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8. Noun phrases

8.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the Papuan Malay noun phrase with its different types of structures. Also included is a description of noun phrase apposition; noun phrase coordination is not discussed here but in Chapter 14. “Traditionally, the term ‘noun phrase’ has then been used to describe any phrase consisting of a noun as its central constituent (or ‘head’) and capable of functioning as an argument (e.g., subject or object) in a sentence” (Payne 2006: 712).

An overview of the possible constituents of the Papuan Malay noun phrase is given in Table 1 (the parenthesis in the table header signal that the modifiers are optional). Modifying elements listed in the same column represent choices; constituents in the same row do not necessarily co-occur.

Table 1: Possible constituents of the Papuan Malay noun phrase

(MOD)	HEAD	(MOD)			
		Post-1	Post-2	Post-3	Post-4
INT NUM QT POSSR-NP	N	V N PP RC	PRO	DEM LOC INT NUM QT	DEM
	PRO	PP RC		LOC NUM QT	DEM
POSSR-NP	DEM	RC			DEM
	LOC	RC			DEM
POSSR-NP	INT	RC			DEM

The overview in Table 1 shows that different types of constituents can function as the head of a noun phrases. The head can be a noun such as *ana* ‘child’ in (1), a personal pronoun such as *dong* ‘3PL’ in (2), a demonstrative such as *itu* ‘D.DIST’ in (3), a locative such as *situ* ‘L.MED’ in (4), or an interrogative such as *mana* ‘where, which’ in (5). Head nouns allow the widest range of modifiers, while personal pronouns, demonstrative, locatives, and interrogatives allow only a subset of modifiers, as shown throughout this chapter.

Types of constituents functioning as heads in noun phrases

- (1) kitong cari **ana** kecil itu
 1PL search child be.small D.DIST
 ‘we were looking for that small **kid**’ [080921-004a-CvNP.0070]

- (2) **dong** dua tu ikut
3PL two D.DIST follow
[About an upcoming event:] ‘both of **them** there are going to participate’
[081115-001a-Cv.0115]
- (3) **itu** tu rahasia mo mo biking apa ka mo ...
D.DIST D.DIST secret want want make what or want
[About raising children:] ‘**that** (EMPH) is the secret (when we) want want to do something or want to ...’ [080917-010-CvEx.0160]
- (4) e, sa tinggal di **situ** tu
uh 1SG stay at L.MED D.DIST
‘uh, I lived **there** (EMPH)’ [080922-002-Cv.0112]
- (5) ana laki~laki ini de mo ke **mana** ni
child RDP~husband D.PROX 3SG want to where D.PROX
‘this boy, **where** (EMPH) does he want to (go)?’ [080922-004-Cv.0017]

The minimal noun phrase consists of a bare head nominal. Modifiers are optional and occur in pre- and/or post-head position. Attested in the present corpus is the co-occurrence of up to three post-head constituents. Modifiers listed in the same pre- or post-head slots in Table 1 do not co-occur, with one exception discussed below.

Pre-head modifiers can be numerals such as *empat* ‘four’ in (6), quantifiers such as *smua* ‘all’ in (7), the interrogative *brapa* ‘how many’ as in (8), or possessor noun phrases in adnominal possessive constructions such *bapa* ‘father’ or *siapa* ‘who’ in (9). Pre-head modifiers do not co-occur, with one exception. The interrogative *brapa* ‘how many’ can co-occur with certain numerals, such as *ratus* ‘hundred’, or *ribu* ‘thousand’, as in *brapa ratus orang* ‘several hundred people’ in (10).

MOD – HEAD

- (6) jadi saya **empat** ana
so 1SG four child
NUM – HEAD: ‘so, I (have) **four children**’ [081006-024-CvEx.0002]
- (7) **smua** buku bisa basa
all book be.able be.wet
QT – HEAD: ‘**all books** could get wet’ [080917-008-NP.0189]
- (8) de su umur **brapa** taung Musa ni
3SG already age how.many year Musa D.PROX
‘he is already how old, Musa here?’ (Lit. ‘(his) age (is) **how many years**?’) [080922-001a-CvPh.1191]
- (9) **bapa pu sandal** siapa yang bawa, ini **siapa pu sandal**
father POSS sandal who REL bring D.PROX who POSS sandal
‘**father’s sandals**, who took (them)?, these (sandals) belong to **whom**?’ (Lit. ‘are **whose sandals**’ [080925-004-Cv.0006])

- (10) ... tentara itu ada **brapa ratus orang**
 soldier D.DIST exist how.many hundred person
 ‘[one time, I brought the military (into the forest),] those soldiers were
several hundred people’ [081029-005-Cv.0131]

The post-head modifier slots attract a wider range of constituents: verbs, nouns, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses occur in slot Post-1, personal pronouns in slot Post-2, demonstratives, locatives, interrogatives, numerals, and quantifiers in slot Post-3. In addition, the demonstratives also occur in slot Post-4. The modifiers occurring in slot Post-1 have attributive function, while those in slot Post-2 to Post-4 have determining function.

Modifiers listed in the same slot do not co-occur, whereas those listed in different slots may do so, as demonstrated in (11) to (17). In *pisang Sorong sana tu* ‘those bananas (from) Sorong over there’ in (11), an adnominally used noun co-occurs with a locative and a demonstrative. In *tangang pendek satu tu* ‘that one short-handed (one)’ in (12), an adnominally used stative verb co-occurs with a numeral and a demonstrative. In *babi puti ko* ‘you white pig’ in (13), an adnominally used verb co-occurs with a personal pronoun. In *pace dorang dua ini* ‘the two men here’ in (14), an adnominally used personal pronoun co-occurs with a numeral and a demonstrative. In *kaka dari Mambramo satu* ‘a certain older brother from (the) Mambramo (area)’ in (15), an adnominally used prepositional phrase co-occurs with a numeral. In *dong di Papua tu* ‘they in Papua there’ in (16), an adnominally used prepositional phrase co-occurs with a demonstrative. Finally, in *kata itu tu* ‘those very words’ in (17) two adnominally used demonstratives co-occur.

