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Title: A grammar of Papuan Malay
Issue Date: 2014-06-03

14. Conjunctions and constituent combining

14.1. Introduction

Conjunctions are function words "whose main function is to connect clauses, phrases or words" (Asher 1994: 5105). This chapter describes how Papuan Malay combines constituents such as clauses or phrases by overt marking with conjunctions. The Papuan Malay conjunctions can be divided into two major groups, those combining same-type constituents, such as clauses with clauses, and those linking different-type constituents, such as verbs with clauses. In combining constituents, the conjunctions belong to neither of the conjuncts they combine in semantic terms. They do, however, form intonation units with the constituents they mark. Most conjunctions occur at the left periphery of the clause. Typically, an intonational break separates the conjunction from a preceding constituent. A second strategy to combine constituents is juxtaposition which is mentioned only briefly.

Papuan Malay has 21 conjunctions which link same-type constituents and two which combine different-type constituents. Most of the conjunctions conjoining same-type constituents link clauses with clauses. Traditionally, clause-linking conjunctions are divided into coordinating and subordinating ones, both of which are defined as follows: "coordinating conjunctions are those that assign equal rank to the conjoined elements" whereas "subordinating conjunctions are those that assign unequal rank to the conjoined elements, marking one of them as subordinate to the other" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45). Modifying this terminology by employing the more general term "dependency" rather than "subordination", Haspelmath (2007a: 46) defines the distinction between coordination and dependency as follows:

> In a coordination structure of the type *A(-link-)B*, *A* and *B* are structurally symmetrical in some sense, whereas in a dependency structure of the type *X(-link-)Y*, *X* and *Y* are not symmetrical, but either *X* or *Y* is the head and the other element is a dependent.

According to Haspelmath (2007a: 46), this distinction between coordination and dependency in terms of symmetry "is often thought of as a difference in the syntactic/structural relations of the elements". However, he also points out that "it is sometimes not evident whether a construction exhibits a coordination relation or a dependency relation"; this applies, for instance, to "languages that lack agreement and case-marking" (2007a: 46).

The lack of a clear opposition between coordination and dependency in terms of structural relations also applies to clause combining in Papuan Malay: clauses marked with a conjunction are not distinct from unmarked clauses in terms of their morphosyntax and word order. This is shown in (1) to (3) with purpose-marking *supaya* 'so that'. Omitting the conjunction from the two purpose clauses in (1) leaves two grammatically complete and correct clauses.

Purpose-marking ***supaya*** 'so that' linking two clauses

(1)	saya	harus	kas	makang	dia,	**supaya**	dia	kenal	saya	lebi
	1SG	have.to	give	eat	3SG	so.that	3SG	know	1SG	more

dekat,	**supaya**	de	bisa	taw	saya	punya	nama
near	so.that	3SG	be.capable	know	1SG	POSS	name

'I have to give him/her food **so that** he/she can know me better, **so that** he/she can know my name' [080919-004-NP.0079]

This also applies when a clause marked with a conjunction is missing an argument. In the purpose clause in (2), for instance, the subject *obat* 'medicine' is elided. This elision, however, does not signify a grammaticalized gap that signals the dependent status of the purpose clause marked with *supaya* 'so that'. Instead, the elision is due to the fact that speakers often omit arguments and other constituents if these can be inferred. In (2) the elided subject *obat* 'medicine' is understood from the context.

Purpose clause with elided subject argument

(2)	ibu	itu	de	mo	kasi	obat,	tapi	ko	harus
	woman	D.DIST	3SG	want	give	medicine	but	2SG	have.to

priksa	dara,	**supaya**	Ø	harus	cocok
check	blood	so.that		have.to	be.suitable

'that lady, she wants to give (you) medicine, but you have to (get your) blood checked **so that** (the medicine) fits' [080917-007-CvHt.0003]

In Papuan Malay, elision of core arguments is not limited to clauses marked with conjunctions. It is a generalized phenomenon, as demonstrated with the reported direct speech in (3). The original utterance is given in (3a), while in (3b) the elided constituents are given in brackets, such as purposive *supaya* 'so that'[231] or the subject of the purpose clause, *kaki* 'foot, leg'.

Elision as a generalized phenomenon

(3)	a.	… malam	Kapolsek	bilang,	kalo	dapat
		night	head.of.district.police	say	if	get

tembak	kaki	pata
shoot	foot	break

	b.	… malam	Kapolsek	bilang,	kalo	[kam]	dapat
		night	head.of.district.police	say	if	[2PL]	get

[dia,]	tembak	[de pu]	kaki	[**supaya**]	[kaki]	pata
[3SG]	shoot	[3SG POSS]	foot	[so.that]	[foot]	break

[Reply to the question about who the police were looking for:] '[(they're looking for Martin …,] last night the head of the district police said, 'if (you) get (him), shoot (his) leg (**so that** it) breaks'' [081011-009-Cv.0048/0050]

This data shows that, in terms of structural relations, the opposition between coordination and dependency does not apply to purpose-marking *supaya* 'so that'. Neither does the distinction apply to the other clause-combining conjunctions.

　　Given the lack of a clear-cut opposition between coordination and dependency in terms of structural relations, Haspelmath (2007a: 46) suggests "to define both

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[231]　Alternatively, the conjunction *sampe* 'until, with the result that' could fill this slot.

coordination and dependency in semantic terms". He also notes, however, that even the distinction on semantic grounds "is often difficult to apply" (2007a: 47; see also Cristofaro 2005: 1–50, and Dixon and Aikhenvald 2009).

This difficulty also applies to clause combining in Papuan Malay. Therefore, in discussing clause combining in Papuan Malay at this point in the current research, no attempt is being made to distinguish between coordination and dependency on semantic grounds. Instead, this chapter describes the following aspects: (1) the meaning which the different Papuan Malay conjunctions convey, (2) the position which a given conjunction takes within its clause, and (3) the position which the clause marked with a conjunction takes vis-à-vis the clause it is conjoined with. For lack of a better term, the clause that is not marked with a conjunction is labeled as the "unmarked clause" throughout the remainder of this chapter. This label is used as a working term only for practical purposes.

Besides the 21 conjunctions combining same-type constituents, Papuan Malay also has two conjunctions which link different-type constituents, namely complementizer *bahwa* 'so that' and relativizer *yang* 'REL'. Both are subordinating conjunctions, in that they "serve to integrate a … clause into some larger construction" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45). Complementizer *bahwa* 'that' marks a clause as an argument of the verb, as illustrated in (4), while relativizer *yang* 'REL' integrates a relative clause within a noun phrase, as demonstrated in (5).

Conjunctions combining different-type constituents

(4)   sa   cuma   taw,   **bahwa**   de   ada   di   sini
        1SG   just   know   that   3SG   exist   at   L.PROX
        'I just know **that** he was here' [080922-010a-CvNF.0180]

(5)   baru   Iskia   dia   pegang   sa   punya   lutut   **yang**   tida   baik
        and.then   Iskia   3SG   hold   1SG   POSS   knee   REL   NEG   be.good
        'and then Iskia held my knee **that** is not well' [080916-001-CvNP.0003]

Conjunctions linking same-type constituents are described in §14.2 and those linking different-type constituents are discussed in §14.3. Unless mentioned otherwise, the clausal conjunctions combine clauses with same-subject coreference as well as those with a switch in reference. Juxtaposition is briefly mentioned in §14.4. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §14.5.

