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## 9. Adnominal possessive relations

In Papuan Malay, adnominal possessive relations between two noun phrases are encoded with the possessive ligature *punya* ‘POSS’. The noun phrase preceding the ligature (LIG) designates the possessor (POSSR), while the noun phrase following it expresses the possessum (POSSM), such that ‘POSSR-NP – *punya* ‘POSS’ – POSSM-NP’.

Besides its canonic function of expressing adnominal possession, *punya* ‘POSS’ serves other functions in ‘POSSR-NP – *punya* ‘POSS’ – POSSM-NP’ constructions. It is employed to mark and emphasize locational, temporal, or associative relations, to indicate beneficiary relations, or to signal speaker attitudes or evaluations; furthermore, the ligature is used in reflexive expressions.

The three constituents of an adnominal possessive construction have different realizations, as illustrated in Table 1. The possessive marker can be realized with long *punya*, reduced *pu*, clitic *=p*, or a zero morpheme. The noun phrases expressing the possessor and possessum can belong to different syntactic categories. The most common constituents are lexical nouns and noun phrases. Demonstratives can also take either slot. Also very common are personal pronoun possessors. In non-canonical possessive constructions, the possessor and possessum slots can also be filled by verbs. In addition, mid-range quantifiers, temporal adverbs and prepositional phrases can take the possessum slot. In both canonical and non-canonical possessive constructions, the possessum can be omitted.

Table 1: Adnominal possessive constructions

POSSR	LIG	POSSM
Lexical nouns	<i>punya</i>	Lexical nouns
Noun phrases	<i>pu</i>	Noun phrases
Demonstratives	<i>pu</i>	Demonstratives
Personal pronouns	<i>=p</i>	Verbs
Verbs	∅	Quantifiers
		Adverbs
		Prepositional phrase
		∅

Semantically, the possessor and the possessum can designate human, nonhuman animate, or inanimate referents. Overall, adnominal possessive constructions do not make a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, with one exception. Possessive constructions with omitted possessive marker signal inalienable possession of body parts or kinship relations.

In the following sections, adnominal possessive constructions are discussed in more detail. The possessive marker *punya* ‘POSS’ with its different realizations is examined in §9.1. The different realizations of the possessor and possessum noun phrases are described in §9.2. Non-canonical possessive constructions are discussed in §9.3. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §9.4.



Sometimes, however, it is ambiguous whether the *punya* construction should receive a predicative reading as in (4a) or adnominal interpretation as in (4b), as there is no difference in intonation or stress between both utterances.

Predicative and adnominal readings of *punya* ‘have/POSS’ constructions

- (4) a. [de] [**punya**] [piring kusus]  
 3SG have/POSS plate be.special  
 Predicative reading: ‘he/she **has** special plates’ [081006-029-CvEx.0016]
- b. [**de punya piring**] [kusus]  
 3SG have/POSS plate be.special  
 Adnominal reading: ‘**his/her plates** are special’ [081006-029-CvEx.0016]

In adnominal possessive constructions, the ligature *punya* ‘POSS’ has four different realizations which are discussed in the following sections: long *punya* ‘POSS’ and its reduced form *pu* in §9.1.1, the clitic  $\Rightarrow p$  ‘POSS’ in §9.1.2, and elision in §9.1.3. In §9.1.4, possible grammaticalization of the possessive marker is examined.

### 9.1.1. POSSR-NP *punya/pu* POSSM-NP

In adnominal possessive constructions, the possessive marker is most commonly realized with the long form *punya* ‘POSS’ or the reduced monosyllabic form *pu* ‘POSS’. This reduction is independent of the syntactic or semantic properties of the possessor or possessum, as illustrated in (5).

Both ligature forms occur with possessors encoded by lexical nouns as in (5a-g), in personal pronouns as in (5h-i), or in noun phrases as in (5j-l). With either ligature form, the possessor can denote a human referent as in (5a-d, i-k), a nonhuman animate referent as in (5e-f, h), or an inanimate referent as in (5g, l). Likewise, the reduction is independent of the possessum’s properties. Both markers occur with possessa encoded by nouns as in (5b, e-f, h, l), by demonstratives as in (5c-d), or by noun phrases as in (5a, g, i-k). With either marker, the possessum can express an inalienably possessed referent as in (5a-b, h, k) or an alienably possessed referent as in (5c-g, i-j, l).

- (5) Adnominal possessive constructions with the long possessive marker *punya* ‘POSS’ and short *pu* ‘POSS’<sup>193</sup>

POSSR	LIG	POSSM	Possessive construction
a. N (HUM)	<i>punya</i>	NP (INAL)	<i>mama punya ade laki~laki</i> mother POSS ySb man ‘mother’s younger brother’

<sup>193</sup> Documentation: 080919-004-NP.0013, 080919-006-CvNP.0028, 080922-001a-CvPh.0141, 081006-019-Cv.0002, 081006-022-CvEx.0029, 081006-022-CvEx.0084, 081110-002-Cv.0075, 081006-024-CvEx.0016, 081011-007-Cv.0003, 081025-006-Cv.0021, 081025-006-Cv.0058, 081106-001-Ex.0007.