HEAD – MOD

- (11) **pisang Sorong sana tu**, iii, besar~besar manis
 banana Sorong L.DIST D.PROX oh! RDP~be.big sweet
 HEAD – N – LOC – DEM: ‘**those bananas (from) Sorong over there**, oooh,
 (they) are all big (and) sweet’ [081011-003-Cv.0017]
- (12) **tangang pendek satu tu** ((laughter))
 hand be.short one D.DIST
 HEAD – V – NUM – DEM: [About an acquaintance:] ‘**that one short handed
 (one)** ((laughter))’ [081006-016-Cv.0036]
- (13) **babi puti ko** dari atas turun
 pig be.white 2SG from top descend
 HEAD – V – PRO: [About an acquaintance:] ‘**you white pig** came down from
 up (there)’ [081025-006-Cv.0262]
- (14) **pace dorang dua ini** ke atas
 man 3PL two D.PROX to top
 HEAD – PRO – NUM – DEM: ‘**both of the two men here** (went) up (there)’
 [081006-034-CvEx.0010]

- (15) trus tamba **kaka dari Mambramo satu**
 next add oSb from Mambramo one
 HEAD – PP – NUM: [About forming a sports team:] ‘then add a **certain older brother from (the) Mambramo (area)**’ [081023-001-Cv.0002]
- (16) **dong di Papua tu** dong makang papeda
 3PL at Papua D.DIST 3PL eat sagu.porridge
 HEAD – PP – DEM: ‘**they in Papua there**, they eat sagu porridge’ [081109-009-JR.0001]
- (17) **kata itu tu** yang biking sa bertahang
 word D.DIST D.DIST REL make 1SG hold.(out/back)
 HEAD – DEM – DEM: ‘(it was) **those very words** that made me hold out’ [081115-001a-Cv.0235]

This brief overview shows that Papuan Malay employs two distinct types of noun phrase structures: (1) a head – modifier or ‘N-MOD’ structure, and (2) a modifier – head or ‘MOD-N’ structure. The particular structure of a noun phrase depends on the syntactic properties of its adnominal constituents:

- N-MOD structure with adnominally used verbs, nouns, personal pronouns, demonstratives, locatives, interrogatives, and prepositional phrases.
- N-MOD or MOD-N structure with adnominally used numerals and quantifiers (the constituent order depends on the semantics of the phrasal structure).
- MOD-N structure in adnominal possessive constructions.

Noun phrases with an N-MOD structure are examined in §8.2 and those with an N-MOD or MOD-N structure in §8.3. Adnominal possessive constructions with a MOD-N structure are briefly mentioned in §8.4, and fully discussed in Chapter 9. In giving examples, brackets are used to indicate the constituent structure within the noun phrase, where deemed necessary. In addition, apposition is discussed in §8.5. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §8.6.

8.2. N-MOD structure

In noun phrases with an N-MOD structure, the head occurs in initial position followed by the modifying elements. The following modifiers are discussed: verbs (§8.2.1), nouns (§8.2.2), personal pronouns (§8.2.3), demonstratives (§8.2.4), locatives (§8.2.5), interrogatives (§8.2.6), prepositional phrases (§8.2.7), and relative clauses (§8.2.8).

8.2.1. Verbs [N V]

Adnominally used verbs always follow their head nominals such that ‘N V’, as shown in (18) to (27). Most often, the adnominal modifier is a stative verb, as in (18) to (21), although noun phrases with adnominally used dynamic verbs also occur, as in (22) to (25). (The distributional preferences of attributively used stative and dynamic verbs are discussed in §5.3.2.)

In noun phrases with adnominally used stative verbs, as in (18) to (21), the head nominal is typically a bare noun as in (18), or a reduplicated noun as in (19). The adnominal modifier is usually a bare stative verb, such as *besar* ‘be big’ in (18) or *panjang* ‘be long’ in (19). However, the modifier can also be a multi-word phrase with an overt coordinator as in *puti dengan hitam* ‘white and black’ in (20), or with juxtaposed constituents as in the elicited near contrastive example in (21). Overall, though, multi-word modifier phrases are rare and limited to phrases with two adnominally used verbs.

Noun phrases with adnominal stative verbs

- (18) sa su liat ada **pohong besar** di depang
 1SG already see exist tree be.big at front
 ‘I already saw there was a **big tree** in front’ [081025-008-Cv.0019]
- (19) langsung **kuku~kuku panjang** keluar
 immediately RDP~digit.nail be.long leave
 ‘immediately (his) **long claws** came out’ [081115-001a-Cv.0077]
- (20) sa pu bapa kubur sa pu tete pu
 1SG POSS father bury 1SG POSS grandfather POSS
 [**kaing [puti dengan hitam]**]
 cloth be.white with be.black
 ‘my father buried my grandfather’s **white and black cloth**’ [081014-014-NP.0047]
- (21) sa pu bapa kubur sa pu tete pu
 1SG POSS father bury 1SG POSS grandfather POSS
 [**kaing [hitam puti]**]
 cloth be.black be.white
 ‘my father buried my grandfather’s **white (and) black cloth**’ [Elicited BR130221.036]¹⁸⁸

Adnominally used dynamic verbs denote activities, associated with the head nominal, as in (22) to (25). The head nominal can denote an agent who carries out the activity encoded by the verb, as with monovalent *jalang* ‘walk’ in (22), or a patient who undergoes this activity, as with bivalent *bakar* ‘burn’ in (23). The head can also express a spatial or temporal location where the activity occurs as with monovalent *mandi* ‘bathe’ in (24) and *bangung* ‘get up’ in (25), respectively.

Noun phrases with adnominal dynamic verbs

- (22) ana itu **tukang jalang**
 child D.DIST craftsman walk
 ‘that kid **doesn’t like staying at home**’ (Lit. ‘**specialist (in) walk(ing)**’)
 [080927-001-Cv.0007]

¹⁸⁸ According to one consultant, Papuan Malay speakers prefer *hitam puti* ‘black (and) white’ over *puti hitam* ‘white (and) black’, although both constructions are acceptable.

- (23) pi ambil **kayu bakar, kayu bakar** buat Natal
 go fetch wood burn wood burn for Christmas
 ‘(we) went to get **firewood, firewood** for Christmas’ (Lit. ‘**wood to burn**’)
 [081006-017-Cv.0014]
- (24) tra ada **kamar mandi**
 NEG exist room bathe
 ‘there weren’t (any) **bathrooms**’ (Lit. ‘**room (where) to bathe**’) [081025-009a-Cv.0059]
- (25) sa pu **jam~jam bangun** bu kang jam empat
 1SG POSS RDP~hour get.up NEG hour four
 ‘my **time to get up** is not four o’clock’ (Lit ‘**hours (when) to wake-up**’)
 [081025-006-Cv.0061]

Noun phrases with adnominally used verbs can further be modified with numerals. In the present corpus, the adnominally used numeral is always the numeral *satu* ‘one’, as in (26) and (27).

Noun phrases with adnominal verbs and numerals

- (26) [[[**tangang pendek**] **satu**] tu] ((laughter))
 hand be.short one D.DIST
 [About an acquaintance:] ‘**that one short-handed (one)** ((laughter))’
 [081006-016-Cv.0036]
- (27) [[**kampung tua**] **satu**] yang perna om Wili ...
 village be.old one REL once uncle Wili
 ‘**a certain old village** where uncle Wili once ...’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0290]

8.2.2. Nouns [N N]

In noun phrases with adnominally used nouns, a post-head noun N2 modifies the head nominal N1 “in a productive syntactic construction” (Dryer 2007b: 175), such that ‘N1 N2’. Characterized by the semantic subordination of the N2 modifier under the head nominal N1, the semantics of such constructions are compositional.

In Papuan Malay, the distinction between a noun phrase with an adnominally used noun, hereafter N1N2-NP, and a compound with juxtaposed nominal constituents is not clear-cut, however. Word combinations or collocations range from two word expressions with compositional transparent semantics such as *air sagu* ‘liquid of the sago palm tree’, to less compositional two-word expressions, such as *kampung-tana* ‘home village’ (literally ‘village-ground’). This section focuses on N1N2-NPs; the demarcation of such phrasal expression from compounds, and compounding in general, are discussed in §3.2.1.

