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6. Personal pronouns

This chapter describes the personal pronoun system in Papuan Malay. As “inherent referential and definite expressions”, personal pronouns (henceforth ‘pronouns’) “are a class of linguistic signs that are used to refer to human individuals and inanimate entities” (Helmbrecht 2004: 26, 49). In this function, they denote “speech-act participants (first and second persons) and non-speech-act participants” (Bhat 2007: 26).

The Papuan Malay pronouns express person and number values, while they mark neither case, clusivity, gender, nor politeness. They have the following distributional properties:

1. Substitution for noun phrases (pronominal uses) (§6.1).
2. Modification with demonstratives, locatives, numerals, quantifiers, and/or relative clauses (pronominal uses) (§6.1).
3. Co-occurrence with noun phrases (adnominal uses): NP PRO (§6.2).

The Papuan Malay pronoun system, presented in Table 1, distinguishes singular and plural numbers and three persons by “combining person and number in an unanalyzable person-number stem” (Daniel 2011: 3). Hence, in terms of Daniel’s (2011: 3) typology of personal pronouns, Papuan Malay is a ‘Type 4’ language.

The pronoun system does not mark case (Bhat 2011), clusivity (Filimonova 2005), gender (Siewierska 2011), or politeness (Helmbrecht 2011). Also, the third person pronouns are unrelated to the demonstratives *ini* ‘D.PROX’ and *itu* ‘D.DIST’ (Bhat 2011).

Table 1: Pronoun system with long and short forms and token frequencies

		Long pronoun forms		Short pronoun forms			Total
		#	%	#	%	#	
1SG	<i>saya</i>	1,014	23%	<i>sa</i>	3,465	<u>77%</u>	4,479
2SG	---	---	---	<i>ko</i>	1,338	100%	1,338
3SG	<i>dia</i>	1,285	28%	<i>de</i>	3,347	<u>72%</u>	4,632
1PL	<i>kitong</i>	604	50%	<i>tong</i>	594	50%	1,198
1PL	<i>kita</i>	391	<u>95%</u>	<i>ta</i>	11	5%	402
1PL	<i>kitorang</i>	112	<u>77%</u>	<i>torang</i>	34	23%	146
2PL	<i>kamu</i>	337	<u>53%</u>	<i>kam</i>	300	47%	637
3PL	<i>dorang</i>	464	23%	<i>dong</i>	1,526	<u>77%</u>	1,990

Each pronoun has at least one long and one short form, except for the second person singular pronoun *ko* ‘2SG’. The token frequencies and percentages given in Table 1 indicate clear preferences for most of the pronoun forms (the percentages for the most frequent forms are underlined). As for the first person singular and the third person singular pronouns, the short forms are used much more often than the respective long forms. By contrast, for the first and second person plural pronouns, the long forms are used more frequently than the respective short forms, that is, for the first person plural a total of 1,107 long form tokens (63%) versus a total of 639 short form tokens (37%) and for the second person plural a total of 337 long form

tokens (53%) versus a total of 300 short form tokens (47%).¹⁶⁸ These distributional distinctions are not grammatically determined. Instead they represent speaker preferences which are discussed in more detail in the following two sections.¹⁶⁹

Papuan Malay pronouns very often co-occur with nouns or noun phrases, as shown in (1). This chapter argues that ‘PRO NP’ constructions in which a pronoun precedes a noun or noun phrase, as in *ko [sungay ko]* ‘you, [you river]’, constitute appositional constructions, with the pronouns having pronominal function. ‘NP PRO’ constructions in which the pronoun follows a noun or noun phrase, as in *sungay ko* ‘you river’, by contrast, are analyzed as noun phrases with adnominally used pronouns in post-head position. To demonstrate this distinction, appositional ‘PRO NP’ constructions and adnominal ‘NP PRO’ are discussed in some detail in §6.1.6 and §6.2, respectively.

- (1) ... tida perna dia liat, **ko sungay ko** bisa terbuka
 NEG once 3SG see 2SG river 2SG be.able be.opened
 begini
 like.this
 [Seeing the ocean for the first time:] ‘[never before has he seen, what, a river that is so very big like this ocean,] never before has he seen **you, you river** can be wide like this?’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0212-0213]¹⁷⁰

The following sections discuss the pronouns in more detail. Their pronominal uses are examined in §6.1, and their adnominal uses in §6.2. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §6.3.

6.1. Pronominal uses

This section explores three major aspects with respect to the pronominal uses of the pronouns: (1) the distribution of the long and short pronoun forms within the clause (§6.1.1), (2) their modification (§6.1.2), and (3) their uses in different constructions, namely adnominal possessive constructions (§6.1.3), inclusory conjunction constructions (§6.1.4), summary conjunction constructions (§6.1.5), and appositional constructions (§6.1.6).

¹⁶⁸ First person plural: Alternatively, one could treat long *kitong* ‘1PL’ and *kitorang* ‘1PL’ and short *tong* ‘1PL’ and *torang* ‘1PL’ are not distinct forms but allomorphs. As for short *ta* ‘1PL’, one could argue that, given its low token numbers, this is not a phonologically distinct form but the result of a phonetic deletion of the first syllable. (Tadmor, p.c. 2013)
 Second person plural: In addition, the corpus contains one token of an alternative long form, namely *kamorang* ‘2PL’. Its origins are yet to be established.

¹⁶⁹ A topic for further investigation is whether these distributional distinctions are possibly phonologically determined.

¹⁷⁰ Addressing a non-speech-act participant such as *sungay* ‘river’ with second person *ko* ‘2SG’ serves as a rhetorical figure of speech (for details see ‘‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases as rhetorical figures of speech (“apostrophes”)’ in §6.2.1.1).

6.1.1. Distribution of pronouns within the clause

Regarding the distribution of the long and short pronoun forms within the clause, two topics are examined in more detail: (1) the syntactic slots that the pronouns take (§6.1.1.1), and (2) their positions within the clause (§6.1.1.2).

6.1.1.1. Pronouns in different syntactic slots

Both the long and the short pronoun forms occur in all syntactic positions within the clause, as shown in Table 2 to Table 4 (in the examples the respective pronouns are underlined for easier recognition).¹⁷¹ All long pronoun forms can take the subject, direct object, and indirect object slots. Likewise, all short pronoun forms can take the subject slot. As for the direct object slot, however, speakers much more often employ the long rather than the short forms, with the result that not all short pronoun forms are attested. This distinction in distribution is even more pronounced for the indirect object slot: the long pronoun forms take this slot considerably more often than the short forms. These preferences interrelate with the distributional pattern of the pronouns within the clause, as discussed in detail in §6.1.1.2.

Table 2 illustrates the uses of the pronouns in the subject slot.

Table 2: Pronouns in the subject slot¹⁷²

Example	Literal translation	Free translation
Long pronoun forms		
<u>saya</u> tidur	1SG sleep	' <u>I</u> slept'
<u>ko</u> ana mama	2SG child mother	' <u>you</u> 're mama's child'
<u>dia</u> tertawa	3SG laugh	' <u>he</u> laughed'
<u>kitorang</u> bunu dorang	1PL kill 3PL	' <u>we</u> killed them'
<u>kitong</u> kembali dari sana	1PL return from L.DIST	' <u>we</u> returned from there'
<u>kita</u> jalang	1PL walk	' <u>we</u> walked'
<u>kamu</u> bisa blajar	2PL be.capable study	' <u>you</u> can study'
<u>dorang</u> mara	3PL feel.angry(.about)	' <u>they</u> felt angry'
Short pronoun forms		
<u>sa</u> bilang	1SG say	' <u>I</u> said'
<u>de</u> tertawa	3SG laugh	' <u>he</u> laughed'
<u>torang</u> berdoa	1PL pray	' <u>we</u> prayed'
<u>tong</u> jalang kaki	1PL walk foot	' <u>we</u> walked on foot'

¹⁷¹ The free translations in Table 2 to Table 4 are taken from the glossed recorded texts. Therefore, the tenses may vary; likewise, the translations for *dia/de* '3SG' vary.

¹⁷² Documentation: Long pronoun forms – 081006-025-CvEx.0006, 080917-003b-CvEx.0017, 080916-001-CvNP.0004, 081006-022-CvEx.0116, 080917-008-NP.0113, 080919-004-NP.0033, 081115-001a-Cv.0160, 081011-023-Cv.0296; short pronoun forms – 080916-001-CvNP.0001, 080916-001-CvNP.0004, 081029-005-Cv.0007, 080917-008-NP.0113, 080919-004-NP.0036, 081011-022-Cv.0242, 081015-005-NP.0039.

Example	Literal translation	Free translation
<i>ta potong babi</i>	1PL cut pig	' <u>we</u> cut up the pig'
<i>kam cari bapa</i>	2PL search father	' <u>you</u> 'll look for father'
<i>dong bilang</i>	3PL say	' <u>they</u> said'

Table 3 demonstrates the uses of the pronouns in the direct object slot. In this position only short *ta* '1PL' is unattested in the present corpus, due to the overall low token frequencies for *kita/ta* '1PL' (see Table 1; see also Footnote 168 on p. 304).

Table 3: Pronouns in the object slot¹⁷³

Example	Free translation
Long pronoun forms	
<i>dong pukul saya menangis</i> 3PL hit 1SG cry	'they hit <u>me</u> until I cried'
<i>nanti guru~guru cari ko</i> very.soon RDP~teacher search 2SG	'very soon the teachers will look for <u>you</u> '
<i>sa tanya dia begini</i> 1SG ask 3SG like.this	'I asked <u>him</u> like this'
<i>de bawa kitorang menyebrang</i> 3SG bring 1PL cross	'he brought <u>us</u> across'
<i>dia kasi kitong daging</i> 3SG give 1PL meat	'he gave <u>us</u> meat'
<i>dong suru kita begitu</i> 3PL order 1PL like.that	'they order <u>us</u> like that'
<i>sa masi tunggu kamu</i> 1SG still wait 2PL	'I still wait for <u>you</u> '
<i>sa memang titip dorang sama tante Defretes</i> 1SG indeed deposit 3PL to aunt Defretes	'indeed I left <u>them</u> with aunt Defretes'
Short pronoun forms	
<i>de pukul sa</i> 3SG hit 1SG	'he hit <u>me</u> '
<i>sa tanya de begini</i> 1SG ask 3SG like.this	'I asked <u>her</u> like this'
<i>bapa bawa torang ke Biak</i> father bring 1PL to Biak	'father brought <u>us</u> to Biak'

¹⁷³ Documentation: Long pronoun forms – 080917-004-CvHt.0001, 080917-007-CvHt.0005, 081025-006-Cv.0152, 081015-005-NP.0021, 080919-004-NP.0061, 081115-001a-Cv.0169, 081010-001-Cv.0161, 081006-009-Cv.0010; short pronoun forms – 081011-023-Cv.0167, 081014-016-Cv.0001, 081115-001a-Cv.0283, 080922-002-Cv.0127, 081025-009a-Cv.0026, 081006-009-Cv.0017.

