pergi!
       NEG.IMP   2SG   go

'**don't** you go!' [081025-006-Cv.0194]

(71)   Klara,   **jangang**   ko   gara~gara   dia!
       Klara   NEG.IMP   2SG   RDP~irritate   3SG

'Klara, **don't** you irritate him!' [080917-003b-CvEx.0027]

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

Responses to prohibitives with *jangang* 'NEG.IMP'

(72)   … a,   **jangang**!,   sa   tida   bisa   buang   takaroang
       ah   NEG.IMP   1SG   NEG   be.able   discard   be.chaotic

'[he said (to me), 'don't throw away (your betel nut waste)', (I said),] 'ah **never**!, I can't throw it away randomly'' [081025-008-Cv.0012]

Prohibitives can be softened by employing *tida*/*tra bole* 'shouldn't' (literally 'may not'). Most often, *tida*/*tra bole* 'may not' occurs between the subject and the predicate, as in (73) and (74). Alternatively, although rarely, it occurs clause-initially, where it has scope over the entire clause, as in (75). Speakers can also use *tida*/*tra bole* 'may not' as stand-alone clauses, which refer back to the speakers' own

or their interlocutors' preceding statements about a state of affairs, as in (76) and (77), respectively.

Prohibitives with *tida*/*tra bole* 'may not'

(73)   sa   **tida** **bole** di   depang!, saya   harus   di   blakang skali
        1SG   NEG   may   at   front   1SG   have.to at   backside very

        'I **shouldn't** be in front, I had to stay in the very back' [081029-005-Cv.0133]

(74)   mama   **tra** **bole** lipat!, mama   harus   kas   panjang kaki
        mother NEG   may   fold   mother have.to give be.long foot

        [Addressing someone with a bad knee:] 'you ('mother') **shouldn't** fold (your legs) under, you ('mother') have to stretch out (your) legs' [080921-004a-CvNP.0069]

(75)   **tida** **bole** ko   ceritra orang!
        NEG   may   2SG   tell   person

        'you **should not (EMPH)** tell other people' [081110-008-CvNP.0072]

(76)   … bunga~bunga   suda   habis,   **tida** **bole**!
           RDP~flower   already   be.used.up   NEG   may

        [Addressing a child who had picked the speaker's flowers:] '[(the flowers) over there (you) already picked (them) until (they were) all gone,] the flowers are already gone, (you) **shouldn't** (have done that)' [081006-021-CvHt.0001]

(77)   Speaker-2:   a,   **tida** **bole**!
                     ah!   NEG   may

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

14. Conjunctions and constituent combining

14.1. Introduction

Conjunctions are function words "whose main function is to connect clauses, phrases or words" (Asher 1994: 5105). This chapter describes how Papuan Malay combines constituents such as clauses or phrases by overt marking with conjunctions. The Papuan Malay conjunctions can be divided into two major groups, those combining same-type constituents, such as clauses with clauses, and those linking different-type constituents, such as verbs with clauses. In combining constituents, the conjunctions belong to neither of the conjuncts they combine in semantic terms. They do, however, form intonation units with the constituents they mark. Most conjunctions occur at the left periphery of the clause. Typically, an intonational break separates the conjunction from a preceding constituent. A second strategy to combine constituents is juxtaposition which is mentioned only briefly.

Papuan Malay has 21 conjunctions which link same-type constituents and two which combine different-type constituents. Most of the conjunctions conjoining same-type constituents link clauses with clauses. Traditionally, clause-linking conjunctions are divided into coordinating and subordinating ones, both of which are defined as follows: "coordinating conjunctions are those that assign equal rank to the conjoined elements" whereas "subordinating conjunctions are those that assign unequal rank to the conjoined elements, marking one of them as subordinate to the other" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45). Modifying this terminology by employing the more general term "dependency" rather than "subordination", Haspelmath (2007a: 46) defines the distinction between coordination and dependency as follows:

> In a coordination structure of the type *A(-link-)B*, *A* and *B* are structurally symmetrical in some sense, whereas in a dependency structure of the type *X(-link-)Y*, *X* and *Y* are not symmetrical, but either *X* or *Y* is the head and the other element is a dependent.

According to Haspelmath (2007a: 46), this distinction between coordination and dependency in terms of symmetry "is often thought of as a difference in the syntactic/structural relations of the elements". However, he also points out that "it is sometimes not evident whether a construction exhibits a coordination relation or a dependency relation"; this applies, for instance, to "languages that lack agreement and case-marking" (2007a: 46).

The lack of a clear opposition between coordination and dependency in terms of structural relations also applies to clause combining in Papuan Malay: clauses marked with a conjunction are not distinct from unmarked clauses in terms of their morphosyntax and word order. This is shown in (1) to (3) with purpose-marking *supaya* 'so that'. Omitting the conjunction from the two purpose clauses in (1) leaves two grammatically complete and correct clauses.

Purpose-marking *supaya* 'so that' linking two clauses

(1)	saya	harus	kas	makang	dia,	**supaya**	dia	kenal	saya	lebi
	1SG	have.to	give	eat		3SG	so.that	3SG	know	1SG	more

dekat,	**supaya**	de	bisa	taw	saya	punya	nama
near	so.that	3SG	be.capable	know	1SG	POSS	name

'I have to give him/her food **so that** he/she can know me better, **so that** he/she can know my name' [080919-004-NP.0079]

This also applies when a clause marked with a conjunction is missing an argument. In the purpose clause in (2), for instance, the subject *obat* 'medicine' is elided. This elision, however, does not signify a grammaticalized gap that signals the dependent status of the purpose clause marked with *supaya* 'so that'. Instead, the elision is due to the fact that speakers often omit arguments and other constituents if these can be inferred. In (2) the elided subject *obat* 'medicine' is understood from the context.

Purpose clause with elided subject argument

(2)
ibu	itu	de	mo	kasi	obat,	tapi	ko	harus
woman	D.DIST	3SG	want	give	medicine	but	2SG	have.to

priksa	dara,	**supaya**	Ø	harus	cocok
check	blood	so.that		have.to	be.suitable

'that lady, she wants to give (you) medicine, but you have to (get your) blood checked **so that** (the medicine) fits' [080917-007-CvHt.0003]

In Papuan Malay, elision of core arguments is not limited to clauses marked with conjunctions. It is a generalized phenomenon, as demonstrated with the reported direct speech in (3). The original utterance is given in (3a), while in (3b) the elided constituents are given in brackets, such as purposive *supaya* 'so that'[231] or the subject of the purpose clause, *kaki* 'foot, leg'.

Elision as a generalized phenomenon

(3)   a.
… malam	Kapolsek	bilang,	kalo	dapat
night	head.of.district.police	say	if	get

tembak	kaki	pata
shoot	foot	break

b.
… malam	Kapolsek	bilang,	kalo	[kam]	dapat
night	head.of.district.police	say	if	[2PL]	get

[dia,]	tembak	[de pu]	kaki	[**supaya**]	[kaki]	pata
[3SG]	shoot	[3SG POSS]	foot	[so.that]	[foot]	break

[Reply to the question about who the police were looking for:] '[(they're looking for Martin …,] last night the head of the district police said, 'if (you) get (him), shoot (his) leg (**so that** it) breaks'' [081011-009-Cv.0048/0050]

This data shows that, in terms of structural relations, the opposition between coordination and dependency does not apply to purpose-marking *supaya* 'so that'. Neither does the distinction apply to the other clause-combining conjunctions.

Given the lack of a clear-cut opposition between coordination and dependency in terms of structural relations, Haspelmath (2007a: 46) suggests "to define both

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[231]   Alternatively, the conjunction *sampe* 'until, with the result that' could fill this slot.

coordination and dependency in semantic terms". He also notes, however, that even the distinction on semantic grounds "is often difficult to apply" (2007a: 47; see also Cristofaro 2005: 1–50, and Dixon and Aikhenvald 2009).

This difficulty also applies to clause combining in Papuan Malay. Therefore, in discussing clause combining in Papuan Malay at this point in the current research, no attempt is being made to distinguish between coordination and dependency on semantic grounds. Instead, this chapter describes the following aspects: (1) the meaning which the different Papuan Malay conjunctions convey, (2) the position which a given conjunction takes within its clause, and (3) the position which the clause marked with a conjunction takes vis-à-vis the clause it is conjoined with. For lack of a better term, the clause that is not marked with a conjunction is labeled as the "unmarked clause" throughout the remainder of this chapter. This label is used as a working term only for practical purposes.

Besides the 21 conjunctions combining same-type constituents, Papuan Malay also has two conjunctions which link different-type constituents, namely complementizer **bahwa** 'so that' and relativizer **yang** 'REL'. Both are subordinating conjunctions, in that they "serve to integrate a … clause into some larger construction" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45). Complementizer **bahwa** 'that' marks a clause as an argument of the verb, as illustrated in (4), while relativizer **yang** 'REL' integrates a relative clause within a noun phrase, as demonstrated in (5).

Conjunctions combining different-type constituents

(4) sa   cuma   taw,   **bahwa** de   ada   di   sini
     1SG   just   know   that   3SG   exist   at   L.PROX
     'I just know **that** he was here' [080922-010a-CvNF.0180]

(5) baru   Iskia dia   pegang sa   punya lutut **yang** tida baik
     and.then Iskia 3SG   hold   1SG   POSS knee REL   NEG   be.good
     'and then Iskia held my knee **that** is not well' [080916-001-CvNP.0003]

Conjunctions linking same-type constituents are described in §14.2 and those linking different-type constituents are discussed in §14.3. Unless mentioned otherwise, the clausal conjunctions combine clauses with same-subject coreference as well as those with a switch in reference. Juxtaposition is briefly mentioned in §14.4. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §14.5.

14.2. Conjunctions combining same-type constituents

This section discusses conjunctions which combine same-type constituents. In terms of the semantic relations which they signal, the conjunctions fall into six groups, that is conjunctions marking (1) addition (§14.2.1), (2) alternative (§14.2.2), (3) time and/or conditions (§14.2.3), (4) consequence (§14.2.4), (5) contrast (§14.2.5), and (6) similarity (§14.2.6).

14.2.1. Addition

Addition-marking conjunctions combine constituents denoting events, states, or entities which are "closely linked and … valid simultaneously" (Rudolph 1996: 20).

Besides conjunctive **dang** 'and' (§14.2.1.1), Papuan Malay employs two prepositions to signal addition, namely comitative **dengan** 'with' (§14.2.1.2), and goal-oriented **sama** 'to' (§14.2.1.3).

14.2.1.1.   Conjunctive **dang** 'and'

The conjunction **dang** 'and' typically links two clauses, as in (6). Less often, it links verb phrases as in (7) or noun phrases, as (8) and (9). Usually, the noun phrases have human referents as in (8); coordination of inanimate referents, as in (9), is rare.

(6)   de   pegang   de   punya   prahu,   **dang** de   dayung,   **dang** de
        3SG   hold   3SG   POSS   boat   and   3SG   paddle   and   3SG
        bilang,   …
        say
        'he took his boat **and** he paddled **and** he said, …' [080917-008-NP.0018][232]

(7)   pagi   helikopter   turung,   **dang** kembali ke   Anggruk
        morning   helicopter   descend   and   return   to   Anggruk
        'in the morning the helicopter came down **and** returned to Anggruk'
        [081011-022-Cv.0228]

(8)   sa   kas   taw   mama,   **dang** mama-ade,   nanti kam   …
        1SG   give   know   mother   and   aunt   later 2PL
        'I let mother **and** aunt know, 'later you …'' [080919-007-CvNP.0001]

(9)   de   suda   taw   ruma   **dang** kampung
        3SG   already know   house and   village
        'he already knew the house **and** the village' [080923-006-CvNP.0002]

14.2.1.2.   Comitative **deng(an)** 'with'

The comitative preposition **dengan** 'with', with its short form **deng**, typically conjoins noun phrases. The conjoined referents can be animate, as in (10), or inanimate, as in (11). The fact that Papuan Malay employs the same marker for "noun phrase conjunction and comitative phrases" suggests that, in terms of Stassen's (2011a: 1) typology, Papuan Malay is a "WITH-language". Occasionally, **deng(an)** 'with' links verb phrases as in (12). The linking of clauses with comitative **dengan** 'with' is unattested in the present corpus. (Besides, comitative **deng(an)** 'with' is also used to encode inclusory conjunction constructions, as discussed in §6.1.4; for a detailed discussion of preposition **dengan** 'with', see §10.2.1.)

(10)   malam   hari   atur,   tong   **deng** ana~ana   makang
        night   day   arrange   1PL   with   RDP~child eat
        'in the evening (my wife) arranges (the food), we **and** the children eat'
        [080919-004-NP.0007]

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[232]   The subscript letters keep track of what each term refers to.

(11)   … apa biologi **dengan** apa astronomi **dengan** bahasa Inggris
            what biology   with   what astronomy   with   language England
         [About a school competition] '[later they'll participate in the Olympiad
         contest in,] what, biology **and**, what, astronomy **and** English' [081115-001a-
         Cv.0111-0113]

(12)   nene   jam dua malam datang **deng** menangis
         grandmother   hour two night come   with   cry
         'at two o'clock in the morning grandmother came crying' (Lit. 'come **with**
         cry') [081014-008-CvNP.0001]

14.2.1.3.   Goal-oriented *sama* 'to'

The goal-oriented preposition *sama* 'to' occasionally links noun phrases with human
referents, as in (13). The coordination of clauses or verb phrases with *sama* 'to' is
unattested in the present corpus. (See §10.2.2 for a detailed discussion of preposition
sama 'to' and how it is distinct from comitative *dengan* 'with'.)

(13)   … Aris **sama** Siduas$_i$ deng de$_i$ pu   maytua, **sama** dep$_i$,
            Aris to   Siduas   with 3SG   POSS wife   to   3SG:POSS

         de$_i$ punya maytua
         3SG   POSS   wife

         '[all (of you will) be taken (on board …,)] Aris **and** Siduas$_i$ and his wife$_i$,
         and his$_i$, his$_i$ wife' [080922-001a-CvPh.0493/0497][233]

14.2.2.   Alternative

In Papuan Malay, two conjunctions mark alternative, disjunctive *ato* 'or' (§14.2.2.1)
and disjunctive *ka* 'or' (§14.2.2.2).

14.2.2.1.   Disjunctive *ato* 'or'

Disjunctive *ato* 'or' occurs at the left periphery of the constituents it combines. Here
it signals that "a logical relationship between propositions" in the sense that "[i]f the
logical disjunction of two propositions is true, then one or both of the component
propositions can be true" (Payne 1997: 305). Most often, *ato* 'or' disjoins clauses, as
in (14). Also quite often, *ato* 'or' links noun phrases as in (15). Only rarely *ato* 'or'
links prepositional phrases as in (16), or verb phrases as in (17).

(14)   kalo saya susa,   **ato** saya biking acara,   nanti dia bantu saya
         if   1SG be.difficult or   1SG make ceremony later 3SG help 1SG
         'if I have difficulties **or** I make a festivity, then he'll help me' [080919-004-
         NP.0065]

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[233]   The subscript letters indicate which pronouns have which referents.

(15)   kalo tong pu   uang   satu juta,   **ato** satu juta   lima
         if   1PL   POSS money   one   million or   one   million five
         ratus,   tong bisa   bakar natal
         hundred   1PL   be.capable burn   Christmas
         'if we had one million **or** one million five hundred (rupiah), we could have
         a Christmas party' (Lit. 'burn (the) Christmas (fire)') [081006-017-Cv.0016]

(16)   jadi kalo dia, suku   dari situ,   dari Masep suda
         so   if   3SG   ethnic.group from L.MED from Masep already
         bunu orang   di, a,   Karfasia, **ato** di Waim, na   …
         kill person at   umh Karfasia   or   at Waim   well
         'so if the, the ethnic group from there, from Masep has already killed
         someone at, umh Karfasia **or** at Waim, well …' [081006-027-CvEx.0002]

(17)   dong bilang, a,   tunggu minum dulu,   **ato** makang dulu
         3PL   say   ah!   wait   drink be.prior or   eat   be.prior
         'they said, 'ah, wait, please drink **or** eat'' (Lit. 'drink first **or** eat first')
         [080925-003-Cv.0111]

14.2.2.2.   Disjunctive *ka* 'or'

Disjunctive *ka* 'or' signals series or sequences of alternatives. Occurring at the right
periphery of a constituent, it indicates that a list of alternatives is not exhaustive.
That is, a few possible options are overtly mentioned, while others are implied. To
make the notion of 'non-exhaustive list of alternatives' explicit, the conjunction
marks an interrogative as the final enumerated constituent. Typically, disjunctive *ka*
'or' links noun phrases, as in (18) and (19). In (18), the notion of a 'non-exhaustive
list' is implied, while in (19) it is overtly marked with *apa ka* 'or something else'
(literally 'what or'). Less often, *ka* 'or' combines prepositional phrases as in (20), or
clauses as in (21); the linking of verbs with *ka* 'or' is unattested in the present
corpus. Another function of *ka* 'or', not discussed here, is to mark interrogative
clauses (see §13.2.3).

(18)   … nanti banjir   **ka**, hujang **ka**, guntur   **ka**
            later flooding   or   rain   or   thunder or
         '[it's not allowed to kill the snake otherwise] later (there'll be) flooding, **or**
         rains, **or** thunder (**or something else**)' [081006-022-CvEx.0004]

(19)   sa   deng kaka Petrus pikir, mungking klapa   **ka**, **apa** **ka**
         1SG   with oSb   Petrus think   maybe   coconut or   what   or
         yang ada   di   depang
         REL   exist at   front
         [About a motorbike trip:] 'I and older brother Petrus thought it was maybe a
         coconut **or something else** that was in front (of us)' [081023-004-Cv.0002]

(20)   ko   lapor   di   umum   **ka**,   di   keuangang   **ka**
        2SG   report   at   general   or   at   finance.affairs   or
        [About a government office:] 'you (should) report to the general (office), **or**
        the finance (office) (**or some other** office)' [081005-001-Cv.0011]

(21)   …   waktu   ko   ada   potong   babi   **ka**,   potong   ikang   **ka**,   ato
            time   2SG   exist   cut   pig   or   cut   fish   or   or
        dapat   ikang   ka   kuskus   ka,   waktu   lewat   kasi   saja
        get   fish   or   cuscus   or   time   pass.by   give   just
        '[when (your) friends and relatives,] when you are carving a pig **or** carving
        fish (**or** carving **something else**), or (when you) get a fish or cuscus (or
        something else), when (they) walk by, just share (it with them)' [080919-
        004-NP.0060]

14.2.3.   Time and/or condition

Conjunctions marking temporal relations indicate relative time, "where the reference
point for location of a situation is some point in time given by the context" (Comrie
1985: 56). Providing a reference point for the events or states depicted in the
unmarked clause, time-marking conjunctions signal sequence relations, anteriority,
or posteriority. Condition-marking conjunctions introduce a clause which expresses
a condition, while the unmarked clause describes an event or state which could come
about once the condition has been met. In many languages, there is no distinction
between conditional 'if' and temporal 'when' clauses (Thompson et al. 2007: 257).
This also applies to Papuan Malay. Therefore, both types of linkings are discussed
here.

This section describes five conjunctions: sequential ***trus*** 'next' (§14.2.3.1) and
baru 'and then' (§14.2.3.2), anteriority-marking ***sampe*** 'until' (§14.2.3.3) and
seblum 'before' (§14.2.3.4), and posteriority-marking/conditional ***kalo*** 'when, if'
(§14.2.3.5).[234]

14.2.3.1.   Sequential ***trus*** 'next'

The sequential conjunction ***trus*** 'next' is related to the monovalent verb ***trus*** 'be
continuous' (see §5.16). It marks temporal relations between clauses or phrases in an
iconic way by ordering events or entities "in logical and time sequence" (Bril 2010:
285). When combining clauses, it always occurs in clause-initial position.

In terms of subject reference, an initial investigation of the attested ***trus*** 'next'
tokens in the present corpus suggests the following. The conjunction more often
links clauses with a switch in reference (269 tokens), as in (22), than those with

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[234]   Papuan Malay does not have a conjunction that marks temporal simultaneity between two
        clauses. Instead speakers use the common noun ***waktu*** 'time' when they want to signal
        that the events described in each clause happened at the same time:
            waktu   saya   …   tinggal   di   kampung   sa   kerja   sperti   laki-laki
            time   1SG   stay   at   village   1SG   work   similar.to   man
            '**when** I lived in the village, I worked like a man' (Lit. '**(at) that time**') [081014-007-
            Pr.0048]

same-subject coreference (101 tokens). This quantitative data is in contrast to Donohue's (to be published: 42) observations that ***trus*** 'next' "is a commonly used connective when there is same-subject coreference condition between clauses". Less often, ***trus*** 'next' combines noun phrases, as in (23), or prepositional phrases, as in (24).

(22)   waktu Sofia lewat   mandi to?   di kamar mandi, **trus** Nusa
           when Sofia pass.by bathe right? at   room   bathe   next   Nusa
           juga lewat,   Sofia ikat   handuk, de   mo   lewat   masuk ke
           also   pass.by Sofia tie.up towel   3SG want pass.by enter   to
           kamar, **trus** Nusa de   bicara dia
           room   next   Nusa 3SG speak   3SG
           'when Sofia passed by to bathe, right?, in the bathroom, **then** Nusa also passed by, Sofia had tied (her) towel (around her waist), she wanted to pass by (and) enter the (bath)room, **then** Nusa spoke to her' [081115-001a-Cv.0263]

(23)   de pu   potong selesay ambil ubi,   **trus** daung petatas
           3SG POSS cut   finish   get   purple.yam next leaf   sweet.potato
           daung singkong, **trus** apa   lagi   sayur   bayam
           leaf   cassava   next what again vegetable amaranth
           [A recipe:] '(once) the cutting up (of the pig meat) is done, take purple yam, **then** sweet potato leaves, cassava leaves, **then** what else amaranth vegetables' [081014-017-CvPr.0033]

(24)   … jalang banyak to?,   di atas, tenga, **trus** di   laut,
              road   many   right? at top   middle next at   ocean
           trus di   pante sana
           then   at   coast L.DIST
           '[I was confused (about) the road, you know,] (there) were many roads, right?, in the upper part (of the village), in the middle, **and then** at the ocean, **and then** at the beach over there' [081025-008-Cv.0018]

14.2.3.2.   Sequential *baru* 'and then'

The sequential conjunction ***baru*** 'and then' is related to the stative verb ***baru*** 'be new' (see §5.16). Most often, it marks temporal succession by organizing events in their logical or temporal order, as shown in (25). In addition, although less often, the conjunction marks contrast, as illustrated in (26).

    Typically, ***baru*** 'and then' occurs in clause-initial position where it marks an immediate subsequent event or action, similar to sequential ***trus*** 'next' (§14.2.3.1). Concurrently, however, the conjunction signals another piece of information, as shown in (25) (note that this example presents contiguous text). Depending on the context, the conjunction marks noteworthy parts and/or signals a new aspect or perspective regarding the event or discourse unfolding. In this case ***baru*** translates with 'but then', as in (25b) or 'and then' as in (25c). Alternatively, the conjunction signals that the event depicted in its clause does not occur until after the event of the

preceding clause. In this case, it translates with 'only then', as in (25a). In marking contrastive sequentiality, *baru* 'and then' differs from *trus* 'next' which indicates neutral sequentiality (see §14.2.3).

As for subject reference, an initial inspection of the *baru* 'and then' tokens in the present corpus suggests that the conjunction more often links clauses with a switch in reference (524 tokens), as in (25b), than clauses with same-subject coreference (455 tokens), as in (25a, c). In this respect, *baru* 'and then' behaves like *trus* 'next' (see §14.2.3).

> Combining clauses with *baru* 'and then' in clause initial position: Sequential reading

(25) a. tong … jaga dia_i sampe jam satu, **baru** tong tidor,
          1PL   guard 3SG   until hour one and.then 1PL sleep

          [About a sick relative:] 'we … watched her until one o'clock, **only then** did we sleep'

      b. **baru**   Pawlus de_j sandar di de_i pu   badan begini,
          and.then Pawlus 3SG lean   at 3SG POSS body like.this

          '**but then** Pawlus was leaning against her body like this'

      c. **baru**   de_j kas pata leher ke bawa   di atas
          and.then 3SG give break neck to bottom at top

          de_i pu   bahu
          3SG POSS shoulder

          '**and then** he bent his neck down onto her shoulder' (Lit. 'caused his head to be broken') [080916-001-CvNP.0005-0006]

Occasionally, the conjunction occurs at the right periphery of a contrast clause. Summarizing what has been said before, it marks the propositional content of its clause as true despite the contents of the preceding unmarked clause. In this case, the conjunction receives the reading 'after all', as in (26). As this contrast-marking function of the conjunction is marginal, it is not further discussed in §14.2.5.

> Combining clauses with *baru* 'and then' in clause final position: Contrastive reading

(26) sa   tra   akang kasi kaing, sa   juga dinging stenga mati,
      1SG NEG will   give cloth 1SG also be.cold half   dead
      ada   anging **baru**
      exist wind   and.then

      'I wasn't going to give (her my) cloth, I was also (half dead from being) cold, it was windy **after all**' [081025-006-Cv.0048]

14.2.3.3. Anteriority-marking *sampe* 'until'

The conjunction *sampe* 'until' is related to the bivalent verb *sampe* 'reach' (see §5.16; see also §10.1.4 for the prepositional uses of *sampe* 'until'). It introduces a temporal clause which follows the unmarked clause. Usually, *sampe* 'until' marks

anteriority. That is, it signals that the event or state of the unmarked clause occurs prior to that of the temporal clause, as shown in (27). Concurrently, *sampe* 'until' marks temporal extent in that it indicates that the event or state of the unmarked clause continues until the event or state of the temporal clause comes about. Depending on the context, temporal *sampe* 'until' can also receives a resultative reading in the sense of 'with the result that', as in (28). Given that the resultative reading of *sampe* 'until' is the derived, marginal one, this result-marking function of *sampe* 'until' is not further discussed in §14.2.4.

(27)   … de   harus   taru di mata-hari, **sampe** de jadi   papeda
           3SG have.to put at sun   until   3SG become sagu.porridge

       [Before an ancestor had fire to heat water:] '[when he wanted to make sagu porridge,] he had to leave it out in the sun **until** it turned into sagu porridge' [080922-010a-CvNF.007-0008]

(28)   Fredi pu   tangang dia   palungku kaca, jadi dia   rabik,
           Fredi POSS hand   3SG punch   glass so 3SG tear

       sampe brapa   jahitang
       until   how.many   stitch

       [About an accident:] 'Fredi's hand hit glass, so it was torn **with the result that** (he got) several stitches' [081006-032-Cv.0066]

14.2.3.4.   Anteriority-marking *seblum* 'before'

Anteriority-marking *seblum* 'before' also introduces a temporal clause.[235] It indicates – similar to *sampe* 'until' – that the event or state of the unmarked clause occurs prior to that of the temporal clause. Unlike *sampe* 'until', however, *seblum* 'before' does not signal extent. The temporal clause with *seblum* 'before' can precede or follow the unmarked clause, as shown in (29) and (30), respectively. In the present corpus, however, the temporal clause more often precedes the unmarked clause (21 tokens) rather than follows it (8 tokens).

(29)   … say suda   punya rencana juga, **seblum** sa   kluar
           1SG already have plan   also   before   1SG go.out

       '[when I hunt without taking dogs, I leave in the night,] I also already have a plan **before** I leave' [080919-004-NP.0002]

(30)   de   bilang, **seblum** kitong pergi ke kota, kitong cuci muka dulu
           3SG say   before   1PL   go   to city 1PL   wash front prior

       'he said, '**before** we go to the city, we wash (our) faces first'' [080917-008-NP.0126]

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[235] The conjunction *seblum* 'before' is historically derived from the aspectual adverb *blum* 'not yet': *se-blum* 'one-not.yet' (see §2.4.4.2 and §3.1).

14.2.3.5.   Posteriority-marking/conditional *kalo* 'when, if'

The conjunction *kalo* 'when, if' signals temporal relations, namely posteriority, and/or conditional relations between two clauses. The clause it introduces always precedes the unmarked clause.

   Whether *kalo* 'when, if' receives a temporal reading as in (31) and (32), or a conditional reading, as in (41) and (34), is context-dependent. Quite often, though, both interpretations are possible, as shown in (35). This lack of a "distinction between 'if' clauses and 'when' clauses" is also found in other languages, such as "Indonesian and certain languages of Papua New Guinea", as Thompson et al. (2007: 257) point out.

   When marking posteriority, *kalo* translates with 'when'; it signals that the event or state of unmarked main clause occurs subsequent to that of the temporal clause, as in (31). When the conjunction co-occurs with the retrospective adverb *su(da)* 'already', it projects these events or states to the future; in this case *kalo* translates with 'once'. That is, in combination with *su(da)* 'already', the conjunction signals that the event or state of the unmarked clause will eventuate, once that of the temporal clause has come about, as in (32).

Combining clauses with *kalo* 'when/after': Temporal reading

(31)   **kalo** dong tendang de   pu   kaki tu,   dia pegang bola
       when 3PL   kick   3SG POSS foot D.DIST 3SG hold   ball
       [About a football match:] '**when** they kicked those legs of his, he grabbed
       the ball' [081006-014-Cv.0004]

(32)   jadi **kalo** dong **su**   tinggal di   kota begini,   dong
       so   if   3PL   already stay   at   city like.this 3PL
       snang   tinggal, tida maw pulang ke   kampung
       feel.happy(.about) stay   NEG   want go.home to   village
       'so **once** they've lived in the city like this, they're happy to stay (here),
       (they) don't want to return home to the village' [080927-009-CvNP.0059]

In a different context, the conjunction receives a conditional reading and signals "indicative conditional" relations or "counterfactual conditional" relations (Kaufmann 2006: 6), in which case *kalo* translates with 'if'. An indicative conditional indicates that it is possible for the condition presented in its clause to be met; in this case the event or state of the unmarked clause will also come about. This is shown in (41). When conditional *kalo* 'if' co-occurs with retrospective *su(da)* 'already', the clause receives a counterfactual conditional reading. That is, it signals that the condition was not met in the past. If the condition had been met, however, then the event or state of the unmarked clause would also have come about. This is illustrated in (34).

Combining clauses with *kalo* 'if': Conditional reading

(33)   **kalo** ko   alpa,   kitong tra   jalang
       if   2SG be.absent 1PL   NEG   walk
       [Talking to her son about an upcoming trip:] '**if** you play hooky, we won't
       go' [080917-003a-CvEx.0038]

(34) **kalo** sa   **su**   pake em kaca-mata tu,
      if   1SG already use   uh glasses   D.DIST

      mungking sa   su   gila
      maybe   1SG already be.crazy

      '**if** I'd been wearing, uh, those (sun)glasses, I might already be crazy'
      [080919-005-Cv.0007]

Rather commonly, *kalo* 'when, if' allows both a temporal and a conditional reading, as in (35).

      Combining clauses with *kalo* 'when, if': Temporal and/or conditional reading

(35) **kalo**   bapa   datang, pluk   bapa
      when/if father come   embrace father

      '**when/if** you ('father') come (here), (I'll) embrace you ('father')' [080922-001a-CvPh.0360]

14.2.4.   Consequence

A consequence-marking conjunction indicates that the event or state of its clause is the outcome of an event or state depicted in the unmarked clause. More specifically, the unmarked clause describes a result or purpose, while the clause marked with the conjunction expresses a cause or reason. This section describes five conjunctions: resultative/causal *jadi* 'so, since' (§14.2.4.1), purposive *supaya* 'so that' (§14.2.4.2), purposive *untuk* 'for' (§14.2.4.3), causal *karna* 'because' (§14.2.4.4), and causal *gara-gara* 'because' (§14.2.4.5). In addition, although rarely, temporal *sampe* 'until' has result-marking function in the sense of 'with the result that'; given that this function is marginal, it is discussed in §14.2.3.3 and not here.

14.2.4.1.   Resultative/causal *jadi* 'so, since'

The resultative/causal conjunction *jadi* 'so, since' is related to the bivalent verb *jadi* 'become' (see §5.16). Most often, it marks a resultative relation between two clauses, as shown in (36). In addition, although less often, the conjunction signals a causal relation, as illustrated in (37).

   Typically, *jadi* 'so, since' occurs in initial position of a result clause that follows the unmarked clause. Here, the conjunction signals that the event or state of its clause results from that of the unmarked clause, as in (36); hence, *jadi* translates with 'so'.

      Combining clauses with *jadi* 'so, since': Clause-initial position

(36) tong tra snang   dengan dia, **jadi** kitong malas
      1PL NEG feel.happy(.about) with   3SG   so   1PL   be.listless

      datang dia pu   ruma
      come   3SG POSS house

      'we don't feel happy about her, **so** we don't want to come to her house'
      [080927-006-CvNP.0032]

Alternatively, but less often, conjunction occurs in clause-final position of a cause clause where it marks a causal relation with the preceding unmarked clause, as in (37). That is, the conjunction signals that something depicted in its clause is the cause for the event or state of the unmarked clause, and that the result depicted in the unmarked clause is anticipated. Hence, *jadi* translates with 'since'. In that the result is expected, causal *jadi* 'since' differs from neutral causality-marking *karna* 'because' (see §14.2.4.4).

Combining clauses with *jadi* 'so, since': Clause-final position

(37) Musa ini,   e, de loyo~loyo   ini, de   bangung tidor **jadi**
      Musa D.PROX uh 3SG RDP~be.weak this 3SG wake.up sleep so
      [About a small boy:] 'Musa here, uh, right now he's kind of weak **since** he woke up from sleeping' [080922-001a-CvPh.1435/1437]

14.2.4.2. Purposive *supaya* 'so that'

Purposive *supaya* 'so that' introduces a purpose clause which follows the unmarked clause. The conjunction signals that the event or state of its clause is the intended outcome of the deliberate activity depicted in the unmarked clause. Most often, *supaya* 'so that' introduces a purpose clause with overt subject, as in (38). Less often, the conjunction introduces a purpose clause with elided subject, as in (39).

(38) mace ko   sendiri yang ikut,   **supaya** ko   atur
      wife 2SG alone   REL follow so.that   2SG   arrange
      makangang di sana!
      food   at L.DIST
      'you wife yourself (should) go with (them) **so that** you organize the catering over there!' (Lit. '(it's) you wife yourself who …') [081025-009a-Cv.0032]

(39) e,   angkat muka,   **supaya** Ø liat orang!
      hey! lift   front   so.that   see person
      'hey, lift (your) face **so that** (you) see (the other) people!' [081110-008-CvNP.0101]

14.2.4.3. Purposive *untuk* 'for'

As a conjunction, the benefactive preposition *untuk* 'for, to' signals a purpose relation between two clauses (for a description of preposition *untuk* 'for, to', see §10.2.3). Purposive *untuk* 'for', like *supaya* 'so that' (see §14.2.4.2), introduces a purpose clause which expresses the intended outcome of the purposeful activity depicted in the preceding unmarked clause, as shown in (40) and (41). Usually, *untuk* 'for, to' introduces a purpose clause with elided subject, as shown with the second *untuk* 'for, to' token in (40). Much less often the conjunction introduces a purpose clause with overt subject, as shown with the first *untuk* 'for, to' token in (40), or as in (41). Thereby, *untuk* 'for, to' differs from purposive *supaya* 'so that'.

(40)   tadi   ana   bilang, … bapa dorang siap   saja, **untuk** kita
       earlier   child   say   father 3PL   get.ready just for   1PL
       ke   sana   a,   sa   juga siap,   **untuk** bawa kamu ke   sini
       to   L.DIST ah! 1SG   also get.ready for   bring 2PL   to   L.PROX
       'a short while ago you ('child') said, '… father and the others are ready **for**
       us (to move) to (Sarmi over) there', ah (in that case) I'm also ready **to** bring
       you (to Sarmi) here' [080922-001a-CvPh.1241]

(41)   … tida   bole, ini,   kamu datang, **untuk** kamu skola
           NEG   may   D.PROX   2PL   come   for   2PL   go.to.school
       '[you shouldn't hate each other, (you) shouldn't infuriate each other,] (you)
       shouldn't (do all this), what's-its-name, you came here **to** go to school' (Lit.
       '**for** you (to) go to school') [081115-001a-Cv.0272]

14.2.4.4.   Causal *karna* 'because'

Causal *karna* 'because' signals a neutral causal relation between two clauses by
introducing a cause clause which gives the reason for the event or state depicted in
the unmarked clause. Usually the cause clause follows the unmarked clause, as in
(42). In combination with adversative *tapi* 'but' (see §14.2.5.1), however, it can
precede the unmarked clause as in (43). In this case the unmarked clause is often
introduced with resultative *jadi* 'so'. Signaling neutral causality, *karna* 'because' is
distinct from causal *jadi* 'since' which marks expected results (see §14.2.4.1), and
from causal *gara-gara* 'because' which marks emotive causal relations (see
§14.2.4.5).

(42)   saya   bisa   pulang,   **karna**   sa   su   dapat babi
       1SG   be.capable   go.home   because   1SG   already   get   pig
       [Hunting a wild pig:] 'I can return home **because** I already got the pig'
       [080919-004-NP.0024]

(43)   dong   memang   piara   de   di   situ,   **tapi karna**   mama   dong
       3PL   indeed   raise   3SG   at   L.MED but because   mother   3PL
       pu   bapa-ade …,   **tapi karna**   tete   meninggal,   **jadi**
       POSS   uncle   but because   grandfather   die   so
       dong   pu   kluarga   ini   yang   piara
       3PL   POSS   family   D.PROX   REL   raise
       'they took indeed care of him there, **but because** mama's uncle [umh,
       who's actually the youngest offspring,] **but because** grandfather died, **so**
       (it's) their family who took care of him' [080919-006-CvNP.0006-0008]

14.2.4.5.   Causal *gara-gara* 'because'

The causal conjunction *gara-gara* 'because' is related to the bivalent verb *gara*
'irritate' (see §5.16). It indicates an emotive causal relation between two clauses by
introducing a cause clause which gives the reason for the circumstances depicted in
the unmarked clause. Most often, the cause clause follows the unmarked clause, as

in (44). Alternatively, the cause clause can precede the unmarked clause. In this case adversative *tapi* 'but' (see §14.2.5.1) precedes *gara-gara* 'because', as in (45), as is the case with *karna* 'because' (see §14.2.4.4). In that *gara-gara* 'because' signals an emotive causal relation between its clause and the unmarked clause, it is distinct from *karna* 'because' which marks neutral causal relations.

(44) sap   prut   sakit,   **gara-gara** sa   makang   nasi
      1SG:POSS   stomach   be.sick   because   1SG   eat   cooked.rice
      'my stomach was sick **because** I ate rice' [081025-009a-Cv.0046]

(45) … **tapi gara-gara** Nofela   bi,   **gara-gara** Nofela   bicara
        but because   Nofela   TRU-speak   because   Nofela   speak
      deng   bapa,   bapa   pu   hati   tergrak   …
      with   father   father POSS   liver   be.moved
      [Phone conversation between a father and his daughter:] '[(if) I had just spoken to Siduas, maybe I wouldn't have felt moved to come (and pick you up), right?,] **but because** you ('Nofela') spoke[TRU], **because** you ('Nofela') spoke with me, my ('father's) heart was moved [so I'll definitely come (and pick you up)]' [080922-001a-CvPh.1082-1083]

14.2.5. Contrast

Contrast-marking conjunctions signal that the events or states described in two clauses "are valid simultaneously", but that the information given in one clause "marks a contrast to the information" given in the other clause (Rudolph 1996: 20). This section describes four contrast-marking conjunctions: adversative *tapi* 'but' and *habis* 'after all' (§14.2.5.2 and §14.2.5.1), oppositive *padahal* 'but actually' (§14.2.5.3), and concessive *biar* 'although' (§14.2.5.4). In addition, temporal *baru* 'and then' has contrast-marking function in that it signals counter-expectation in the sense of 'after all'; as this function is marginal it is discussed in §14.2.3.2 and not here.

14.2.5.1. Adversative *tapi* 'but'

Adversative *tapi* 'but' occurs in interclausal position where it introduces a contrast clause. It marks a contrast relation between its clause and the unmarked clause, as shown in (46) and (47).

(46) de   bisa   maing   gitar,   **tapi**   de   malu
      3SG   be.able   play   guitar but   3SG   feel.embarrassed(.about)
      'she can play the guitar **but** she feels shy (about it)' [081014-015-Cv.0008]

(47) jadi   sa   punya   bapa   kasi   saya   untuk   Iskia, **tapi** Iskia
      so   1SG   POSS   father give   1SG   for   Iskia   but   Iskia

kawin   sala,   Iskia kawin   sa   punya   kaka
marry   be.wrong   Iskia marry 1SG   POSS   oSb

'so my father gave me to Iskia, **but** Iskia married improperly, Iskia married my older sister' [081006-028-CvEx.0005]

14.2.5.2. Adversative *habis* 'after all'

Adversative *habis* 'after all' is related to the monovalent verb *habis* 'be used up, be finished' (see §5.16). It marks an adversative relation between two clauses, as shown in (48) and (49). Introducing a contrast clause that follows the unmarked clause, the conjunction summarizes what has been said before and signals that the propositional content of its clause is true in spite of the content of the preceding unmarked clause. At the same time, it signals that the interlocutor is expected to know that this content is true. Thereby *habis* 'after all' is distinct from adversative *baru* 'and then' which merely summarizes what has been said before (see §14.2.3.2). The exchange in (49) illustrates that there does not need to be an overt unmarked clause which precedes the contrast clause: speakers also use *habis* 'after all' to reply to an interlocutor's statements.

(48)   bilang   bapa,   kirim   tong   uang,   **habis**   sa   susa   to?
        say   father send   1PL   money after.all   1SG   difficult   right?

'say (to) father, 'send us money, **after all**, I have difficulties, right?'' [080922-001a-CvPh.0866]

(49)   a.   Speaker-1:   ko   baru   masuk   klas   satu   ini?
                                 2SG   recently   enter   class   one   D.PROX

              Speaker-1: 'recently you got into first grade (of middle school)?'

        b.   Speaker-2:   yo,   **habis**   sa   gagal
                                 yes   after.all   1SG   fail

              Speaker-2: 'yes, **after all**, I failed (the last exams)' [080922-001a-CvPh.0965-0966]

14.2.5.3. Oppositive *padahal* 'but actually'

The conjunction *padahal* 'but actually' introduces a contrast clause, which follows the unmarked clause. Concurrent to marking contrast, the conjunction signals that the propositional content of its clause is surprising and unexpected given the content of the unmarked clause. Thereby, *padahal* 'but actually' is more oppositive than *tapi* 'but' (see §14.2.5.1). This is illustrated in (50) and (51).

(50)   ana   ini,   sa   pikir   de   suda   lewat,   **padahal**   de
        child   D.PROX   1SG   think 3SG   already   pass.by   but.actually 3SG

tidor   atas   kayu~kayu
sleep   top   RDP~wood

'this child, I thought he'd already passed by, **but actually** he was sleeping on top of the wood' [081013-004.Cv.0004]

(51)   bulang oktober sa   pu   alpa   cuma dua   saja, bayangkang,
        month   October 1SG   POSS   be.absent just two   just   image

        padahal   sa   alpa   banyak
        but.actually   1SG   absent   many

[About the speaker's school attendance:] 'imagine!, in October I had just only two (official) absences, **but actually** I was absent many times' (Lit. 'my absences were many') [081023-004-Cv.0014]

14.2.5.4.   Concessive *biar* 'although'

Concessive *biar* 'although' is related to the monovalent verb *biar* 'be permitted' (see §5.16). It marks concessive relations between two clauses. Introducing a concession clause, the conjunction signals that despite the event or state depicted in its clause, the event or state depicted in the unmarked clause occurred. Usually, the concession clause precedes the unmarked clause, whereby the concession is emphasized, as in (52). Alternatively, although less often, it can follow the unmarked clause, in which case the content of the latter clause is emphasized, as in (53).

(52)   yo,   **biar**   makangang tinggi, de   ambil
        yes   although   food   be.high 3SG   fetch

[About a greedy child:] 'yes, **although** the food is (placed) high (up on a shelf), he takes (it)' [081025-006-Cv.0256]

(53)   … jangang tinggal di   ruma,   tida bole, **biar**   dulu
         NEG.IMP stay   at   house   NEG   may   although   be.prior

        orang-tua dong bilang begini
        parent   3PL   say   like.this

'[so you kids have to go to school,] don't stay home, (that's) not allowed, **although** the parents said so in the past' [081110-008-CvNP.0036]

14.2.6.   Similarity

As conjunctions, the similative prepositions *sperti* 'similar to' and *kaya* 'like' mark similarity between two clauses. Introducing similarity clauses, both signal that the event or state depicted in the unmarked clause is similar to that described in the similarity clause. The similarity clause always follows the unmarked clause.

    Derived from their prepositional semantics, *sperti* 'similar to' signals likeness in some, often implied, respect, while *kaya* 'like' marks overall resemblance, as shown in (54) and (55), respectively. (See §10.3.1 and §10.3.2 for a detailed discussion of the prepositions *sperti* 'similar to' and *kaya* 'like' and their semantics.)

(54)   mama   dia   lupa   kamu,   **sperti**   kacang   lupa   kulit
       mother   3SG   forget 2PL   similar.to   bean   forget   skin
       'mother forgot you (in a way that is) **similar to** a bean forgetting its skin'
       [080922-001a-CvPh.0932]

(55)   …   tong   taputar,   **kaya**   kitong   ni   ana~ana
           1PL   be.turned.around   like   1PL   D.PROX   RDP~child
       perjalangang   yang   taputar
       journey   REL   be.turned.around
       '[we were looking for a bathroom …, good grief! there weren't (any)
       bathrooms,] we wandered around **like** we here were children on a trip who
       wandered around' [081025-009a-Cv.0059]

14.3.   Conjunctions combining different-type constituents

This section describes two conjunctions which combine different-type constituents.
Complementizer *bahwa* 'that' links a clause to a bivalent verb (§14.3.1), while
relativizer *yang* 'REL' integrates a relative clause within a noun phrase (§14.3.2).

14.3.1.   Complementizer *bahwa* **'that'**

The complementizer *bahwa* 'that' marks "a clause as the complement of a verb"
(Schachter and Shopen 2007: 49). Cross-linguistically, it is typically bivalent "verbs
of utterance and cognition" that take complements (Payne 1997: 279). This also
applies to Papuan Malay. The present corpus contains 68 complement clauses with
bahwa 'that'. In 37 cases, the complement-taking verb is *taw* 'know', followed by
bilang 'say' (5 tokens), *ceritra* 'tell'(4 tokens), and *liat* 'see' (3 tokens).

   Two structural patterns are attested for complementation with *bahwa* 'that'.
Usually, the verb is followed by the clausal complement with *bahwa* 'that' (61
tokens), as in (56) and (57). Alternatively, although much less often, the verb is
followed by an object which is followed by the clausal complement (8 tokens), as in
(58).

          VERB – ***bahwa*** 'that' (OBJECT) – CLAUSAL COMPLEMENT

(56)   sa   tida   **taw**   **bahwa**   jam   tiga   itu   de   su   meninggal
       1SG   NEG   know   that   hour   three   D.DIST   3SG   already   die
       'I didn't **know that** by three o'clock she had already died' [080917-001-
       CvNP.0005]

(57)   kalo   blum   nika   itu,   greja   **bilang**   **bahwa**   dong   dua
       if   not.yet   marry   D.DIST   church   say   that   3PL   two
       blum   jadi   swami   istri
       not.yet become   husband   wife
       'if (they) haven't (officially) married yet, (then) the church **says that** the
       two of them haven't yet become husband and wife' [081110-006-CvEx.0196]

(58) jadi Raymon **tuntut   sama kita** to?, **sama kitorang**
      so   Raymon demand   from 1PL right? from 1PL

      bahwa kamu harus   ganti   lagi
      that   2PL have.to replace also

      [About bride-price customs:] 'so Raymon **demanded from us**, right?, **from
      us that** we also had to compensate (for that wife)' (Lit. '… **from us that**
      you had to replace') [081006-024-CvEx.0019][236]

14.3.2.   Relativizer *yang* 'REL'

Relativizer ***yang*** 'REL' introduces a relative clause which functions "as a modifier
within a noun phrase" (Asher 1994: 5165) (see also §8.2.8). Typically, the relative
clause follows its head nominal, as in (59) and (61a). However, ***yang*** 'REL' can also
introduce a headless relative clause "when the head noun is non-specific", as in (60),
or when "the specific reference to the head is clear" (Payne 1997: 295), as in (61b)
("∅" signifies the implied head nominal).