N1N2-NPs denote important features for subclassification of the superordinate head nominal. Typically, the head of an N1N2-NP is a noun, as shown in (28) to (42). Less often, the head is a deverbal constituent as in (43) and (44). Semantically, N1N2-NPs denote a wide range of associative relations between the N1 and the N2, as shown in (28) to (44): part-whole, element-of, property-of, associated-with, name-of, subtype-of, composed-of, and purpose-for relations, as well as locational

relations, temporal relations, and event relations. N1N2-NPS encode inalienable and alienable concepts.

Inalienable ‘part-whole’ relations of body parts and plants are given in (28) and (29), respectively, while (30) illustrates an alienable ‘element-of’ relation. (More types of ‘element-of’ relations are found in Table 2.)

‘Part-whole’ and ‘element-of’ relations

- (28) sa bilang, **tulang bahu** yang pata
 1SG say bone shoulder REL broken
 ‘I said, ‘(it’s my) **shoulder bone** that is broken’’ [081015-005-NP.0048]
- (29) adu sa pu **daung bawang** itu
 oh.no! 1SG POSS leaf onion D.DIST
 [After someone had plucked some onion leaves:] ‘oh no, my **onion leaves** there!’ [081006-024-CvEx.0043]
- (30) dong dua itu **ketua panitia** itu
 3PL two D.DIST chairperson committee D.DIST
 ‘those two of them are those **committee chair people**’ [080917-002-Cv.0018]

N1N2-NPS expressing ‘property-of’ and ‘associated-with’ relations are given in (31) and (32), respectively.

‘Property-of’ and ‘associated-with’ relations

- (31) dari situ kembali ambil **seng greja**
 from L.MED return fetch corrugated.iron church
 ‘from there (I) returned (and) took **the corrugated iron sheets of the church**’ [080927-004-CvNP.0005]
- (32) ... sa su bakar ruma itu, **ruma setan** itu
 1SG already burn house D.DIST house evil.spirit D.DIST
 ‘[(if) I, umh, for example, were in Aruswar or Niwerawar,] I would already have burnt that house, that **evil spirit’s house**’ [081025-009a-Cv.0198]

‘Name-of’ relations are presented in (33) and (34). (Other types of ‘name-of’ relations are found in Table 2.)

‘Name-of’ relations

- (33) yo bapa, **hari Minggu** sa datang
 yes father day Sunday 1SG come
 ‘yes father, on **Sunday** I’ll come’ (Lit. ‘**Sunday day**’) [080922-001a-CvPh.0344]
- (34) knapa ko gambar monyet di bawa **pohon pisang**
 why 2SG draw monkey at under tree banana
 ‘why did you draw the monkey under **the banana tree**?’ [081109-002-JR.0004]

‘Subtype-of’ relations are presented in (35) to (37). The example in (37) also shows that N1N2-NPS can have three nominal constituents: the first two nominals form a

nested N1N2 construction, namely *ibu guru* ‘Ms. teacher’. This construction is modified by the third nominal *Hendrika* (N1N2-NPs with more than three nominal constituents are unattested in the present corpus.)

‘Subtype-of’ relations

- (35) ... maka pake [**bahasa [orang bisu]**]
 therefore use language person be.mute
 ‘[she couldn’t speak the Indonesian language,] therefore (she) used **sign language**’ (Lit. ‘**language of mute people**’) [081006-023-CvEx.0073]
- (36) ... supaya Sarmi ada [[**petinju prempuang**] satu]
 so.that Sarmi exist boxer woman one
 ‘... so that Sarmi has a certain **woman boxer**’ [081023-003-Cv.0005]
- (37) [[[**ibu guru**] **Hendrika**] ini] kasiang ...
 woman teacher Hendrika D.PROX pity
 ‘**Ms. Teacher Hendrika** here, poor thing ...’ [080916-001-CvNP.0005]

N1N2-NPs expressing ‘composed-of’ and ‘purpose-for’ relations are illustrated in (38) and (39), respectively.

‘Composed-of’ and ‘purpose-for’ relations

- (38) smua jalang kaya **kapal kayu**
 all walk like ship wood
 ‘(they) all were strolling around like **wooden boats**’ [081025-009a-Cv.0188]
- (39) yo, **net laki~laki** tong yang bli
 yes (sport.)net RDP~husband 1PL REL buy
 ‘yes, the (volley-ball) **net for men**, (it was) us who (bought it)’ [081023-001-Cv.0012]

Locational and temporal relations between the N1 and N2 are illustrated in (40) to (42). The N2 denotes a locational relation in (40), and a temporal relation in (41). In (42) the first two nominals express a locational relation between the head *ampas* ‘waste’ and its modifier noun, the source *pinang* ‘betel nut’. This N1N2 construction is modified with the third nominal *malam* ‘night’ which denotes a temporal relation. (Other types of locational relations are found in Table 2.)

Locational and temporal relations

- (40) orang Papua bilang **jin kayu**
 person Papua say genie wood
 ‘Papuan call (them) **tree genies**’ [081006-022-CvEx.0054]
- (41) [[**jam tiga**] **pagi**?]
 hour three morning
 ‘(was it) **three o’clock in the morning?**’ [080918-001-CvNP.0042]
- (42) [[[**ampas pinang**] **malam**] tu] sa taru
 waste betel.nut night D.DIST 1SG put
 ‘that **evening’s betel nut waste**, I put (it aside)’ [081025-006-Cv.0296]

An N1N2-NP can also be formed with a deverbal nominal head as in (43) and (44). Semantically, the N1N2-NP in (43) expresses an event relation in which adnominal *tugu* ‘monument’ is affected by the event expressed by the deverbal head N1. The N1N2-NP in (44) denotes a locational relation with the deverbal head N1 originating from the nominal spatial source N2.

Subordinate N1N2-NPs with deverbal constituent

- (43) ada [[**pasang tugu**] **itu**]
 exist install monument D.DIST
 [Giving directions:] ‘there is **that statue installation**’ [080917-008-NP.0017]
- (44) kalo angkat air jemur di **panas mata-hari**
 if lift water dry at be.hot sun
 ‘when (you) fetch water, warm (it) up in **the heat of the sun**’ [081006-013-Cv.0005]

Table 2 gives an overview of the different associative meaning relations expressed with N1N2-NPs.