Example	Free translation
<i>dong kasi <u>tong</u> playangang</i> 3PL give 1PL service	‘they’ll give <u>us</u> a service’
<i>sa tunggu <u>kam</u></i> 1SG wait(.for) 2PL	‘I’ll wait for <u>you</u> ’
<i>sa titip <u>dong</u> sama Defretes</i> 1SG deposit 3PL to Defretes	‘I left <u>them</u> with Defretes’

Table 4 shows the uses of the pronouns in the indirect object slot. In this position, three short forms are unattested, namely *de* ‘3SG’, *torang* ‘1PL’, and *ta* ‘1PL’; two short forms only occur with adnominal modifiers, namely *tong* ‘1PL’ and *kam* ‘2PL’.

Table 4: Pronouns in the indirect object slot¹⁷⁴

Example	Free translation
Long pronoun forms	
<i>de balik kepala <u>sama saya</u></i> 3SG turn.head to 1SG	‘she turned (her head) <u>to me</u> ’
<i>dong ofor <u>ke ko dulu</u></i> 3PL give to 2SG be.prior	‘they passed (the ball) <u>to you</u> first’
<i>bapa mo bicara <u>deng dia</u></i> father want speak with 3SG	‘I (‘father’) want to speak <u>with you</u> ’
<i>dong tra suka bergabung <u>deng kitorang</u></i> 3PL NEG enjoy gather.together with 1PL	‘they don’t like to hang out <u>with us</u> ’
<i>de ada duduk <u>deng kitong</u></i> 3SG exist sit with 1PL	‘she was sitting <u>with us</u> ’
<i>Raymon minta <u>sama kita</u></i> Raymon request to 1PL	‘Raymon asked (the bride-pride) <u>from us</u> ’
<i>sa tinggal <u>sama kamu</u></i> 1SG stay to 2PL	‘I stayed <u>with you</u> ’
<i>macang kitong musu <u>deng dorang</u></i> kind 2PL enemy with 3PL	‘(it was) like we were enemies <u>with them</u> ’
Short pronoun forms	
<i>de bilang <u>sama sa</u> <u>begini</u></i> 3SG say to 1SG like.this	‘he spoke <u>to me</u> like this’

¹⁷⁴ Documentation: Long pronoun forms – 081025-006-Cv.0043, 081109-001-Cv.0160, 080922-001a-CvPh.1209, 081014-015-Cv.0002, 081025-006-Cv.0240, 081006-024-CvEx.0021, 080919-006-CvNP.0014, 081025-009a-Cv.0157; short pronoun forms – 080917-008-NP.0163, 080925-003-Cv.0096, 080922-001a-CvPh.0339, 081109-001-Cv.0087.

Example	Free translation
<i>itu dari tong sendiri</i> D.DIST from 1PL be.alone	‘that depends <u>on us</u> alone’
... <i>yang telpon sama kam dua</i> ... REL phone to 2PL two	‘... who’ll phone both of <u>you</u> ’
<i>de ... ada mandi deng dong di itu</i> 3SG ... exist bathe with 3PL at D.DIST	‘she ... was bathing <u>with them</u> at what’s-its-name

6.1.1.2. Pronouns within the clause

Concerning the syntactic slots that the pronouns take, the distributional distinctions between the long and short pronoun forms interrelate with the distributional pattern of the pronouns within the clause.

The data in the present corpus show a clear preference for the ‘heavy’ long pronoun forms to occur in clause-final position, regardless of their grammatical functions. This preference does not apply to other positions. That is, in clause-initial or clause-internal position, the long and the short pronoun forms occur, regardless of their grammatical function and their position vis-à-vis the predicate. This observed distributional pattern is a reflection of the cross-linguistic tendency for the clause-final position to be “the preferred site for ‘heavy’ constituents” which has to do “with processing considerations” (Butler 2003: 179; see also Hawkins 1983: 88–114).

So far 710 clauses with clause-final pronoun have been identified in the present corpus. In 62 clauses, *ko* ‘2SG’ takes the clause-final position; given that for the second person singular pronoun only one form exists, it is excluded from further analysis. This leaves 648 clauses with clause-final pronoun. In almost all clauses, it is a long pronoun form that occurs in clause-final position (97% – 630/648), as shown in Table 5. Only rarely, a short pronoun form occurs in this position (3% – 18/648); two of the short forms are not attested at all in clause-final position, namely *de* ‘3SG’ and *kam* ‘2PL’.

Table 5: Pronouns in clause-final position

		Long pronoun forms		Short pronoun forms			Total
		#	%	#	%		#
1SG	<i>saya</i>	210	<u>97%</u>	<i>sa</i>	7	3%	217
3SG	<i>dia</i>	236	<u>99%</u>	<i>de</i>	2	1%	238
1PL	<i>kitorang</i>	18	<u>82%</u>	<i>torang</i>	4	18%	22
1PL	<i>kitong</i>	15	<u>100%</u>	<i>tong</i>	0	0%	15
1PL	<i>kita</i>	7	<u>100%</u>	<i>ta</i>	0	0%	14
2PL	<i>kamu</i>	49	<u>98%</u>	<i>kam</i>	1	2%	50
3PL	<i>dorang</i>	95	<u>96%</u>	<i>dong</i>	4	4%	99
Total		630	<u>97%</u>		18	3%	648

Long pronoun forms		Short pronoun forms		Total
	#	%	#	%
2SG	<i>ko</i>			62
Total				710

This tendency for the clause-final position to be the preferred site for the ‘heavy’ long pronoun forms, affects the choice of pronoun form for the direct and indirect object slots, as shown in (2) to (8).

Illustrations are given in (2) to (8). When the direct object occurs in clause-internal position, both the long and the short pronoun forms are used such as long *dia* ‘3SG’ in (2) or short *dong* ‘3PL’ in (3). When the direct object occurs in clause-final position, speakers typically take the long pronoun form such as *saya* ‘1SG’ in (4). Only rarely do speakers employ a short pronoun form in clause-final position, such as *sa* ‘1SG’ in (65). For pronouns in the indirect object slot these distributional preferences are even more pronounced. When the indirect object occurs in clause-internal position, the long and the short pronoun forms are used such as long *dorang* ‘3PL’ in (6) or short *sa* ‘1SG’ in (7). By contrast, in clause-final position only the long pronoun forms are used such as *dia* ‘3SG’ in (8).

- (2) sa su pukul **dia** di kamar
1SG already hit 3SG at room
‘I’ve already hit **her** in (her) room’ [081115-001a-Cv.0271]
- (3) kaka kirim **dong** uang
oSb send 2PL money
‘the older sibling sent **them** money’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0860]
- (4) baru de taru kepala dekat **saya**
and.then 3SG put head near 1SG
‘and then she put her head close to **me**’ [081025-006-Cv.0043]
- (5) dulu bole bapa gendong **sa** skarang ...
be.prior may father hold 1SG now
[Talking to her father:] ‘in former times you (‘father’) were allowed to hold **me**, now ...’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0699]
- (6) kasiang sa kapang mandi **deng dorang** lagi e?
pity 1SG when bathe with 3PL again eh
[About a sick boy:] ‘what a pity, when will I go swimming **with them** (‘my friends’) again, eh?’ [081025-009b-Cv.0044]
- (7) de bilang **sama sa** begini, ...
3SG say to 1SG like.this
‘he said **to me** like this, ...’ [080917-008-NP.0163]

- (8) ... besar **di dia**, jadi saya panggil Ida tu mama
 be.big at 3SG so 1SG call Ida D.DIST mother
 ‘[I grew up in Ida’s and her husband’s (home) ...] (I) grew up at **hers**, so I
 call Ida there mother’ [080927-007-CvNP.0017/0019]

6.1.2. Modification of pronouns

Pronouns are readily modified with a number of different constituents, namely demonstratives, locatives, numerals, quantifiers, prepositional phrases, and/or relative clauses, as illustrated with the examples in (9) to (17).

Proximal demonstrative *ini* ‘D.PROX’ modifies long *saya* ‘1SG’ in (9), while distal *itu* ‘D.DIST’ modifies *ko* ‘2SG’ in (10). In both examples, the demonstratives signal the speakers’ psychological involvement with the events talked about. In (11), distal locative *sana* ‘L.DIST’ modifies short *dong* ‘3SG’, designating the referent’s location relative to that of the speaker. In the present corpus, pronouns are quite often modified with demonstratives, while modification with locatives is rare. (For details on demonstratives and locatives and their different functions see Chapter 7.)

Modification of pronouns with demonstratives or locatives

- (9) jadi **saya ini** ana mas-kawin
 so 1SG D.PROX child bride.price
 ‘so **I (EMPH)** am a bride-price child’ [081006-028-CvEx.0016]
- (10) a, ko ke laut dulu, dong ada tunggu **ko itu**
 ah! 2SG to ocean prior 3PL exist wait 2SG D.DIST
 ‘ah, you (go down) to the ocean first, they are waiting for **you (EMPH)!**’
 [081015-003-Cv.0003]
- (11) **dong sana** cari anging
 3PL L.DIST search wind
 ‘**they over there** are looking for a breeze’ [081025-009b-Cv.0076]

Modification with numerals typically involves the numeral *dua* ‘two’, as with short *tong* ‘1PL’ in (12), but construction with *tiga* ‘three’ are also found. In the present corpus, modification with quantifiers is limited to universal *smua* ‘all’ and mid-range *brapa* ‘how many’, as shown with long *kamu* ‘2PL’ in (13) and long *dorang* ‘3PL’ in (14), respectively. Modification with other quantifiers is also possible, though, as shown with midrange *banyak* ‘many’ in the elicited example in (15). (See also §8.3 on adnominal numerals and quantifiers and §5.10 on the quantifier uses of interrogative *brapa* ‘how many’.)

Modification of pronouns with numerals or quantifiers

- (12) **tong dua** mandi, pas Nofita de datang
 1PL two bathe be.exact Nofita 3SG come
 ‘**the two of us** were bathing, at that moment Nofita came’ [081025-006-Cv.0328]

- (13) saya liat **kamu semua** tapi kamu ...
 1SG see 2PL all but 2PL
 ‘I see **all of you** but you ...’ [080921-006-CvNP.0006]
- (14) sa maki **dorang brapa itu**
 1SG abuse.verbally 3PL how.many D.DIST
 ‘I verbally abused **several of them there**’ (Lit. ‘**they how many there**’)
 [080923-008-Cv.0012]
- (15) sa maki **dorang banyak itu**
 1SG abuse.verbally 3PL many D.DIST
 ‘I verbally abused **many of them there**’ [Elicited BR111021.024]

Pronouns can also be modified with prepositional phrases as illustrated with ***dong*** ‘3PL’ in (16), or with relative clauses as shown with short ***sa*** ‘1SG’ in (17).

Modification of pronouns with prepositional phrases or relative clauses

- (16) tapi **dong di sana tu** tida tau pencuri
 but 3PL at L.DIST D.DIST NEG know steal/thief
 ‘but **them over there (EMPH)** never steal’ (Lit. ‘don’t know to steal’)
 [081011-022-Cv.0293]
- (17) waktu de kawin mas-kawin itu **sa yang ambil**
 when 3SG marry.unofficially bride.price that 1SG REL get
 ‘when she marries, that bride-price, (it’s) **me who’ll get (it)**’ [081006-025-CvEx.0024]

6.1.3. Personal pronouns in adnominal possessive constructions

Pronouns also occur in adnominal possessive constructions; overall, the short forms are preferred over the long forms, as shown in Table 6.

