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**Title:** A grammar of Papuan Malay

**Issue Date:** 2014-06-03

## 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,<sup>139</sup> 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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<sup>139</sup> 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).<sup>140</sup>
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:

<sup>140</sup> 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	
<i>ana</i>	‘child’	<i>adat</i>	‘tradition’
<i>bawang</i>	‘onion’	<i>berkat</i>	‘blessing’
<i>celana</i>	‘trouser’	<i>dosa</i>	‘sin’
<i>daung</i>	‘leaf’	<i>jatwal</i>	‘schedule’
<i>hutang</i>	‘forest’	<i>kwasa</i>	‘power’
<i>jaring</i>	‘net’	<i>pamali</i>	‘taboo’
<i>sumur</i>	‘well’	<i>tanggal</i>	‘date’
<i>tikus</i>	‘rat’	<i>tuju</i>	‘goal’

Concrete mass nouns		Abstract mass nouns	
<i>ampas</i>	‘waste’	<i>cinta</i>	‘love’
<i>busa</i>	‘foam’	<i>baw</i>	‘smell’
<i>dara</i>	‘blood’	<i>dana</i>	‘funds’
<i>garam</i>	‘salt’	<i>duka</i>	‘grief’
<i>minyak</i>	‘oil’	<i>hikmat</i>	‘wisdom’
<i>nasi</i>	‘cooked rice’	<i>iman</i>	‘faith’
<i>susu</i>	‘milk’	<i>ongkos</i>	‘expenses’
<i>te</i>	‘tea’	<i>umur</i>	‘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<sup>141</sup>

- (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.)

<sup>141</sup> 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<sup>142</sup>

- (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.

<sup>142</sup> 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
<i>Abimelek</i>	<i>Abi</i>	<i>Antonia</i>	<i>Anto</i>
<i>Benyamin</i>	<i>Beni</i>	<i>Fransiska</i>	<i>Siska</i>
<i>Dominggus</i>	<i>Domi</i>	<i>Gerice</i>	<i>Ice</i>
<i>Edwart</i>	<i>Edo</i>	<i>Hendrika</i>	<i>Ika</i>
<i>Hermanus</i>	<i>Herman</i>	<i>Isabela</i>	<i>Ise</i>
<i>Kornelius</i>	<i>Kori</i>	<i>Magdalena</i>	<i>Magda</i>
<i>Lodowik</i>	<i>Lodo</i>	<i>Pawlina</i>	<i>Pawla</i>
<i>Martinus</i>	<i>Tinus</i>	<i>Samalina</i>	<i>Lina</i>
<i>Pontius</i>	<i>Ponti</i>	<i>Sarlota</i>	<i>Ota</i>
<i>Sokarates</i>	<i>Ates</i>	<i>Yohana</i>	<i>Hana</i>
Clan and family names		Place names	
<i>Aweta</i>	<i>Manierong</i>	<i>Arbais</i>	<i>Mararena</i>
<i>Cawem</i>	<i>Merne</i>	<i>Betaf</i>	<i>Rotea</i>
<i>Catwe</i>	<i>Sefanya</i>	<i>Dabe</i>	<i>Sarmi</i>
<i>Domanser</i>	<i>Sope</i>	<i>Karfasia</i>	<i>Takar</i>
<i>Kaywor</i>	<i>Yapo</i>	<i>Liki</i>	<i>Webro</i>

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.<sup>143</sup>

- (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

<sup>143</sup> 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<sup>144</sup>

Introduced person names	
<i>ade Aris</i>	‘younger sibling Aris’
<i>mama Sance</i>	‘mama Sance’
<i>bapa-tua Fredi</i>	‘uncle Fredi’
<i>tete Daut</i>	‘grandfather Daut’
<i>mace Agustina</i>	‘Ms. Agustina’
<i>pace Alpeus</i>	‘Mr. Alpeus’
Introduced places names	
<i>kampung Harapang</i>	‘village of Harapang’
<i>kota Sarmi</i>	‘city of Sarmi’
<i>kali Biri</i>	‘river Biri’
<i>pulow Sarmi</i>	‘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
<i>atas</i>	‘top’	146
<i>bawa</i>	‘bottom’	116
<i>blakang</i>	‘backside’	92
<i>dalam</i>	‘inside’	230
<i>depang</i>	‘front’	102
<i>luar</i>	‘outside’	79
<i>pinggir</i>	‘border’	23
<i>samping</i>	‘side’	24
<i>sebla</i>	‘side’	110