         Relative clauses with overt head nominal and headless relative clauses

(59) kitong mo hancurkang **tugu**   **yang** ada   di Sarmi itu
      1PL   want shatter   monument REL   exist at Sarmi D.DIST

      'we want to destroy **the statue that** is in Sarmi there' [080917-008-NP.0043]

(60) tong tra ke kampung, tra ada   ∅ **yang** jalang ke kampung
      1PL NEG to village   NEG exist   REL   walk   to village

      'we don't (go) to the village, there is (**nobody**) **who** goes to the village'
      [080917-003a-CvEx.0048]

(61) a. Speaker-1: **Nelci itu**   **yang** mana?
                     Nelci D.DIST REL   where

          Speaker-1: '**which** one is **that Nelci**?'

      b.   Speaker-2: ∅ **yang** kecil~kecil   … ∅ **yang** rajing~rajing
                         REL   RDP~be.small   REL   RDP~be.diligent

          Speaker-2: '(**the one**) **who**'s kind of small … (**the one**) **who**'s very
          diligent' [081115-001a-Cv.0285-0292]

The remainder of this section describes the grammatical positions which can be
relativized in Papuan Malay. The data in the present corpus shows that in terms of
Keenan and Comrie's (1977) "Accessibility Hierarchy", Papuan Malay allows
relativization on all five positions, namely:

         SUBJECT > DIRECT OBJECT > INDIRECT OBJECT > OBLIQUE > POSSESSOR

Relativizing these positions involves two different "case recoverability strategies"
that allow to identify "the role of the referent of the head noun *within the relative
clause*" (Payne 1997: 297). In Papuan Malay, relativization of subject, direct and

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[236] Typically, speakers report direct speech in the form of direct speech rather than indirect
       speech (see also §6.2.1.1).

indirect object arguments is achieved with the "gap strategy", while relativization of obliques and possessors involves "pronoun retention" (1997: 297, 298).

When core arguments are relativized, a gap is left. This gap, signified with "∅", occurs where the relativized noun phrase would be situated if it were expressed overtly. The example in (62) illustrates relativization of a subject argument, in (63) of a direct object argument, and in (64) of an indirect object argument.

Relativization of the subject and direct object positions

(62) tong bagi buat **kitorang yang** ∅ potong itu …,
1PL divide for 1PL REL cut D.DIST

buat **sodara~sodara yang** ∅ tinggal di kampung
for RDP~sibling REL stay at village

[About hunting a wild pig:] we divided (the meat) for **us who** cut (it) up that day, (and) then for **the relatives and friends who** live in the village' [080919-003-NP.0014]

(63) saya kas makang anjing deng **papeda yang** sa pu
1SG give eat dog with sagu.porridge REL 1SG POSS

bini biking ∅ malam untuk anjing dorang
wife make night for dog 3PL

'I fed the dogs with **the sagu porridge which** my wife had prepared for the dogs in the evening' [080919-003-NP.0002]

(64) **Fitri yang** de bapa kasi ∅ ijin mo ikut ke kampung
Fitri REL 3SG father give permission want follow to village

'**Fitri, whom** her husband gave permission, wants to go with (us) to the village' [080925-003-Cv.0211]

Obliques and possessors are relativized via pronoun retention. That is, a retained pronoun explicitly marks the relativized position within the relative clause. This is illustrated with the relativization of an oblique argument in (65), and of a possessor in (66) (see also Chapter 9 on adnominal possessive constructions).

Relativization of the indirect direct object, oblique, and possessor positions

(65) kalo **ana mana yang** sa duduk ceritra **deng dia**,
if child where REL 1SG sit tell with 3SG

itu ana itu, de hormat torang
D.DIST child D.DIST 3SG respect 1PL

'as for **which kid with whom** I sit and talk, that is that kid, she respects us' [081115-001a-Cv.0282]

(66) itu **kaka satu itu yang dia punya** ade prempuang
D.DIST oSb one D.DIST REL 3SG POSS ySb woman

itu tinggal deng Natanael tu
D.DIST stay with Natanael D.DIST

'that is **that one older brother whose** younger sister is staying with Natanael' [080922-001a-CvPh.0888]

14.4. Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition is another strategy in Papuan Malay to link constituents, namely same-type constituents, such as noun phrases, prepositional phrases, verbs, or clauses.

Juxtaposition of noun phrases, as in (67) to (72), occurs considerably less often in the present corpus than conjoining with a conjunction. Three, four or five noun phrases are juxtaposed to enumerate entities; juxtaposition of two noun phrases occurs less often. These findings reflect the results of Stassen's (2000) typological study of noun phrase conjunction which shows that juxtaposition is "a minor strategy" which is often used "in list-like enumerations".[237]

Papuan Malay combines different prosodic features to indicate the structure of the juxtaposed noun phrases: final vowel lengthening (orthographically represented by a sequence of three vowels), slight increase in pitch of the stressed syllable (" ´ "), intonation breaks ("|"), non-final intonation pattern with level pitch ("—"), and end-of-list intonation with fall pitch ("\"). The enumeration structure in (67) is indicated with an increase in pitch, and the last item is marked off by the demonstrative *itu* 'D.DIST'. In (68), the enumeration is signaled with an increase in pitch as well as intonation breaks; the last item has an end-of-list intonation. In (69), the structure is marked with a slight increase in pitch and final vowel lengthening of the first and third coordinands while the fourth item has an end-of-list intonation. The second and third coordinands form a compact intonation unit, separated from the first and fourth coordinands by intonation breaks. After another intonation break following the fourth coordinand, the fifth coordinand is added as an afterthought.

Juxtaposition of noun phrases

(67) —__   —__   —__   __—

    gúntur kílat   hújang itu   dia   sambar
    thunder lightening rain   D.DIST 3SG   strike.one.after.the.other

    ruma   itu   sampeee
    house D.DIST reach

    'that **thunder, lightening, (and) rain**, it hit one house after the other ON AND ON' [081006-022-CvEx.0007]

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[237] According to Stassen (2000: 7–8), "the general trend all over the world is that zero-coordination tends to be marginalized into specific functions or is replaced altogether by overt marking strategies". Mithun (1988: 351–357) suggests that this development is due to the global increase in bilingualism and in literacy. With respect to bilingualism Mithun (1988: 351) observes that "an astonishing number of coordinating conjunctions have been recently borrowed into languages that previously had none". As for the role of literacy, Mithun (1988: 356) notes that, whereas in oral language intonation suffices to signal the syntactic structure of juxtaposed constituents, written language requires the overt and "systematic specification of the precise nature of link" to disambiguate syntactic relations.

(68)   —﹍   —﹍   —﹍   ﹍﹍﹍\

káing | **bántal** | **smúa** | **tíkar**
cloth   pillow   all   plaited.mat
[Listing laundry items:] '**the cloths, pillows, everything, the plaited mats**'
[081025-006-Cv.0057]

(69)   —﹍﹍   ﹍﹍   —﹍﹍   ﹍﹍\   ﹍﹍﹍﹍

kita pake **búmbuuu** | **fetsin gáraaam** | **sere** | **ricaaa**
1PL use   spice   MSG   salt   lemon.grass   red.pepper
'we used **spices, flavoring spice, salt, lemongrass, red pepper**' [080919-004-NP.0037]

Juxtaposition of prepositional phrases, verbs, or clauses is illustrated in (70) to (72). Three prepositional phrases introduced with elative *dari* 'from' are juxtaposed in (70), three verbs in (71), and three clauses in (72) (for easier recognition the first constituent of each of the linked clauses is bolded).

Juxtaposition of prepositional phrases, verbs, or clauses

(70)   baru   sa   punya bapa   dia   turung   **dari**   atas
        and.then 1SG   POSS father 3SG descend from   top

        dari   pedalamang **dari**   Siantoa
        from   interior   from   Siantoa

        'and then my father came down **from** the hills, **from** the interior, **from** Siantoa' [080927-009-CvNP.0010]

(71)   kepala desa   mantang Arbais ada   **duduk ceritra minum**
        head   village former Arbais exist sit   tell   drink

        'the former mayor of Arbais was **sitting** (there and) **talking** (and) **drinking**' [081011-024-Cv.0135]

(72)   **Oktofernus** tra   makang, **Mateus** tra   makang, **Wili** tra
        Oktofernus   NEG   eat   Mateus   NEG   eat   Wili   NEG

        makang, e,   **paytua** tra   makang
        eat   uh   husband   NEG   eat

        '**Oktofernus** didn't eat, **Mateus** didn't eat, **Wili** didn't eat, uh, (my) **husband** didn't eat' [080921-003-CvNP.0005]

14.5. Summary

Papuan Malay conjunctions typically conjoin same-type constituents. Most of them combine clauses with clauses. Only two link different-type constituents, such as verbs with clauses. Typically, the conjunctions occur at the left periphery of the constituent they mark.

The 21 conjunctions linking same-type constituents are divided into six groups according to the semantic relations they signal:

        1.   Addition: *dang* 'and', *dengan* 'with', *sama* 'to'.

2.   Alternative: **ato** 'or' and **ka** 'or'.
3.   Time and/or condition: **trus** 'next', **baru** 'and then', **sampe** 'until', **seblum** 'before', and **kalo** 'when, if'.
4.   Consequence: **jadi** 'so, since', **supaya** 'so that', **untuk** 'for', **karna** 'because', and **gara-gara** 'because'; time-marking **sampe** also signals consequence in the sense of 'with the result that'.
5.   Contrast: **tapi** 'but', **habis** 'after all', **padahal** 'but actually', and **biar** 'although'; time-marking **baru** also marks contrast in the sense of 'after all'.
6.   Similarity: **sperti** 'similar to' and **kaya** 'like'.

The main features of these conjunctions are summarized in two tables. Table 1 lists the conjunctions and the different types of constituents they link. For those linking more than one constituent type, the primary type is underlined. Empty cells signal unattested constituent combinations.

Table 1:   Conjunctions linking same-type constituents and the constituents they combine[238]

CONJUNCTIONS		CL-CL	NP-NP	PP-PP	VP-VP
Addi-tion	**dang** 'and'	<u>X</u>	X		X
	dengan 'with'		<u>X</u>		X
	sama 'to'		<u>X</u>		X
Alt.	**ato** 'or'	<u>X</u>	X	X	X
	ka 'or'	X	<u>X</u>	X	
Time and Condition	**trus** 'next'	<u>X</u>	X	X	
	baru 'and then'	X			
	sampe 'until'	X			
	seblum 'before'	X			
	kalo 'when, if'	X			
Consequence	**jadi** 'if, since'	X			
	supaya 'so that'	X			
	untuk 'for'	X			
	sampe 'with the result that'	X			
	karna 'because'	X			
	gara-gara 'because'	X			
Contrast	**tapi** 'but'	X			
	habis 'after all'	X			
	baru 'after all'	X			
	padahal 'but actually'	X			
	biar 'although'	X			

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[238] Abbreviations: CL = clause, NP = noun phrase, PP = prepositional phrases, VP = verb phrase, Alt. = alternative, Sim. = similarity.

CONJUNCTIONS		CL-CL	NP-NP	PP-PP	VP-VP
Sim.	***sperti*** 'similar to'	X			
	kaya 'like	X			

Table 2 gives an overview of the positions which the conjunctions take within the clause, and the position the clause marked with a conjunction takes vis-à-vis the unmarked clause. Almost all conjunctions occur in clause-initial position, while only two occur in clause-final position. Typically, the clause marked with a conjunction follows the unmarked clause; only a few conjunctions mark clauses which precede the unmarked clause. Two of the conjunctions have two functions each, which belong to different semantic groupings, namely ***baru*** 'and then, after all' and ***sampe*** 'until, with the result that'. Both conjunctions are listed in each of the respective groupings.

Table 2:   Conjunctions linking same-type constituents and their positions

CONJUNCTIONS		CL [CNJ CL]	[CNJ CL] CL	CL [CL CNJ]
Addi-tion	***dang*** 'and'	X		
	dengan 'with'	X		
	sama 'to'	X		
Alt.	***ato*** 'or'	X		
	ka 'or'	X		
Time and Condition	***trus*** 'next'	X		
	baru 'and then	X		
	sampe 'until'	X		
	seblum 'before'	X	X	
	kalo 'when, if'		X	
Consequence	***jadi*** 'if, since'	X		X
	supaya 'so that'	X		
	untuk 'for'	X		
	sampe 'with the result that'	X		
	karna 'because'	X	X	
	gara-gara 'because'	X		
Contrast	***tapi*** 'but'	X		
	habis 'after all'	X		
	baru 'after all'			X
	padahal 'but actually'	X		
	biar 'although'	X	X	
Sim.	***sperti*** 'similar to'	X		
	kaya 'like	X		

The conjunctions combining different-type constituents discussed in this chapter are the complementizer ***bahwa*** 'that' and the relativizer ***yang*** 'REL'. Complementizer ***bahwa*** 'that' links a clause to a bivalent verb, while relativizer ***yang*** 'REL' integrates a relative clause within a noun phrase.

Appendices

A. Word lists

This appendix presents 2,215 lexemes which form the basis for the phonological analysis in Chapter 2.[239] Included are 1,116 Papuan Malay lexical roots, listed in Appendix A.1 (see also §2.1), and 718 loan words, listed in Appendix A.2 (see also §2.5). Also included are 381 items, historically derived by (unproductive) affixation, listed in Appendix A.3 (see also §2.4.4.2). Upon further investigation some of the words listed as inherited Papuan Malay lexemes in Appendix A.1 and Appendix A.3 may also turn out to be loan words.

The lexemes listed in the following sections are presented in their alphabetical order. For each lexeme the following details are included: their phonetic transcription, word class, and English gloss. As discussed in §2.4.4 and §2.5.3.3, lexical roots in Papuan Malay typically carry penultimate stress. In the following sections, lexemes which do not have penultimate but ultimate or antepenultimate stress are marked with "x" for easier recognition.

A.1. Papuan Malay roots

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
A			
abu	ˈa.bu	V.MO(ST)	be dusty
ada	ˈa.da	V.BI	exist
ade	ˈa.dɛ	N	younger sibling
aduk	ˈa.dʊk̚	V.BI	beat
agak	ˈa.gɐk̚	ADV	rather
air	ˈa.ɪr̥	N	water
ajak	ˈa.dʒɐk	V.BI	invite
ajar	ˈa.dʒɐr̥	V.BI	teach
alas	ˈa.lɐs	V.BI	put down as base
ambil	ˈɐm.bɪl	V.TRI	fetch
ampas	ˈɐm.pɐs	N	waste
ampung	ˈɐm.pʊn	N	forgiveness
ana	ˈa.nɐk	N	child
ancam	ˈɐn.tʃɐm	V.BI	threaten
andal	ˈɐn.dɐl	V.MO(ST)	be reliable
ane	ˈa.nɛ	V.MO(ST)	be strange
anggap	ˈɐŋ.gɐp	V.BI	regard as
anging	ˈa.ŋɪn	N	wind
angkat	ˈɐŋ.kɐt̚	V.BI	lift
anjing	ˈɐn.dʒɪŋ	N	dog

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[239] The 2,215 lexemes are extracted from the 2,458-item list, discussed in §1.8.6. The remaining 243 items include lexemes historically derived by (non-productive) affixation of loan words, such as **berkomunikasi** 'communicate' as well as collocations such as **ade-kaka** 'siblings' (see §3.1 and §3.2).

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
antar	ˈɐn.tɐr̥	V.BI	bring
anyam	ˈa.ɲɐm	V.BI	plait
apa	ˈa.pa	INT	what
api	ˈa.pi	N	fire
arang	ˈa.ɾɛŋ	N	charcoal
asap	ˈa.sɐp	N	smoke
asing	ˈa.sɪn	V.MO(ST)	be salty
asing	ˈa.sɪŋ	V.MO(ST)	be foreign
atas	ˈa.tɐs	N-LOC	top
atur	ˈa.tʊr̥	V.BI	arrange
awang	ˈa.wɛŋ	N	cloud
awas	ˈa.wɐs	V.MO(DY)	watch out
ayam	ˈa.jɐm	N	chicken
ayung	ˈa.jʊŋ	V.BI	hit
B			
babat	ˈba.bɐt̚	V.BI	clear away
babi	ˈba.bi	N	pig
bagus	ˈba.gʊs	V.MO(ST)	be good
baik	ˈba.ɪk̚	V.MO(ST)	be good
bakar	ˈba.kɐr̥	V.BI	burn
baku	ˈba.ku	RECP	reciprocal
balap	ˈba.lɐp̚	V.BI	race
balas	ˈba.lɐs	V.BI	reply
balay	ˈba.lɐj	N	meeting hall
balik	ˈba.lɪk̚	V.BI	turn around
balok	ˈba.lɔk̚	N	wooden beam
balut	ˈba.lʊt	V.BI	bandage
bambu	ˈbɐm.bu	N	bamboo
banci	ˈbɐn.tʃi	N	homosexual male
bandar	ˈbɐn.dɐr̥	N	stick
banding	ˈbɐn.dɪŋ	V.BI	compare
bangga	ˈbɛŋ.ga	V.MO(ST)	be proud
bangkit	ˈbɛŋ.kɪt̚	V.MO(ST)	be resurrected
bangung	ˈba.ŋʊn	V.BI	build
bangung	ˈba.ŋʊn	V	wake up
banjir	ˈbɐn.dʒɪr̥	N	flooding
bantal	ˈbɐn.tɐl	N	pillow
banting	ˈbɐn.tɪŋ	V.BI	throw
bantu	ˈbɐn.tu	V.BI	help
banyak	ˈba.ɲɐk̚	QT	many
bapa	ˈba.pa	N	father
barang	ˈba.ɾɛŋ	N	stuff
barapeng	ba.ˈra.pɛn	V.BI	cook with hot stones
baring	ˈba.ɾɪŋ	V.MO(DY)	lie down

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	baris	ˈba.ɾɪs	N	row
	baru	ˈba.ɾʊ	V.MO(ST)	be new
	barusang	ba.ˈɾu.sɐn	ADV	just now
	basa	ˈba.sa	V.MO(ST)	be wet
	batang	ˈba.tɐŋ	N	stick
	batas	ˈba.tɐs	N	border
	batu	ˈba.tu	N	stone
	bawa	ˈba.wa	N-LOC	bottom
	bawa	ˈba.wa	V.TRI	bring
	bawang	ˈba.wɐn	N	onion
	bayam	ˈba.jɐm	N	amaranth
	bayang	ˈba.jɐŋ	N	image
	bayar	ˈba.jɐɹ̥	V.BI	pay
	bayi	ˈba.ji	N	baby
	bayi	ˈba.ji	N	palm stem
x	*bebang*	bɛ.ˈbɐn	N	burden
	bebas	ˈbɛ.bɐs	V.MO(ST)	be free
	bebek	ˈbɛ.bɛ̣k	N	duck
	begini	bɛ.ˈgi.ni	ADV	like this
	begitu	bɛ.ˈgi.tu	ADV	like that
x	*bekal*	bɛ.ˈkɐl	V.MO(ST)	be equipped
x	*bekas*	bə.ˈkɐs	N	trace
	belalang	bɛ.ˈla.lɐŋ	N	grasshopper
	belok	ˈbɛ.lɔk	V.MO(DY)	turn
x	*benang*	bɛ.ˈnɐŋ	N	thread
x	*benar*	bɛ.ˈnɐr	V.MO(ST)	be true
	bencong	ˈbɛn.tʃɔŋ	N	transvestite
x	*bengkak*	bɛŋ.ˈkɐk˭	V.MO(ST)	be swollen
	bengkok	ˈbɛŋ.kɔk˭	V.MO(ST)	be crooked
x	*bentuk*	bɛn.ˈtʊk	V.BI	form
	bera	ˈbɛ̣.ɾa	V.BI	defecate
	beres	ˈbɛ̣.ɾɛ̣s	V.MO(ST)	be in order
	berhala	bɛr.ˈha.la	N	idol
x	*bernang*	bɛr.ˈnɐŋ	V.MO(DY)	swim
x	*bersi*	bɛr.ˈsi	V.MO(ST)	be clean
x	*besar*	bɛ.ˈsɐr	V.MO(ST)	be big
	besi	ˈbɛ.si	N	metal
	besok	ˈbɛ.sɔk˭	N	tomorrow
	bete	ˈbɛ.tɛ	N	taro
x	*betul*	bɛ.ˈtʊl	V.MO(ST)	be true
	biang	ˈbɪ.ɐŋ	N	main root stock
	biar	ˈbi.ɐr	V.BI	let
	bibit	ˈbɪ.bɪt	N	seed
	biking	ˈbi.kɪn	V.BI	make
	bilang	ˈbi.lɐŋ	V.BI	say

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
bimbing	ˈbɪm.bɪŋ	V.BI	lead
binatang	bi.ˈna.tɐn	N	animal
bingung	ˈbi.ŋʊŋ	V.MO(ST)	be confused
bini	ˈbi.ni	N	wife
bintang	ˈbɪn.tɐŋ	N	star
biru	ˈbi.ɾu	V.MO(ST)	be blue
bisa	ˈbi.sa	V.MO(ST)	be capable
bisik	ˈbi.sɪk̚	V.BI	whisper
bisu	ˈbi.su	V.MO(ST)	be mute
bla	ˈbla	V.BI	split
blakang	ˈbla.kɐŋ	N-LOC	backside
blanga	ˈbla.ŋa	N	cooking pot
blanja	ˈblɐn.dʒa	V.BI	shop
blas	ˈblɐs	NUM.C	teens
bli	ˈbli	V.TRI	buy
blimbing	ˈblɪm.bɪŋ	N	star fruit
blum	ˈblʊm	ADV	not yet
bobo	ˈbɔ.bɔ	N	Nipah palm fruit schnapps
bocor	ˈbɔ.tʃɔr	V.MO(DY)	leak
bodo	ˈbɔ.dɔ	V.MO(ST)	be stupid
bole	ˈbɔ.lɛ	V.AUX	may
bongkar	ˈbɔŋ.kɐr̥	V.BI	unload
bongkok	ˈbɔŋ.kɔk̚	V.MO(ST)	be bent over
bongso	ˈbɔŋ.sɔ̞	N	youngest offspring
borgol	ˈbɔr.gɔl	V.BI	handcuff
bosang	ˈbɔ.sɐn	V.MO(ST)	be bored
botak	ˈbɔ.tɐk̚	V.MO(ST)	be bald
brani	ˈbra.ni	V.MO(ST)	be courageous
brapa	ˈbra.pa	INT	how many
bras	ˈbrɐs	N	hulled rice
brat	ˈbrɐt̚	V.MO(ST)	be heavy
bua	ˈbu.a	N	fruit
buang	ˈbu.ɐŋ	V.BI	discard
buat	ˈbu.ɐt	V.BI	make
buat	ˈbʊ.ɐt	PREP	for
buaya	bʊ.ˈa.ja	N	crocodile
bubar	ˈbu.bɐr̥	V.BI	scatter
bujang	ˈbu.dʒɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be unmarried
bujuk	ˈbu.dʒʊk	V.BI	trick
buka	ˈbu.ka	V.BI	open
bukang	ˈbʊ.kɐn	ADV	NEG
bukit	ˈbu.kɪt	N	mountain
bulang	ˈbu.lɐn	N	month
bulat	ˈbu.lɐt̚	V.MO(ST)	be round
bule	ˈbu.lɛ	N	white person

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	bulu	ˈbu.lu	N	body hair
	bumbu	ˈbʊm.bʊ	N	spice
	bunga	ˈbu.ŋa	N	flower
	bungkus	ˈbʊŋ.kʊs	V.BI	pack
	buntu	ˈbʊn.tʊ	V.MO(ST)	be blocked
	bunu	ˈbu.nu	V.BI	kill
	bunyi	ˈbu.ɲi	N	sound
	buru	ˈbu.ɾu	V.BI	hunt
	burung	ˈbʊ.ɾʊŋ	N	bird
	busa	ˈbu.sa	N	foam
	busuk	ˈbʊ.sʊk̚	V.MO(ST)	be rotten
	busur	ˈbu.sʊ̥ɾ	N	bow
	buta	ˈbu.ta	V.MO(ST)	be blind
	butu	ˈbu.tu	V.BI	need

C

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	cabang	ˈtʃa.bɐŋ	N	branch
	cabut	ˈtʃa.bʊt	V.BI	pull out
	cacat	ˈtʃa.tʃɐt̚	V.MO(ST)	be disabled
	cakar	ˈtʃa.kɐ̥ɾ	V.BI	scratch
	calong	ˈtʃa.lɔn	N	candidate
	camat	ˈtʃa.mɐt	N	subdistrict head
	campur	ˈtsɐm.pʊ̥ɾ	V.BI	mix
	canggi	ˈtʃɐŋ.gi	V.MO(ST)	be sophisticated
	cangkul	ˈtʃɐŋ.kʊl	N	mattock
	cantik	ˈtʃɐn.tɪk̚	V.MO(ST)	be beautiful
	cape	ˈtʃa.pɛ	V.MO(ST)	be tired
	catat	ˈtʃa.tɐt	V.BI	note
	cebo	ˈtʃɛ.bɔ	V.BI	wash after defecating
	cece	ˈtʃɛ.tʃɛ	N	great-grandchild
x	*cegat*	tʃɛ.ˈgɐt̚	V.BI	hold up
	cengeng	ˈtʃɛ.ŋɛŋ	V.MO(ST)	be a crybaby
x	*cepat*	tʃɛ.ˈpɐt̚	V.MO(ST)	be fast
x	*cerey*	tʃɛ.ˈɾɛj	V.BI	divorce
	cetak	ˈtʃɛ.tɐk	V.BI	print
	cewe	ˈtʃɛ.wɛ	N	girl
	cici	ˈtʃi.tʃi	N	great-great-grandchild
	cincang	ˈtʃɪn.tʃɐŋ	V.BI	chop up
	ciri	ˈtʃi.ɾi	N	feature
	cium	ˈtʃi.ʊm	V.BI	kiss
	coba	ˈtʃɔ.ba	V.BI	try
	cobe	ˈtʃɔ.bɛ	N	mortar
	coblos	ˈtʃɔ.blɔs	V.BI	punch
	cocok	ˈtʃɔ.tʃɔk̚	V.MO(ST)	be suitable
	colo	ˈtʃɔ.lɔ	V.BI	immerse

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
conto	ˈtʃɔn.tɔ̯	N	example
crewet	ˈtʃɾɛ.wɛt̚	V.MO(ST)	be chatty
cucu	ˈtʃu.tʃu	N	grandchild
cuki	ˈtʃu.ki	V.BI	fuck
cukup	ˈtʃu.kʊp	V.MO(ST)	be enough
cukur	ˈtʃu.kʊɾ̥	V.BI	level
culik	ˈtʃu.lɪk	V.BI	kidnap
curang	ˈtʃu.ɾɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be dishonest

D

dada	ˈda.da	N	chest
daging	ˈda.gɪŋ	N	meat
daki	ˈda.ki	N	grime
dalam	ˈda.lɐm	N-LOC	inside
damay	ˈda.mɐj	N	peace
dang	ˈdɐn	CNJ	and
dano	ˈda.nɔ	N	lake
dapat	ˈda.pɐt̚	V.BI	get
dapur	ˈda.pʊɾ̥	N	kitchen
dara	ˈda.ɾa	N	blood
darat	ˈda.ɾɐt	N	land
dari	ˈda.ɾi	PREP	from
dasar	ˈda.sɐɾ̥	N	base
datang	ˈda.tɐŋ	V.MO(DY)	come
daung	ˈda.ʊn	N	leaf
dayung	ˈda.jʊŋ	N/V.BI	paddle
de	ˈdɛ	PRO	3SG
x *dekat*	dɛ.ˈkɐt̚	V.BI	near
x *dengang*	dɛ.ˈŋɐn	PREP	with
x *dengar*	dɛ.ˈŋɐɾ̥	V.BI	hear
depang	ˈdɛ.pɐn	N-LOC	front
x *desak*	dɛ.ˈsɐk	V.BI	urge
di	ˈdi	PREP	at
dia	ˈdɪ.a	PRO	3SG
diam	ˈdi.ɐm	V.MO(ST)	be quiet
didik	ˈdi.dɪk	V.BI	educate
dinding	ˈdɪn.dɪŋ	N	interior wall
dinging	ˈdi.ŋɪn	V.MO(ST)	be cold
diri	ˈdi.ɾi	N	self
dlapang	ˈdla.pɐn	NUM.C	eight
dong	ˈdɔŋ	PRO	3PL
dongeng	ˈdɔ.ŋɛn	N	legend
dorang	ˈdɔ.ɾɐŋ	PRO	3PL
dorong	ˈdɔ.ɾɔ̯ŋ	V.BI	push
dua	ˈdu.a	NUM.C	two

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	duduk	ˈdʊ.dʊk	V.MO(DY)	sit
	dukung	ˈdʊ.kʊŋ	V.BI	support
	dulu	ˈdu.lu	V.MO(ST)	be prior
	dumpul	ˈdʊm.pʊl	V.BI	hit
	duri	ˈdu.ɾi	N	thorn
	dusung	ˈdʊ.sʊn	N	garden
	E			
	ejek	ˈɛ.dʒɛk̚	V.BI	mock
	ekor	ˈɛ.kɔɻ	N	tail
x	**emas**	ɛˈmɐs	N	gold
x	**empat**	əmˈpɐt̚	NUM.C	four
	enak	ˈɛ.nɐk̚	V.MO(ST)	be pleasant
x	**enam**	ɛˈnɐm	NUM.C	six
	epeng	ˈɛ̞.pɛŋ	V.MO(ST)	be important
	G			
	gaba	ˈga.ba	N	unhulled paddy
	gabung	ˈga.bʊŋ	V.BI	join
	gagal	ˈga.gɐl	V.BI	fail
	gale	ˈga.lɛ	V.BI	dig up
	gambar	ˈgɐm.bɐɻ	V.BI/N	draw / drawing
	gampang	ˈgɐm.pɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be easy
	ganas	ˈga.nɐs	V.BI	feel furious (about)
	gandeng	ˈgɐn.dɛŋ	V.BI	hold
	ganggu	ˈgɐŋ.gu	V.BI	disturb
	ganjal	ˈgɐn.dʒɐl	V.BI	prop up
	ganteng	ˈgɐn.tɛŋ	V.MO(ST)	be handsome
	ganti	ˈgɐn.ti	V.BI	replace
	gantong	ˈgɐn.tɔŋ	V.BI	hang
	gara	ˈga.ɾa	V.BI	irritate
	garam	ˈga.ɾɐm	N	salt
	garo	ˈga.ɾɔ	V.BI	scratch
	gatal	ˈga.tɐl	V.MO(ST)	be itchy
	gate	ˈga.tɛ	V.BI	hook
	gawang	ˈga.wɐŋ	N	goal posts
	gawat	ˈga.wɐt̚	V.MO(ST)	be terrible
	gaya	ˈga.ja	N	manner
	gedi	ˈgɛ.di	N	aibika
x	**gedung**	gɛˈdʊŋ	N	building
x	**geli**	gɛˈli	V.BI	tickle
x	**gementar**	ˌgɛ.mɛnˈtɐɻ	V.MO(DY)	tremble
x	**gemuk**	gɛˈmʊk̚	V.MO(ST)	be fat
x	**gencar**	gɛnˈtʃɐr	V.MO(ST)	be incessant
	gendong	ˈgɛn.dɔŋ	V.BI	hold
	gepe	ˈgɛ.pɛ	V.BI	clamp

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
x	*gertak*	gɛɾ.ˈtɐk	V.BI	intimidate
	giawas	gɪ.ˈa.wɐs	N	guava
	gigi	ˈgi.gi	N	tooth
	gigit	ˈgi.gɪt	V.BI	bite
	gila	ˈgi.la	V.MO(ST)	be crazy
	giling	ˈgɪ.lɪŋ	V.BI	grind
	glang	ˈglɐŋ	N	bracelet
	glap	ˈglɐp˺	V.MO(ST)	be dark
	glombang	ˈglɔm.bɐŋ	N	wave
	gnemo	ˈgnɛ.mɔ	N	melinjo
	goblok	ˈgɔ.blɔk˺	V.MO(ST)	be stupid
	gode	ˈgɔ.dɛ	V.MO(ST)	be fat
	gonceng	ˈgɔn.tʃɛŋ	V.BI	give a ride
	gondrong	ˈgɔn.drɔŋ	V.MO(ST)	be long haired
	gora	ˈgɔ.ɾa	N	water apple
	goreng	ˈgɔ.ɾɛŋ	V.BI	fry
	goso	ˈgɔ.sɔ	V.BI	rub
	goyang	ˈgɔ.jɐŋ	V.BI	shake
	gugat	ˈgu.gɐt	V.BI	demand
	gugur	ˈgʊ.gʊɾ̥	V.MO(DY)	fall (prematurely)
	guling	ˈgu.lɪŋ	V.MO(DY)	roll over
	guntur	ˈgʊn.tʊɾ̥	N	thunder
	gunung	ˈgʊ.nʊŋ	N	mountain
	gurango	gʊ.ˈɾa.ŋɔ	N	shark
	gurita	gu.ˈɾi.ta	N	octopus
	H			
	habis	ˈha.bɪs	V.MO(ST)	be used up
	hajar	ˈha.dʒɐɾ̥	V.BI	beat up
	halamang	ha.ˈla.mɐn	N	yard
	halus	ˈha.lʊs	V.MO(ST)	be soft
	hamba	ˈhɐm.ba	N	servant
	hambat	ˈhɐm.bɐt˺	V.BI	block
	hambur	ˈhɐm.bʊɾ̥	V.BI	scatter
	hampir	ˈhɐm.pɪr	ADV	almost
	hancur	ˈhɐn.tʃʊr	V	be shattered
	hangus	ˈha.ŋʊs	V.MO(ST)	be singed
	hantam	ˈhɐn.tɐm	V.BI	strike
	hanya	ˈha.ɲa	ADV	only
	hapus	ˈha.pʊs	V.BI	completely remove
	harap	ˈha.ɾɐp	V.BI	hope
	harus	ˈha.ɾʊs	V.AUX	have to
	hati	ˈha.ti	N	liver
	haus	ˈha.ʊs	V.MO(ST)	be thirsty
	hela	ˈhɛ.la	V.BI	haul

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
hias	ˈhɪ.ɐs	V.BI	decorate
hidup	ˈhi.dʊp̚	V.MO(DY)	live
hijow	ˈhi.dʒɔw	V.MO(ST)	be green
hilang	ˈhɪ.lɛŋ	V.MO(ST)	be lost
hinggap	ˈhɪŋ.gɐp̚	V.MO(DY)	perch
hitam	ˈhi.tɛm	V.MO(ST)	be black
hitung	ˈhi.tʊŋ	V.BI	count
hoki	ˈhɔ.ki	N	plant stem
hosa	ˈhɔ.sa	V.MO(DY)	pant
hujang	ˈhu.dʒɐn	N	rain
hutang	ˈhʊ.tɐŋ	N	debt
hutang	ˈhu.tɐn	N	forest

I

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
ibu	ˈi.bu	N	woman
ikang	ˈi.kɐn	N	fish
ikat	ˈi.kɐt̚	V.BI	tie up
ikut	ˈi.kʊt̚	V.BI	follow
ingat	ˈi.ŋɐt̚	V.BI	remember
inging	ˈi.ŋɪn	V.BI	wish
ingus	ˈi.ŋʊs	N	snot
ini	ˈi.ni	DEM	D.PROX
injak	ˈɪn.dʒa	V.BI	step on
ipar	ˈi.pɐr	N	sibling in-law
iris	ˈɪ.ɾɪs	V.BI	cut
isap	ˈi.sɐp̚	V.BI	smoke
isi	ˈi.si	V.BI/N	fill / filling
itu	ˈi.tu	DEM	D.DIST

J

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
jadi	ˈdʒa.di	V.BI	become
jadi	ˈdʒa.di	CNJ	so
jago	ˈdʒa.gɔ	N	candidate
jagung	ˈdʒa.gʊn	N	corn
jahat	ˈdʒa.hɐt̚	V.MO(ST)	be bad
jahe	ˈdʒa.hɛ	N	ginger
jahit	ˈdʒa.hɪt̚	V.BI	sew
jaja	ˈdʒa.dʒa	V.BI	colonize
jajang	ˈdʒa.dʒɐn	N	snack
jalang	ˈdʒa.lɛn	V.MO(DY)/N	walk / street
jalur	ˈdʒa.lʊr	N	traffic lane
jangang	ˈdʒa.ŋɐn	ADV	NEG.IMP
jangkrik	ˈdʒɐŋ.krɪk̚	N	cricket
janji	ˈdʒɐn.dʒi	V.BI	promise
jantung	ˈdʒɐn.tʊŋ	N	heart
jarak	ˈdʒa.ɾɐk	N	distance between

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	jarang	ˈdʒa.ɾɐŋ	ADV	rarely
	jari	ˈdʒa.ɾi	N	digit
	jaring	ˈdʒa.ɾɪŋ	N	net
	jata	ˈdʒa.ta	N	allotment
	jatu	ˈdʒa.tu	V.MO(DY)	fall
	jaw	ˈdʒɐw	V.MO(ST)	be far
	jaya	ˈdʒa.ja	V.MO(ST)	be glorious
x	*jelas*	dʒɛ.ˈlɐs	V.MO(ST)	be clear
	jelek	dʒɛ.ˈlɛk̚	V.MO(ST)	be bad
	jembatang	dʒɛm.ˈba.tɐn	N	bridge
x	*jempol*	dʒɛm.ˈpɔl	N	thumb
x	*jemput*	dʒɛm.ˈpʊt	V.BI	pick up
x	*jemur*	dʒɛ.ˈmʊr	V.BI	dry in sun
	jenggot	ˈdʒɛŋ.gɔt̚	N	beard
	jengkel	ˈdʒɛŋ.kɛl	V.BI	annoy
x	*jerat*	dʒɛ.ˈɾɐt̚	N	trap
	jerawat	dʒɛ.ˈɾa.wɐt̚	N	acne
	jeruk	ˈdʒɛ.ɾʊk̚	N	citrus fruit
	jintang	ˈdʒɪn.tɐŋ	N	caraway seed
	jual	ˈdʒu.ɐl	V.BI	sell
	juara	dʒu.ˈa.ɾa	N	champion
	jubi	ˈdʒu.bi	N/V.BI	bow and arrow / bow shoot
	juga	ˈdʒu.ga	ADV	also
	jujur	ˈdʒu.dʒʊr	V.MO(ST)	be honest
	jungkir	ˈdʒʊŋ.kɪr	V.BI	flip over
	jurang	ˈdʒu.ɾɐn	N	steep decline
	jurus	ˈdʒu.ɾʊs	N	steps

K

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	ka	ˈka	CNJ	or
	kabur	ˈka.bʊr	V.MO(ST)	be hazy
	kabut	ˈka.bʊt̚	N	fog
	kacang	ˈka.tʃɐŋ	N	bean
	kaco	ˈka.tʃɔ	V.MO(ST)	be confused
	kadang	ˈka.dɐŋ	ADV	sometimes
	kaget	ˈka.gɛt̚	V.BI	feel startled (by)
	kaing	ˈka.ɪn	N	cloth
	kaka	ˈka.ka	N	older sibling
	kaki	ˈka.ki	N	foot
	kala	ˈka.la	V.MO(ST)	be defeated
	kalangang	ka.ˈla.ŋɐn	N	circle
	kaleng	ˈka.lɛŋ	N	tin can
	kali	ˈka.li	N	river
	kalong	ˈka.lɔŋ	N	necklace
	kam	ˈkɐm	PRO	2PL

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	kamorang	ka.ˈmɔ.ɾɐŋ	PRO	2PL
	kampung	ˈkɐm.pʊŋ	N	village
	kamu	ˈka.mu	PRO	2PL
	kanang	ˈka.nɐn	ADV	right
	kancing	ˈkɐn.tʃɪŋ	V.BI	lock
	kandam	ˈkɐn.dɐm	N	stable
	kandung	ˈkɐn.dʊŋ	N	womb
	kangkung	ˈkɐŋ.kʊŋ	N	water spinach
	kapak	ˈka.pɐk	N	axe
	kapang	ˈka.pɐn	INT	when
	kapur	ˈka.pʊɾ̥	N	lime
	karang	ˈka.ɾɐŋ	N	lime stone
	karet	ˈka.ɾɛt	N	rubber
	karong	ˈka.ɾɔŋ	N	bag
	kasar	ˈka.sɐɾ̥	V.MO(ST)	be coarse
	kasbi	ˈkɐs.bi	N	cassava
	kasi	ˈkɐs	V.TRI	give
	kasi	ˈka.si	N	love
	kaswari	ka.ˈswa.ɾi	N	cassowary
	kawang	ˈka.wɐn	N	friend
	kaya	ˈka.ja	PREP	like
	kayu	ˈka.ju	N	wood
	ke	ˈkɛ	PREP	to
x	*kebung*	kɛ.ˈbʊn	N	garden
x	*kecil*	kɛ.ˈtʃɪl	V.MO(ST)	be small
	kecuali	ˌkɛ.tʃʊ.ˈa.li	ADV	except
x	*kejar*	kɛ.ˈdʒɐr	V.BI	chase
	kemaring	kɛ.ˈma.ɾɪn	N	yesterday
	kembali	kɛm.ˈba.li	V.MO(DY)	return
x	*kembang*	kɛm.ˈbɐŋ	N	flower
x	*kembar*	kɛm.ˈbɐɾ̥	N	twin
	kempes	ˈkɛm.pɛs	V.MO(ST)	be deflated
x	*kena*	kɛ.ˈna	V.BI	hit
x	*kenal*	kɛ.ˈnɐl	V.BI	know
x	*kencang*	kɛn.ˈtʃɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be speedy
	kendali	kɛn.ˈda.li	N	reins
	kendara	kɛn.ˈda.ɾa	V.BI	ride
x	*kental*	kɛn.ˈtɐl	V.MO(ST)	be fluent
	kentara	kɛn.ˈta.ɾa	V.MO(ST)	be visible
x	*kenyang*	kɛ.ˈɲɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be satisfied
	kepiting	kɛ.ˈpi.tɪŋ	N	crab
x	*kepung*	kɛ.ˈpʊn	V.BI	surround
x	*kera*	kɛ.ˈra	N	ape
x	*ketang*	kɛ.ˈtɐŋ	N	crab
	ketapang	kɛ.ˈta.pɐŋ	N	tropical-almond

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
x	*ketuk*	kɛ.ˈtʊkˀ	V.BI	knock
	kewa	ˈkɛ.wa	N	dance party
	kicaw	ˈki.tʃɐw	V.MO(ST)	be naughty
	kikir	ˈki.kɪr̥	V.MO(ST)	be stingy
	kikis	ˈki.kɪs	V.BI	scrape
	kilat	ˈki.lɐtˀ	N	lightening
	kincing	ˈkɪn.tʃɪŋ	V.BI	pee
	kintal	ˈkɪn.tɐl	N	yard
	kipas	ˈki.pɐs	V.BI	beat
	kira	ˈki.ɾa	V.MO(DY)	think
	kiri	ˈki.ɾi	ADV	left
	kirim	ˈki.ɾɪm	V.TRI	send
	kita	ˈki.ta	PRO	1PL
x	*kitong*	ki.ˈtɔŋ	PRO	1PL
	kitorang	ki.ˈtɔ.ɾɛŋ	PRO	1PL
	kladi	ˈkla.di	N	taro root
	klambu	ˈklɐm.bu	N	mosquito net
	klapa	ˈkla.pa	N	coconut
	klawar	ˈkla.wɐr̥	N	cave bat
	klereng	ˈklɛ.ɾɛŋ	N	marbles
	kliling	ˈklɪ.lɪŋ	V.BI	travel around
	klompok	ˈklɔm.pɔk	N	group
	knapa	ˈkna.pa	INT	why
	ko	ˈkɔ	PRO	2SG
	koco	ˈkɔ.tʃɔ	V.BI	tell off
	kodok	ˈkɔ.dɔk	N	frog
	kolam	ˈkɔ.lɐm	N	big hole
	kolong	ˈkɔ.lɔŋ	N	space below
	korek	ˈkɔ.ɾɛk	N/V.BI	matches / scrape
	kos	ˈkɔs	N	boarding house
	kosong	ˈkɔ.sɔŋ	V.MO(ST)	be empty
	kota	ˈkɔ.ta	N	city
	kotor	ˈkɔ.tɔr̥	V.MO(ST)	be dirty
	kras	ˈkrɐs	V.MO(ST)	be harsh
	kring	ˈkrɪŋ	V.MO(ST)	be dry
	kringat	ˈkri.ŋɐtˀ	V.MO(DY)	sweat
	kriting	ˈkrɪ.tɪŋ	V.MO(ST)	be curly
	kuca	ˈku.tʃa	V.BI	rub with hands
	kucing	ˈku.tʃɪŋ	N	cat
	kuku	ˈku.ku	N	digit nail
	kukus	ˈku.kʊs	V.BI	steam
	kulit	ˈku.lɪt	N	skin
	kumis	ˈku.mɪs	N	mustache
	kumpul	ˈkʊm.pʊl	V.BI	gather
x	*kumur*	kʊ.ˈmʊr	V.BI	rinse mouth

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	kunya	ˈkʊ.ɲa	V.BI	chew
	kupas	ˈku.pɐs	V.BI	peel
	kurang	ˈku.ɾɐŋ	V.BI	lack
	kurung	ˈkʊ.ɾʊŋ	V.BI	imprison
	kurus	ˈkʊ.ɾʊs	V.MO(ST)	be thin
x	*kuskus*	kʊs.ˈkʊs	N	cuscus
	kutik	ˈku.tɪk̚	V.BI	snap
	kutu	ˈku.tu	N	louse
	kutuk	ˈku.tʊk	V.BI/N	curse
	kwali	ˈkwa.li	N	frying pan

L

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
lada	ˈla.da	N	pepper
ladang	ˈla.dɐŋ	N	field
lagi	ˈla.gi	ADV	also, again
lagu	ˈla.gu	N	song
laing	ˈla.ɪn	V.MO(ST)	be different
laju	ˈla.dʒu	V.MO(ST)	be quick
laki	ˈla.ki	N	husband
lalapang	la.ˈla.pɐn	N	k. o. vegetable dish
lalat	ˈla.lɛt	N	fly
laley	ˈla.lɛj	V.MO(ST)	be careless
lama	ˈla.ma	V.MO(ST)	be long (of duration)
lamar	ˈla.mɐr	V.BI	apply for
lambat	ˈlɐm.bɐt	V.MO(ST)	be slow
lancar	ˈlɐn.tʃɐr̥	V.MO(ST)	be fluent
langar	ˈla.ŋɐr	V.BI	collide with
langit	ˈla.ŋɪt̚	N	sky
langka	ˈlɐŋ.ka	N	step
langsung	ˈlɐŋ.sʊŋ	ADV	directly
lanjut	ˈlɐn.dʒʊt̚	V.BI	continue
lante	ˈlɐn.tɛ	N	floor
lantik	ˈlɐn.tɪk̚	V.BI	inaugurate someone
lapang	ˈla.pɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be spacious
lapar	ˈla.pɐr̥	V.MO(ST)	be hungry
lapis	ˈla.pɪs	QT	all
lapuk	ˈla.pʊk	V.MO(DY)	decompose
larang	ˈla.ɾɐŋ	V.BI	forbid
lari	ˈla.ɾi	V.MO(DY)	run
larut	ˈla.ɾʊt	V.MO(ST)	be protracted
lati	ˈla.ti	V.BI	practice
lauk	ˈla.ʊk	N	side dish
laut	ˈla.ʊt̚	N	sea
lawang	ˈla.wɐn	V.BI	oppose
layak	ˈla.jɐk	V.MO(ST)	be suitable