POSSR	LIG	POSSM	Possessive construction
b. N (HUM)	<i>pu</i>	N (INAL)	<i>bapa pu mata</i> father POSS eye 'father's eyes'
c. N (HUM)	<i>punya</i>	DEM (AL)	Fitri <i>pu ini</i> Fitri POSS D.PROX 'Fitri's (belongings)'
d. N (HUM)	<i>pu</i>	DEM (AL)	<i>ade pu itu</i> ySb POSS D.DIST 'younger sister's (fish)'
e. N (AN)	<i>punya</i>	N (AL)	<i>setan punya kuasa</i> evil.spirit POSS power 'force of an evil spirit'
f. N (AN)	<i>pu</i>	N (AL)	<i>setan pu pake~pake</i> evil.spirit POSS black.magic 'an evil spirit's black magic'
g. N (INAN)	<i>pu</i>	NP (AL)	<i>LNG pu terpol itu</i> LNG POSS container D.DIST 'metal jerry can' <sup>194</sup>
h. PRO (AN)	<i>punya</i>	N (INAL)	<i>de punya bulu~bulu</i> 3SG POSS body.hair 'its (the dog's)body hair'
i. PRO (HUM)	<i>pu</i>	NP (AL)	<i>de pu sikat gigi deng odol</i> 3SG POSS toothbrush with toothpaste 'her toothbrush and toothpaste'
j. NP (HUM)	<i>punya</i>	NP (AL)	<i>orang Isirawa punya, apa, cara kawin</i> person Isirawa POSS what manner marry 'the Isirawas', what, way of marrying'
k. NP (HUM)	<i>pu</i>	NP (INAL)	<i>mama Klara pu ana prempuang</i> mother Klara POSS child woman 'mother Klara's daughter'
l. NP (INAN)	<i>punya</i>	N (AL)	<i>kebung ini punya hasil</i> garden D.PROX POSS product 'this garden's products'

With respect to the possessive marking of personal pronouns, there are no prosodic restrictions on the use of the two possessive marker forms: either can occur with the

<sup>194</sup> The proper noun *LNG* has developed from the noun phrase 'Liquified Natural Gas'.

long and the short pronoun forms, as illustrated in Table 2. (The pronoun *ko* ‘2SG’ does not have a short form.)

Table 2: Possessive marking of personal pronouns<sup>195</sup>

Possessive construction	Literal translation	Free translation
Possessive marking with <i>punya</i> ‘POSS’		
Long personal pronoun form – <i>punya</i> ‘POSS’		
<i>saya punya sabit</i>	1SG POSS sickle	‘my sickle’
<i>ko punya barang</i>	2SG POSS stuff	‘your belongings’
<i>dia punya nama</i>	3SG POSS name	‘his name’
<i>kitorang punya kekurangang</i>	1PL POSS shortcoming	‘our shortcoming’
<i>kitong punya muka</i>	1PL POSS face	‘our faces’
<i>kita punya bapa</i>	1PL POSS father	‘our father’
<i>kamu punya otak</i>	2PL POSS brain	‘your brains’
<i>dorang punya kampung</i>	3PL POSS village	‘their village’
Short personal pronoun form – <i>punya</i> ‘POSS’		
<i>sa punya nokeng</i>	1SG POSS stringbag	‘my stringbag’
<i>de punya swami</i>	3SG POSS husband	‘her husband’
<i>torang punya orang-tua</i>	1PL POSS parent	‘our parents’
<i>tong punya ipar</i>	1PL POSS sibling-in-law	‘our sister in-law’
<i>ta punya kampung</i>	1PL POSS village	‘our village’
<i>kam punya nasib</i>	2PL POSS destiny	‘your destinies’
<i>dong punya ruma</i>	3PL POSS house	‘their house’
Possessive marking with <i>pu</i> ‘POSS’		
Long personal pronoun form – <i>pu</i> ‘POSS’		
<i>saya pu hasil kebun</i>	1SG POSS product garden	‘my garden products’
<i>ko pu kampung</i>	2SG POSS village	‘your village’
<i>dia pu maytua</i>	3SG POSS wife	‘his wife’
<i>kitorang pu keadaan</i>	1PL POSS condition	‘our condition’
<i>kitong pu kawan</i>	1PL POSS friend	‘our friend’
<i>kita pu adat</i>	1PL POSS customs	‘our customs’
<i>kamu pu cara hidup</i>	2PL POSS manner live	‘your ways of life’

<sup>195</sup> Documentation: 080916-001-CvNP.0006, 080917-008-NP.0166, 080919-004-NP.0018, 080919-004-NP.0053, 080919-004-NP.0071, 080919-004-NP.0079, 080922-001a-CvPh.0834, 080922-002-Cv.0006, 080922-005-CvEx.0004, 080922-010a-NF.0002, 080922-010a-NF.0288, 081006-022-CvEx.0043, 081006-022-CvEx.0047, 081006-029-CvEx.0015, 081011-011-Cv.0055, 081011-011-Cv.0057, 081015-005-NP.0011, 081015-005-NP.0023, 081110-001-Cv.0026, 081110-002-Cv.0015, 081110-002-Cv.0018, 081110-003-Cv.0023, 081110-008-CvHt.0058, 081110-008-CvHt.0101, 081115-001a-Cv.0275, 081115-001b-Cv.0026, 081115-001b-Cv.0026, 081115-001b-Cv.0057.

Short personal pronoun form – <i>pu</i> ‘POSS’		
<i>sa pu motor</i>	1SG POSS motorbike	‘my motorbike’
<i>de pu bahu</i>	3SG POSS shoulder	‘her shoulder’
<i>tong pu pakeang</i>	1PL POSS clothing	‘our clothing’
<i>ta pu orang-tua</i>	1PL POSS parent	‘our parents’
<i>kam pu sabun</i>	2PL POSS soap	‘their soap’
<i>dong pu jaring</i>	3PL POSS net	‘their net’

There are only two unattested combinations, namely the marking with short *pu* ‘POSS’ of the long third person plural pronoun *dorang* ‘3PL’ and of the short plural pronoun *torang* ‘1PL’. The elicited examples below show, however, that possessive constructions with *torang/dorang pu* ‘our/their’ are possible:

- (6) *torang / dorang pu ruma* ada di situ  
 1PL / 3PL POSS house exist at L.MED  
 ‘our/their house is over there’ [Elicited BR111020-001.002-003]

The examples in Table 2 show that the reduction of the disyllabic form *punya* ‘POSS’ to monosyllabic *pu* ‘POSS’ does not interact with the long versus reduced shape of the personal pronoun. These findings contrast with those of Donohue (to be published) who found that the long pronoun forms may not co-occur with the reduced possessive marker *pu* ‘POSS’ (for more details see Donohue to be published: 24–25).