<sup>144</sup> 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
<i>sekitar</i>	‘vicinity’	17
<i>tenga</i>	‘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.<sup>145</sup>
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) | <i>di atas pohong</i>  | ‘in the top of the tree’ | [081006-023-CvEx.0061] |
|      | at top tree            |                          |                        |
| (22) | <i>di bawa pohong</i>  | ‘under the tree’         | [081109-002-JR.0002]   |
|      | at bottom tree         |                          |                        |
| (23) | <i>di pohong</i>       | ‘in the tree’            | [081006-023-CvEx.0080] |
|      | at tree                |                          |                        |
| (24) | <i>di pinggir kali</i> | ‘alongside the river’    | [081011-001-Cv.0167]   |
|      | at border river        |                          |                        |

<sup>145</sup> 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<sup>146</sup>

- (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).

<sup>146</sup> 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 ~~to~~ 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 *bulan depan* ‘next month’ in (52). Adnominal uses for *sekitar* ‘vicinity’ are unattested in the present corpus.

Locational relations: Spatial and figurative<sup>147</sup>

(43)	<i>atas</i>	‘top’	<i>jalang atas</i> road top	‘the upper road’ (Lit. ‘the road on top’)
(44)	<i>blakang</i>	‘backside’	<i>rem blakang</i> brake backside	‘rear brakes’
(45)	<i>dalam</i>	‘inside’	<i>kolor dalam</i> shorts inside	‘undershorts’
(46)	<i>luar</i>	‘outside’	<i>dunia luar</i> world outside	‘outside world’
(47)	<i>pinggir</i>	‘border’	<i>tana pinggir</i> ground border	‘the ground along the side’
(48)	<i>samping</i>	‘side’	<i>sak samping</i> bag side	‘side pocket’
(49)	<i>sebla</i>	‘side’	<i>tetangga dong sebla</i> neighbor 3PL side	‘the neighbors next door’
(50)	<i>tenga</i>	‘middle’	<i>kolam tenga</i> big.hole middle	‘the pond in the middle’
(51)	<i>bawa</i>	‘bottom’	<i>generasi bawa</i> generation bottom	‘next generation’ (Lit. ‘generation at the bottom’)
(52)	<i>depan</i>	‘front’	<i>bulan depan</i> month front	‘next month’ (Lit. ‘month in front’)

<sup>147</sup> 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, *depan* ‘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
<i>utara</i>	‘north’	---
<i>slatang</i>	‘south’	---
<i>barat</i>	‘west’	10
<i>timur</i>	‘east’	5
<i>kiri</i>	‘left’	1
<i>kanang</i>	‘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**  
 ISG 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 jembatan depang ko belok Ø **kanang** trus di jembatan  
 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) lapangan 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
<i>titik</i>	‘second’	<i>minggu</i>	‘week’
<i>minit</i>	‘minute’	<i>bulan</i>	‘month’
<i>jam</i>	‘hour’	<i>taung</i>	‘year’
<i>hari</i>	‘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 bulan** 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
<i>pagi</i>	‘morning’	<i>sore</i>	‘afternoon’
<i>siang</i>	‘midday’	<i>malam</i>	‘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
<i>senin</i>	‘Monday’	<i>jumat</i>	‘Friday’
<i>slasa</i>	‘Tuesday’	<i>saptu</i>	‘Saturday’
<i>rabu</i>	‘Wednesday’	<i>minggu</i>	‘Sunday’
<i>kamis</i>	‘Thursday’		
Months of the year			
Item	Gloss	Item	Gloss
<i>januari</i>	‘January’	<i>juli</i>	‘July’
<i>februari</i>	‘February’	<i>agustus</i>	‘August’
<i>maret</i>	‘March’	<i>september</i>	‘September’
<i>april</i>	‘April’	<i>oktober</i>	‘October’
<i>mey</i>	‘May’	<i>nofember</i>	‘November’
<i>juni</i>	‘Juni’	<i>desember</i>	‘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 *bulan* ‘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 *bulan* ‘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 **bulan 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
<i>kemaring dulu</i> yesterday be.prior	'the day before yesterday'
<i>kemaring</i>	'yesterday, some time ago'
<i>hari ini</i> day D.PROX	'today'
<i>besok</i>	'tomorrow, some time in the future'
<i>lusa</i>	'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 nouns 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,<sup>148</sup> (b) are negated with *tida/tra* ‘NEG’, (c) occur as predicates in comparative constructions, and (d) occur as predicates in reciprocal constructions.

