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6. Personal pronouns

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

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

1. Substitution for noun phrases (pronominal uses) (§6.1).
2. Modification with demonstratives, locatives, numerals, quantifiers, and/or relative clauses (pronominal uses) (§6.1).

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Long pronoun forms</th>
<th>Short pronoun forms</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>1,014</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>dia</td>
<td>1,285</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>kitong</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>kitorang</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>kamu</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>dorang</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each pronoun has at least one long and one short form, except for the second person singular pronoun ko ‘2SG’. The token frequencies and percentages given in Table 1 indicate clear preferences for most of the pronoun forms (the percentages for the most frequent forms are underlined). As for the first person singular and the third person singular pronouns, the short forms are used much more often than the respective long forms. By contrast, for the first and second person plural pronouns, the long forms are used more frequently than the respective short forms, that is, for the first person plural a total of 1,107 long form tokens (63%) versus a total of 639 short form tokens (37%) and for the second person plural a total of 337 long form...
tokens (53%) versus a total of 300 short form tokens (47%). These distributional distinctions are not grammatically determined. Instead they represent speaker preferences which are discussed in more detail in the following two sections.

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

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

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

6.1. Pronominal uses

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

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168 First person plural: Alternatively, one could treat long kitong ‘1PL’ and kitorang ‘1PL’ and short tong ‘1PL’ and torang ‘1PL’ are not distinct forms but allomorphs. As for short ta ‘1PL’, one could argue that, given its low token numbers, this is not a phonologically distinct form but the result of a phonetic deletion of the first syllable. (Tadmor, p.c. 2013)

169 Second person plural: In addition, the corpus contains one token of an alternative long form, namely kamorang ‘2PL’. Its origins are yet to be established.

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

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

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

6.1.1.1. Pronouns in different syntactic slots

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

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

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

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

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

Table 3: Pronouns in the object slot

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Long pronoun forms</th>
<th>Short pronoun forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ta potong babi</td>
<td>1PL cut pig</td>
<td>3SG hit 1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam cari bapa</td>
<td>2PL search father</td>
<td>1SG ask 3SG like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dong bilang</td>
<td>3PL say</td>
<td>3SG give 1PL meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3PL hit 1SG cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1SG ask 3SG like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3SG give 1PL meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3PL order 1PL like that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1SG still wait 2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1SG indeed deposit 3PL to aunt Defretes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3SG hit 1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1SG ask 3SG like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3SG give 1PL meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3PL order 1PL like that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1SG still wait 2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1SG indeed deposit 3PL to aunt Defretes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1SG hit 1SG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1SG ask 3SG like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3SG give 1PL meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3PL order 1PL like that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1SG still wait 2PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1SG indeed deposit 3PL to aunt Defretes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

173 Table 3: Pronouns in the object slot

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

### Table 4: Pronouns in the indirect object slot

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

---

6.1.1.2. Pronouns within the clause

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

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

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

Table 5: Pronouns in clause-final position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long pronoun forms</th>
<th>Short pronoun forms</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg saya 210 97%</td>
<td>sa 7 3%</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg dia 236 99%</td>
<td>de 2 1%</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl kita 15 100%</td>
<td>torang 4 18%</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl kitong 7 100%</td>
<td>tong 0 0%</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl kamu 49 98%</td>
<td>ta 0 0%</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl dorang 95 96%</td>
<td>kam 1 2%</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 630 97%</td>
<td>18 3%</td>
<td>648</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example | Free translation
---|---
itu dari tong sendiri | ‘that depends on us alone’
... yang telpon sama kam dua | ‘... who’ll phone both of you’
de ... ada mandi deng dong di itu | ‘... was bathing with them at what’s-its-name’
This tendency for the clause-final position to be the preferred site for the ‘heavy’ long pronoun forms, affects the choice of pronoun form for the direct and indirect object slots, as shown in (2) to (8). Illustrations are given in (2) to (8). When the direct object occurs in clause-internal position, both the long and the short pronoun forms are used such as long dia ‘3SG’ in (2) or short dong ‘3PL’ in (3). When the direct object occurs in clause-final position, speakers typically take the long pronoun form such as saya ‘1SG’ in (4). Only rarely do speakers employ a short pronoun form in clause-final position, such as sa ‘1SG’ in (5). For pronouns in the indirect object slot these distributional preferences are even more pronounced. When the indirect object occurs in clause-internal position, the long and the short pronoun forms are used such as long dorang ‘3PL’ in (6) or short sa ‘1SG’ in (7). By contrast, in clause-final position only the long pronoun forms are used such as dia ‘3SG’ in (8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long pronoun forms</th>
<th>Short pronoun forms</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG ko</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) sa su pukul dia di kamar
1SG already hit 3SG at room
‘I’ve already hit her in (her) room’ [081115-001a-Cv.0271]