The present corpus contains a total of 1,692 adnominal possessive constructions. In 160 constructions, ***ko*** ‘2SG’ takes the possessor slot; again, it is excluded from further analysis given that it has only one form. This leaves 1,532 adnominal possessive constructions. In 1,097 constructions the possessor slot is filled with a short pronoun (72%) as compared to only 435 constructions (28%) in which a long pronoun takes the possessor slot. The exception is first person plural ***kitong/tong*** ‘1PL’: speakers employ long ***kitong*** ‘1PL’ almost as often as short ***tong*** ‘1PL’.

Table 6: Pronominally used pronouns in adnominal possessive constructions

Long pronoun forms		Short pronoun forms		Total			
	#	%	#	%	#		
1SG	<i>saya</i>	83	16%	<i>sa</i>	422	84%	505
3SG	<i>dia</i>	106	17%	<i>de</i>	508	83%	614
1PL	<i>kitorang</i>	9	90%	<i>torang</i>	1	10%	10
1PL	<i>kitong</i>	40	49%	<i>tong</i>	42	51%	82
1PL	<i>kita</i>	17	93%	<i>ta</i>	1	7%	29
2PL	<i>kamu</i>	12	27%	<i>kam</i>	32	73%	44
3PL	<i>dorang</i>	8	8%	<i>dong</i>	91	92%	99
Total		435	28%		1,097	72%	1,532
2SG	<i>ko</i>						160
Total							1,692

In (18), one possessive construction is presented in context with long *dia* ‘3SG’ taking the possessor slot in (18). (For a detailed discussion of adnominal possessive constructions see Chapter 9.)

- (18) nanti **dia** **pu** **maytua** tanya, ko dapat ikang di mana
 later 3SG POSS wife ask 2SG get fish at where
 ‘later **his wife** will ask, ‘where did you get the fish?’’ [080919-004-NP.0062]

6.1.4. Personal pronouns in inclusory conjunction constructions

Papuan Malay also employs plural personal pronouns in inclusory conjunction constructions, such that ‘PRO-PL (*dua*) *deng(an)* NP’ or ‘PRO-PL (two) with NP’. The conjunct that designates the entire set is encoded by a plural personal pronoun. This conjunct is inclusory in that it “identifies a set of participants that includes the one or those referred to by the lexical noun phrase” (Lichtenberk 2000: 1), hence it is an “inclusory pronoun” (2000: 2) or “inclusory conjunct” (Haspelmath 2007a: 33). Both conjuncts are linked by means of overt coordination with the comitative marker *deng(an)* ‘with’, with the inclusory conjunct preceding the included conjunct, as shown in (19) to (22).

Typically, the inclusory conjunct is encoded by a dual construction formed with a plural personal pronoun and the adnominally used numeral *dua* ‘two’, such that ‘PRO-PL *dua*’. In (19), for instance, the speaker talks about herself and her husband. That is, the entire set consists of two referents with the inclusory conjunct *tong dua* ‘we two’ including the conjunct *bapa* ‘father’ in its reference. Only rarely is the inclusory conjunct encoded by a bare plural personal pronoun, as in (20). In this example, the entire set consists of the speaker, his wife, and their children, with the included conjunct *ana-ana* ‘children’ being subsumed under the inclusory conjunct *tong* ‘1PL’.

Plural and dual inclusory conjunction constructions

- (19) ... **tong dua deng bapa tu** sayang dia
 1PL two with father D.DIST love 3SG
 ‘[but this child] **I and (my) husband (EMPH)** love her’ [081115-001a-Cv.0251]
- (20) malam hari atur **tong deng ana~ana** makang
 night day arrange 1PL with RDP~child eat
 ‘in the evening (my wife) arranges (the food), **we and the children** eat’
 [080919-004-NP.0007]

All three plural personal pronouns can take the inclusory conjunct slot. Examples are presented in (21) to (22) with first and second plural *kitong* ‘1PL’ and *dong* ‘3SG’, respectively. Most often the participants are encoded by a proper noun as in (21), or, although less frequently, by a noun phrase as in (22), or also in (19).

Inclusory conjunction constructions formed with the first and third person plural pronouns

- (21) ... brarti ko balik **kitong dua deng Siduas** su
 mean 2SG turn.around 1PL two with Siduas already
 tida ada
 NEG exist
 ‘[(when I) get to there (to Sorong, but) you’re still on the island, wow,] that means (by the time) you’ve returned (to Sorong) **I and Siduas** will already have left’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0759]
- (22) **dong dua deng Natanael pu maytua** langsung
 3PL two with Natanael POSS wife immediately
 pake spit
 use speedboat
 ‘**he/she and Natanael’s wife** immediately took the speedboat’ [081014-008-CvNP.0006]

In addition, the present corpus contains two inclusory conjunction constructions, presented in (23) and (24), in which the inclusory conjuncts are used for joining two noun phrases. Following Haspelmath (2007a), such inclusory conjunction constructions have also been described for other languages, especially in Polynesia. More specifically, Haspelmath (2007a: 35) notes that in such a construction the “first conjunct precedes the inclusory pronoun, which is then followed by the other included conjunct(s) in the usual way”.

Inclusory conjunction constructions conjoining two noun phrases

- (23) **Dodo kam dua deng Waim** ceritrakang dulu
 Dodo 2PL two with Waim tell be.prior
 ‘**you (SG) Dodo and Waim** talk first’ [081011-001-Cv.0001]
- (24) **Tinus dorang dua deng** Martina **ini**, dong dua lari
 Tinus 3PL two with Martina D.PROX 3PL two run

trus, dorang dua lari sampe di kali
 be.continuous 3PL two run reach at river
 ‘**Tinus and Martina here**, the two of them drove on, the two of them
 drove all the way to the river’ [081015-005-NP.0011]

The inclusory conjunction constructions in (19) to (22) contrast with “comitative conjunction constructions” (Haspelmath 2007a: 33) with comitative *dengang* ‘with’, which denote additive relations (see also §14.2.1.2). They also contrast with ‘N PRO-PL’ noun phrases with an associative inclusory reading, discussed in §6.2.2.2. Both contrasts are illustrated with the examples in (25) and (26).

While the constructions in (19) to (22) receive an inclusory reading, the comitative ‘N1 *dengang* ‘with’ N2’ conjunction construction in (25) receives an additive reading. That is, in a comitative conjunction construction, the conjunction of “two set-denoting NPs [...] ‘{A, B} and {C, D}’ yields the set {A, B, C, D}” (Haspelmath 2007a: 33). In inclusory conjunction constructions, by contrast, “some members of the second conjunct set are already included in the first conjunct set”; hence the result of the coordination is not the “union, but the *unification* of the sets [such that] ‘{A, B, C} and {B}’ yields the set {A, B, C}” (2007a: 33).

Comitative ‘N1 *dengang* ‘with’ N2’ conjunction construction

- (25) baru siapa **Sarles dengang dong dua** turun
 and.then who Sarles with 3PL two descend
 bli ni
 buy D.PROX
 ‘and then who, **Sarles and the two of them** came down and bought this’
 [081022-003-Cv.0012]

The contrast between the constructions in (19) to (22) and the one in (26) is pragmatic, and concerns “the relative degrees of discourse salience of the two sets of participants, the overtly and the covertly encoded ones” (Lichtenberk 2000: 27). In (21) to (22), the covertly encoded participants subsumed under the adnominal dual constructions are more salient and therefore mentioned first. The overtly encoded participants, by contrast, are less salient and therefore mentioned second. In the ‘N PRO-PL’ noun phrase in (26), by contrast, the overtly encoded participant *bapa* ‘father’ is more salient and therefore mentioned first. The covertly encoded participants subsumed under the adnominal dual construction *dorang dua* ‘they two’ are less salient and of subordinate status.

‘N PRO-PL’ noun phrase with an associative reading

- (26) **bapa dorang dua** pulang hari Minggu cepat
 father 3PL two go.home day Sunday be.fast
 ‘**father and he** returned home quickly on Sunday’ [080925-003-Cv.0163]

6.1.5. Personal pronouns in summary conjunctions

The plural personal pronouns also occur in “summary conjunction” constructions, a term adopted from Haspelmath (2007a: 36). Following a set of conjoined noun

phrases, a resumptive plural pronoun “sums up the set of conjuncts and thereby indicates that they belong together and that the list is complete” (2007a: 36).¹⁷⁵ Examples are presented in (27) to (29). The set can consist of just two conjuncts as in (27), or of three or more as in (28). Typically the conjuncts are conjoined without an overt coordinator, as in (27) and (28). When the set of conjuncts is limited to two, as in (29), the conjuncts may also be linked with an over coordinator, usually comitative *dengan* ‘with’. (For details on the combining of noun phrases, see §14.2.)

Resumptive plural personal pronouns in summary conjunction constructions

- (27) **mama bapa tong** mo sembayang
 mother father 1PL want worship
 ‘we mother and father want to worship’ [080917-003b-CvEx.0020]
- (28) ... **Hurki e Herman Nusa, em, Oktofina kamu** duduk situ
 Hurki uh Herman Nusa uh Oktofina 2PL sit L.MED
 ‘[in the evening (I said),] ‘you (PL) Hurki, uh Herman, Nusa, uh Oktofina sit there’ [081115-001a-Cv.0085]
- (29) **mama deng bapa dong** su meninggal
 mother with father 3PL already die
 ‘they mother and father have already died’ [080919-006-CvNP.0012]

When the number of conjuncts is limited to two, Papuan Malay speakers often employ a dual construction in which the adnominal pronoun is modified with the numeral *dua* ‘two’ as in (30) and (31). In such a “dual conjunction” construction (Haspelmath 2007a: 36), the conjuncts are most often conjoined with an overt coordinator, as in (30), although coordination without an overt coordinator is also possible, as in (31).

Resumptive plural personal pronouns in dual conjunction constructions

- (30) **sa deng Eferdina kitong dua** pi berdoa tugu itu
 1SG with Eferdina 1PL two go pray monument D.DIST
 ‘the two of us (that is) I and Eferdina go (and) pray over that statue’
 [080917-008-NP.0003]
- (31) Rahab de bilang, **bapa mama kam dua** liat dulu
 Rahab 3SG say father mother 2PL two see be.prior
 ‘Rahab said, the two of you, (that is) father (and) mother, have a look!’
 [081006-035-CvEx.0044]

6.1.6. Personal pronouns in appositional constructions

Pronouns very commonly occur in ‘PRO NP’ constructions in which a pronominally used pronoun precedes a noun or noun phrase. These constructions are analyzed as appositional constructions, with appositions being defined as “two or more noun phrases having the same referent and standing in the same syntactical relation to the

¹⁷⁵ Haspelmath (2007a: 36) maintains that it is “a final numeral or quantifier that sums up the set of conjuncts”; pronouns are not mentioned.

rest of the sentence” (Asher 1994: 5193). Such ‘PRO NP’ constructions are distinct from the ‘NP PRO’ constructions discussed in §6.2, in which an adnominally used pronoun follows its head nominal. To validate this distinction, appositional ‘PRO NP’ constructions are described in some detail in this section.