<sup>148</sup> 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			
<i>ambil</i>	‘fetch’	<i>kasi</i>	‘give’
<i>bawa</i>	‘bring’	<i>kirim</i>	‘send’
<i>bli</i>	‘buy’	<i>minta</i>	‘request’
<i>ceritra</i>	‘tell’		
Bivalent verbs			
<i>antar</i>	‘bring’	<i>kubur</i>	‘bury’
<i>bunu</i>	‘kill’	<i>lawang</i>	‘oppose’
<i>cabut</i>	‘pull out’	<i>maki</i>	‘abuse (verbally)’
<i>dorong</i>	‘push’	<i>mara</i>	‘feel angry (about)’
<i>ejek</i>	‘mock’	<i>naik</i>	‘ascend’
<i>ganas</i>	‘feel furious (about)’	<i>pake</i>	‘use’
<i>ganggu</i>	‘disturb’	<i>rabik</i>	‘tear’
<i>hela</i>	‘haul’	<i>simpang</i>	‘store’
<i>ikut</i>	‘follow’	<i>tarik</i>	‘pull’

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as Allerton (2006), Sommerfeldt and Schreiber (1983), and van Durme and Institut for Sprog og Kommunikation (1997).

<i>jual</i>	‘sell’	<i>usir</i>	‘chase away’
Monovalent dynamic verbs			
<i>berenang</i>	‘swim’	<i>kembali</i>	‘return’
<i>bocor</i>	‘leak’	<i>lari</i>	‘run’
<i>datang</i>	‘come’	<i>maju</i>	‘advance’
<i>duduk</i>	‘sit’	<i>mandi</i>	‘bathe’
<i>gementar</i>	‘tremble’	<i>oleng</i>	‘shake’
<i>guling</i>	‘roll over’	<i>pergi</i>	‘go’
<i>hidup</i>	‘live’	<i>sandar</i>	‘lean’
<i>hosa</i>	‘pant’	<i>sante</i>	‘relax’
<i>jalang</i>	‘walk’	<i>terbang</i>	‘fly’
<i>jatu</i>	‘fall’	<i>tinggal</i>	‘stay’
Monovalent stative verbs			
<i>abu</i>	‘be dusty’	<i>muda</i>	‘be young’
<i>bagus</i>	‘be good’	<i>nyamang</i>	‘be comfortable’
<i>cantik</i>	‘be beautiful’	<i>panas</i>	‘be hot’
<i>dinging</i>	‘be cold’	<i>puti</i>	‘be white’
<i>enak</i>	‘be pleasant’	<i>renda</i>	‘be low’
<i>gila</i>	‘be crazy’	<i>sakit</i>	‘be sick’
<i>hijow</i>	‘be green’	<i>swak</i>	‘be exhausted’
<i>jahat</i>	‘be bad’	<i>tinggi</i>	‘be tall’
<i>kecil</i>	‘be small’	<i>tua</i>	‘be old’
<i>lema</i>	‘be weak’	<i>waras</i>	‘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.	<b>bua</b>	<b>mera</b>	l.	<b>orang</b>	<b>tua</b>
	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<sup>149</sup>

Verb class	Token frequencies		Type frequencies	
	#	%	#	%
	Via juxtaposition		Different verbs	
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	
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	
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.

<sup>149</sup> 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

Verb class	Token frequencies		Type frequencies	
	#	%	#	%
	<i>skali</i> -intensification		Different verbs	
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%
	<i>terlalu</i> -intensification		Different verbs	
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]<sup>150</sup>
- (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).

<sup>150</sup> 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

Verb class	Token frequencies		Type frequencies	
	#	%	#	%
	CMPR-constructions		Different verbs	
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	
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	
	#	%	#	%
	<i>kasi</i> -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%
	<i>biking</i> -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]<sup>151</sup>
- (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

Verb class	Token frequencies		Type frequencies	
	#	%	#	%
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*

<sup>151</sup> 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 <i>TER-</i> : Derived verbs denoting accidental actions			
<i>angkat</i>	‘lift’	<i>trangkat</i>	‘be lifted up’
<i>lempar</i>	‘throw’	<i>talempar</i>	‘be thrown’
<i>jatu</i>	‘fall’	<i>terjatu</i>	‘be dropped, fall’
<i>lambat</i>	‘be slow’	<i>terlambat</i>	‘be late’
<i>sala</i>	‘be wrong’	<i>tasala</i>	‘be mistaken’
Suffix <i>-an</i> : Derived nouns			
<i>jual</i>	‘sell’	<i>jualang</i>	‘merchandise, to sell’
<i>pake</i>	‘use’	<i>pakeang</i>	‘clothes’
<i>jalang</i>	‘walk’	<i>jalangang</i>	‘route’
<i>libur</i>	‘take vacation’	<i>liburang</i>	‘vacation’
<i>pica</i>	‘be broken’	<i>picaang</i>	‘splinter’
<i>sial</i>	‘be unfortunate’	<i>sialang</i>	‘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