Very occasionally, the reduced ligature takes on the form /pum/, /pun/, or /puŋ/ ‘POSS’. This variation is usually due to assimilation to the word-initial segment of the following possessum, as illustrated in Table 3. That is, speakers realize short *pu* ‘POSS’ with a word-final nasal which receives its place features from the onset segment of the following prosodic word; when the following word has a vowel as onset, the nasal is typically realized as velar [ŋ]. (For more details on nasal place assimilation see §2.2.1.)

Table 3: Assimilation of short *pu* ‘POSS’

Item	Orthogr.	Gloss
/de pum bapa/	<i>de pu bapa</i>	‘his/her father’
/de pun teman~teman/	<i>de pu temang~temang</i>	‘his/her friends’
/dom puŋ asrama/	<i>dong pu asrama</i>	‘their dormitory’
/sa puŋ kaka/	<i>sa pu kaka</i>	‘my older sibling’

In a few cases, however, the reduced ligature takes on the form /puŋ/ regardless of the form of the following segment, as illustrated in (7) to (9): *sa* /puŋ/ *dusung* ‘my gardens’ in (7), *dong* /puŋ/ *peserta* ‘their participants’ in (8), or *tong* /puŋ/ *cara makang babi* ‘our way of eating pig’ in (9).

- (7)    ada   **sa**    /ɸuŋ/   dusung  
       exist 1SG POSS   garden  
       ‘(over there) is **my** garden’ [081110-008-CvNP.0009]
- (8)    **dong** /ɸuŋ/   peserta   juga   macam   tra   ...  
       3PL   POSS   participant also variety NEG  
       ‘**their** participants also, like (they) didn’t ...’ [081025-009a-Cv.0132]
- (9)    ... **tong** /ɸuŋ/   cara   makang   babi   juga  
       1PL   POSS   manner eat   pig   also  
       ‘[our way of eating is like just the Toraja one,] **our** way of eating pigs also’  
       [081014-017-CvPr.0053]

### 9.1.2.    POSSR-NP =*p* POSSM-NP

The possessive marker can be reduced further to =*p* ‘POSS’, if the possessor noun phrase ends in a vowel, as in (10) to (12). In this case, the marker is cliticized to the possessor. In this type of reduced possessive construction, the possessor is almost always a singular personal pronoun, such as short first person *sa* ‘1SG’ or second person *ko* ‘2SG’ in (10), or short third person *de* ‘3SG’ as in (11). The possessor may, however, also be expressed by a noun as in (12), although in the present corpus this example is the only one attested. Again, the same construction is used for alienable and inalienable possession.

- (10)   sa   bilang,   i,   **sa=p**    **kaka**,   de   bilang   **ko=p**    **kaka**  
       1SG say    ugh! 1SG=POSS oSb 3SG say   2SG=POSS oSb  
       ‘I said, ‘ugh!, (that’s) **my older sister**’, she said, ‘**your older sister?**’  
       [080919-006-CvNP.0026]
- (11)   de   timbul   **de=p**    **cucu**    tanya   dia,   tete    knapa  
       3SG emerge 3SG=POSS grandchild ask   3SG grandfather why  
       ‘(when) he (grandfather) emerged, his grandchild asked him, ‘grandfather,  
       what happened?’’ [081109-005-JR.0009]
- (12)   Fredi   de   pu   **ade=p**    **motor**    ...  
       Fredi 3SG POSS ySb=POSS motorbike  
       ‘Fredi’s **younger brother’s motorbike** ...’ [081002-001-CvNP.0058]

### 9.1.3.    POSSR-NP Ø POSSM-NP

The possessive marker can also be elided, as illustrated in (13) to (17). The elision is limited, however, to certain semantic kinds of possession. Attested are inalienable possession of body parts, as in (13) and (14), and kinship relations, as in (15) and (16). Most commonly, the possessor is human as in (13) to (16), but it may also be animate nonhuman as in (17).

In POSSR-POSSM constructions, the possessor is usually encoded by a short personal pronoun form, as in (15) to (17). Much less often, the possessor is expressed with a lexical noun such as *bapa* ‘father’ in (13). Also rather infrequently,



the possessor is expressed by a noun phrase such as *pace de* ‘the man’ in (14), where adnominally used *de* ‘3SG’ modifies *pace* ‘man’ (for details on the adnominal uses of the personal pronouns, see §6.2).

- (13) adu, **bapa** Ø **mulut** jahat skali  
oh.no! father mouth be.bad very  
‘oh no, **father’s language** is very bad’ (Lit. ‘**father’s mouth**’) [080923-008-Cv.0019]
- (14) **pace de** Ø **tangang** kluar ke samping  
man 3SG arm get.out to side  
[About an accident:] ‘**the man’s hand** stuck out sideways’ [081108-001-JR.0003]
- (15) **de** Ø **mama ini** ke atas  
3SG see 3SG POSS wife  
‘**his mother here** (went) up (there)’ [080923-001-CvNP.0019]
- (16) dia liat dia pu maytua ... ah, **sa** Ø **maytua** cantik  
3SG see 3SG POSS wife ah! 1SG wife be.beautiful  
‘he saw his wife ... ‘ah, my wife is beautiful’’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0020]
- (17) langsung potong dia buang tali-prutnya  
immediately cut 3SG throw(.away) intestines:3POSSR  
**de** Ø **tali-prut** buang tinggal isi saja  
3SG intestines throw(.away) stay contents just  
[About killing dogs:] ‘cut him up at once (and) throw away the intestines, (after having) thrown away **his intestines**, just the meat remains’ [081106-001-CvPr.0005]

Contrary to the possessive constructions presented in §9.1.1 and §9.1.2, the data presented in (13) to (17) shows that Papuan Malay also has the option to signal inalienable possession by omitting the possessive marker.