Papuan Malay ‘PRO NP’ appositions may be restrictive or nonrestrictive depending on their semantic function within the clause. The referent is typically human with consultants agreeing that ‘PRO NP’ expressions with nonhuman referents are unacceptable. The present corpus contains only one exception in which the referent is an inanimate entity, presented in (1), repeated as (34). As discussed in ‘‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases as rhetorical figures of speech (“apostrophes”):’ in §6.2.1.1, however, the construction in (34) involves “a *personification* of the nonhuman object that is addressed” (Abrams and Harpham 2009: 314).

Appositional ‘PRO NP’ constructions are formed with all persons and number; those with singular pronouns are presented in (32) to (36) and those with plural personal pronouns in (37) to (40). Dual constructions are also possible, as shown in (41). Appositions can be bare nouns as in (32), noun phrases with modifiers as in (33), or coordinate noun phrases as in (41). In terms of intonation, the data in the present corpus does not indicate a clear pattern: the apposition can be set off from the preceding pronoun by a comma intonation (“,”), as in (32), or can follow it with no intonation break as in (33).

The appositional constructions with singular pronouns in (32), (33) and (36) are nonrestrictive with the appositions *mama* ‘mother’ in (32), *prempuang cantik* ‘beautiful woman’ in (33), and *ana* ‘child’ in (36) providing additional optional information not needed for the identification of their pronominal referents. The constructions in (34) and (35), by contrast, are restrictive with the appositions *sungay ko* ‘you river’ and *Agus ni* ‘this Agus’ giving information needed for the identification of the referent *dia* ‘3SG’.

Appositions with singular personal pronouns: ‘PRO-SG NP’

- (32) ... yo, akhirnya **sa** | **mama** berdoa berdoa
 yes finally 1SG mother pray pray
 ‘[so in fifth grade she broke-off school,] yes, finally **I, (a/her) mother,**
 prayed (and) prayed’ [081011-023-Cv.0178]
- (33) kalo ko tida skola **ko prempuang cantik** nanti ...
 if 2SG NEG go.to.school 2SG woman be.beautiful later
 ‘if you don’t go to school, later **you, a beautiful woman,** ...’ [081110-008-
 CvNP.0043]
- (34) ... tida perna dia liat, **ko sungay ko** bisa terbuka
 NEG once 3SG see 2SG river 2SG be.able be.opened
 begini
 like.this
 [Seeing the ocean for the first time:] ‘[never before has he seen, what, a
 river that is so very big like this ocean,] never before has he seen **you, you**
river can be wide like this?’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0212-0213]

- (35) dia tanya **dia** | **Agus ni**, ko ada kapur ka
 3SG ask 3SG Agus D.PROX 2SG exist lime or
 ‘he asked **him, Agus here**, ‘do you have lime (powder)?’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0034]
- (36) ... tapi **de ana** juga cepat ikut terpengaru
 but 3SG child also be.fast follow be.influenced
 ‘... but **he/she, a kid**, also quickly follows (others) to be influenced’
 [080917-010-CvEx.0001]

Most often appositional constructions are formed with plural personal pronouns, such that ‘PRO-PL NP’. Semantically, ‘PRO-PL NP’ are distinct from ‘PRO-SG NP’ constructions in that they not only indicate the definiteness of the appositioned noun phrases, but also their plurality, as shown in (37) to (40). For instance, *pemuda* ‘youth’ in (37) or *IPA satu* ‘Natural Science I (student)’ in (38) receive their plural reading from the preceding plural personal pronouns. If deemed necessary, speakers can specify the number of the appositioned noun phrases with an adnominal numeral or quantifier as in *tiga orang itu* ‘those three people’ in (39), or in *brapa prempuang* ‘several women’ in (40).

Appositions with plural personal pronouns: ‘PRO-PL NP’

- (37) **tong pemuda ini** mati smua
 1PL youth D.PROX die all
 ‘**we, the young people here**, have all lost enthusiasm’ [081006-017-Cv.0014]
- (38) tadi **kam IPA satu** tra maing
 earlier 2PL natural.sciences one NEG play
 ‘earlier, **you, the Natural Science I (students)**, didn’t play’ [081109-001-Cv.0162]
- (39) **dong tiga orang itu** datang duduk
 3PL three person D.DIST come sit
 ‘**they, those three people**, came (and) sat (down)’ [081006-023-CvEx.0074]
- (40) ... sa maki **dorang brapa prempuang** di situ
 1SG abuse.verbally 3PL how.many woman at L.MED
 ‘[last month,] I verbally abused **them, several women**, there’ [080923-008-Cv.0001]

When the number of referents encoded by the appositioned noun phrase is limited to two, Papuan Malay speakers also use dual constructions in which the pronoun is modified with the numeral *dua* ‘two’, as in (41). In the present corpus, however, such constructions are rare and the dual constructions are always formed with the third person plural pronoun.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ The ‘PRO NP’ constructions presented in this section were analyzed as appositions. One question for further research is whether these constructions could instead be analyzed as noun phrases with pre-head pronouns. It is expected that such preposed pronouns would have an individuating function given that other pre-head determiners, namely numerals or quantifiers, also have an individuating function (see §8.3). One problem with such an

Appositions with dual constructions: ‘PRO-PL *dua* NP’

- (41) **dorang dua ade kaka itu** Agus dengan Fredi tra baik
 3PL two ySb oSb D.DIST Agus with Fredi NEG be.good
 ‘the two of them, those siblings, Agus and Fredi, are not good’ [081014-003-Cv.0012]

6.2. Adnominal uses

Papuan Malay pronouns are very often employed as determiners in post-head position, such that ‘NP PRO’. As “personal determiners”, following Lyons’s (1999: 141) terminology, they “combine with nouns to produce expressions whose reference is thereby determined in terms of the identity of the referent”. That is, they indicate “which member of which subset of a set of entities is being referred to” (Lyons 1977: 454–455).

In this determiner function, the Papuan Malay pronouns signal the person and number of their referents. Moreover, as “definite expressions” (Helmbrecht 2004: 26), the pronouns indicate that the addressees are assumed to be able to identify the referent of an expression (see also Bhat 2007: 11, and Lyons 1999: 26–32). Hence, it is argued here that – given the lack of inflectional person-number marking on nouns and verbs and further given the lack of definite articles – it is the adnominally used pronouns that allow the unambiguous identification of the referents as speakers or addressees, or as individuals or entities being talked about. Hence, Papuan Malay post-head pronouns are neither resumptive pronouns nor agreement markers.

This is illustrated with the example in (42). In the ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrase *Wili ko* ‘you Wili’, the second person pronoun marks the person spoken to as the intended addressee. In the ‘NP 3SG’ noun phrase *tanta dia itu* ‘that aunt’ (literally ‘that she aunt’), the third person pronoun signals that the interlocutors are assumed to know the referent. The brackets indicate the constituent structure within the noun phrase. Details are discussed in §6.2.1 and §6.2.2.

‘NP 2SG’ and ‘NP 3SG’ noun phrases

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

Adnominal pronouns are available for all person-number values, with the exception of the first person singular. This unexpected restriction may have to do with the function of the adnominally used pronoun which is to disambiguate the participants in a speech act, as discussed in detail throughout this section. It seems that Papuan Malay presumes addressees to have difficulties in identifying first person plural, second person and third person participants. To disambiguate the referents, the respective nouns can be modified with the appropriate pronouns. With first person

analysis, however, would be ‘PRO NP’ constructions with singular pronouns, as in (32) to (36), given that singular pronouns would hardly have an individuating function. (For a discussion of the determiner function of post-head pronouns see §6.2.)

singular referents, however, no such difficulties are expected. Hence, such referents do not need to be disambiguated, as demonstrated with example in (43).¹⁷⁷

The utterances in (43) are part of a conversation between a mother and her son. As the family wants to go on a trip, the son wants to obtain a leave of absence from school. He is afraid, though, that his mother will not remind him in time to ask for this leave. In trying to soothe him, his mother tells him that she will remind him in time and that she will not depart without him. In doing so, the speaker alternatively refers to herself with the noun *mama* ‘mother’ and with first person singular *sa* ‘1SG’. In this context, *mama* ‘mother’ unambiguously refers to the speaker. Hence, there is no need to further disambiguate the referent by adding the first person singular pronoun.

Speech acts with first person singular referents

- (43) hari jumat ko mo jalang, baru **mama** kas tau ...
 day Friday 2SG want walk and.then mother give know
sa tida bisa kas tinggal ko ... hari jumat ko
 1SG NEG capable give stay 2SG day Friday 2SG
 mo jalang, baru **mama** kasi ingat
 want walk and.then mother give remember
 ‘on Friday (when) you want to go (and ask for the leave), **I** (**‘mama’**) will remind (you) ... **I** cannot leave you (behind) ... on Friday (when) you want to go, **I** (**‘mama’**) will remind you’ [080917-003b-CvEx.0011/0015/0020]

Table 7 gives an overview of the adnominal uses of pronouns as determiners (in the examples the respective noun phrases are underlined for easier recognition).¹⁷⁸

Table 7: Adnominal pronouns as determiners¹⁷⁹

Example	Free translation
Long pronoun forms	
<i>de bilang, a om ko ini</i> tra liat ... 3SG say ah uncle 2SG D.PROX NEG see	‘he said, ‘a <u>you uncle here</u> didn’t see ...’
<i>Wili ko jangang gara-gara tanta dia itu</i> Wili 2SG IMP-NEG irritate aunt 3SG D.DIST	‘you Wili don’t irritate <u>that aunt</u> ’
<i>jadi nene kitorang ini masak</i> so grandmother 1PL D.PROX cook	‘so <u>we grandmothers here</u> cook’

¹⁷⁷ See also Bickel and Witzlack-Makarevich’s (15) cross-linguistic study on “Referential scales and case alignment”, which shows that “first person singular is indeed often treated differently from other persons”.

¹⁷⁸ The free translations in Table 7 are taken from the glossed texts. Therefore, the tenses may vary; likewise, the translations for *dia/de* ‘3SG’ vary.

¹⁷⁹ Documentation: Long pronoun forms – 080923-009-Cv.0051, 081023-001-Cv.0038, 080924-001-Pr.0008, 081110-005-Pr.0107, 080923-012-CNP.0011, 080919-003-NP.0002; short pronoun forms – 081011-023-Cv.0167, 081115-001a-Cv.0001, 081006-009-Cv.0013, 081014-015-Cv.0006, 081006-024-CvEx.0043.