Verb class	Token frequencies		Type frequencies	
	<i>TER</i> -affixation #	%	Different verbs #	%
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%

Verb class	Token frequencies		Type frequencies	
	<i>-an</i> affixation		Different verbs	
	#	%	#	%
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<sup>152</sup>

Main criteria	Properties	Valency of 2 or 3	Valency of 1	
			dynamic	stative
Function	Adverbial modification	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Negation ( <i>tida</i> or <i>tra</i> )	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 <i>TER-</i> affixation	Most often	Less often	Less often
	Base for <i>-an</i> affixation	Most often	Less often	Less often
	Causative ( <i>kasi</i> )	Most often	Less often	Less often
	Reciprocal	Most often	Less often	No
	Valency >1	Yes	No	No
	Causative ( <i>biking</i> )	Less often	No	Most often
Function	ATTR uses (via juxtaposition)	Less often	No	Most often
	Intensification ( <i>skali</i> )	Less often	No	Most often
	Intensification ( <i>terlalu</i> )	Less often	No	Most often
	Grading ( <i>lebi</i> )	Less often	No	Most often
	Grading ( <i>paling</i> )	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

<sup>152</sup> 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
<i>blum</i>	‘not yet’	X	
<i>masi</i>	‘still’	X	
<i>suda</i>	‘already’	X	
<i>ada</i>	‘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** bangun tidur  
 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 depan  
 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.<sup>153</sup>

Table 21: Frequency adverbs and their positions within the clause

Item	Gloss	Position within the clause	
		PRE-PRED	POST-PRED
<i>biasanya</i> <sup>154</sup>	‘usually’	X	
<i>perna</i>	‘ever, once’	X	
<i>jarang</i>	‘rarely’	X	
<i>kadang(-kadang)</i>	‘sometimes’	X	
<i>slalu</i>	‘always’	X	
<i>sring</i>	‘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]

<sup>153</sup> 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.

<sup>154</sup> 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
<i>yo</i>	‘yes’	X	
<i>bukang</i>	‘NEG, no’	X	
<i>tida/tra</i>	‘NEG, no’	X	
<i>jangan</i>	‘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 *jangan* ‘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 *jangan* ‘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 **jangan** 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				
<i>kata-nya</i>	‘word-3POSSR’	‘it’s being said’	X	
<i>kira~kira</i>	‘RDP-think’	‘probably’	X	
<i>memang</i>		‘indeed’	X	
<i>misal-nya</i>	‘example-3POSSR’	‘for example’	X	
<i>mungking</i>		‘maybe’	X	
<i>pasti</i>		‘certain’	X	
<i>pokok-nya</i>	‘main-3POSSR’	‘the main thing is’	X	
<i>sebenar-nya</i>	‘one:be.true-3POSSR’	‘actually’	X	
<i>sperti-nya</i>	‘similar.to-3POSSR’	‘it seems’	X	
<i>arti-nya</i>	‘meaning-3POSSR’	‘that means’	X	
<i>maksud-nya</i>	‘purpose-3POSSR’	‘that is to say’	X	
Evaluative adverbs				
<i>akhir-nya</i>	‘end-3POSSR’	‘finally’	X	
<i>coba</i>	‘try’	‘if only’	X	
<i>harus-nya</i>	‘have.to-3POSSR’	‘appropriately’	X	
<i>muda~muda-an</i>	‘RDP~be.easy-PAT’	‘hopefully’	X	
<i>taw~taw</i>	‘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 *akhirnya* ‘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) **akhirnya** 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 *maksudnya* ‘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.<sup>155</sup>

Table 24: Temporal adverbs and their positions within the clause

Item	Gloss	Position within the clause	
		PRE-PRED	POST-PRED
<i>dulu</i>	‘in the past, first’	X	X
<i>lama~lama</i>	‘gradually’	X	X
<i>langsung</i>	‘immediately’	X	X
<i>nanti</i>	‘very soon’	X	X
<i>sebentar</i>	‘in/for a moment’	X	X
<i>skarang</i>	‘now’	X	X
<i>tadi</i>	‘earlier’	X	X
<i>baru</i>	‘recently’	X	
<i>baru~baru</i>	‘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 berangkat **nanti** bapa kas tau  
 very.soon father want leave very.soon father give know