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	layang	ˈla.jɐn	V.BI	serve
	layar	ˈla.jɐr	V.MO(DY)	sail
	lebar	ˈlɛ.bɐr̥	V.MO(ST)	be wide
	lebarang	lɛ.ˈba.rɐn	N	end of fasting month
x	*lebi*	lɛ.ˈbi	ADV	more
x	*lega*	lɛ.ˈga	V.MO(ST)	be relieved
	leher	ˈlɛ.hɛr̥	N	neck
x	*lema*	lɛ.ˈma	V.MO(ST)	be weak
x	*lemba*	lɛm.ˈba	N	valley
	lembaga	lɛm.ˈba.ga	N	institute
x	*lembar*	lɛm.ˈbɐr	N	sheet
	lembek	ˈlɛm.bɛk	V.MO(ST)	be soft
	lempar	ˈlɛm.pɐr	V.BI	throw
x	*lengkap*	lɛŋ.ˈkɐp	V.MO(ST)	be complete
x	*lepas*	lə.ˈpɐs	V.BI	free
	lewat	ˈlɛ.wɐt̚	V.BI	pass by
	liar	ˈlɪ.ɐr̥	V.MO(ST)	be wild
	liat	ˈlɪ.ɐt̚	V.BI	see
	libur	ˈli.bʊr̥	V.MO(DY)	take vacation
	licing	ˈli.tʃɪn	V.MO(ST)	be straight
	lida	ˈli.da	N	tongue
	liling	ˈlɪ.lɪn	N	candle
	lima	ˈli.ma	NUM.C	five
	limpa	ˈlɪm.pa	V.MO(ST)	be abundant
	lingkar	ˈlɪŋ.kɐr̥	V.BI	circle
	lipat	ˈli.pɐt̚	V.BI	fold
	lobe	ˈlɔ.bɛ	V.BI	night hunt
	lomba	ˈlɔm.ba	N	contest
	lompat	ˈlɔm.pa	V.BI	jump
	loncat	ˈlɔn.tʃɐt̚	V.BI	jump
	longgar	ˈlɔŋ.gɐr̥	V.MO(ST)	be thin
	loyang	ˈlɔ.jɐn	N	large bowl
	loyo	ˈlɔ.jɔ	V.MO(ST)	be weak
	luar	ˈlʊ.ɐr̥	N-LOC	outside
	luas	ˈlʊ.ɐs	V.MO(ST)	be vast
	lubang	ˈlʊ.bɐŋ	N	hole
	lucu	ˈlu.tʃu	V.MO(ST)	be funny
	luda	ˈlu.da	V.BI	spit
	luka	ˈlʊ.ka	N	wound
	lulus	ˈlu.lʊs	V.BI	pass (a test)
	lumayang	lu.ˈma.jɐn	V.MO(ST)	be moderate
	lunas	ˈlu.nɐs	V.MO(ST)	be paid
	luncur	ˈlʊn.tʃʊr	V.BI	slide
	lupa	ˈlu.pa	V.BI	forget
	lur	ˈlʊr	V.BI	spy on

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
luru	ˈlu.ɾu	V.BI	chase after
lurus	ˈlʊ.ɾʊs	V.MO(ST)	be straight
lusa	ˈlu.sa	N	day after tomorrow
lutut	ˈlu.tʊt	N	knee
M			
mabuk	ˈma.bʊk̚	V.MO(ST)	be drunk
macang	ˈma.tʃɐm	N	variety
mace	ˈma.tʃɛ	N	woman
macet	ˈma.tʃɛ̞t	V.MO(ST)	be stuck
mahal	ˈma.hɐl	V.MO(ST)	be expensive
maing	ˈma.ɪn	V.BI	play
maju	ˈma.dʒu	V.MO(DY)	advance
makang	ˈma.kɐn	V.BI	eat
maki	ˈma.ki	V.BI	abuse verbally
making	ˈma.kɪn	ADV	increasingly
mala	ˈma.la	ADV	even
malam	ˈma.lɐm	N	night
malas	ˈma.lɐs	V.MO(ST)	be listless
maling	ˈma.lɪŋ	N	thief
malu	ˈma.lu	V.BI	feel embarrassed (about)
mampu	ˈmɐm.pu	V.MO(ST)	be capable
mana	ˈma.na	INT	where
mancing	ˈmɐn.tʃɪŋ	V.BI	fish with rod
mandi	ˈmɐn.di	V.MO(DY)	bathe
mandiri	mɐn.ˈdi.ɾi	V.MO(DY)	stand alone
mandul	ˈmɐn.dʊl	V.MO(ST)	be sterile
mangkok	ˈmɐŋ.kɔk	N	cup
manis	ˈma.nɪs	V.MO(ST)	be sweet
manja	ˈmɐn.dʒa	V.BI	spoil
mantang	ˈmɐn.tɐn	V.MO(ST)	be former
mantap	ˈmɐn.tɐp̚	V.MO(ST)	be good
mantu	ˈmɐn.tu	N	in-law
mara	ˈma.ɾa	V.BI	feel angry (about)
mari	ˈma.ɾi	LOC	hither
masa	ˈma.sa	V.MO(ST)	impossible
masak	ˈma.sɐk	V.BI	cook
masi	ˈma.si	ADV	still
masuk	ˈma.sʊk̚	V.BI	enter
mata	ˈma.ta	N	eye
mati	ˈma.tɪ	V.MO(DY)	die
maw	ˈmɐw	V.BI	want
mayana	ma.ˈja.na	N	painted nettle
mayang	ˈma.jɐŋ	N	palm blossom
x *mekar*	mɛ.ˈkɐr	V.MO(DY)	blossom

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	melulu	mɛ.ˈlu.lu	ADV	exclusively
	memang	ˈmɛ.mɐŋ	ADV	indeed
x	*menang*	mɛ.ˈnɐŋ	V.BI	win
x	*menta*	mɛn.ˈta	V.MO(ST)	be uncooked
	mera	ˈmɛ.ɾa	V.MO(ST)	be red
	mesti	ˈmɛs.ti	V.AUX	have to
	meti	ˈmɛ.ti	N	low tide
	mewa	ˈmɛ.wa	V.MO(ST)	be luxurious
	mimpi	ˈmɪm.pi	V.BI	dream (of)
	minang	ˈmi.nɐŋ	V.BI	propose
	minta	ˈmɪn.ta	V.BI	request
	minum	ˈmi.nʊm	V.BI	drink
	minyak	ˈmi.ɲɐk	N	oil
	miring	ˈmɪ.ɾɪŋ	V.MO(ST)	be sideways
	mirip	ˈmɪ.ɾɪp̚	V.BI	resemble
	mo	ˈmɔ	V.BI	want
	molo	ˈmɔ.lɔ	V.BI	dive, drown
	mono	ˈmɔ.nɔ	V.MO(ST)	be stupid
	monyet	ˈmɔ.ɲɛt	N	monkey
	moyang	ˈmɔ.jɐŋ	N	ancestor
	muara	mʊ.ˈa.ɾa	N	river mouth
	muat	ˈmʊ.ɐt̚	V.BI	hold
	muda	ˈmu.da	V.MO(ST)	be easy
	muda	ˈmu.da	V.MO(ST)	be young
	mujair	mu.ˈdʒa.ɪr	N	tilapiine fish
	muka	ˈmu.ka	N	front
	mulut	ˈmʊ.lʊt̚	N	mouth
	muncul	ˈmʊn.tʃʊl	V.MO(DY)	apear
	mundur	ˈmʊn.dʊr	V.MO(DY)	back up
	mungking	ˈmʊŋ.kɪn	ADV	maybe
	munta	ˈmʊn.ta	V.BI	vomit
	mura	ˈmʊ.ɾa	V.MO(ST)	be cheap
	murni	ˈmʊr.ni	V.MO(ST)	be pure
	musu	ˈmu.su	N/V.BI	enemy / hate

N

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	naik	ˈna.ɪk̚	V.BI	ascend
	nakal	ˈna.kɐl	V.MO(ST)	be mischievous
	nangka	ˈnɐŋ.ka	N	jackfruit
	nanti	ˈnɐn.ti	ADV	very soon
	nasi	ˈna.si	N	cooked rice
	nekat	ˈnɛ.kɐt̚	V.BI	determine
	nene	ˈnɛ.nɛ	N	grandmother
	nika	ˈni.ka	V.BI	marry officially
	nokeng	ˈnɔ.kɛn	N	stringbag

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
nontong	ˈnɔn.tɔŋ	V.BI	watch for entertainment
nyamang	ˈɲa.mɐn	V.MO(ST)	be comfortable
nyawa	ˈɲa.wa	N	soul
nyonyor	ˈɲɔ.ɲɔɹ̥	V.MO(ST)	be black and blue

O

obat	ˈɔ.bɐt	N	medicine
ojek	ˈɔ.dʒɛk˺	N/V.BI	motorbike taxi / take motorbike taxi
olaraga	ˌɔ.la.ˈɾa.ga	V.MO(DY)	do sports
oleng	ˈɔ.lɛŋ	V.MO(DY)	shake
ombak	ˈɔm.bɐk	N	wave
omel	ˈɔ.mɛl	V.BI	complain
orang	ˈɔ.ɾɐŋ	N	person
otak	ˈɔ.tɐk	N	brain
otot	ˈɔ̞.tɔt˺	N	muscle

P

pacar	ˈpa.tʃɐɹ̥	N/V.BI	lover / date
pace	ˈpa.tʃɛ	N	man
padam	ˈpa.dɐm	V.BI	extinguish
padat	ˈpa.dɐt	V.MO(ST)	be solid
padede	pa.ˈdɛ.dɛ	V.BI	whine (for)
padu	ˈpa.du	V.MO(ST)	be fused
pagi	ˈpa.gi	N	morning
paha	ˈpa.ha	N	thigh
pahit	ˈpa.hɪt	V.MO(ST)	be bitter
pajak	ˈpa.dʒɛk	N	tax
pake	ˈpa.kɛ	V.BI	use
paku	ˈpa.ku	N	nail
paling	ˈpa.lɪŋ	ADV	most
palungku	pa.ˈlʊŋ.kʊ	V.BI	punch
pamali	pa.ˈma.li	N	taboo
pamang	ˈpa.mɐn	N	uncle
pamer	ˈpa.mɛɹ	V.BI	show off
pana	ˈpa.na	N/V.BI	arrow / bow shoot
panas	ˈpa.nɐs	V.MO(ST)	be hot
panggal	ˈpɐŋ.gɛl	N	fragment
panggil	ˈpɐŋ.gɪl	V.BI	call
pangkal	ˈpɐŋ.kɛl	N	base
pangkat	ˈpɐŋ.kɐt	N	rank
pangku	ˈpɐŋ.ku	V.BI	hold on lap
panjang	ˈpɐn.dʒɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be long
panjat	ˈpɐn.dʒɐt˺	V.BI	climb
panta	ˈpɐn.ta	N	buttock
pantas	ˈpɐn.tɐs	V.MO(ST)	be proper

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	pante	ˈpɐn.tɛ	N	coast
	pantul	ˈpɐn.tʊl	V.MO(DY)	bounce back
	pantung	ˈpɐn.tʊn	N	k. o. traditional poetry
	papang	ˈpa.pɐn	N	plank
	papeda	pa.ˈpɛ.da	N	sagu porridge
	para	ˈpa.ɾa	V.MO(ST)	be in serious condition
	parang	ˈpa.ɾɐŋ	N	short machete
	parit	ˈpa.ɾɪt	N	ditch
	parut	ˈpa.ɾʊt̚	V.BI	scrape
	pasang	ˈpa.sɐŋ	N	pair
	pasang	ˈpa.sɐŋ	V.BI	install
	pasar	ˈpa.sɐr	N	market
	pasir	ˈpa.sɪ̥r	N	sand
	pasti	ˈpɐs.ti	ADV	definitely
	pasukang	pa.ˈsu.kɐn	N	troops
	pata	ˈpa.ta	V.BI	break
	patung	ˈpa.tʊŋ	N	statue
	pecek	ˈpɛ.tʃɛ̞k	N	mud
	pecis	ˈpɛ.tʃɪs	N	light bulb
x	*pedang*	pɛ.ˈdɐŋ	N	sword
x	*pedis*	pɛ.ˈdɪs	V.MO(ST)	be spicy
x	*pegang*	pɛ.ˈgɐŋ	V.BI	hold
	pegaway	pə.ˈga.wɛj	N	government employee
	pele	ˈpɛ.lɛ	V.BI	cover
x	*pelepa*	ˌpɛ.lɛ.ˈpa	N	palm stem and midrib
	pendek	ˈpɛ̞n.dɛ̞k	V.MO(ST)	be short
x	*penting*	pɛ̞n.ˈtɪŋ	V.MO(ST)	be important
x	*penu*	pɛ.ˈnu	V.MO(ST)	be full
x	*pergi*	pɛ̞r.ˈgi	V.MO(DY)	go
x	*perna*	pɛ̞r.ˈna	ADV	ever
x	*pesang*	pɛ.ˈsɐn	V.BI	order
	pesawat	pɛ.ˈsa.wɐt	N	airplane
	pesisir	pɛ.ˈsɪ.sɪ̥r	N	shore
	petatas	pɛ.ˈta.tɐs	N	sweet potato
	pete	ˈpɛ.tɛ	V.BI	pick
	piatu	pi.ˈa.tu	V.MO(ST)	be motherless
	pica	ˈpi.tʃa	V.MO(ST)	be broken
	pijit	ˈpi.dʒɪt̚	V.BI	massage
	pikol	ˈpi.kɔl	V.BI	shoulder
	pikung	ˈpi.kʊn	V.MO(ST)	be senile
	pili	ˈpi.li	V.BI	choose
	pimping	ˈpɪm.pɪn	V.BI	lead
	pinang	ˈpɪ.nɐŋ	N	betel nut
	pinda	ˈpɪn.da	V.BI	move
	pinggang	ˈpɪŋ.gɐŋ	N	loins

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
pinggir	ˈpɪŋ.gɪr̥	N-LOC	border
pinjam	ˈpɪn.dʒɐm	V.BI	borrow
pintar	ˈpɪn.tɐr̥	V.MO(ST)	be clever
pintu	ˈpɪn.tu	N	door
pisa	ˈpi.sa	V.MO(ST)	be separate
pisang	ˈpi.sɐŋ	N	banana
pisow	ˈpi.sɔw	N	knife
pita	ˈpi.ta	N	ribbon of volleyball net
plaka	ˈpla.ka	V.BI	fall over
plang	ˈplɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be slow
pluk	ˈplʊk˺	V.BI	embrace
pohong	ˈpɔ.hɔŋ	N	tree
potong	ˈpɔ.tɔŋ	V.BI	cut
prahu	ˈpra.hʊ	N	boat
prang	ˈprɐŋ	N	war
prempuang	prɛm.ˈpʊ.ɐn	N	woman
printa	ˈprɪn.ta	N/V.BI	command
prut	ˈprʊt	N	stomach
pu	ˈpu	V.POSS	possessive
puas	ˈpʊ.ɐs	V.MO(ST)	be satisfied
pukul	ˈpʊ.kʊl	V.BI	hit
pulang	ˈpu.lɐŋ	V.BI	go home
pulow	ˈpu.lɔw	N	island
pulu	ˈpu.lu	NUM.C	tens
puntung	ˈpʊn.tʊŋ	N	butt
punya	ˈpu.ɲa	V.BI/V.POSS	possessive
puri	ˈpu.ɾi	N	anchovy-like fish
pusing	ˈpu.sɪŋ	V.MO(ST)	be dizzy/confused
putar	ˈpu.tɐr	V.BI	turn around
puti	ˈpu.ti	V.MO(ST)	be white
putus	ˈpu.tʊs	V.MO(ST)	be broken

R

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
raba	ˈra.ba	V.BI	grope
rabik	ˈra.bɪk˺	V.BI	tear
ragu	ˈra.gu	V.BI	doubt
rajing	ˈra.dʒɪn	V.MO(ST)	be diligent
rakit	ˈra.kɪt	N	raft
rakus	ˈra.kʊs	V.BI	crave
ramas	ˈra.mɐs	V.BI	press
rambut	ˈrɐm.bʊt˺	N	hair
rame	ˈra.mɛ	V.MO(ST)	be bustling
rampas	ˈrɐm.pɐs	V.BI	seize
rangkap	ˈrɐŋ.kɐp˺	V.MO(ST)	be doubled
rapat	ˈra.pɐt	N/V.MO(DY)	meeting / move close

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
rapi	ˈra.pi	V.MO(ST)	be neat
rata	ˈra.ta	V.MO(ST)	be even
ratus	ˈra.tʊs	NUM.C	hundred
rawa	ˈra.wa	N	swamp
rawang	ˈra.wɐn	V.MO(ST)	be haunted
rawat	ˈra.wɐt˺	V.BI	take care of
x *rebus*	rɛ.ˈbʊs	V.BI	boil
x *rebut*	rɛ.ˈbʊt˺	V.BI	race each other
x *renda*	rɛ̝n.ˈda	V.MO(ST)	be low
x *rendam*	rɛ̝n.ˈdɐm	V.BI	soak
repot	ˈrɛ.pɔt	V.MO(ST)	be busy
ribu	ˈri.bu	NUM.C	thousand
ribut	ˈri.bʊt	V.BI	trouble
rica	ˈri.tʃa	N	red pepper
rindu	ˈrɪn.du	V.BI	long for
ringang	ˈri.ŋɐn	V.MO(ST)	be light
rokok	ˈrɔ̝.kɔ̝k	N	cigarette
ruang	ˈrʊ.ɐn	N	room
rubu	ˈru.bu	V.MO(DY)	collapse
rugi	ˈru.gi	V.BI	lose out
ruma	ˈrʊ.ma	N	house
rumput	ˈrʊm.pʊt	N	grass
runcing	ˈrʊn.tʃɪn	V.MO(ST)	be pointed
rusak	ˈrʊ.sɐk	V.MO(ST)	be damaged
rusuk	ˈrʊ.sʊk	N	rib

S

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
sa	ˈsa	PRO	1SG
sabit	ˈsa.bɪt	N	sickle
sadap	ˈsa.dɐp˺	V.MO(ST)	be delicious
sadar	ˈsa.dɐɽ	V.MO(ST)	be aware
sagu	ˈsa.gu	N	sago
saing	ˈsa.ɪn	V.MO(DY)	compete
sakit	ˈsa.kɪt˺	V.MO(ST)	be sick
sala	ˈsa.la	V.MO(ST)	be wrong
salip	ˈsa.lɪp˺	N/V.BI	cross / crucify
sama	ˈsa.ma	PREP	to
sambar	ˈsɐm.bɐr	V.BI	seize
sambil	ˈsɐm.bɪl	CNJ	while
sambung	ˈsɐm.bʊŋ	V.BI	continue
sambut	ˈsɐm.bʊt˺	V.BI	welcome
sampa	ˈsɐm.pa	N	trash
sampe	ˈsɐm.pɛ	V.BI/PREP	reach / until
samping	ˈsɐm.pɪŋ	N-LOC	side
sana	ˈsa.na	LOC	L.DIST

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	sandar	ˈsɛn.der̥	V.MO(DY)	lean
	sanggup	ˈsɛŋ.gʊp	V.MO(ST)	be capable
	santang	ˈsɛn.tɛn	N	coconut milk
	sante	ˈsɛn.tɛ	V.MO(DY)	relax
	sapi	ˈsa.pɪ	N	cow
	sapu	ˈsa.pu	N/V.BI	broom / sweep
	sarana	sa.ˈra.na	N	facility
	sarang	ˈsa.rɛn	N	suggestion
	sarat	ˈsa.rɛt˺	V.MO(ST)	be loaded
	saring	ˈsa.rɪŋ	V.BI	filter
	sarung	ˈsa.rʊn	N	protective sleeve
	sasarang	sa.ˈsa.rɛŋ	N	target
	satu	ˈsa.tu	NUM.C	one
	saya	ˈsa.ja	PRO	1SG
	sayang	ˈsa.jɛŋ	V.BI	love
	sayur	ˈsa.jʊr̥	N	vegetable
x	*sebut*	sɛ.ˈbʊt˺	V.BI	name
x	*sedi*	sɛ.ˈdi	V.MO(ST)	be sad
	sedikit	sɛ.ˈdɪ.kɪt˺	QT	few
x	*sedot*	sɛ.ˈdɔt˺	V.BI	suck
x	*segar*	sɛ.ˈgɛr̥	V.MO(ST)	be fresh
	seher	ˈsɛ.hɛr̥	N	piston
x	*sejak*	sɛ.ˈdʒɛk˺	ADV	since
x	*selesay*	ˌsɛ.lɛ.ˈsej	V.BI	finish
	semang	ˈsɛ.mɛn	N	outrigger
x	*semba*	sɛm.ˈba	V.BI	worship
	sembayang	səm.ˈba.jɛŋ	V.BI	worship
	sembilang	səm.ˈbi.lɛn	NUM.C	nine
x	*sembu*	sɛm.ˈbu	V.MO(ST)	be healed
	sembuni	sɛm.ˈbu.ni	V.BI	hide
x	*sempat*	sɛm.ˈpɛt˺	V.MO(DY)	have enough time
x	*sempit*	sɛm.ˈpɪt	V.MO(ST)	be narrow
	sendiri	sɛn.ˈdi.ri	V.MO(ST)	be alone
	sendok	ˈsɛn.dɔk	N/V.BI	spoon
	seneng	ˈsɛ.nɛn	V.BI	sign
	sentu	ˈsɛn.tu	V.BI	touch
x	*senyum*	sɛ.ˈɲʊm	V.MO(DY)	smile
x	*sepi*	sɛ.ˈpi	V.MO(ST)	be quiet
	seraka	sɛ.ˈra.ka	V.MO(ST)	be greedy
x	*serang*	sɛ.ˈrɛn	V.BI	attack
x	*serey*	sɛ.ˈrɛj	N	lemongrass
x	*sesak*	sɛ.ˈsɛk	V.MO(ST)	be crowded
	sial	ˈsi.ɐl	V.MO(ST)	be unfortunate
	siang	ˈsi.ɐŋ	N	midday
	siap	ˈsi.ɐp˺	V.BI	get ready

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
siapa	si.ˈa.pa	INT	who
sibuk	ˈsi.bʊk	V.MO(ST)	be busy
sidang	ˈsi.dɐŋ	N	meeting
sikakar	si.ˈka.kɐr̥	V.BI	hold onto tightfisted
sikap	ˈsi.kɐp˺	N	attitude
sikat	ˈsi.kɐt	N	brush
simpang	ˈsɪm.pɐn	V.BI	store / prepare
singgung	ˈsɪŋ.gʊŋ	V.BI	offend
singkat	ˈsɪŋ.kɐt	V.MO(ST)	be brief
sini	ˈsi.ni	LOC	L.PROX
siram	ˈsi.ɾɐm	V.BI	pour over
siri	ˈsi.ɾi	N	betel vine
sisi	ˈsi.si	N	side
sisir	ˈsi.sɪr	V.BI	comb
situ	ˈsi.tu	LOC	L.MED
skarang	ˈska.ɾɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be current
slak	ˈslɛk	V.MO(DY)	want to
slatang	ˈsla.tɐn	N	south
slimut	ˈslɪ.mʊt	N	blanket
smangat	ˈsma.ŋɐt	V.MO(ST)	be enthusiastic
smut	ˈsmʊt	N	ant
snang	ˈsnɛŋ	V.BI	feel happy (about)
sobek	ˈsɔ.bɛk˺	V.BI	tear
sombong	ˈsɔm.bɔŋ	V.MO(ST)	be arrogant
sopang	ˈsɔ.pɐn	V.MO(ST)	be respectful
sore	ˈsɔ.ɾɛ	N	afternoon
sorong	ˈsɔ.ɾɔŋ	V.BI	slide
sperti	ˈspɛr.ti	PREP	similar to
srabut	ˈsra.bʊt	N	fiber
sring	ˈsrɪŋ	ADV	often
subu	ˈsu.bu	N	very early morning
subur	ˈsu.bʊr̥	V.MO(ST)	be fertile
sudut	ˈsʊ.dʊt	N	direction
suka	ˈsu.ka	V.BI	enjoy
suku	ˈsu.ku	N	ethnic group
sulit	ˈsu.lɪt	V.MO(ST)	be difficult
sumbang	ˈsʊm.bɐŋ	V.BI	donate
sumber	ˈsʊm.bɛr̥	N	source
sumbur	ˈsʊm.bʊr	V.BI	spit at
sumur	ˈsʊ.mʊr̥	N	well
sungay	ˈsu.ŋɐj	N	river
sunggu	ˈsʊŋ.gu	V.MO(ST)	be true
suntik	ˈsʊn.tɪk˺	V.BI	inject
surat	ˈsʊ.ɾɐt	N	letter
suru	ˈsu.ɾu	V.BI	order

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
susa	ˈsu.sa	V.MO(ST)	be difficult
susu	ˈsu.su	N	milk
susung	ˈsu.sʊn	V.BI	arrange
swak	ˈswɛk	V.MO(ST)	be exhausted
swanggi	ˈswɛŋ.gi	N	nocturnal evil spirit / sorcerer

T

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
tabrak	ˈta.brɛk	V.BI	hit against
tadi	ˈta.di	ADV	earlier
tahang	ˈta.hɛn	V.BI	hold (out / back)
tahap	ˈta.hɛp̚	N	phase
tajam	ˈta.dʒɛm	V.MO(ST)	be sharp
takut	ˈta.kʊt̚	V.BI	feel afraid (of)
tali	ˈta.li	N	cord
talut	ˈta.lʊt	V.BI	build protection wall
tamba	ˈtɛm.ba	V.BI	add
tampar	ˈtɛm.pɛr̥	V.BI	beat
tampeleng	tɛm.ˈpɛ.lɛŋ	V.BI	slap on face or ears
tampil	ˈtɛm.pɪl	V.MO(DY)	perform
tampung	ˈtɛm.pʊŋ	V.BI	receive
tamu	ˈta.mu	N	guest
tana	ˈta.na	N	ground
tanam	ˈta.nɛm	V.BI	plant
tanda	ˈtɛn.da	N	sign
tandang	ˈtɛn.dɛn	N	banana plant stem
tanding	ˈtɛn.dɪŋ	V.MO(DY)	compete
tangang	ˈta.ŋɛn	N	hand
tangga	ˈtɛŋ.ga	N	ladder
tanggal	ˈtɛŋ.gɛl	N	date
tanggap	ˈtɛŋ.gɛp̚	V.MO(ST)	be perceptive
tanggulang	tɛŋ.ˈgʊ.lɛn	V.BI	cope with
tanggung	ˈtɛŋ.gʊŋ	V.BI	bear
tangkap	ˈtɛŋ.kɛp̚	V.BI	catch
tangkis	ˈtɛŋ.kɪs	V.BI	ward off
tanjung	ˈtɛn.dʒʊŋ	N	cape
tanjung	ˈtɛn.dʒʊŋ	V.MO(ST)	be tired
tantang	ˈtɛn.tɛŋ	V.BI	challenge
tanya	ˈta.ɲa	V.BI	ask
tapis	ˈta.pɪs	V.BI	sieve
tara	ˈta.ɾa	V.MO(ST)	be matching
tarik	ˈta.ɾɪk	V.BI	pull
taru	ˈta.ɾu	V.BI	put
tatap	ˈta.tɛp̚	V.BI	gaze at
taung	ˈta.ʊn	N	year

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	taw	ˈtɐw	V.BI	know
	tawar	ˈta.wer̥	V.BI	bargain
	tawong	ˈta.wɔn	N	bee
	tay	ˈtɐj	N	excrement
x	*tebal*	tɛ.ˈbɐl	V.MO(ST)	be thick
x	*tebang*	tɛ.ˈbɐŋ	V.BI	fell
x	*tedu*	tɛ.ˈdu	V.MO(ST)	be calm
x	*tegang*	tɛ.ˈgɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be tight
x	*tegas*	tɛ.ˈgɐs	V.MO(ST)	be firm
x	*tegur*	tɛ.ˈgʊr̥	V.BI	reprimand
x	*tekang*	tɛ.ˈkɐn	V.BI	press
	telinga	tɛ.ˈli.ŋa	N	ear
x	*telur*	tɛ.ˈlʊr̥	N	egg
x	*temang*	tɛ.ˈmɐn	N	friend
	tembak	ˈtɛm.bɐk̚	V.BI	shoot
x	*tembus*	tɛm.ˈbʊs	V.MO(DY)	emerge
x	*tempat*	tɛm.ˈpɐt	N	place
	tempe	ˈtɛm.pɛ	N	tempeh
	tenaga	tɛ.ˈna.ga	N	energy
x	*tenang*	tɛ.ˈnɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be quiet
x	*tendang*	tɛn.ˈdɐŋ	V.BI	kick
x	*tenga*	tɛ.ˈŋa	N-LOC	middle
x	*tenggelam*	ˌtɛŋ.gɛ.ˈlɐm	V.MO(DY)	sink
x	*tengking*	tɛŋ.ˈkɪŋ	V.BI	exorcize
	tengok	ˈtɛ.ŋɔk	V.BI	view something
	tepu	ˈtɛ.pu	V.BI	clap
x	*tepung*	tɛ.ˈpʊŋ	N	flour
x	*terbang*	tɛr.ˈbɐŋ	V.MO(DY)	fly
x	*terbit*	tɛr.ˈbɪt	V.MO(DY)	rise
x	*tetap*	tɛ.ˈtɐp̚	V.MO(ST)	be unchanged
	tete	ˈtɛ.tɛ	N	grandfather
	tiang	ˈtɪ.ɐŋ	N	pole
	tiap	ˈti.ɐp̚	QT	every
	tiarap	ti.ˈa.rɐp̚	V.MO(DY)	lie face downward
	tiba	ˈti.ba	V.MO(DY)	arrive
	tida	ˈti.dɐk̚	ADV	NEG
	tidor	ˈti.dɔr̥	V.MO(DY)	sleep
	tiga	ˈti.ga	NUM.C	three
	tikam	ˈti.kɐm	V.BI	stab
	tikar	ˈti.ker̥	N	plaited mat
	tikung	ˈti.kʊŋ	V.MO(DY)	curve
	tikus	ˈti.kʊs	N	rat
	timba	ˈtɪm.ba	V.BI	fetch
	timbang	ˈtɪm.bɐn	V.BI	weigh
	timbul	ˈtɪm.bʊl	V.MO(DY)	emerge

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
timbung	ˈtɪm.bʊn	V.BI	pile up
timpang	ˈtɪm.pɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be unbalanced
timur	ˈti.mʊr	N	east
tindak	ˈtɪn.dɐk	V.BI	act
tindas	ˈtɪn.dɐs	V.BI	crush
tindis	ˈtɪn.dɪs	V.BI	overlap
tinggal	ˈtɪŋ.gɐl	V.MO(DY)	stay
tinggi	ˈtɪŋ.gi	V.MO(ST)	be high
tingkat	ˈtɪŋ.kɐt	N	floor
tinju	ˈtɪn.dʒu	V.BI	box
tipis	ˈti.pɪs	V.MO(ST)	be thin
tipu	ˈti.pu	V.BI	cheat
tiru	ˈti.ɾu	V.BI	imitate
titik	ˈtɪ.tɪk	N	period
titip	ˈti.tɪp	V.BI	deposit
tiup	ˈti.ʊp̚	V.BI	blow
tladang	ˈtla.dɐn	V.MO(ST)	be exemplary
tlanjang	ˈtlɐn.dʒɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be naked
tobo	ˈtɔ.bɔ	V.MO(DY)	dive
toki	ˈtɔ.ki	V.BI	beat
tokok	ˈtɔ.kɔ̧k	V.BI	tap
tolak	ˈtɔ.lɐk	N	standard
tolak	ˈtɔ.lɐk	V.BI	push away
tolong	ˈtɔ̧.lɔ̧ŋ	V.BI	help
tombak	ˈtɔ̧m.bɐk̚	N	spear
tong	ˈtɔ̧ŋ	PRO	1PL
tongkat	ˈtɔ̧ŋ.kɐt	N/V.BI	cane
torang	ˈtɔ.ɾɐŋ	PRO	1PL
tra	ˈtra	ADV	NEG
trampil	ˈtrɐm.pɪl	V.MO(ST)	be skilled
trang	ˈtrɐŋ	V.MO(ST)	be clear
trik	ˈtrɪk̚	V.MO(ST)	be intense
trima	ˈtri.ma	V.BI	receive
trus	ˈtrʊs	V.MO(ST)	be continuous
tua	ˈtʊ.a	V.MO(ST)	be old
tuang	ˈtʊ.ɐn	N	head
tuay	ˈtʊ.ɐj	V.BI	harvest
tubir	ˈtu.bɪr	V.MO(ST)	be steep
tubu	ˈtu.bu	N	body
tugas	ˈtʊ.gɐs	N	duty
tugu	ˈtu.gu	N	monument
Tuhan	ˈtʊ.hɐn	N	God
tuju	ˈtu.dʒu	NUM.C	seven
tukang	ˈtʊ.kɐn	N	craftsman
tukar	ˈtu.kɐ̥r	V.BI	exchange

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
tulang	ˈtu.lɐŋ	N	bone
tuli	ˈtu.li	V.MO(ST)	be deaf
tulis	ˈtu.lɪs	V.BI	write
tum	ˈtʊm	V.MO(DY)	dive
tumbu	ˈtʊm.bu	V.MO(DY)	grow
tumbuk	ˈtʊm.bʊk	V.BI	pound
tumis	ˈtu.mɪs	V.BI	sauté very hot
tumpang	ˈtʊm.pɐŋ	V.BI	join in
tumpuk	ˈtʊm.pʊk	V.BI	pile
tunda	ˈtʊn.da	V.BI	delay
tunduk	ˈtʊn.dʊk̚	V.MO(DY)	bow
tunggu	ˈtʊŋ.gu	V.BI	wait (for)
tunjuk	ˈtʊn.dʒʊk̚	V.BI	show
tuntung	ˈtʊn.tʊn	V.BI	guide
tuntut	ˈtʊn.tʊt	V.BI	demand
tupay	ˈtu.pɐj	N	squirrel
turung	ˈtʊ.ɾʊn	V.BI	descend
tusu	ˈtu.su	V.BI	stab
tutup	ˈtu.tʊp	V.BI	close
U			
uang	ˈʊ.ɐŋ	N	money
uba	ˈu.ba	V.BI	change
ubi	ˈu.bi	N	purple yam
udang	ˈu.dɐŋ	N	shrimp
udik	ˈu.dɪk	V.BI	observe in amazement
uji	ˈu.dʒi	V.BI	examine
ujung	ˈu.dʒʊŋ	N	end
ukir	ˈu.kɪɾ̥	V.BI	carve
ukur	ˈʊ.kʊr	V.BI	measure
ulang	ˈu.lɐŋ	V.BI	repeat
ular	ˈu.lɐɾ̥	N	snake
umpang	ˈʊm.pɐn	V.BI	pass ball
undang	ˈʊn.dɐŋ	V.BI	invite
unggung	ˈʊŋ.gʊn	N	campfire
untuk	ˈʊn.tʊk̚	PREP	for
untung	ˈʊn.tʊŋ	N	fortune
urat	ˈu.ɾɐt̚	N	vein
urus	ˈʊ.ɾʊs	V.BI	arrange
urut	ˈʊ.ɾʊt	V.BI	massage
usa	ˈu.sa	V.BI	need to
usir	ˈu.sɪr	V.BI	chase away
usus	ˈʊ.sʊs	N	intestines
utus	ˈʊ.tʊs	V.BI	delegate

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
W			
wada	ˈwa.da	N	umbrella organization
waras	ˈwa.ɾɐs	V.MO(ST)	be sane
warung	ˈwa.ɾʊŋ	N	food stall
watak	ˈwa.tɐk	N	character
wewenang	wɛ.ˈwɛ.nɐŋ	N	authority
Y			
yahanam	ja.ˈha.nɐm	V.MO(ST)	be rebellious
yang	ˈjɐŋ	CNJ	REL

A.2. Loan words

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	A			
	abadi	a.ˈba.di	V.MO(ST)	be eternal
	acara	a.ˈtʃa.ɾa	N	ceremony
	adat	ˈa.dɐt	N	tradition
	adil	ˈa.dɪl	V.MO(ST)	be fair
	adopsi	a.ˈdɔp̚.si	N	adoption
	agama	a.ˈga.ma	N	religion
	agenda	a.ˈgɛn.da	N	agenda
x	*agraria*	a.ˈgɾa.ɾi.ˌa	N	agrarian affairs
	ajaip	a.ˈdʒa.ɪp̚	V.MO(ST)	be miraculous
	akal	ˈa.kɐl	N	reason
	akibat	a.ˈki.bɐt	N	consequence
	akta	ˈɐk̚.ta	N	certificate
	aktif	ˈɐk̚.tɪf	V.MO(ST)	be active
	alam	ˈa.lɐm	N	world
	alamat	a.ˈla.mɐt	N	address
	alat	ˈa.lɐt	N	equipment
	alergi	a.ˈlɛr.gi	V.MO(ST)	be allergic
	alkitap	ɐl.ˈki.tɐp̚	N	Bible
	alpa	ˈɐl.pa	V.MO(ST)	be absent
	alumni	a.ˈlʊm.ni	N	alumnus
	aman	ˈa.mɐn	V.MO(ST)	be safe
	amplop	ˈɐm.plɔp	N	envelope
	anggota	ɐŋ.ˈgɔ.ta	N	member
	antifirus	ˌɐn.ti.ˈfi.ɾʊs	N	antivirus
	aparat	a.ˈpa.ɾɐt	N	apparatus
	apel	ˈa.pɛl	N	apple
	apsen	ˈɐp̚.sɛn	V.MO(ST)	be absent
	aroa	a.ˈɾɔ.a	N	departed spirit

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	arti	ˈɐr.ti	N	meaning
	asal	ˈa.sɐl	N	origin
	asar	ˈa.sɐr̥	V.BI	smoke
	asik	ˈa.sɪk̚	V.MO(ST)	be passionate
	asli	ˈɐs.li	V.MO(ST)	be original
	aspal	ˈɐs.pɐl	N	asphalt
	asrama	ɐs.ˈra.ma	N	dormitory
	astronomi	ˌɐs.trɔ.ˈnɔ.mi	N	astronomy
x	*ato*	a.ˈtɔ	CNJ	or
	ayat	ˈa.jɐt	N	verse

B

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	baca	ˈba.tʃa	V.BI	read
	badan	ˈba.dɐn	N	body
	bagi	ˈba.gi	V.BI	divide
	bahas	ˈba.hɐs	V.BI	discuss
	bahasa	ba.ˈha.sa	N	language
	bahaya	ba.ˈha.ja	V.MO(ST)	be dangerous
	bahu	ˈba.hʊ	N	shoulder
	bahwa	ˈbɐh.wa	CNJ	that
	baju	ˈba.dʒʊ	N	shirt
	bak	ˈbɐk	N	basin
	ban	ˈbɐn	N	tire
	bangku	ˈbɐŋ.kʊ	N	bench
	bangsa	ˈbɐŋ.sa	N	people group
	bangsat	ˈbɐŋ.sɐt	N	rascal
	baptis	ˈbɐp̚.tɪs	V.BI	baptize
	barat	ˈba.rɐt	N	west
	batal	ˈba.tɐl	V.BI	cancel
x	*batrey*	ba.ˈtrɛj	N	battery
	baw	ˈbɐw	N	smell
	beda	ˈbɛ.da	V.MO(ST)	be different
	bel	ˈbɛl	V.BI	ring
	bendera	bɛn.ˈdɛ.ra	N	flag
	bengkel	ˈbɛŋ.kɛl	N	repair shop
x	*bensin*	bɛn.ˈsɪn	N	gasoline
	berkat	ˈbɛr.kɐt	N	blessing
	biasa	bi.ˈa.sa	V.MO(ST)	be usual
	biaya	bi.ˈa.ja	N/V.BI	pay
	bicara	bi.ˈtʃa.ra	V.BI	speak
	bijaksana	ˌbi.dʒɐk̚.ˈsa.na	V.MO(ST)	be wise
	biji	ˈbi.dʒi	N	seed
	biodata	ˌbi.ɔ.ˈda.ta	N	biodata
	biologi	ˌbi.ɔ.ˈlɔ.gi	N	biology
	bis	ˈbɪs	N	bus
x	*biskwit*	bɪs.ˈkwɪt	N	cracker

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	bisnis	ˈbɪs.nɪs	N	business
x	*bistir*	bɪsˈtɪr̥	N	subdistrict head
	bola	ˈbɔ.lḁ	N	ball
	bolpen	ˈbɔl.pɛn	N	ballpoint pen
	boneka	bɔˈnɛ.ka	N	doll
	bos	ˈbɔs	N	boss
	botol	ˈbɔ.tɔl	N	bottle
	brita	ˈbri.ta	N	news
	budaya	bʊˈda.ja	N	culture
	bukti	ˈbʊkˈ.ti	N	proof
	buku	ˈbu.ku	N	book
	bumi	ˈbu.mi	N	earth
	bupati	buˈpa.ti	N	regent
	busi	ˈbu.si	N	sparkplug

C

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	cahaya	tʃaˈha.ja	N	glow
	cap	ˈtʃɐpˈ	N	stamp
	cara	ˈtʃa.ra	N	manner
	cari	ˈtʃa.ri	V.BI	search
	cek	ˈtʃɛk	V.BI	check
	celana	tʃɛˈla.na	N	trousers
	cemara	tʃɛˈma.ra	N	casuarina tree
	ceria	tʃɛˈri.a	V.MO(ST)	be cheerful
	ceritra	tʃɛˈri.tra	V.TRI	tell
	cinta	ˈtʃɪn.ta	N	love
	coklat	ˈtʃɔkˈ.lɐt	N	chocolate
	cuci	ˈtʃu.tʃi	V.BI	wash
	cuma	ˈtʃu.ma	ADV	just
	curi	ˈtʃu.ri	V.BI	steal
	cuti	ˈtʃu.ti	V.MO(DY)	take leave

D

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	daera	daˈɛ.ra	N	area
	daftar	ˈdɐf.tɐr̥	N/V.BI	list
	dana	ˈda.nḁ	N	fund
	dansa	ˈdɐn.sa	V.MO(DY)	dance
	dasyat	ˈda.sʲɐt	V.MO(ST)	be terrifying
	daya	ˈda.ja	N	energy
x	*debat*	dɛˈbɐt	N	debate
	debel	ˈdɛ.bɛl	V.BI	double
	delegasi	ˌdɛ.lɛˈga.si	N	delegation
	demo	ˈdɛ.mɔ	N	demonstration
	desember	dɛˈsɛm.bɛr̥	N	December
	dewan	ˈdɛ.wɐn	N	council (member)
	dewasa	dɛˈwa.sa	N	adult

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	dialek	dɪ.ˈa.lɛk	N	dialect
	dikta	ˈdɪk˺.ta	N	written lectures summary
	dinas	ˈdi.nɐs	N	department
	disain	di.ˈsa.ɪn	N	design
	disko	ˈdɪs.kɔ	N	discotheque
	distrik	ˈdɪs.trɪk	N	district
	doa	ˈdɔ.a	N	prayer
	dobrak	ˈdɔ.brɐk˺	V.BI	smash
	dokter	ˈdɔk˺.tɛ̥r	N	doctor
x	*dokumen*	ˌdɔ.ku.ˈmɛn	N	document
	dol	ˈdɔl	V.MO(ST)	be damaged
	domba	ˈdɔm.ba	N	sheep
x	*dominan*	ˌdɔ.mi.ˈnɐn	V.MO(ST)	dominate, master
	dompet	ˈdɔm.pɛt	N	wallet
	donat	ˈdɔ.nɐt	N	doughnut
	dosa	ˈdɔ.sa	N	sin
x	*dosen*	dɔ.ˈsɛn	N	lecturer
	doser	ˈdɔ.sɛ̥r	N	bulldozer
	dramben	ˈdrɐm.bɛn	N	marching band
	drop	ˈdrɔp˺	V.BI	drop
	drum	ˈdrʊm	N	drum
	duka	ˈdu.ka	N	grief
	dunia	du.ˈni.a	N	world

E

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	egois	ɛ.ˈgɔ.ɪs	V.MO(ST)	be egoistic
	ekstra	ˈɛk˺.stra	V.MO(ST)	be extra
	emansipasi	ɛ.ˌmɐn.si.ˈpa.si	N	emancipation
	ember	ˈɛm.bɛ̥r	N	bucket
	emosi	ɛ.ˈmɔ.si	V.BI	feel angry (about)
	erport	ˈɛr.pɔ̥rt	N	airport
	etnis	ˈɛt˺.nɪs	N	ethnic

F

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	fajar	ˈfa.dʒɛ̥r	N	dawn
	fam	ˈfɐm	N	family name
x	*fasilitas*	fa.ˌsi.li.ˈtɐs	N	facility
	februari	ˌfɛ.brʊ.ˈa.ɾi	N	February
	federasi	ˌfɛ.dɛ.ˈra.si	N	federation
x	*ferban*	fɛ̥r.ˈbɐn	N	bandage
	fetsin	ˈfɛt˺.sɪn	N	flavoring spice
	fideo	fi.ˈdɛ.ɔ	N	video
	figur	ˈfi.gʊ̥r	N	figure
	filem	ˈfɪ.lɛm	N	film
	final	ˈfi.nɐl	N	finals
	firman	ˈfɪr.mɐn	N	divine saying

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	fit	ˈfɪt	N	Fit-drinking water
x	*fitamin*	ˌfi.ta.ˈmɪn	N	vitamins
	fokal	ˈfɔ.kɐl	N	song
	fol	ˈfɔ̰l	V.MO(ST)	be full
	foli	ˈfɔ.li	N	volleyball
	fondasi	fɔn.ˈda.si	N	foundation
	formasi	fɔr.ˈma.si	N	formation
	formulir	fɔr.ˈmu.lɪr̥	N	form
	forum	ˈfɔ.ɾʊm	N	forum
	foto	ˈfɔ.tɔ	N	photograph
	fotokopi	ˌfɔ.tɔ.ˈkɔ.pi	N	photocopy
	frey	ˈfrɛj	V.MO(ST)	be blank
	fungsi	ˈfʊŋ.si	N	function

G

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	gaja	ˈga.dʒa	N	elephant
	gaji	ˈga.dʒi	N	salary
	gas	ˈgɐs	N	gas
	gembala	gɛm.ˈba.la	N	pastor
	generasi	ˌgɛ.nɛ.ˈra.si	N	generation
	gergaji	gɛr.ˈga.dʒi	N	saw
	gisi	ˈgi.si	N	nutrient
x	*gitar*	gi.ˈtɛr̥	N	guitar
	glas	ˈglɐs̥	N	glass
	glojo	ˈglɔ.dʒɔ	V.BI	crave
	got	ˈgɔt	N	gutter
	gratis	ˈgra.tɪs	V.MO(ST)	be gratis
	greja	ˈgrɛ.dʒa	N	church
	grobak	ˈgrɔ.bɐk	N	wheelbarrow
	grup	ˈgrʊp	N	group
x	*gubernur*	ˌgu.bɛr.ˈnʊr̥	N	governor
	gudang	ˈgʊ.dɐŋ	N	storeroom
	gula	ˈgu.la	N	sugar
	guru	ˈgu.ɾu	N	teacher

H

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	hadia	ha.ˈdɪ.a	N	gift
	hadir	ˈha.dɪr̥	V.MO(DY)	attend
	hafal	ˈha.fɐl̥	V.BI	memorize
	hak	ˈhɐk	N	right
	hal	ˈhɐl	N	thing
x	*halal*	ha.ˈlɐl	V.MO(ST)	be permitted
	hamil	ˈha.mɪl	V.MO(ST)	be pregnant
	handuk	ˈhɐn.dʊk	N	towel
	hantu	ˈhɐn.tu	N	ghost
	harga	ˈhɐr.ga	N	price