Example	Free translation
<i>jadi laki-laki kitong harus bayar ...</i> so man 1PL have.to pay	‘so <u>we men</u> have to pay ...’
<i>bangsat kamu tu tinggal lari</i> rascal 2PL D.DIST stay run	‘ <u>you rascals there</u> keep running’
<i>... biking malam untuk anjing dorang</i> make night for dog 3PL	‘[the sagu porridge that my wife] had made at night for <u>the dogs</u> ’
Short pronoun forms	
<i>... sampe bapa de pukul sa deng pisow</i> until father 3SG hit 1SG with knife	‘... until (my) <u>husband</u> hit me with a knife
<i>itu yang Lodia torang bilang ...</i> D.DIST REL Lodia 1PL say	‘that’s why <u>Lodia and her companions including me</u> said ...’
<i>... Pawlus tong bicara sama dia itu</i> Pawlus 1PL speak to 3SG D.DIST	‘ <u>Pawlus and his companions including me</u> spoke to him (EMPH)’
<i>kamu ana prempuang kam latiang</i> 2PL child woman 2PL practice	‘you, <u>you girls</u> practice’
<i>tong biasa tanya sama kaka dong</i> 1PL be.usual ask to oSb 3PL	‘we usually ask <u>the older siblings</u> ’

Some of the examples in Table 7 do not readily translate into English, as “personal determiners” in English are subject to constraints concerning their person-number values (Lyons 1999: 27). In English, only ‘we’ and ‘you (PL)’ occur freely as determiners, while ‘you (SG)’ occurs in exclamations only; the remaining personal pronouns do not have any determiner uses.¹⁸⁰ Other languages, however, are less constrained. In German, for example, the first and second persons, both singular and plural, occur as determiners, while the third person does not (1999: 142); see also (Helmbrecht 2004: 189) for the determiner uses of personal pronouns). Along similar lines, in the Oslo dialect of Norwegian, the female third person singular pronoun functions as a determiner (Johannessen 2006). In addition, pronouns can occur as determiners with proper names in some Germanic languages, such as German, Icelandic, and Norwegian: in German it is the first or second person singular pronouns (Roehr 2005: 264ff), in Icelandic it is the third person pronouns and the first and second person plural pronouns (Sigurðsson 2006: 218ff), and in Northern Norwegian it is the third person singular pronoun (Matushansky 2008: 581). Still other languages are “completely unconstrained in this respect” (Lyons 1999: 142), as for instance Warlpiri (Hale 1973 in Lyons 1999: 142).

Lyons (1999: 134) suggests, “that personal pronouns are the pronominal counterpart of definite articles”. This is the case for Warlpiri which has “no definite article” but “a full paradigm of personal determiners” (1999: 142, 144). And it is also the case for Papuan Malay which has no definite article either but an almost complete paradigm of personal determiners, the exception being the first singular

¹⁸⁰ English examples are ‘we teachers’, ‘you students’, or ‘you idiot’ (Lyons 1999: 451).

person. Other Austronesian languages, by contrast, which do have a definite article also employ this article as a determiner with proper names. Examples, provided in Campbell (2000a), are Balinese (Kersten 1948), Chamorro (Topping and Ogo 1960), and Fijian (Milner 1959 and Schütz and Komaitai 1971), and, presented in Campbell (2000b), Malagasy (Arakin 1963), Maori (Krupa 1967), Minangkabau (Moussay 1981), Tagalog (Cabrera et al. 1965 and Ramos 1971), Tahitian (Arakin 1981), and Tongan (Churchward 1953).

As for noun phrases with adnominal plural personal pronouns in other regional Malay varieties, only limited information is available. Brief descriptions or examples are offered for Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997), Balai Berkuak Malay (Tadmor 2002), Dobo Malay (Nivens, p.c. 2013), Kupang Malay (Grimes and Jacob 2008), Manado Malay (Stoel 2005), and Sri Lanka Malay (Slomanson 2013). In each case, however, the descriptions are limited to the associative plural interpretation of ‘NP PRO-PL’ expressions (see §6.2.2.3). A determiner function of the pronouns is not mentioned in any of these descriptions.

In addition, some descriptions of regional Malay varieties mention ‘NP PRO’ constructions, most of which are analyzed as topic-comment constructions.

- Ambon Malay: Van Minde (1997: 284) mentions constructions in which “a preposed NP is copied by a co-referential pronoun in the remainder of the clause”. In each case, the pronoun is the short third person singular *de* ‘3SG’. In addition, van Minde (1997: 285) presents examples in which a pronoun follows a noun phrase with an adnominal demonstrative at its right periphery.
- Banda Malay: (Paauw 2008: 165) gives examples of ‘NP PRO’ constructions which he also analyzes as topic-comment constructions. The pronoun is third person singular *dia* ‘3SG’ and the preceding noun phrase is set off with an adnominal demonstrative.
- Northern Moluccan Malay: Voorhoeve (1983: 5) analyzes similar constructions as topic-comment constructions “in which the topic is cross-referenced by a pronoun subject in the comment”. Again, the pronoun is third person singular *dia* ‘3SG’ and the preceding noun phrase is set off with an adnominal demonstrative.
- Papuan Malay: Paauw (2008: 166–168) presents ‘NP PRO’ constructions in which the short third person forms *de* ‘3SG’ and *dong* ‘3PL’ occur between a subject and a verb. Paauw (2008) analyzes these pronouns as “proclitics” that function as subject agreement markers on verbs.

In the following sections, the adnominal uses of the pronouns are examined in detail. That is, these sections discuss the function of the pronouns to signal definiteness and person-number values, whereby they allow the unambiguous identification of the referents as speakers or addressees, or as third-person participants.

The adnominal uses of the singular personal pronouns are discussed in §6.2.1 and those of the plural personal pronouns in §6.2.2. For the singular personal pronouns a major issue is the question whether ‘NP PRO’ expressions are indeed noun phrases with adnominal pronouns or whether these expressions should be analyzed as topic-comment constructions, as in other regional Malay varieties. For the plural personal pronouns, two interpretations of ‘NP PRO’ constructions are

discussed, additive, and associative inclusory plurality. In giving examples for ‘NP PRO’ expressions, brackets are used to signal the constituent structure within the noun phrase, where deemed necessary.

6.2.1. Adnominal singular personal pronouns

In their determiner uses, the singular personal pronouns indicate the definiteness, that is, identifiability, as well as the person and the number, namely singularity, of their referents. ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions with *ko* ‘2SG’ are presented in §6.2.1.1, and those with *dia/de* ‘3SG’ in §6.2.1.2. In all examples given in §6.2.1.1 and §6.2.1.2, the ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions constitute intonation units, unless mentioned otherwise; that is, the pronouns are not set off from their head nominals by a comma intonation. In addition, however, the present corpus also contains ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions in which the nouns are set off from the following pronouns by intonation; these noun phrases are briefly discussed in §6.2.1.3. Finally, §6.2.1.4 presents the reasons for analyzing ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions as noun phrases with adnominal pronouns rather than as topic-comment constructions.

6.2.1.1. ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases

‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases have three different functions: (1) in direct speech they mark the person spoken to as the intended addressee, (2) in direct quotations they signal that the referent is the addressee of the reported speech, and (3) as rhetorical figures of speech they give “a sudden emotional impetus” (Abrams and Harpham 2009: 313) to a speaker’s discourse. These functions are explored one by one, followed by a summary of the syntactic and lexical properties of ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases.

‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases in direct speech

In direct speech, speakers employ ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases when they want to send an unambiguous signal that the person spoken to is indeed the intended addressee. In such noun phrases, the second person *ko* ‘2SG’ marks the referent encoded in the head nominal as the addressee of the utterance. The head nominal can be a common noun or a proper noun, as shown in (44) to (47).

‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases in direct speech

- (44) [mama-ade ko] masak daging sa biking papeda e?
 aunt 2SG cook meat 1SG make sagu.porridge eh
 ‘you aunt cook the meat, I make the sagu porridge, eh?’ [080921-001-CvNP.0073]
- (45) [mace ko] rasa lucu jadi
 woman 2SG feel be.funny so
 [Reaction to a narrative:] ‘because you Madam would have felt funny’
 [081010-001-Cv.0206]

- (46) [**Wili ko**] jangang gara~gara tanta dia itu
 Wili 2SG NEG.IMP RDP~irritate aunt 3SG D.DIST
 [Addressing a young boy:] ‘**you Wili** don’t irritate that aunt!’ [081023-001-Cv.0038]
- (47) [**Susana ko**] pigi kaka cebo
 Susana 2SG go oSb wash.after.defecating
 [Addressing her three-year old daughter:] ‘**you Susana**, go, (your) older sister will wash (you)!’ [081014-006-CvPr.0048]

When the head nominal is a common noun, second person *ko* ‘2SG’ indicates “which member of which subset of a set of entities is being referred to” (Lyons 1977: 454–455). Thereby the pronoun allows the unambiguous identification of the addressee as the intended referent. Often speakers chose this strategy when they address an individual in a group of several interlocutors as in (44) and (45), or when they give an order to someone, as in (68) and (47).

When *ko* ‘2SG’ co-occurs with a proper noun, as in (68) or (47), one might argue that such noun phrases are redundant with the pronoun as adnominal determiner being superfluous, since proper nouns are “inherently definite” (Helmbrecht 2004: 190). In Papuan Malay, however, ‘PN 2SG’ expressions constitute direct speech-act strategies which allow speakers, unlike the indirect strategies presented in (48) and (49), to single out participants and to mark them unambiguously as the intended referents of the proper nouns. Being addressed with such a ‘PN 2SG’ noun phrase leaves the addressees little room for interpretation.

Most often, however, speakers are less direct and do not address their interlocutors with an ‘NP 2SG’ expression. Instead, they tend to use more indirect, face-preserving strategies by addressing them with a kinship term or their proper name. This applies especially when issuing a request or an order, as shown in (48) and (49). In (48), a daughter asks her father for money by addressing him with the kinship term *bapa* ‘father’. In (49), a father requests his daughter to talk to him by addressing her with her proper name *Nofela*.

Indirect forms of address with bare proper noun or kinship term

- (48) **bapa** ingat tong itu uang!
 father remember 1PL D.DIST money
 ‘**you (‘father’)** remember our, what’s-its-name, money!’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0857]
- (49) **Nofela** bicara suda!
 Nofela speak already
 ‘**you (‘Nofela’)** speak (to me)!’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0805]

‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases in reported speech

Speakers also employ ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases when they report direct speech. This reporting is usually done through quoting. In general, direct quotations serve “to dramatize and highlight important elements in a narrative”, while indirect speech “seems less vivid and colorful”, as Bublitz et al. (2006: 552) point out. The same

seems to apply to Papuan Malay, as speakers typically use quotes when reporting direct speech, as in (50) and (51);

When relating what had been said to a particular individual, speakers usually begin the quote with an ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrase, which has two functions. First, it indicates the referent as the addressee of the reported speech. Second, ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases mark the referent as familiar or given. Thereby they signal the hearers that they should be able to identify the referent. Subsequently, speakers continue the direct quote by referring to, or “addressing”, the referent with bare *ko* ‘2SG’, as in (51). Note that the first occurrence of *Iskia* in (51) is not part of the quote but the direct object of *bilang* ‘say’.