<sup>155</sup> 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
<i>apalagi</i>	‘moreover’	X	

Item	Gloss	Position within the clause	
		PRE-PRED	POST-PRED
<i>kecuali</i>	‘except’	X	
<i>kususnya</i> <sup>156</sup>	‘especially’	X	
<i>cuma</i>	‘just’	X	
<i>hanya</i>	‘only’	X	
<i>justru</i>	‘precisely’	X	
<i>mala</i>	‘instead’	X	
<i>pas</i>	‘precisely’	X	
<i>juga</i>	‘also’	X	X
<i>lagi</i>	‘again, also’		X
<i>saja</i>	‘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]

<sup>156</sup> 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			
<i>lebi</i>	‘more’	X	
<i>paling</i>	‘most’	X	
<i>terlalu</i>	‘too’	X	
<i>skali</i>	‘very’		X
Diminishers/downtoners			
<i>agak</i>	‘rather’	X	
<i>hampir</i>	‘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).<sup>157</sup> 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]

<sup>157</sup> 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	<i>saya</i>	<i>sa</i>
2SG	<i>ko</i>	---
3SG	<i>dia</i>	<i>de</i>
1PL	<i>kitong</i>	<i>tong</i>
1PL	<i>kita</i>	<i>ta</i>
1PL	<i>kitorang</i>	<i>torang</i>
2PL	<i>kamu</i>	<i>kam</i>
2PL	<i>kamorang</i>	---
3PL	<i>dorang</i>	<i>dong</i>

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 murid 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 tau 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 not 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 tau 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** mungkin 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 phrase 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).<sup>158</sup> 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<sup>159</sup>

Item	Gloss	Functions within the clause			
		PRONOM	ADNOM	PRED	PL-HOLD
<i>siapa</i>	‘who’	X	X	X	X
<i>apa</i>	‘what’	X	X	X	X
<i>mana</i>	‘where, which’	X	X	X	

<sup>158</sup> For a discussion of other types of questions see §13.2.

<sup>159</sup> Abbreviations: PRONOM = pronominal, ADNOM = adnominal, PRED = predicative, PL-HOLD = placeholder.

Item	Gloss	Functions within the clause			
		PRONOM	ADNOM	PRED	PL-HOLD
<i>brapa</i>	‘how many’		X	X	
<i>bagemana</i>	‘how’	X		X	X
<i>kapang</i>	‘when’	X			
<i>knapa</i>	‘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 convey are discussed in detail in the following sections.

Table 30: Predicatively used interrogatives and their positions within the clause<sup>160</sup>

Item	Gloss	Position within the clause		
		CL-INITIAL	CL-FINAL	PRE-PRED
<i>siapa</i>	‘who’	X	X	
<i>apa</i>	‘what’	X	X	
<i>mana</i>	‘where, which’	X	X	
<i>brapa</i>	‘how many’		X	
<i>bagemana</i>	‘how’	X	X	
<i>kapang</i>	‘when’	X	X	X
<i>knapa</i>	‘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

<sup>160</sup> 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 siapa? ini siapa?  
 D.PROX what D.PROX what  
 ‘who is this? who is this?’ [080916-001-CvNP.0006]
- (239) ——— —\—  
 siapa 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 sago 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) sabun mandi di **mana**?  
 soap bathe at where  
 ‘**where** is (our) soap?’ [081025-006-Cv.0026]
- (257) di **mana** sabun mandi?  
 at where soap bathe  
 ‘**where** is (our) soap?’ [Elicited MY131112.006]
- (258) Nofi, Ø **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 sekarang ada **brapa**, masi ada **brapa daera**  
 so now exist how.many still exist how.many area  
 yang blum tau 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 tau 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 bangun 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<sup>161</sup>

#	Numbers	#	Numbers
1	<i>satu</i>	100	<i>sratus</i> one:hundred
2	<i>dua</i>	102	<i>sratus dua</i> one:hundred two
3	<i>tiga</i>	200	<i>dua ratus</i> two hundred
4	<i>empat</i>	234	<i>dua ratus tiga pulu empat</i> two hundred three tens four
5	<i>lima</i>	1.000	<i>sribu</i> one:thousand
6	<i>enam</i>	1.004	<i>sribu empat</i> one:thousand four
7	<i>tuju</i>	2.000	<i>dua ribu</i> two thousand
8	<i>dlapang</i>	2.013	<i>dua ribu tiga blas</i> two thousand three teens
9	<i>sembilang</i>	10.000	<i>spulu ribu</i> one:tens thousand
10	<i>spulu</i> one:tens	32.000	<i>tiga pulu dua ribu</i> three tens two thousand
11	<i>seblas</i> one:teens	980.000	<i>sembilang ratus dlapang pulu ribu</i> nine hundreds eight tens seven
12	<i>dua blas</i> two teens	1.000.000	<i>satu juta</i> one million

<sup>161</sup> The numerals *sratus* ‘one hundred’ and *sribu* ‘one thousand’ are historically derived by non-productive affixation with the prefix *s(e)-*.