14.2.   Conjunctions combining same-type constituents

This section discusses conjunctions which combine same-type constituents. In terms of the semantic relations which they signal, the conjunctions fall into six groups, that is conjunctions marking (1) addition (§14.2.1), (2) alternative (§14.2.2), (3) time and/or conditions (§14.2.3), (4) consequence (§14.2.4), (5) contrast (§14.2.5), and (6) similarity (§14.2.6).

14.2.1.   Addition

Addition-marking conjunctions combine constituents denoting events, states, or entities which are "closely linked and … valid simultaneously" (Rudolph 1996: 20).

Besides conjunctive *dang* 'and' (§14.2.1.1), Papuan Malay employs two prepositions to signal addition, namely comitative *dengan* 'with' (§14.2.1.2), and goal-oriented *sama* 'to' (§14.2.1.3).

14.2.1.1.   Conjunctive *dang* 'and'

The conjunction *dang* 'and' typically links two clauses, as in (6). Less often, it links verb phrases as in (7) or noun phrases, as (8) and (9). Usually, the noun phrases have human referents as in (8); coordination of inanimate referents, as in (9), is rare.

(6)   de   pegang   de   punya   prahu,   **dang**   de   dayung,   **dang**   de
        3SG   hold   3SG   POSS   boat   and   3SG   paddle   and   3SG
        bilang,   …
        say
        'he took his boat **and** he paddled **and** he said, …' [080917-008-NP.0018][232]

(7)   pagi   helikopter   turung,   **dang**   kembali   ke   Anggruk
        morning   helicopter   descend   and   return   to   Anggruk
        'in the morning the helicopter came down **and** returned to Anggruk'
        [081011-022-Cv.0228]

(8)   sa   kas   taw   mama,   **dang**   mama-ade,   nanti   kam   …
        1SG   give   know   mother   and   aunt   later   2PL
        'I let mother **and** aunt know, 'later you …'' [080919-007-CvNP.0001]

(9)   de   suda   taw   ruma   **dang**   kampung
        3SG   already   know   house   and   village
        'he already knew the house **and** the village' [080923-006-CvNP.0002]

14.2.1.2.   Comitative *deng(an)* 'with'

The comitative preposition *dengan* 'with', with its short form *deng*, typically conjoins noun phrases. The conjoined referents can be animate, as in (10), or inanimate, as in (11). The fact that Papuan Malay employs the same marker for "noun phrase conjunction and comitative phrases" suggests that, in terms of Stassen's (2011a: 1) typology, Papuan Malay is a "WITH-language". Occasionally, *deng(an)* 'with' links verb phrases as in (12). The linking of clauses with comitative *dengan* 'with' is unattested in the present corpus. (Besides, comitative *deng(an)* 'with' is also used to encode inclusory conjunction constructions, as discussed in §6.1.4; for a detailed discussion of preposition *dengan* 'with', see §10.2.1.)

(10)   malam   hari   atur,   tong   **deng**   ana~ana   makang
        night   day   arrange   1PL   with   RDP~child   eat
        'in the evening (my wife) arranges (the food), we **and** the children eat'
        [080919-004-NP.0007]

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[232]   The subscript letters keep track of what each term refers to.

(11) … apa biologi **dengan** apa astronomi **dengan** bahasa Inggris
      what biology with   what astronomy with   language England
      [About a school competition] '[later they'll participate in the Olympiad
      contest in,] what, biology **and**, what, astronomy **and** English' [081115-001a-
      Cv.0111-0113]

(12) nene   jam dua malam datang **deng** menangis
      grandmother hour two night come   with   cry
      'at two o'clock in the morning grandmother came crying' (Lit. 'come **with**
      cry') [081014-008-CvNP.0001]

14.2.1.3. Goal-oriented *sama* 'to'

The goal-oriented preposition *sama* 'to' occasionally links noun phrases with human
referents, as in (13). The coordination of clauses or verb phrases with *sama* 'to' is
unattested in the present corpus. (See §10.2.2 for a detailed discussion of preposition
sama 'to' and how it is distinct from comitative *dengan* 'with'.)

(13) … Aris **sama** Siduas$_i$ deng de$_i$ pu   maytua, **sama** dep$_i$,
      Aris to   Siduas with 3SG POSS   wife   to   3SG:POSS

      de$_i$ punya maytua
      3SG POSS   wife

      '[all (of you will) be taken (on board …,)] Aris **and** Siduas$_i$ and his wife$_i$,
      and his$_i$, his$_i$ wife' [080922-001a-CvPh.0493/0497][233]

14.2.2. Alternative

In Papuan Malay, two conjunctions mark alternative, disjunctive *ato* 'or' (§14.2.2.1)
and disjunctive *ka* 'or' (§14.2.2.2).

14.2.2.1. Disjunctive *ato* 'or'

Disjunctive *ato* 'or' occurs at the left periphery of the constituents it combines. Here
it signals that "a logical relationship between propositions" in the sense that "[i]f the
logical disjunction of two propositions is true, then one or both of the component
propositions can be true" (Payne 1997: 305). Most often, *ato* 'or' disjoins clauses, as
in (14). Also quite often, *ato* 'or' links noun phrases as in (15). Only rarely *ato* 'or'
links prepositional phrases as in (16), or verb phrases as in (17).

(14) kalo saya susa,   **ato** saya biking acara,   nanti dia bantu saya
      if   1SG be.difficult or   1SG make ceremony later 3SG help 1SG
      'if I have difficulties **or** I make a festivity, then he'll help me' [080919-004-
      NP.0065]

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[233] The subscript letters indicate which pronouns have which referents.

(15)   kalo tong pu   uang   satu juta,   **ato** satu juta   lima
        if   1PL   POSS money   one   million or   one   million five
        ratus,   tong bisa   bakar natal
        hundred   1PL   be.capable burn   Christmas
        'if we had one million **or** one million five hundred (rupiah), we could have
        a Christmas party' (Lit. 'burn (the) Christmas (fire)') [081006-017-Cv.0016]

(16)   jadi kalo dia, suku   dari situ, dari Masep suda
        so   if   3SG   ethnic.group from L.MED from Masep already
        bunu orang di, a,   Karfasia, **ato** di Waim, na   …
        kill person at   umh   Karfasia   or   at Waim   well
        'so if the, the ethnic group from there, from Masep has already killed
        someone at, umh Karfasia **or** at Waim, well …' [081006-027-CvEx.0002]

(17)   dong bilang, a,   tunggu minum dulu,   **ato** makang dulu
        3PL   say   ah!   wait   drink be.prior   or   eat   be.prior
        'they said, 'ah, wait, please drink **or** eat'' (Lit. 'drink first **or** eat first')
        [080925-003-Cv.0111]

14.2.2.2.   Disjunctive *ka* 'or'

Disjunctive *ka* 'or' signals series or sequences of alternatives. Occurring at the right
periphery of a constituent, it indicates that a list of alternatives is not exhaustive.
That is, a few possible options are overtly mentioned, while others are implied. To
make the notion of 'non-exhaustive list of alternatives' explicit, the conjunction
marks an interrogative as the final enumerated constituent. Typically, disjunctive *ka*
'or' links noun phrases, as in (18) and (19). In (18), the notion of a 'non-exhaustive
list' is implied, while in (19) it is overtly marked with *apa ka* 'or something else'
(literally 'what or'). Less often, *ka* 'or' combines prepositional phrases as in (20), or
clauses as in (21); the linking of verbs with *ka* 'or' is unattested in the present
corpus. Another function of *ka* 'or', not discussed here, is to mark interrogative
clauses (see §13.2.3).