Table 2: Associative meaning relations encoded by N1N2-NPs

	Papuan Malay N1N2	Glosses	Free translation
1.	Part-whole relation – N1 is a part of N2: (a) human body part, (b) nonhuman body part, (c) plant part		
(a)	<i>urat kaki</i>	tendon foot	‘foot tendon’
(b)	<i>duri ikang</i>	thorn fish	‘fish bone’
(c)	<i>pelepa sagu</i>	stem sago	‘sago stem’
2.	‘Element-of’ relation – N1 is an element of N2: (a) spatial location of a concrete object, (b) temporal location of an abstract object, (c) time segment within a time period, (d) member of an institution		
(a)	<i>blakang kapak</i>	backside axe	‘backside of an axe’
(b)	<i>tenga sembayang</i>	middle worship	‘middle of the worship’
(c)	<i>malam hari</i>	night day	‘evening (of the day)’
(d)	<i>petugas polisi</i>	official police	‘police official’
3.	Property relation – N1 is a property of N2		
	<i>ruma orang</i>	house person	‘(other) people’s house’
	<i>cara orang Papua</i>	way person Papua	‘Papuan traditions’
4.	‘Affiliated-with’ relation: N1 is affiliated with N2		
	<i>ruma setan</i>	house evil.spirit	‘house of an evil spirit’
	<i>ana~ana iblis</i>	RDP~child devil	‘children of the devil’

Papuan Malay N1N2	Glosses	Free translation
5.	Name-of relation – N2 designates the name of N1: (a) animal, (b) plant, (c) personal name, (d) clan/ethnic group, (e) disease, (f) building/institution, (g) language, (h) religion, (i) spatial location, (j) temporal location	
(a)	<i>ikang gurango</i> fish shark	‘shark fish’
(b)	<i>sayur bayam</i> vegetable amaranth	‘amaranth vegetable’
(c)	<i>nama Nofela</i> name Nofela	‘(of the) name Nofela’
(d)	<i>marga Sope</i> clan Sope	‘Sope clan’
(e)	<i>penyakit malaria</i> disease malaria	‘malaria disease’
(f)	<i>greja Kema-Injil</i> church Kema-Injil	‘Kema-Injil church’
(g)	<i>bahasa Inggris</i> language England	‘English language’
(h)	<i>agama Kristen</i> religion Christian	‘Christian religion’
(i)	<i>kota Sarmi</i> city Sarmi	‘Sarmi city’
(j)	<i>hari Kamis</i> day Thursday	‘Thursday’
6.	‘Subtype-of’ relation – N2 designates a specific type of N1	
	<i>ana murid</i> child school	‘school kid’
	<i>kaing spreya</i> cloth bed sheet	‘bed sheets’
7.	‘Composed-of’ relation – N1 is composed of or made from N2	
	<i>ruma batu</i> house stone	‘stone house’
	<i>kantong plastik</i> bag plastic	‘plastic bag’
8.	‘Purpose-for’ relation: N1 is intended for / at the disposal of N2	
	<i>net laki-laki</i> net man	‘(volleyball) net for men’
	<i>sikat gigi</i> brush tooth	‘toothbrush’
9.	Locational relation: (a) N1 contains N2; (b) N1 is located at/in/on N2; (c) N1 originates from spatial location N2; (d) N1 originates from nonspatial source N2	
(a)	<i>lampu gas</i> lamp gas	‘gas lamp’
(b)	<i>jin-jin kayu</i> genies wood	‘tree genies’
(c)	<i>pisang Sorong</i> banana Sorong	‘bananas from Sorong’
(d)	<i>mop orang Sarmi</i> joke people Sarmi	‘joke by the Sarmi people’
10.	Temporal relation – N2 gives temporal specifications for N1	
	<i>jam dua pagi</i> hour two morning	‘two o’clock in the morning’
	<i>hari Senin depan</i> day Monday front	‘next Monday’
11.	Event relation: N2 is affected by event N1	
	<i>pasang tugu</i> install monument	‘statue installation’

8.2.3. Personal pronouns [N PRO]

Papuan Malay noun phrases are often modified with personal pronouns in post-head position, such that ‘N PRO’; the long and short pronouns are used interchangeably. Encoding the number and person of their referents, the adnominally used personal pronouns typically function as “personal determiners” (Lyons 1999: 141), which indicate “which member of which subset of a set of entities is being referred to” (Lyons 1977: 454–455). This also applies to Papuan Malay, in that the adnominally used personal pronouns signal the identifiability of their referents. (Personal pronouns and their adnominal uses are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.)

In signaling the definiteness, person, and number of their referents, the adnominally used personal pronouns are available for all person-number values, except for first person singular *saya/sa* ‘1SG’. This is shown with the three examples in (45) to (47).

Adnominal singular personal pronouns indicate the singularity of their referents, as shown with *ko* ‘2SG’ and *dia* ‘3SG’ in (45). In addition, they have pertinent discourse functions, discussed in detail in §6.2.1. Noun phrases with adnominally used plural personal pronouns have two readings. With an indefinite referent, such as *laki~laki* ‘man’ in (46), the noun phrase receives an additive plural reading. With a definite referent such as *Roni* in (47), the noun phrase receives an associative inclusory plural reading. Both readings are discussed in detail in §6.2.2.

Noun phrases with adnominal personal pronouns

- (45) **Wili ko** jangang gara~gara **tanta dia itu**
 Wili 2SG NEG.IMP RDP~irritate aunt 3SG D.DIST
 ‘you Wili don’t irritate that aunt’ [081023-001-Cv.0038]
- (46) jadi **laki~laki kitong** harus bayar spulu juta sama ...
 so RDP~husband 1PL have.to pay ten million with
 ‘so we men have to pay ten million to ...’ [081110-005-CvPr.0107]
- (47) **Roni dong** kas tinggal itu babi di sini
 Roni 3PL give stay D.DIST pig at L.PROX
 ‘Roni and the others left, what’s-its-name, the pig here’ [080917-008-NP.0135]

8.2.4. Demonstratives [N DEM]

Within the noun phrase, adnominally used demonstratives are placed at the right periphery, where they have scope over the entire noun phrase, such that ‘N DEM’: proximal *ini* ‘D.PROX’ or distal *itu* ‘D.DIST’, or their respective reduced forms *ni* ‘D.PROX’ and *tu* ‘D.DIST’. Like adnominally used personal pronouns (§8.2.3), the adnominal demonstratives function as determiners. Unlike the personal pronouns, however, they signal specificity rather than definiteness. That is, they mark an expression’s referent “as a bounded, individuated entity in the message world” (Payne 1997: 234) whose identity is known to the speaker (see also Andrews 2007: 148).

The head nominal can be a noun such as *ana* ‘child’ in (48), a personal pronoun such as *dia* ‘3SG’ in (48), a locative such as *sana* ‘L.DIST’ in (49), or another demonstrative such as *itu* ‘D.DIST’ in (50). (Demonstratives and their adnominal uses are discussed in detail in §7.1.)

- (48) **ana itu** sa paling sayang **dia tu**
 child D.DIST 1SG most love 3SG D.DIST
 ‘that child, I love her (EMPH) most’ [081011-023-Cv.0097]
- (49) sana, te ada di **sana itu**
 L.DIST tea exist at L.DIST D.DIST
 ‘there, the tea is over there (EMPH)’ [081014-011-CvEx.0010]
- (50) ... **itu tu** kata~kata dasar yang harusnya kamu tau
 D.DIST D.DIST RDP~word base REL appropriately 2PL know
 [Addressing a school student:] ‘[do you know the (English) word ‘please’ or not?..] that very (word belongs to) the basic words that you should know’ [081115-001a-Cv.0145]

8.2.5. Locatives [N LOC]

Adnominally used locatives occur in post-head position, such that ‘N LOC’. This is illustrated with proximal *sini* ‘L.PROX’ in (51), and distal *sana* ‘L.DIST’ as in (52). The head nominal may be a noun such as *ana* ‘child’ in (51), or a personal pronoun such as *dong* ‘3PL’ in (52). (A detailed discussion on locatives and their adnominal uses is found in §7.2.)