#	Numbers	#	Numbers
20	<i>dua puluh</i> two tens	1.000.000.000	<i>satu milyar</i> one billion
21	<i>dua puluh satu</i> two tens one	zero	<i>kosong</i> be empty
30	<i>tiga puluh</i> 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
<i>tamba</i> add	+	‘plus’
<i>kurang</i> lack	–	‘minus’
<i>kali</i> time	x	‘times’
<i>bagi</i> 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 angka 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** turun  
 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.<sup>162</sup>

Table 33: Papuan Malay quantifiers<sup>163</sup>

Universal quantifiers	
<i>smua</i>	'all'
<i>segala</i>	'all'
<i>masing-masing</i>	'each'
<i>(se)tiap</i>	'every'
<i>sembarang</i>	'any'
Mid-range quantifiers	
<i>banyak</i>	'many'
<i>sedikit</i>	'few, a little'
<i>stenga</i>	'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.)

<sup>162</sup> Following Gil (2011: 1), the expression *sembarang* 'any' is a "free-choice universal quantifier".

<sup>163</sup> 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<sup>164</sup>

		Pre-head position	Post-head position
(311)	a.	Count N <b>smua</b> masala all problem 'all problems'	pemuda <b>smua</b> youth all 'all of the young people'
	b.	Mass N	gula <b>smua</b> sugar all 'all (of the) sugar'
(312)	a.	Count N <b>banyak</b> orang many person 'many people'	orang <b>banyak</b> person many 'many people'
	b.	Mass N	te <b>banyak</b> tea many 'lots of tea'
(313)	a.	Count N <b>sedikit</b> orang few person 'few people'	kladi <b>sedikit</b> taro.root few 'few taro roots'
	b.	Mass N	air <b>sedikit</b> water little 'little water'
(314)		Count N <b>masing-masing</b> trek each truck 'each truck'	trek <b>masing-masing</b> truck each 'each truck'
(315)		Count N <b>segala</b> macang all variety 'everything, whatever'	
(316)		Count N <b>sembarang</b> orang any person 'any person, anybody'	
(317)		Count N <b>setiap</b> lagu every song 'every song'	
(318)		Count N <b>stenga</b> 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

<sup>164</sup> 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, quantifiers 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<sup>165</sup>

1. Prepositions encoding location in space and time (§10.1)		
Preposition	Gloss	Semantic relations
<i>di</i>	‘at, in’	static location
<i>ke</i>	‘to’	movement towards a referent
<i>dari</i>	‘from’	movement from a source location
<i>sampe</i> <sup>166</sup>	‘until’	movement toward a non-spatial temporal endpoint
2. Prepositions encoding accompaniment/instruments, goals, and benefaction (§10.2)		
Preposition	Gloss	Semantic relations
<i>deng(an)</i>	‘with’	accompaniment
<i>sama</i>	‘to’	goal
<i>untuk</i>	‘for’	benefaction
<i>buat</i>	‘for’	benefaction

<sup>165</sup> 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. Similitive *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.

<sup>166</sup> 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
<i>sperti</i>	‘similar to’	similarity
<i>kaya</i>	‘like’	similarity
<i>sebagey</i>	‘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’, simulative *sperti* ‘similar to’ and simulative *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
<i>dang</i>	‘and’	Addition
<i>dengang</i>	‘with’	Addition
<i>sama</i>	‘to’	Addition
2. Conjunctions marking alternative (§14.2.2)		
Conjunction	Gloss	Semantic relations
<i>ato</i>	‘or’	Alternative
<i>ka</i>	‘or’	Alternative
3. Conjunctions marking time and/or condition (§14.2.3)		
Conjunction	Gloss	Semantic relations
<i>trus</i>	‘next’	Sequence (neutral)
<i>baru</i>	‘and then’	Sequence (contrastive)
<i>sampe</i>	‘until’	Anteriority
<i>seblum</i>	‘before’	Anteriority
<i>kalo</i>	‘if, when’	Posteriority / Condition
4. Conjunctions marking consequence (§14.2.4)		
Conjunction	Gloss	Semantic relations
<i>jadi</i>	‘so, when’	Result / Cause
<i>supaya</i>	‘so that’	Purpose
<i>untuk</i>	‘for’	Purpose
<i>sampe</i>	‘with the result that’	Result
<i>karna</i>	‘because’	Cause (neutral)
<i>gara-gara</i>	‘because’	Cause (emotive)
5. Conjunctions marking contrast (§14.2.5)		
Conjunction	Gloss	Semantic relations
<i>tapi</i>	‘but’	Contrast
<i>habis</i>	‘after all’	Contrast
<i>baru</i>	‘after all’	Contrast
<i>padahal</i>	‘but actually’	Contrast
<i>biar</i>	‘although’	Concession
6. Conjunctions marking similarity (§14.2.6)		
Conjunction	Gloss	Semantic relations
<i>sperti</i>	‘similar to’	Similarity (partial)
<i>kaya</i>	‘like’	Similarity (overall)