- (50) de bilang, **Salomina ko** bisa liat orang di luar?
 3SG say Salomina 2SG be.able see person at outside
 [About hospitality:] ‘[(my father said to me,) ‘if you close the door, can you see the people outside?’], he said, ‘can **you Salomina** see the people outside?’’ [081110-008-CvNP.0104]
- (51) tong dua bilang Iskia, **Iskia ko** temani, **ko** temani
 1PL two say Iskia Iskia 2SG accompany 2SG accompany
 karna su larut malam sedikit
 because already be.protracted night few
 ‘the two of us said to Iskia, ‘**you Iskia** come with (us), **you** come with (us) because it’s already a bit late in the evening’ [081025-006-Cv.0325/0327]

‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases as rhetorical figures of speech (“apostrophes”)

‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases also serve as rhetorical figures of speech. Speakers suddenly interrupt the flow of their discourse and employ a noun phrase modified with second person *ko* ‘2SG’, whereby they unexpectedly address a different audience of absent persons or nonhuman entities. This “turning away from an audience and addressing a second audience” (Bussmann 2000: 75) as a rhetorical figure of speech has been termed “apostrophe”. Speakers employ “apostrophes” to give “a sudden emotional impetus” (Abrams and Harpham 2009: 313) to their discourse and thereby to create an emotional reaction in their audience. Following Kacandes (1994), this emotional reaction to apostrophe can be explained “by its power of calling another into being”; that is, “[t]he audience witnesses an invigoration of a being who previously was not ‘present’”. Moreover, the “[I]inguistic properties of the second-person pronoun invite the hypothesis that one also reacts strongly to apostrophe because one can so easily become the ‘you’ and thus feel oneself called into the relationship it creates” (Kacandes 1994).

This also seems to apply to ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrase apostrophes in Papuan Malay as illustrated in (52) to (54). Structurally, these utterances resemble direct quotations. Contrasting with the direct speech situations in (44) to (47), however, the addressed referents were not present when the utterances occurred. And in contrast to the reported speech situation in (50) and (51), the speakers in (52) to (54) do not relate direct quotes. Instead, they “turn away” from their audience to “address a second audience of human or nonhuman referents.

The example in (52) is part of a story about a fight between *Martin* and *Fitri*, with the speaker relating how *Martin* attacked *Fitri*. Notably, neither *Martin* nor *Fitri* were present when the speaker recounted the incident. First, the speaker refers to *Martin* as a third-person actor (first occurrence of *Martin*), as is typical of narratives with non-speech-act participants, and then as one of the addressees (second occurrence of *Martin*). More specifically, the speaker first refers to *Martin* with a ‘NP 3SG’ noun phrase, as in *Martin dia lewat* ‘Martin went past’ (literally ‘he Martin’), or the third person pronoun, as in *de lompat* ‘he jumped’ (see §6.2.1.2). *Fitri* returns the attack and kicks *Martin* badly. At this point, the speaker interrupts the flow of her narrative about the two non-speech-act participants and employs the ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrase *Martin ko* ‘you Martin’ to relate that *Martin* fell to the ground. In turning away from her audience and addressing absent *Martin*, the speaker gives “emotional impetus” to the fact that *Martin* went down after having been kicked, thereby creating an emotional reaction in her audience.

‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases in apostrophes: Human referents

- (52) **Martin dia** lewat tete, de lompat mo pukul Fitri
 Martin 3SG pass.by grandfather 3SG jump want hit Fitri
 ... Fitri kas naik kaki di sini, **Martin ko** jatu,
 Fitri give ascend foot at L.PROX Martin 2SG fall
 dia lari ke mari, dia mo pukul Fitri
 3SG run to hither 3SG want hit Fitri
 [About a fight between Fitri and Martin:] ‘**Martin** went past grandfather, he jumped (and) wanted to hit Fitri [and Fitri caught his foot and] Fitri kicked (Martin) here, **you Martin** fell, (then) he ran (over) here, he wanted to hit Fitri’ [081015-001-Cv.0018-0019]

‘NP 2SG’ apostrophes are also formed with nonhuman referents. They “imply a *personification* of the nonhuman object that is addressed” (Abrams and Harpham 2009: 314). In (53), for instance, the speaker recounts a stormy boat trip. Suddenly, she turns away from her audience to address the main protagonist *anging* ‘wind’ with the ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrase *anging ko* ‘you wind’. In the example in (1), repeated as (54), the speaker relates how one of his ancestors came down to the coast. Seeing the ocean for the first time, he mistakes it for a wide river. At this point the speaker turns away from his audience to address this *sungay* ‘river’ with the ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrase *sungay ko* ‘you river’. Note that the apostrophe is part of an appositional ‘PRO NP’ construction with preposed *ko* ‘2SG’, such that *ko sungay ko* ‘you, you river’ (see §6.1.6).

‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases in apostrophes: Nonhuman referents

- (53) ... **anging ko** datang suda, hujang besar datang suda
 wind 2SG come already rain be.big come already
 [About a storm during a boat trip:] ‘**you wind** already came up, a big rain already came up’ [080917-008-NP.0137]
- (54) ... tida perna dia liat, [**ko**] [**sungay ko**] bisa terbuka
 NEG once 3SG see 2SG river 2SG be.able be.opened

begini

like.this

[Seeing the ocean for the first time:] ‘[never before has he seen, what, a river that is so very big like this ocean,] never before has he seen **you, you river** can be wide like this?’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0212-0213]

‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases and their head nominals

This section summarizes the syntactic and lexical properties of ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases.

In the present corpus, ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases typically take the subject slot in clause-initial position, as in (49) to (54). There are a few exceptions, however: in (55) **babi ko** ‘you pig’ occurs as an exclamation in clause-final position; in (57) **kaka ko** ‘you older sibling’ denotes the possessor in an adnominal possessive construction which, in turn, takes the clausal object slot; and in (58) **pace ko** ‘you man’ expresses the possessor in an adnominal possessive construction which, in turn, takes the complement slot in a prepositional phrase. The referent can be encoded with common nouns as in (48) or (55), proper nouns as in (49) or (68), or noun phrases with adnominal modifier as in (56) or (59) to (61). The referent is typically human; it can, however, also be inanimate such as **anging** ‘wind’ in (53).

The utterances in (49) to (53) and (57) to (61) also show that **ko** ‘2SG’ is freely used as a determiner and not only in exclamations, as in (55) and (56).

- (55) ... dasar bodo **babi ko**
 base be.stupid pig 2SG
 ‘[you (SG) here, do you (SG) have ears (or) not,] (you are of course) stupid,
you pig’ [081014-016-Cv.0047]
- (56) **babi puti ko** dari atas turun
 pig be.white 2SG from top descend
 [About an acquaintance:] ‘**you white pig** came down from up (there)’
 [081025-006-Cv.0262]
- (57) sa taw **kaka ko** pu ruma
 1SG know oSb 2SG POSS house
 ‘I know **you older brother**’s house’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0238]
- (58) nanti kitong lewat di **pace ko** pu kampung itu
 later 1PL pass.by at man 2SG POSS village D.DIST
 ‘later we’ll pass by **you man**’s village there’ [081012-001-Cv.0017]
- (59) de blang, a, **om ko ini** tra liat ...
 3SG say ah! uncle 2SG D.PROX NEG see
 ‘he said, ‘ah, **you uncle here** didn’t see ...’ [080923-009-Cv.0051]
- (60) **Barce ko ini** ko takut
 Barce 2SG D.PROX 2SG feel.afraid(.of)
 ‘**you Barce here**, you feel afraid’ [081109-001-Cv.0131]

- (61) **Eferdina ko itu** ko taw kata pis ka tida
 Eferdina 2SG D.DIST 2SG know word please[E] or NEG
 ‘you **Eferdina** **there**, do you know the word ‘please’ or not?’ [081115-001a-Cv.0145]

6.2.1.2. ‘NP 3SG’ noun phrases

In ‘NP 3SG’ noun phrases, the determiner pronouns indicate and accentuate that the speakers assume their interlocutors to know the referents, encoded by the head nominals. That is, marking referents as familiar or given, *dia/de* ‘3SG’ signals the hearers that they should be in a position to identify them. The determiner uses of *dia/de* ‘3SG’ can be situational or anaphoric. Both uses are discussed one by one, followed by a summary of the syntactic and lexical properties of ‘NP 3SG’ noun phrases.

Situational uses of dia/de ‘3SG’ in ‘NP 3SG’ noun phrases

In the situational uses of determiner *dia/de* ‘3SG’, “the physical situation in which the speaker and hearer are located contributes to the familiarity of the referent of the definite noun phrase” (Lyons 1999: 4). This is illustrated with the utterances in (62) to (64).

In (62), the situation is an obvious one: the hearer *Wili* has been irritating his *tanta* ‘aunt’ and is told to stop doing this. In (63), the speaker illustrates local bride-price customs with an example. The determiner *de* ‘3SG’ marks the familiarity of the referent *bapa* ‘father’. This in turn leads the interlocutor to interpret *bapa* ‘father’ as the speaker’s husband. In (64), the interlocutors discuss motorbike problems. Suddenly, the speaker quotes what *Dodo de* ‘Dodo’ (literally ‘he Dodo’) had said. *Dodo* had not been mentioned earlier and was not present at this conversation. Determiner *de* ‘3SG’, however, signals the hearers that they are familiar with the referent which, in turn, leads them to interpret the referent as the speaker’s older brother *Dodo*.

- (62) **Wili ko jangang gara~gara [tanta dia itu]**
 Wili 2SG NEG.IMP RDP~irritate aunt 3SG D.DIST
 ‘you **Wili** don’t irritate **that aunt**’ [081023-001-Cv.0038]
- (63) macang kalo [**bapa de**] kasi nona ini, a, nanti ...
 variety if father 3SG give girl D.PROX ah! later
 [About bride-price children:] ‘for example, if (my) **husband** gives this (our) girl (to our relatives), ah, later ...’ [081006-024-CvEx.0079]
- (64) [**Dodo de**] bilang, adu coba ko kas taw sa
 Dodo 3SG say oh.no! try 2SG give know 1SG
 ‘**Dodo** said, ‘oh no, if only you had let me know’’ [081014-003-Cv.0029]

Anaphoric uses of dia/de '3SG' in 'NP 3SG' noun phrases

In the anaphoric uses of determiner *dia/de* '3SG', the referents of the definite noun phrases are "familiar not from the physical situation but from the linguistic context" (Lyons 1999: 4), as they were mentioned earlier in the discourse.

When introducing new protagonists, speakers typically introduce these individuals or entities with bare common or proper nouns. At their next mention, these non-speech participants are encoded with 'NP 3SG' noun phrases, with the third person pronoun marking the referents as definite. This, in turn, signals the hearers that they are assumed to be familiar with the referents. This strategy is illustrated with the two narrative extracts in (65) and (66).¹⁸¹

The utterances in (65) are part of a narrative about some bad news that the speaker received from his grandmother. The speaker introduces his grandmother as a new protagonist with the bare kinship term *nene* 'grandmother'. This introduction involves two mentions of *nene* 'grandmother'; the repetition gives the speaker time to reflect who it was that had been accompanying his grandmother when they met. Following this introduction, the speaker employs the 'NP 3SG' noun phrase *nene de* 'grandmother' (literally 'she grandmother'), which marks the new character as given and familiar.