- (51) kamu **ana~ana sini tu** enak skali
 2PL RDP~child L.PROX D.DIST be.pleasant very
 ‘you, the young people here (EMPH), (live) very pleasant (lives)’ [081115-001b-Cv.0060]
- (52) **dong sana** cari anging
 3PL L.DIST search wind
 ‘they over there are looking for a breeze’ [081025-009b-Cv.0076]

8.2.6. Interrogatives [N INT]

Most adnominally used interrogatives occur in post-head position, such that ‘N INT’: *siapa* ‘who’, *apa* ‘what’, *mana* ‘where, which’ and *bagaimana* ‘how’. Syntactically, the interrogatives remain *in-situ*; that is, noun phrases with adnominally used interrogatives correspond to their non-interrogative expressions. This is illustrated with *siapa* ‘who’ in (53), and *mana* ‘where, which’ in (54).

The exception is *brapa* ‘how many’ which can precede or follow its head nominal, depending on the semantics of the phrasal structure, which are discussed in detail in §8.3.2. Thereby *brapa* ‘how many’ is similar to numerals and quantifiers, which have an ‘N-MOD / MOD-N’ structure. In (55), *brapa* ‘how many’ precedes a countable referent whereby it questions its absolute number, while in (56) the

interrogative follows a countable referent, whereby it questions a unique position within a series. In declarative sentences, *brapa* ‘how many’ also functions as a mid-range quantifier. This function is illustrated in §8.3.2, which discusses modification with quantifiers.

The interrogatives always occur in noun phrases with nominal head such as the common noun *kaka* ‘older sibling’ in (53). Modification of personal pronouns or other constituents does not occur. (More details on the interrogatives and also their adnominal uses are found in §5.8.)

- (53) **kaka siapa**
oSb who
[Question about a relative] ‘older sibling who?’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0840]
- (54) **jembatan mana**
bridge where
‘which bridge?’ [081006-020-Cv.0018]
- (55) yo, **brapa orang empat**
yes how.many person four
‘yes, how many people? four?’ [081011-005-Cv.0008]
- (56) yang bongso tu **klas brapa**
REL youngest.offspring D.DIST class how.many
[About the interlocutor’s children:] ‘the youngest one (goes into) which class?’ [080923-009-Cv.0016]

8.2.7. Prepositional phrases [N PP]

Noun phrases can be modified with prepositional phrases, such that ‘N PP’. Overall, however, such noun phrases are uncommon. In the present corpus, four prepositions occur in adnominally used prepositional phrases, namely locative *di* ‘at, in’ as in (16), repeated as (57), relative *dari* ‘from’ as in (58), benefactive *untuk* ‘for’ as in (59), and similitive *sperti* ‘like’ as in (60). (For a detailed discussion on prepositions and prepositional phrases see Chapter 10.)

Noun phrases with adnominal prepositional phrases

- (57) **dong di Papua tu** dong makang papeda
3PL at Papua D.DIST 3PL eat sagu.porridge
‘they in Papua there, they eat sagu porridge’ [081109-009-JR.0001]
- (58) itu **iblis~iblis dari ruang ini** yang ganggu
D.DIST RDP~devil from room D.PROX REL disturb
‘it’s the devils from this room who are disturbing (you)’ [081011-008-CvPh.0018]
- (59) di sana kang masi **tempat untuk kafir**
at L.DIST you.know still place for unbeliever
‘(the area) over there, you know, is still a location for unbelievers’
[081011-022-Cv.0238]

- (60) **orang-orang sperti begitu yang tida mengenal Kristus**
 RDP~person like like.that REL NEG know Kristus
 ‘(it’s) **people like those** who don’t know Christ ...’ [081006-023-CvEx.0034]

8.2.8. Relative clauses [N RC]

Relative clauses are introduced with the relativizer **yang** ‘REL’. They always follow their head nominal, such that ‘N RC’. The head nominal can be a noun as in (61), a personal pronoun as in (62), a demonstrative as in (63), a locative as in (64), or an interrogative as in (65). The syntax of relatives clauses is discussed in detail in §14.3.2 (see also the respective sections in Chapter 5 on ‘Word classes’, as well as Chapter 6, and Chapter 7).

- (61) ... tapi di sini **prempuang yang tokok**
 but at L.PROX woman REL tap
 ‘[at Pante-Timur all the men pound (sago),] but here (it’s) **the women who pound** (sago)’ [081014-007-CvEx.0073]
- (62) a, **ko yang tanya** to?
 ah! 2SG REL ask right?
 ‘ah, (it was) **you who asked**, right?’ [080923-014-CvEx.0010]
- (63) **itu yang orang Papua skarang mau**
 D.DIST REL person Papua now want
 ‘**that’s what Papuans want nowadays**’ [081025-004-Cv.0077]
- (64) di **sini yang** tra banyak
 at L.PROX REL NEG many
 [About logistic problems:] ‘(it’s) **here where** there weren’t many (passengers)’ [081025-008-Cv.0140]
- (65) kamu tida perna dengar **apa yang orang-tua bicara**
 2PL NEG ever listen what REL parent speak
 ‘because you never listened to **what the elders said**’ [081115-001a-Cv.0338]

8.3. N-MOD / MOD-N structure

Noun phrases with adnominally used numerals or quantifiers can have an N-MOD or a MOD-N structure, depending on the semantics of the phrasal structure. When preposed, adnominal numerals and quantifiers signal individuality, while postposed numerals and quantifiers express exhaustivity or positions within series. Post-head numerals and quantifiers have scope over their head nominal including its verbal and/or nominal modifiers, while they, in turn, are within the scope of the demonstratives. Adnominally used numerals are discussed in §8.3.1, and adnominal quantifiers in §8.3.2.

8.3.1. Numerals [N Num / NUM N]

Two types of noun phrases with adnominally used numerals can be distinguished: (1) noun phrases with pre-head numerals, such that ‘Num N’, are presented in (66) to (69), and (2) noun phrases with post-head numerals, such that ‘N Num’, are illustrated in (70) to (73). (For a discussion of numerals as a word class see §5.9.)

Noun phrases with preposed numerals (‘NumN-NP’) express a sense of individuality by signaling the composite nature of their referents. This is achieved in that NumN-NP s denote absolute numbers of items expressed by their head nominals, including quantities as in (66) or periods of time as in (67).