I. Conjunctions combining same-type constituents (§14.2)		
II. Conjunctions combining different-type constituents (§14.3)		
Conjunction	Gloss	Syntactic function
<i>bahwa</i>	‘that’	Complementizer
<i>yang</i>	‘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),<sup>167</sup> 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) seantar 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]

<sup>167</sup> 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 mungkin ...  
 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 ...
<i>a</i>	‘ah!, oh boy!, ugh!’	to express emotions ranging from contentment to acute discomfort or annoyance
<i>adu</i>	‘ouch!, oh no!’	to express pain or disappointed surprise
<i>ale</i>	‘wow!’	to express surprise or to attract attention
<i>ay</i>	‘aah!, aw!’	to express surprise or affection
<i>ba</i>	‘humph!’	to express disgust or denigration
<i>ceh</i>	‘shoo!’	to chase something away
<i>e</i>	‘ha!, hey!, eh?’	to express emphasis or astonishment or to attract attention
<i>ha</i>	‘huh?’	to express surprise, disbelief, or confusion
<i>hm</i>	‘pfft’	to express sarcasm or disagreement
<i>hura</i>	‘hooray!’	to express joy, approval, or encouragement
<i>i</i>	‘ugh!, oh no!, oh!’	to express disgust, irritation or disappointed surprise
<i>iss</i>	‘stop!’	to stop someone/-thing or to attract attention
<i>mpfff</i>	‘ugh!’	to express displeasure, or incredulity
<i>na</i>	‘well’	to introduce a comment or statement, or to resume a conversation
<i>o</i>	‘oh!’	to express surprise
<i>oke</i>	‘OK’	to express agreement

Item	Gloss	Semantics: Interjection used ...
<i>prrrt</i>	‘pfft!’	to express sarcasm or disagreement
<i>sio</i>	‘alas!’	to express sorrow or pity
<i>sss</i>	‘pfft!’	to express sarcasm or disagreement
<i>ssshht</i>	‘shhh!’	to silence someone
<i>tsk-tsk</i>	‘tsk-tsk’	to express disapproval
<i>uy</i>	‘o boy!’	to express surprise or to attract attention
<i>wa</i>	‘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
<i>bahaya</i>	‘great!’	‘be dangerous’	Sanskrit
<i>damay</i>	‘my goodness’	‘peace’	
<i>mama</i>	‘oh boy!’	‘mother’	Dutch
<i>sialang</i>	‘damn it!’	‘bad luck’	
<i>sunggu</i>	‘good grief!’	‘be true’	
<i>tobat</i>	‘go to hell’	‘repent’	Arabic
<i>tolong</i>	‘please!’	‘help’	
<i>amin</i>	‘amen’		Arabic

Item	Gloss	Basic meaning	Source language
<i>ayo</i>	‘come on!’		
<i>da</i>	‘goodbye’		Dutch
<i>enta</i>	‘who knows’		
<i>haleluya</i>	‘hallelujah’		Hebrew via Dutch
<i>halow</i>	‘hello’		Dutch
<i>shalom</i>	‘peace be with you!’		Hebrew via Dutch
<i>sori</i>	‘excuse me!’		English
<i>sip</i>	‘that’s fine!’		English
<i>trima-kasi</i>	‘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* ‘foo’ 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
<i>cekkk</i>	Sound of a heavy blow
<i>dederet</i>	Sound of a drum
<i>fuuu</i>	Sound of blowing air
<i>kkkhkh</i>	Sound of an object falling or collapsing with a dull or heavy sound
<i>mmmuat</i>	Sound of kissing