This alienable versus inalienable distinction is also found in other Austronesian languages of the Papuan contact zone, whereas it is not found in Western Malayo-Polynesian languages. As in other Austronesian and Papuan languages of this contact zone (Klamer et al. 2008), it is body parts and kinship terms that can be inalienably possessed.<sup>196</sup>

#### 9.1.4. Grammaticalization of *punya* ‘POSS’

In §9.1.1 to §9.1.3, the reduction of possessive marker *punya* ‘POSS’ to its monosyllabic variants *pu* or *=p* ‘POSS’ and its omission in POSSR-POSSM

<sup>196</sup> Klamer et al. (2008: 116) note that this “innovation must have occurred prior to the population of Oceania”, a conclusion that is based on Ross’s (2001) hypothesis that it “is also probable that the formal distinction between alienable and inalienable possession entered Proto-Oceanic or an immediate precursor through Papuan contact”.

constructions was described. One explanation for this reduction would be to consider it as a fast speech phenomenon that high-frequency words tend to undergo.

Alternatively one could explain this reduction in terms of a grammaticalization process. As Bybee (2006: 719) observes, the phonetic reduction of high-frequency words “can lead to the establishment of a new construction with its own categories” and “the grammaticization of the new construction”. One could argue that Bybee’s (2006: 719) observation also applies to the high-frequency morpheme *punya* with its variable status between a full verb ‘have’, a clitic possessive marker, and a zero morpheme. That is, the variable status could be taken as an “as-yet incomplete grammaticalization” (Aikhenvald 2007: 59) from the independent lexical item *punya* ‘have’ via the possessive marker *punya* ‘POSS’ into a clitic *=p* ‘POSS’ or a new possessive construction without overt marker.<sup>197</sup>

In the present corpus, the reductions of the possessive marker to the clitic *=p* ‘POSS’ or a zero morpheme occur with about the same frequency. The two constructions usually only occur when the possessor is expressed with a short singular personal pronoun. It remains to be seen whether and to what extent over time (1) one of the constructions is going to become dominant, and (2) one or both constructions are going to occur with possessors encoded by the plural personal pronouns or common nouns. Such developments could be taken as an indication of a grammaticalization process of the possessive marker.

## 9.2. Realizations of POSSR-NP and POSSM-NP

This section discusses the different realizations of the possessor and possessum noun phrases in adnominal possessive constructions. The syntactic categories that can take the possessor or possessum slot, together with their semantic properties are discussed in §9.2.1.1. Elision of the possessum noun phrase is described in §9.2.1.2, followed by a brief discussion of recursive possessive constructions in §9.2.1.3.

### 9.2.1.1. Syntactic and semantic properties

In adnominal possessive constructions, the possessor and/or possessum can be expressed by lexical nouns as in (18) and (19), by demonstratives as in (20) and (21), or by noun phrases as in (22) to (27). Further, the possessor can be encoded by a personal pronoun as in (24) to (27). Semantically, the possessor and the possessum can be human as in (18) and (26), nonhuman animate as in (19) and (21), or inanimate as in (28) and (24), respectively.

In (18) and (19), the possessor and the possessum are expressed by lexical nouns.

<sup>197</sup> One reason why *punya* constructions are so frequent in Papuan Malay and other eastern Malay varieties, is that unlike the western Malay varieties, the eastern Malay varieties do not use suffix *-nya* ‘3POSS’ as a marker of possessive relations, as for instance in western Malay *tangang-nya* ‘his/her hand’ (Hammarström, p.c. 2013).

## Lexical nouns expressing the possessor / possessum

- (18) sa masi ingat **bapa pu muka**  
 1SG still remember father POSS front  
 ‘I still remember **father’s face**’ [080922-001a-CvPh.1307]
- (19) ... pake **setan punya kwasa**  
 use evil.spirit POSS power  
 [About the power of evil spirits:] ‘[the sleeping person can’t wake up because the sorcerers are] using **the evil spirit’s power**’ [081006-022-CvEx.0084]

In (20) the proximal demonstrative *ini* ‘D.PROX’ takes the possessor slot and in (21) distal *itu* ‘D.DIST’ takes the possessum slot.

## Demonstratives expressing the possessor / possessum

- (20) bapa masi kenal kaka Siduas pu masi kenal  
 father still know oSb Siduas POSS still know  
**ini pu muka**  
 D.PROX POSS front  
 ‘do you (‘father’) still know Siduas’, still know **this (one)’s face?**’ [080922-001a-CvPh.1123]
- (21) ko ambil dulu **ade pu itu**  
 2SG fetch be.prior ySb POSS D.DIST  
 ‘you pick (it) up first, **that (fish) of (your) younger sister**’ (Lit. ‘**younger sibling’s that**’) [081006-019-Cv.0002]

In (22) to (27), noun phrases take the possessor or the possessum slot (the scope of the noun phrases is indicated with brackets). In (22) the possessor is encoded by a noun phrase with a verbal modifier plus an adnominal demonstrative, while in (23) the possessor is expressed by a coordinate noun phrase.

## Noun phrases expressing the possessor

- (22) sebut [[[**orang mati**] **tu**] **pu** [**nama**]] karna ...  
 name person die D.DIST POSS name because  
 ‘(he has) to mention **that dead person’s name** because ...’ [080923-013-CvEx.0019]
- (23) itu ko pu [[**ko deng Mateus**] **pu** [**tugas**]]  
 D.DIST 2SG POSS 2SG with Mateus POSS duty  
 ‘that is your, **your and Mateus’ duty**’ [081005-001-Cv.0035]

In (24), the possessum is encoded by a noun phrase with an adnominally used stative verb plus an adnominal demonstrative. In (25), a noun phrase with nominal modifier plus an adnominal demonstrative takes the possessum slot. In (26) the possessum is expressed by a coordinate noun phrase. In (9), repeated as (27), a noun phrase with a modifying nonfinite clause takes the possessum slot. The examples in (24) to (27) also illustrate that a personal pronoun can take the possessor slot; personal pronouns do not take the possessum slot.