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	hari	ˈha.ɾi	N	day
	harta	ˈhɐr.ta	N	wealth
	hasil	ˈha.sɪl	N	product
	hebat	ˈhɛ.bɐt˺	V.MO(ST)	be great
	heking	ˈhɛ.kɪŋ	V.MO(DY)	hiking
	hektar	ˈhɛ̧k˺.tɐr	N	hectare
	helem	ˈhɛ.lɛ̧m	N	helmet
	helikopter	ˌhɛ.li.ˈkɔp˺.tɛ̧r	N	helicopter
	hemat	ˈhɛ.mɐt	V.BI	economize
	heran	ˈhɛ.ɾɐn	V.BI	feel surprised (about)
	hikmat	ˈhɪk˺.mɐt˺	N	wisdom
	hina	ˈhi.na	V.BI	humiliate
	hobi	ˈhɔ.bi	N	hobby
x	*honay*	hɔ.ˈnɐj	N	traditional Dani hut
	honor	ˈhɔ̧.nɔr	N	honorarium
x	*honorer*	ˌhɔ.nɔ.ˈɾɛr	V.MO(ST)	be honorary
	hordeng	ˈhɔr.dɛ̧ŋ	N	curtains
	hormat	ˈhɔr.mɐt	V.BI	respect
	hotba	ˈhɔt˺.ba	V.BI	preach
x	*hotel*	hɔ.ˈtɛ̧l	N	hotel
	hukum	ˈhu.kʊm	N	law
	humur	ˈhʊ.mʊr	N	joke
	I			
	ibada	i.ˈba.da	V.MO(DY)	worship
	iblis	ˈɪ.blɪs	N	devil
	ide	ˈi.dɛ	N	idea
	ijasa	i.ˈdʒa.sa	N	diploma
	ijin	ˈi.dʒɪn	N	permission
	ilmu	ˈɪl.mu	N	knowledge
x	*iman*	i.ˈmɐn	N	faith
	informasi	ˌɪn.fɔr.ˈma.si	N	information
	infus	ˈɪn.fʊs	N	give an infusion
	injil	ˈɪn.dʒɪl	N	Gospel
	insentif	ɪn.ˈsɛ̧n.tɪf	N	incentive
x	*insinyur*	ˌɪn.si.ˈɲʊr	N	engineer
	instansi	ɪn.ˈstɐn.si	N	level
	intel	ˈɪn.tɛ̧l	N	intelligence service
	intro	ˈɪn.trɔ	V.BI	play musical introduction
	istila	ɪs.ˈtɪ.la	N	term
	istimewa	ˌɪs.ti.ˈmɛ.wa	V.MO(ST)	be special
x	*istirahat*	ˈɪs.ti.ˈɾa.hɐt˺	V.MO(DY)	rest
	istri	ˈɪs.tri	N	wife
	J			
	jaga	ˈdʒa.ga	V.BI	guard

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	jam	ˈdʒɐm	N	hour
	jaman	ˈdʒa.mɐn	N	period
	jambu	ˈdʒɐm.bu	N	rose apple
	janda	ˈdʒɐn.da	N	widow
	januari	ˌdʒa.nʊ.ˈa.ɾi	N	January
	jatwal	ˈdʒɐt˺.wɐl	N	schedule
	jawap	ˈdʒa.wɐp	V.BI	answer
	jeket	ˈdʒɛ.kɛt˺	N	jacket
	jemaat	dʒɛ.ˈma.ɐt˺	N	congregation
	jenasa	dʒɛ.ˈna.sa	N	corpse
	jendela	dʒɛn.ˈdɛ.la	N	window
x	*jenis*	dʒɛ.ˈnɪs	N	kind
x	*jeriken*	ˈdʒɛ.ɾi.ˌkɛn	N	jerry can
	jin	ˈdʒɪn	N	genie
	jiwa	ˈdʒi.wa	N	soul
	jonson	ˈdʒɔn.sɔn	N	motorboat
	jumat	ˈdʒu.mɛt˺	N	Friday
	jumla	ˈdʒʊm.la	N	sum
	justru	ˈdʒʊs.tɾu	ADV	precisely
	juta	ˈdʒu.ta	NUM.C	million

K

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	kabul	ˈka.bʊl	V.BI	grant
	kaca	ˈka.tʃa	N	glass
	kader	ˈka.dɛr	N	cadre
	kafir	ˈka.fɪr	N	unbeliever
x	*kakaw*	ka.ˈkɐw	N	cacao
	kalender	ka.ˈlɛn.dɛr	N	calendar
	kali	ˈka.li	N	time
	kalo	ˈka.lɔ	CNJ	if
	kamar	ˈka.mɐr	N	room
	kamis	ˈka.mɪs	N	Thursday
	kampus	ˈkɐm.pʊs	N	campus
	kantong	ˈkɛn.tɔŋ	N	bag
	kantor	ˈkɛn.tɔr̥	N	office
	kapal	ˈka.pɐl	N	ship
	kapas	ˈka.pɐs	N	cotton
	karakter	ka.ˈɾɛk˺.tɛr	N	character
	karate	ka.ˈra.tɛ	N/V.BI	karate
	kariawan	ˌka.ɾi.ˈa.wɐn	N	employee
x	*karna*	kɐr.ˈna	CNJ	because
	karpet	ˈkɐr.pɛt	N	plastic carpet
x	*kartapel*	ˌkɐr.ta.ˈpɛl	N	slingshot
	kartu	ˈkɐr.tu	N	card
	karunia	ˌka.ɾu.ˈni.a	N	gift
x	*kaset*	ka.ˈsɛt˺	N	cassette

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	kasir	ˈka.sɪr̥	N	cashier
	kata	ˈka.ta	N	word
	kawal	ˈka.wɐl	V.BI	escort
	kawin	ˈka.wɪn	V.BI	marry inofficially
	kaya	ˈka.ja	V.MO(ST)	be rich
	kecap	ˈkɛ.tʃɐp˺	N	soy souce
	kejora	kɛ.ˈdʒɔ.ɾa	N	morning star
	kem	ˈkɛm	N	camp
	kepala	kɛ.ˈpa.la	N	head
	keponakan	ˌkɛ.pɔ.ˈna.kɐn	N	nephew, niece
x	*kerja*	kɛr.ˈdʒa	V.BI	work
x	*kertas*	kɛr.ˈtɐs	N	paper
x	*ketik*	kɛ.ˈtɪk˺	V.BI	type
	ketumbar	kɛ.ˈtom.bɐr̥	N	coriander
x	*kilogram*	ˌki.lɔ.ˈgrɛm	N	kilogram
	kilometer	ˌki.lɔ.ˈmɛ.tɛr̥	N	kilometer
	kios	ˈki.ɔs	N	kiosk
	kip	ˈkɪp˺	V.BI	unloading truck
	klakson	ˈklɐk˺.sɔn	V.BI	blow horn
	klas	ˈklɐs	N	class
	klasis	ˈkla.sɪs	N	ecclesiastical district
	klet	ˈklɛt	N	dress
	klinik	ˈklɪ.nɪk	N	clinic
	kluarga	klʊ.ˈɐr.ga	N	family
	knalpot	ˈknɐl.pɔt	N	muffler
	kode	ˈkɔ.dɛ	N	code
	kolor	ˈkɔ.lɔr	N	undershorts
x	*komandan*	ˌkɔ.mɐn.ˈdɐn	N	commandant
	komando	kɔ.ˈmɐn.dɔ	V.BI	command
x	*kombong*	kɔm.ˈbɔŋ	V.MO(ST)	be inflated
x	*komentar*	ˌkɔ.mɛn.ˈtɛr̥	N	commentary
	komitmen	kɔ.ˈmɪt˺.mɛn	N	commitment
	kompi	ˈkɔm.pi	N	military company
	kompleks	ˈkɔm.plɛks	N	complex
	komplotan	kɔm.ˈplɔ.tɐn	N	(half) circle
	komputer	kɔm.ˈpu.tɛr̥	N	computer
	komunikasi	ˌkɔ.mu.ni.ˈka.si	N	communication
	kondisi	kɔn.ˈdi.si	N	condition
	konsep	ˈkɔn.sɛp˺	N	concept
	konsumsi	kɔn.ˈsom.si	N	consumption
x	*kontak*	kɔn.ˈtɐk˺	V.BI	contact
x	*kontan*	kɔn.ˈtɐn	N	cash
	kontener	kɔn.ˈtɛ.nɛr̥	N	container (ship)
	kontrak	ˈkɔn.tɾɐk˺	N	contract
	kontrol	ˈkɔn.tɾɔl	V.BI	control

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
kopeng	ˈkɔ.pɛŋ	V.BI	head
koper	ˈkɔ.pɛ̥r̥	N	suitcase
kopi	ˈkɔ.pi	N	coffee
kopling	ˈkɔp̚.lɪŋ	N	clutch
kor	ˈkɔr	N	choir
korban	ˈkɔr.bɐn	N	sacrifice
kordinasi	ˌkɔr.di.ˈna.si	V.BI	coordinate
kordinator	ˌkɔr.di.ˈna.tɔ̥r̥	N	coordinator
koreksi	kɔ.ˈrɛk̚.si	N	correction
korupsi	kɔ.ˈrʊp̚.si	N	corruption
kostum	ˈkɔs.tʊm	N	costume
koteka	kɔ.ˈtɛ.ka	N	penis sheath
kram	ˈkrɐm	N	cramps
kremasi	krɛ.ˈma.si	N	cremation
krempeng	ˈkrɛm.pɛŋ	V.MO(ST)	be thin
kreta	ˈkrɛ.ta	N	carriage
kubur	ˈku.bʊr	V.BI	bury
x *kudus*	ku.ˈdʊs	V.MO(ST)	be sacred
kulia	ku.ˈli.a	V.BI	study
kunci	ˈkʊn.tʃi	N	key
kursi	ˈkʊr.si	N	chair
kursus	ˈkʊr.sʊs	N	course
kusus	ˈku.sʊs	V.MO(ST)	be special
kwa	ˈkwa	N	broth
kwasa	ˈkwa.sa	N	power
kwat	ˈkwɐt	V.MO(ST)	be strong
kwatir	ˈkwa.tɪ̥r̥	V.BI	frighten
kwe	ˈkwɛ	N	cake
L			
labu	ˈla.bu	N	gourd
lahir	ˈla.hɪr	V.MO(DY)	give birth
lampu	ˈlɐm.pu	N	lamp
lap	ˈlɐp̚	V.BI	wipe
lapor	ˈla.pɔ̥r̥	V.BI	report
lego	ˈlɛ.gɔ	V.BI	throw away
lem	ˈlɛm	V.BI	glue
lemari	lɛ.ˈma.ri	N	cupboard
lep	ˈlɛp	N	laboratory
lesmen	ˈlɛs.mɛn	N	line judge
lipstik	ˈlɪp̚.stɪk	N	lipstick
liter	ˈli.tɛ̥r̥	N	liter
lobi	ˈlɔ.bi	N	lobby
logat	ˈlɔ.gɐt̚	N	dialect
lokasi	lɔ.ˈka.si	N	location
lonceng	ˈlɔn.tʃɛŋ	N	bell

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	los	ˈlɔs	V.BI	loosen
	M			
x	*maaf*	ma.ˈɐf	N	pardon
	mahir	ˈma.hɪɹ̥	V.BI	master
x	*majelis*	ˌma.dʒɛ.ˈlɪs	N	church elder
	makam	ˈma.kɐm	N	grave
	makna	ˈmɐkˑ.na	N	meaning
	maksut	ˈmɐkˑ.sʊt	N	purpose
	malaria	ˌma.la.ˈri.a	N	malaria
	malaykat	ma.ˈlɐj.kɐt˺	N	angel
	mama	ˈma.ma	N	mother
	manfaat	mɐn.ˈfa.ɐt˺	V.MO(DY)	benefit
	mangga	ˈmɐŋ.ga	N	mango
	mantri	ˈmɐn.tri	N	male nurse
	manusia	ˌma.nu.ˈsi.a	N	human being
	marga	ˈmɐr.ga	N	clan
	martabat	mɐr.ˈta.bɐt	N	status
	masala	ma.ˈsa.la	N	problem
	masarakat	ˌma.sa.ˈra.kɐt˺	N	community
	matematika	ma.ˌtɛ.ma.ˈti.ka	N	mathematics
	materi	ma.ˈtɛ̞.ɹi	N	material
	maut	ˈma.ʊt	N	death
	mayat	ˈma.jɐt	N	corpse
x	*mayoritas*	ma.ˌjɔ.ɾi.ˈtɐs	N	majority
	meja	ˈmɛ.dʒa	N	table
x	*mental*	mɛ̞n.ˈtɐl	N	emotion
x	*mentri*	mɛ̞n.ˈtri	N	cabinet minister
	merdeka	mɛ̞r.ˈdɛ.ka	V.MO(ST)	be independent
x	*mesin*	mɛ.ˈsɪn	N	engine
	meter	ˈmɛ̞.tɛ̞ɹ̥	N	meter
	milyar	ˈmɪl.jɐr	NUM.C	billion
	mimbar	ˈmɪm.bɐɹ̥	N	pulpit
	minggu	ˈmɪŋ.gu	N	week, Sunday
	mini	ˈmi.ni	V.MO(ST)	be mini
x	*minit*	mɪ.ˈnɪt	N	minute
	misionaris	mi.ˌsi.ɔ.ˈna.ɹɪs	N	missionary
	miskin	ˈmɪs.kɪn	V.MO(ST)	be poor
	mobil	ˈmɔ.bɪl	N	car
x	*modal*	ˈmɔ.dɐl	N	means
	model	mɔ.ˈdɛ̞l	N	model
	mop	ˈmɔp˺	N	joke
	motor	ˈmɔ.tɔɹ̥	N	motorbike
	mujisat	mu.ˈdʒi.sɐt	N	miracle
	mulia	mu.ˈli.a	V.MO(ST)	be sublime
	murit	ˈmu.ɹɪt	N	pupil

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
musim	ˈmu.sɪm	N	season
N			
nabi	ˈna.bi	N	prophet
nama	ˈna.ma	N	name
napas	ˈna.pɐs	N	breath
nasihat	na.ˈsɪ.hɐt	N	advice
nasional	ˌnɐ.si.ɔ.ˈnɐl	V.MO(ST)	be national
nasip	ˈna.sɪp	N	destiny
natal	ˈna.tɐl	N	Christmas
neces	ˈnɛ.tʃɛs	V.MO(ST)	be neat
negara	nɛ.ˈga.ɾa	N	state
x *negri*	nɛ.ˈgri	N	state
neraka	nɛ.ˈɾa.ka	N	hell
net	ˈnɛt	N	(sport) net
nilay	ˈni.lɐj	N	value
nofember	nɔ.ˈfɛm.bɐ̥	N	November
nomor	ˈnɔ.mɔ̥	N	number
nona	ˈnɔ.na	N	girl
nyonya	ˈɲɔ.ɲa	N	lady
nyora	ˈɲɔ.ɾa	N	teacher's wife
O			
odol	ˈɔ.dɔl	N	toothpaste
ofor	ˈɔ.fɔr	V.BI	give
oktober	ɔkˈ.ˈtɔ.bɐ̥	N	October
oli	ˈɔ.li	N	oil
olimpiade	ɔ.ˌlɪm.pi.ˈa.dɛ	N	olympiad
om	ˈɔm	N	uncle
oma	ˈɔ.ma	N	great-great-grandmother
ondoafi	ˌɔn.dɔ.ˈa.fi	N	traditional chief
ongkos	ˈɔŋ.kɔs	N	expenses
opa	ˈɔ.pa	N	great-great-grandfather
opname	ɔpˈ.ˈna.mɛ	V.MO(ST)	be hospitalized
oprasi	ɔ.ˈpɾa.si	N	operation
otomatis	ˌɔ.tɔ.ˈma.tɪs	V.MO(ST)	be automatic
x *otonom*	ˌɔ.tɔ.ˈnɔm	V.MO(ST)	be autonomous
otonomi	ˌɔ.tɔ.ˈnɔ.mi	N	autonomy
P			
pagar	ˈpa.gɐ̥	N	fence
paham	ˈpa.hɐm	N	understanding
pakem	ˈpa.kɛm	N	break disk
paket	ˈpa.kɛt	N	package
paksa	ˈpɐkˈ.sa	V.BI	force
pakwel	ˈpɐkˈ.wɛl	N	k. o. crowbar

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	panci	ˈpɐn.tʃi	N	pan
	panitia	ˌpa.nɪ.ˈti.a	N	committee
	parte	ˈpɐr.tɛ	N	party
	pas	ˈpɐs	V.MO(ST)	be exact
	pena	ˈpɛ.na	N	pen
	pendeta	pɛn.ˈdɛ.ta	N	pastor
	penjara	pɛn.ˈdʒa.ɾa	N/V.BI	jail
	pepaya	pɛ.ˈpa.ja	N	papaya
	percaya	pɛr.ˈtʃa.ja	V.BI	trust
	peristiwa	ˌpɛ.ɾɪs.ˈti.wa	N	incident
	perkosa	pɛr.ˈkɔ.sa	V.BI	rape
x	*perlu*	pɛr.ˈlu	V.BI	need
	permanen	pɛr.ˈma.nɛn	V.MO(ST)	be permanent
	permisi	pɛr.ˈmi.si	V.MO(DY)	ask permission
x	*persen*	pɛr.ˈsɛn	N	percent
x	*persis*	pɛr.ˈsɪs	V.MO(ST)	be precise
	pertama	pɛr.ˈta.ma	NUM.O	first
	pesta	ˈpɛs.ta	N	party
x	*peta*	pɛ.ˈta	N	map
x	*peti*	pɛ.ˈti	N	box
x	*petromaks*	ˌpɛ.tɾɔ.ˈmɐks	N	kerosene lantern
	piara	pi.ˈa.ɾa	V.BI	raise
	pikir	ˈpi.kɪr	V.BI	think
	piknik	ˈpɪkˀ.nɪkˀ	V.MO(DY)	picnic
	pilot	ˈpi.lɔt	N	pilot
	piring	ˈpɪ.ɾɪŋ	N	plate
x	*pisikologi*	ˌpi.si.ˌkɔ.lɔ.ˈgi	N	psychology
	plastik	ˈplɐs.tɪk	N	plastic
	plat	ˈplɐt	V.MO(ST)	be flattened
x	*pleton*	plɛ.ˈtɔn	N	platoon
	plita	ˈpli.ta	N	oil lamp
	polisi	pɔ.ˈli.si	N	police
	politik	pɔ.ˈlɪ.tɪk	N	politics
	pondok	ˈpɔn.dɔk	N	shelter
	porsi	ˈpɔr.si	N	portion
	pos	ˈpɔs	N	post
	posisi	pɔ.ˈsi.si	N	position
	praktek	ˈprɐkˀ.tɛk	N	practicum
x	*presiden*	ˌprɛ.si.ˈdɛn	N	president
	pribadi	pri.ˈba.di	N	personal property
	priksa	ˈprɪkˀ.sa	V.BI	check
	prinsip	ˈprɪn.sɪpˀ	N	principle
	priode	pri.ˈɔ.dɛ	N	period
x	*prioritas*	pri.ˌɔ.ɾi.ˈtɐs	N	priority
x	*profesor*	ˌprɔ.fɛ.ˈsɔ̥r	N	professor

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	program	ˈprɔ.grɐm	N/V.BI	program
	propinsi	prɔ.ˈpɪn.sɪ	N	province
x	*proposal*	ˌprɔ.pɔ.ˈsɐl	N	proposal
	proses	ˈprɔ.sɛs	N/V.BI	process
x	*protes*	prɔ.ˈtɛs	V.BI	protest
	proyek	ˈprɔ.jɛ̧k	N	project
	puasa	pʊ.ˈa.sa	V.BI	fast
	puji	ˈpu.dʒi	V.BI	praise
	pul	ˈpʊl	N	pool
	pulsa	ˈpʊl.sa	N	pulse
	R			
	rabu	ˈra.bu	N	Wednesday
	radio	ra.ˈdɪ.ɔ	N	radio
	rahasia	ˌra.ha.ˈsɪ.a	N	secret
	raja	ˈra.dʒa	N	king
	rakyat	ˈrɐkˈ.jɐt	N	citizenry
	rangsel	ˈrɐŋ.sɛ̧l	N	backpack
	raport	ˈra.pɔrt	N	school report book
	rasa	ˈra.sa	V.BI	feel
	rasul	ˈra.sʊl	N	prophet
	reaksi	rɛ.ˈɐkˈ.si	N	reaction
	referendum	ˌrɛ.fɛ.ˈrɛ̧n.dʊm	N	referendum
	reformasi	ˌrɛ.fɔr.ˈma.si	N	reformation
x	*rejeki*	ˌrɛ.dʒɛ.ˈki	N	livelihood
x	*rekam*	rɛ.ˈkɐm	V.BI	record
x	*rekening*	ˌrɛ.kɛ.ˈnɪŋ	N	bank account
	rekreasi	ˌrɛ.krɛ.ˈa.si	N	recreation
	rel	ˈrɛ̧l	N	railway track
	rela	ˈrɛ.la	V.MO(ST)	be willing
	rem	ˈrɛ̧m	N/V.BI	brake
	rencana	rɛ̧n.ˈtʃa.na	N/V.BI	plan
	rengking	ˈrɛ̧ŋ.kɪŋ	N	ranking
x	*republik*	ˌrɛ.pu.ˈblɪk	N	republic
	resiko	rɛ.ˈsi.kɔ	N	risk
x	*resmi*	rɛ̧s.ˈmi	V.MO(ST)	be official
x	*retrit*	rɛ.ˈtrɪt	N	retreat
	ring	ˈrɪn	N	ring
	ro	ˈrɔ	N	spirit
	roda	ˈrɔ.da	N	wheel
	rok	ˈrɔ̧k	N	skirt
	rol	ˈrɔ̧l	N	roll
	rotan	ˈrɔ.tɐn	N	rattan
	rupa	ˈrʊ.pa	N	form
	rupia	ru.ˈpi.a	N	rupiah

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	S			
	sabar	ˈsa.bɐr̥	V.MO(ST)	be patient
	sabun	ˈsa.bʊn	N	soap
	saja	ˈsa.dʒa	ADV	just
	sak	ˈsɐk	N	bag
	saksi	ˈsɐkˀ.sɪ	N	witness
	salam	ˈsa.lɐm	V.BI	greet
	salju	ˈsɐl.dʒu	N	snow
	salon	ˈsa.lɔn	N	console
	sama	ˈsa.ma	V.MO(ST)	be same
	sandal	ˈsɐn.dɐl	N	sandal
	sangka	ˈsɐŋ.ka	V.BI	assume
	saptu	ˈsɐpˀ.tu	N	Saturday
	sarjana	sɐr.ˈdʒa.na	N	academic degree
	sasar	ˈsa.sɐr̥	V.MO(ST)	be insane
x	*sebap*	sɛ.ˈbɐpˀ	CNJ	because
x	*sebentar*	ˌsɛ.bɐn.ˈtɐr	ADV	in a moment
	segala	sɛ.ˈga.la	QT	all
	sehat	ˈsɛ.hɐtˀ	V.MO(ST)	be healthy
	sejara	sɛ.ˈdʒa.ɾa	N	history
	sekertaria	sɛ.ˌkɛr.ta.ˈri.a	N	secretariat
	sekertaris	ˌsɛ.kɛr.ˈta.ɾɪs	N	secretary
	seksi	ˈsɛkˀ.si	N	section
	sel	ˈsɛl	N	cell
	semester	sɛ.ˈmɛs.tɐr̥	N	semester
	sempurna	sɛm.ˈpʊr.na	V.MO(ST)	be perfect
	seng	ˈsɛŋ	N	corrugated iron
	sengaja	sɛ.ˈŋa.dʒa	V.BI	do intentionally
	sengsara	sɛŋ.ˈsa.ɾa	V.MO(DY)	suffer
x	*senin*	sɛ.ˈnɪn	N	Monday
	senjata	sɛn.ˈdʒa.ta	N	rifle
	senter	ˈsɛn.tɐr̥	N/V.BI	flashlight
	senyor	ˈsɛ.ɲɔr̥	N	senior
	serfen	ˈsɛr.fɛn	V.BI	serve
	serfis	ˈsɛr.fɪs	V.BI	process documents
x	*serius*	ˌsɛ.ɾi.ˈʊs	V.MO(ST)	be serious
x	*sersang*	sɛr.ˈsɐŋ	N	sergeant
	set	ˈsɛt	N	set
	setan	ˈsɛ.tɐn	N	evil spirit
	setia	sɛ.ˈti.a	V.MO(ST)	be faithful
	sidi	ˈsi.di	N	CD player
	sifat	ˈsi.fɐt	N	characteristic
	sihir	ˈsɪ.hɪr	V.BI	practice black magic on s.o.
	silet	ˈsi.lɛt	N	razor blade

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	singga	ˈsɪŋ.ga	V.MO(DY)	stop by
	sinode	si.ˈnɔ.dɛ	N	synod
	sipil	ˈsi.pɪl	V.MO(ST)	be civil
	sisa	ˈsi.sa	N	residue
	siswa	ˈsɪs.wa	N	student
	siswi	ˈsis.wi	N	female student
	skaf	ˈskæf	V.BI	plane wood
	skola	ˈskɔ.la	N/V.MO(DY)	school / go to school
	skop	ˈskɔp̚	N/V.BI	shovel
	skot	ˈskɔt̚	V.BI	hit
	skripsi	ˈskrɪp̚.sɪ	N	minithesis
	skutu	ˈsku.tu	N	partner
	slamat	ˈsla.mæt̚	V.MO(ST)	be safe
	slang	ˈslæŋ	N	hose
	slasa	ˈsla.sa	N	Tuesday
	slenger	ˈslɛ.ŋɛr̥	N	sling
	smen	ˈsmɛn	N/V.BI	cement
	smes	ˈsmɛs	V.BI	smash
	smua	ˈsmʊ.a	QT	all
	snek	ˈsnɛk	N	snack
	soak	ˈsɔ.æk	V.MO(ST)	be weak
	soal	ˈsɔ.æl	N	problem
	sodara	sɔ.ˈda.ɾa	N	sibling
	solar	ˈsɔ.lær̥	N	diesel fuel
	sono	ˈsɔ.nɔ	V.MO(DY)	sleep soundly
x	*sopir*	sɔ.ˈpɪr̥	N	driver
	sorga	ˈsɔr.ga	N	heaven
	sos	ˈsɔs	N	sauce
x	*sosial*	ˌsɔ.si.ˈæl	V.MO(ST)	be social
	spak	ˈspæk̚	V.BI	kick
	spang	ˈspæŋ	V.BI	spank
	spatu	ˈspa.tu	N	shoe
	speda	ˈspɛ.da	N	bicycle
	spit	ˈspɪt	N	speedboat
	sprey	ˈsprɛj	N	bedsheet
	spul	ˈspʊl	V.BI	rinse
	staf	ˈstæf	N	staff
	standar	ˈstæn.dɛr̥	N	motorbike kickstand
	stang	ˈstæŋ	V.MO(DY)	boast
	star	ˈstær	V.BI	start engine
	status	ˈsta.tʊs	N	status
	stel	ˈstɛl	V.BI	tune
	step	ˈstɛp̚	V.MO(DY)	fall unconsciously
	stir	ˈstɪr̥	N/V.BI	steering wheel / steer
	stop	ˈstɔp̚	V.BI	stop

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	stor	ˈstɔr	V.BI	deposit
	strap	ˈstrɐpˀ	V.BI	punish
	strategi	stra.ˈtɛ.gi	N	strategy
	stres	ˈstrɛs	V.MO(ST)	be stressed
	strika	ˈstrɪ.ka	N/V.BI	iron
	strom	ˈstrɔm	N	electric current
	suda	ˈsu.da	ADV	already
	sukses	ˈsʊkˀ.sɛs	N	success
	supaya	su.ˈpa.ja	CNJ	so that
x	*supermi*	ˌsu.pɛr.ˈmi	N	instant noodles
	suster	ˈsʊs.tɛr̥	N	nurse
	suting	ˈsu.tɪŋ	V.BI	shoot
	swami	ˈswa.mi	N	husband
	swara	ˈswa.ɾa	N	voice
	syarat	ˈsʲa.ɾɐt	N	condition
	syukur	ˈsʲu.kʊr̥	N	thanks to God
	T			
	taat	ˈta.ɐt	V.MO(ST)	be obedient
	takraw	ˈta.krɐw	N	Takraw ball game
	talenta	ta.ˈlɛn.ta	N	gift
	tang	ˈtɐŋ	N	pliers
	tanpa	ˈtɐn.pa	PREP	without
	tanta	ˈtɐn.ta	N	aunt
	tapi	ˈta.pi	CNJ	but
	taplak	ˈtɐpˀ.lɐk	N	tablecloth
	target	ˈtɐr.gɛt	N	target
	tas	ˈtɐs	N	bag
	taykondo	tɐj.ˈkɔn.dɔ	N	taekwondo
	te	ˈtɛ	N	tea
	teko	ˈtɛ.kɔ	N	teapot
	telaga	tɛ.ˈla.ga	N	lake
	telefisi	ˌtɛ.lɛ.ˈfi.si	N	television
	telpon	ˈtɛl.pɔn	V.BI	phone
	tembaga	tɛm.ˈba.ga	N	copper
	tempo	ˈtɛm.pɔ	V.MO(ST)	be quick
	tempramen	tɛm.ˈpra.mɛn	N	temperament
	tempres	ˈtɛm.prɛs	N	medical compress
	tenda	ˈtɛn.da	N	tent
	tengki	ˈtɛŋ.ki	N	tank
	tenis	ˈtɛ.nɪs	N	tennis
	tentara	tɛn.ˈta.ɾa	N	soldier
x	*teologia*	ˌtɛ.ɔ.ˈlɔ.gɪ.ˌa	N	theology
	teras	ˈtɛ.ɾɐs	N	porch
	termos	ˈtɛr.mɔs	N	thermos bottle
x	*terpal*	tɛr.ˈpɐl	N	canvas

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
terpol	ˈtɛr.pɔl	N	container
tes	ˈtɛs	V.BI	test
tifa	ˈti.fa	N	k. o. drum
tim	ˈtɪm	N	delegation
tipe	ˈti.pɛ	N	type
to	ˈtɔ	TAG	right?
toa	ˈtɔ̝.a	N	field loudspeaker
tobat	ˈtɔ.bɐt	V.MO(DY)	repent
toko	ˈtɔ.kɔ	N	shop
top	ˈtɔ̝p	V.MO(ST)	be good
topi	ˈtɔ.pi	N	hat
toser	ˈtɔ.sɛr	V.BI	pass ball
tradisi	tra.ˈdɪ.si	N	tradition
transfer	ˈtrɛns.fɛr	V.BI	transfer
trawma	ˈtrɛw.ma	N	trauma
trek	ˈtrɛk	N	truck
trening	ˈtrɛ.nɪŋ	N	tracksuit
trilyun	ˈtrɪl.jʊn	NUM.C	trillion

U

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
umat	ˈʊ.mɐt	N	congregation
umum	ˈʊ.mʊm	V.MO(ST)	be public
umur	ˈʊ.mʊr	N	age
ungsi	ˈʊŋ.si	V.BI	flee
x *unifersitas*	ˌu.ni.ˌfɛr.si.ˈtɛs	N	university
usaha	u.ˈsa.ha	V.BI	attempt
usia	u.ˈsi.a	N	age
usul	ˈʊ.sʊl	N	proposal
utama	u.ˈta.ma	V.MO(ST)	be prominent

W

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
wakil	ˈwa.kɪl	N	deputy
waktu	ˈwɛk˺.tu	N	time
walikota	ˌwa.li.ˈkɔ.ta	N	mayor
wanita	wa.ˈni.ta	N	woman
warna	ˈwɛr.na	N	color
wasit	ˈwa.sɪt	N	referee
wawancara	ˌwa.wɛn.ˈtʃa.ɾa	V.BI	interview
wesel	ˈwɛ.sɛ̝l	V.BI	transfer money
wilaya	wi.ˈla.ja	N	district
wisuda	wi.ˈsu.da	N	graduation ceremony

Y

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
yakin	ˈja.kɪn	V.MO(ST)	be certain
yatim	ˈja.tɪm	V.MO(ST)	be fatherless
yayasan	ja.ˈja.sɛn	N	foundation

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
yo	ˈjɔ	ADV	yes

A.3.   Lexial items historically derived by (unproductive) affixation

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
A			
anaang	a.ˈna.kɐn	N	offspring
B			
babingung	ba.ˈbi.ŋʊŋ	V.MO(ST)	be confused
badani	ba.ˈda.ni	V.MO(ST)	be physical
badara	ba.ˈda.ɾa	V.MO(ST)	be bloody
badiam	ba.ˈdi.ɐm	V.MO(ST)	be quiet
baduri	ba.ˈdu.ɾi	V.MO(ST)	be thorny
bagaya	ba.ˈga.ja	V.MO(DY)	put on airs
bagigit	bɛɾ.ˈgi.gɪt̚	V.MO(DY)	bite
baisi	ba.ˈɪ.si	V.MO(ST)	be muscular
bajalang	ba.ˈdʒa.lɐn	V.MO(DY)	walk
bakumis	ba.ˈku.mɪs	V.MO(ST)	be with beard
bangungang	ba.ˈŋu.ŋɐn	N	building
bantuang	bɐn.ˈtʊ.ɐn	N	help
baribut	ba.ˈɾi.bʊt̚	V.BI	trouble
bayangang	ba.ˈja.ŋɐn	N	shadow
bayangkang	ba.ˈjɛŋ.kɐn	V.BI	imagine
bebrapa	bɛ.ˈbra.pa	QT	several
x *berbentuk*	ˌbɛɾ.bɛn.ˈtʊk̚	V.MO(ST)	be with shape of
berbua	bɛɾ.ˈbu.a	V.MO(ST)	be with fruit
berbuat	bɛɾ.ˈbʊ.ɐt̚	V.BI	make
berburu	bɛɾ.ˈbu.ɾu	V.BI	hunt
berdasarkang	ˌbɛɾ.da.ˈsɐr.kɐn	V.MO(ST)	be based on
x *berdebar*	ˌbɛɾ.dɛ.ˈbɐr	V.MO(DY)	pulsate
berdiri	bɛɾ.ˈdi.ɾi	V.MO(DY)	stand
x *berempat*	ˌbɛ.ɾɛm.ˈpɐt̚	V.MO(ST)	be four
bergabung	bɛɾ.ˈga.bʊŋ	V.MO(DY)	join
bergaul	bɛɾ.ˈga.ʊl	V.MO(DY)	associate
x *bergrak*	bɛɾ.ˈgɾɐk̚	V.MO(DY)	move
bergumul	bɛɾ.ˈgu.mʊl	V.MO(DY)	struggle
berharap	bɛɾ.ˈha.ɾɐp̚	V.BI	hope
berhasil	bɛɾ.ˈha.sɪl	V.MO(DY)	succeed
berhubungang	ˌbɛɾ.hu.ˈbu.ŋɐn	V.MO(DY)	have sexual intercourse
berjuang	bɛɾ.ˈdʒʊ.ɐŋ	V.MO(DY)	struggle
x *berkebung*	ˌbɛɾ.kɛ.ˈbʊn	V.MO(DY)	do farming
berkumpul	bɛɾ.ˈkʊm.pʊl	V.MO(DY)	gather

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	berlabu	bɛr.ˈla.bu	V.MO(DY)	anchor
	berlaku	bɛr.ˈla.ku	V.MO(ST)	be valid
	berlindung	bɛr.ˈlɪn.dʊŋ	V.MO(DY)	take shelter
	bermaing	bɛr.ˈma.ɪn	V.MO(DY)	play
	bermalam	bɛr.ˈma.lɐm	V.MO(DY)	overnight
	berpakeang	ˌbɛr.pa.ˈkɛ.ɐn	V.MO(ST)	be with clothes
	berpikir	bɛr.ˈpi.kɪr	V.MO(DY)	think
	berpisa	bɛr.ˈpi.sa	V.MO(ST)	be separate
	bersaling	bɛr.ˈsa.lɪŋ	V.MO(DY)	give birth
	bersandar	bɛr.ˈsɐn.dɐr	V.MO(DY)	lean
	bersangkutang	ˌbɛr.sɐŋ.ˈku.tɐn	V.MO(ST)	be concerned with
	bersatu	bɛr.ˈsa.tu	V.MO(ST)	be one
	bersina	bɛr.ˈsi.na	V.MO(DY)	commit adultery
	bertahang	bɛr.ˈta.hɐn	V.MO(DY)	hold (out / back)
x	*bertemang*	ˌbɛr.tɛ.ˈmɐn	V.MO(ST)	be friends
	bertemu	bɛr.tɛ.ˈmu	V.MO(DY)	meet
	bertengkar	bɛr.tɛŋ.ˈkɛr	V.MO(DY)	quarrel
	bertentangang	ˌbɛr.tɛn.ˈta.ŋɐn	V.MO(ST)	be in conflict
	bertindak	bɛr.ˈtɪn.dɐk	V.MO(DY)	act
	bertriak	ˌba.ta.ˈrɪ.a	V.BI	scream (at)
	bertukarang	ˌbɛr.tu.ˈka.rɐn	V.MO(DY)	mutually exchange
	brade	ˈbra.dɛ	V.MO(ST)	be younger sibling
	brali	ˈbra.li	V.MO(DY)	shift
	branak	ˈbra.nɐk̚	V.BI	give birth (to)
	brangkat	ˈbrɐŋ.kɛt̚	V.MO(DY)	leave
	brenti	ˈbrɛn.ti	V.MO(DY)	stop
	brikut	ˈbri.kʊt	V.MO(ST)	be following
	brontakkang	brɔn.ˈta.kɐn	V.BI	fight
	bruba	ˈbru.ba	V.MO(DY)	change
	buatang	bʊ.ˈa.tɐn	N	deed
	buruang	bu.ˈrʊ.ɐn	N	prey

C

cadangang	tʃa.ˈda.ŋɐn	N	reserve
campurang	tʃɐm.ˈpu.rɐn	N	mixture
catatang	tʃa.ˈta.tɐn	N	note
cobaang	tʃɔ.ˈba.ɐn	N	trial

D

didikang	di.ˈdi.kɐn	N	upbringing
duluang	dʊ.ˈlʊ.ɐn	V.MO(ST)	be first before others

G

gambarang	gɛm.ˈba.rɐn	N	illustration
gangguang	gɛŋ.ˈgʊ.ɐn	N	disturbance
golongang	gɔ.ˈlɔ.ŋɐn	N	group

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
grakang	ˈgra.kɐn	N	movement
H			
halangang	ha.ˈla.ŋɐn	N	hindrance
harapang	ha.ˈra.pɐn	N	hope
harapkang	ha.ˈrɐpˈ.kɐn	V.BI	hope for
harusnya	ha.ˈrʊs.ɲa	ADV	appropriately
hubungang	hu.ˈbu.ŋɐn	N	connection
hubungi	hu.ˈbu.ŋi	V.BI	contact
I			
ikatang	i.ˈka.tɐn	N	tie
ingatang	i.ˈŋa.tɐn	N	memory
J			
jabatang	dʒa.ˈba.tɐn	N	position
jahitang	dʒa.ˈhi.tɐn	N	stitch
jajaang	dʒa.ˈdʒa.ɐn	N	colony
jalangang	dʒa.ˈla.nɐn	N	route
jalangkang	dʒa.ˈlɐn.kɐn	V.BI	put into operation
jalani	dʒa.ˈla.ni	V.BI	undergo
jelaskang	dʒɛ.ˈlɐs.kɐn	V.BI	explain
jemputang	dʒɛm.ˈpu.tɐn	N	pick up service
jualang	dʒʊ.ˈa.lɐn	N/V.BI	merchandise / sell
jurusang	dʒu.ˈru.sɐn	N	department
K			
kabulkang	ka.ˈbʊl.kɐn	V.BI	fulfill a request
kasiang	ka.ˈsi.ɐn	N/V.BI	pity
keadaang	ˌkɛ.a.ˈda.ɐn	N	condition
kebaikang	ˌkɛ.ba.ˈɪ.kɐn	N	goodness
kebalikang	ˌkɛ.ba.ˈlɛ.ɐn	N	opposite
kebanyakang	ˌkɛ.ba.ˈɲa.kɐn	N	majority
kebenarang	ˌkɛ.bɛ.ˈna.rɐn	N	truth
kebetulang	ˌkɛ.bɛ.ˈtʊ.lɐn	N	chance
kebodoang	ˌkɛ.bɔ.ˈdɔ.ɐn	N	stupidity
kebrapa	kɛ.ˈbra.pa	INT	how manyeth
kebutuang	ˌkɛ.bu.ˈtʊ.ɐn	N	need
kecamatang	ˌkɛ.tʃa.ˈma.tɐn	N	subdistrict
kedua	kɛ.ˈdu.a	NUM.O	second
kedudukang	ˌkɛ.du.ˈdu.kɐn	N	position
x *keempat*	ˌkɛ.ɛm.ˈpɐtˈ	NUM.O	fourth
kegiatang	ˌkɛ.gi.ˈa.tɐn	N	activity
keglapang	kɛ.ˈgla.pɐn	N	darkness
kehidupang	ˌkɛ.hi.ˈdu.pɐn	N	life
keingingang	ˌkɛ.i.ˈŋi.nɐn	N	wish
kejahatang	ˌkɛ.dʒa.ˈha.tɐn	N	evilness

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
kekurangang	ˌkɛ.ku.ˈɾa.ŋɐn	N	shortage
kelakuang	ˌkɛ.la.ˈkʊ.ɐn	N	behavior
kelaleyang	ˌkɛ.la.ˈlɛ.jɐn	N	neglect
kelebiang	ˌkɛ.lɛ.ˈbi.ɐn	N	surplus
kelemaang	ˌkɛ.lɛ.ˈma.ɐn	N	weakness
kelewatang	ˌkɛ.lɛ.ˈwa.tɐn	V.MO(ACL)	be overly abundant
keliarang	ˌkɛ.li.ˈa.ɾɐn	V.MO(DY)	roam about
keliatang	ˌkɛ.li.ˈa.tɐn	V.MO(ACL)	be visible
kemajuang	ˌkɛ.ma.ˈdʒu.ɐn	N	progress
kemaluang	ˌkɛ.ma.ˈlʊ.ɐn	N	genitals
kematiang	ˌkɛ.ma.ˈti.ɐn	N	death
kemawang	kɛ.ˈmaw.ʷɐn	N	will
kemenangang	ˌkɛ.mɛ.ˈna.ŋɐn	N	victory
kenalang	kɛ.ˈna.lɐn	N	acquaintance
kendaraang	ˌkɛn.da.ˈɾa.ɐn	N	vehicle
kepentingang	ˌkɛ.pɛn.ˈti.ŋɐn	N	importance
keputusang	ˌkɛ.pu.ˈtu.sɐn	N	decision
kesadarang	ˌkɛ.sa.ˈda.ɾɐn	N	awareness
kesalaang	ˌkɛ.sa.ˈla.ɐn	N	mistake
kesehatang	ˌkɛ.sɛ.ˈha.tɐn	N	health
kesempatang	ˌkɛ.sɛm.ˈpa.tɐn	N	opportunity
kesulitang	ˌkɛ.su.ˈli.tɐn	N	difficulty
ketakutang	ˌkɛ.ta.ˈku.tɐn	N	fear
ketawa	kɛ.ˈta.wa	V.BI	laugh
ketawang	kɛ.ˈtaw.ʷɐn	V.MO(ACL)	be found out
x *ketemu*	ˌkɛ.tɛ.ˈmu	V.BI	meet
ketiga	kɛ.ˈti.ga	NUM.O	third
ketindisang	ˌkɛ.tɪn.ˈdi.sɐn	N	k. o. trap
ketinggalang	ˌkɛ.tɪŋ.ˈga.lɐn	V.MO(ACL)	be left behind
ketrangang	kɛ.ˈtra.ŋɐn	N	explanation
ketua	kɛ.ˈtʊ.a	N	chairperson
keturungang	ˌkɛ.tu.ˈɾu.nɐn	N	descendant
keuntungang	ˌkɛ.ʊn.ˈtʊ.ŋɐn	N	advantage
kunjungang	kʊn.ˈdʒu.ŋɐn	N	visit
kunjungi	kʊn.ˈdʒu.ŋi	V.BI	visit
kutukang	ku.ˈtu.kɐn	N	curse
L			
lalapang	la.ˈla.pɐn	N	k. o. vegetable dish
lamarang	la.ˈma.ɾɐn	N	application, proposal
lapangang	la.ˈpa.ŋɐn	N	field
latiang	la.ˈti.ɐn	N/V.BI	practice
lautang	la.ˈʊ.tɐn	N	ocean
layani	la.ˈja.ni	V.BI	serve
liburang	li.ˈbu.ɾɐn	N	vacation

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
lingkarang	lɪŋ.ˈka.ɾɐn	N	circle
M			
maingang	ma.ˈɾ.nɐn	N	toy
makangang	ma.ˈka.nɐn	N	food
makanya	ma.ˈka.ɲa	ADV	for that reason
masakang	ma.ˈsa.kɐn	N	cooking
melalui	ˌmɛ.la.ˈlu.i	V.BI	pass by
melamar	mɛ.ˈla.mɐr	V.BI	apply for, propose
melancong	mɛ.ˈlɐn.tʃɔŋ	V.MO(DY)	take a pleasure trip
melawang	mɛ.ˈla.wɐn	V.BI	oppose
melayani	ˌmɛ.la.ˈja.ni	V.BI	serve
x *melekat*	ˌmɛ.lɛ.ˈkɐt˺	V.MO(DY)	stick
meleset	mɛ.ˈlɛ.sɛt˺	V.MO(DY)	miss a target
melintang	mɛ.ˈlɪn.tɐn	V.MO(DY)	lie across
melulu	mɛ.ˈlu.lu	ADV	exclusively
menangis	mɛ.ˈna.ŋɪs	V.BI	cry (for)
menari	mɛ.ˈna.ɾi	V.MO(DY)	dance
mendadak	mɛn.ˈda.dɐk˺	V.MO(ST)	be sudden
mendarat	mɛn.ˈda.ɾɛt	V.MO(DY)	land
mendidi	mɛn.ˈdi.di	V.MO(DY)	boil
mendukung	mɛn.ˈdʊ.kʊŋ	V.BI	support
mengaku	mɛ.ˈŋa.ku	V.BI	confess
mengala	mɛ.ˈŋa.la	V.MO(DY)	yield
mengalir	mɛ.ˈŋa.lɪr	V.MO(DY)	flow
mengantuk	mɛ.ˈŋɐn.tʊk˺	V.MO(ST)	be sleepy
mengasii	ˌmɛ.ŋa.ˈsi.i	V.BI	love
mengelu	mɛ.ˈŋɛ.lu	V.MO(DY)	complain
meninggal	mɛ.ˈnɪŋ.gɐl	V.MO(DY)	die
menjadi	mɛn.ˈdʒa.di	V.BI	become
menjelang	mɛn.dʒɛ.ˈlɐn	V.BI	approach
menuju	mɛ.ˈnu.dʒu	V.BI	aim at
menurut	mɛ.ˈnʊ.ɾʊt˺	PREP	according to
menyala	mɛ.ˈɲa.la	V.MO(DY)	shine
menyangkal	mɛ.ˈɲɐŋ.kɐl	V.BI	deny
menyanyi	mɛ.ˈɲa.ɲi	V.BI	sing
menyapu	mɛ.ˈɲa.pu	V.BI	sweep
x *menyebrang*	ˌmɛ.ɲɛ.ˈbrɐn	V.BI	cross
x *menyesal*	ˌmɛ.ɲɛ.ˈsɐl	V.MO(ST)	regret
menyusul	mɛ.ˈɲu.sʊl	V.BI	follow
merangkap	mɛ.ˈɾɐŋ.kɐp˺	V.BI	double as
merantaw	mɛ.ˈɾɐn.tɐw	V.MO(DY)	wander about
merayap	mɛ.ˈɾa.jɐp˺	V.BI	creep (over)
minumang	mi.ˈnu.mɐn	N	beverage
muatang	mʊ.ˈa.tɐn	N	cargo, contents