NumN-NPs denoting definite quantities of countable referents: Individuality

- (66) ... brarti suda **empat orang** bisa masuk
 mean already four person be.able enter
 [About local elections:] ‘... that means that already **four people** can be included (in the list of nominees)’ [080919-001-Cv.0149]
- (67) ini untuk balita dang bayi yang usia dari
 D.PROX for children.under.five and baby REL age from
lima taung ke bawa sampe **dua bulang**
 five year to bottom until two month
 ‘this is for children and babies who are **five years** down to **two months**’
 [081010-001-Cv.0197]

If the exact absolute number of items is unknown, two numerals can be juxtaposed to indicate approximate quantities, as in (68) and (69). The approximated quantities are usually rather small such as *satu dua* ‘one or two’ in (68) or *tiga empat* ‘three or four’ as in (69). One consultant suggested that this preference for small quantities might be due to politeness considerations so as to not overwhelm the addressee with, for instance, long periods of time or large numbers of people.

NumN-NumN-NPs denoting approximate quantities

- (68) jangang ko lama ko **satu dua hari** saja
 NEG.IMP 2SG be.long 2SG one two day just
 ‘don’t (stay) long, just **one or two days**’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0736]
- (69) **tiga empat keluarga** harus ada di situ
 three four family have.to exist at L.MED
 ‘**three or four families** have to be there’ [080923-007-Cv.0018]

Noun phrases with post-head numerals (‘NNum-NP’) signal exhaustivity of definite referents, as in (70) and (71), or mark unique positions within series or sequences as in (72) and (73).

With head nominals undifferentiated in terms of their ranking, NNum-NPs indicate exhaustivity of definite referents. The head can be a noun, as in the elicited example in (70), or a personal pronoun as in (71).¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ The elicited example in (70) is based on the example in (15).

NNum-NPs denoting definite quantities of countable referents: Exhaustivity

- (70) trus tamba [[[kaka dari Mambramo] tiga] ni]
 next add oSb from Mambramo one D.PROX
 [About forming a volleyball team:] ‘and then add **these three older brothers from Mambramo**’ [Elicited BR111018.004]
- (71) nanti kitong empat su tidor di luar ...
 very.soon 1PL four already sleep at outside
 ‘after **the four of us** had already been sleeping outside ...’ [081025-009a-Cv.0004]

With head nominals differentiated in terms of their ranking within a series, NNum-NPs serve to “identify a referent in terms of its order with respect to other referents” (Dryer 2007b: 164). That is, they signal unique positions within this ranking as in (72), or specify unique points in time as in (73).

NNum-NPs denoting definite quantities of countable referents: Unique positions or points in time

- (72) kitong lari~lari sampe di SP tuju
 1PL RDP~run reach at transmigration.settlement seven
 ‘we drove all the way to **transmigration settlement number seven**’ (Lit. ‘**the seventh transmigration settlement**’) [081006-033-Cv.0007]
- (73) jam dua, tong keluar dari sini jam satu
 hour two 1PL leave from L.PROX hour one
 ‘(we arrived at) **two o’clock**, we left from here at **one o’clock**’ [081025-008-Cv.0099]

In (74) to (76), the opposition between the pre- and post-head positions is illustrated with (near) contrastive examples. In (74) pre-head *dua* ‘two’ designates the absolute number of items expressed by its head. In (75) post-head *dua* ‘two’ modifies a head nominal undifferentiated in terms of its ranking, whereby it signals the exhaustivity of its referent. In (76) post-head *dua* ‘two’ signals a unique position within a series.

Opposition between NumN-NPs and NNum-NPs

- (74) saya jaga dua jam, yo kurang lebi dua jam ...
 1SG guard two hour yes lack more two hour
 ‘I kept watch for **two hours**, yes, more or less for **two hours** ...’ [080919-004-NP.0016]
- (75) sidi dua dia potong
 CD.player two 3SG cut
 ‘**both CD players**, he destroyed (them)’ [081011-009-Cv.0006]
- (76) ini suda jam dua malam
 D.PROX already hour two night
 ‘this is already **two o’clock** at night’ [080916-001-CvNP.0001]

The data in (66) to (76) suggests that the NNum order is favored in more specific and definite constructions, namely to signal exhaustivity of definite referents or unique positions within series or sequences. The NumN order, by contrast, is associated with less specific or less definite constructions which express the absolute number of items denoted by the head nominal. These patterns contrast with Greenberg's (1978: 284) cross-linguistic findings concerning the word order in noun phrases with adnominal numerals:

44. The order noun-numeral is favored in indefinite and approximative constructions.

Greenberg (1978: 284) does note, however, that this statement is a generalization rather than a universal, given cross-linguistic variations in quantifier-noun [Q-N] order. Noting that “in some languages either QN or NQ may occur with any numeral” and that this “contrast of order may then have semantic or syntactic function”, Greenberg (1978: 284) presents a number of languages that, like Papuan Malay, employ NNum order in definite constructions rather than in indefinite ones.

Following Greenberg (1978: 284), the Papuan Malay NNum order in definite constructions is a variation of a much more common NumN order for these constructions. In his critique of Greenberg's (1978: 284) generalization #44, Donohue (2005a) demonstrates, however, that the NNum order in definite constructions is not a mere “variation” found in “some languages”. Rather, “there is a strong tendency for postnominal numerals to be interpreted in highly specific, highly definite ways” (2005a: 34). The data presented here suggests that the Papuan Malay word order in noun phrases with adnominally used numerals follows this same “strong tendency”.

8.3.2. Quantifiers [N QT / QT N]

Noun phrases with adnominally used quantifiers have syntactic properties similar to those with adnominally used numerals. Noun phrases with pre-head quantifiers ('QT-NP') express non-numeric amounts or quantities of the items indicated by their head nominals; they only modify countable referents. Noun phrases with post-head quantifier ('NQT-NP'), by contrast, either denote exhaustivity of indefinite referents or signal unknown positions within series or sequences; they modify countable as well as uncountable referents. (For a discussion of quantifiers as a word class see §5.10.)

The following adnominal quantifiers are attested: universal *smua* 'all', *segala* 'all', *masing-masing* 'each', *(se)tiap* 'every', and *sembarang* 'any', and mid-range *banyak* 'many', *sedikit* 'few', and *stenga* 'half'. In addition, the interrogative *brapa* 'how many' (§8.2.6) functions as a mid-range quantifier in declarative sentences.

Five quantifiers can occur in pre- or post-head position, namely *banyak* 'many', *brapa* 'how many', *masing-masing* 'each', *sedikit* 'few', and *smua* 'all', as shown in (81) to (96). The other four quantifiers, that is, *segala* 'all', *sembarang* 'any', *(se)tiap* 'every', and *stenga* 'half', only occur in pre-head position where they signal non-numeric quantities of countable referents, as illustrated in (77) to (80). While *sembarang* 'any' is only used with animate referents as in (78), *setiap* 'every' and *stenga* 'half' are only used with inanimate referents as in (79) and (80), respectively.