Anaphoric uses of *dia/de* '3SG': Example #1

- (65) ... pas ketemu deng sa pu **nene**, **nene**,
 be.exact meet with 1SG POSS grandmother grandmother
 trus kaka laki~laki, mama-tua pu ana
 next oSb RDP~husband aunt POSS child
 '[I passed by (and) reached the village market there, I was sitting, standing there,] right then (I) met my **grandmother**, **grandmother** and then (my) older brother, aunt's child'
 baru **nene** **de** mulai tanya saya, **de** blang ...
 and.then grandmother 3SG start ask 1SG 3SG say
 'and then **grandmother** started asking me, **she** said, ...' [080918-001-CvNP.0056-0057]

The utterance in (66) occurred during a narrative about a bad-mannered intruder and a young woman named *Rahab* who observed this person's behavior. Employing a bare proper noun, the speaker introduces *Rahab* as a new character on the scene. At its next mention, this new protagonist is encoded by the 'NP 3SG' noun phrase *Rahab de* 'Rahab' (literally 'she Rahab'), which marks this non-speech participant as given and familiar. In the following, the speaker refers to *Rahab* with the bare third person pronoun *de* '3SG'.

¹⁸¹ Introducing new characters with a bare noun and subsequently marking them as familiar with the adnominally used third person pronoun as a potential discourse strategy in Papuan Malay was brought to the author's attention by van Engelenhoven (p.c. 2013).

Anaphoric uses of *dia/de* '3SG': Example #2

- (66) baru de luda~luda keee, ... **Rahab** yang liat, **Rahab de**
 and.then 3SG RDP~spit spoot! Rahab REL see Rahab 3SG
 jemur~jemur pakeang begini baru **de** perhatikang, ...
 RDP~be.dry clothes like.this and.then 3SG observe
 [About a bad-mannered intruder:] 'and then he was spitting 'spoot!' ... (it was) **Rahab** who saw (it), **Rahab** was drying clothes at that moment, then **she** noticed ...' [081006-035-CvEx.0042]

'NP 3SG' noun phrases and their head nominals

This section summarizes the syntactic and lexical properties of 'NP 3SG' noun phrases.

'NP 3SG' noun phrases in the present corpus typically take the subject slot in clause-initial position, as in (63) to (66). Other slots, however, are also possible, such as the direct object in (62), or the possessor in (67). The referent can be expressed with common nouns as in (63) or (65), proper nouns as in (64) or (66), or noun phrases with adnominal modifier, as in (62) or (67). Further, determiner *dia/de* '3SG' occurs in complex noun phrases, as in *bapa dari Jepang dia* 'the man from Japan' (literally 'he man from Japan') in (68), or *kaka pendeta di Mambramo de tu* 'that older pastor sibling from the Mambramo area' (literally 'that he older pastor ...') in (69). The referents in 'NP 3SG' noun phrases are usually human, but they can also be animate nonhuman such as *kaswari* 'cassowary' in (70), or inanimate such as *bua mangga* 'mango fruit' in (71).

Determiner uses of *dia/de* '3SG'

- (67) ... di dano situ di [[**kaka laki~laki de**] pu [tempat situ]]
 at lake L.MED at oSb RDP~husband 3SG POSS place L.MED
 '[we wanted to pray a whole night while picnicking, at what's-its-name,] at the lake there, at **the older brother's** place there' [080922-002-Cv.0090]
- (68) ... karna ini **bapa dari Jepang dia** suda kutuk
 because D.PROX father from Japan 3SG already curse
 kota ini
 city D.PROX
 '... because, what's-his-name, **the gentleman from Japan** already cursed this city' [080917-008-NP.0021]
- (69) **kaka pendeta di Mambramo de tu** jual RW
 oSb pastor at Mambramo 3SG D.DIST sell cooked.dog.meat
 '**that older sibling pastor at (the) Mambramo (area)** sells cooked dog meat' [081011-022-Cv.0105]
- (70) ... ato **kaswari dia** ada berdiri pas perhatikang begini ...
 or cassowary 3SG exist stand be.exact watch like.this
 '[if you see a cassowary's footprint] or **the cassowary** is standing right there watching (you) like this, ...' [080923-014-CvEx.0022]

- (71) ... bawa anaang pinang, anaang sagu, bibit klapa, bibit
 bring offspring betel.nut offspring sago seedling coconut seedling
 pisang, ... mungkin **bua mangga de** punya bibit ...
 banana maybe fruit mango 3SG POSS seedling
 [About wedding customs:] ‘[(when) we bring (our son,)] (we) bring betel
 nut seedlings, sago seedlings, coconut seedlings, banana seedlings, ...
 maybe **seedlings of the mangga fruit**, ...’ [081110-005-CvPr.0056-0057]

6.2.1.3. ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions with comma intonation

The present corpus also contains ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions in which the nouns are set off from the following pronouns by a comma intonation (“|”), as in (72) to (75).

In ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions with second person *ko* ‘2SG’, the marked-off nouns function as vocatives (VOC), that is, as “forms of direct address” (Lyons 1999: 152). Cross-linguistically, ‘VOC PRO’ expressions serve to specify “a person out of a group of persons while using a second person singular pronoun” with the vocative noun being “separated from the rest of the sentence by intonation” (Bhat 2007: 46). This strategy of singling out and addressing particular individuals through a ‘VOC PRO’ expression is shown in (72) and (73), respectively: *mama* ‘mother’ and *Ise* are vocatives which are set off from second person *ko* ‘2SG’ with a distinct comma intonation. Hence, these expressions cannot be interpreted as ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases.

Topic-comment constructions with comma intonation: ‘NP | 2SG’

- (72) trus Martina de tanya saya, **mama** | **ko** rasa bagemana?
 next Martina 3SG ask 1SG mother 2SG feel how
 ‘and then Martina asked me, ‘**mother**, how do **you** feel?’ [081015-005-NP.0018]
- (73) jadi Ise ni tong su bilang dia, **Ise** | **ko** tinggal
 so Ise D.PROX 1PL already say 3SG Ise 2SG stay
 di sini suda!
 at L.PROX already
 ‘so Ise here, we already told her, ‘**Ise**, **you** stay here!’ [080917-008-NP.0026]

‘NP 3SG’ expressions with a comma intonation are analyzed as topic-comment constructions. In such a construction, the “topic is generally expected to continue” and therefore “third person pronouns [...] are used in order to represent the continued occurrence of a topic” (Bhat 2007: 209). That is, in an ‘NP, 3SG’ expression the preposed noun phrase signals the topic, while co-referential *dia/de* ‘3SG’ has comment function. This strategy of forming topic-comment constructions is shown in (74) and (75): *orang Senggi* and *Klara* designate the topics while *dia* ‘3SG’ and *de* ‘3SG’ function as comments, respectively.

Topic-comment constructions with comma intonation: ‘NP | 3SG’

- (74) baru dia datang, orang Jayapura sana, kawanng itu,
 and.then 3SG come person Jayapura L.DIST friend D.DIST

orang Senggi | **dia** datang de duduk
 person Senggi 3SG come 3SG sit

[Talking about a friend:] ‘and then she came, (the) person (from) Jayapura over there, that friend, **(the) person (from) Senggi, she** came (and) she sat (down)’ [080917-008-NP.0107]

- (75) Klara | **de** lompat satu kali tu
 Klara 3SG jump one time D.DIST
 ‘**Klara, she** jumped once (EMPH)’ [081025-006-Cv.0218]

As an aside, it should be reiterated that topic-comment constructions with no comma intonation are also possible. In this type of topic-comment constructions, the topic is expressed in a noun phrase with a pronoun determiner and demonstrative modifier, as in (60), repeated as (76), and in (61) in §6.2.1.1. Very often, however, the preposed topical noun phrase does not contain a pronoun determiner, as in the topic-comment constructions *ade ini de* ‘this younger sibling, he/she’ in (77), and in *Ise ni de* ‘Ise here, she’ in (78). In such ‘NPDEM PRO-SG’ constructions, the demonstrative sets aside the topic and therefore no comma intonation is needed.

Topic-comment constructions with demonstrative: ‘NPDEM PRO-SG’

- (76) [**Barce ko ini**] [**ko**] takut
 Barce 2SG D.PROX 2SG feel.afraid(.of)
 ‘**you Barce here, you** feel afraid’ [081109-001-Cv.0131]
- (77) baru [**ade ini**] [**de**] sakit
 and.then ySb D.PROX 3SG be.sick
 ‘and then **this younger sibling, he/she** is sick’ [080917-002-Cv.0020]
- (78) ... [**Ise ni**] [**de**] su mulay takut ini
 Ise D.PROX 3SG already start feel.afraid(.of) D.PROX
 ‘[this tree began shaking, shaking like this, and] **Ise here, she** already started feeling afraid’ [080917-008-NP.0028]

At this stage in the research on Papuan Malay, it is not possible to tell if there are rules governing the choice between ‘NP, PRO-SG’ and ‘NPDEM PRO-SG’ topic-comment constructions. To answer this question more research is needed.

6.2.1.4. Analysis of ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions as noun phrases and not as topic-comment constructions

There are four reasons for analyzing the ‘NP 2SG’ expressions in (49) to (61) and the ‘NP 3SG’ constructions in (62) to (71) as noun phrases with pronominal determiner and not as topic-comment constructions.

First, ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions can occur in positions other than the clause-initial subject slot, as shown with the ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases in (55), (57), and (58), and the ‘NP 3SG’ noun phrases in (62) and (67). In these positions, however, the respective common nouns cannot be interpreted as topics in topic-comment constructions. This is due to the fact that topicalized constituents do not remain *in-situ* but are fronted to the clause-initial position (see also §1.4.1.4).

Second, an ‘NP PRO-SG’ expression can be modified with a demonstrative, as in the ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases in (59) to (61), or the ‘NP 3SG’ noun phrases in (62) or (69). In these ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions, the demonstratives have scope over the pronouns. The fact that the pronouns occur in noun phrases with adnominal demonstrative, in turn, supports the conclusion that in ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions the pronoun functions as determiner. Moreover, in two of the examples, an ‘NP PRO-SG DEM’ expression has topic function in topic-comment constructions, namely the ‘NP 2SG DEM’ noun phrases in (60) and (61). In both cases, the preposed noun phrases are copied by co-referential *ko* ‘2SG’ which has comment function.¹⁸² Neither bare *Barce* in (60), nor bare *Eferdina* in (61) can be topics in topic-comment constructions. Instead it is the entire noun phrase, including determiner *ko* ‘SG’, which has topic function. This, in turn, also supports the conclusion that in ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions, the pronoun functions as a pronominal determiner.

Third, by indicating person, singularity, and definiteness of their referents, determiner pronouns have pertinent discourse functions. In direct speech, ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions with second person *ko* ‘SG’ mark the referent of the head nominal unambiguously as the intended addressee. In reported speech, ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases indicate that the referent is the addressee of the direct quotation. In addition, they signal the hearers that they are in a position to identify the referent. Finally, as apostrophes in rhetoric figures of direct speech they serve as “exclamatory addresses”. ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions with third person *dia/de* ‘3SG’ signal and accentuate that the speakers expect their hearers to be familiar with the referents encoded by their head nominals. That is, the interlocutors are communicated that they should be able to identify the referents.