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
mulay	ˈmu.lɐj	V.BI	start
O			
obatang	ɔ.ˈba.tɐn	N	magic spell
P			
paginya	pa.ˈgi.ɲa	ADV	next morning
pakeang	pa.ˈkɛ.ɐn	N	clothes
pamalas	pɛ.ˈma.lɐs	N/V.MO(ST)	listless person / be very listless
pamerang	pa.ˈmɛ.ɾɐn	N	exhibition
panakut	pɛ.ˈna.kʊt̚	N/V.BI	coward / fear (EMPH)
pandangang	pɐn.ˈda.ŋɐn	N	view
pandiam	pɛn.ˈdi.ɐm	N/V.MO(ST)	taciturn person / be very quiet
panggayu	pɐŋ.ˈga.ju	N/V.BI	paddle
panggilang	pɐŋ.ˈgi.lɐn	N	call, summons
pangkalang	pɐŋ.ˈka.lɐn	N	base
pasangang	pa.ˈsa.ŋɐn	N	pair
pedalamang	ˌpɛ.da.ˈla.mɐn	N	interior
pembangungang	ˌpɛm.ba.ˈŋu.nɐn	N	building
pembantu	pəm.ˈbɐn.tu	N	househelper
pembayarang	ˌpɛm.ba.ˈja.ɾɐn	N	payment
pembunuang	ˌpɛm.bu.ˈnu.ɐn	N	killing
pemekarang	ˌpɛ.mɛ.ˈka.ɾɐn	N	development
pemiliang	ˌpɛ.mi.ˈli.ɐn	N	election
pemimping	pɛ.ˈmɪm.pɪn	N	leader
pemrinta	pəm.ˈrɪn.ta	N	government
pemrintaang	ˌpəm.rɪn.ˈta.ɐn	N	governance
pemuda	pɛ.ˈmu.da	N	youth
penani	pɛ.ˈna.ni	N	farmer
penantar	pɛ.ˈnɐn.tɐr	N	escort
penasarang	ˌpɛ.na.ˈsa.ɾɐn	V.MO(ST)	be curious
pendatang	pɛn.ˈda.tɐn	N	stranger
pendidikang	ˌpɛn.di.ˈdi.kɐn	N	education
pendiriang	ˌpɛn.di.ˈrɪ.ɐn	N	convictions
penduduk	pɛn.ˈdʊ.dʊk̚	N	inhabitant
penentuang	ˌpɛ.nɛn.ˈtʊ.ɐn	N	determination
pengakuang	ˌpɛ.ŋa.ˈkʊ.ɐn	N	confession
pengarui	ˌpɛ.ŋa.ˈɾu.i	V.BI	influence
pengasu	pɛ.ˈŋa.su	N	Sunday school teacher
pengetawang	ˌpɛ.ŋɛ.ˈtaw.ʷɐn	N	knowledge
pengganti	pəŋ.ˈgɐn.ti	N	replacement
pengirimang	ˌpɛ.ŋi.ˈri.mɐn	N	dispatch
pengurus	pɛ.ˈŋʊ.ɾʊs	N	manager
peninju	pɛ.ˈnɪn.dʒu	N	boxer

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
penjelasang	ˌpɛn.dʒɛ.ˈla.sɐn	N	explanation
penolakang	ˌpɛ.nɔ.ˈla.kɐn	N	rejection
penolong	pɛ.ˈnɔ.lɔŋ	N	helper
penugas	pɛ.ˈnu.gɐs	N	official
penumpang	pɛ.ˈnʊm.pɐŋ	N	passenger
penunggu	pɛ.ˈnʊŋ.gʊ	N	tutelary spirit
penunjuk	pɛ.ˈnʊn.dʒʊk̚	N	guide
penutupang	ˌpɛ.nu.ˈtu.pɐn	N	closure
penyalaang	ˌpɛ.ɲa.ˈla.ɐn	N	ignition
penyeraang	ˌpɛ.ɲɛ.ˈra.ɐn	N	dedication
penyesalang	ˌpɛ.ɲɛ.ˈsa.lɐn	N	remorse
perbedaang	ˌpɛr.bɛ.ˈda.ɐn	N	difference
perbuatang	ˌpɛr.bʊ.ˈa.tɐn	N	act, action
perhitungang	ˌpɛr.hi.ˈtu.ŋɐn	N	calculation
peringatang	ˌpɛ.ɾi.ˈŋa.tɐn	N	reminder, warning
perjalangang	ˌpɛr.dʒa.ˈla.nɐn	N	journey
perjanjiang	ˌpɛr.dʒɛn.ˈdʒi.ɐn	N	promise
perlengkapang	ˌpɛr.lɛŋ.ˈka.pɐn	N	equipment
permaingang	ˌpɛr.ma.ˈɪ.nɐn	N	game
persiapang	ˌpɛr.si.ˈa.pɐn	N	preparation
pertahangang	ˌpɛr.ta.ˈha.nɐn	N	defense
pertandingang	ˌpɛr.tɛn.ˈdi.ŋɐn	N	competition
pertanyaang	ˌpɛr.ta.ˈɲa.ɐn	N	question
pertemuang	ˌpɛr.tɛ.ˈmʊ.ɐn	N	meeting
pertumbuang	ˌpɛr.tʊm.ˈbʊ.ɐn	N	growth
picaang	pi.ˈtʃa.ɐn	N	splinter
pimpingang	pɪm.ˈpi.nɐn	N	leadership
plabuang	pla.ˈbu.ɐn	N	harbor
plantikang	plɛn.ˈti.kɐn	N	inauguration
platiang	pla.ˈtɪ.ɐn	N	training
playangang	pla.ˈja.nɐn	N	service
pokoknya	pɔ.ˈkɔk̚.ɲa	ADV	the main thing is
praliang	pra.ˈlɪ.ɐn	N	transition
pranaang	pra.ˈna.kɐn	N	mixed ethnic origins
praturang	pra.ˈtu.ɾɐn	N	regulation
prubaang	pru.ˈba.ɐn	N	change
pukulang	pu.ˈku.lɐn	N	stroke
puluang	pu.ˈlu.ɐn	N	tens
putarang	pu.ˈta.ɾɐn	N	circle
R			
rambutang	rɐm.ˈbu.tɐn	N	rambutan
ramuang	ra.ˈmʊ.ɐn	N	ingredients
ratusang	ra.ˈtu.sɐn	N	hundreds
renungang	rɛ.ˈnu.ŋɐn	N	meditation
rombongang	rɔm.ˈbɔ.ŋɐn	N	group of people

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
ruangang	ruˈa.ŋɐn	N	room
S			
salakang	sa.ˈla.kɐn	V.BI	blame
saringang	sa.ˈɾi.ŋɐn	N	filter
sebapnya	sɛ.ˈbɐpˈ.ɲa	ADV	for that reason
sebenarnya	ˌsɛ.bɛ.ˈnɐr.ɲa	ADV	actually
x *sebla*	sɛ.ˈbla	N-LOC	side
x *seblas*	sɛ.ˈblɐs	NUM.C	eleven
x *seblum*	sɛ.ˈblʊm	CNJ	before
sekitar	sɛ.ˈki.tɐr	N	vicinity
selaing	sɛ.ˈla.ɪn	ADV	besides
sembarang	sɛm.ˈba.ɾɐŋ	QT	any (kind of)
sepakat	sɛ.ˈpa.kɐtˈ	V.MO(ST)	be agreed
sepanggal	sɛ.ˈpɐŋ.gɐl	N	a fragment
serakang	sɛ.ˈɾa.kɐn	V.BI	surrender
serangang	sɛ.ˈɾa.ŋɐn	N	attack
seswai	sɛ.ˈswa.ɪ	V.MO(ST)	be appropriate
seswaikang	ˌsɛ.swa.ˈɪ.kɐn	V.BI	adjust
setiap	sɛ.ˈti.ɐpˈ	QT	every
sialang	sɪ.ˈa.lɐn	N	s. o. unfortunate
siapkang	sɪ.ˈɐpˈ.kɐn	V.BI	prepare
silakang	si.ˈla.kɐn	V.BI	invite
slalu	ˈsla.lu	ADV	always
slama	sɛ.ˈla.ma	ADV	as long as, while
sorenya	sɔ.ˈɾɛ.ɲa	ADV	this afternoon
spertinya	spɛr.ˈti.ɲa	ADV	it seems
spulu	ˈspu.lu	NUM.C	ten
sratus	ˈsɾa.tʊs	NUM.C	one hundred
sribu	ˈsri.bu	NUM.C	one thousand
stuju	ˈstu.dʒu	V.MO(DY)	agree
sumbangang	sʊm.ˈba.ŋɐn	N	donation
T			
tabalik	ta.ˈba.le	V.MO(ACL)	be turned over
tabanting	ta.ˈbɐn.tɪŋ	V.MO(ACL)	be tossed around
x *tabla*	ta.ˈbla	V.MO(ACL)	be cracked open
tacukur	ta.ˈtʃu.kʊr	V.MO(ACL)	be scalped
tagait	ta.ˈgɐ.ɪtˈ	V.MO(ACL)	be hooked
tagoyang	ta.ˈgɔ.jɐŋ	V.MO(ACL)	be shaken
taguling	ta.ˈgu.lɪŋ	V.MO(ACL)	be rolled over
tahambur	ta.ˈhɛm.bʊr	V.MO(ACL)	be scattered about
tahangang	ta.ˈha.nɐn	N	detention
takancing	ta.ˈkɐn.tʃɪŋ	V.MO(ACL)	be locked
takumpul	ta.ˈkʊm.pʊl	V.MO(ACL)	be collected
takupas	ta.ˈku.pɐs	V.MO(ACL)	be peeled

	Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
	talipat	tɛr.ˈli.pɐt̚	V.MO(ACL)	be folded
	tamasuk	ta.ˈma.sʊk̚	V.MO(ACL)	be included
	tambaang	tɛm.ˈba.ɐn	N	extra amount
	tanamang	ta.ˈna.mɐn	N	plants
	tanggapang	tɛŋ.ˈga.pɐn	N	response, idea
	tanggulangi	ˌtɛŋ.gu.ˈla.ŋi	V.BI	ward off, cope with
	tantangang	tɛn.ˈta.ŋɐn	N	challenge
	tapisang	ta.ˈpi.sɐn	N	filter
	taputar	ta.ˈpu.tɐr	V.MO(ACL)	be turned around
	tasala	ta.ˈsa.la	V.MO(ACL)	be mistaken
	tatikam	ta.ˈti.kɐm	V.MO(ACL)	be stabbed
	tatongkat	ta.ˈtɔŋ.kɐt̚	V.MO(ACL)	be beaten
	tatutup	ta.ˈtʊ.tʊp̚	V.MO(ACL)	be closed
	tendangang	tɛn.ˈda.ŋɐn	N	kicking
	tentukang	tɛn.ˈtʊ.kɐn	V.BI	determine
	terbakar	tɛr.ˈba.kɐr	V.MO(ACL)	be burnt
	terbuka	tɛr.ˈbu.ka	V.MO(ACL)	be opened
	terendam	tɛ.ˈrɛn.dɐm	V.MO(ACL)	be soaked
	terganggu	tɛr.ˈgɛŋ.gu	V.MO(ACL)	be disturbed
	tergantong	ta.ˈgɛn.tɔŋ	V.MO(ACL)	be dependent
	terjadi	tɛr.ˈdʒa.di	V.MO(ACL)	happen
	terjatu	tɛr.ˈdʒa.tu	V.MO(ACL)	be fallen
	terkenal	tɛr.kɛ.ˈnɐl	V.MO(ACL)	be well-known
	terlambat	tɛr.ˈlɛm.bɐt̚	V.MO(ACL)	be late
	terlanjur	tɛr.ˈlɛn.dʒʊr	V.MO(ST)	be beyond bounds
	terlempar	tɛr.ˈlɛm.pɐr	V.MO(ACL)	be thrown
x	*terlepas*	ˌtɛr.lɛ.ˈpɐs	V.MO(ACL)	be loose
	terpukul	tɛr.ˈpʊ.kʊl	V.MO(ACL)	be beaten
	tersendiri	ˌtɛr.sɛn.ˈdi.ɾi	V.MO(ACL)	be separate
x	*tersera*	ˌtɛr.sɛ.ˈra	V.BI	up to s. o.
	tersinggung	tɛr.ˈsɪŋ.gʊŋ	V.MO(ACL)	be offended
	tertarik	tɛr.ˈta.ɾɪk̚	V.MO(ACL)	be pulled
	tertawa	tɛr.ˈta.wa	V.BI	laugh
x	*tertentu*	ˌtɛr.tɛn.ˈtu	V.MO(ST)	be specific
	tertolak	tɛr.ˈtɔ.lɐk̚	V.MO(ACL)	be rejected
	tertukar	tɛr.ˈtu.kɐr	V.MO(ACL)	get changed
	tikungang	ti.ˈku.ŋɐn	N	bend in road
	timbulkang	tɪm.ˈbʊl.kɐn	V.BI	emerge
	tindakang	tɪn.ˈda.kɐn	N	action
	tingkatang	tɪŋ.ˈka.tɐn	N	level
	titipang	ti.ˈti.pɐn	N	entrusted goods
	trangkang	ˈtrɛŋ.kɐn	V.BI	clarify
	trangkat	ˈtrɛŋ.kɐt̚	V.MO(ACL)	be lifted
	trapkang	ˈtrɛp̚.kɐn	V.BI	implement, apply
	trapung	ˈtra.pʊŋ	V.MO(ACL)	be drifting

Lexeme	Transcription	Word class	English gloss
tujuang	tu.ˈdʒu.ɐn	N	purpose
tulisang	tu.ˈli.sɐn	N	writing
tumpukang	tʊm.ˈpʊ.kɐn	N	pile
turungang	tu.ˈɾu.nɐn	N	descendant
U			
ucapkang	u.ˈtʃɐpˀ.kɐn	V.BI	express
ujiang	u.ˈdʒɪ.ɐn	N/V.BI	examination / examine
ukirang	u.ˈki.ɾɐn	N	carved object
ukurang	u.ˈku.ɾɐn	N	measurement
ulangang	ʊ.ˈla.ŋɐn	N/V.BI	test
utusang	u.ˈtu.sɐn	N	messenger

B. Texts

This appendix presents a sample of twelve texts. Included are three spontaneous conversations, one spontaneous narrative, two elicited narratives, two expositories, two hortatories, and two elicited jokes. For each text the following meta data are provided: the file name, the text type, the interlocutors, and the length (in minutes). For additional information see also §1.8 and Appendix C.

B.1. Conversation: Playing volleyball; morning chores

File name: 081023-001-Cv
Text type: Conversation, spontaneous
Interlocutors: 1 younger male, 2 younger females
Length (min.): 4:52

0001   Oten: [UP] blang, kam   dari   mana? trus [UP] tong   dari
                      say   2PL   from   where next   1PL   from
        Arbais, kam   pu   nama siapa~siapa? Herman de   bilang de
        Arbais   2PL   POSS   name RDP~who   Herman 3SG   say   3SG
        pu   nama, pace de   tulis di   kertas, su,   situ   de
        POSS   name   man   3SG   write at   paper   already   L.MED 3SG
        ada,   de   su   biking daftar
        exist   3SG   already   make   list
        Oten: [UP] said, 'where are you from?', then [UP], 'we are from Arbais',
        'what are your names?' Herman gave his name, the man wrote (it) on a
        paper, that's it, there it was!, he (the man) had already made a list

0002   su   biking daftar, pertama di   atas sa   liat nama tu
        already   make   list   first   at   top   1SG   see   name D.DIST
        Lukas ini   T.,   bencong   satu, Lukas T. dia,   trus
        Lukas D.PROX   T.   transvestite one   Lukas T. 3SG   next
        suda   spulu,   pas   tong, trus tamba kaka dari
        already   one-tens be.exact   1PL   next add   oSb from
        Mamberamo satu, Agus, Agus Y.
        Mamberamo one   Agus Agus Y.
        (he) had already made a list, the first one on top, I saw that name, Lukas,
        what's-his-name, T., a certain transvestite, Lukas T., then (there were)
        already ten (names on that list), at that moment we, then add a certain older
        brother from (the) Mambramo (area), Agus, Agus Y.

0003   tadi   di   pasar   sa   ada   pegang tangang deng dia,
        earlier at   market 1SG   exist   hold   hand   with 3SG
        de   pake baju   mera
        3SG   use   shirt be.red
        earlier in the market I was holding hands with him, he was wearing a red
        shirt

0004   Klara: o,   [UP]
              oh!
    Klara: oh, [UP]

0005   Oten: badan besar~besar
             body   RDP~be.big
    Oten: (his) body is very big

0006   Klara: ((laughter))
    Klara: ((laughter))

0007   Oten: pace de tulis tong pu   nama selesay, de   bilang,
             man   3SG write 1PL POSS name finish   3SG say
    besok,   jam, seblum jam tiga kamu su   ada   di
    tomorrow hour before hour three 2PL   already exist at
    sini   untuk latiang,   trus sa   tanya, tong latiang
    L.PROX for   practice-PAT next 1SG ask   1PL   practice
    ini   mo   ke mana?
    D.PROX want to   where
    Oten: after the man had written down our names, he said, 'tomorrow,
    o'clock, before three o'clock you'll already be here to practice', then I
    asked, 'we (do) our very practicing to go where?'

0008   de blang, a,   latiang saja, katanya   bupati bilang, ada
    3SG say   ah! practice just it.is.being.said regent say   exist
    mo   pergi maing di ini   Serui ka itu   yang de   ada
    want go   play at D.PROX Serui or D.DIST REL 3SG exist
    cari   ana~ana untuk pergi maing, suda,   baru   sa bilang
    search RDP~child for   go   play   already and.then 1SG say
    masi bisa   ada yang masuk ato su   tra ada?
    still be.capable exist REL enter   or   already NEG exist
    he said, 'ah, just practice, it's being said that the regent says that we are
    going to go to play maybe on, what's-its-name, Serui (Island), that's why
    he's looking for young people to go play', alright, and then I said, 'can one
    still be included (on that list) or already not any longer?'

0009   de blang, kalo ada   yang mo   masuk, bisa,   trus
    3SG say   if   exist REL want enter   be.capable next
    kaka wa, yang nanti   kasi latiang itu   kaka polisi
    oSb SPM REL very.soon give practice D.DIST oSb   police
    yang baru~baru deng Hurki jalang ke Jakarta sana,   ka
    REL just.now with Hurki walk to Jakarta L.DIST oSb
    Sarles, ka Sarles juga, de   pu   maim pisow
    Sarles oSb Sarles also 3SG POSS play knife
    he said, 'if there is someone who wants to be included, (he/she) can (be
    included), then, older brother [SPM], (the one) who will give the training,
    what's-his-name, the older brother (who's a) police (officer) who just now

went to Jakarta over there together with Hurki, older brother Sarles, older brother Sarles also, he has a fast and smart way of playing' (Lit. 'the knife playing of')

0010   Klara: bola   fol
                ball   volleyball
             Klara: volleyball

0011   Oten: yo, bola foli   ini,   tanta Nelci
                yes ball volleyball D.PROX aunt Nelci
             Oten: yes, this volleyball, [addressing Nelci] aunt Nelci

0012   Klara: yo, net   laki~laki,   tong yang bli, yang sebla
                yes (sport.)net RDP~husband 1PL REL buy   REL   side
             darat [UP]
             land
             Klara: yes, the (volleyball) net for men, (it was) us who (bought it), (the one) which is off the beach [UP]

0013   Oten: yang sebla, yo   sebla, di pinggir kali   tu
                REL   side   yes   side   at border river D.DIST
             Oten: (the one) which is off (the beach), yes, off (the beach), on the banks of that river

0014   Klara: itu   kalo memang bola~bola tinggi   kalo smes itu
                D.DIST if   indeed RDP~ball be.high if   smash D.DIST
             memang masuk kali, bola~bola terlalu [UP]
             indeed   enter   river RDP~ball   too
             Klara: so, if indeed the balls are high, if (one) smashes them, indeed they go into the river, the balls are too [UP]

0015   Oten: sa   lompat itu   frey,   tangang lewat
                1SG   jump   D.DIST be.free hand   pass.by
             Oten: I jump high, free (of the net), (my) hands surpass (the net)

0016   MY: [UP]
             MY: [UP]

0017   Klara: kemaring saya, Herman, Maa,   Markus, siapa ni,
                yesterday 1SG   Herman TRU-Markus Markus who D.PROX
             Nofita, sa   bilang begini,   sa   juga naik   frey
             Nofita   1SG say   like.this 1SG also ascend be.free
             Klara: yesterday, I, Herman, Markus[TRU], Markus, (and) who is it, Nofita, I said like this, 'I also jump free (of the net)'

0018   Oten: Nofita, Nofita pu   bagi~bagi tu
                Nofita   Nofita   POSS RDP~divide D.DIST
             Oten: Nofita, Nofita tosses well (Lit. 'Nofita's dividing')

0019   Nelci: kalo Nofita kena itu   tubir
                if   Nofita   hit   D.DIST steep
        Nelci: whenever Nofita hits (the ball, it comes down in a) steep (angle)

0020   Klara: adu,   tong maing tu   hancur,   tong maing net
                oh.no!   1PL   play   D.DIST be.shattered 1PL   play   (sport.)net
        sebla baru   ada, a,   sebla darat tapi dong bilang begini,   sebla
        side   and.then exist ah! Side   land   but   3PL   say   like.this side
        net   darat tu   tinggi~tinggi to?,   tinggi   itu   suda
        (sport.)net land   D.DIST RDP~be.high   right? be.high D.DIST already
        Klara: oh no!, we did our very playing poorly, we played the net off (the
        beach), and then there is (one), ah, off the beach, but they talked like this,
        the net off the beach is very high, right?, its height is fixed

0021   Oten: yo,   de
               yes   3SG
        Oten: yes, it

0022   Klara: de   tinggi   itu   suda
                3SG   be.high D.DIST already
        Klara: its height is fixed

0023   Oten: de   pu
               3SG   POSS
        Oten: its

0024   Klara: pita   di   atas
                ribbon.of.volleyball.net   at   top
        Klara: the upper ribbon of the volleyball net

0025   Oten: yang pita   di   bawa   itu
               REL   ribbon.of.volleyball.net   at   bottom   D.DIST
        Oten: (its) lower ribbon

0026   Klara: batas
                border
        Klara: (its) height

0027   Oten: sa   berdiri pas   batas   ini,   angkat tangang
               1SG   stand   be.exact   border D.PROX   lift   hand
        tapi   [UP]   lewat
        but   pass.by
        Oten: (when) I'm standing the lower ribbon is exactly on this height, (when
        I) lift (my) hand [UP]

0028   Klara: makanya   kalo bola su   mo   turung, jang
                for.that.reason if   ball   already want   descend NEG.IMP
        ko   lompat, bola tinggi   tu   yang ko   lompat deng
        2SG   jump   ball   be.high D.DIST REL   2SG   jump   with

akang   to?,   karna   bola   turung   tra   akang   sampe
it[SI]   right?   because ball   descend   NEG   will[SI] reach

Klara: so, when the ball is already coming down, don't jump, (when) the
ball is really high, you jump for it, right?, because the ball (that's) coming
down won't hit the ground

0029   Oten: tadi   tong   cara   maing   juga,   bola~bola   pul,
                earlier   1PL   manner   play   also   RDP~ball   pool

kejar,   tangang   kembali
chase   hand   return

Oten: earlier the way we played (was) also (good in some way), we played
beautifully, chasing and passing (the ball)

0030   Klara: memang,   baru   net   de   spang   itu,   mantap
                indeed   and.then   (sport.)net   3SG   spank   D.DIST   be.good

skali   to?,   jadi   tong   kemaring   maing   deng   net   itu
very   right?   so   1PL   yesterday   play   with   (sport.)net   D.DIST

dua   kali   saja
two   time   just

Klara: indeed, and then the net was really tight, (it was) very good, right?,
so yesterday we played at that net only twice

0031   Wili: sa   yang   [UP]
               1SG   REL

Wili: it was me who [UP]

0032   Nelci: siapa   yang   ganggu   [UP]
                who   REL   disturb

Nelci: who was it who disturbed [UP]

0033   Klara: tong   maing   [UP]
                1PL   play

Klara: we were playing [UP]

00034   Oten: lo,   de   yang   gara,   ko   jang   mo   bilang
               right![SI]   3SG   REL   irritate 2SG   NEG.IMP   want   say

saya   laing,   ko   apa   siapa?   siapa   lu,   siapa   gua?
1SG   again   2SG   what   who   who   2SG[JI]   who   1SG[JI]

Oten: right!, it was him who irritated (you), don't you accuse me again,
who in the world do you think you are?, who are you?, who am I?[240]

0035   Klara: net   sebla   kitong,   itu   yang   langsung   tong
                (sport.)net   side   1PL   D.DIST   REL   immediately   1PL

---

[240] The use of the second singular person serves as a rhetorical figure of speech
("apostrophe") and refers to the absent person who irritated the players (see ''NP 2SG'
noun phrases as rhetorical figures of speech ("apostrophes")' in §6.2.1.1).

    turung   maing   di   net   ini
    descend play   at   (sport.)net D.PROX
    Klara: the net on the other side, we, that's where we immediately went to play at this net

0036   Oten: o
               oh!
    Oten: oh!

0037   Klara: net   prempuang   to?
             (sport.)net woman   right?
    Klara: the women's net, right?

0038   Oten: Wili ko   jang   gara~gara   tanta dia   itu
             Wili 2SG NEG.IMP RDP~irritate aunt 3SG D.DIST
    Oten: you Wili don't irritate that aunt

0039   Wili: mm-mm
             mhm
    Wili: mhm

0040   Klara: Wili ko   masuk   suda,   ko   tadi   dengar   itu
             Wili 2SG enter already 2SG earlier hear   D.DIST
    burung itu   ka   tida?
    bird   D.DIST or   NEG
    Klara: you Wili go inside!, earlier you heard, what's-its-name, that bird or not?

0041   Oten: o, itu   klawar,   de   makang ini,   mangga
             oh! D.DIST cave.bat 3SG eat   D.PROX mango
    ka, apa,   ketapang
    or   what   tropical-almond
    Oten: oh, that was a bat, it was eating, what's-its-name, maybe mangos, what, tropical-almonds

0042   Klara: tida, ana~ana   kecil   kaya   begini,   ana~ana   kecil
             NEG   RDP~child be.small like   like.this RDP~child be.small
    nanti   de   bangung terlambat, lebi   bagus   ko   masuk
    very.soon 3SG wake.up be.late   more be.good 2SG enter
    tidor   sana   suda
    sleep   L.DIST already
    Klara: no, young children like him, young children, later he'll wake up too late, it's better you go inside and just sleep over there

0043   Oten: baru   ko?
             and.then 2SG
    Oten: and (what about) you?

0044   Klara: ko   jang   bergabung, sa   masi   bisa   pu
            2SG   NEG.IMP   join   1SG   still   be.capable POSS

           kesadarang   sa   bangung   tempo
           awareness   1SG   wake.up   quick

           Klara: don't stay with us any longer, I have enough mindfulness, I wake up early

0045   Oten: dari   tadi   siang   sa   yang   kasi bangung   ko
            from   earlier   midday   1SG   REL   give   wake.up   2SG

           Oten: earlier this noon, (it was) me who woke you up

0046   Nelci: i,   malam   de   bangung, e   yo   hampir
            ugh!   night   3SG   wake.up   uh   yes   almost

           Nelci: ugh! (last) night she got up, uh yes, (it was) almost

0047   Oten: lo   hampir siang sa   yang   bangung   lebi   cepat
            right![SI] almost day   1SG   REL   wake.up   more   be.fast

           Oten: right, it was almost daylight, I woke up earlier

0048   Klara: em?   e?
            uh   uh

           Klara: uh, uh

0049   Oten: knapa   ka?
            why   or

           Oten: what happened?

0050   Nelci: sa   bangung stenga empat, stenga lima
            1SG   wake.up   half   four   half   five

           Nelci: I got up at half past three, half past four

0051   Klara: sa   bangung, sa   kluar   pas   ana   ini,   Nusa
            1SG   wake.up   1SG   go.out   be.exact child   D.PROX Nusa

           juga   kluar   dari   dalam,   de   kas   bangung ana   ini,   dong
           also   go.out   from   inside   3SG   give   wake.up   child   D.PROX 3PL

           dua   kluar   cuci   piring, dong dua biking te   pagi,   memang
           two   go.out wash   plate   3PL two   make   tea   morning indeed

           hampir   siang   tu   dong dua   yang   kluar   bangung pagi
           almost   day   D.DIST 3PL   two   REL   go.out   wake.up   morning

           Klara: I got up, I went outside, in that moment this kid here, Nusa came outside, she woke up this kid,[241] the two of them went outside (and) washed the plates, the two of them made the morning tea, indeed it was almost daylight (by the time) the two of them came outside and woke up the morning

---

[241]   **Klara** refers to **Nelci** (see line 0050 and 0053).

0052   Oktofina: e,   mama   bilang   masuk
               hey!   mother   say   enter
        Oktofina [addressing Wili]: hey, mother said (you should) go inside

0053   Nelci: Nusa   cuci   piring,   sa   goreng   nasi
            Nusa   wash   plate   1SG   fry   cooked.rice
        Nelci: Nusa washed the plates (and) I fried the cooked rice

0054   Wili: de   tipu,   sa   tadi   liat dia   tida   ada   di   dalam
            3SG   cheat   1SG   earlier see   3SG   NEG   exist   at   inside
        Wili: she's deceiving (me), earlier I saw (that) she (mother) wasn't inside

0055   Oktofina: a,   betul,   ma   bilang
               ah!   be.true   mother   say
        Oktofina: ah, it's true, mother said

0056   Oten: siapa   yang   bla   kayu?
            who   REL   split   wood
        Oten: who was it who split (the fire)wood?

0057   Klara: a,   omong   kosong,   ko   masuk tidor sana   suda
            ah!   gossip[SI] empty   2SG   enter sleep L.DIST already
        Klara [addressing Wili]: ah, nonsense, you just go inside (and) sleep over
        there

0058   Nelci: yo,   itu   om   siapa ni   Hendrikus   pu   maytua
            yes   D.DIST   uncle   who   D.PROX Hendrikus   POSS   wife
        Nelci: yes, that was uncle, who is this, Hendrikus's wife

0059   Oten: hm
             pfft
        Oten: pfft!

0060   Nelci: kapang   ko   bla?
            when   2SG   split
        Nelci [addressing Oten]: when did you split (the firewood)?

0061   Klara: RW,   RW
            cooked.dog.meat   cooked.dog.meat
        Klara [responding to another interlocutor]: cooked dog meat, cooked dog
         meat

0062   Oten: sa   yang   bla   sore
            1SG   REL   split   afternoon
        Oten: (it was) me who split (the firewood) in the afternoon

0063   Klara: RW,   tra   ada   RW
            cooked.dog.meat   NEG   exist   cooked.dog.meat
        Klara: cooked dog meat, there's no cooked dog meat

0064   Nelci: pagi,   bukang   ko,   itu   su   kemaring   sore
              morning   NEG   2SG   D.DIST   already   yesterday   afternoon
       yang   ko   bla,   ini   pagi   lagi   om   Hendrikus   yang   bla
       REL   2SG   split D.PROX   morning   again   uncle   Hendrikus   REL   split

       Nelci: in the morning!! (that) wasn't you, that was already yesterday
       afternoon that you split (firewood), this morning, (it was) again uncle
       Hendrikus who split (the firewood)

B.2.   Conversation: Buying soap; bringing gasoline to Webro

File name: 081110-002-Cv
Text type: Conversation, spontaneous
Interlocutors: 2 older males, 2 older females
Length (min.):   3:55

0001   Ida: slamat   sore   smua
             be.safe   afternoon   all
       Ida: good afternoon you all

0002   Natalia: sore,   sore
                 afternoon   afternoon
       Natalia: afternoon, afternoon

0003   Natalia: eh,   bagemana   ipar?   sore,   dari   Jayapura?
                 hey!   how   sibling.in-law   afternoon   from   Jayapura
       Natalia [greeting another visitor]: hey, how is it going brother-in-law?,
       good afternoon! (did you just get here) from Jayapura?

0004   MO-1: [UP]
       MO-1: [UP]

0005   Natalia: aah,   yo!   baru   mana   tong   pu   ipar
                 ah!   yes   and.then   where   1PL   POSS   sibling.in-law
       prempuang?
       woman
       Natalia: ah, yes! so where is our sister-in-law?

0006   Ida: ipar   prempuang   yang   baru   lewat   deng
             sibling.in-law   woman   REL   recently   pass.by   with
       ojek   ((laughter))
       motorbike.taxi
       Ida: (it's our) sister-in-law who passed by with a motorbike taxi a short
       while ago ((laughter))

0007   Natalia: ey!   baru   lewat?
                 hey!   recently   pass.by
       Natalia: hey! did (she) pass by a short while ago?

0008   MO-1: tadi   lewat   deng   ojek
                      earlier   pass.by   with   motorbike.taxi
        MO-1: earlier she passed by on a motorbike taxi

0009   Natalia: yo?
                           yes
        Natalia: yes?

0010   Ida: de   tadi   lewat   deng   ojek
                     3SG   earlier   pass.by   with   motorbike.taxi
        Ida: earlier she passed by with a motorbike taxi

0011   Natalia: ibu,   de   su   bawa   de   pu   maytua? ((laughter))
                           woman   3SG   already   bring   3SG   POSS   wife
        Natalia: mother, did he already bring his wife? ((laughter))

0012   Ida: tra   taw,   tanya   dia,   sa   tra   taw
                     NEG   know   ask   3SG   1SG   NEG   know
        Ida: I don't know, ask him, I don't know

0013   MO-1:   [UP]
        MO-1: [UP]

0014   MO-2:   sa   ada   lewat   deng   mobil
                        1SG   exist   pass.by   with   car
        MO-2: I was passing by in a car

0015   Natalia: bahaya!, ((pause))   ko   punya   barang   itu   masi   ada?,
                              danger   2SG   POSS   stuff   D.DIST   still   exist
        ini   sa   mo   pi,   dong   ada   pesang,   sa   mo   bawa
        D.PROX   1SG   want   go   3PL   exist   order   1SG   want   bring
        titip   di   depang   situ,   bawa   ke   depang,   bukan   titip
        deposit   at   front   L.MED   bring   to   front   NEG   deposit
        tapi   sa   pi   bawa,   kemaring   sampe   sa   sibuk
        but   1SG   go   bring   yesterday   reach   1SG   be.busy
        Natalia: great!, ((pause)) is your stuff still (here)?, right now, I want to go,
        they ordered (s.th.), I want to bring (and) deposit (it) in front over there, (I
        want to) bring (it) to the front, not to deposit (it) but I want to go and bring
        (it), yesterday, (when I) arrived, I was (too) busy (to do it)

0016   Ida: ini   sa   ada   cari,   yo,   ini,   sa   ada   cari
                     D.PROX   1SG   exist   search   yes   D.PROX   1SG   exist   search
        uang,   ini,   ojek
        money   D.PROX   motorbike.taxi
        Ida: what's-its-name, I'm looking for, yes, what's-its-name, I'm looking for
        money, what's-its-name, (for) the motorbike taxi

0017   Natalia: perjalangang,   kemaring   sa   mo   bawa,   kemaring
                              journey   yesterday   1SG   want   bring   yesterday

dulu   karna
prior   because

Natalia: (for your) trip, yesterday I wanted to bring (the stuff), the day before yesterday because

0018   Ida: [UP]   sabun   saja,   kam   pu   sabun   ada   di   situ
                     soap   just   2PL   POSS   soap   exist at   L.MED

Ida: [UP] just (laundry) soap, your (laundry) soap is there

0019   Natalia: damay!   kitong   tra   ada   sabun   ini
                     peace   1PL   NEG   exist   soap   D.PROX

Natalia: my goodness!, we don't have any soap right now!

0020   Ida: yo,   suda,   kalo   begitu   tinggal   suda!
             yes   already   if   like.that   stay   already

Ida: yes!, alright!, if it's like that, no problem!

0021   Natalia: simpang,   sa   simpang   sratus   ribu   tu,
                     store/prepare   1SG   store/prepare   one:hundred   thousand   D.DIST

        de   pu   bapa   ar   ambil,   de   ada   du
        3SG   POSS   father   SPM-fetch   fetch   3SG   exist   TRU-be.prior

        d   ikut   platiang   satu   minggu   di   atas,   karna
        TRU-be.prior   follow   training   one   week   at   top   because

        tadi   sa   mo   cuci   pakeang   ada   taro   tinggal,   [UP]
        earlier   1SG   want   wash   use-PAT   exist   put   stay

Natalia: (I) set aside, I set aside one hundred thousand, my husband[242] took[SPM] took it, he was[TRU] was[TRU] attending a one-week training (course) up there (at the regent's office), because earlier I wanted to wash (his) clothes, (but I) had to put it off, [UP]

0022   Ida: supaya,   sa   mo   cuci   dong   dua   pu   pakeang   itu
             so.that   1SG   want   wash   3PL   two   POSS   use-PAT   D.DIST

        yang
        REL

Ida: so that, I want to wash both of their clothes which

0023   Natalia: tra   ada   ma
                     NEG   exist   mother

Natalia: (there) isn't (any), mother

0024   Ida: su   tra   ada   sabun
             already   NEG   exist   soap

Ida: alright, there's no soap

0025   Natalia: tunggu,   sabar,   kalo   mo   sabar,   kalo   masi
                     wait   be.patient   if   want   be.patient   if   still

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[242] Lit. 'her father' (*de* '3SG' refers to the speaker's daughter).

besok   mo   naik,   ini   bawa   ke   mari,   nanti
tomorrow   want   ascend   D.PROX bring   to   hither   very.soon
sa   yang cuci
1SG   REL   wash

Natalia: wait, be patient, if you want to be patient, if tomorrow (you) still want to go up (to the regent's office and), what's-its-name, bring (the clothes) there, I'll wash (them)

0026   Ida: tra   ada,   ini   suda   selesay, jadi besok   [UP]
             NEG   exist D.PROX   already finish   so   tomorrow

Ida: no, this (meeting) is already over, so tomorrow [UP]

0027   Natalia: i,   kam   su   selesay?
                 ugh!   2PL   already   finish

Natalia: ugh, you already finished?

0028   Ida: a,   itu   bukang apa,   hanya   penyeraang   uang
             ah!   D.DIST   NEG   what   only   dedication   money

Ida: ah, that's not, what, (it's) only the distribution (of) the funds

0029   Natalia: o
                 oh!

Natalia: oh!

0030   Ida: saja   [UP]
             just

Ida: just [UP]

0031   Natalia: o,   yo
                 oh!   yes

Natalia: oh, yes

0032   Ida: ibu   bupati bicarakang uang   ke   ibu   distrik
             woman   regent speak-app   money   to   woman   district

Ida: Ms. Regent talked (about) money to Ms. District

0033   Natalia: o,   begitu   PKK
                 oh!   like.that family.welfare.program

Natalia: oh it's like that, (about) the family welfare program

0034   Ida: yo
             yes

Ida: yes

0035   Natalia: o,   kalo begitu   siang,   tu   yang, sa, siri
                 oh!   if   like.that midday   D.DIST   REL   1SG betel.vine
             sa   bawa ke sana   dulu,   depang dulu,   ini   su
             1SG   bring to L.DIST be.prior   front be.prior D.PROX   already
             mo   sore   jadi, sa   masak sayur   [UP],   bapa
             want   afternoon   so   1SG   cook vegetable   father

dong dari   Yawar
3PL   from Yawar

Natalia: oh, if it's like that, (I assume the meeting was over) at midday,
that's why, I, the betel vine I'll bring (it) over there first, (I'll bring it) to the
front first, because now it's already turning afternoon, I'm cooking the
vegetables [UP], the men from Yawar

0036 Ida: hari ini   yo   suda   selesay, jadi ibu   distrik de
            day   D.PROX yes already finish   so   woman district 3SG

      kasi kitong dua pu   uang   ojek   pulang   pergi
      give 1PL   two POSS money motorbike.taxi go.home go

      Ida: today, yes, (the meeting) is already over, so Ms. District gave the two
      of us money (for) our return fare for the motorbike taxis

0037 Natalia: kasiang
                pity

      Natalia: poor thing!

0038 Ida: jadi sa   in   mo   ini,   ini
                 so   1SG TRU-D.PROX want D.PROX D.PROX

      Ida: so, I here[TRU] want this (or) this (but I can't with these limited funds)

0039 Natalia: tong dua tra ada, yang pertama itu   sa   su
                1PL   two NEG exist REL   first   D.DIST 1SG   already

      kasi dorang,   makanya   wa   mana itu,   dong su
      give 3PL   for.that.reason SPM   where D.DIST   3PL   already

      mo   bli   batu, jadi skarang sa,   itu,   simpang
      want buy   stone so   now   1SG   D.DIST   store/prepare

      sratus   ribu
      one:hundred   thousand

      Natalia: the two of us haven't (gotten any money left), I already gave the
      first (one hundred thousand) to them, that is to say [SPM] what is it, they
      already wanted to buy stones, so now I (already), what's-its-name, set aside
      one hundred thousand (rupiah)

0040 Ida: yo   suda   kegiatang
            yes already activity

      Ida: yes, well, the activity

0041 Natalia: de   bapa, dua ratus   de   pu   bapa,   trus
                3SG   father two hundred 3SG POSS father next

      dep   bapa-ade Martin dia bawa lari prempuang, adu,
      3SG:POSS   uncle   Martin 3SG bring run   woman   oh.no!

in   tong lagi masala lagi, de bapa-ade Martin
D.PROX 1PL again problem again 3SG uncle   Martin

Natalia: my husband[243], two hundred (thousand for) my husband, and my brother-in-law Martin[244] took a woman away (with him), oh no!, here, we are having problems again, my brother-in-law Martin

0042   Ida: naik   motor?
            ascend motorbike

Ida: (he) took (her) on a motorbike?

0043   Natalia: prempuang, kapal Papua-Lima
              woman   ship Papua-Lima

Natalia: the woman, (she came with) the Papua-Lima ship

0044   Ida: ya   Tuhan
           yes God

Ida: oh God!

0045   Natalia: de   bawa prempuang Bagayserwar
              3SG bring woman   Bagayserwar

Natalia: he brought a woman (from) Bagayserwar

0046   Ida: ya   ampung
           yes forgiveness

Ida: for mercy's sake!

0047   Natalia: kemaring de pigi, sa pikir mungking de   sendiri pigi
               yesterday 3SG go   1SG think maybe   3SG   alone go

Natalia: yesterday he left, I thought, maybe he went by himself

0048   Ida: i,   e,   jang   ceritra banyak, kasi sayur   sa
           ugh! hey! NEG.IMP tell   many   give vegetable 1SG

        makang, sa   lapar
        eat   1SG be.hungry

Ida: ugh, hey, don't talk a lot, give me vegetables to eat, I'm hungry

0049   Natalia: wa,   ko datang langsung   ko lapar?
              wow! 2SG come   immediately 2SG be.hungry

Natalia: wow, you come (here, and) immediately you're hungry?

0050   All: ((laughter))

All: ((laughter))

0051   Natalia: nasi   ada   itu,   timba suda
              cooked.rice exist D.DIST spoon already

Natalia: the cooked rice is over there, just spoon (it)!

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[243] Lit. 'her father' (*de* '3SG' refers to the speaker's daughter).
[244] Lit. 'her uncle' (*de* '3SG' refers to the speaker's daughter).

0052   Ida: ah,   sa   tida   makang nasi
            ah!   1SG   NEG   eat   cooked.rice
       Ida: ah, I don't eat rice

0053   Natalia: habis   apa?
                after.all   what
       Natalia: so what (do you want)?

0054   Ida: sa   mo   makang sayur   saja
            1SG   want   eat   vegetable just
       Ida: I just want to eat vegetables

0055   Natalia: yo,   ambil piring suda   di   dalam, sa   deng   Angela
                yes   fetch   plate   already at   inside 1SG   with   Angela
       ada   duduk, mama   ambil piring
       exist   sit   mother fetch   plate
       Natalia: alright, just get a plate from inside, I and Angela are sitting around,
       take a plate, mama

0056   Ida: yo,   suda,   sebentar
            yes   already   in.a.moment
       Ida: yes, alright, (I'll get one) in a moment

0057   Natalia: suda, isi   sayur   suda,   masak pertama habis,
                already fill vegetable   already cook   first   be.used.up
       e   bapa   dong dari Wari,   Aruswar tra   dapat, itu   yang
       uh   father 3PL   from Wari   Aruswar NEG   get   D.DIST REL
       sa   ada   masak kangkung
       1SG   exist   cook   water.spinach
       Natalia: alright, just fill (the plate with) vegetables, (the food that I) cooked
       first is finished, uh, the men from Wari, Aruswar didn't get (any of the
       food), that's why I'm cooking water spinach

0058   de   pu   tanta dong dari Tarfia dorang ini,   dep
       3SG   POSS   aunt   3PL   from Tarfia 3PL   D.PROX   3SG:POSS
       ma,   apa,   dong   pu   bapa-ade bli   [Is],   suda,
       TRU-aunt what   3PL   POSS uncle   buy   already
       trus   sa   masak nasi   pertama
       next   1SG cook   cooked.rice first
       my sister-in-law[245] and the others from Tarfia, my sister-in-law, what, their
       uncle bought [Is], well, then I cooked the first meal

0059   Ida: baru   [Is]?
            and.then
       Ida: and then [Is]?

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[245] Lit. 'her aunt' (*de* '3SG' refers to the speaker's daughter).

Natalia: mama-tua de, e, kemaring dia kas taw saya ni,
        aunt   3SG uh yesterday 3SG give know 1SG D.PROX
mama-tua, sa masi sibuk, tunggu, sa blum pigi,
aunt   1SG still be.busy wait   1SG not.yet go
sebentar   baru
in.a.moment and.then
Natalia: the aunt, yesterday, she let me here know, aunt, I was still busy, (you) waited, I hadn't gone yet, a moment later and then

0061   Ida: sebentar   bilang kaka Nelci yang ganti   sa   pu
           in.a.moment say   oSb   Nelci REL replace 1SG POSS
           karong lagi
           bag   again
           Ida: then tell older sister Nelci who also replaced my bag

0062   Natalia: e, Ise o, Ise, sa lupa, kamu bawa pulang
              uh Ise oh! Ise 1SG forget 2PL   bring go.home
           mama-tua pu cobe, kam bawa [Is]
           aunt   POSS mortar 2PL bring
           Natalia [addressing her daughter Ise]: uh, Ise, I forgot, return aunt's mortar, return [Is]

0063   Ida: itu   yang sa tadi bilang tu,   tadi   sa bilang
           D.DIST REL 1SG earlier say   D.DIST earlier 1SG say
           mama-tua, tolong karna   besok
           aunt   help   because tomorrow
           Ida: that's what I said earlier, earlier I said to aunt, 'please, because tomorrow'

0064   Natalia: mo   pulang, [UP] sa   bawa
              want go.home   1SG bring
           Natalia: (I) want to go home, [UP] I bring

0065   Ida: skarang kamu kasi terpol~terpol   taru di sini
           now   2PL   give RDP~container put at L.PROX
           Ida: now you give (me) the jerry cans, put (them) here

0066   Natalia: terpol [Is], ey, yang besar~besar itu   jangang
              container   hey! REL RDP~be.big D.DIST NEG.IMP
           Natalia: the jerry cans, [Is], hey, those big ones, don't (take them)!