## Noun phrases expressing the possessum

- (24) [[**de**] **pu** [[**cucu kecil**] **itu**]] tiap hari de  
 3SG POSS grandchild be.small D.DIST every day 3SG  
 menangis terus  
 cry be.continuous  
 ‘**that small grandchild** of his, every day he/she cries continuously’  
 [081011-009-Cv.0055]
- (25) sa tida maw [[**sa**] **punya** [[**sodara prempuang**] **itu**]] mendrita  
 1SG NEG want 1SG POSS sibling woman D.DIST suffer  
 ‘I don’t want **that sister of mine** to suffer’ [081006-024-CvEx.0108]
- (26) nanti [[**de**] **punya** [**bapa dengan mama**]] langsung pergi ...  
 very.soon 3SG POSS father with mother immediately go  
 ‘very soon **her father and mother** will go ...’ [081110-005-CvPr.0079]
- (27) ... [[**tong**] **pu** [**cara** [**makang babi**]]] juga  
 1PL POSS manner eat pig also  
 ‘[our way of eating is like just the Toraja one,] **our way of eating pigs**  
 also’ [081014-017-CvPr.0053]

In (18) to (27) the possessor is always animate. It can, however, also be inanimate as shown in (28).

## Inanimate possessor

- (28) ... **LNG** **pu** **terpol** **itu** tinggal  
 liquified.natural.gas POSS container D.DIST stay  
 [About the need to buy gasoline:] ‘[those jerry cans] **that LNG jerry can**  
 stays behind’ (Lit. ‘**the LNG’s container**’) [081110-002-Cv.0075]

9.2.1.2. Elision of the possessum noun phrase

It is also possible to omit the possessum when its identity was established earlier; this applies to inalienably as well as alienably possessed referents, as illustrated in (29) to (32). Such ‘POSSESSOR *punya*’ constructions are typically used in contexts where the possessor identity is under discussion.

Most commonly, speakers employ long *punya* ‘POSS’, but as shown in (31) and (32), constructions with reduced *pu* ‘POSS’ are also possible.<sup>198</sup> Elision of the

<sup>198</sup> In his analysis of similar possessive constructions in Classical Malay, Yap et al. (2004: 157) conclude that Classical Malay (*em*)*punya* constructions with omitted possessum denote “pronominal possessive constructions”. More specifically, Yap (2007: 7) maintains that “in such constructions (*em*)*punya* identifies a possessee in relation to its possessor (the genitive function), while at the same time alluding to the morphologically unrealized possessee as well (the pronominal function). Consequently, possessive pronominal (*em*)*punya* allows us to focus on the possessor, while still referring to the possessee”. It seems that this analysis is also applicable to Papuan Malay.

possessor is unattested. Instead speakers employ a demonstrative, as in (20), when the identity of the possessor has already been established.

- (29) Nofi tu itu buka**ng** **bapa** **Lukas** **punya** Ø  
 Nofi D.DIST D.DIST NEG father Lukas POSS  
**mama** **Nofita** **punya** Ø  
 mother Nofita POSS  
 ‘Nofi here, that’s not **father Lukas**’ (son nor) **mother Nofita’s** (son)’  
 [081006-024-CvEx.0011]
- (30) itu **de** **punya** Ø  
 D.DIST 3SG POSS  
 ‘those are **his** (banana plants)’ [081110-008-CvNP.0121]
- (31) sedangka**ng** Pawlus ini itu **jin** **pu** Ø  
 whereas Pawlus D.PROX D.DIST genie POSS  
 ‘whereas Pawlus here, that’s **the genie’s** (child)’ [081025-006-Cv.0278]
- (32) ko liat **Luisa** **pu** Ø bagus, suda kembang banyak  
 2SG see Luisa POSS be.good already flowering many  
 ‘you see **Luisa’s** (flowers) are good, (they are) already flowering a lot’  
 [081006-021-CvHt.0002]

### 9.2.1.3. Recursive adnominal possessive constructions

Adnominal possessive constructions can be stacked to form recursive possessive constructions as illustrated in (33) to (35). Double possessive constructions as in (33) and (34) are quite common, especially to express kinship and social relations as in (33). Triple possessive constructions are also possible but extremely rare: the present corpus only contains one such construction, which is presented in (35) in slightly modified form.

- (33) kalo memang **ko** **punya** **maytua** **punya** **waktu** pas di kapal ...  
 if indeed 2SG POSS wife POSS time be.exact at ship  
 ‘if indeed **your wife’s time** (to give birth) is exactly (when you’re) on the ship ...’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0010]
- (34) ini **kaka** **Natanael** **pu** **laki** **pu** **mobil**  
 D.PROX oSb Natanael POSS husband POSS car  
 ‘this is **sister Natanael’s husband’s car**’ [081006-015-Cv.0001]
- (35) de<sub>i</sub> pu ana kawin **de<sub>i</sub>** **pu** **laki** **punya**  
 3SG POSS child marry.inofficially 3SG POSS husband POSS

**kaka prempuang pu ana**  
 oSb woman POSS child  
 ‘her<sub>i</sub> child (wants to) marry **the son of her<sub>i</sub> husband’s older sister**’  
 [Elicited BR111020.026]<sup>199</sup>

As discussed in §9.1.1, the long ligature form *punya* ‘POSS’ and *pu* ‘POSS’ are freely used in adnominal possessive constructions without any syntactic or semantic restrictions. This also applies to recursive possessive constructions, as illustrated in (33) to (35). In terms of attested frequencies in such constructions, however, short *pu* ‘POSS’ is employed more commonly than long *punya* ‘POSS’.

### 9.3. Non-canonical adnominal possessive constructions

In addition to encoding adnominal possession, *punya* ‘POSS’ (including its reduced forms) also serves other functions in possessive constructions, namely (1) as an emphatic marker that signals locational relations or association (§9.3.1), (2) as a marker of beneficiary relations (§9.3.2), or (3) as an attitudinal intensifier or stance (§9.3.3). And (4), the possessive ligature is used in reflexive construction (§9.3.4).

Syntactically, not only nouns, personal pronouns, noun phrases, or demonstratives can take the possessor or possessum slots. In addition, these slots can be filled by verbs. Further, the possessum slot can be taken by mid-range quantifiers, temporal adverbs, or prepositional phrases. Finally, the possessum can be omitted.