(3) kaka kirim dong uang
oSb send 2PL money
‘the older sibling sent them money’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0860]

(4) baru de taru kepala dekat saya
and.then 3SG put head near 1SG
‘and then she put her head close to me’ [081025-006-Cv.0043]

(5) dulu bole bapa gendong sa skarang …
be.prior may father hold 1SG now
[Talking to her father:] ‘in former times you (‘father’) were allowed to hold me, now …’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0699]

(6) kasiang sa kapang mandi deng dorang lagi e?
pity 1SG when bathe with 3PL again eh
[About a sick boy:] ‘what a pity, when will I go swimming with them (‘my friends’) again, eh?’ [081025-009b-Cv.0044]

(7) de bilang sama sa begini, …
3SG say to 1SG like this
‘he said to me like this, …’ [080917-008-NP.0163]
6.1.2. Modification of pronouns

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

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

Modification of pronouns with demonstratives or locatives

(9) jadi saya ini ana mas-kawin
so 1SG D.PROX child bride.price
‘so I (EMPH) am a bride-price child’ [081006-028-CvEx.0016]

(10) a, ko ke laut dulu, dong ada tunggu ko itu
ah! 2SG to ocean prior 3PL exist wait 2SG D.DIST
‘ah, you (go down) to the ocean first, they are waiting for you (EMPH)!’
[081015-003-Cv.0003]

(11) dong sana cari anging
3PL L.DIST search wind
‘they over there are looking for a breeze’ [081025-009b-Cv.0007]

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

Modification of pronouns with numerals or quantifiers

(12) tong dua mandi, pas Nofita de datang
1PL two bathe be.exact Nofita 3SG come
‘the two of us were bathing, at that moment Nofita came’ [081025-006-Cv.0328]
Pronouns can also be modified with prepositional phrases as illustrated with dong ‘3PL’ in (16), or with relative clauses as shown with short sa ‘1SG’ in (17).

Modification of pronouns with prepositional phrases or relative clauses

(16) tapi dong di sana tu tida taw pencuri
but 3PL at L.DIST D.DIST NEG know steal/thief
‘but them over there (EMPH) never steal’ (Lit. ‘don’t know to steal’)
[081011-022-Cv.0293]

(17) waktu de kawin mas-kawin itu sa yang ambil
when 3SG marry.unofficially bride.price that 1SG REL get
‘when she marries, that bride-price, (it’s) me who’ll get (it)’ [081006-025-CvEx.0024]

6.1.3. Personal pronouns in adnominal possessive constructions

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

The present corpus contains a total of 1,692 adnominal possessive constructions. In 160 constructions, ko ‘2SG’ takes the possessor slot; again, it is excluded from further analysis given that it has only one form. This leaves 1,532 adnominal possessive constructions. In 1,097 constructions the possessor slot is filled with a short pronoun (72%) as compared to only 435 constructions (28%) in which a long pronoun takes the possessor slot. The exception is first person plural kitong/tong ‘1PL’: speakers employ long kitong ‘1PL’ almost as often as short tong ‘1PL’.
Table 6: Pronominally used pronouns in adnominal possessive constructions

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

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

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

6.1.4. Personal pronouns in inclusory conjunction constructions

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

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

(19) … tong dua deng bapa tu sayang dia
    1PL two with father D.DIST love 3SG
    ‘[but this child] I and (my) husband (EMPH) love her’ [081115-001a-Cv.0251]

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

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

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

(21) … brarti ko balik kitong dua deng Siduas su
    mean 2SG turn.around 1PL two with Siduas already
    tida ada
    NEG exist

    ‘[when I) get to there (to Sorong, but) you’re still on the island, wow,] that
    means (by the time) you’ve returned (to Sorong) I and Siduas
    will already
    have left’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0759]

(22) dong dua dengang Natanael pu maytua langsung
    3PL two with Natanael POSS wife immediately
    pake spit
    use speedboat