(18)   … nanti banjir   **ka**, hujang **ka**, guntur **ka**
           later flooding   or   rain   or   thunder or
        '[it's not allowed to kill the snake otherwise] later (there'll be) flooding, **or**
        rains, **or** thunder (**or something else**)' [081006-022-CvEx.0004]

(19)   sa   deng kaka Petrus pikir, mungking klapa   **ka**, **apa** **ka**
        1SG   with oSb   Petrus think   maybe   coconut or   what or
        yang ada   di depang
        REL   exist at front
        [About a motorbike trip:] 'I and older brother Petrus thought it was maybe a
        coconut **or something else** that was in front (of us)' [081023-004-Cv.0002]

(20)   ko   lapor   di   umum   **ka**, di keuangang   **ka**
        2SG   report at   general or at finance.affairs or
        [About a government office:] 'you (should) report to the general (office), **or**
        the finance (office) (**or some other** office)' [081005-001-Cv.0011]

(21)   … waktu   ko   ada   potong babi **ka**, potong ikang **ka**, ato
           time   2SG   exist   cut   pig   or   cut   fish   or   or
        dapat ikang   ka kuskus ka,   waktu lewat   kasi   saja
        get   fish   or cuscus or   time   pass.by   give   just
        '[when (your) friends and relatives,] when you are carving a pig **or** carving
        fish (**or** carving **something else**), or (when you) get a fish or cuscus (or
        something else), when (they) walk by, just share (it with them)' [080919-
        004-NP.0060]

14.2.3.   Time and/or condition

Conjunctions marking temporal relations indicate relative time, "where the reference
point for location of a situation is some point in time given by the context" (Comrie
1985: 56). Providing a reference point for the events or states depicted in the
unmarked clause, time-marking conjunctions signal sequence relations, anteriority,
or posteriority. Condition-marking conjunctions introduce a clause which expresses
a condition, while the unmarked clause describes an event or state which could come
about once the condition has been met. In many languages, there is no distinction
between conditional 'if' and temporal 'when' clauses (Thompson et al. 2007: 257).
This also applies to Papuan Malay. Therefore, both types of linkings are discussed
here.
    This section describes five conjunctions: sequential *trus* 'next' (§14.2.3.1) and
baru 'and then' (§14.2.3.2), anteriority-marking *sampe* 'until' (§14.2.3.3) and
seblum 'before' (§14.2.3.4), and posteriority-marking/conditional *kalo* 'when, if'
(§14.2.3.5).[234]

14.2.3.1.   Sequential *trus* 'next'

The sequential conjunction *trus* 'next' is related to the monovalent verb *trus* 'be
continuous' (see §5.16). It marks temporal relations between clauses or phrases in an
iconic way by ordering events or entities "in logical and time sequence" (Bril 2010:
285). When combining clauses, it always occurs in clause-initial position.
    In terms of subject reference, an initial investigation of the attested *trus* 'next'
tokens in the present corpus suggests the following. The conjunction more often
links clauses with a switch in reference (269 tokens), as in (22), than those with

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[234] Papuan Malay does not have a conjunction that marks temporal simultaneity between two
       clauses. Instead speakers use the common noun *waktu* 'time' when they want to signal
       that the events described in each clause happened at the same time:
           waktu saya … tinggal di   kampung sa   kerja sperti   laki-laki
           time   1SG   stay   at   village 1SG   work similar.to man
           '**when** I lived in the village, I worked like a man' (Lit. '**(at) that time**') [081014-007-
           Pr.0048]

same-subject coreference (101 tokens). This quantitative data is in contrast to
Donohue's (to be published: 42) observations that *trus* 'next' "is a commonly used
connective when there is same-subject coreference condition between clauses". Less
often, *trus* 'next' combines noun phrases, as in (23), or prepositional phrases, as in
(24).

(22)　　waktu Sofia lewat　　mandi to?　　di　kamar　mandi,　**trus** Nusa
　　　　when　Sofia pass.by　bathe　right?　at　room　　bathe　　next　Nusa
　　　　juga　lewat,　　Sofia ikat　　handuk, de　　mo　　lewat　　masuk ke
　　　　also　pass.by　Sofia tie.up　towel　　3SG　want　pass.by　enter　to
　　　　kamar,　**trus**　Nusa de　　bicara　dia
　　　　room　　next　　Nusa 3SG　speak　3SG
　　　　'when Sofia passed by to bathe, right?, in the bathroom, **then** Nusa also
　　　　passed by, Sofia had tied (her) towel (around her waist), she wanted to pass
　　　　by (and) enter the (bath)room, **then** Nusa spoke to her' [081115-001a-
　　　　Cv.0263]

(23)　　de　pu　　potong selesay ambil ubi,　　　　**trus** daung petatas
　　　　3SG POSS cut　　finish　get　　purple.yam next　leaf　　sweet.potato
　　　　daung singkong, **trus** apa　lagi　sayur　　bayam
　　　　leaf　cassava　　next　what again vegetable amaranth
　　　　[A recipe:] '(once) the cutting up (of the pig meat) is done, take purple
　　　　yam, **then** sweet potato leaves, cassava leaves, **then** what else amaranth
　　　　vegetables' [081014-017-CvPr.0033]

(24)　　… jalang banyak to?,　　di　atas, tenga,　**trus** di　laut,
　　　　　 road　　many　　right?　at　top　middle next　at　ocean
　　　　trus di　pante sana
　　　　then　at　coast　L.DIST
　　　　'[I was confused (about) the road, you know,] (there) were many roads,
　　　　right?, in the upper part (of the village), in the middle, **and then** at the
　　　　ocean, **and then** at the beach over there' [081025-008-Cv.0018]

14.2.3.2.　Sequential *baru* 'and then'

The sequential conjunction *baru* 'and then' is related to the stative verb *baru* 'be
new' (see §5.16). Most often, it marks temporal succession by organizing events in
their logical or temporal order, as shown in (25). In addition, although less often, the
conjunction marks contrast, as illustrated in (26).

　　Typically, *baru* 'and then' occurs in clause-initial position where it marks an
immediate subsequent event or action, similar to sequential *trus* 'next' (§14.2.3.1).
Concurrently, however, the conjunction signals another piece of information, as
shown in (25) (note that this example presents contiguous text). Depending on the
context, the conjunction marks noteworthy parts and/or signals a new aspect or
perspective regarding the event or discourse unfolding. In this case *baru* translates
with 'but then', as in (25b) or 'and then' as in (25c). Alternatively, the conjunction
signals that the event depicted in its clause does not occur until after the event of the

preceding clause. In this case, it translates with 'only then', as in (25a). In marking contrastive sequentiality, ***baru*** 'and then' differs from ***trus*** 'next' which indicates neutral sequentiality (see §14.2.3).

As for subject reference, an initial inspection of the ***baru*** 'and then' tokens in the present corpus suggests that the conjunction more often links clauses with a switch in reference (524 tokens), as in (25b), than clauses with same-subject coreference (455 tokens), as in (25a, c). In this respect, ***baru*** 'and then' behaves like ***trus*** 'next' (see §14.2.3).

> Combining clauses with ***baru*** 'and then' in clause initial position: Sequential reading

(25) a. tong … jaga dia_i sampe jam satu, **baru** tong tidor,
          1PL   guard 3SG until hour one and.then 1PL sleep
          [About a sick relative:] 'we … watched her until one o'clock, **only then** did we sleep'

      b. **baru** Pawlus de_j sandar di de_i pu badan begini,
          and.then Pawlus 3SG lean at 3SG POSS body like.this
          '**but then** Pawlus was leaning against her body like this'

      c. **baru** de_j kas pata leher ke bawa di atas
          and.then 3SG give break neck to bottom at top

          de_i pu bahu
          3SG POSS shoulder

          '**and then** he bent his neck down onto her shoulder' (Lit. 'caused his head to be broken') [080916-001-CvNP.0005-0006]

Occasionally, the conjunction occurs at the right periphery of a contrast clause. Summarizing what has been said before, it marks the propositional content of its clause as true despite the contents of the preceding unmarked clause. In this case, the conjunction receives the reading 'after all', as in (26). As this contrast-marking function of the conjunction is marginal, it is not further discussed in §14.2.5.