Quantifier *segala* ‘all’ is always combined with the noun *macam* ‘variety’ with *segala macam* expressing the notion of ‘all kinds, whatever kind’ as in (77).¹⁹⁰

QTN-NPS denoting indefinite quantities of countable referents: Individuality

- (77) **segala macam** dia biking
all variety 3SG make
[About an ancestor’s achievements:] ‘**all kinds (of things)**, he made (them)’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0297]
- (78) sa tra bisa kasi **sembarang orang**
1SG NEG be.able give any person
‘I can’t give (the gasoline to just) **any person**’ [081110-002-Cv.0080]
- (79) **setiap renungang pagi** sa su kasi nasihat itu
every meditation morning 1SG already give advice D.DIST
‘(during) **each morning devotions**, I already give (them) that (same) advice’ [081115-001b-Cv.0008]
- (80) mungking **stenga jam** saja sa tidor
maybe half hour just 1SG sleep
‘I slept for maybe just **half an hour**’ [081115-001b-Cv.0056]

The quantifiers *banyak* ‘many’, *masing-masing* ‘each’, *sedikit* ‘few’, and *smua* ‘all’, as well as the interrogative *brapa* ‘how many’ can precede or follow their head nominals. Both phrasal structures serve distinct semantic functions similar to those of adnominal numerals, discussed in §8.3.1, although the contrast is more subtle.

QTN-NPS with pre-head *smua* ‘all’, *banyak* ‘many’, *sedikit* ‘few’, *masing-masing* ‘each’, and *brapa* ‘how many’ denote the non-numeric quantities of countable referents. Thereby, QTN-NPS express the composite nature of their referents which conveys a sense of individuality, such that ‘Qt amount of N’ as in (81) to (85). The corpus includes only few noun phrases with adnominally used *sedikit* ‘few’ all of which have *sedikit* ‘few’ in post-head position. According to one of the consultants, however, adnominal modification with pre-head *sedikit* ‘few’ is natural and common, as illustrated with the elicited example in (83).

QTN-NPS denoting indefinite quantities of countable referents: Individuality

- (81) **smua buku** bisa basa
all book be.able be.wet
‘**all books** could get wet’ [080917-008-NP.0189]
- (82) de itu kalo **banyak orang** de biasa begitu
3SG D.DIST when many person 3SG be.usual like.that
‘if there’re **many people**, he’s usually like that’ [081025-006-Cv.0274]

¹⁹⁰ To express the notion of ‘every person’, speakers prefer quantification with *masing-masing* ‘each’.

- (83) de itu kalo **sedikit orang** de biasa begitu
 3SG D.DIST when many person 3SG be.usual like.that
 ‘if there’re **few people**, he’s usually like that’ [Elicited BR111021.004]
- (84) bayar mas-kawin ini laing **masing-masing budaya**
 pay bride.price D.PROX be.different each culture
 ‘paying this bride price is different (for) **each culture**’ [081006-029-CvEx.0014]
- (85) tentara itu ada brapa ratus orang, ada sekitar
 soldier D.DIST exist how.many hundred person exist vicinity
brapa pleton
 how.many platoon
 ‘those soldiers were several hundred people, (they) were approximately **several platoons**’ [081029-005-Cv.0131]

NQT-NPs signal exhaustivity of indefinite countable referents or denote unknown positions within series of countable referents, as shown in (86) to (92). While the head is typically noun, as in (87), it can also be a personal pronoun as in (86).

With *smua* ‘all’, *banyak* ‘many’, *sedikit* ‘few’, or *masing-masing* ‘each’, NQT-NPs signal a contrastive sense of exhaustivity: N *smua* translates with ‘the entire collection of N (with nobody/nothing missing)’ as in (86), N *banyak* with ‘many (and not just a few) N’ as in (87), N *sedikit* with ‘few (and not many) N’ as in (88), and N *masing-masing* with ‘each N’ as in (90). As mentioned above, the present corpus includes only few noun phrases with adnominally used *sedikit* ‘few’ one of which is presented in (88): *ikang sedikit* ‘few fish’. Alternatively, however, *ikang sedikit* could receive the predicative reading ‘the fish are few’. Therefore, an additional elicited example is given in (89). The examples in (81) to (90) also illustrate that *smua* ‘all’, *banyak* ‘many’, *sedikit* ‘few’, and *masing-masing* ‘each’ can be used with animate or inanimate referents.

NQT-NPs denoting indefinite quantities of countable referents: Exhaustivity

- (86) **tong smua** dari kampung
 1PL all from village
 ‘**we all** are from the village’ [081010-001-Cv.0084]
- (87) ... baca **buku banyak skali**
 read book many very
 ‘... (I’ve) read **very many books**’ [080917-010-CvEx.0172]
- (88) kalo **ikang sedikit** itu untuk tamu
 if fish few D.DIST for guest
 ‘as for the **few fish**, those are for the guests’ [081014-011-CvEx.0008]
- (89) sa ada bawa **kladi sedikit** buat mama dong
 1SG exist bring taro.root few for mother 3PL
 ‘I’m bringing **a few taro roots** for mother and the others’ [Elicited BR111021.006]

- (90) dong antar petatas dengan sayur dulu taru tumpukang
 3PL bring sweet.potato with vegetable be.prior put pile
 di **klompok masing-masing** begitu
 at group each like.that
 ‘first they bring the sweet potatoes and vegetables (and) place the piles (of food) in (front of) **each group** like that’ [Elicited BR111021.001]¹⁹¹

NQT-NPs with post-head *brapa* ‘how many’ can signal exhaustivity of its referents, as in (91), or mark unknown positions within series expressed by its referents, as in (92), depending on the semantics of the head nominal.

NQT-NPs with post-head *brapa* ‘how many’

- (91) sa maki **dorang brapa** itu
 1SG abuse.verbally 3PL how.many D.DIST
 ‘I verbally abused **several of them** there’ (Lit. ‘**they how many**’) [080923-008-Cv.0012]
- (92) kalo di situ kang, **jam brapa** saja bisa
 if at L.MED you.know hour how.many just be.able
 ‘as for (the office) there, you know, (you) can (go there) **any time**’ (Lit. ‘**(the) how manyeth hour**’) [081005-001-Cv.0001]

Noun phrases with uncountable referents are modified with post-head quantifiers only, as shown in (93) to (95). This restriction is due to the semantics of mass nouns which, per se do, not convey the sense of individuality encoded by the pre-head position of the quantifiers, illustrated in (78) to (92). Adnominal quantifiers for mass nouns are *banyak* ‘many’ as in (93), *sedikit* ‘few’ as in (94), or *smua* ‘all’ as in (95).

NQT-NPs denoting indefinite quantities of uncountable referents: Exhaustivity

- (93) minum **te banyak**, minum te dulu
 drink tea many drink tea be.prior
 ‘drink **lots of tea**, drink tea for now!’ [081011-001-Cv.0240]
- (94) tida bisa **air sedikit** pung sentu sa pu mulut
 NEG be.able water few even touch 1SG POSS mouth
 [About a sickness:] ‘not even **the least bit of water** could touch my mouth’ [081006-035-CvEx.0050]
- (95) ... buka **de pu kulit smua**
 open 3SG POSS skin all
 ‘(they skin him alive and) peel off **his entire skin**’ [081029-004-Cv.0047]

Typically, post-head *smua* ‘all’ is adjacent to its source noun phrases. Alternatively, however, it can float to a clause-final position, as shown in (96) and (97).