Item	Semantics
<i>ngying-ngyaung</i>	Sound of a cockatoo calling
<i>pak, tak, tang, wreek</i>	Sound of banging, of a punch to the jaw, or of colliding bodies, slamming objects
<i>piiip</i>	Sound of blowing a horn
<i>shhht</i>	Sound of an object moving through air or water
<i>srrrt</i>	Sound of pulling, tearing or cutting
<i>ssst</i>	Sound of vomiting
<i>tak</i>	Sound of knocking
<i>tpf</i>	Sound of spitting out a mouthful of liquid
<i>trrrt</i>	Sound of running feet
<i>wruaw</i>	Sound of heavy breathing or suffocation
<i>wuuu</i>	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
<i>bapa</i> <i>mama</i> <i>orang-tua</i> <i>ana</i>	‘father’ ‘mother’ ‘parent’ ‘child’	F M P C	father mother parent child
<i>kaka</i> <i>ade</i>	‘older sibling’ ‘younger sibling’	oSb PoSbC ySb PySbC	older sibling parent’s older sibling’s child younger sibling parent’s younger sibling’s child
<i>bapa-tua</i> <i>bapa-ade</i> <i>om</i>	‘uncle’ ‘uncle’ ‘uncle’	PoB FyB MyB	parent’s older brother father’s younger brother mother’s younger brother
<i>mama-tua</i> <i>mama-ade</i> <i>tanta</i>	‘aunt’ ‘aunt’ ‘aunt’	PoZ MyZ FyZ	parent’s older sister mother’s younger sister father’s younger sister
<i>tete</i> <i>nene</i> <i>cucu</i>	‘grandfather’ ‘grandmother’ ‘grandchild’	PF PPB PM PPZ CC	parent’s father parent’s parent’s brother parent’s mother parent’s parent’s sister 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
<i>paytua</i> <i>maytua</i>	'husband' 'wife'	H W	husband wife
<i>mantu</i>	'parent/child in-law'	SpP CSp	spouse's parents child's spouse
<i>ipar</i>	'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
<i>bapa-tua</i> <i>bapa-ade</i> <i>om</i>	'uncle' 'uncle' 'uncle'	PoZH MyZH FyZH	parent's older sister's husband mother's younger sister's husband father's younger sister's husband
<i>mama-tua</i> <i>mama-ade</i> <i>tanta</i>	'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			>/<	NOUN		
	Gloss		#		Gloss		#
<i>gambar</i>	‘draw’	V.BI	21	>	‘drawing’	RES	2
<i>jalang</i>	‘walk’	V.MO	398	>	‘road’	LOC	71
<i>dayung</i>	‘paddle’	V.BI	3	>	‘paddle’	INS	8
<i>jubi</i>	‘bow shoot’	V.BI	20	>	‘bow and arrow’	INS	14
<i>musu</i>	‘hate’	V.BI	3	>	‘enemy’	PAT	7
<i>jualang</i>	‘sell’	V.BI	7	<	‘merchandise’	PAT	1
<i>latiang</i>	‘practice’	V.BI	12	<	‘practice’	PAT	5
<i>pencuri</i>	‘steal (EMPH)’	V.BI	5	<	‘thief’	AGT	7
<i>pamalas</i>	‘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			>	Derived form: ADV	
	Gloss		#		Gloss	#
<i>baru</i>	‘be new’	V.MO	24	>	‘recently’	66
<i>coba</i>	‘try’	V.BI	36	>	‘if only’	14
<i>dulu</i>	‘be prior’	V.MO	63	>	‘in the past, first’	286

Item	Source form: VERB			>	Derived form: ADV	
	Gloss		#		Gloss	#
<i>pas</i>	‘be exact’	V.MO	26	>	‘precisely’	110
<i>skarang</i>	‘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 conjunctive 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

Item	Source form: VERB			>	Derived form: CNJ	
	Gloss		#		Gloss	#
<i>biar</i>	‘be permitted’	V.MO	67	>	‘although’	39
<i>coba</i>	‘try’	V.BI	36	>	‘if only’	14
<i>habis</i>	‘be used up’	V.MO	48	>	‘after all’	21
<i>sampe</i>	‘reach’	V.BI	251	>	‘until’	257
<i>baru</i>	‘be new’	V.MO	24	>	‘and then, after all’	986
<i>jadi</i>	‘become’	V.BI	173	>	‘so, since’	1,213
<i>trus</i>	‘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.
- Similitive *sperti* ‘similar to’ and *kaya* ‘like’ also functions as conjunctions that introduce similitive 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 not occur in these constructions; and (c) can be stacked.