    ‘he/she and Natanael’s wife immediately took the speedboat’ [081014-008-CvNP.0006]

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

Inclusory conjunction constructions conjoining two noun phrases

(23) Dodo kam dua deng Waim ceritrakang dulu
    Dodo 2PL two with Waim tell be.prior
    ‘you (SG) Dodo and Waim talk first’ [081011-001-Cv.0001]

(24) Tinus dorang dua dengang Martina ini, dong dua lari
    Tinus 3PL two with Martina D.PROX 3PL two run
trus, dorang dua lari sampe di kali
be.continuous 3PL two run reach at river
‘Tinus and Martina here, the two of them drove on, the two of them drove all the way to the river’ [081015-005-NP.0011]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6.1.5. Personal pronouns in summary conjunctions

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

Resumptive plural personal pronouns in summary conjunction constructions

(27) *mama bapa tong mo sembayang*

mother father 1PL want worship

‘*we mother and father want to worship*’ [080917-003b-CvEx.0020]

(28) *… Hurki e Herman Nusa, em, Oktofina kamu duduk situ*

Hurki uh Herman Nusa uh Oktofina 2PL sit L.MED

‘[in the evening (I said),] *you (PL) Hurki, uh Herman, Nusa, uh Oktofina sit there*’ [081115-001a-Cv.0085]

(29) *mama deng bapa dong su meninggal*

mother with father 3PL already die

‘*they mother and father have already died*’ [080919-006-CvNP.0012]

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

Resumptive plural personal pronouns in dual conjunction constructions

(30) *sa deng Eferdina kitong dua pi berdoa tugu itu*

1SG with Eferdina 1PL two go pray monument D.DIST

‘*the two of us (that is) I and Eferdina go (and) pray over that statue*’ [080917-008-NP.0003]

(31) *Rahab de bilang, bapa mama kam dua liat dulu*

Rahab 3SG say father mother 2PL two see be.prior

‘*Rahab said, the two of you, (that is) father (and) mother, have a look!*’ [081006-035-CvEx.0044]

6.1.6. **Personal pronouns in appositional constructions**

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

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175 Haspelmath (2007a: 36) maintains that it is “a final numeral or quantifier that sums up the set of conjuncts”; pronouns are not mentioned.
rest of the sentence” (Asher 1994: 5193). Such ‘PRO NP’ constructions are distinct from the ‘NP PRO’ constructions discussed in §6.2, in which an adnominally used pronoun follows its head nominal. To validate this distinction, appositional ‘PRO NP’ constructions are described in some detail in this section.

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

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

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

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

(32) … yo, akirnya sa | mama berdoa berdoa yes finally 1SG mother pray pray

‘[so in fifth grade she broke-off school,] yes, finally I, (a/her) mother, prayed (and) prayed’ [081011-023-Cv.0178]

(33) kalo ko tida skola ko prempuang cantik nanti … if 2SG NEG go.to.school 2SG woman be.beautiful later

‘if you don’t go to school, later you, a beautiful woman, …’ [081110-008-CvNP.0043]

(34) … tida perna dia liat, ko sungay ko bisa terbuka NEG once 3SG see 2SG river 2SG be.able be.opened begini like.this

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

(35) mamah ko prempuang cantik ‘mother, beautiful woman’

(36) dia ana ‘3SG, child’

(37) … lalai ko ti ada tiga sa ko prempuang cantik nanti … if 2SG NEG have three 2SG woman be.beautiful later

(38) kalo ko tida skola ko prempuang cantik nanti … if 2SG NEG go.to.school 2SG woman be.beautiful later

(39) … tida perna dia liat, ko sungay ko bisa terbuka NEG once 3SG see 2SG river 2SG be.able be.opened begini like.this

(40) mamah ko prempuang cantik ‘mother, beautiful woman’

(41) … lalai ko ti ada tiga sa ko prempuang cantik nanti … if 2SG NEG have three 2SG woman be.beautiful later
Most often appositional constructions are formed with plural personal pronouns, such that ‘PRO-PL NP’. Semantically, ‘PRO-PL NP’ are distinct from ‘PRO-SG NP’ constructions in that they not only indicate the definiteness of the apposited noun phrases, but also their plurality, as shown in (37) to (40). For instance, pemuda ‘youth’ in (37) or IPA satu ‘Natural Science I (student)’ in (38) receive their plural reading from the preceding plural personal pronouns. If deemed necessary, speakers can specify the number of the apposited noun phrases with an adnominal numeral or quantifier as in tiga orang itu ‘those three people’ in (39), or in brapa prempuang ‘several women’ in (40).