0067   Ida: a,   yang kecil~kecil
           ah! REL   RDP~be.small
           Ida: ah, (I take the ones) that are small

0068   Natalia: ey, ada tu,   silakang, ko mo bawa pergi, ko
              hey! exist D.DIST please   2SG want bring go   2SG

bawa   duluang
bring   be.first.before.others

Natalia: hey, (they) are there, please, (if) you want to take (them) away, take (them) and go ahead

0069   Ida: yo   itu   smua
              yes D.DIST all

Ida: yes, all (of them)

0070   Natalia: ko   bawa   duluang
                   2SG bring prior-PAT

Natalia: take them (and) go ahead

0071   Ida: smua kasi ke mari, sa   mo   bawa, [UP] di sana
              all   give to hither 1SG want bring   at L.DIST

tida   ada
NEG exist

Ida: give all of them to (me) here, I want to take (them) [UP], over there aren't (any)

0072   Natalia: sa   stembay,   sa   stembay,   ini,   bensin
                   1SG stand.by.for 1SG stand.by.for D.PROX gasoline

Natalia: I stand by, I stand by (with), what's-its-name, the gasoline

0073   Ida: ko   stembay   bensin,   ko   bli   bensin
             2SG stand.by.for gasoline 2SG buy gasoline

Ida: you stand by (with) the gasoline, you buy gasoline

0074   Natalia: yo
                   yes

Natalia: yes

0075   Ida: terpol   itu,   LNG   pu   terpol   itu
            container D.DIST liquified.natural.gas POSS container D.DIST

tinggal, itu   ko   isi   bensin   di   situ
stay   D.DIST 2SG fill gasoline at   L.MED

Ida: those jerry cans, that LNG jerry can stays behind, that (metal one), you fill the gasoline in there

0076   Natalia: yo
                   yes

Natalia: yes

0077   Ida: empat liter saja
             four   liter just

Ida: just four liters

0078   Natalia: ey,   empat e, kasiang, mama   kampung di
               hey! four   uh pity   mother village   at

ba   laut mo   bli
TRU-bottom sea   want buy

Natalia: hey four (liters), uh, poor thing, Ms. Mayor down[TRU] (at the) seaside wants to buy

0079   Ida: o   yo   suda
             oh! yes   already

Ida: yes, that's it

0080   Natalia: sa   tra   bisa   kasi sembarang   orang,   mama
                 1SG   NEG   capable   give any(.kind.of)   person   mother

kampung
village

Natalia: I can't give (the gasoline to just) any person, (but) Ms. Mayor

0081   Ida: [Is]

Ida: [Is]

0082   Natalia: Nusa   mama
                 Nusa   mother

Natalia: Nusa's mother

0083   Ida: [Is]

Ida: [Is]

0084   Natalia: kitong lima liter, itu   saja, yang   laing~laing
                 1PL   five liter   D.DIST   just   REL   RDP~be.different

mmm, sa   su   tra   maw,   sembuni mati, jadi   ko   bawa
uh   1SG already   NEG   want   hide   die   so   2SG   bring

laing,   laing   sa   tahang,   e,   sa   tahang,
be.different be.different 1SG hold(.out/back) uh   1SG hold(.out/back)

kas   tinggal sa   spulu
give   stay   1SG   one-tens

Natalia: we'll (buy) five liters, that's it, the others, uh, I already don't want (to buy gasoline for them), hide (it) from sight, so you take some, I keep some, uh, I keep (some), leave it, I'll (buy) ten (liters)

0085   MO-1: [Is]

MO-1: [Is]

0086   Ida: [Is], sa   liat   dulu,   nanti   sa   sendiri   yang
                   1SG   see   be.prior   very.soon   1SG   be.alone   REL

pili   mana   yang   sa   m   bawa
choose where REL   1SG TRU-want   bring

Ida: [Is] I'll have a look first, then (it'll be) me who'll choose which (jerry can) I want[TRU] to take

0087   Natalia: yang itu,   yang itu   tu,   adu   ini,   ana~ana
                 REL   D.DIST   REL   D.DIST D.DIST oh.no! D.PROX   RDP~child

ini   dong   tra   menyimpang, ini   bapa-tua kampung,
D.PROX 3PL   NEG   store/prepare D.PROX uncle   village

u,   Arbais, Arbais punya
uh Arbais Arbais POSS

Natalia: that one, that one there, oh no, what's-its-name, these children they
didn't store (the jerry cans well), this one is (the jerry can) of uncle Mayor,
umh (from) Arbais, Arbais

0088   Ida: yo,   sa   tra   minta   yang besar, yang kecil
                yes 1SG NEG request REL   be.big REL   be.small

Ida: yes, I don't ask for the big one, (I ask for) the small one

B.3.   Conversation: Wanting bananas

File name: 081011-003-Cv
Text type: Conversation, spontaneous
Interlocutors: 1 male child, 2 younger females, 2 older females
Length (min.): 0:35

0001   Fanceria: kecil   malam dia   menangis pisang   goreng
                    be.small night   3SG   cry   banana   fry

Fanceria: (this) little (boy Nofi), (last) night he cried (for) fried bananas

0002   Marta: yo,   dong dua   deng Wili tu   biking
                 yes   3PL   two   with Wili D.DIST make

pusing   mama
be.dizzy/confused   mother

Marta: yes! he and Wili there worried (their) mother

0003   Fanceria: ay,   pisang di   sana   itu   yang mo   bli
                    aw!   banana at   L.DIST D.DIST REL   want buy

Fanceria: aw! (it was) the bananas (from) over there which (Nofi) wanted to
buy

0004   Marta: [UP] ni   tra   rasa   sakit,   dapat pukul trus
                         D.PROX NEG feel   be.sick get   hit   be.continuous

Marta: [UP] here doesn't feel sick, (he) gets beaten continuously

0005   Nofi: sa   pu   seribu
                1SG POSS one-thousand

Nofi: (that's) my one thousand (rupiah bill)

0006   Fanceria: yo, ini   kertas ((laughter))
                     yes D.PROX paper

Fanceria: yes, this is (only) paper (but not money) ((laughter))

0007   Nofi: ko   gila   ka?
                   2SG be.crazy or

Nofi: are you crazy?

0008   Nofita: terlalu   nakal   ana~ana   di   sini
                too   be.mischievous   RDP~child   at   L.PROX
        Nofita: (they are) too mischievous the children here

0009   Fanceria: a,   Nofi   [UP]
                  ah!   Nofi
        Fanceria: ah, Nofi [UP]

0010   Marta: [Is]
        Marta: [Is]

0011   Fanceria: mm-mm
                   mhm
        Fanceria: mhm

0012   Marta: tida   ada   pisang   goreng,   menangis   pisang   goreng
               NEG   exist   banana   fry   cry   banana   fry
        Marta: (when) there aren't (any) fried banasa, (then Nofi) cries (for) fried
        bananas

0013   Fanceria: ((laughter))
        Fanceria: ((laughter))

0014   Nofita: ada   pisang   goreng,   tra   maw   makang
                exist   banana   fry   NEG   want   eat
        Nofita: (when) there are fried bananas, (he) doesn't want to eat (them)

0015   Marta: ada   pisang   goreng,   tida   maw   makang
               exist   banana   fry   NEG   want   eat

        pisang   goreng
        banana   fry
        Marta: (when) there are fried bananas, (he) doesn't want to eat fried
        bananas

0016   Klara: putar   balik,   ana   kecil   itu
               turn.around   turn.around   child   be.small   D.DIST
        Klara: (Nofi) constantly changes (his) opinion, that small child

0017   Fanceria: pisang   goreng,   pisang   Sorong   sana   tu   iii,
                  banana   fry   banana   Sorong   L.DIST   D.DIST   oh

        besar~besar   manis
        RDP~be.big   be.sweet
        Fanceria: fried bananas, those bananas (from) Sorong over there, oooh,
        (they) are all big (and) sweet

B.4.   Narrative: A drunkard in the hospital at night

File name: 080916-001-CvNP
Text type: Conversation, spontaneous: Personal narrative
Interlocutors: 2 older females

Length (min.): 2:33

0001   Marta: ...   de   bilang, mama-ade bangung pergi makang di
       ...   3SG   say   aunt   wake.up   go   eat   at
       warung,   sa   bilang, Tuhan ini   jaw   malam begini
       food.stall 1SG   say   God   D.PROX far   night like.this
       makang di   warung ini   suda   jam   dua   malam
       eat   at   food.stall D.PROX already hour   two   night
       Marta: … he (Pawlus) said (to me), 'aunt get-up, go and eat at the food
       stall', I said, 'God, it's too late at night to eat at the food stall, this is already
       two o'clock at night'

0002   sa   bilang, ap   [UP] Pawlus kalo ko   simpang
       1SG   say   TRU-what   Pawlus if   2SG   store/prepare
       musu di   luar,   yo   suda,   biar mama mati ko   hidup
       enemy at   outside yes already let   mother die   2SG live
       suda,   de   bilang, tida, mama   pergi makang, sa   bilang
       already 3SG   say   NEG   mother go   eat   1SG   say
       ko   kluar   pergi bungkus nasi   untuk saya
       2SG   go.out go   pack   cooked.rice   for   1SG
       I said, 'what[TRU] [UP] Pawlus, if you have enemies outside, alright, let me
       ('mother') die and you just live', he said, 'no, you ('mother') go and eat', I
       said, 'you go out, go, and (get) wrapped-up rice for me'

0003   baru   Iskia dia   pegang sa   punya lutut yang tida
       and.then Iskia 3SG   hold   1SG   POSS   knee   REL   NEG
       baik,   sa   pu   lutut yang suda   sakit   ini,   bekas
       be.good   1SG   POSS   knee   REL   already be.sick D.PROX trace
       ini   baru   dia   gepe   begini   deng kuku,   de
       D.PROX and.then 3SG   clamp   like.this with digit.nail 3SG
       kasi, de   balut   putar   sa   punya lutut
       give   3SG   bandage turn.around 1SG   POSS   knee
       and then Iskia held my knee that is not well, this knee which has already
       been sick, this scar (is still hurting), then he clamped (it) like this, he put, he
       bandaged my knee

0004   ibu   Marta bertriak sampe, sa   bilang, Tuhan tolong saja apa
       woman   Marta scream   reach   1SG   say   God   help   just what
       yang su   gigit sa   pu   lutut?, baru   dia   tertawa, de
       REL   already   bite   1SG   POSS   knee   and.then   3SG   laugh   3SG
       tertawa~tertawa, sa   blang, adu   Tuhan ko   begini   ka?
       RDP~laugh   1SG   say   oh.no! God   2SG   like.this or
       I ('Ms. Marta') screamed strongly, I said, 'God help me!, what (is it) that
       has bitten my knee?' but then he laughed, he laughed intensely, I said, 'oh
       God, why does this have to happen?' (Lit. 'you God are like this?')

0005   baru   Pawlus dia mabuk   s   ini,   ibu   guru
and.then Pawlus 3SG be.drunk SPM D.PROX woman teacher

Maria ini   kasiang,   de   suda   tidor, kang   dia
Maria D.PROX love-PAT 3SG already sleep you.know 3SG

hosa   to?,   tong ja   jaga   dia sampe jam   satu,
pant right? 1PL TRU-guard guard 3SG until hour one

baru   tong tidor
and.then 1PL sleep

and then Pawlus was drunk [SPM], what's-her-name, Ms. Teacher Maria here, poor thing, she was already sleeping, you know?, she has breathing difficulties, right?, we watched[TRU] watched her until one o'clock, only then did we sleep

0006   baru   Pawlus de   sandar di   de   pu   badan begini,
and.then Pawlus 3SG lean at 3SG POSS body like.this

baru   de   kas   pata   leher ke bawa di   atas de
and.then 3SG give be.broken neck to bottom at top 3SG

pu   bahu,   de   bilang, adu   Tuhan tolong, ini
POSS shoulder 3SG say oh.no! God help D.PROX

siapa?, Tuhan tolong, ini   siapa?, ini   siapa?
who God help D.PROX who D.PROX who

but then Pawlus leaned on her body like this, and then he bent his neck down onto her shoulder, she said, 'oh God, who is this?, God help me, who is this? who is this?' (Lit. 'caused his head to be broken')

0007   baru   de   su   tekang dia ke bawa   sini,   hampir
and.then 3SG already press 3SG to bottom L.PROX almost

de   mati, mace   de   berdiri, de   berdiri sampe di   luar,
3SG die woman 3SG stand 3SG stand reach at outside

dia lapor ke
3SG report to

but he had already pressed her down, she almost died, the lady got up, she got up and went outside and reported (everything) to

0008   Efana: mabuk,   tra,   macang tida punya istri   saja,
         be.drunk NEG variety NEG POSS wife[SI] just

mabuk   takaroang
be.drunk be.chaotic

Efana: to be drunk!, doesn't, like he doesn't have a wife, (getting) drunk at random (like this)!

0009   Marta: de   lapor ke suster, suster kluar, dia   lapor sama
          3SG report to nurse nurse go.out 3SG report to

polisi, penjagaan di   luar,   tinggal tunggu dorang dua, dong
police guard at outside stay wait 3PL two 3PL

dua di dalam, sampe dong dua pu kluar dang polisi
two at inside until 3PL two POSS go.out and police

pegang dang dong borgol dorang dua
hold and 3PL handcuff 3PL two

Marta: she reported (everything) to the nurse, the nurse went outside, she reported (everything) to the police, the security outside, it remained for the two of them to wait, the two of them (who were) inside, until the two of them came out and the police got (them) and they handcuffed the two of them[246]

0010 skarang ada di sel, masuk sel ada tidor, siram dengan
now exist at cell enter cell exist sleep pour.over with

air baru dong dua tidor
water and.then 3PL two sleep

now they were in a cell, (they) went into a cell to sleep, (the police) splashed (them) with water and the two of them slept

0011 Efana: ditahang, dikurung
UV-hold(.out/back) UV-imprison

Efana: (they were) detained, imprisoned

0012 Marta: ditahangang, polisi kurung, mm-mm tobat
UV-hold(.out/back)-PAT police imprison mhm repent

to?, karna orang~orang kejahatang nakal
right? because RDP~person evilness be.mischievous

Marta: (they were) detained, the police imprisoned (them), mhm, to hell with them, right?, because (they are) bad, mischievous people

B.5. Narrative: A motorbike accident

File name: 081015-005-NP
Text type: Elicited text: Personal narrative[247]
Interlocutors: 2 older males, 3 older females
Length (min.): 10:29

0001 Maria: saya, Martina, Tinus, kitong
1SG Martina Tinus 1PL

Maria: I, Martina, Tinus, we

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[246] One of the two detained persons is **Pawlus**. It is unclear whether the second person is **Iskia** or someone else.

[247] The previous evening, the narrator had already told the same story, but due to logistical problems, the author was not able to record the text. The next morning, however, the narrator was willing to retell her story, with the same audience being present.

0002 Hurki: kitong tiga orang
    1PL three person
  Hurki: we (were) three people

0003 Maria: tiga orang, tra ada, tra usa
    three person NEG exist NEG need.to
  Maria: three people, no, no need (to mention that)

0004 Marta: kitong tiga orang
    1PL three person
  Marta: we (were) three people

0005 Maria: nene, kitorang tiga orang ((pause)), kitong lari
    grandmother 1PL three person 1PL run
  ke mari sampe di jalangang
  to hither reach at route
  Maria: (we) grandmothers, we were three people ((pause)), we drove (along the beach back to Sarmi) here (until we) reached the road (Lit. 'reached the route')

0006 Hurki: sampe di tenga jalang
    reach at middle walk
  Hurki: (until we) reached the middle of the road

0007 Maria: a, hssst, tida bole begitu, itu suda baik
    ah! shhh! NEG may like.that D.DIST already good
  maksut jadi ((laughter))
  purpose so
  Maria: ah, shhh!, (you) shouldn't (correct me), that's already good (enough), since the meaning (is already clear) ((laughter))

0008 Hurki: adu, sampe di jalangang
    oh.no! reach at journey
  Hurki: oh boy! '(until we) reached the route'

0009 Maria: ini sampe di jalangang, trus tukang ojek
    D.PROX reach at route next craftsman motorbike.taxi
  ini dia tida liat kolam ini, langsung dia tabrak
  D.PROX 3SG NEG see big.hole D.PROX immediately 3SG hit.against
  itu, kolam ke sana, langsung mama jatu
  D.DIST big.hole to L.DIST immediately mother fall
  Maria: what's-its-name, until (we) reached the route, then this motorbike taxi driver, he didn't see this big hole, immediately, he hit, what's-its-name, the hole headlong, (and) immediately, I ('mother') fell off

0010 sa jatu ke blakang, Tinus ini de lari trus,
  1SG fall to backside Tinus D.PROX 3SG run be.continuous
  saya suda jatu di blakang, sa jatu begini, langsung
  1SG already fall at backside 1SG fall like.this immediately

sa   taguling,   sa   guling~guling di   situ
1SG be.rolled.over 1SG   RDP~roll.over   at   L.MED
I fell off backwards, Tinus here, he continued on, I had already fallen off
the back (of the motorbike-taxi), as I fell, I rolled over immediately, I rolled
over and over there

0011   Tinus, dorang dua   dengan Martina ini,   dong dua   lari
       Tinus 3PL   two   with   Martina D.PROX   3PL   two   run

       trus,   dong dua   lari sampe di   kali, baru   Martina
       be.continuous 3PL   two   run   reach at   river and.then Martina

       ini   de   kas   taw   sama tukang   ojek   ini,
       D.PROX 3SG   give   know   to   craftsman   motorbike.taxi D.PROX

       de   bilang, a,   tukang   ojek   itu   kitong pu
       3SG   say   ah!   craftsman   motorbike.taxi D.DIST   1PL   POSS

       kawang suda   jatu, yang tadi   kitong lari ke   mari   tu
       friend   already fall   REL   earlier 1PL   run   to   hither D.DIST

       Tinus, he and Martina here, the two of them continued on, the two of them
       drove on all the way to the river, but then Martina here, she let this
       motorbike taxi driver know, she said, 'ah, motorbike taxi driver, what's-
       her-name, our friend already fell off, with whom we were driving here
       earlier'

0012   Nofita: [Is] ko   liat~liat ke sini,   baru   ko   ceritra,
                   2SG RDP~see to   L.PROX and.then   2SG   tell

       ceritra, ko   ceritra suda   [UP]
       tell   2SG   tell   already

       Nofita: [Is] you (have to) look over here, and then you tell the story, tell the
       story!, just tell the story! [UP]

0013   Maria: yo,   biar de   juga liat sa   ((laughter))
                 yes   let   3SG   also see   1SG

       Maria: yes, (but) let her also see me[248]

0014   skarang tukang   ojek   ini   de   pulang
       now   craftsman   motorbike.taxi D.PROX   3SG   go.home

       lagi   sampe di   tempat yang dia   buang   saya
       again   reach at   place   REL   3SG   discard 1SG

       now this motorbike taxi driver, he returned again all the way to the place
       where he'd thrown me off

0015   Iskia: minta   maaf   e?,   tolong ceritra tu   plang~plang
                request pardon eh?   help   tell   D.DIST   RDP~be.slow

       Iskia: excuse me, eh?, please talk slowly

0016   Maria: de   buang   saya, trus dorang dua   turung dari
                 3SG   discard 1SG   next 3PL   two   descend from

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[248] The personal pronoun *de* '3SG' refers to the recording author.

motor,   dorang   dua   liat   sa   begini,   sa   su   plaka
motorbike   3PL   two   see   1SG   like.this   1SG   already   fall.over
ke   bawa
to   bottom
Maria: he'd thrown me off, then the two of them got off the motorbike, the two of them saw me like this, I had already fallen over to the ground

0017   dong   dua   bilang,   adu   kasiang,   ko   jatu   ka?,   yo,   dorang
        3PL   two   say   oh.no!   love-PAT   2SG   fall   or   yes   3PL
        dua   angkat   saya,   trus   sa   tida   swara
        two   lift   1SG   next   1SG   NEG   voice
        the two of them said, 'oh no, poor thing!, did you fall?' 'yes', the two of them lifted me, and I couldn't speak (Lit. 'didn't (have) a voice')

0018   dorang   dua   goyang~goyang   saya,   dong   dua   goyang~goyang
        3PL   two   RDP~shake   1SG   3PL   two   RDP~shake
        saya,   trus   sa   angkat   muka,   trus   Martina   de   tanya
        1SG   next   1SG   lift   front   next   Martina   3SG   ask
        saya,   mama   ko   rasa   bagemana?
        1SG   mother   2SG   feel   how
        the two of them shook me repeatedly, the two of them shook me repeatedly, then I lifted (my) face, then Martina asked me, 'mother, how do you feel?'

0019   sa   bilang   begini,   sa   pusing,   mata   saya   ini
        1SG   say   like.this   1SG   be.dizzy/confused   eye   1SG   D.PROX
        glap,   trus   Tinus   ini   de   bilang   begini   sama   saya,   sa
        be.dark   next   Tinus   D.PROX   3SG   say   like.this   to   1SG   1SG
        bisa   bawa   ko   ke   Webro   ka?,   trus   sa   bilang   begini,
        capable   bring   2SG   to   Webro   or   next   1SG   say   like.this
        yo,   sa   jatu,   sa   rasa   kepala   pusing,   bawa   saya   ke   Webro
        yes   1SG   fall   1SG   feel   head   be.dizzy   bring   1SG   to   Webro
        I said like this, 'I'm dizzy, my eyes here are dark', then Tinus here, he said to me like this, 'can I bring you to Webro?', then I said like this, 'yes, I fell, my head feels dizzy, bring me to Webro'

0020   trus   kitorang   tiga,   kitorang   tiga   naik   di   motor,   sa   di
        next   1PL   three   1PL   three   ascend   at   motorbike   1SG   at
        blakang,   Martina   di   tenga
        backside   Martina   at   middle
        then, we three, we three got onto the motorbike, I (was) in the back (and) Martina was in the middle

0021   trus   tukang   ojek   ini   de   bawa,   de   bawa
        next   craftsman   motorbike.taxi   D.PROX   3SG   bring   3SG   bring
        kitorang   menyebrang,   menyebrang   ka   kali,   menyebra
        1PL   cross   cross   TRU-river   river   TRU-cross

menyebrang   kali
cross   river

then this motorbike taxi driver, he took, he took us (and we) crossed, crossed the river[TRU] river, (we) crossed[TRU] crossed the river

0022   sampe   di   Webro   sa   pu   bapa,   sa   pu   kaka   dorang
        reach   at   Webro   1SG POSS father 1SG POSS oSb   3PL

        tanya   saya,   sodara~sodara   dorang,   knapa?,   ko   sakit   ka?
        ask   1SG   RDP~sibling   3PL   why   2SG be.sick or

        having arrived in Webro, my father (and) my older siblings asked me, (my) relatives (asked me), 'what happened? are you hurt?'

0023   sa   bilang begini,   ojek   yang buang saya,   dong
        1SG   say   like.this motorbike.taxi REL   discard 1SG   3PL

        bilang, ojek   mana?, a,   sa   pu   motor   ini,
        say   motorbike.taxi where ah!   1SG POSS motorbike D.PROX

        sa   pu   tukang   ojek   yang buang saya,
        1SG POSS craftsman motorbike.taxi REL   discard 1SG

        kurang ajar,   kitong pukul dia   suda
        lack   teach   1PL   hit   3SG   already

        I said like this, 'the motorbike taxi driver threw me off', they said, 'which motorbike taxi?', 'ah, (it's) my motorbike here, (it's) my motorbike taxi driver who threw me off', 'damn him! let us beat him up!'

0024   trus sa   bilang begini,   jangang, jangang pukul dia,
        next 1SG   say   like.this NEG.IMP   NEG.IMP hit   3SG

        kasiang, itu   manusia,   kamorang jangang pukul dia,
        pity   D.DIST human.being   2PL   NEG.IMP hit   3SG

        saya tida mati, saya ada
        1SG   NEG   die   1SG   exist

        then I said like this, 'don't, don't beat him!, poor thing, he's a human being, don't beat him, I'm not dead, I'm alive' (Lit. 'I exist')

0025   trus sa   tidor, tidor, dorang dua   pulang ke   Waim, tukang
        next 1SG   sleep   sleep   3PL   two   go.home to   Waim craftsman

        ojek   sama Martina, dong dua   pulang   sendiri ke
        motorbike.taxi to   Martina 3PL   two   go.home   alone   to

        Waim, sa   tinggal karna   sa   rasa   masi   pusing
        Waim 1SG   stay   because 1SG   feel   still   be.dizzy/confused

        then I slept, (I) slept, the two of them went home to Waim, the motorbike taxi driver and Martina, the two of them went home alone to Waim, I stayed (in Webro) because I still felt dizzy

0026   Nofita: sap   badan   sakit
                 1SG:POSS body   be.sick

        Nofita: my body was hurting

0027   Maria: badan   sakit,   saya   tidor
                body   be.sick   1SG   sleep
        Maria: (my) body was hurting, I slept

0028   Nofita: masak   air   panas
                 cook   water   be.hot
        Nofita: (they) boiled hot water

0029   Maria: masak   air   panas
                cook   water   be.hot
        Maria: (they) boiled hot water

0030   Nofita: Roni   yang   masak   air   panas
                 Roni   REL   cook   water   be.hot
        Nofita: (it was) Roni who boiled hot water

0031   Maria: Roni, ana   mantri   ini,   de   masak   air   panas,
                Roni child   male.nurse D.PROX 3SG   cook   water   be.hot

        dorang   tolong,   dorang   bawa   air,   dorang   bawa   daung,
        3PL   help   3PL   bring   water   3PL   bring   leaf

        baru   dorang   urut   sa   deng   itu,   dong   bilang,
        and.then   3PL   massage   1SG   with   D.DIST   3PL   say

        badang   mana   yang   sakit?
        body   where   REL   be.sick

        Maria: Roni, this young male nurse, he boiled hot water, they helped, they
        brought water, they brought leaves, then they massaged me with those
        (leaves), they said, 'which (part of your) body is hurting?'

0032   adu,   sa   pu   bahu   sakit,   sa   pu   pinggang   sakit,
        oh.no! 1SG   POSS shoulder be.sick   1SG   POSS loins   be.sick

        sa   pu   blakang   sakit,   trus   ana   mantri   ini,   de
        1SG   POSS backside be.sick   next   child   male.nurse D.PROX 3SG

        urut~urut   saya,   de   pegang~pegang   di   bahu,   de
        RDP~massage   1SG   3SG   RDP~hold   at   shoulder   3SG

        pegang~pegang   blakang
        RDP~hold   backside

        'ouch, my shoulder is hurting, my loins are hurting, my back is hurting',
        then this young male nurse, he massaged me, he massaged (my) shoulder,
        he massaged (my) back

0033   suda,   saya   tidor   sampe   sore,   sa   pu   laki   datang,
        already   1SG   sleep   until   afternoon 1SG   POSS husband   come

        Lukas
        Lukas

        eventually I slept until the afternoon, (then) my husband came, Lukas

0034   Nofita: sa   pu   pacar
                 1SG   POSS   lover
        Nofita: my lover

0035   Maria: a   ini   orang Papua bilang, sa   pu   laki,
                ah!   D.PROX   person Papua   say   1SG   POSS husband
        sa   pu   laki   datang, dia   bilang, kitong dua   pulang,
        1SG   POSS   husband   come   3SG   say   1PL   two   go.home
        sa   tanya, kitong dua   pulang   ke mana?, pulang   ke   Waim
        1SG   ask   1PL   two   go.home to where   go.home to   Waim
        Maria: ah, this (is what) Papuans say 'my husband', my husband came, he
        said; 'we two go home', I asked, 'where do we two go home to?' '(we) go
        home to Waim'

0036   trus   kitong dua   pulang,   sampe di   jalangang sa   istirahat,
        next   1PL   two   go.home   reach at   route   1SG   rest
        de   bilang, kitong dua   jalang   suda,   mata-hari suda
        3SG   say   1PL   two   street   already   sun   already
        masuk, nanti   kitong dua   dapat glap,   jalang cepat   suda
        enter   very.soon   1PL   two   get   be.dark   walk   be.fast already
        and then we two went home, on the way I rested, he said, 'let the two of us
        walk (on)! the sun is already going down, in a short while, we'll be in the
        dark, walk fast already!'

0037   sa   dengan pace ini   kitong dua   jalang, ayo,   kitong dua
        1SG   with   man   D.PROX   1PL   two   walk   come.on!   1PL   two
        jalang cepat,   kitong dua   jalang cepat,   kitong dua   jalang,
        walk   be.fast   1PL   two   walk   be.fast   1PL   two   walk
        sampe di   Waim, dorang~dorang di   situ,   masarakat dong datang
        reach at   Waim   RDP~3PL   at   L.MED   community 3PL   come
        I and the man here, we two walked, 'come on! we two walk fast already!,
        we two walk fast already!' the two of us walked, having arrived in Waim,
        all of them there, the whole community came

0038   dong bilang, ibu   desa   ko   jatu ka? yo   sa   jatu,
        3PL   say   woman   village[SI]   2SG   fall or   yes   1SG   fall
        knapa? sa   jatu dari   motor,   ko   pu   tulang su
        why   1SG   fall from   motorbike 2SG   POSS bone   already
        pata   ka? tra   ada,   kosong,   tra   ada,   tulang tra   pata
        be.broken   or   NEG   exist   be.empty   NEG   exist bone   NEG   be.broken
        they said, 'Ms. Mayor, did you fall?', 'yes, I fell', 'what happened?', 'I fell
        off the motorbike' 'are your bones already broken?' 'no, nothing (like that),
        no, the bones aren't broken'

0039   suda,   saya sampe, sa   tidor, tidor, sa   bangung, suda
        already   1SG   reach   1SG   sleep   sleep   1SG   wake.up   already

dong   bilang
3PL   say
eventually I arrived, I slept, (I) slept, I woke up, then they said

0040   Nofita: minum   obat
                drink   medicine
        Nofita: take (your) medicine

0041   Maria: ko   minum obat,   suda   sa   ambil sa   pu
               2SG drink medicine already 1SG fetch 1SG POSS
        obat,   tulang sakit   punya, bahu   yang sakit
        medicine   bone   be.sick POSS   shoulder REL be.sick
        Maria: 'take (your) medicine!', then I took my medicine for (my) hurting
        bone, (it was my) shoulder which was hurting (Lit. 'the hurting bone's
        (medicine)')

0042   sa   minum, sa   minum, sampe tenga malam sa   minum
        1SG drink 1SG drink until middle night 1SG drink
        lagi, pagi   sa   bangung, sa   makang sagu, makang
        again morning 1SG wake.up 1SG eat   sago eat
        kasbi, sa   minum lagi
        cassava 1SG drink again
        I took (medicine), I took (medicine), when it was the middle of the night, I
        took (medicine) again, in the morning I woke up, I ate sago, (I) ate cassava,
        I took (medicine) again

0043   trus sa   tinggal sampe besok,   suda   sa   rasa badang
        next 1SG stay   until tomorrow already 1SG feel body
        suda   baik
        already be.good
        then I stayed until the next day, by then my body already felt good

0044   baru   sa   punya ana   ini,   mantri,   de pi ambil
        and.then 1SG POSS child D.PROX male.nurse 3SG go fetch
        saya, kitong dua lari deng motor,   dengan Roni, sa   pu
        1SG   1PL   two run with motorbike with   Roni 1SG POSS
        ana   mantri   di Jayapura ini
        child male.nurse at Jayapura D.PROX
        and then, my child here, the male nurse, he came to pick me up, the two of
        us drove with (his) motorbike, with Roni, my young male nurse from
        Jayapura

0045   MO: malam
            night
        [A guest arrives] MO: good evening

0046   Maria: kitorang dua datang sampe di sini,   ibu   pendeta
               1PL   two come   reach at L.PROX woman pastor

ini   dia   tanya, ko   jatu   ka? yo   sa   jatu   dari motor,
D.PROX 3SG   ask   2SG   fall   or   yes 1SG   fall   from motorbike

kasiang   sayang
pity   love

the two of us came all the way here, Ms. Pastor here, she asked (me), 'did
you fall?', 'yes, I fell off the motorbike', 'poor thing, (my) dear'

0047   sa   tinggal di sini,   sa   ke   ruma-sakit, sa   ceritra sama
        1SG   stay   at L.PROX 1SG to   hospital   1SG   tell   to

dokter, dokter, sa   jatu   dari motor,   dokter dorang bilang
doctor   doctor   1SG   fall   from motorbike   doctor 3PL   say

begini,   ko   jatu   bagemana?
like.this   2SG   fall   how

I stayed here, I went to the hospital, I talked to the doctor, 'doctor, I fell off
a motorbike', the doctor and his companions said like this, 'how did you
fall off?'

0048   sa   bilang, sa   jatu   balik   begini,   trus   tulang
        1SG   say   1SG   fall   turn.around like.this   next   bone

pata,   sa   bilang, tulang   bahu   yang   pata,   tulang
be.broken   1SG   say   bone   shoulder   REL   be.broken   bone

rusuk, o,   a   mama   itu   hanya   ko   jatu   kaget
rib   oh!   ah!   mother D.DIST   only   2SG   fall   feel.startled(.by)

I said, 'I fell backwards like this, then the bone broke', I said, '(it's my)
shoulder bone which is broken, (my) ribs', 'oh! ah, mother that is just
because you're under shock'

0049   sa   bilang begini,   adu   dokter, ini   sa   jatu   sengsara
        1SG   say   like.this   oh.no!   doctor   D.PROX 1SG fall   suffer

ini,   harus   tolong saya, a   mama,   sa   kasi obat,
D.PROX   have.to help   1SG   ah!   mother 1SG   give medicine

mama   minum, sa   bilang, dokter trima-kasi
mother drink   1SG   say   doctor thank.you

I said like this, 'oh no!, doctor, what's-its-name, I fell really painfully,
(you) have to help me', 'ah mother, I give (you) medicine (and) you
('mother') take (it)', I said, 'doctor, thank you'

0050   sa   pulang   sampe di sini,   sa   bilang ibu   pendeta,
        1SG   go.home   reach   at L.PROX 1SG say   woman   pastor

ibu   ko   kas   sa   air,   sa   minum obat,   sa   tinggal
woman 2SG   give 1SG   water 1SG   drink   medicine   1SG   stay

di sini   satu minggu, e,   dua minggu, baru   sa   pulang
at L.PROX one   week   uh   two week   and.then   1SG   go.home

I went home all the way to here, I told Ms. Pastor, 'Madam, give me water
(so that) I (can) take (my) medicine', I stayed here for one week, uh, two
weeks, only then did I return home

0051   sa pulang   ke Waim lagi,   baru   kitorang tinggal, baru

       1SG go.home   to Waim again and.then 1PL   stay   and.then

       sa   pu   masarakat dong tanya saya, ibu   ko   su

       1SG POSS community 3PL   ask   1SG   woman 2SG   already

       sembu   ka? sa   bilang, sa   su   sembu,   trima-kasi,

       be.healed or   1SG say   1SG already be.healed thank.you

       sampe di sini

       reach   at   L.PROX

       I went home to Waim again, and then we stayed (there), and then my
       community asked me, 'Madam, have you recovered?', I said, 'I've
       recovered', thank you!, this is all (Lit. 'reach here')

B.6.   Narrative: Pig hunting with dogs

File name: 080919-003-NP

Text type: Elicited text: Personal narrative[249]

Interlocutors: 1 older male, 1 older female

Length (min.): 4:20

0001   Iskia: jadi satu waktu saya ada   di   ruma, malam hari saya

               so   one   time   1SG   exist at   house night day 1SG

       suda   pikir, sa   bilang sama ibu,   besok   sa   bawa

       already think 1SG   say   to   woman tomorrow 1SG   bring

       anjing cari   babi, sa snang   makang babi

       dog   search pig   1SG feel.happy(.about) eat   pig

       Iskia: so, one time I was at home, at night I had already thought, I told (my)
       wife, 'tomorrow I take the dogs and look for pigs', I like eating pig

0002   tong   tidor malam sampe pagi   saya kas   makang anjing

       1PL   sleep night until   morning 1SG give eat   dog

       deng   papeda   yang sa   pu   bini biking malam untuk

       with   sagu.porridge REL 1SG POSS wife make night for

       anjing   dorang

       dog   3PL

       we slept through the night until morning, I fed the dogs with papeda which
       my wife had prepared in the evening for the dogs

0003   jadi pagi   saya bangung, sa   kasi makang anjing, sa

       so   morning 1SG wake.up 1SG   give eat   dog   1SG

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[249] This narrative is one of the three personal narratives mentioned in §1.8.4.1, which the
author recorded with the help of her host Sarlota Merne. Being aware of the target
language variety, she was present during these elicitations and explained to the narrator
that he should narrate his story in **logat Papua** 'Papuan dialect'. Being one of the early
recordings, the text includes quite a few instances of code-switches with Indonesian,
which are marked with "[SI]".

pegang sa   pu   parang,   sa   punya jubi,
hold   1SG   POSS short.machete   1SG   POSS   bow.and.arrow

sa   tokiang   pana, sa   toki pana
1SG   SPM-beat   arrow 1SG   beat arrow

so, in the morning I got up up, I fed the dogs, I took my short machete, my bow and arrows, I banged[SPM] (my) arrows, I banged my arrows

0004 Nofita: jubi
               bow.and.arrow
      Nofita: (I banged my) bow and arrows

0005 Iskia: jubi,   anjing ikut   saya masuk di hutang
              bow.and.arrow   dog   follow 1SG   enter at forest
      Iskia: (I banged my) bow and arrows, the dogs followed me entering the forest

0006 saya jalang sampe di blakang   kebung, anjing mulay gong-gong
      1SG   walk   reach at backside   garden   dog   start bark(.at)

      babi o,   tida lama   lagi   dong su   kasi berdiri
      pig   oh!   NEG   long(.of.duration)   again 3PL   already give stand

      I walked all the way to the back of (my) garden, the dogs start barking (because they smelt) a pig, oh, not long after that they already had (the pig) standing (still)

0007 sa   lari suda,   mendekati babi di mana   anjing dong
      1SG   run   already   near   pig   at where dog   3PL

      gong-gong,   baru   sa   mulay pana   dia, pana
      bark(.at)   and.then 1SG   start bow.shoot   3SG   bow.shoot

      dengan jubi,   sa   jubi   dia, langsung   babi mati
      with   bow.and.arrow   1SG   bow.shoot   3SG   immediately pig   die

      I just ran closing in on the pig where the dogs were barking, then I started bow shooting (it), bow shooting (it) with (my) bow and arrows, I bow shot it, immediately the pig died

0008 wa,   babi besar skali, sa   sendiri tra   bisa   angkat, sa
      wow!   pig   be.big very   1SG   alone   NEG   be.capable   lift   1SG

      pikir, adu,   babi ni   sa   harus   angkat bagemana,
      think   oh.no!   pig   D.PROX   1SG   have.to lift   how

      ini   besar   ini
      D.PROX   be.big D.PROX

      wow!, the pig was very big, I alone could not transport it, I thought, 'oh no!, this pig, how am I going to transport (it), this (one) here is really big'

0009 tida lama   sa   dengar ada   swara, orang,
      NEG   long(.of.duration)   1SG   hear   exist voice   person

baru   saya panggil
and.then 1SG   call
not long after that I heard there were voices, (there were) people, and then I called (them)

0010   mereka ada tiga   orang, dorang datang, dengar ini,   anjing
        3PL[SI] exist three person 3PL   come   hear   D.PROX dog
        gong-gong babi, tapi sementara,   karna mereka jaw, lari
        bark(.at) pig   but in.meantime[SI] because 3PL[SI] far   run
        mo   pana   babi bantu sama dengan saya, tapi   saya
        want bow.shoot pig help   to   with   1SG but   1SG
        suda bunu, pana   dia kemuka
        already kill   bow.shoot 3SG first.before.others
        they were three people, they came (and) heard, what's-its-name, the dogs barking at the pig, but in the meantime, because they were far away, (they) ran wanting to bow shoot the pig, to help me, but I had already killed (it), had bow shot (it) before the others

0011   waktu mereka sampe dekat saya, babi suda   mati jadi
        time   3PL[SI] reach near 1SG   pig already die   so
        tinggal sa   bilang saja, babi suda   mati
        stay   1SG say   just pig already die
        when they arrived near me the pig was already dead, so it just remained for me to say, 'the pig is already dead'

0012   jadi nanti   kitong berusaha pikol   ke ruma kebung,
        so   very.soon 1PL   attempt   shoulder to house garden
        baru   nanti   kita potong, baru   nanti   bagi
        and.then very.soon 1PL cut   and.then very.soon divide
        so later we'll try to carry the pig on our shoulders to the garden shelter, only then we'll cut it up, and then we'll distribute (it)

0013   itu   juga, a,   tong langsung   ambil itu,   pikol
        D.DIST also ah! 1PL immediately fetch D.DIST shoulder
        itu,   babi, bawa ke ruma kebung
        D.DIST pig   bring to house garden
        right after that, ah, we took it immediately, we shouldered it, the pig, (and) carried (it) to the garden shelter

0014   tong potong hari itu,   tong bagi   buat kitorang yang
        1PL   cut   day D.DIST 1PL divide for 1PL   REL
        potong itu   hari, kemudiang buat sodara~sodara yang
        cut   D.DIST day then[SI]   for RDP~sibling REL
        tinggal di kampong, kitong hitung ada   dua pulu satu
        stay   at village   1PL   count exist two tens one

KK   di   sa   punya   kampung itu
household.head   at   1SG   POSS   village   D.DIST
we cut (it) up that day, we divided (it) for us who cut (it) up that day, (and) then for the relatives and friends who live in the village, we counted (them), there are twenty one heads of households in that village of mine

0015   jadi, waktu saya potong babi ini,   daging saya
           so   time   1SG   cut   pig   D.PROX meat   1SG
           memperkecil, saya bagi   juga
           make.smaller 1SG   divide also
           so, when I cut up this pig, the meat, I cut (it) into small pieces, (and) I distributed them

0016   Nofita: potong   kecil~kecil
                   cut   RDP~be.small
           Nofita: (I) cut (it into) small (pieces)

0017   Iskia: kecil~kecil,   baru   saya bagi   sampe dua pulu
              RDP~be.small and.then 1SG   divide reach   two   tens
           bagi,   dua pulu satu bagiang
           TRU-part two tens one   part
           Iskia: small (pieces), and then I divided (them) into twenty parts[TRU], twenty one parts

0018   waktu kita pulang,   ta   p,   empat orang   itu,
           time   1PL   go.home   1PL   TRU-go.home four   person   D.DIST
           kita suda   bawa, masing-masing, kita suda   baku bagi
           1PL   already bring   each   1PL   already RECP divide
           when we went home, (when) we went home[TRU], those four people, we brought (the meat) already (having been divided up), each of us, we had already divided (the meat) with each other

0019   nanti   ko kasi sodara yang laing,   saya juga nanti
           very.soon 2SG give sibling REL   be.different 1SG   also   very.soon
           bagi so   sodara yang laing   suda   punya bagiang
           divide TRU-sibling sibling REL   be.different already have   part
           tinggal kita bawa sampe di   ruma,   suda   sore   hari,
           stay   1PL bring reach at   house   already afternoon day
           kita bagi   malam
           1PL   divide night
           later you give (the meat) to other friends and relatives, later I'll also distribute (it to) other friends and relatives, (we) already have (our) share, it remains that we bring (our share home), having arrived home, it was already afternoon, we distributed (the meat until) the evening

0020   sodara~sodara dorang mo   masak sayur,   liat begini,
           RDP~sibling   3PL   want cook   vegetable see like.this

ta   bawa   daging, siapa yang dapat?
1PL   bring meat   who   REL   get

the friends and relatives wanted to cook vegetables, as (they) saw that we
brought (them) meat (they asked us), 'who (is the one) who got (the pig)?'

0021   bilang, saya yang tadi   pagi   berburu, bawa anjing, baru
       say   1SG   REL earlier morning   hunt   bring dog   and.then
       dapat babi ini,   betulang, ini   daging yang saya bawa,
       get   pig   D.PROX   chance   D.PROX   meat   REL   1SG   bring
       antar   buat sodara dorang
       deliver for   sibling 3PL

       (I) said, '(it was) me who went hunting this morning, (who) took the dogs
       and then got this pig, coincidentally, this is the meat which I brought,
       (which I) delivered for (my) friends and relatives'

0022   dong   bilang, trima-kasi, tong mo   makang sayur   malam
       3PL   say   thank.you   1PL   want   eat   vegetable night
       ini,   tapi ya   sodara ko   bawa   daging, kitong trima-kasi,
       D.PROX   but   yes sibling 2SG   bring meat   1PL   thank.you
       karna   kitong bisa   masak daging, sodara berburu daging, babi
       because 1PL   be.capable cook   meat   sibling hunt   meat   pig

       they said, 'thank you!, we were going to eat vegetables tonight, but, yes,
       you brother brought (us) meat, we say thank you, because (now) we can
       cook meat, (you) brother hunted meat, a pig'

0023   jadi ini   kehidupang orang Papua ini   sperti   begini,
       so   D.PROX   life   person Papua D.PROX   similar.to like.this
       kalo mo   makang babi, harus   bawa   anjing
       if   want   eat   pig   have.to   bring dog

       so, what's-its-name, the life of (us) Papuan people here is like this: if (you)
       want to eat pig, (you) have to take dogs (with you)

0022   kemudiang, itu   ceritra waktu kita berburu pake anjing,
       then[SI]   D.DIST   tell   time   1PL   hunt   use   dog
       ya, sperti   itu
       yes similar.to   D.DIST

       then, this was the story when we go hunting and use dogs, yes, it's like that

B.7.   Expository: Directions to a certain statue and tree[250]

File name: 080917-009-CvEx
Text type: Conversation, spontaneous: Expository
Interlocutors: 1 male child, 1 older female
Length (min.): 0:50

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[250]   After having recounted a story about a certain statue in Sarmi which was built close to a
certain tree, a boy asked the narrator for directions to the statue and tree.

0001   Natalia: ...   greja   sebla,   pokoknya   ruma
                    ...   church   side   the.main.thing.is   house

tingkat   itu,   ruma-sakit   itu   sebla   itu   ada   [UP]
floor   D.DIST   hospital   D.DIST   side   D.DIST   exist

[Reply about the directions to a certain statue:] Natalia: … next to the
church, the main landmark is the multistoried house, that hospital next to it
is [UP]

0002   Wili: yang   Matias   de   ada   sakit   itu?
                 REL   Matias   3SG   exist   be.sick   D.DIST

Wili: where Matias was sick?

0003   Natalia: yo,   Matias   ada   sakit   itu,   liat   sebla   laut   itu
                    yes   Matias   exist   be.sick   D.DIST   see   side   sea   D.DIST

dong   ada   biking   begini,   besar   de   pu   tugu,
3PL   exist   make   like.this   be.big   3SG   POSS   monument

baru,   a,   dong   biking   bagus,   smen   bagus   skali,
and.then   ah!   3PL   make   be.good   cement   be.good   very

nanti   kalo   ko   blum   taw
very.soon   if   2SG   not.yet   know

Natalia: yes, Matias was sick there, look towards the ocean, they made (the
statue) like this, big is its statue, and then, ah, they built it well, (they)
cemented it very well, later (you'll see it), if you don't know (it) yet

0004   nanti   tanya   Matias,   bilang,   Matias   ko   bawa   sa
        very.soon   ask   Matias   say   Matias   2SG   bring   1SG

pergi   liat   tugu   itu   ka?
go   see   monument   D.DIST   or

later ask Matias, say (to him), 'will you Matias take me to go and see that
statue?'

0005   Wili: naik   ke   atas?
                 ascend   to   top

Wili: (to get there one has to) climb up (the hill)?

0006   Natalia: tra   naik,   di   dekat   puskesmas   itu,
                    NEG   ascend   at   near   government.clinic   D.DIST

ruma-sakit   situ
hospital   L.MED

Natalia: (you) don't (have to) climb, (the statue) is close to that government
clinic, the hospital there

0007   Wili: tra   liat
                 NEG   see

Wili: (I) didn't see (it)

0008   Natalia: ko   blum   liat,   a,   nanti   baru   Matias   ka
                    2SG   not.yet   see   ah!   Very.soon and.then Matias   or
        ato   nanti   besok   ka,   deng   mama-ade   jalang,   baru
        or   very.soon   tomorrow   or   with   aunt   walk   and.then
        mama-ade   kas   tunjuk,   baru   sa   kas   tunjuk   pohong   yang
        aunt   give   show   and.then   1SG   give   show   tree   REL
        Matias   de   takut,   pohong   tagoyang,   e,   Ise,   Ise
        Matias   3SG   feel.afraid(.of)   tree   be.shaken   uh   Ise   Ise
        dia   takut   pohong   tagoyang   jadi,   de   menangis
        3SG   feel.afraid(.of)   tree   be.shaken   so   3SG   cry
        Natalia: you haven't yet seen (the statue)?, ah, later on, maybe Matias or
        maybe tomorrow (you) walk (there) with me ('aunt'), and then I ('aunt')
        will show, and then I'll show (you) the tree which Matias was afraid of, the
        shaking tree, uh Ise, Ise was afraid of the shaking tree, so she cried

0009   Wili: yang   dekat   ruma-sakit?
                REL   near   hospital
        Wili: (the one) which is close to the hospital?

0010   MC: di   mana?
               at   where
        MC: where?

0011   Natalia: di   dekat   ruma-sakit   sebla   laut   dulu
                    at   near   hospital   side   sea   be.prior
        Natalia: (it) is close to the hospital toward the ocean, in the past

0012   Wili: yang   dekat   ada   ruma   to?
                REL   near   exist   house   right?
        Wili: close by where the houses are, right?

0013   Natalia: mm-mm,   ruma   di   pante,   jadi   luar   biasa
                    mhm   house   at   coast   so   outside   be.usual
        ((pause))   sampe
                     reach
        Natalia: mhm, the houses along the beach, so this has been magnificent[251]
        ((pause)) until

0014   Wili: skarang   ini
                now   D.PROX
        Wili: now!

0015   Natalia: skarang,   say   kembali,   pulang   dari   skola,   sa   di
                    now   1SG   return   go.home   from   school   1SG   at

---

[251]   This clause refers to the story about the statue and tree which the narrator had told before
        being asked for directions.