> Combining clauses with ***baru*** 'and then' in clause final position: Contrastive reading

(26) sa tra akang kasi kaing, sa juga dinging stenga mati,
      1SG NEG will give cloth 1SG also be.cold half dead
      ada anging **baru**
      exist wind and.then
      'I wasn't going to give (her my) cloth, I was also (half dead from being) cold, it was windy **after all**' [081025-006-Cv.0048]

14.2.3.3. Anteriority-marking ***sampe*** 'until'

The conjunction ***sampe*** 'until' is related to the bivalent verb ***sampe*** 'reach' (see §5.16; see also §10.1.4 for the prepositional uses of ***sampe*** 'until'). It introduces a temporal clause which follows the unmarked clause. Usually, ***sampe*** 'until' marks

anteriority. That is, it signals that the event or state of the unmarked clause occurs prior to that of the temporal clause, as shown in (27). Concurrently, *sampe* 'until' marks temporal extent in that it indicates that the event or state of the unmarked clause continues until the event or state of the temporal clause comes about. Depending on the context, temporal *sampe* 'until' can also receives a resultative reading in the sense of 'with the result that', as in (28). Given that the resultative reading of *sampe* 'until' is the derived, marginal one, this result-marking function of *sampe* 'until' is not further discussed in §14.2.4.

(27)   … de   harus   taru di mata-hari, **sampe** de jadi   papeda
              3SG have.to put at sun   until   3SG become sagu.porridge

[Before an ancestor had fire to heat water:] '[when he wanted to make sagu porridge,] he had to leave it out in the sun **until** it turned into sagu porridge' [080922-010a-CvNF.007-0008]

(28)   Fredi pu   tangang dia   palungku kaca, jadi dia   rabik,
              Fredi POSS hand   3SG punch   glass   so   3SG tear

sampe brapa   jahitang
until   how.many   stitch

[About an accident:] 'Fredi's hand hit glass, so it was torn **with the result that** (he got) several stitches' [081006-032-Cv.0066]

14.2.3.4.   Anteriority-marking *seblum* 'before'

Anteriority-marking *seblum* 'before' also introduces a temporal clause.[235] It indicates – similar to *sampe* 'until' – that the event or state of the unmarked clause occurs prior to that of the temporal clause. Unlike *sampe* 'until', however, *seblum* 'before' does not signal extent. The temporal clause with *seblum* 'before' can precede or follow the unmarked clause, as shown in (29) and (30), respectively. In the present corpus, however, the temporal clause more often precedes the unmarked clause (21 tokens) rather than follows it (8 tokens).

(29)   … say   suda   punya rencana juga, **seblum** sa   kluar
              1SG already   have   plan   also   before   1SG go.out

'[when I hunt without taking dogs, I leave in the night,] I also already have a plan **before** I leave' [080919-004-NP.0002]

(30)   de   bilang, **seblum** kitong pergi ke kota, kitong cuci   muka dulu
              3SG say   before   1PL   go   to   city   1PL   wash front prior

'he said, '**before** we go to the city, we wash (our) faces first'' [080917-008-NP.0126]

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[235] The conjunction *seblum* 'before' is historically derived from the aspectual adverb *blum* 'not yet': *se-blum* 'one-not.yet' (see §2.4.4.2 and §3.1).

14.2.3.5.   Posteriority-marking/conditional *kalo* 'when, if'

The conjunction *kalo* 'when, if' signals temporal relations, namely posteriority, and/or conditional relations between two clauses. The clause it introduces always precedes the unmarked clause.

Whether *kalo* 'when, if' receives a temporal reading as in (31) and (32), or a conditional reading, as in (41) and (34), is context-dependent. Quite often, though, both interpretations are possible, as shown in (35). This lack of a "distinction between 'if' clauses and 'when' clauses" is also found in other languages, such as "Indonesian and certain languages of Papua New Guinea", as Thompson et al. (2007: 257) point out.

When marking posteriority, *kalo* translates with 'when'; it signals that the event or state of unmarked main clause occurs subsequent to that of the temporal clause, as in (31). When the conjunction co-occurs with the retrospective adverb *su(da)* 'already', it projects these events or states to the future; in this case *kalo* translates with 'once'. That is, in combination with *su(da)* 'already', the conjunction signals that the event or state of the unmarked clause will eventuate, once that of the temporal clause has come about, as in (32).

Combining clauses with *kalo* 'when/after': Temporal reading

(31)   **kalo** dong tendang de   pu   kaki tu,   dia pegang bola
       when 3PL   kick   3SG   POSS   foot D.DIST 3SG hold   ball
       [About a football match:] '**when** they kicked those legs of his, he grabbed the ball' [081006-014-Cv.0004]

(32)   jadi **kalo** dong **su**   tinggal di   kota begini,   dong
       so   if   3PL   already   stay   at   city like.this 3PL
       snang   tinggal, tida maw pulang   ke kampung
       feel.happy(.about) stay   NEG   want go.home to village
       'so **once** they've lived in the city like this, they're happy to stay (here), (they) don't want to return home to the village' [080927-009-CvNP.0059]

In a different context, the conjunction receives a conditional reading and signals "indicative conditional" relations or "counterfactual conditional" relations (Kaufmann 2006: 6), in which case *kalo* translates with 'if'. An indicative conditional indicates that it is possible for the condition presented in its clause to be met; in this case the event or state of the unmarked clause will also come about. This is shown in (41). When conditional *kalo* 'if' co-occurs with retrospective *su(da)* 'already', the clause receives a counterfactual conditional reading. That is, it signals that the condition was not met in the past. If the condition had been met, however, then the event or state of the unmarked clause would also have come about. This is illustrated in (34).

Combining clauses with *kalo* 'if': Conditional reading

(33)   **kalo** ko   alpa,   kitong tra   jalang
       if   2SG be.absent 1PL   NEG   walk
       [Talking to her son about an upcoming trip:] '**if** you play hooky, we won't go' [080917-003a-CvEx.0038]

(34) **kalo** sa   **su**   pake em   kaca-mata   tu,
      if   1SG   already use   uh   glasses   D.DIST

      mungking sa   su   gila
      maybe   1SG   already be.crazy

      '**if** I'd been wearing, uh, those (sun)glasses, I might already be crazy'
      [080919-005-Cv.0007]

Rather commonly, *kalo* 'when, if' allows both a temporal and a conditional reading, as in (35).

      Combining clauses with *kalo* 'when, if': Temporal and/or conditional reading

(35) **kalo**   bapa   datang, pluk   bapa
      when/if   father   come   embrace   father

      '**when/if** you ('father') come (here), (I'll) embrace you ('father')' [080922-001a-CvPh.0360]

14.2.4.   Consequence

A consequence-marking conjunction indicates that the event or state of its clause is the outcome of an event or state depicted in the unmarked clause. More specifically, the unmarked clause describes a result or purpose, while the clause marked with the conjunction expresses a cause or reason. This section describes five conjunctions: resultative/causal *jadi* 'so, since' (§14.2.4.1), purposive *supaya* 'so that' (§14.2.4.2), purposive *untuk* 'for' (§14.2.4.3), causal *karna* 'because' (§14.2.4.4), and causal *gara-gara* 'because' (§14.2.4.5). In addition, although rarely, temporal *sampe* 'until' has result-marking function in the sense of 'with the result that'; given that this function is marginal, it is discussed in §14.2.3.3 and not here.