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

(37) tong pemuda ini mati smua
1PL youth D.PROX die all
‘we, the young people here, have all lost enthusiasm’ [081006-017-Cv.0014]

(38) tadi kam IPA satu tra maing
earlier 2PL natural.sciences one NEG play
‘earlier, you, the Natural Science I (students), didn’t play’ [081109-001-Cv.0162]

(39) dong tiga orang itu datang duduk
3PL three person D.DIST come sit
‘they, those three people, came (and) sat (down)’ [081006-023-CvEx.0074]

(40) … sa maki dorang brapa prempuang di situ
1SG abuse.verbally 3PL how.many woman at L.MED
‘[last month,] I verbally abused them, several women, there’ [080923-008-Cv.0001]

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

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

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

6.2. Adnominal uses

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

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

This is illustrated with the example in (42). In the ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrase \[Wili ko\] jangang gara~gara [tanta dia itu] \[Wili 2 SG NEG.IMP RDP~irritate aunt 3 SG D.DIST\]  
[Addressing a young boy:] ‘you Wili don’t irritate that aunt!’  

Adnominal pronouns are available for all person-number values, with the exception of the first person singular. This unexpected restriction may have to do with the function of the adnominally used pronoun which is to disambiguate the participants in a speech act, as discussed in detail throughout this section. It seems that Papuan Malay presumes addressees to have difficulties in identifying first person plural, second person and third person participants. To disambiguate the referents, the respective nouns can be modified with the appropriate pronouns. With first person analysis, however, would be ‘PRO NP’ constructions with singular pronouns, as in (32) to (36), given that singular pronouns would hardly have an individuating function. (For a discussion of the determiner function of post-head pronouns see §6.2.)
singular referents, however, no such difficulties are expected. Hence, such referents
do not need to be disambiguated, as demonstrated with example in (43).177

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

Speech acts with first person singular referents

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

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

Table 7: Adnominal pronouns as determiners179

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

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

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

179 Documentation: Long pronoun forms – 080923-009-Cv.0051, 081023-001-Cv.0038,
080924-001-Pr.0008, 081110-005-Pr.0107, 080923-012-CNP.0011, 080919-003-
NP.0002; short pronoun forms – 081011-023-Cv.0167, 081115-001a-Cv.0001, 081006-
009-Cv.0013, 081014-015-Cv.0006, 081006-024-CvEx.0043.
Some of the examples in Table 7 do not readily translate into English, as “personal determiners” in English are subject to constraints concerning their person-number values (Lyons 1999: 27). In English, only ‘we’ and ‘you (PL)’ occur freely as determiners, while ‘you (SG)’ occurs in exclamations only; the remaining personal pronouns do not have any determiner uses. Other languages, however, are less constrained. In German, for example, the first and second persons, both singular and plural, occur as determiners, while the third person does not (1999: 142); see also (Helmbrecht 2004: 189) for the determiner uses of personal pronouns). Along similar lines, in the Oslo dialect of Norwegian, the female third person singular pronoun functions as a determiner (Johannessen 2006). In addition, pronouns can occur as determiners with proper names in some Germanic languages, such as German, Icelandic, and Norwegian: in German it is the first or second person singular pronouns (Roehr 2005: 264ff), in Icelandic it is the third person pronouns and the first and second person plural pronouns (Sigurðsson 2006: 218ff), and in Northern Norwegian it is the third person singular pronoun (Matushansky 2008: 581). Still other languages are “completely unconstrained in this respect” (Lyons 1999: 142), as for instance Warlpiri (Hale 1973 in Lyons 1999: 142).

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

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180 English examples are ‘we teachers’, ‘you students’, or ‘you idiot’ (Lyons 1999: 451).
person. Other Austronesian languages, by contrast, which do have a definite article also employ this article as a determiner with proper names. Examples, provided in Campbell (2000a), are Balinese (Kersten 1948), Chamorro (Topping and Ogo 1960), and Fijian (Milner 1959 and Schütz and Komaitai 1971), and, presented in Campbell (2000b), Malagasy (Arakin 1963), Maori (Krupa 1967), Minangkabau (Moussay 1981), Tagalog (Cabrera et al. 1965 and Ramos 1971), Tahitian (Arakin 1981), and Tongan (Churchward 1953).