Pante-Timur,	Takar,	ke	sini,	itu	Tuhan	buat	luar
Pante-Timur	Takar	to	L.PROX	D.DIST	God	make	outside

biasa	itu
be.usual	D.DIST

Natalia: now (after this experience with the statue and the tree), I returned (to Jayapura), (I) went home (after having finished) college, (then) I (stayed) in Pante-Timur, (in) Takar, (then I came) here, all this, God made it wonderful

B.8.   Expository: Sterility

File name: 081006-030-CvEx
Text type: Conversation with the author: Expository
Interlocutors: 1 older female
Length (min.): 1:56

0001   Natalia:

jadi	ada	dua,	kalo	misalnya,	kita	suda,	kitong
so	exist	two	if	for.example	1PL	already	1PL

su	bayar	mas-kawin	to?,	baru	prempuang	itu	de
already	pay	bride.price	right?	and.then	woman	D.DIST	3SG

tra	hamil,	na,	mungking	ada	masala	menge,
NEG	be.pregnant	well	maybe	exist	problem	TRU-concern[SI]

dari	kesehatang,	kita	bisa	liat	dari	kesehatang,	a
from	health	1PL	capable	see	from	health	ah!

Natalia: so there're two (issues related to sterility), if, for example, we've already, (if) we've already paid the bride price, right? and (if) that woman, (if) she doesn't get pregnant, well, maybe there is a problem regarding[TRU], due to health (issues), we can see (that the problem of sterility) is due to a health (problem), ah! (Lit. 'from health')

0002

bisa	juga	ada	pikirang	laki~laki	itu	de	mandul
be.capable	also	exist	thought	RDP~husband	D.DIST	3SG	be.sterile

ato	prempuang	itu	de	mandul,	makanya	tida	ada
or	woman	D.DIST	3SG	be.sterile	for.that.reason	NEG	exist

ana	sama	skali
child	same	very

it's also possible that there is the thought, (that) that man, (that) he's sterile or (that) that woman, (that) she's sterile, for that reason there aren't any children at all

0003

a,	nanti	liat,	tinggal,	tinggal,	tinggal
ah!	very.soon	see	stay	stay	stay

ah, later (we'll) see, (we'll) wait, wait, (and) wait

0004

kalo	prempuang,	laki~laki	itu	dia	maw	turungang	to?,
if	woman	RDP~husband	D.DIST	3SG	want	descendant	right?

dia   maw   ada   ana   lagi,   orang   Papua   punya   kebiasaang,
3SG   want   exist   child   again   person   Papua   POSS   habit

a,   dia   e   kawin   ini   harus   ada   ana   karna
ah!   3SG   uh   marry.unoffically   D.PROX   have.to   exist   child   because

dia   harus   ada   turungang,   a,   nanti   laki~laki   itu
3SG   have.to   exist   descendant   ah!   very.soon   RDP~husband   D.DIST

dia   kawin   prempuang   laing
3SG   marry.unoffically   woman   be.different

if that woman (or) man, (if) he/she wants offsprings, right?, (if) he/she also wants to have children, the Papuan people's habit, ah, (when) he/she here, what's-its-name, marries (then) there have to be children because he/she has to have offsprings, ah, (otherwise) later that man, he'll marry a different woman

0005   a,   de   kawin   prempuang   laing,   prempuang
         ah!   3SG   marry.unofficially   woman   be.different   woman

itu   ada   ana   o,   kalo   begitu,   prempuang   ini   yang
D.DIST   exist   child   oh!   if   like.that   woman   D.PROX   REL

mandul,   prempuang   ini   tra   ada   ana,   begitu
be.sterile   woman   D.PROX   NEG   exist   child   like.that

ah, (when) he marries a different woman, (and when) that woman has children (we'll know), 'oh, in that case, (it's) this (first) woman who's sterile, this (first) woman doesn't have children', (it's) like that

0006   tapi   kalo,   macang   prempuang   de   kasi   tinggal   laki~laki,
         but   if   variety   woman   3SG   give   stay   RDP~husband

prempuang   de   kawin   deng   laki~laki   laing,
woman   3SG   marry.unofficially   with   RDP~husband   be.different

prempuang   itu   dapat   ana   o,   laki~laki   yang   mandul,
woman   D.DIST   get   child   oh!   RDP~husband   REL   be.sterile

kalo   itu   memang,   e,   diliat   dari   kesehatang
if   D.DIST   indeed   uh   UV-see   from   health

but if, for example, the woman leaves (her) husband (and if) the woman marries a different man (and if) that woman has children (we'll know), 'oh, (it's) the (first) man who's sterile', if it's like that indeed, umh, (the issue of sterility) is due to a health (problem)

0007   Author: yo
                     yes
         Author: yes

0008   Natalia: begitu,   tapi   kalo   kita   suda   bayar   mas-kawin,
                      like.that   but   if   1PL   already   pay   bride.price

kalo   kita   pikir   to?
if   1PL   think   right?

Natalia: (it's) like that, but if we've already paid the bride price, if we think, right?

0009   o,   mungking   kitong   blum   bayar   mas-kawin,   de   tra
       oh!   maybe   1PL   not.yet   pay   bride.price   3SG   NEG

       hamil,   baru   kitong   bayar   mas-kawin,   tinggal,   tinggal,
       be.pregnant   and.then   1PL   pay   bride.price   stay   stay

       tinggal,   tinggal,   bereskang   smua   masala   apa,   prempuang   tra
       stay   stay   clean.up   all   problem   what   woman   NEG

       hamil,   o,   ini   prempuang   de   mandul
       be.pregnant   oh!   D.PROX   woman   3SG   be.sterile

       'oh, maybe we haven't yet paid the bride price, (and that's the reason why) she's not pregnant', but then we pay the bride price, (and we) wait, wait, wait, (and) wait, (we) settle all problems what(ever they may be, and) the woman is (still) not pregnant, (then we'll know,) 'oh, this is because the woman is sterile'

0010   kalo   orang   yang   blum   bertobat,   bukan   hamba   Tuhan,   dia
       if   person   REL   not.yet   repent   NEG   servant God   3`SG

       kawin   satu   lagi,   de   kawin   satu,   prempuang
       marry.unofficially   one   again   3SG   marry.unofficially   one   woman

       itu   ada   ana,   kawin   satu,   prempuang   ada   ana,
       D.DIST   exist   child   marry.unofficially   one   woman   exist   child

       baru   o,   kalo   begitu   prempuang   ini   mandul
       and.then   oh!   if   like.that   woman   D.PROX   be.sterile

       if someone isn't a Christian yet (and) is not a servant of God, (if) he marries another woman, (if) he marries another (woman and) that woman has children, (if) he marries another (woman and) the woman has children, then (we'll know), 'oh, if it's like that, (then) this (first) woman is sterile' (Lit. 'if someone hasn't yet repented')

0011   de   tida,   orang   Papua   bilang   [Is]   makanya   orang   itu
       3SG   NEG   person   Papua   say   for.that.reason   person   D.DIST

       tida   ada   ana,   mandul,   jadi   de   pu,   tida   ada   ana
       NEG   exist   child   be.sterile   so   3SG   POSS   NEG   exist   child

       jadi   mandul,   begitu
       so   be.sterile   like.that

       he/she doesn't, the Papuan people say '[Is]', that is to say, that person doesn't have children, (he/she's) sterile, so, his/her, (he/she) doesn't have children, so (he/she's) sterile, (it's) like that

B.9. Hortatory: Don't get dirty!

File name: 080917-004-CvHt

Text type: Conversation, spontaneous: Hortatory
Interlocutors: 2 male children, 1 older female
Length (min.): 0:10

0001   Wili: Nofi   nanti   ko   kejar   saya,   ko   liat,   ko   tunggu,
                Nofi   very.soon   2SG   chase   1SG   2SG   see   2SG   wait

        tong   dua   bla,   baru
        1PL   two   split and.then

        Wili: Nofi, in a moment you chase (me down to the water), you observe
        (me), you wait, we two crack (the coconut) open, and then

0002   Nofita: tida   usa,   kotor   dang   ko   nanti   kena
                  NEG   need.to   be.dirty and   2SG very.soon hit

        picaang,   kam   dengar   ato   tida,   terlalu   nakal
        splinter   2PL   hear   or   NEG   too   be.mischievous

        Nofita: don't (go down to the beach, it's) dirty, and later you'll run into
        broken glass and cans, are you listening or not?!, (you're) too naughty!

B.10.   Hortatory: Bathe in the ocean!

File name: 080917-006-CvHt
Text type: Conversation, spontaneous: Hortatory
Interlocutors: 3 male children,[252] 2 older females
Length (min.): 1:00

0001   Nofita: kepala   sakit   sa   tra   bisa   bicara banyak,
                  head   be.sick   1SG   NEG   be.capable speak   many

        kam   dengar~dengarang,   kam   cari   apa?
        2PL   RDP~hear:PAT   2PL   search   what

        Nofita: (I have) a headache, I can't talk much, you listen to me! what are
        you looking for?

0002   Wili: a,   jangang,   Nofi   mana   kitong   pu   ikang~ikang
                ah!   NEG.IMP   Nofi   where   1PL   POSS   RDP~fish

        Wili: ah, don't! Nofi, where are our fish?

0003   Nofi: sa   su   taru   di   ember   sini
                1SG   already   put   at   bucket   L.PROX

        Nofi: I already put (the fish) in the bucket here

0004   Nofita: kam   dua   pi   spul   badan   di   laut   sana
                  2PL   two   go   rinse   body   at   sea   L.DIST

        Nofita: you two go rinse (your) bodies in the ocean over there

---

[252] The third male child did not participate in this exchange.

0005   Nofi: ada   ni
                 exist   D.PROX
        Nofi: (the fish) are here

0006   Nofita: spul   badan, trus celana cuci   di   laut, baru
                 rinse body   next trousers wash at   sea   and.then
        pake   ke   mari, biking kotor   saja, saya stenga mati cuci,
        use   to   hither make   be.dirty just   1SG   half   die   wash
        cape   cuci   pakeang juga, ana~ana   ini   kotor~kotor,
        be.tired wash   clothes also   RDP~child D.PROX   RDP~be.dirty
        dong   [UP]   adu
        3PL   oh.no!
        Nofita: rinse (your) bodies, then wash (your) trousers in the ocean, and then
        put them on (and) come here, (they) make (all their clothes) dirty, I'm half
        dead (from) washing, I'm also tired of washing clothes, these kids make
        (their trousers) dirty, they [UP] oh no!

0007   ey,   kam dua   pi   mandi di   laut suda,   trus kam   dua
        hey!   2PL two   go   bathe at   sea   already   next 2PL   two
        cuci   celana   di situ,   baru   pake, naik,   tra   usa
        wash   trousers at L.MED and.then   use   ascend NEG   need.to
        loncat~loncat, situ   ada   besi~besi   banyak
        RDP~jump   L.MED   exist RDP~metal   many
        hey, you two go bathe in the ocean already!, and then you two wash (your)
        trousers there, after that put (them) on (and) come up (to the house), don't
        jump up and down, there are lots of metal pieces over there

0008   Anelia: mm-mm, picaang   juga   banyak
                 mhm   splinter also   many
        Anelia: mhm, (at the beach there) are also lots of broken glass and cans
        (Lit. 'the splinters are also many')

000   Nofita: picaang   banyak
                 splinter many
        Nofita: (there) are lots of broken glass and cans

B.11.   Joke: Drawing a monkey

File name: 081109-002-JR
Text type: Elicited text: Joke
Interlocutors: 2 younger males
Length (min.):   0:59

0001   skola   ini   ibu   mulay suru   ana~ana   murit mulay
        school D.PROX   woman   start order RDP~child pupil start
        gambar   monyet di atas pohong pisang, suda,   ibu
        draw   monkey at top   tree   banana   already   woman

mulay suru   gambar, suda   dong mulay, smua dong gambar
start order draw   already 3PL   start all 3PL   draw
(in) this school, Ms. (Teacher) starts ordering the students to start drawing a
monkey on a banana tree, well, Ms. Teacher orders (them to) draw, well,
they start, they all draw (a picture)

0002   baru   ana   kecil   satu   ini   de   tra   gambar, ana
and.then child be.small one   D.PROX 3SG NEG draw   child
murit satu ni   de   tra   gambar, suda,   begini   de
pupil   one D.PROX 3SG NEG   draw   already like.this 3SG
gambar batu, trus   de   gambar monyet ini   di   bawa
draw   stone next 3SG draw   monkey D.PROX at   bottom
pohong pisang, begini   dong bawa ke   depang
tree   banana   like.this 3PL   bring to   front
but then this particular small child, he doesn't draw, this particular pupil-
child, he doesn't draw, well, he draws a stone (instead), and then he draws
this monkey under the banana tree, it goes on like this (and) they bring
(their drawings) to the front

0003   ibu   bilang, ibu   kalo toki meja langsung   kumpul
woman say   woman if   beat table immediately   gather
ke depang, suda   pace de   pikir~pikir sampe tra
to   front   already man 3SG RDP~think reach NEG
jadi,   suda   begini   langsung   i   ibu
become already like.this immediately TRU-woman woman
bagi   meja, pak!,   langsung   pace gambar [UP]   itu,
divide table bang! immediately man draw   D.DIST
monyet di   bawa   pohong pisang, bawa ke   sana
monkey at   bottom tree   banana   bring to   L.DIST
Ms. (Teacher) says, 'when I knock (on) the table, (you) bring (your
pictures) together to the front immediately', then the guy thinks on and on
(but) nothing happens, as it goes on like this immediately Ms.[TRU], Ms.
(Teacher) hits the table, 'bang!', immediately the guy draws [UP], what's-
its-name, a monkey under a banana tree (and) brings it to the front

0004   ibu   bilang, e,   ibu   priksa selesay, ibu   tanya,
woman say   uh   woman check   finish   woman ask
ini   siapa punya? de   bilang, ibu,   sa   punya,
D.PROX who   POSS   3SG say   woman 1SG POSS
de   tanya, pace maju   ke   sana, ibu   tanya dia,
3SG ask   man advance to   L.DIST woman ask   3SG
knapa ko   gambar monyet di   bawa   pohong pisang?
why   2SG draw   monkey at   bottom tree   banana
Ms. (Teacher) says, uh, after Ms. (Teacher) has finished checking (the
pictures), Ms. (Teacher) asks (them), 'this (picture here), whose is (it)?', he

says, 'Madam, (it's) mine', she asks (him), the guy comes to the front, Ms. (Teacher) asks him, 'why did you draw the monkey under the banana tree?'

0005   de   blang, adu   ibu,   tadi   ibu   toki   meja

3SG   say   oh.no! woman earlier woman beat   table

itu   yang monyet de   jatu dari   atas

D.DIST REL   monkey 3SG fall from top

he says, 'oh no!, Madam!, a little bit earlier you ('Madam') knocked on the table, that's why the monkey fell off from the top (of the banana plant)'

B.12.   Joke: Dividing three fish

File name: 081109-011-JR
Text type: Elicited text: Joke
Interlocutors: 2 younger males
Length (min.): 1:07

0003   pace orang   Biak   dong dua   mancing,   dong dua

man   person Biak   3PL   two   fish.with.rod   3PL   two

mancing,   mancing   mancing   mancing,   suda

fish.with.rod fish.with.rod fish.with.rod fish.with.rod already

dong dua   dapat   ikang   ini   tiga   ekor,   dapat   ikang

3PL   two   get   fish   D.PROX three tail   get   fish

tiga   ekor,   dong dua   mulay mendarat ke   darat

three tail   3PL   two   start land   to   land

the two Biak guys are fishing, they are fishing, fishing, fishing, fishing, eventually the two of them get these fish, three (of them), having gotten three fish, the two of them start landing on the shore

0004   sampe di   darat,   suda   dong dua   mulay bagi   ikang   itu,

reach at   land   already   3PL   two   start divide fish   D.DIST

de   mulay, dep   kawang, e,   mulay bilang, kawang ko

3SG   start 3SG:POSS friend uh start say   friend   2SG

bawa satu, sa   bawa satu

bring one   1SG bring one

having arrived on the shore, the two of them start dividing the fish, he starts to, his friend, uh, starts to say, 'you friend take one (and) I take one'

0005   trus de   bilang, i,   baru   yang satu ini,   de

next   3SG say   ugh! and.then REL   one   D.PROX 3SG

dep   temang tu,   a,   ko   sala   bagi,   gabung

3SG:POSS friend D.DIST ah! 2SG wrong divide join

lagi,   temang satu bagi   lagi
again   friend one   divide again

then he says, 'ugh, but what about this one?', he, his friend says, 'ah, you've divided (the fish) incorrectly', (they) put (the fish back) together again, (that) one friend divides them again

0006   dapat satu, sa   satu, yang ini?,   de   pu   temang tra
get   one   1SG   one   REL   D.PROX 3SG   POSS   friend NEG

trima   baik   lagi, de   gabung lagi   ((laughter))
receive good   again 3SG   join   again

'(you) get one, I (get) one', '(and) this one?' again his friend doesn't accept (the result of this dividing,) well, he puts (them back) together again ((laughter))

0007   dong dua   bagi   su   begitu   trus,   suda
3PL   two   divide already like.that be.continuous already

orang   Ayamaru datang, datang de   bilang,
person Ayamaru come   come   3SG   say

eh,   kam   dua   baku   melawang   apa?
hey! 2PL   two   RECP   fight   what

the two of them continue dividing (the fish) just like that, eventually an Ayamaru guy comes by, having come by, he says, 'hey, about what are you two fighting with each other?'

0008   de   bilang, om,   ini,   kitong dua   baku   melawang
3SG   say   uncle   D.PROX 1PL   two   RECP   fight

gara-gara ikang, kitong dua   bagi,   de   satu, sa   satu
because   fish   1PL   two   divide 3SG   one   1SG   one

baru   yang ini   nanti   ke   mana?
and.then REL   D.PROX   very.soon   to   where

he says, 'uncle, what's-its-name, the two of us are fighting each other because of the fish, we two divide (it), he (has) one (fish), I (have) one (fish), but where does this one go?'

0009   de   bilang, itu   yang masi tunggu   saya, de   pegang
3SG   say   D.DIST 3SG   still wait   1SG   3SG   hold

dang dong jalang, de   bilang, pas   to?
and   3PL   walk   3SG   say   be.exact   right?

he says, 'that (is one) which is still waiting for me' he takes (it) and they walk (away), and he says, 'that fits, right?'

0010   de   bilang, itu   kawang sa   su   bilang,
3SG   say   D.DIST friend   1SG   already say

makanya   skola   baru   pintar
for.that.reason go.to.school   and.then   be.clever

he says, 'friend, that's (what) I already told (you), that's why you should go to school, then you'll be clever'

C.   Overview of recorded corpus

This appendix gives an overview of the recorded 220 texts which form the basis for the present description of Papuan Malay (see also §1.8.4 and §1.8.5). For each text the following information is provided:

File name: For each text the name of the respective WAV file and Toolbox record is given. This name specifies the date of its recording, a running number for all texts recorded during one day, and a code for the type of text recorded. This is illustrated with the record number 080919-007-CvNP: 080919 stands for "2008, September 19"; 007 stands for "recorded text #7 of that day"; and CvNP stands for "Personal Narrative (NP) which occurred during a Conversation (Cv)". The same record numbers are used for the examples given in this book (see §1.8.5.3) and the transcribed texts presented in Appendix B.

Text type: The meta data specify the genre of the recorded texts, such as conversations, narratives, expositories, hortatories, or jokes, and whether the recorded texts occurred spontaneously or were elicited.

Interlocutors: The meta data give information about the gender and age group of the recorded interlocutors.

Topics: For each recorded text the overall topic is given.

Length in minutes

The following abbreviations are being used:

File name: Cv = conversation, Ph = conversation over the phone, NP = narrative, personal experience, NF = narrative, folk story, Ex = expository, Ht = hortatory, Pr = procedural, JR = Joke/Riddle.

Text type: CvSp = spontaneous conversation, Cv-w/auth = conversation with the author, Elicit = elicited text, Cas = casual conversation, ph. = conversation over the phone, Expos = expository, Hortat = hortatory, Proc = procedural, NarrP = narrative, personal experience, NarrF = narrative, folk story.

Interlocutors: M = males, F = females, O = older adults in their thirties or older, Y = young adults in teens or twenties, C = children of about five to 13 years of age.

File name	Text type	Interlocutors	Topic	Length
080916-001-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	2 FO	A drunkard in the hospital at night	2:33:00
080917-001-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 MO	Woken up by a friend	0:40:00
080917-002-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 MY, 1 FO	Organizing a youth event got interrupted	1:25:00
080917-003a-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	1 MC, 2 FY, 1 FO	Asking for a leave of absence 1	2:11:00
080917-003b-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	1 MC, 2 FY, 1 FO	Asking for a leave of absence 2	2:27:00
080917-004-CvHt	CvSp_Hort	2 MC, 1 FO	Don't get dirty!	0:10:00
080917-005-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MC	What is this?	0:02:00
080917-006-CvHt	CvSp_Hort	3 MC, 2 FO	Bathe in the ocean!	1:00:00
080917-007-CvHt	CvSp_Hort	1 MY, 1 FO	Get a Malaria blood test!	1:05:00
080917-008-NP	Elicit_NarrP	1 FO	Deliverance for Sarmi	26:00:00
080917-009-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	2 MC, 1 FO	Directions to a certain statue and tree	0:50:00
080917-010-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	1 FY, 1 FO	Raising children well	16:00:00
080918-001-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	2 MY, 1 FO	Two sudden deaths	5:30:00
080919-001-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO	Candidates for local elections	8:30:00
080919-002-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FY, 2 FO	Transport options to the Bupati's office	0:45:00
080919-003-NP	Elicit_NarrP	1 MO, 1 FO	Pig hunting with dogs	4:20:00
080919-004-NP	Elicit_NarrP	1 MO, 1 FO	Pig hunting with bow and arrows	13:38:00
080919-005-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 1 FY	Wearing glasses	1:45:00
080919-006-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 2 FY	The speaker and her niece	4:30:00
080919-007-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 FO, 2 FY	A drunkard dies in hospital	6:00:00
080919-008-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 FY	A dying mother sees snow 1	2:40:00
080921-001-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MO, 1 FY, 3 FO	Trip to Pante Timur 1	3:00:00
080921-002-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 1 MO, 1 FY, 1 FO	Coming to Sarmi	0:35:00

File name	Text type	Interlocutors	Topic	Length
080921-003-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 MO, 1 FY, 1 FO	Trip to Pante Timur 2	0:55:00
080921-004a-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 MO, 1 FY, 1 FO	Trip to Pante Timur 3a	4:00:00
080921-004b-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 MO, 1 FY, 1 FO	Trip to Pante Timur 3b	2:00:00
080921-005-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 FY	A dying mother sees snow 2	1:00:00
080921-006-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 FY	A dying mother sees snow 3	1:20:00
080921-007-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 MO, 1 FY, 1 FO	Trip to Pante Timur 4	1:00:00
080921-008-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 1 FY	Swimming in the ocean	1:00:00
080921-009-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 2 FY	Feeling sleepy at night	0:30:00
080921-010-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 1 FY	A funny relative	0:45:00
080921-011-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 1 FY	Picnic at the beach	2:00:00
080922-001a-CvPh	CvSp_Cas (ph.)	1 MY, 1 MO, 1 FY	Trip to Sorong 1	66:00:00
080922-001b-CvPh	CvSp_Cas (ph.)	1 MY, 1 MO, 1 FY	Trip to Sorong 2	1:45:00
080922-002-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 1 FY	Various topics 1	7:54:00
080922-003-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 1 FY	Various topics 2	6:23:00
080922-004-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 1 FY	Meeting a certain woman	2:03:00
080922-005-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	1 MY, 1 FY	Bride-exchange customs	1:52:00
080922-006-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	1 MY, 1 FY	Children's future	0:46:00
080922-007-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 FY	A child's magic thinking	1:12:00
080922-008-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 FY	Various childhood experiences	6:12:00
080922-009-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 FY	Playing as children	2:57:00
080922-010a-CvNF	CvSp_NarrF	1 MC, 1 MY, 1 FY	Origins of a certain clan 1	39:00:00
080922-010b-CvNF	CvSp_NarrF	1 MY, 1 FY	Origins of a certain clan 2	0:45:00
080923-001-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	2 MO	A crying child; looking for someone	1:50:00

File name	Text type	Interlocutors	Topic	Length
080923-002-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	1 MY, 1 MO	Working moral	1:10:00
080923-003-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MO, 2 FY	Getting up early	0:23:00
080923-004-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FY	Cooking	2:30:00
080923-005-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FY	A sudden death	0:19:00
080923-006-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MO, 1 FY	An incident with a young person	1:25:00
080923-007-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FY	A sparrow in the kitchen; bridges are needed	1:45:00
080923-008-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FY	Reprimanding a young teacher	2:12:00
080923-009-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FY	The speaker's personal background	4:55:00
080923-010-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MO, 1 FY	An accident with a motorbike taxi driver	2:16:00
080923-011-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FO, 1 FY	A sudden death; about a sick relative	1:40:00
080923-012-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 MO, 1 FO	Being sick from eating grass-cutters	4:14:00
080923-013-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	1 MY, 1 MO	How to find out whether a sick person will survive 1	3:45:00
080923-014-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	1 MY, 1 MO	How to find out whether a sick person will survive 2	2:59:00
080923-015-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	1 MY, 1 MO	Getting a sign about a dying person	5:20:00
080923-016-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MY, 1 MO	Making a song book	1:48:00
080924-001-Pr	Elicit_Proc	1 FO	Making sago	1:21:00
080924-002-Pr	Elicit_Proc	1 FO	Working in the garden	1:57:00
080925-001-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	1 FY, 1 FO	Children's language proficiency	1:17:00
080925-002-CvHt	CvSp_Hort	1 FO	Clean the water filter!	0:19:00
080925-003-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 2 FO	Construction work on the new church in Sawar 1	13:19:00

File name	Text type	Interlocutors	Topic	Length
080925-004-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FO	Evening tea	1:32:00
080925-005-CvPh	CvSp_Cas (ph.)	1 MO	Talking on the phone with his children in Jayapura	1:15:00
080927-001-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FO	Going on vacation	0:39:00
080927-002-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 FO	Eating food that is too spicy	1:33:00
080927-003-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FO	Transporting goods by a Johnson	1:53:00
080927-004-CvNP	Cv-w/auth_NarrP	1 FO	Construction work on the new church in Sawar 2a	1:00:00
080927-005-CvNP	Cv-w/auth_NarrP	1 FO	Construction work on the new church in Sawar 2b	1:30:00
080927-006-CvNP	Cv-w/auth_NarrP	1 FO	The speaker's work in Sawar	4:02:00
080927-007-CvNP	Cv-w/auth_NarrP	1 FO	The speaker's family relations 1	2:06:00
080927-008-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 FO	Metallic blue water color	1:04:00
080927-009-CvNP	Cv-w/auth_NarrP	1 FO	The speaker's family relations 2; life in Sarmi	6:47:00
081002-001-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	2 FY	Traveling from Webro to Sarmi	4:39:00
081002-002-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FY	Eating and bathing	0:25:00
081002-003-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FY	Eating pinang	0:38:00
081005-001-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 MO	Visiting and calling government offices	1:43:00
081006-001-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 1 MO	Visiting a sick person	0:56:00
081006-002-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FO	Returning from Sarmi to Jayapura	0:43:00
081006-003-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FO	Traveling by low tide	0:32:00
081006-004-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 MO	Waiting for the village mayor	0:33:00
081006-005-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FY	A proud person	0:22:00

File name	Text type	Interlocutors	Topic	Length
081006-006-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FY	What's his/her name?	0:02:00
081006-007-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FY	Traveling to Arso	0:20:00
081006-008-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FY	Celebrating a birthday	1:35:00
081006-009-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FY	An angry person	2:07:00
081006-010-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FY	Returning from Webro	0:32:00
081006-011-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FY	Going home	0:12:00
081006-012-Cv	CvSp_Cas	4 MO	A church meeting	0:19:00
081006-013-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 4 FO	Taking a hot bath when sick with malaria	0:57:00
081006-014-Cv	CvSp_Cas	5 FY	Playing football at the beach	3:43:00
081006-015-Cv	CvSp_Cas	5 FY	The car outside and their owners	1:52:00
081006-016-Cv	CvSp_Cas	5 FY	The upcoming youth retreat	2:17:00
081006-017-Cv	CvSp_Cas	5 FY	Driving around Sarmi; preparing for	3:13:00
081006-018-Cv	CvSp_Cas	5 FY	Playing music and irritating others	0:26:00
081006-019-Cv	Cv-w/auth_Cas	1 FO	A trip to Webro and returning to Sarmi	0:50:00
081006-020-Cv	Cv-w/auth_Cas	1 MO, 1 FO	A motorbike accident	2:46:00
081006-021-CvHt	CvSp_Hort	1 FC, 1 FY	Picking flowers	1:14:00
081006-022-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 MO, 1 FO	Evil spirits in humans	15:43:00
081006-023-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 MO, 1 FO	What non-Christians believe; heaven and hell	12:36:00
081006-024-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 FO	Exchanging children 1	17:39:00
081006-025-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 FO	Exchanging children 2	4:07:00
081006-026-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 FO	Exchanging children 3	2:06:00

File name	Text type	Interlocutors	Topic	Length
081006-027-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 FO	Exchanging children 4	2:21:00
081006-028-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 FO	Exchanging children 5	2:44:00
081006-029-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 FO	Bride price customs	5:29:00
081006-030-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 FO	Sterility	1:56:00
081006-031-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 MO, 1 FO	Returning to Jayapura	0:48:00
081006-032-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 MO, 1 FO	An anniversary; Papuans and outsiders; elections	7:17:00
081006-033-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 MO, 2 FO	Building a road to Webro	5:01:00
081006-034-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	1 MY, 1 FO	Spiritual warfare 1	6:50:00
081006-035-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	1 MY, 1 FO	Spiritual warfare 2	11:40:00
081006-036-CvEx	CvSp_Expos	1 MY, 1 FO	Spiritual warfare 3	2:41:00
081008-001-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 MY, 3 MO	A meeting of village mayors 1	4:43:00
081008-002-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 MY, 2 MO	A meeting of village mayors 2	0:30:00
081008-003-Cv	CvSp_Cas	3 MO	Motorbike problems	5:17:00
081010-001-Cv	CvSp_Cas	5 FO	A women's meeting at the regent's office	9:41:00
081011-001-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 MY, 2 MO	Development of Sarmi	15:08:00
081011-002-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FY	Islamic service at school	0:03:00
081011-003-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MC, 2 FY, 2 FO	Wanting bananas	0:35:00
081011-004-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FY, 1 FO	Traveling to Jayapura	0:23:00
081011-005-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FY	A youth retreat and youth meetings	4:22:00
081011-006-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MC, 1 MO, 2 FO	Going to school	0:11:00
081011-007-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FO	Songs in the vernacular	0:40:00
081011-008-CvPh	CvSp_Cas (ph.)	1 MO, 1 FO	Looking for someone	1:17:00
081011-009-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 MO, 1 FY, 1 FO	A drunken youth	2:49:00

File name	Text type	Interlocutors	Topic	Length
081011-010-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FO	A small plane circling Sarmi	1:00:00
081011-011-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 MO, 1 FO	Obtaining a school certificate 1; a drunken youth	3:41:00
081011-012-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FY, 1 FO	Obtaining a school certificate 2	1:37:00
081011-013-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FY	Living in Wamena	0:52:00
081011-014-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FY, 1 FO	About shortening something	1:03:00
081011-015-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FY, 1 FO	Using different kinds of oil as medicine	0:34:00
081011-016-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FO	A certain river	0:28:00
081011-017-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FO	Problems with a muffler	0:12:00
081011-018-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 2 FO	Obtaining a school certificate 3	2:17:00
081011-019-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FO	Electricity problems	1:30:00
081011-020-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FO	Traveling to Pante Timur 1	10:59:00
081011-021-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FY, 1 FO	Traveling to Pante Timur 2	1:36:00
081011-022-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FY, 1 FO	Hosting many people; killing one of two twins	15:52:00
081011-023-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FY, 1 FO	Obtaining a school certificate 4; rural school education	21:45:00
081011-024-Cv	CvSp_Cas	4 MO	Rural school education and politics	9:13:00
081012-001-CvPh	CvSp_Cas (ph.)	1 MO	Wanting to visit his friend	3:02:00
081013-001-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FO	Obtaining a school certificate 5	0:39:00
081013-002-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FO	The bridge at Muara	0:58:00
081013-003-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FO	A motorbike accident 1	0:46:00
081013-004-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FO	A motorbike accident 2	0:54:00
081014-001-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FO	Feeling hot and cold	0:29:00

File name	Text type	Interlocutors	Topic	Length
081014-002-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FO	School problems	0:17:00
081014-003-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MO, 1 FO	Motorbike problems	3:30:00
081014-004-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FO	The upcoming local elections	4:15:00
081014-005-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FY	Problems with a drunken person	4:10:00
081014-006-CvPr	Cv-w/auth_Proc	1 FO	Making sago	8:30:00
081014-007-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 FO	Women and men's roles in Webro	15:18:00
081014-008-CvNP	Cv-w/auth_NarrP	1 MO, 1 FO	A motorbike accident	3:30:00
081014-009-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 FO	Honoring guests 1	3:00:00
081014-010-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 MO, 1 FO	Honoring guests 2	2:06:00
081014-011-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 MO, 1 FO	Honoring guests 3	7:02:00
081014-012-NP	Elicit_NarrP	1 FY	A bicycle accident	1:16:00
081014-013-NP	Elicit_NarrP	1 FY	A motorbike accident	1:06:00
081014-014-NP	Elicit_NarrP	1 FY	Departed spirits	9:58:00
081014-015-Cv	CvSp_Cas	3 FO	Making music	1:43:00
081014-016-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 1 FO	Cell phones	2:56:00
081014-017-CvPr	CvSp_Proc	1 MY, 1 MO, 1 FY, 2 FO	Cooking pigs	6:10:00
081015-001-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FO	A fight	2:31:00
081015-002-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FO	On a plane	0:22:00
081015-003-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 FY, 1 FO	Traveling to Sarmi 1	1:38:00
081015-004-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FY, 1 FO	Traveling to Sarmi 2	1:40:00
081015-005-NP	Elicit_NarrP	2 MO, 3 FO	A motorbike accident	10:29:00
081022-001-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MC, 2 FY	Returning from Takar	0:42:00
081022-002-CvNP	CvSp_NarrP	1 MC, 1 FY	Retreat in Takar 1	1:40:00
081022-003-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MC, 1 FY	Retreat in Takar 2	1:25:00

File name	Text type	Interlocutors	Topic	Length
081023-001-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 2 FY	Playing volleyball; morning chores	4:52:00
081023-002-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 2 FY	The taekwondo team	0:46:00
081023-003-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 2 FY	Women's sports	0:54:00
081023-004-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 2 FY	Retreat in Takar 3; school absences	3:16:00
081025-001-CvHt	Cv-w/auth_Hort	1 FC, 1 FO	Put your trousers on!	0:46:00
081025-002-Cv	Cv-w/auth_Cas	1 FO	Papeda and fish	0:13:00
081025-003-Cv	Cv-w/auth_Cas	1 MO, 1 FO	Certain acquaintances; workshops in Sentani	16:53:00
081025-004-Cv	Cv-w/auth_Cas	several MO, 1 FO	Politics in Papua 1	12:35:00
081025-005-Cv	Cv-w/auth_Cas	several MO, 1 FO	Demonstrations	0:55:00
081025-006-Cv	CvSp_Cas	3 FY, 1 FO	Retreat in Takar 4; spiritual warfare 1	24:49:00
081025-007-Cv	CvSp_Cas	3 FY, 1 FO	Retreat in Takar 5; spiritual warfare 2	2:10:00
081025-008-Cv	CvSp_Cas	3 FY, 1 FO	Retreat in Takar 6; spiritual warfare 3	11:14:00
081025-009a-Cv	CvSp_Cas	3 FY, 1 FO	Retreat in Takar 7; spiritual warfare 4a	10:46:00
081025-009b-Cv	CvSp_Cas	3 FY, 1 FO	Retreat in Takar 8; spiritual warfare 4b	7:04:00
081029-001-Cv	Cv-w/auth_Cas	1 MO	Garden plants	1:06:00
081029-002-Cv	Cv-w/auth_Cas	1 MO	Politics in Papua 2	5:44:00
081029-003-Cv	Cv-w/auth_Cas	1 MO	Politics in Papua 3	1:00:00
081029-004-Cv	Cv-w/auth_Cas	1 MO	Politics in Papua 4	12:16:00
081029-005-Cv	Cv-w/auth_Cas	1 MO	Politics in Papua 5	19:43:00
081106-001-CvPr	Cv-w/auth_Proc	1 MO, 1 FO	Killing dogs	0:49:00
081108-001-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: Killing a cow 1 (false start)	0:37:00
081108-002-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: Drawing an elephant	0:51:00
081108-003-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: Killing a cow 2	1:21:00

File name	Text type	Interlocutors	Topic	Length
081109-001-Cv	CvSp_Cas	1 MY, 2 FY	Doing sports	14:47:00
081109-002-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: Drawing a monkey	0:59:00
081109-003-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: Drawing a banana	1:06:00
081109-004-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: Taking singing lessons (false start)	0:29:00
081109-005-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: Grandfather and grandchild go	1:15:00
081109-006-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: Taking singing lessons	0:44:00
081109-007-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: Twelve moons	1:24:00
081109-008-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: A ship arriving at the harbor	0:29:00
081109-009-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: A Javanese asking for papeda	1:13:00
081109-010-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: Seeing a turtle for the first time	0:42:00
081109-011-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: Dividing three fish	1:07:00
081109-012-JR	Elicit_Joke	2 MY	Joke: Sleeping in church	0:55:00
081110-001-Cv	Cv-w/auth_Cas	1 FO	Moving to Sawar	2:16:00
081110-002-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FO	Buying soap; bringing gas to Webro	3:55:00
081110-003-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 FO	Forgetting chili peppers in Webro	1:17:00
081110-004-Cv	Cv-w/auth_Cas	1 FO	Forgetting betel vine; getting ready to go out	0:48:00
081110-005-CvPr	Cv-w/auth_Proc	1 FO	Wedding preparations 1	20:23:00
081110-006-CvEx	Cv-w/auth_Expos	1 FO	Sexual relations and marriage	15:29:00
081110-007-CvPr	Cv-w/auth_Proc	1 FO	Wedding preparations 2	2:32:00
081110-008-CvNP	Cv-w/auth_NarrP	1 FO	Parents' advice	29:35:00
081115-001a-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 MO, 3 FO	Problems with children 1	22:24:00
081115-001b-Cv	CvSp_Cas	2 MO, 3 FO	Problems with children 2	4:51:00

D. OLAC resources for the languages of the Sarmi regency

Table 3 and Table 4 give an overview of the resources available in and about the Papuan and Austronesian languages spoken in the Sarmi regency. The information is a summary of the information provided by OLAC, the Open Language Archives Community; OLAC is available at http://www.language-archives.org.

Table 3: OLAC resources available in and about the Papuan languages spoken in the Sarmi regency[253]

Name & ISO 639-3 code		Sur.	Lex.	Gr.	Lit.	Ant.	L1	NT
Aironan	[air]	X						
Beneraf	[bnv]		X					
Berik	[bkl]		X	X	X	X	X	
Dabe	[dbe]		X					
Isirawa	[srl]		X	X	X	X	X	X
Dineor	[mrx]		X					
Itik	[itx]		X					
Kwerba	[kwe]		X	X	X	X	X	
Kauwera	[xau]		X					
Kwesten	[kwt]		X					
Mander	[mqr]		X					
Massep	[mvs]	X						
Mawes	[mgk]		X					
Samarokena	[tmj]	X	X					
Bagusa	[bqb]							
Betaf	[bfe]							
Jofotek-Bromnya	[jbr]							
Keijar	[kdy]							
Kwerba Mamberamo	[xwr]							
Kwinsu	[kuc]							
Trimuris	[tip]							
Wares	[wai]							
Yoke	[yki]	X	X					

Table 4: OLAC resources available in and about the Austronesian languages spoken in the Sarmi regency

Name & ISO 639-3 code		Sur.	Lex.	Gr.	Lit.	Ant.	L1	NT
Anus	[auq]		X					
Bonggo	[bpg]		X					
Fedan	[pdn]							
Kaptiau	[kbi]							

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[253] Abbreviations: Sur. = sociolinguistic survey; Lex. = lexical resources; Gr. = grammatical resources; Lit. = literacy resources; Ant. = anthropological resources; L1 = resources in the respective languages; NT = New Testament of the Bible in the respective languages.

Name & ISO 639-3 code		Sur.	Lex.	Gr.	Lit.	Ant.	L1	NT
Liki	[lio]							
Masimasi	[ism]							
Mo	[wkd]		X					
Sobei	[sob]		X	X		X	X	
Sunum	[ynm]							
Tarpia	[tpf]		X					
Yarsun	[yrs]							

E.   Population totals for West Papua

Table 5 presents the population totals for Papua province and Papua Barat province by regencies (coastal versus interior) and ethnicity (Papuan versus non-Papuan). The figures are based on the 2010 census data (Bidang Necara Wilayah dan Analisis Statistik 2011: 92 and Bidang Necara Wilayah dan Analisis Statistik 2011: 11–14).[254] (For more details see §1.1.3).

Table 5:   Population totals by coastal and interior regencies and ethnicity

Regency	Papuan	non-Papuan	Total
Papua province			
Coastal regencies	756,335	608,170	1,364,505
Interior regencies	1,394,041	51,462	1,445,503
Subtotal	2,150,376	659,632	2,810,008
Papua Barat province			
Coastal regencies	373,302	354,039	727,341
Interior regencies	31,772	1,309	33,081
Subtotal	405,074	355,348	760,422
Total	2,555,450	1,014,980	3,570,430

The grand total of 3,570,430 in Table 5 more or less matches the total of 3,593,803 provided by Bidang Necara Wilayah dan Analisis Statistik (2011: 92) (see §1.1.3). The difference of 23,373 is due to a mismatch between the overall population total of 2,833,381 for Papua province (Bidang Necara Wilayah dan Analisis Statistik 2011: 92) and the population details by regency, religious affiliation and ethnicity, which gives a total of 2,810,008;[255] see also Footnote 9 in §1.1.3.

Table 6 lists the population totals by ethnicity for each of the regencies of Papua province and Papua Barat province.

Table 6:   Population details by regency and ethnicity

Regency	Papuan	non-Papuan	Total
Papua province			
Costal regencies			
Asmat	68,598	7,943	76,541
Biak Numfor	93,340	33,136	126,476
Jayapura	68,116	42,812	110,928
Jayapura Kota	89,164	166,465	255,629

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[254] Population totals for Papua province are also available at http://papua.bps.go.id/yii/9400/index.php/post/552/Jumlah+Penduduk+Papua, and for Papua Barat province at http://irjabar.bps.go.id/publikasi/2011/Statistik%20Daerah%20Provinsi%20Papua%20Barat%202011/baca_publikasi.php.

[255] This data is available under the category *Sosial Budaya* 'Social (affairs) and Culture' at http://papua.bps.go.id/yii/9400/index.php/site/page?view=sp2010.

Regency	Papuan	non-Papuan	Total
Keerom	19,698	27,873	47,571
Kepulauan Yapen	64,034	17,969	82,003
Mamberamo Raya	17,092	1,273	18,365
Mappi	72,134	9,261	81,395
Merauke	72,554	122,312	194,866
Mimika	71,672	96,855	168,527
Nabire	61,364	67,761	129,125
Sarmi	22,890	9,695	32,585
Supiori	15,297	558	15,855
Waropen	20,382	4,257	24,639
Interior regencies			
Boven Digoel	37,309	18,133	55,442
Deiyai	61,557	538	62,095
Dogiyai	83,400	830	84,230
Intan Jaya	40,413	77	40,490
Jayawijaya	177,581	18,093	195,674
Lanny Jaya	148,367	155	148,522
Mamberamo Tengah	39,329	208	39,537
Nduga	78,389	664	79,053
Paniai	147,680	3,389	151,069
Pegunungan Bintang	62,343	3,091	65,434
Puncak	92,532	686	93,218
Puncak Jaya	99,368	1,780	101,148
Tolikara	113,226	1,090	114,316
Yahukimo	162,192	2,320	164,512
Yalimo	50,355	408	50,763
Papua Barat province			
Coastal regencies			
Fakfak	36,409	30,419	66,828
Kaimana	24,412	21,837	46,249
Manokwari	107,857	79,869	26,321
Raja Ampat	31,160	11,347	52,422
Sorong	26,400	44,219	187,726
Sorong Kota	62,070	128,555	37,900
Sorong Selatan	30,988	6,912	70,619
Tambrauw	5,878	266	42,507
Teluk Bintuni	27,947	24,475	6,144
Teluk Wondama	20,181	6,140	190,625
Interior regencies			
Maybrat	31,772	1,309	33,081

F.   Affixation

The following sections present tables and charts which give the token frequencies by speakers, topics, and interlocutors for the affixes discussed in §3.1. The frequencies for prefix *TER-* are given in Appendix F.1, for suffix *ang-* in Appendix F.2, for prefix *PE(N)-* in AppendixF.3, for prefix *BER-* in AppendixF.4, for suffix *-nya* in AppendixF.5, and for circumfix *ke-/-ang* in Appendix F.6.

   The following abbreviations are being used: SPK = speaker, +EDC = better educated, –EDC = less educated, POL = politics, EDC = education, REL = religion, LOW = LOW topics, +STAT = higher social status, -STAT = lower social status, OUTSD = outsider.

F.1.   Prefix *TER-*

The tables and charts give the token frequencies for *TER-*prefixed words with bi- and monovalent verbal bases.

Table 7:   Tokens for *TER-*prefixed words with bivalent verbal bases (38 items)

Speakers	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens Total
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	
+EDC-SPK	6	10	10	15	---	---	9	50
-EDC-SPK	2	1	26	---	45	**23**	6	103
Total	8	11	36	15	45	**23**	15	153

Chart 1:   Tokens for *TER-*prefixed words with bivalent verbal bases
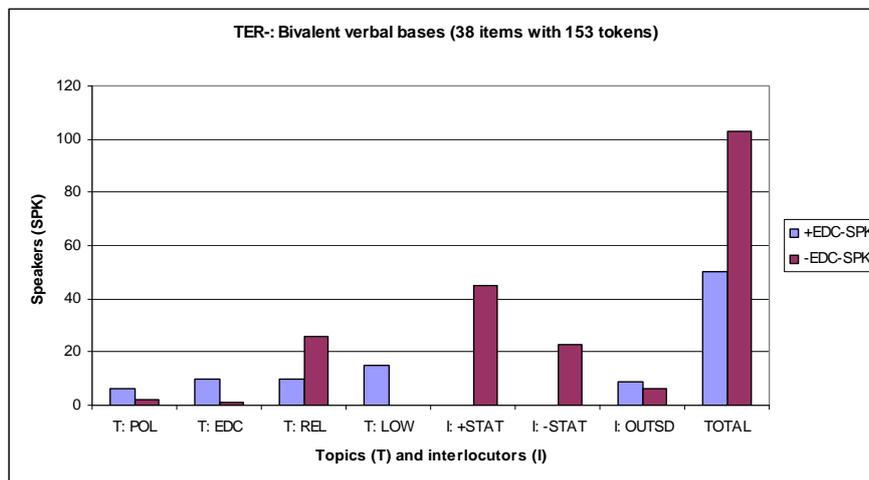
Table 8:   Tokens for **TER-**prefixed words with monovalent verbal bases (5 items)

Speakers	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens Total
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	
+EDC-SPK	0	0	1	4	---	---	0	5
-EDC-SPK	0	1	5	---	2	**1**	0	9
Total	0	1	6	4	2	**1**	0	14

Chart 2:   Tokens for **TER-**prefixed words with monovalent verbal bases
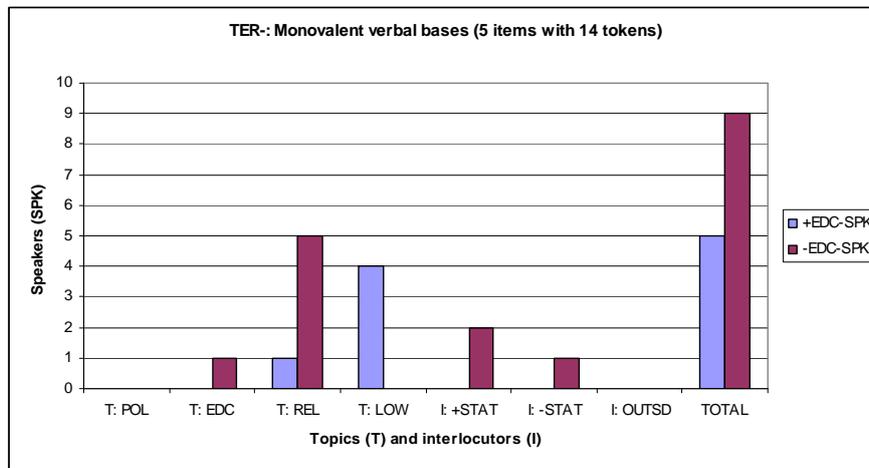
F.2.   Suffix *-ang*

The tables and charts give the token frequencies for **-ang**-suffixed words with verbal, nominal, and quantifier bases.