14.2.4.1.   Resultative/causal *jadi* 'so, since'

The resultative/causal conjunction *jadi* 'so, since' is related to the bivalent verb *jadi* 'become' (see §5.16). Most often, it marks a resultative relation between two clauses, as shown in (36). In addition, although less often, the conjunction signals a causal relation, as illustrated in (37).

    Typically, *jadi* 'so, since' occurs in initial position of a result clause that follows the unmarked clause. Here, the conjunction signals that the event or state of its clause results from that of the unmarked clause, as in (36); hence, *jadi* translates with 'so'.

      Combining clauses with *jadi* 'so, since': Clause-initial position

(36) tong tra   snang   dengan dia, **jadi** kitong malas
      1PL   NEG   feel.happy(.about) with   3SG   so   1PL   be.listless

      datang dia pu   ruma
      come   3SG POSS house

      'we don't feel happy about her, **so** we don't want to come to her house'
      [080927-006-CvNP.0032]

Alternatively, but less often, conjunction occurs in clause-final position of a cause clause where it marks a causal relation with the preceding unmarked clause, as in (37). That is, the conjunction signals that something depicted in its clause is the cause for the event or state of the unmarked clause, and that the result depicted in the unmarked clause is anticipated. Hence, *jadi* translates with 'since'. In that the result is expected, causal *jadi* 'since' differs from neutral causality-marking *karna* 'because' (see §14.2.4.4).

Combining clauses with *jadi* 'so, since': Clause-final position

(37) Musa ini, e, de loyo~loyo   ini, de bangung tidor **jadi**
      Musa D.PROX uh 3SG RDP~be.weak this 3SG wake.up sleep so

      [About a small boy:] 'Musa here, uh, right now he's kind of weak **since** he woke up from sleeping' [080922-001a-CvPh.1435/1437]

14.2.4.2. Purposive *supaya* 'so that'

Purposive *supaya* 'so that' introduces a purpose clause which follows the unmarked clause. The conjunction signals that the event or state of its clause is the intended outcome of the deliberate activity depicted in the unmarked clause. Most often, *supaya* 'so that' introduces a purpose clause with overt subject, as in (38). Less often, the conjunction introduces a purpose clause with elided subject, as in (39).

(38) mace ko sendiri yang ikut,   **supaya** ko   atur
      wife 2SG alone   REL follow so.that 2SG arrange

      makangang di sana!
      food   at L.DIST

      'you wife yourself (should) go with (them) **so that** you organize the catering over there!' (Lit. '(it's) you wife yourself who …') [081025-009a-Cv.0032]

(39) e,   angkat muka, **supaya** Ø liat orang!
      hey! lift   front so.that   see person

      'hey, lift (your) face **so that** (you) see (the other) people!' [081110-008-CvNP.0101]

14.2.4.3. Purposive *untuk* 'for'

As a conjunction, the benefactive preposition *untuk* 'for, to' signals a purpose relation between two clauses (for a description of preposition *untuk* 'for, to', see §10.2.3). Purposive *untuk* 'for', like *supaya* 'so that' (see §14.2.4.2), introduces a purpose clause which expresses the intended outcome of the purposeful activity depicted in the preceding unmarked clause, as shown in (40) and (41). Usually, *untuk* 'for, to' introduces a purpose clause with elided subject, as shown with the second *untuk* 'for, to' token in (40). Much less often the conjunction introduces a purpose clause with overt subject, as shown with the first *untuk* 'for, to' token in (40), or as in (41). Thereby, *untuk* 'for, to' differs from purposive *supaya* 'so that'.

(40)   tadi   ana   bilang, … bapa dorang siap   saja, **untuk** kita
       earlier child   say   father 3PL   get.ready just for   1PL
       ke sana a,   sa   juga siap,   **untuk** bawa kamu ke   sini
       to L.DIST ah! 1SG   also get.ready for   bring 2PL   to   L.PROX
       'a short while ago you ('child') said, '… father and the others are ready **for**
       us (to move) to (Sarmi over) there', ah (in that case) I'm also ready **to** bring
       you (to Sarmi) here' [080922-001a-CvPh.1241]

(41)   … tida bole, ini,   kamu datang, **untuk** kamu skola
          NEG may   D.PROX 2PL   come   for   2PL   go.to.school
       '[you shouldn't hate each other, (you) shouldn't infuriate each other,] (you)
       shouldn't (do all this), what's-its-name, you came here **to** go to school' (Lit.
       '**for** you (to) go to school') [081115-001a-Cv.0272]

14.2.4.4.   Causal *karna* 'because'

Causal *karna* 'because' signals a neutral causal relation between two clauses by
introducing a cause clause which gives the reason for the event or state depicted in
the unmarked clause. Usually the cause clause follows the unmarked clause, as in
(42). In combination with adversative *tapi* 'but' (see §14.2.5.1), however, it can
precede the unmarked clause as in (43). In this case the unmarked clause is often
introduced with resultative *jadi* 'so'. Signaling neutral causality, *karna* 'because' is
distinct from causal *jadi* 'since' which marks expected results (see §14.2.4.1), and
from causal *gara-gara* 'because' which marks emotive causal relations (see
§14.2.4.5).

(42)   saya bisa   pulang, **karna**   sa   su   dapat babi
       1SG be.capable   go.home because   1SG   already   get   pig
       [Hunting a wild pig:] 'I can return home **because** I already got the pig'
       [080919-004-NP.0024]

(43)   dong memang piara de di situ,   **tapi karna**   mama   dong
       3PL indeed raise 3SG at L.MED but because   mother 3PL
       pu   bapa-ade …, **tapi karna**   tete   meninggal, **jadi**
       POSS   uncle   but because   grandfather   die   so
       dong pu   kluarga ini   yang piara
       3PL POSS family D.PROX REL raise
       'they took indeed care of him there, **but because** mama's uncle [umh,
       who's actually the youngest offspring,] **but because** grandfather died, **so**
       (it's) their family who took care of him' [080919-006-CvNP.0006-0008]

14.2.4.5.   Causal *gara-gara* 'because'

The causal conjunction *gara-gara* 'because' is related to the bivalent verb *gara*
'irritate' (see §5.16). It indicates an emotive causal relation between two clauses by
introducing a cause clause which gives the reason for the circumstances depicted in
the unmarked clause. Most often, the cause clause follows the unmarked clause, as

in (44). Alternatively, the cause clause can precede the unmarked clause. In this case adversative *tapi* 'but' (see §14.2.5.1) precedes ***gara-gara*** 'because', as in (45), as is the case with ***karna*** 'because' (see §14.2.4.4). In that ***gara-gara*** 'because' signals an emotive causal relation between its clause and the unmarked clause, it is distinct from ***karna*** 'because' which marks neutral causal relations.