#### 9.3.1. Locational relations and association

One non-canonical function of possessive constructions is to signal that the possessum is “perceived to be closely related” to the possessor, as Dixon (2010a: 278) puts it. In Papuan Malay, this includes locational relations, both spatial and temporal, and relations that express an association, as illustrated in (36) to (42). With this function of *punya* ‘POSS’, the possessive construction receives an emphatic reading; in the following examples the English translation attempts to convey this emphatic reading with the additional italicized information.

The possessive marker can signal locational relations, or, employing Dixon’s (2010a: 263) terminology, relations of “orientation or location”. The locational relations can be spatial, as in (36) and (37), or temporal, as in (38) to (40).<sup>200</sup>

In (36) and (37), *pu* ‘POSS’ marks spatial relations between the possessor and the possessum, with the possessive construction receiving an emphatic reading. In (36), a spatial referent, encoded with the proper noun *Jayapura*, takes the possessor slot. It denotes the location or source for the referent expressed by the possessum, *dua*

<sup>199</sup> The subscript letters keep track of what each term refers to.

The elicited utterance in (35) is based on an original triple possessive construction which contains the demonstrative *ini* ‘D.PROX’: ... *de pu laki, ini, punya kaka prempuang pu ana*. In this context, *ini* ‘D.PROX’ functions as a placeholder and therefore does not mark off *de pu laki* ‘her husband’ as one noun phrase (see §7.1.2.6 for a discussion of the placeholder uses of demonstratives).

<sup>200</sup> Dixon’s (2010b: 263) term “orientation/location” refers to spatial relations; temporal relations are not mentioned.

*blas orang* ‘twelve people’. In (37), the spatial referent, encoded in the prepositional phrase *di dalam itu* ‘in that inside’, takes the possessum slot.<sup>201</sup> It designates the location for the referent expressed by the pronominal possessor *de* ‘3SG’.

Spatial locational relations

- (36) **Jayapura pu dua blas orang** yang lulus ka  
 Jayapura POSS two tens person REL pass(.a.test) or  
 ‘aren’t there **twelve people from Jayapura who graduated** (*as opposed to other cities with fewer graduates*)?’ (Lit. ‘**Jayapura’s twelve people**’) [081025-003-Cv.0311]
- (37) baru ambil bayi tu bayi yang **de pu**  
 and.then fetch palm.stem D.DIST palm.stem REL 3SG POSS  
**di dalam itu** kang kaya kapas to?  
 at inside D.DIST you.know like cotton right?  
 ‘and then (he) took that palm stem, **that inside (part) of it** (*as opposed to other parts*), the palm stem is like cotton, right?’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0073]

In the elicited examples in (38) to (40), the possessive marker signals temporal locational relations. In these examples, the third person singular pronoun *de* ‘3SG’ takes the possessor slot. It designates the temporal reference point for the event under discussion. The possessum slot is taken by a temporal expression such as *besok* ‘tomorrow’ in (38), *pagi* ‘morning’ in (39), or *malam* ‘night’ in (40). This temporal expression denotes a specific point in time relative to the temporal reference point expressed by the possessor.

Temporal locational relations

- (38) ... trus sa tinggal di sana, trus **de pu besok**  
 next 1SG stay at L.DIST next 3SG POSS tomorrow  
 baru sa kembali ...  
 and.then 1SG return  
 ‘[two days ago I went to Abepura,] and then I stayed there, and then **the (very) next day** only then did I return ...’ (Lit. ‘**its tomorrow**’) [Elicited BR111020.008]
- (39) dong kerja ruma dari pagi sampe malam **de pu pagi**  
 3PL work house from morning until night 3SG POSS morning  
 baru dong kasi selesay smua  
 and.then 3PL GIVE finish all  
 ‘they worked on the house from morning until evening, **the (very) next morning** only then did they finish everything’ (Lit. ‘**its morning**’) [Elicited BR111020.009]
- (40) Petrus deng Tinus dong pi mandi di pante tadi pagi  
 Petrus with Tinus 3PL go bathe at coast earlier morning

<sup>201</sup> The locative preposition *di* ‘at, in’ can also be deleted (see §10.1.5) resulting in *de pu dalam itu* ‘that inside (part) of it’.

**de pu malam** dong pi ke Jayapura  
 3SG POSS night 3PL go to Jayapura  
 ‘Petrus and Tinus went bathing at the beach this morning (and) **this** (*very*)  
**evening** they went to Jayapura’ (Lit. ‘**its night**’) [Elicited BR111020.009]

The possessive marker can also indicate an “association” between the possessum and the possessor (Dixon 2010a: 285), as in (41) and (42). In (41), *punya* ‘POSS’ signals that the possessum *tu* ‘D.DIST’ is associated with the possessor *lima juta* ‘five million’, giving the emphatic reading ‘a minimum of five-million (*as opposed to lower prices*)’.<sup>202</sup> Along similar lines, in (42), the ligature indicates an association between the possessum *tu* ‘D.DIST’ and the possessor *tingkat propinsi* ‘provincial level’, resulting in the emphatic reading ‘(a meeting at) the provincial level (*and not at the regency level*)’.

#### Association

- (41) yang mahal yang di atas satu jut  
 REL be.expensive REL at top one TRU-million  
**lima juta punya tu**  
 five million POSS D.DIST  
 ‘(traditional cloths from Sorong) which are expensive, which (cost) more than one million[TRU], **a minimum of five million** (*as opposed to lower prices*)’ (Lit. ‘**that five million’s** (price)’) [081006-029-CvEx.0009]
- (42) kitong ikut ini tingkat propinsi punya tu  
 1PL follow D.PROX floor province POSS D.DIST  
 ‘we attended (a meeting at), what’s-its-name, **the provincial level** (*and not at the regency level*)’ (Lit. ‘**that** (meeting) **of the provincial level**’) [081010-001-Cv.0043]

### 9.3.2. Beneficiary relations

The possessive marker *punya* ‘POSS’ is also used to signal beneficiary relations. Speakers employ this construction when they want to signal that the RECIPIENT is the beneficiary of a definite THEME, as discussed in §11.1.3.3. This is illustrated with *simpang* ‘store’ in (43) and *bli* ‘buy’ in (44). In both examples, the possessor expresses the BENEFICIARY or RECIPIENT of the event expressed by the verb, while the possessum denotes the anticipated object of possession or THEME.