¹⁹¹ The elicited example presented in (90) is the corrected version of the original recording *tumpukang masing klompok masing-masing* ‘pile each[TRU] group each’ [081014-017-CvPr.0043]. That is, the speaker started off by saying *tumpukang masing-masing* but she corrected herself, resulting in the truncated quantifier *masing* ‘each[TRU]’ and the missing locative preposition *di* ‘at’.

Floating adnominal quantifier *smua* ‘all’

- (96) **makangang** kas tinggal **smua**
 food give stay all
 ‘(he was made) to leave **all (his) food** (untouched)’ [081025-008-Cv.0048]
- (97) **dong** diam **smua**
 3PL be.quiet all
 ‘**they** were **all** quiet’ [080922-003-Cv.0095]

8.4. MOD-N structure: Adnominal possession

In Papuan Malay, adnominal possessive relations between two noun phrases are marked with the possessive ligature *punya*, or reduced *pu* ‘POSS’. Such possessive constructions have a MOD-N constituent order which is opposite to the canonical N-MOD structure. That is, the head nominal encoding the possessum (POSSM) takes the N2 slot, following the possessive ligature (LIG), whereas the modifier expressing the possessor (POSSR) takes the N1 slot, such that ‘POSSR-NP – LIG – POSSM-NP’. This is shown with the adnominal possessive construction in (98).

- (98)
- | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|--------------|------------|------------------|--------------------|
| | POSSR | LIG | POSSM | | |
| nanti | Hendro | punya | ade | prempuang | kawin ... |
| very.soon | Hendro | POSS | ySb | woman | marry.inofficially |
- ‘eventually **Hendro’s younger sister** would marry ...’ [081006-028-CvEx.0007]

Syntactically, a variety of constituents can encode the possessor and the possessum, as shown in (99). The possessor slot can be taken by a lexical noun as in (99a-b) a personal pronoun as in (99c-d), a demonstrative as in (99e), the interrogative *siapa* ‘who’ as in (99f), or a noun phrase as in (99g). The possessum can be encoded by a lexical noun as in (99c, f-e), a demonstrative as in (99a-b), the interrogative *siapa* ‘who’ as in (99d), or a noun phrase as in (99g). Possessive noun phrases with a personal pronoun possessum are unattested. (Adnominal possession, including the non-canonical functions of the possessive marker, is discussed in Chapter 9.)

Syntactic constituents of adnominal possessive constructions¹⁹²

- | | POSSR | LIG | POSSM | Adnominal possessive construction |
|---------|-------|--------------|-------|--|
| (99) a. | N | pu | DEM | ade pu itu
‘younger sister’s (fish)’ |
| b. | N | pu | DEM | Fitri pu ini
‘Fitri’s (belongings)’ |
| c. | PRO | punya | N | de punya bulu~bulu
‘its (the dog’s) body hair’ |

¹⁹² Documentation: 080919-006-CvNP.0028, 080921-009-Cv.0020, 080922-001a-CvPh.1123, 080925-004-Cv.0006, 081006-019-Cv.0002, 081025-006-Cv.0058, 081106-001-Ex.0007.

	POSSR	LIG	POSSM	Adnominal possessive construction
d.	PRO	<i>pu</i>	INT	sa pu siapa 'whom of my (relatives)'
e.	DEM	<i>pu</i>	N	ini pu muka 'this (one's) face'
f.	INT	<i>pu</i>	N	siapa pu sandal 'whose sandals'
g.	NP	<i>pu</i>	NP	mama Klara pu ana prempuang 'mother Klara's daughter'

8.5. Apposition

In an apposition two "or more noun phrases" have "the same referent" and stand "in the same syntactical relation to the rest of the sentence" (Asher 1994: 5093). Papuan Malay employs two types of appositional constructions, namely, apposition of a noun with another noun or noun phrase, such that 'N NP', and apposition of a personal pronoun with a noun or noun phrase, such that 'PRO NP'. This section describes 'N NP' appositions, while 'PRO NP' appositions are discussed in §6.1.6.

Papuan Malay 'N NP' appositions are restrictive. That is, the apposed or juxtaposed noun phrase is needed for the appropriate identification of the referent encoded by the initial noun. There are no formal distinctions, though, between the 'N NP' appositions discussed here and noun phrases with adnominally used nouns (N1N2-NP), discussed in §8.2.2; the distinction is based on semantics.

In the present corpus, 'N NP' appositions are rare, and in each case the initial noun encodes a kinship term, as in (100) and (101). The juxtaposed noun phrase *ibu pendeta* 'Ms. Pastor' in (100) is appositional to the first noun *kaka* 'older sibling'. It provides information necessary for the identification of the referent. In (101), the appositional noun phrase *ketua klasis* 'church district chairperson' serves as an identifying explanation for the reference of the initial noun *bapa* 'father'.

- (100) bapa-ade ini kaka **kaka ibu pendeta** dengan ini
 uncle D.PROX oSb oSb woman pastor with D.PROX
 mama-tua nene ini dong tertawa
 aunt grandmother D.PROX 3PL laugh
 'uncle here (and) older sibling, **older sibling, Ms. Pastor**, and, what's-her-name, aunt, grandmother here, they were laughing' [080922-001a-CvPh.0824]
- (101) ... bapa di dalam, **bapa ketua klasis**
 father at inside father chairperson church.district
 '[that's what I've never told older sibling, what's-his-name,] father (who's) inside, **father, the church district chairperson**' [080922-010a-CvNF.0104]

8.6. Summary

The head of a noun phrase is typically a noun or personal pronoun. Further, although less common, demonstratives, locatives, or interrogatives can also function as heads. The canonical word order within the noun phrase is HEAD-MODIFIER. Depending on the syntactic properties of the adnominal constituents, though, a MODIFIER-HEAD order is also common. Attested in the present corpus is the co-occurrence of up to three post-head modifiers. The possible constituents of the maximally extended noun phrase and the order of these constituents is summarized in the template in Table 3 (the items in parenthesis are optional).

Table 3: Template of the maximally extended noun phrase

(INT)		(V)		(DEM)	
(NUM)	HEAD	(N)	(PRO)	(LOC)	(DEM)
(QT)		(PP)		(INT)	
(POSSR-NP)		(RC)		(NUM)	
				(QT)	

The template in Table 3 shows that noun phrases with adnominally used verbs, nouns, personal pronouns, demonstratives, locatives, interrogatives, prepositional phrases, and relative clauses have an N-MOD structure. Adnominal possessive constructions, by contrast, have a MOD-N structure with the modifying possessor phrase occurring in pre-head position. Noun phrases with adnominally used numerals and quantifiers have an N-MOD or MOD-N structure depending on the semantics of the phrasal structure. Adnominally used demonstratives can occur in two slots. They can take the same slot as adnominally used locatives, interrogatives, numerals, or quantifiers, and in addition they can occur at the right periphery of the noun phrase where they have scope over the entire noun phrase.

Papuan Malay uses two types of appositional constructions: those consisting of a noun followed by another noun or noun phrase, and those consisting of a personal pronoun followed by a noun or noun phrase, the latter being discussed in §6.1.6. Appositions with juxtaposed nouns or noun phrases are restrictive.