(44) sap   prut   sakit,   **gara-gara** sa   makang nasi
      1SG:POSS   stomach   be.sick because   1SG   eat   cooked.rice
      'my stomach was sick **because** I ate rice' [081025-009a-Cv.0046]

(45) … **tapi gara-gara** Nofela   bi,   **gara-gara** Nofela   bicara
      but   because   Nofela   TRU-speak because   Nofela   speak

      deng bapa,   bapa   pu   hati   tergrak   …
      with father father POSS   liver   be.moved

      [Phone conversation between a father and his daughter:] '[(if) I had just spoken to Siduas, maybe I wouldn't have felt moved to come (and pick you up), right?,] **but because** you ('Nofela') spoke[TRU], **because** you ('Nofela') spoke with me, my ('father's) heart was moved [so I'll definitely come (and pick you up)]' [080922-001a-CvPh.1082-1083]

14.2.5.   Contrast

Contrast-marking conjunctions signal that the events or states described in two clauses "are valid simultaneously", but that the information given in one clause "marks a contrast to the information" given in the other clause (Rudolph 1996: 20). This section describes four contrast-marking conjunctions: adversative *tapi* 'but' and *habis* 'after all' (§14.2.5.2 and §14.2.5.1), oppositive *padahal* 'but actually' (§14.2.5.3), and concessive *biar* 'although' (§14.2.5.4). In addition, temporal *baru* 'and then' has contrast-marking function in that it signals counter-expectation in the sense of 'after all'; as this function is marginal it is discussed in §14.2.3.2 and not here.

14.2.5.1.   Adversative *tapi* 'but'

Adversative *tapi* 'but' occurs in interclausal position where it introduces a contrast clause. It marks a contrast relation between its clause and the unmarked clause, as shown in (46) and (47).

(46) de   bisa   maing gitar, **tapi** de   malu
      3SG   be.able   play   guitar but   3SG   feel.embarrassed(.about)
      'she can play the guitar **but** she feels shy (about it)' [081014-015-Cv.0008]

(47) jadi sa   punya bapa   kasi saya untuk Iskia, **tapi** Iskia
      so   1SG   POSS   father give 1SG   for   Iskia   but   Iskia

kawin   sala,   Iskia kawin sa   punya kaka
marry   be.wrong Iskia marry 1SG POSS   oSb

'so my father gave me to Iskia, **but** Iskia married improperly, Iskia married my older sister' [081006-028-CvEx.0005]

14.2.5.2.   Adversative *habis* 'after all'

Adversative *habis* 'after all' is related to the monovalent verb *habis* 'be used up, be finished' (see §5.16). It marks an adversative relation between two clauses, as shown in (48) and (49). Introducing a contrast clause that follows the unmarked clause, the conjunction summarizes what has been said before and signals that the propositional content of its clause is true in spite of the content of the preceding unmarked clause. At the same time, it signals that the interlocutor is expected to know that this content is true. Thereby *habis* 'after all' is distinct from adversative *baru* 'and then' which merely summarizes what has been said before (see §14.2.3.2). The exchange in (49) illustrates that there does not need to be an overt unmarked clause which precedes the contrast clause: speakers also use *habis* 'after all' to reply to an interlocutor's statements.

(48)   bilang bapa, kirim tong uang,   **habis**   sa   susa   to?
        say   father send 1PL   money after.all 1SG difficult right?
        'say (to) father, 'send us money, **after all**, I have difficulties, right?''
        [080922-001a-CvPh.0866]

(49)   a.   Speaker-1: ko   baru   masuk klas   satu ini?
                            2SG recently enter   class one   D.PROX
             Speaker-1: 'recently you got into first grade (of middle school)?'

        b.   Speaker-2: yo, **habis**   sa   gagal
                            yes   after.all 1SG fail
             Speaker-2: 'yes, **after all**, I failed (the last exams)' [080922-001a-CvPh.0965-0966]

14.2.5.3.   Oppositive *padahal* 'but actually'

The conjunction *padahal* 'but actually' introduces a contrast clause, which follows the unmarked clause. Concurrent to marking contrast, the conjunction signals that the propositional content of its clause is surprising and unexpected given the content of the unmarked clause. Thereby, *padahal* 'but actually' is more oppositive than *tapi* 'but' (see §14.2.5.1). This is illustrated in (50) and (51).

(50)   ana   ini,   sa   pikir de   suda   lewat,   **padahal**   de
        child D.PROX 1SG think 3SG already pass.by but.actually 3SG

```
        tidor   atas   kayu~kayu
        sleep   top    RDP~wood
```
'this child, I thought he'd already passed by, **but actually** he was sleeping on top of the wood' [081013-004.Cv.0004]

(51)   bulang oktober sa   pu   alpa   cuma dua saja, bayangkang,
        month October 1SG POSS be.absent just two just image
        padahal   sa   alpa   banyak
        but.actually 1SG absent many

[About the speaker's school attendance:] 'imagine!, in October I had just only two (official) absences, **but actually** I was absent many times' (Lit. 'my absences were many') [081023-004-Cv.0014]

14.2.5.4.   Concessive *biar* 'although'

Concessive *biar* 'although' is related to the monovalent verb *biar* 'be permitted' (see §5.16). It marks concessive relations between two clauses. Introducing a concession clause, the conjunction signals that despite the event or state depicted in its clause, the event or state depicted in the unmarked clause occurred. Usually, the concession clause precedes the unmarked clause, whereby the concession is emphasized, as in (52). Alternatively, although less often, it can follow the unmarked clause, in which case the content of the latter clause is emphasized, as in (53).

(52)   yo, **biar**   makangang tinggi, de   ambil
        yes although food   be.high 3SG fetch

[About a greedy child:] 'yes, **although** the food is (placed) high (up on a shelf), he takes (it)' [081025-006-Cv.0256]

(53)   … jangang tinggal di ruma, tida bole, **biar**   dulu
           NEG.IMP stay   at house NEG may   although be.prior
        orang-tua dong bilang begini
        parent   3PL   say   like.this

'[so you kids have to go to school,] don't stay home, (that's) not allowed, **although** the parents said so in the past' [081110-008-CvNP.0036]

14.2.6.   Similarity

As conjunctions, the similative prepositions *sperti* 'similar to' and *kaya* 'like' mark similarity between two clauses. Introducing similarity clauses, both signal that the event or state depicted in the unmarked clause is similar to that described in the similarity clause. The similarity clause always follows the unmarked clause.

   Derived from their prepositional semantics, *sperti* 'similar to' signals likeness in some, often implied, respect, while *kaya* 'like' marks overall resemblance, as shown in (54) and (55), respectively. (See §10.3.1 and §10.3.2 for a detailed discussion of the prepositions *sperti* 'similar to' and *kaya* 'like' and their semantics.)

(54)   mama   dia   lupa   kamu,   **sperti**   kacang   lupa   kulit
        mother   3SG   forget   2PL   similar.to   bean   forget   skin
        'mother forgot you (in a way that is) **similar to** a bean forgetting its skin'
        [080922-001a-CvPh.0932]

(55)   … tong   taputar,   **kaya**   kitong   ni   ana~ana
          1PL   be.turned.around   like   1PL   D.PROX   RDP~child
        perjalangang   yang   taputar
        journey   REL   be.turned.around
        '[we were looking for a bathroom …, good grief! there weren't (any)
        bathrooms,] we wandered around **like** we here were children on a trip who
        wandered around' [081025-009a-Cv.0059]

14.3.   Conjunctions combining different-type constituents

This section describes two conjunctions which combine different-type constituents.
Complementizer *bahwa* 'that' links a clause to a bivalent verb (§14.3.1), while
relativizer *yang* 'REL' integrates a relative clause within a noun phrase (§14.3.2).

14.3.1.   Complementizer *bahwa* 'that'

The complementizer *bahwa* 'that' marks "a clause as the complement of a verb"
(Schachter and Shopen 2007: 49). Cross-linguistically, it is typically bivalent "verbs
of utterance and cognition" that take complements (Payne 1997: 279). This also
applies to Papuan Malay. The present corpus contains 68 complement clauses with
bahwa 'that'. In 37 cases, the complement-taking verb is *taw* 'know', followed by
bilang 'say' (5 tokens), *ceritra* 'tell'(4 tokens), and *liat* 'see' (3 tokens).
    Two structural patterns are attested for complementation with *bahwa* 'that'.
Usually, the verb is followed by the clausal complement with *bahwa* 'that' (61
tokens), as in (56) and (57). Alternatively, although much less often, the verb is
followed by an object which is followed by the clausal complement (8 tokens), as in
(58).