Fourth, the present corpus includes a number of utterances, in which speakers repeat an ‘NP PRO-SG’ expression as a form of hesitation or delay; in each case the pronoun is third person *dia/de* ‘3SG’. Two of these repetitions are presented in (79) and (80). It is noted that the speakers do not repeat the respective bare nouns *pace* ‘man’ and *Markus*, but the ‘NP 3SG’ expressions *pace de* ‘the man’ (literally ‘he man’) and *Markus de* ‘Markus’ (literally ‘he Markus’). This suggests that they perceive these expressions to be cohesive entities which, in turn, supports their analysis as single noun phrases.

- (79) [**pace de**], [**pace de**] mandi rapi, de mandi rapi
 man 3SG man 3SG bathe be.neat 3SG bathe be.neat
 ‘**the man, the man** bathed neatly, he bathed neatly’ [081109-007-JR.0002]
- (80) akirnya [**Markus de**], [**Markus dia**] turung begini
 finally Markus 3SG Markus 3SG descend like.this
 ‘finally **Markus, Markus** came down (to the coast) like this’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0204]

¹⁸² There is no comma intonation between the topical noun phrases and the pronominal comments in (60) and (61).

6.2.2. Adnominal plural personal pronouns

Plural personal pronouns also function as determiners in noun phrases, as illustrated in (81) and (82). They signal the definiteness and person-number values of their referents, and thereby allow their unambiguous identification.

- (81) [pemuda dong] snang skali
youth 3PL feel.happy(.about) very
'the young people feel very happy' (Lit. 'youth they') [080925-003-Cv.0220]
- (82) [Ise dong] su datang
Ise 3PL already come
'Ise and her companions including herself already came' (Lit. 'Ise they')
[080925-003-Cv.0169]

The examples in (81) and (82) also show that 'N PRO-PL' noun phrases have two readings.

First with an indefinite referent, such as *pemuda* 'youth' in (81), 'N PRO-PL' noun phrases have an additive plural reading. Second with a definite referent such as *Ise* in (82), 'N PRO-PL' noun phrases receive an associative inclusory plural reading. This makes Papuan Malay belong to the large group of languages in Asia where the "associative plural marker [...] is also used to express additive plurals" (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011: 5–6). Therefore, in terms of Daniel and Moravcsik's (2011: 6) typology of associative plurals, Papuan Malay is a 'Type 1' language.

The additive plural interpretation of 'N PRO-PL' noun phrases is discussed in §6.2.2.1 and the associative inclusory plural reading in §6.2.2.2. These descriptions are followed in §6.2.2.3 by a brief overview of the associative plural in other regional Malay varieties.

6.2.2.1. Additive plural interpretation

In 'N PRO-PL' noun phrases with indefinite referents, adnominal plural personal pronouns have two functions. They signal the definiteness of their referents and an additive plural reading of the respective noun phrases with the basic meaning of 'the Xs'.

The additive interpretation implies referential homogeneity of the group. That is, "every referent of the plural form is also a referent of the stem" (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011: 1). In (83), for example, *kitorang* '1PL' denotes the plurality of its bare head nominal *nene* 'grandmother', while in (84) *kamu* '2PL' signals the plurality of *bangsas* 'rascal', and in (85) *dong* '3PL' indicates the plurality of *anjing* 'dog'. These examples illustrate that the referent is always animate. It can be human as in (83) and (84), or nonhuman as in (85); inanimate referents are unattested.

Additive plural interpretation with bare head nominal

- (83) jadi nene kitorang ini masak
so grandmother 1PL D.PROX cook
'so we grandmothers here cook' [080924-001-Pr.0008]

- (84) **bangsat kamu tu** tinggal lari ke sana ke mari
 rascal 2PL D.DIST stay run to L.DIST to hither
 ‘you rascals there keep running back and forth’ [080923-012-CvNP.0011]
- (85) ... di mana **anjing dong** gong-gong
 at where dog 3PL bark(.at)
 ‘[I just ran closing in on the pig] where **the dogs** were barking’ [080919-003-NP.0007]

In (83) to (85) the number of referents is left unspecified. When this number is limited to two, speakers very often use a dual construction, such that ‘bare N PRO-PL *dua*’. In such a construction, the two referents are not explicitly mentioned but subsumed under the postposed adnominal numeral *dua* ‘two’, as in (86) and (87).

Additive dual interpretation

- (86) **laki~laki kam dua** sapu
 RDP~husband 2PL two sweep
 ‘you two boys sweep’ [081115-001b-Cv.0010]
- (87) **pace dorang dua ini** ke atas
 man 3PL two D.PROX to top
 ‘the two men here (went) up (there)’ [081006-034-CvEx.0010]

6.2.2.2. Associative inclusory plural interpretation

‘N PRO-PL’ noun phrases with a definite referent and an adnominal plural personal pronoun receive an associative inclusory plural reading. The reading is “associative” in that it has the basic meaning of “X and X’s associate(s)”, where all members are individuals, X is the focal referent, and the associate(s) form a group centering around X” (Moravcsik 2003: 471). In Papuan Malay, the “focal referent” is always encoded with a noun or noun phrase heading the phrasal construction, while the “associates” are encoded with a post-head plural personal pronoun. In (88) and (89), for instance, **Lodia** and **Pawlus** are the focal referents while the pronouns **torang** ‘1PL’ and **dorang** ‘3PL’ denote the associates, respectively.

The reading of ‘N PRO-PL’ noun phrases is not only associative, but also “inclusory” in that “all members of the plural set are summarily referred to by a pronoun” (Moravcsik 2003: 479). That is, the reference of the pronoun includes the reference of the focal referent, such that ‘PRO including X’ (see also Gil 2009, and Haspelmath 2004: 25). In (88), for instance, the pronoun **torang** ‘1PL’ includes not only the companions and the speaker, but all members of the plural set, “including **Lodia**”. That is, the ‘N PRO-PL’ noun phrase **Lodia torang** does not signal an additive relation in the sense of ‘Lodia plus we companions’. Likewise in (89), the reference of **dorang** ‘3PL’ includes not only the associates of the focal referent **Pawlus**, but all members of the plural set, “including Pawlus”.

Associative inclusory plural interpretation

- (88) itu yang **Lodia torang** bilang begini ...
 D.DIST REL Lodia 1PL say like.this
 ‘that’s why **Lodia and we companions including her** said like this, ...’
 (Lit. ‘**Lodia we**’) [081115-001a-Cv.0001]
- (89) tante ada mara **Pawlus dorang**
 aunt exist be.angry Pawlus 3PL
 ‘aunt is being angry with **Pawlus and his companions including Pawlus**’
 (Lit. ‘**Pawlus they**’) [081006-009-Cv.0002]

In the following, the semantic properties of associative inclusory expressions are examined. Also discussed are the lexical classes used in these expressions and the types of relationships expressed within the associated groups.

Associative inclusory expressions imply two distinct semantic properties, namely “referential heterogeneity”, and “reference to groups” (Daniel and Moravcsik 2011: 1–3). The notion of “referential heterogeneity” implies that “the associative plural designates a heterogeneous set” (2011: 1). This is shown in (90) to (92). In (90), *bapa Iskia dong* ‘father Iskia and them’ does not denote several people called *Iskia*; neither does *bapa desa dorang* ‘father mayor and them’ refer to more than one mayor. The same applies to the examples in (91) and (92) (in this context *dokter* ‘doctor’ has a definite reading as the local hospital has only one doctor). In each case, the plural personal pronoun encodes a heterogeneous set of associates “centering around X”, the focal referent. Moreover, the pronouns include the focal referents in their reference.

Associative inclusory plural interpretation with the third person plural pronoun

- (90) **bapa Iskia dong** bunu babi, **bapa desa dorang**
 father Iskia 3PL kill pig father village 3PL
 dong bunu babi
 3PL kill pig
 ‘**father Iskia and his companions including Iskia** killed a pig, **father mayor and his companions including the mayor**, they killed a pig’
 [080917-008-NP.0120]
- (91) Ise ko tinggal di sini suda deng **mama-tua dorang!**
 Ise 2SG stay at L.PROX just with aunt 3PL
 ‘you Ise just stay here with **aunt and her companions including aunt!**’
 [080917-008-NP.0026]
- (92) **dokter dorang** bilang begini ...
 doctor 3PL say like.this
 ‘**the doctor and his companions including the doctor** said like this, ...’
 [081015-005-NP.0047]

The semantic property of “reference to groups” refers to a high degree of internal cohesion within the plural construction. That is, the focal referent and the associates

form “a spatially or conceptually coherent group” (Moravcsik 2003: 471). In (90) and (91), for instance, the ‘N PRO’ noun phrases denote coherent groups of inherently associated individuals, namely *bapa Iskia dong* ‘father Iskia and them’, *bapa desa dorang* ‘father mayor and them’, and *mama-tua dorang* ‘aunt and them’, respectively. Moreover, the groups referred to are “asymmetric, or ranked” (2003: 471). That is, the associative plural names its pragmatically most salient or highest ranking member, the focal referent, such as *bapa Iskia* ‘father Iskia’ and *bapa desa* ‘father mayor’ in (90), or *mama-tua* ‘aunt’ in (91). The remaining members of the plural set, by contrast, are not fully enumerated but subsumed under the plural pronoun *dong / dorang* ‘3PL’.

Typically, the associates are encoded with the third person plural pronoun. Less frequently, the associates are encoded with the first person plural pronoun, as in (88), repeated as (93), or with the second person plural pronoun as in (94) and (95). In associative inclusory expressions formed with the second person plural pronoun, the focal referent is typically the addressee as in (94). Alternatively, although much less often, one of the associates can be the addressee as in (95) (the focal referent *Lodia* was not present during this conversation).

Associative inclusory plural interpretation with the first and second person plural pronouns

- (93) itu yang **Lodia torang** bilang begini ...
 D.DIST REL Lodia 1PL say like.this
 ‘that’s why **Lodia and her companions including me** said like this, ...’
 [081115-001a-Cv.0001]
- (94) **tanta Oktofina kam** pulang jam brapa?
 aunt Oktofina 2PL go.home hour how.many
 ‘what time did **you aunt Oktofina and your companions including you (Oktofina)** come home?’ [081006-010-Cv.0001]
- (95) **Lodia kam** pake trek ke sana baru sa ...
 Lodia 2PL use truck to L.DIST and.then 1SG
 ‘**Lodia and her companions including you (addressee)** took the truck to (go) over there, and then I ...’ [081022-001-Cv.0001]

In (88) to (95), the number of referents is not specified. When only two participants are involved, however, that is the focal referent plus one associate, Papuan Malay speakers very often use a dual construction, such that ‘bare N PRO-PL *dua*’, as in (96). Like dual constructions with an additive reading (§6.2.2.1), the associate is not explicitly mentioned but subsumed under the post-head numeral *dua* ‘two’.

Associative inclusory dual interpretation

- (96) **om kitong dua** keluar mo pergi cari pinang
 uncle 1PL two go.out want go search betel.nut
 ‘**uncle and I** went out and wanted to look for betel nuts’ [081006-009-Cv.0014]

In terms of the lexical classes employed in associative plural expressions, Daniel and Moravcsik (2011: 3) observe “a clear preference for associative plurals formed

possible interpretations. With indefinite referents, they have an additive plural reading and with definite referents an associative inclusory reading.