- (43) mama kitong suda simpang mama punya makang  
 mother 1PL already store mother POSS food  
 ‘mother, we already put **food for you** aside’ (Lit. ‘**mama’s food**’) [080924-002-Pr.0005]

<sup>202</sup> Alternatively, one might classify the possessive construction in (41) as an “appositive genitive”, where the two noun phrases are equated denotatively” (Quirk et al. 1972: 193).



- (44) *dong su bli de punya alat~alat ini*  
 3PL already buy 3SG POSS RDP~equipment D.PROX  
 ‘they already bought **these utensils for him**’ (Lit. ‘**his utensils**’) [080922-001a-CvPh.0558]

### 9.3.3. Intensifying function of *punya* ‘POSS’

Another non-canonical function of possessive *punya* ‘POSS’ is that of an intensifier or stance that signals speaker attitudes or evaluations. The attested data suggest three different constructions in which Papuan Malay speakers use *punya* ‘POSS’ in such a way: constructions with (1) nominal possessor and quantifier possessum (§9.3.3.1), (2) nominal possessor and verbal possessum (§9.3.3.2), and (3) verbal possessor and verbal possessum (§9.3.3.3).

#### 9.3.3.1. N-POSSR – *punya* – QT-POSSM constructions

In the possessive constructions in (45) to (48), a nominal constituent takes the possessor slot while a quantifier takes the possessum slot.

Attested in the present corpus is only the one example in (45) in which the mid-range quantifier *banyak* ‘many’ takes the possessum slot. A second, elicited example is presented in (46). Possessive constructions with the mid-range quantifier *sedikit* ‘few, a little’ are also possible as illustrated with the elicited examples in (47) and (48). In these examples *punya* ‘POSS’ functions as an attitudinal intensifier, expressing speaker evaluations, such as feelings of annoyance in (45), of surprise in (46) and in (47), or of alarm in (48).

- (45) *baru, mama, setan pu banyak di situ*  
 and.then mother evil.spirit POSS many at L.MED  
 ‘and then, mother, (there) are **really many** evil spirits over there’ (Lit. ‘**many of**’) [081025-006-Cv.0062]
- (46) *natal tu ana~ana dong maing kembang-api pu banyak*  
 Christmas D.DIST RDP~child 3PL play fire-cracker POSS many  
 ‘Christmas the children play with **really many** fire-crackers’ (Lit. ‘**many of**’) [Elicited BR111020.005]
- (47) *di gunung itu pohong pu sedikit*  
 at mountain D.DIST tree POSS few  
 ‘on that mountain, there are **very few** trees’ (Lit. ‘**few of**’) [Elicited BR111020.006]
- (48) *tete de minum air pu sedikit*  
 grandfather 3SG drink water POSS few  
 ‘grandfather drinks **very little** water’ (Lit. ‘**few of**’) [Elicited BR111020.007]

Possessive constructions with other quantifiers or with numerals taking the possessum slot are ungrammatical.

9.3.3.2. N-POSSR – *punya* – V-POSSM constructions

In the possessive constructions in (49) to (53), a nominal constituent takes the possessor slot while a mono- or bivalent verb takes the possessum slot.

In the examples in (49) to (51), a monovalent verb takes the possessum slot. Again, *punya* ‘POSS’ functions as an attitudinal intensifier. In (49) *pu* ‘POSS’ adds emphasis to stative *malas* ‘be listless’. In (50), *pu* ‘POSS’ precedes stative *brat* ‘be heavy’, and thereby signals feelings of annoyance. Finally, in (51), the possessive marker precedes dynamic *mendrita* ‘suffer’, thereby indicates negative feelings of disbelief.

Intensifying function of *punya* ‘POSS’: Preceding monovalent verbs

- (49)    dong   tida    tau    umpang   smua   tra    tau    toser  
          3PL   NEG   know   pass.ball   all    NEG   know   pass.ball  
          adu    sa    **pu**    **malas**  
          oh.no! 1SG   POSS   be.listless  
          [About playing volleyball:] ‘none of them knows (how) to pass a ball, none of them knows (how) how to pass a ball, oh no, I’m **so very listless** (to play with them)’ (Lit. ‘**the being listless of**’) [081109-001-Cv.0127]
- (50)    damay, de    **pu**    **brat**  
          peace   3SG   POSS   be.heavy  
          ‘my goodness, he was **so heavy**’ (Lit. ‘**the being heavy of**’) [081025-009b-Cv.0041]
- (51)    adu,    dong   dua    **pu**    **mendrita**  
          oh.no! 3PL   two   POSS   suffer  
          ‘oh no, the two of them were **suffering so much**’ (Lit. ‘**the suffering of**’) [081025-006-Cv.0059]

In (52) to (53), the possessum slot is taken by bivalent verbs. Again, the possessive marker has intensifying, asserting and/or evaluative function. With bivalent verbs, only short *pu* ‘POSS’ is attested while long *punya* ‘POSS’ does not occur; more investigation is needed however, to further explore these speaker preferences.

Intensifying function of *punya* ‘POSS’: Preceding bivalent verbs

- (52)    ka    Sarles   juga   de    **pu**    **maing**   **pisow**  
          oSb   Sarles   also   3SG   POSS   play   knife  
          ‘older brother Sarles also, he **has a fast and smart way of playing**’ (Lit. ‘**the knife playing of**’) [081023-001-Cv.0009]
- (53)    baru    nanti    tong   **pu**    **lawang**   deng   siapa  
          and.then   very.soon   1PL   POSS   oppose   with   who  
          ‘and then later who will be **our opponent?**’ (Lit. ‘**the opposing of**’) [081109-001-Cv.0136]

### 9.3.3.3. V-POSSR – *punya* – V-POSSM constructions

In non-canonical possessive constructions, both the possessor and the possessum slot can be taken by verbs, as illustrated in (54) to (57). More specifically, a dynamic verb takes the possessor slot, while a stative verb takes the possessum slot. Attested in the present corpus is only one example in (54), while the examples in (55) to (57) are elicited.