        VERB – ***bahwa*** 'that' (OBJECT) – CLAUSAL COMPLEMENT

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

(57)   kalo   blum   nika   itu,   greja   **bilang**   **bahwa**   dong   dua
        if   not.yet   marry   D.DIST   church   say   that   3PL   two
        blum   jadi   swami   istri
        not.yet   become   husband   wife
        'if (they) haven't (officially) married yet, (then) the church **says that** the
        two of them haven't yet become husband and wife' [081110-006-CvEx.0196]

(58) jadi Raymon **tuntut** **sama** **kita** to?, **sama** **kitorang**
      so   Raymon   demand   from   1PL   right? from   1PL

      bahwa kamu harus   ganti   lagi
      that   2PL   have.to replace also

[About bride-price customs:] 'so Raymon **demanded from us**, right?, **from us that** we also had to compensate (for that wife)' (Lit. '… **from us that** you had to replace') [081006-024-CvEx.0019][236]

14.3.2. Relativizer *yang* 'REL'

Relativizer ***yang*** 'REL' introduces a relative clause which functions "as a modifier within a noun phrase" (Asher 1994: 5165) (see also §8.2.8). Typically, the relative clause follows its head nominal, as in (59) and (61a). However, ***yang*** 'REL' can also introduce a headless relative clause "when the head noun is non-specific", as in (60), or when "the specific reference to the head is clear" (Payne 1997: 295), as in (61b) ("∅" signifies the implied head nominal).

Relative clauses with overt head nominal and headless relative clauses

(59) kitong mo   hancurkang **tugu**   **yang** ada   di Sarmi itu
      1PL   want shatter   monument   REL   exist at Sarmi D.DIST

'we want to destroy **the statue that** is in Sarmi there' [080917-008-NP.0043]

(60) tong tra ke kampung, tra ada   ∅ **yang** jalang ke kampung
      1PL   NEG to village   NEG exist   REL   walk   to village

'we don't (go) to the village, there is (**nobody**) **who** goes to the village' [080917-003a-CvEx.0048]

(61) a. Speaker-1: **Nelci** **itu**   **yang** mana?
                      Nelci   D.DIST   REL   where

          Speaker-1: '**which** one is **that Nelci**?'

      b. Speaker-2: ∅ **yang** kecil~kecil   … ∅ **yang** rajing~rajing
                         REL   RDP~be.small   REL   RDP~be.diligent

          Speaker-2: '(**the one**) **who**'s kind of small … (**the one**) **who**'s very diligent' [081115-001a-Cv.0285-0292]

The remainder of this section describes the grammatical positions which can be relativized in Papuan Malay. The data in the present corpus shows that in terms of Keenan and Comrie's (1977) "Accessibility Hierarchy", Papuan Malay allows relativization on all five positions, namely:

SUBJECT > DIRECT OBJECT > INDIRECT OBJECT > OBLIQUE > POSSESSOR

Relativizing these positions involves two different "case recoverability strategies" that allow to identify "the role of the referent of the head noun *within the relative clause*" (Payne 1997: 297). In Papuan Malay, relativization of subject, direct and

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[236] Typically, speakers report direct speech in the form of direct speech rather than indirect speech (see also §6.2.1.1).

indirect object arguments is achieved with the "gap strategy", while relativization of obliques and possessors involves "pronoun retention" (1997: 297, 298).

When core arguments are relativized, a gap is left. This gap, signified with "∅", occurs where the relativized noun phrase would be situated if it were expressed overtly. The example in (62) illustrates relativization of a subject argument, in (63) of a direct object argument, and in (64) of an indirect object argument.

Relativization of the subject and direct object positions

(62)   tong   bagi   buat   **kitorang yang** ∅   potong   itu   …,
        1PL   divide for   1PL   REL   cut   D.DIST

        buat   **sodara~sodara yang** ∅   tinggal   di   kampung
        for   RDP~sibling   REL   stay   at   village

        [About hunting a wild pig:] we divided (the meat) for **us who** cut (it) up that day, (and) then for **the relatives and friends who** live in the village' [080919-003-NP.0014]

(63)   saya   kas   makang   anjing   deng   **papeda**   **yang** sa   pu
        1SG   give   eat   dog   with   sagu.porridge   REL   1SG   POSS

        bini   biking   ∅   malam   untuk   anjing   dorang
        wife   make   night   for   dog   3PL

        'I fed the dogs with **the sagu porridge which** my wife had prepared for the dogs in the evening' [080919-003-NP.0002]

(64)   **Fitri yang** de   bapa   kasi   ∅   ijin   mo   ikut   ke   kampung
        Fitri   REL   3SG   father give   permission   want follow to   village

        '**Fitri, whom** her husband gave permission, wants to go with (us) to the village' [080925-003-Cv.0211]

Obliques and possessors are relativized via pronoun retention. That is, a retained pronoun explicitly marks the relativized position within the relative clause. This is illustrated with the relativization of an oblique argument in (65), and of a possessor in (66) (see also Chapter 9 on adnominal possessive constructions).

Relativization of the indirect direct object, oblique, and possessor positions

(65)   kalo   **ana   mana   yang** sa   duduk   ceritra   **deng   dia**,
        if   child   where   REL   1SG   sit   tell   with   3SG

        itu   ana   itu,   de   hormat   torang
        D.DIST   child   D.DIST   3SG   respect   1PL

        'as for **which kid with whom** I sit and talk, that is that kid, she respects us' [081115-001a-Cv.0282]

(66)   itu   **kaka   satu   itu**   **yang   dia   punya** ade   prempuang
        D.DIST   oSb   one   D.DIST   REL   3SG   POSS   ySb   woman

        itu   tinggal   deng   Natanael   tu
        D.DIST   stay   with   Natanael   D.DIST

        'that is **that one older brother whose** younger sister is staying with Natanael' [080922-001a-CvPh.0888]

14.4. Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition is another strategy in Papuan Malay to link constituents, namely same-type constituents, such as noun phrases, prepositional phrases, verbs, or clauses.

Juxtaposition of noun phrases, as in (67) to (72), occurs considerably less often in the present corpus than conjoining with a conjunction. Three, four or five noun phrases are juxtaposed to enumerate entities; juxtaposition of two noun phrases occurs less often. These findings reflect the results of Stassen's (2000) typological study of noun phrase conjunction which shows that juxtaposition is "a minor strategy" which is often used "in list-like enumerations".[237]

Papuan Malay combines different prosodic features to indicate the structure of the juxtaposed noun phrases: final vowel lengthening (orthographically represented by a sequence of three vowels), slight increase in pitch of the stressed syllable (" ´ "), intonation breaks ("|"), non-final intonation pattern with level pitch ("—"), and end-of-list intonation with fall pitch ("\"). The enumeration structure in (67) is indicated with an increase in pitch, and the last item is marked off by the demonstrative ***itu*** 'D.DIST'. In (68), the enumeration is signaled with an increase in pitch as well as intonation breaks; the last item has an end-of-list intonation. In (69), the structure is marked with a slight increase in pitch and final vowel lengthening of the first and third coordinands while the fourth item has an end-of-list intonation. The second and third coordinands form a compact intonation unit, separated from the first and fourth coordinands by intonation breaks. After another intonation break following the fourth coordinand, the fifth coordinand is added as an afterthought.