Table 9:   Tokens for **-ang**-suffixed words with verbal bases (69 items)

Speakers	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens Total
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	
+EDC-SPK	30	26	15	46	---	---	75	192
-EDC-SPK	15	40	57	---	26	**80**	3	211
Total	45	66	62	46	26	**80**	78	403

Chart 3: Tokens for *-ang*-suffixed words with verbal bases
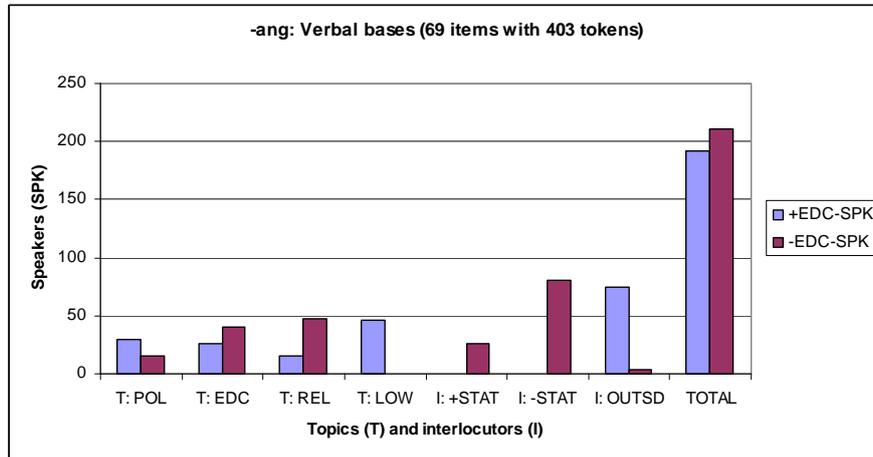
Table 10: Tokens for *-an*-suffixed words with nominal and quantifier bases (15 items)

Speakers	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens Total
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	
+EDC-SPK	4	1	0	4	---	---	8	17
-EDC-SPK	3	0	6	---	1	**9**	2	21
Total	7	1	6	4	1	**9**	10	38

Chart 4: Tokens for *-an*-suffixed items derived from nominal bases
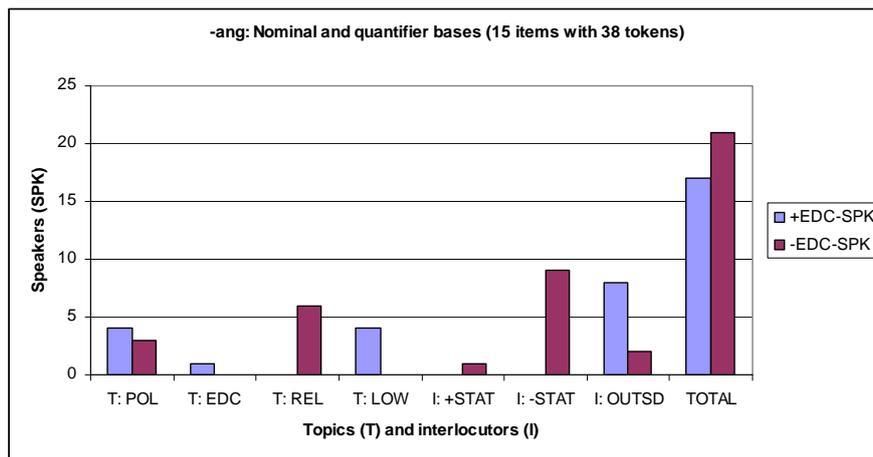
F.3.   Prefix *PE(N)*-

The tables and charts give the token frequencies for *PE(N)*-prefixed words with
verbal and nominal bases.

Table 11:   Tokens for *PE(N)*-prefixed words with verbal bases (29 items)

Speakers	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens Total
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	
+EDC-SPK	37	6	3	19	---	---	11	76
-EDC-SPK	11	2	37	---	9	**18**	0	77
Total	48	8	40	19	9	**18**	11	153

Chart 5:   Tokens for *PE(N)*-prefixed words with verbal bases
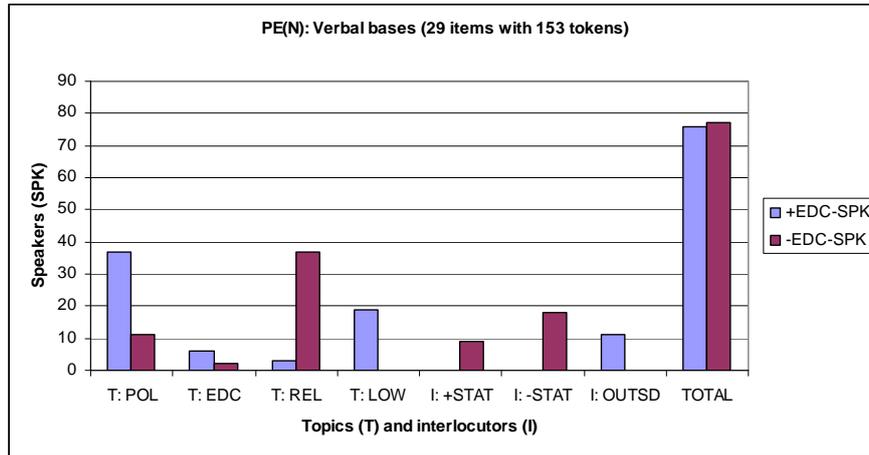
Table 12:   Tokens for *PE(N)*-prefixed words with nominal bases (5 items)

Speakers	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens Total
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	
+EDC-SPK	10	0	12	5	---	---	0	27
-EDC-SPK	1	2	2	---	0	**1**	0	6
Total	11	2	14	5	0	**1**	0	33

Chart 6:   Tokens for *PE(N)-*prefixed words with nominal bases
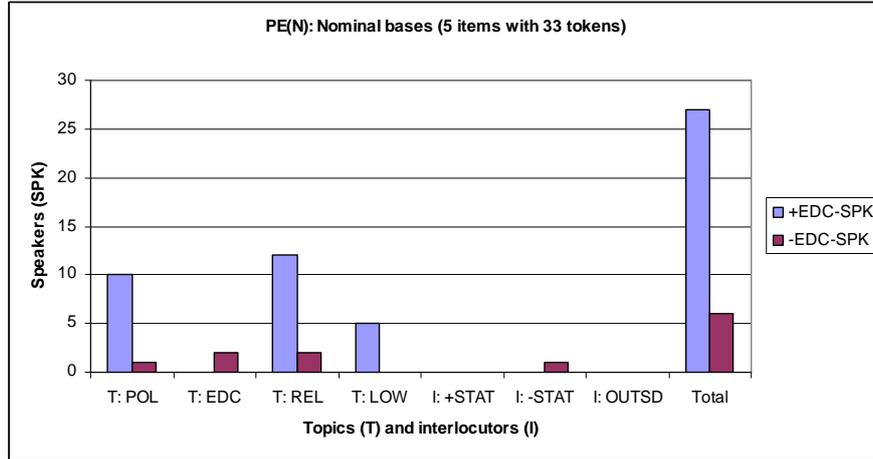
F.4.   Prefix *BER-*

The tables and charts give the token frequencies for *BER-*prefixed words with verbal, nominal, numeral, and interrogative bases.

Table 13:   Tokens for *BER-*prefixed words with verbal bases (27 items)

Speakers	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens Total
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	
+EDC-SPK	7	22	9	12	---	---	7	57
-EDC-SPK	3	7	5	---	7	**8**	7	37
Total	10	29	14	12	7	**8**	14	94

Chart 7:   Tokens for *BER-*prefixed words with verbal bases
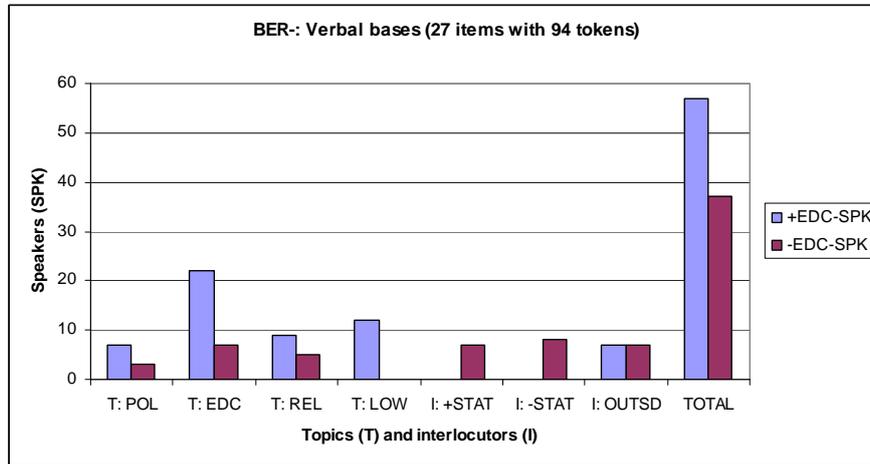
Table 14:   Tokens for *BER-*prefixed words with nominal, numeral, and
             interrogative bases (30 items)

Speakers	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens Total
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	
+EDC-SPK	14	12	13	8	---	---	13	60
-EDC-SPK	1	2	6	---	4	**19**	3	35
Total	15	14	19	8	4	**19**	16	59

Chart 8:   Tokens for *BER-*prefixed words with nominal, numeral, and
             interrogative bases
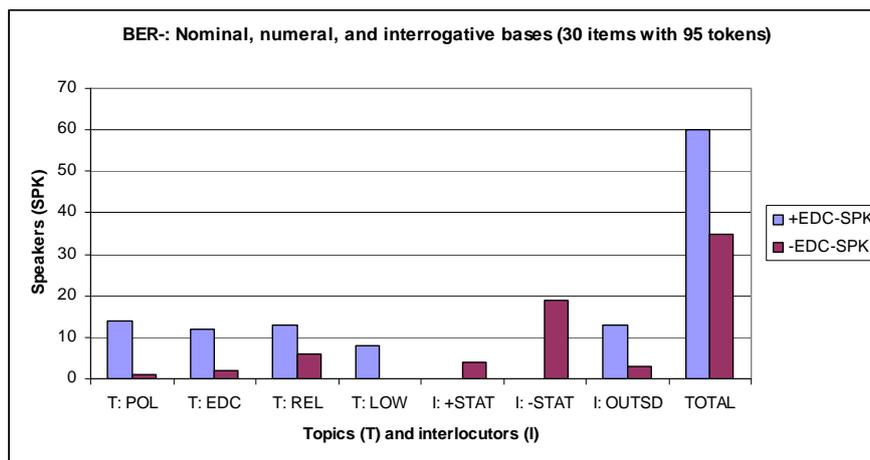
F.5.   **Suffix** *-nya*

The tables and charts give the token frequencies for **-nya**-suffixed words with nominal, verbal, prepositional, and adverbial bases.

Table 15:   Tokens for **-nya**-suffixed words with nominal bases (81 items)

Speakers	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens Total
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	
+EDC-SPK	28	21	9	29	---	---	38	125
-EDC-SPK	12	5	14	---	20	**16**	23	90
Total	40	26	23	29	20	**16**	61	215

Chart 9:   Tokens for **-nya**-suffixed words with nominal bases
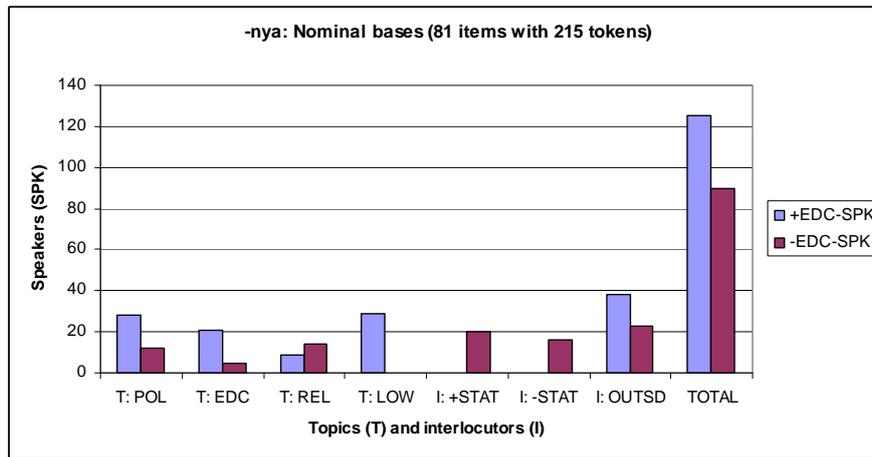
Table 16:   Tokens for **-nya**-suffixed words with verbal bases (36 items)

Speakers	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens Total
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	
+EDC-SPK	5	14	3	11	---	---	16	49
-EDC-SPK	3	3	8	---	9	**8**	2	33
Total	8	17	11	11	9	**8**	18	82

Chart 10:   Tokens for **-nya**-suffixed words with verbal bases
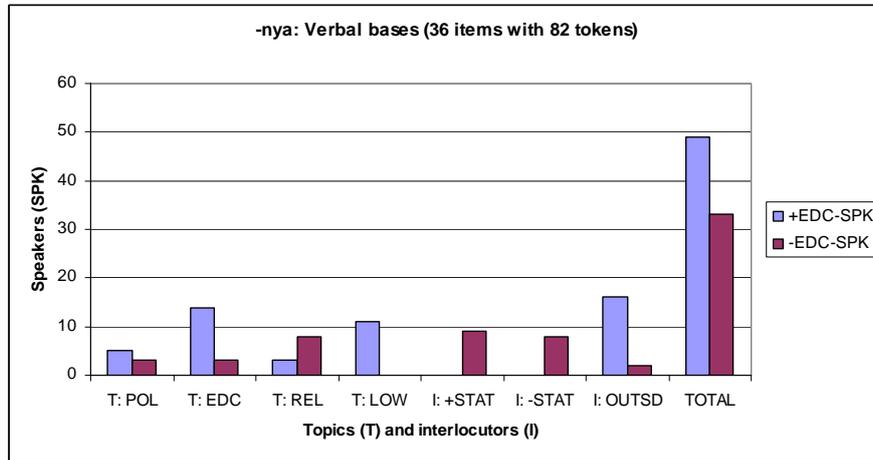
Table 17:   Tokens for **-nya**-suffixed words with prepositional and adverbial bases
              (5 items)

Speakers	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens Total
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	
+EDC-SPK	0	0	0	1	---	---	3	4
-EDC-SPK	1	3	6	---	1	**2**	3	16
Total	1	3	6	1	1	**2**	6	20

Chart 11:   Tokens for **-nya**-suffixed words with prepositional and adverbial bases
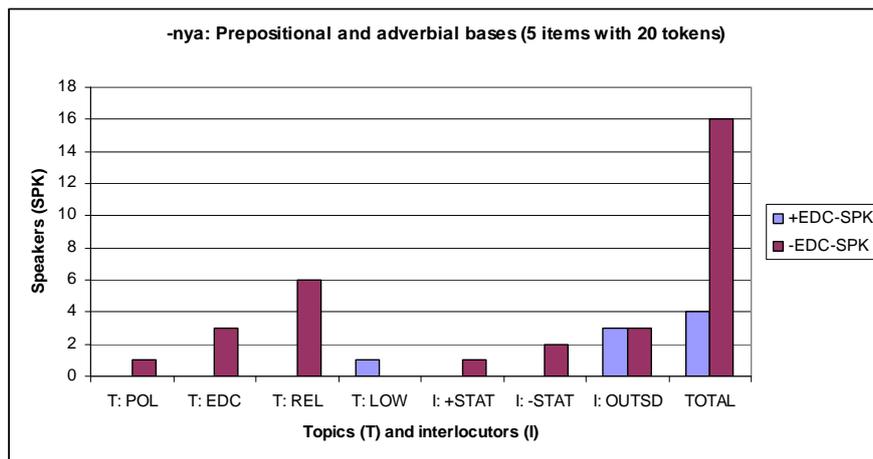
F.6.   Circumfix *ke-/-ang*

The tables and charts give the token frequencies **-/-*ang***-circumfixed words with verbal, nominal, numeral, and quantifier bases.

Table 18:   Tokens for ***ke-/-ang***-circumfixed words with verbal bases (57 items)

Speakers	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens Total
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	
+EDC-SPK	14	36	13	38	---	---	43	144
-EDC-SPK	5	19	16	---	35	**12**	8	95
Total	19	55	29	38	35	**12**	51	239

Chart 12:   Tokens for ***ke-/-ang***-circumfixed words with verbal bases
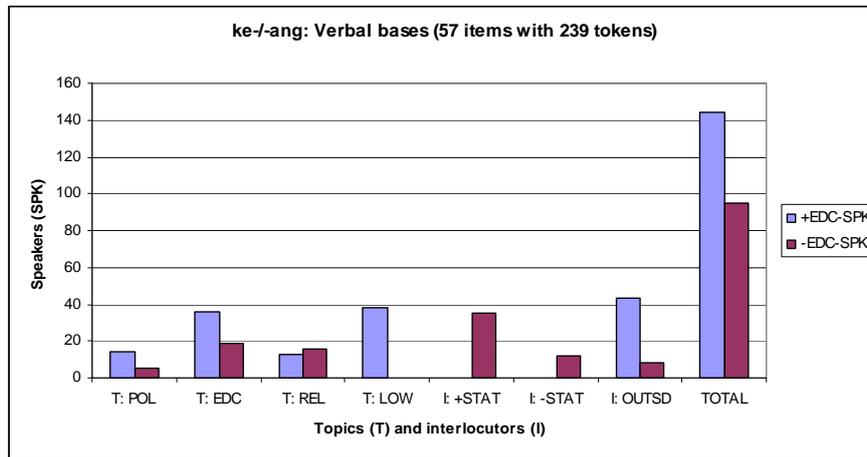
Table 19:   Tokens for ***ke-/-ang***-circumfixed words with nominal, numeral, and quantifier bases (8 items)

Speakers	Topics (TOP)				Interlocutors (ILCT)			Tokens Total
	POL	EDC	REL	LOW	+STAT	-STAT	OUTSD	
+EDC-SPK	2	10	1	0	---	---	2	15
-EDC-SPK	2	1	0	---	0	**1**	0	4
Total	4	11	1	0	0	**1**	2	19

Chart 13: Tokens for **ke-/-ang**-circumfixed words with nominal, numeral, and quantifier bases
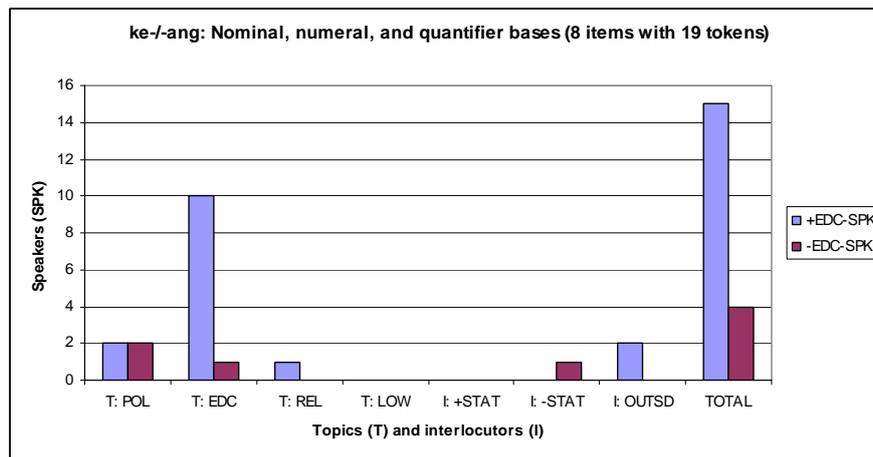
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English summary

This book presents an in-depth linguistic description of one Papuan Malay variety, based on sixteen hours of recordings of spontaneous narratives and conversations between Papuan Malay speakers.

'Papuan Malay' refers to the easternmost varieties of Malay (Austronesian). They are spoken in the coastal areas of West Papua, the western part of the island of New Guinea. The variety described here is spoken along West Papua's northeast coast. Papuan Malay is the language of wider communication and the first or second language for an ever-increasing number of people of the area. While Papuan Malay is not officially recognized, and therefore not used in formal government or educational settings or for religious preaching, it is used in all other domains, including unofficial use in formal settings, and, to some extent, in the public media.

After a general introduction to the language, its setting, and history in Chapter 1, this grammar discusses the following topics, building up from smaller grammatical constituents to larger ones: phonology, word formation, noun and prepositional phrases, verbal and nonverbal clauses, non-declarative clauses, and conjunctions and constituent combining. Of special interest to linguists, typologists, and Malay specialists are the following in-depth analyses and descriptions: affixation and its productivity across domains of language choice, reduplication and its gesamtbedeutung, personal pronouns and their adnominal uses, demonstratives and locatives and their extended uses, and adnominal possessive relations and their non-canonical uses.

Chapter 2 examines the phonology of Papuan Malay. The language has 18 consonant phonemes and a basic five-vowel system. The consonant system consists of six stops, two affricates, two fricatives, four nasals, two liquids, and two approximants. The vowel system includes two front and two back vowels, and one open central vowel. Papuan Malay shows a clear preference for disyllabic roots and for CV and CVC syllables; the maximal syllable is CCVC. Stress typically falls on the penultimate syllable, although lexical roots with ultimate stress are also attested.

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 discuss word formation processes in Papuan Malay. The language has very little productive morphology. Word formation is limited to the two derivational processes of affixation (Chapter 3) and reduplication (Chapter 4). Inflectional morphology is lacking, as nouns and verbs are not marked for any grammatical category such as gender, number, or case. There is also no voice system on verbs. Reduplication in Papuan Malay is a very productive morphological device for deriving new words. In terms of lexeme formation, three different types of reduplication are attested: full, partial, and imitative reduplication. The most common type is full reduplication, which involves the repetition of an entire root, stem, or word; bound morphemes are not reduplicated. Full reduplication usually applies to content words, although some function words can also be reduplicated. Partial and imitative reduplication are rare. The gesamtbedeutung of reduplication is "a HIGHER/LOWER DEGREE OF …" in the sense of augmentation and diminution. There is, however, no specific, one-to-one relation between the meaning aspects of the reduplicated lexemes and the syntactic class of the corresponding base words.

Affixation in Papuan Malay has very limited productivity. This conclusion is based on an investigation of six affixes. Given the sociolinguistic profile of Papuan Malay (lack of language awareness, diglossic distribution with Indonesian, negative language attitudes towards Papuan Malay, substantial amount of language contact, and high degree of bilingualism) no productivity testing was conducted, as a substantial amount of interference from Indonesian was expected. This interference would have skewed testees' naïve judgments. Instead, the six affixes were examined in terms of seven language internal and two language external factors considered relevant in establishing the degree of productivity of these affixes. Compounding (Chapter 3) is a third word-formation process; it remains uncertain, however, to what degree it is a productive process.

Chapter 5 discusses the Papuan Malay word classes. The main criteria for defining distinct word classes are their syntactic properties, due to the lack of inflectional morphology and the rather limited productivity of derivational patterns. Three open and a number of closed lexical classes can be distinguished. The open word classes are nouns, verbs, and adverbs. The major closed word classes are personal pronouns, interrogatives, demonstratives, locatives, numerals, quantifiers, prepositions, and conjunctions. At the same time, however, Papuan Malay has membership overlap between a number of categories, most of which involve verbs. This includes overlap between verbs and nouns which is typical of Malay varieties and other western Austronesian languages. However, nouns, verbs, and adverbs have distinct syntactic properties which warrant their analysis as distinct word classes.

Three word classes are discussed in more detail, namely personal pronouns in Chapter 6 and demonstratives and locatives in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6 deals with Papuan Malay personal pronouns. The pronoun system distinguishes singular and plural numbers and three persons. In addition to signaling the person-number values of their referents they also signal their definiteness. Each pronoun has at least one long and one short form, with the exception of the second person singular pronoun. The use of the long and short forms does not mark grammatical distinctions but represents speaker preferences. The pronouns have pronominal and adnominal uses. In their pronominal uses, the pronouns substitute for noun phrases and designate speech roles. The long and short pronoun forms occur in all syntactic slots within the clause. Pronouns also occur in inclusory conjunction, summary conjunction, and appositional constructions. In their adnominal uses, the pronouns occur in post-head position and function as determiners. That is, signaling definiteness and person-number values, the pronouns allow the unambiguous identification of their referents. As determiners, the pronoun forms of all person-number values are employed, with the exception of the first person singular. NP PRO' noun phrases with plural personal pronouns have two possible interpretations. With indefinite referents, they have an additive plural reading and with definite referents an associative inclusory reading.

Chapter 7 describes the Papuan Malay demonstratives and locatives. They are deictic expressions that provide orientation to the hearer in the outside world and in the speech situation, in spatial as well as in non-spatial domains. Both deictic systems are distance oriented, in that they signal the relative distance of an entity

vis-à-vis a deictic center. At the same time, the two systems differ in a number of respects. They are distinct both in terms of their syntactic characteristics and forms and in terms of their functions. With respect to their syntactic properties, the demonstratives have a wider range of uses (adnominal, pronominal, and adverbial uses) than the locatives. Likewise, in terms of their functions, the demonstratives have a wider range of uses than the locatives. The locative system, by contrast, allows finer semantic distinctions to be made than the demonstrative system, given that the former expresses a three-way deictic contrast, whereas the latter expresses a two-way deictic contrast.

Chapter 8 examines the Papuan Malay noun phrase. The head of a noun phrase is typically a noun or personal pronoun. Further, although less common, demonstratives, locatives, or interrogatives can also function as heads. The canonical word order within the noun phrase is HEAD-MODIFIER. Depending on the syntactic properties of the adnominal constituents, though, a MODIFIER-HEAD order is also common. Attested in the present corpus is the co-occurrence of up to three post-head modifiers.

Chapter 9 describes adnominal possessive relations. In Papuan Malay, adnominal possessive constructions consists of two noun phrases linked with the possessive marker *punya* 'POSS', such that 'POSSESSOR *punya* POSSESSUM'. Possessive constructions with *punya* 'POSS' have a number of different realizations. The possessive marker can be represented with long *punya*, reduced *pu*, clitic *=p*, or a zero morpheme. There are no syntactic or semantic restrictions on the uses of the long and reduced possessive marker forms. By contrast, omission of *punya* only occurs when the possessive construction expresses inalienable possession of body parts or kinship relations. In addition to signaling adnominal possessive relations between two noun phrases, *punya* 'POSS' has a number of derived, non-canonical functions, namely (1) as an emphatic marker of locational relations or relations of association, (2) as a marker of beneficiary relations, (3) as an attitudinal intensifier or stance, and (4) as a ligature in reflexive constructions. The possessor and the possessum can be expressed with different kinds of syntactic constituents, such as lexical nouns, noun phrases, or demonstratives. In addition, personal pronouns can also express the possessor. In non-canonical possessive constructions, verbs can also take the possessor and/or possessum slots. Further, mid-range quantifiers, temporal adverbs, and prepositional phrases can take the possessum slot. The possessum can also be omitted in canonical or non-canonical possessive constructions. Semantically, the possessor and the possessum can denote human, nonhuman animate, or inanimate referents.

Chapter 10 deals with prepositional phrases in Papuan Malay. They are formed with eleven different prepositions, encoding location in space and time, accompaniment and instruments, goals, benefaction, and comparisons. Prepositional phrases take on different functions within the clause; that is, they can function as peripheral adjuncts, nonverbal predicates, or arguments. They also combine with different types of syntactic constituents, namely nouns, personal pronouns, demonstratives, locatives, and temporal adverbs. The complements of the prepositions take different

semantic roles within the clause, depending on the prepositions they are introduced with.

Chapter 11 discusses verbal clauses in Papuan Malay. The most pertinent distinction is that between intransitive and transitive clauses. There is no one-to-one correspondence between valency and transitivity, however, as Papuan Malay verbs allow but do not require core arguments. Trivalent verbs most often occur in monotransitive or intransitive clauses rather than in ditransitive clauses. Along similar lines, bivalent verbs are very commonly used in intransitive clauses. The predicate typically follows the subject and, in transitive clauses, precedes the direct object. In negated verbal clauses, the negator precedes the predicate. Causative clauses are also very common. They are the result of a valency-increasing operation. Papuan Malay causatives are monoclausal V_1V_2 constructions in which causative V_1 encodes the notion of cause while V_2 expresses the notion of effect. Papuan Malay has two causative verbs which usually produce "causer-controlled" causatives: trivalent *kasi* 'give', and bivalent *bikin* 'make'. While *kasi*-causatives stress the outcome of the manipulation, *bikin*-causatives focus on the manipulation of circumstances, which leads to the effect. Another common type of verbal clauses are reciprocal clauses, formed with the reciprocity marker *baku* 'RECP'. In these clauses, two predications are presented as one, with two participants equivalently acting upon each other. In simple reciprocals, both participants are encoded as the clausal subject. In discontinuous reciprocals, the second participant is expressed with a comitative phrase. Both clause types typically result in a reduction in syntactic valency. Also discussed are existential clauses formed with the existential verb *ada* 'exist'. Two clause types can be distinguished: intransitive clauses with one core argument, and transitive clauses with two core arguments. In one-argument clauses, *ada* 'exist' precedes or follows the subject, or theme, depending on its definiteness. Existential clauses express existence, availability, or possession. A final type of verbal clauses discussed in this book are degree-marking and identity-marking comparative clauses. Degree-marking clauses denote superiority, inferiority, or superlative. In these clauses, the parameter follows the index, the comparee takes the subject slot, and the optional standard is expressed in a prepositional phrase. Identity-marking clauses designate similarity or dissimilarity. In these constructions, the parameter either precedes the index or is omitted. The comparee takes the subject slot while the standard is usually expressed with a prepositional phrase. In similarity clauses, the standard can also be encoded as the clausal subject together with comparee.

Chapter 12 examines nonverbal clauses in Papuan Malay. The language employs three syntactically distinct types of nonverbal predicate clauses, namely nominal, numeral/quantifier, and prepositional predicate clauses. These clauses are formed by juxtaposition of the two main constituents; no copula intervenes. The three clause types also have distinct semantic functions. Nominal predicates have ascriptive or equative function and also encode possession. Numeral and quantifier predicates have attributive function. Prepositional predicates encode locational or nonlocational relations between a FIGURE and the GROUND.

Chapter 13 describes negative, interrogative, and directive clauses. Negative clauses are formed with the negation adverbs *tida*/*tra* 'NEG' or *bukang* 'NEG'. Negator *tida*/*tra* 'NEG' is used for the negation of verbal, existential, and nonverbal prepositional clauses. Negator *bukang* 'NEG' is used to negate nonverbal clauses, other than prepositional ones, and to mark contrastive negation. As for interrogative clauses, three types of clauses can be distinguished: (1) content, or information questions which are formed with interrogatives and which elicit new information, (2) polar questions which elicit yes-no answers, and (3) alternative questions which require the interlocutor to choose the supposedly right answer from a list of possible answers. Directive clauses in Papuan Malay include imperatives and hortatives, permissions and obligations, and prohibitives. They are used with any kind of predicate.

Chapter 14 discusses Papuan Malay conjunctions and constituent combining. Conjunctions typically conjoin same-type constituents. Most of them combine clauses with clauses. Only two link different-type constituents, such as verbs with clauses. Typically, the conjunctions occur at the left periphery of the constituent they mark. The 21 conjunctions linking same-type constituents are divided into six groups according to the semantic relations they signal, namely addition, alternative, time and/or condition, consequence, contrast, and similarity. Almost all conjunctions occur in clause-initial position, while only two occur in clause-final position. Typically, the clause marked with a conjunction follows the unmarked clause; only a few conjunctions mark clauses which precede the unmarked clause.

Nederlandse samenvatting

Dit boek geeft een uitputtende beschrijving van een variëteit van het Papua Maleis. Het is gebaseerd op 16 uur opnames van spontane spraak: verhalen en gesprekken tussen sprekers van het Papua Maleis.

Papua Maleis is de meest oostelijke vorm van het Maleis (Austronesisch). Het wordt gesproken langs de kust van West Papua, dat wil zeggen, het westelijke deel van het eiland Nieuw Guinea. De variëteit die in dit boek besproken wordt is die van de noordoostkust van West Papua. Papua Maleis is daar de taal voor interetnische communicatie en wordt door meer en meer mensen gesproken als tweede taal maar ook als eerste taal. Papua Maleis is niet officieel erkend en wordt daarom ook niet gebruikt in de officiële administratie, het onderwijs of in religieuze situaties. In alle andere domeinen wordt he wel gebruikt inclusief onofficiëel gebruik in de administratie en ten dele ook in de media.

Deze grammatica omvat, na een algemene inleiding in taal, context en geschiedenis, de volgende onderdelen, gerangschikt van kleinere naar grotere grammaticale eenheden: fonologie, woordvorming, naamwoordelijke groepen, voorzetselvoorwerpen (PPs), verbale en niet-verbale zinnen, vraagzinnen en negatieve zinnen, voegwoorden, en woordvolgorde. De volgende onderwerpen zijn in het Papua Maleis bijzonder interessant en worden in meer detail geanalyseerd: affixatie en de productiviteit ervan in de verschillende domeinen van taalgebruik, reduplicatie en de overkoepelende betekenis ervan, persoonlijke voornaamwoorden en hun gebruik in combinatie met naamwoorden, aanwijzende voornaamwoorden en locatieven en hun uitgebreide toepasbaarheid, bezitsaansduidingen in ongebruikelijke toepassingen.

Hoofdstuk 2 omvat de klankleer van het Papua Maleis. De taal kent 18 medeklinkers en heeft een canoniek vijfklinkersysteem. Er zijn drie stemhebbende en drie stemloze plofklanken, twee wrijfklanken, twee affricaten, vier nasalen, twee liquidae en twee approximanten. Het klinkersysteem kent twee voor- en twee achterklinkers, alsmede een open centrale lage klinker. Er is een duidelijke voorkeur voor wortels van twee lettergrepen. Lettergrepen zijn meestal van het type CV of CVC, en de meest complexe is CCVC. Klemtoon valt normaliter op de één-na-laatste lettergreep maar voor sommige woorden juist op de laatste lettergreep.

In hoofdstukken 3 en 4 behandel ik woordvorming. Er zijn maar weinig productieve woordvormingsprocédés. Hoofdstuk 3 behandelt affixatie en hoofdstuk 4 behaldelt reduplicatie. Er is geen vervoeging van het werkwoord en geen verbuiging van het naamwoord; er is geen uitdrukking van geslacht, getal, of naamval op het naamwoord, en evenmin op het werkwoord, dat bovendien ook geen aanduiding voor actief of passief kent. Reduplicatie is een productief middel om nieuwe woorden te vormen en valt uiteen in drie soorten: volledige, partiële en imitatie-reduplicatie. Volledige reduplicatie van wortel, stam of woord komt is het meest gebruikelijk; in dit proces worden de gebonden morfemen niet gedupliceerd. Volledige reduplicatie komt vooral voor bij lexicale woorden maar ook wel bij functiewoorden. Partiële en imitatie-reduplicatie reduplicatie zijn zeldzaam. De overkoepelende betekenis van reduplicatie is "in meer/mindere mate" inclusief vergroting en verkleining. De interpretatie van reduplicatie hangt niet direct af van de woordsoort van het basiswoord.

Affixatie is niet productief. Dit wordt aangeoond op basis van een analyse van zes voor- en achtervoegsels. Onderzoek naar de productiviteit van deze affixen is om een aantal redenen moeilijk: Het is moeilijk voor de sprekers om Indonesisch en Papua Maleis te onderscheiden omdat ze beide spreken, ook in hetzelfde gesprek, terwijl Papua Maleis geen officiële status heeft en weinig aanzien geniet, anders dan Indonesisch. Ik kon daarom niet eenvoudig naar productiviteit vragen, niet wetend of de oordelen op Papua Maleis dan wel op Indonesisch betrekking zouden hebben. In plaats daarvan heb ik mij gebaseerd op mijn corpus en mijn resultaten gerelateerd aan 7 taalinterne en 2 taalexterne factoren die ik van belang achtte om inzicht te verkrijgen in productiviteit in juist het Papua Maleis tegenover Indonesisch.

Naast affixatie en reduplicatie bestaat er de optie van samenstelling, die ik in hoofdstuk drie behandel. Het is onduidelijk in hoeverre dit een productief procédé is in het Papua Maleis.

In hoofdstuk 5 behandel ik het probleem van woordsoorten in het Papua Maleis. Dit doe ik op basis van syntactische eigenschappen, aangezien er geen inflectionele en te weinig productieve derivationele morfologie is om op basis daarvan woordsoorten te definiëren. Er zijn drie open woordklassen en een aantal gesloten klassen. De drie open klassen zijn naamwoorden, werkwoorden en bijwoorden. De voornaamste gesloten klassen zijn persoonlijke voornaamwoorden, vraagwoorden, aanwijzende voornaamwoorden, locatieven, telwoorden, kwantificeerders, voorzetsels en voegwoorden. Er bestaat echter veel overlap tussen de woordsoorten, met name bij de werkwoorden. De overlap tussen naamwoord en werkwoord zoals Papua Maleis dat kent is gebruikelijk voor Maleis in het algemeen, maar ook voor andere westelijke Austronesische talen. Toch kan ik op basis van syntactische eigenschappen een onderscheid maken in woordsoort tussen naamwoorden, werkwoorden en bijwoorden. De persoonlijke voornaamwoorden komen aan de orde in hoofdstuk 6 en de aanwijzende voornaamwoorden en locatieven in hoofdstuk 7.

Het systeem van persoonlijke voornaamwoorden (hoofdstuk 6) kent de gebruikelijke onderscheiden van enkelvoud en meervoud en drie personen, maar persoonlijke voornaamwoorden kunnen ook verschillen in definietheid uitdrukken. De persoonlijke voornaamwoorden hebben korte en lange vormen, tenminste één van elk, op de tweede persoon enkelvoud na. De keuze voor korte of lange vorm is een persoonlijke beslissing van de spreker die geen grammaticale verschillen uitdrukt; ze kunnen allebei in alle syntactische posities voorkomen. Persoonlijke voornaamwoorden komen ook voor constructies waarin het meervoudige persoonlijke voornaamwoord het daaropvolgende naamwoord omvat (bijvoorbeeld "wij met mijn man") en in constructies waarbij het persoonlijk voornaamwoord de twee volgende naamwoorden samenvat (bijvoorbeeld "wij vader en moeder"). Het voornaamwoord kan voorafgaan aan een naamwoord, waarbij beide naar dezelfde referent verwijzen (bijvoorbeeld "ik moeder"). De persoonlijke voornaamwoorden kennen naast hun gebruik als voornaamwoord een gebruik als nadere bepaling van een voorafgaand naamwoord om meerduidigheid te voorkomen. De eerste persoon enkelvoud komt niet voor in deze constructie. In deze constructie van naamwoord plus voornaamwoord hebben de meervoudige voornaamwoorden twee mogelijke interpretaties: bij onbepaalde naamwoorden een meervoudsaanduiding en bij definiete naamwoorden een interpretatie waarbij vergelijkbare entiteiten ook inbegrepen zijn (bijvoorbeeld "Lamber zij" = "Lamber en de zijnen").

In hoofdstuk 7 worden de aanwijzende voornaamwoorden en locatieven behandeld. Deze elementen oriënteren de hoorder binnen de spreeksituatie en de omgeving, en niet alleen in ruimtelijke zin. Beide systemen drukken relatieve afstand uit ten opzichte van het deictisch centrum. Er zijn verschillen tussen de demonstratieven en de locatieven in hun syntactische eigenschappen en functies. Zo hebben de aanwijzende voornaamwoorden een wijdere toepassing die adnominaal, pronominaal en adverbiaal gebruik omvat. De locatieven zijn beperkter in gebruik, maar maken wel drie onderscheidingen waar de demonstratieven er maar twee maken.

De eigenschappen van de naamwoordgroep komen in hoofdstuk 8 aan bod. De gebruikelijke volgorde is dat het hoofd voorop staat. Het hoofd van een naamwoordgroep is meestal een naamwoord of een voornaamwoord, maar kan ook een aanwijzend voornaamwoord, een locatief of een vraagwoord zijn. Na het hoofd kunnen er maximaal drie modificeerders komen. Sommige kunnen ook aan het hoofd voorafgaan.

Hoodstuk 9 behandelt de uitdrukking van bezitsrelaties. De bezitsconstructie is BEZITTER *punya* BEZIT waarbij *punya* ook de vormen *pu*, enclitisch *p* of zelfs een leeg morfeem kan aannemen zonder dat er een syntactisch of semantisch verschil valt aan te wijzen behalve dat als de bezitsmarkeerder niet uitgedrukt is, de constructie aan kan geven dat het bezit onlosmakelijk verbonden is met de bezitter zoals in gevallen van lichaamsdelen of familierelaties. Naast de aanduiding van bezit heeft de constructie nog een aantal functies en wel: (1) nadruk op het locatieve verband, associatieve verbanden, (2) uiting van verband van voordeel, (3) nadruk op de houding van de spreker, (4) wederkerend met *diri* 'zelf' als BEZIT. De eenheden BEZITTER en BEZIT kunnen verschillende syntactische status hebben: naamwoorden, naamwoordgroepen, aanwijzende voornaamwoorden, en de BEZITTER kan een persoonlijk voornaamwoord zijn. Het is ook mogelijk, hoewel minder gebruikelijk, dat werkwoorden in een van deze twee posities voorkomen. Bovendien kan de BEZIT-positie gevuld worden door kwantificeerders, bijwoorden van tijd en voorzetselvoorwerpen. Bij al deze constructies kan het BEZIT onuitgedrukt blijven. Zowel BEZIT als BEZITTER beslaan potentieel het hele scala van menselijk tot onbezielde referenten.

Voorzetselvoorwerpen (PPs) worden in hoofdstuk 10 behandeld. Er zijn elf verschillende voorzetsels die ruimte, tijd, 'samen met' en instrument, doel, voordeel en vergelijking uitdrukken. Voorzetselvoorwerpen kunnen niet alleen als perifere woordgroepen voorkomen maar ook als predicaat, en bovendien als argument van het werkwoord. Ook kunnen zij voorkomen in combinatie met andere syntactische eenheden, zoals naamwoorden, persoonlijke voornaamwoorden, aanwijzende voornaamwoorden, locatieven en bijwoorden van tijd.

Hoofdstuk 11 gaat over de structuur van werkwoordelijke zinnen. Het belangrijkste onderscheid is dat tussen overgankelijke en onovergankelijke zinnen. Of een zin overgankelijk of onovergankelijk is valt niet direct uit het gebruikte werkwoord af te leiden, aangezien argumenten van het werkwoord in het Papua Maleis altijd weggelaten kunnen worden. Werkwoordelijke valentie duidt dus op de mogelijkheid en niet op de noodzaak van de aanwezigheid van een lijdend voorwerp. Werkwoorden met de mogelijkheid van drie argumenten (onderwerp, lijdend voorwerp en meewerkend voorwerp) komen zelfs vaker voor met slechts 1

of 2 argumenten en in een zin met een overgankelijk werkwoord kan het het lijdend voorwerp worden weggelaten. De meest gebruikelijke woordvolgorde in de zin is S V (O). De ontkenning staat vóór het werkwoord. Causatieve zinnen komen veel voor en deze bestaan uit een $V_1 V_2$ constructie waarin het eerste werkwoord een oorzaak introduceert en het tweede werkwoord het effect uitdrukt. Dit eerste, causatieve werkwoord is *kasi* 'geven' of *biking* 'maken'. De constructie met *kasi* 'geven' benadrukt de uitkomst van de manipulatie uitgedrukt in het causatief werkwoord en die met *biking* 'maken' legt de nadruk op de manipulatie van de omstandigheden die leiden tot het effect. Daarna behandel ik wederkerige zinnen waarbij *baku* gebruikt wordt voor de uitdrukking van wederkerigheid. In wederkerige zinnen zijn er twee verschillende partipanten die op elkaar betrekking hebben. In eenvoudige wederkerige zinnen vormen de beide participanten samen het onderwerp van de zin. De tweede participant kan echter ook discontinu uitgedrukt worden met een voorzetselvoorwerp met 'met'; in beide gevallen is de valentie van het werkwoord verminderd.

In dit hoofdstuk bespreek ik ook zinnen met het werkwoord *ada* 'bestaan'. Als de zin met *ada* slechts één argument heeft, hangt het can de bepaaldheid van het argument af of *ada* erop volgt of eraan voorafgaat. Zinnen met *ada* kunnen ook twee argumenten hebben. Zinnen met *ada* drukken alleen existentie uitdrukken maar ook beschikbaarheid en bezit.

Tenslotte bespreek ik in dit hoofdstuk ook de uitdrukking van vergelijking. Bij de uitdrukking van vergelijking van graad hebben de volgende stuctuur: X meer/minder EIGENSCHAP *dari* (van, dan) Y. In zinnen die gelijkheid of juist ongelijkheid uitdrukken is de constructie meestal X EIGENSCHAP *sama* (gelijk) *dengang* (met)Y, maar eventueel ook X en Y EIGENSCHAP *sama* (gelijk).

In hoofdstuk 12 onderscheid ik de drie soorten niet-verbale zinnen: het predicaat is ofwel een naamwoord, oftwel een telwoord of kwantificeerder, ofwel een voorzetselvoorwerp. Zulke niet-verbale zinnen maken geen gebruik van een copula; de twee contituenten worden simpel naast elkaar gezet. Als het predicaat een naamwoord is, drukt het gelijkstelling of bezit uit. Bij numerieke predicaten is er sprake van beschrijvende functie. Voorzetselvoorwerpen worden gebruikt om verband te leggen tussen een figuur en zijn achtergrond.

Vraagzinnen, ontkennendezinnen en opdrachten behandel ik in hoofdstuk 13. Ontkenning wordt uitgedrukt door de bijwoorden *tida/tra* en *bukang*. Deze laatste wordt gebruikt in niet-verbale zinnen (tenzij het predicaat een voorzetselvoorwerp is) en voor constrastieve negatie. Er zijn drie soorten vraagzinnen: inhoudsvragen met vraagwoorden, ja/nee-vragen en vragen waarbij men een keuze moet maken uit een lijst van mogelijkheden. Opdrachten hebben de vorm van een imperatief of een hortatief, een prohibitief, dan wel zinnen die toestemming of noodzaak uitdrukken. In opdrachtzinnen komen alle soorten predicaten voor.

In het laatste hoofdstuk, hoofdstuk 14, wordt behandeld hoe zinnen, en constituenten met elkaar worden verbonden. Dit gebeurt meestal met voegwoorden. Er zijn twee voegwoorden die verschillende syntactische grootheden met elkaar kunnen verbinden, zoals bijvoorbeeld werkwoorden met zinnen. Voegwoorden staan gewoonlijk aan het begin van de eenheid die ze markeren (twee staan er juist aan het eind) en de gemarkeerde zin volgt gewoonlijk op de ongemarkeerde. We kunnen de 21 voegwoorden in zes groepen onderverdelen al naar gelang de aard van de

verbinding: toevoeging, keuze, tijd dan wel voorwaarde, gevolg, tegenstelling, en overeenkomst.

Curriculum vitae

Angela Kluge was born in Köln (Germany) in 1960. In 1983, she obtained her Master of Physical Education from the Kölner Sporthochschule. In 1988, she joined SIL International and began her studies in linguistics and sociolinguistics. After a year of French studies she began working with SIL in Togo and Benin. She conducted sociolinguistic research there from 1992 until 1999. From 1999 to 2001, she studied at the College of Cardiff (University of Wales), obtaining her MA in Language and Communication Research. In 2001, she began working with SIL in Indonesia. After Indonesian studies at the University of Indonesia (Depok), she worked as a senior survey consultant, teaching, training, and mentoring language survey specialists. In 2003, she became a Senior Language Assessment Consultant with SIL International. She is also a reviewer of the SIL Electronic Survey Reports series. In 2009, Angela Kluge became an external PhD student at Leiden University Centre for Linguistics, with a research project on a linguistic description of Papuan Malay.