With its intensifying function, *punya* ‘POSS’ signals an emphatic reading of both the verbal possessor and the verbal possessum, as illustrated in (54): *mandi punya* ‘really bathing’ and *punya jaw* ‘very far away (of)’.

- (54) dong mandi di kali Biri, mm-mm, **mandi punya jaw** itu  
 3PL bathe at river Biri mhm bathe POSS be.far D.DIST  
 [About a run-away boy:] ‘they were bathing in the Biri river, mhm, (they were) **really bathing very far away**’ (Lit. ‘**the being far away of the bathing**’) [081025-008-Cv.0032-0033]
- (55) de **kerja punya cepat**  
 3SG work POSS be.fast  
 ‘he **really worked very fast**’ (Lit. ‘**the being fast of the working**’)  
 [Elicited BR111020.022]
- (56) mama de **masak punya enak**  
 mother 3SG cook POSS be.pleasant  
 ‘mother **really cooks very tastily**’ (Lit. ‘**the being tasty of the cooking**’)  
 [Elicited BR111020.023]
- (57) Marice deng Matius dong dua **bicara punya kras**  
 Marice with Matius 3PL two speak POSS be.harsh  
 ‘the two of them Marice and Matius **really spoke very loudly** (with each other)’ (Lit. ‘**the being loud of the speaking**’) [Elicited BR111020.024]

### 9.3.4. *punya* ‘POSS’ in reflexive expressions

The possessive marker *punya* ‘POSS’ is also employed to create reflexive expressions. Reflexives typically designate constructions “where subject and object refer to the same entity, explicitly [...] or implicitly” (Asher 1994: 5164). Typically, explicit reflexive expressions are formed with a reflexive pronoun “which refers to the same person or thing as the subject of the verb” (1994: 5165). In Papuan Malay, by contrast, reflexive relations are expressed with adnominal possessive constructions where a personal pronoun in the possessor slot and the reflexive noun *diri* ‘self’ in the possessum slot express the reflexive relationship between both, as illustrated with *sa pu diri* ‘myself’ in (58) and *kita punya diri* ‘ourselves’ (59).

- (58) bukang sa rasa bahwa sa ini sa bangga kang  
 NEG 1SG feel that 1SG D.PROX 1SG praise

- sa pu diri** tapi itu yang terjadi  
 1SG POSS self but D.DIST REL happen  
 ‘it not that I feel that I here, (that) I praise **myself**, but that’s what happened’ (Lit. ‘**the self of me**’) [081110-008-CvNP.0152]
- (59) **kita rencana manusia** yang mengatur **kita punya diri**  
 1PL plan human.being REL arrange 1PL POSS self  
 ‘we make plans, (it’s us) human beings who manage **our own lives**’ (Lit. ‘**the self of us**’) [080918-001-CvNP.0032]

#### 9.4. Summary and discussion

In Papuan Malay, adnominal possessive constructions consists of two noun phrases linked with the possessive marker *punya* ‘POSS’, such that ‘POSSESSOR *punya* POSSESSUM’. In addition to signaling adnominal possessive relations between two noun phrases, *punya* ‘POSS’ has a number of derived, non-canonical functions, namely (1) as an emphatic marker of locational relations or relations of association, (2) as a marker of beneficiary relations, (3) as an attitudinal intensifier or stance, and (4) as a ligature in reflexive constructions.

Such non-canonical functions of the possessive ligature have also been noted in other eastern Malay varieties, such as its function as a marker of beneficiary relations in Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 164), as an attitudinal intensifier in Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 45), or as a marker of locational or temporal relations in Ternate Malay (Litamahuputty 1994: 52–53, 96–97).

Moreover, some of these non-canonical functions have long been noted for Bazaar Malay and have been linked to the substratum influence of Chinese speech varieties, namely the function of *punya* ‘POSS’ to link a locative or temporal modifier or a modifying adjective in the possessor slot preceding the ligature with its head in the possessum slot (see Bao 2009, Lim 1988, Shellabear 1904: 6–7, Winstedt 1913: 115, and Winstedt 1938: 41). Along similar lines, Yap (2007: 1, 8ff) shows that under the influence of southern Chinese speech varieties, the Colloquial Malay possessive marker developed into a “attitudinal intensifier” or “stance” that transforms statements into evaluative “assertions that are often laced with strong feelings, including feelings of awe, [...] or feelings of incredulity or even annoyance”. For the different synchronic functions of (*em*)*punya* in classical and colloquial Malay, Yap et al. (2004: 159) established the following development or grammaticalization path: “> lexical verb > genitive > pronominal > stance development”. It seems that this grammaticalization path also applies to Papuan Malay *punya* ‘POSS’.

Possessive constructions with *punya* ‘POSS’ have a number of different realizations. The possessive marker can be represented with long *punya*, reduced *pu*, clitic *=p*, or a zero morpheme. There are no syntactic or semantic restrictions on the uses of the long and reduced possessive marker forms. By contrast, omission of *punya* only occurs when the possessive construction expresses inalienable possession of body parts or kinship relations. The possessor and the possessum can be expressed with different kinds of syntactic constituents, such as lexical nouns, noun phrases, or demonstratives. In addition, personal pronouns can also express the

possessor. In non-canonical possessive constructions, verbs can also take the possessor and/or possessum slots. Further, mid-range quantifiers, temporal adverbs, and prepositional phrases can take the possessum slot. The possessum can also be omitted in canonical or non-canonical possessive constructions. Semantically, the possessor and the possessum can denote human, nonhuman animate, or inanimate referents.