Juxtaposition of noun phrases

(67)   —__   —__   —__   —__

gúntur   kílat   hújang   itu   dia   sambar
thunder   lightening   rain   D.DIST   3SG   strike.one.after.the.other

ruma   itu   sampeee
house   D.DIST   reach

'that **thunder, lightening, (and) rain**, it hit one house after the other ON AND ON' [081006-022-CvEx.0007]

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237 According to Stassen (2000: 7–8), "the general trend all over the world is that zero-coordination tends to be marginalized into specific functions or is replaced altogether by overt marking strategies". Mithun (1988: 351–357) suggests that this development is due to the global increase in bilingualism and in literacy. With respect to bilingualism Mithun (1988: 351) observes that "an astonishing number of coordinating conjunctions have been recently borrowed into languages that previously had none". As for the role of literacy, Mithun (1988: 356) notes that, whereas in oral language intonation suffices to signal the syntactic structure of juxtaposed constituents, written language requires the overt and "systematic specification of the precise nature of link" to disambiguate syntactic relations.

(68)   ―_   ―_   ―_   ――﹨

káing | **bántal** | **smúa** | **tíkar**
cloth   pillow   all   plaited.mat
[Listing laundry items:] '**the cloths, pillows, everything, the plaited mats**'
[081025-006-Cv.0057]

(69)   ―――   ――   ―――   ――﹨   ――――

kita pake **búmbuuu** | **fetsin gáraaam** | **sere** | **ricaaa**
1PL use spice   MSG salt   lemon.grass   red.pepper
'we used **spices, flavoring spice, salt, lemongrass, red pepper**' [080919-
004-NP.0037]

Juxtaposition of prepositional phrases, verbs, or clauses is illustrated in (70) to (72).
Three prepositional phrases introduced with elative *dari* 'from' are juxtaposed in
(70), three verbs in (71), and three clauses in (72) (for easier recognition the first
constituent of each of the linked clauses is bolded).

Juxtaposition of prepositional phrases, verbs, or clauses

(70)   baru   sa   punya bapa   dia   turung   **dari**   atas
        and.then 1SG   POSS   father 3SG   descend from   top

        dari   pedalamang   **dari**   Siantoa
        from   interior   from   Siantoa

        'and then my father came down **from** the hills, **from** the interior, **from**
        Siantoa' [080927-009-CvNP.0010]

(71)   kepala desa   mantang Arbais   ada   **duduk ceritra minum**
        head   village   former   Arbais   exist   sit   tell   drink
        'the former mayor of Arbais was **sitting** (there and) **talking** (and)
        drinking' [081011-024-Cv.0135]

(72)   **Oktofernus**   tra   makang,   **Mateus**   tra   makang,   **Wili**   tra
        Oktofernus   NEG   eat   Mateus   NEG   eat   Wili   NEG

        makang,   e,   **paytua**   tra   makang
        eat   uh   husband   NEG   eat

        '**Oktofernus** didn't eat, **Mateus** didn't eat, **Wili** didn't eat, uh, (my)
        husband didn't eat' [080921-003-CvNP.0005]

14.5. Summary

Papuan Malay conjunctions typically conjoin same-type constituents. Most of them
combine clauses with clauses. Only two link different-type constituents, such as
verbs with clauses. Typically, the conjunctions occur at the left periphery of the
constituent they mark.

The 21 conjunctions linking same-type constituents are divided into six groups
according to the semantic relations they signal:

   1.   Addition: *dang* 'and', *dengan* 'with', *sama* 'to'.

2.   Alternative: *ato* 'or' and *ka* 'or'.
3.   Time and/or condition: *trus* 'next', *baru* 'and then', *sampe* 'until', *seblum* 'before', and *kalo* 'when, if'.
4.   Consequence: *jadi* 'so, since', *supaya* 'so that', *untuk* 'for', *karna* 'because', and *gara-gara* 'because'; time-marking *sampe* also signals consequence in the sense of 'with the result that'.
5.   Contrast: *tapi* 'but', *habis* 'after all', *padahal* 'but actually', and *biar* 'although'; time-marking *baru* also marks contrast in the sense of 'after all'.
6.   Similarity: *sperti* 'similar to' and *kaya* 'like'.

The main features of these conjunctions are summarized in two tables. Table 1 lists the conjunctions and the different types of constituents they link. For those linking more than one constituent type, the primary type is underlined. Empty cells signal unattested constituent combinations.

Table 1:   Conjunctions linking same-type constituents and the constituents they combine[238]

CONJUNCTIONS		CL-CL	NP-NP	PP-PP	VP-VP
Addi-tion	*dang* 'and'	<u>X</u>	X		X
	dengan 'with'		<u>X</u>		X
	sama 'to'		<u>X</u>		X
Alt.	*ato* 'or'	<u>X</u>	X	X	X
	ka 'or'	X	<u>X</u>	X	
Time and Condition	*trus* 'next'	<u>X</u>	X	X	
	baru 'and then'	X			
	sampe 'until'	X			
	seblum 'before'	X			
	kalo 'when, if'	X			
Consequence	*jadi* 'if, since'	X			
	supaya 'so that'	X			
	untuk 'for'	X			
	sampe 'with the result that'	X			
	karna 'because'	X			
	gara-gara 'because'	X			
Contrast	*tapi* 'but'	X			
	habis 'after all'	X			
	baru 'after all'	X			
	padahal 'but actually'	X			
	biar 'although'	X			

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[238]   Abbreviations: CL = clause, NP = noun phrase, PP = prepositional phrases, VP = verb phrase, Alt. = alternative, Sim. = similarity.

CONJUNCTIONS		CL-CL	NP-NP	PP-PP	VP-VP
Sim.	*sperti* 'similar to'	X			
	kaya 'like	X			

Table 2 gives an overview of the positions which the conjunctions take within the clause, and the position the clause marked with a conjunction takes vis-à-vis the unmarked clause. Almost all conjunctions occur in clause-initial position, while only two occur in clause-final position. Typically, the clause marked with a conjunction follows the unmarked clause; only a few conjunctions mark clauses which precede the unmarked clause. Two of the conjunctions have two functions each, which belong to different semantic groupings, namely *baru* 'and then, after all' and *sampe* 'until, with the result that'. Both conjunctions are listed in each of the respective groupings.

Table 2:   Conjunctions linking same-type constituents and their positions

CONJUNCTIONS		CL [CNJ CL]	[CNJ CL] CL	CL [CL CNJ]
Addition	*dang* 'and'	X		
	dengan 'with'	X		
	sama 'to'	X		
Alt.	*ato* 'or'	X		
	ka 'or'	X		
Time and Condition	*trus* 'next'	X		
	baru 'and then	X		
	sampe 'until'	X		
	seblum 'before'	X	X	
	kalo 'when, if'		X	
Consequence	*jadi* 'if, since'	X		X
	supaya 'so that'	X		
	untuk 'for'	X		
	sampe 'with the result that'	X		
	karna 'because'	X	X	
	gara-gara 'because'	X		
Contrast	*tapi* 'but'	X		
	habis 'after all'	X		
	baru 'after all'			X
	padahal 'but actually'	X		
	biar 'although'	X	X	
Sim.	*sperti* 'similar to'	X		
	kaya 'like	X		

The conjunctions combining different-type constituents discussed in this chapter are the complementizer *bahwa* 'that' and the relativizer *yang* 'REL'. Complementizer *bahwa* 'that' links a clause to a bivalent verb, while relativizer *yang* 'REL' integrates a relative clause within a noun phrase.