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

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

- Ambon Malay: Van Minde (1997: 284) mentions constructions in which “a preposed NP is copied by a co-referential pronoun in the remainder of the clause”. In each case, the pronoun is the short third person singular de ‘3SG’. In addition, van Minde (1997: 285) presents examples in which a pronoun follows a noun phrase with an adnominal demonstrative at its right periphery.

- Banda Malay: (Paauw 2008: 165) gives examples of ‘NP PRO’ constructions which he also analyzes as topic-comment constructions. The pronoun is third person singular dia ‘3SG’ and the preceding noun phrase is set off with an adnominal demonstrative.

- Northern Moluccan Malay: Voorhoeve (1983: 5) analyzes similar constructions as topic-comment constructions “in which the topic is cross-referenced by a pronoun subject in the comment”. Again, the pronoun is third person singular dia ‘3SG’ and the preceding noun phrase is set off with an adnominal demonstrative.

- Papuan Malay: Paauw (2008: 166–168) presents ‘NP PRO’ constructions in which the short third person forms de ‘3SG’ and dong ‘3PL’ occur between a subject and a verb. Paauw (2008) analyzes these pronouns as “proclitics” that function as subject agreement markers on verbs.

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

The adnominal uses of the singular personal pronouns are discussed in §6.2.1 and those of the plural personal pronouns in §6.2.2. For the singular personal pronouns a major issue is the question whether ‘NP PRO’ expressions are indeed noun phrases with adnominal pronouns or whether these expressions should be analyzed as topic-comment constructions, as in other regional Malay varieties. For the plural personal pronouns, two interpretations of ‘NP PRO’ constructions are
discussed, additive, and associative inclusory plurality. In giving examples for ‘NP PRO’ expressions, brackets are used to signal the constituent structure within the noun phrase, where deemed necessary.

6.2.1. Adnominal singular personal pronouns

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

6.2.1.1. ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases

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

‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases in direct speech

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

‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases in direct speech

(44) [mama-ade ko] masak daging sa biking papeda e? aunt 2SG cook meat 1SG make sagu.porridge eh ‘you aunt cook the meat, I make the sagu porridge, eh?’ [080921-001-CvNP.0073]

(45) [mace ko] rasa lucu jadi woman 2SG feel be.funny so ‘because you Madam would have felt funny’ [081010-001-Cv.0206]
(46) [Willi ko] jangang gara–gara tanta dia itu
Willi 2SG NEG.IMP RDP–irritate aunt 3SG D.DIST
[Addressing a young boy:] ‘you Willi don’t irritate that aunt!’ [081023-001-Cv.0038]

(47) [Susana ko] pigi kaka cebo
Susana 2SG go oSb wash.after.defecating
[Addressing her three-year old daughter:] ‘you Susana, go, (your) older sister will wash (you)!’ [081014-006-CvPr.0048]

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

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

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

Indirect forms of address with bare proper noun or kinship term

(48) bapa ingat tong itu uang!
father remember 1PL D.DIST money
‘you (‘father’) remember our, what’s-its-name, money!’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0857]

(49) Nofela bicara suda!
Nofela speak already
‘you (‘Nofela’) speak (to me)!’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0805]

‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases in reported speech

Speakers also employ ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases when they report direct speech. This reporting is usually done through quoting. In general, direct quotations serve “to dramatize and highlight important elements in a narrative”, while indirect speech “seems less vivid and colorful”, as Bublitz et al. (2006: 552) point out. The same
seems to apply to Papuan Malay, as speakers typically use quotes when reporting direct speech, as in (50) and (51);

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

(50) de bilang, Salomina ko bisa liat orang di luar?
    3 SG say Salomina 2 SG be.able see person at outside
    [About hospitality:] ‘[(my father said to me,) ‘if you close the door, can you see the people outside?’,] he said, ‘can you Salomina see the people outside?’’ [081110-008-CvNP.0104]

(51) tong dua bilang Iskia, Iskia ko temani, ko temani
    1 PL two say Iskia Iskia 2 SG accompany 2 SG accompany
    karna su larut malam sedikit
    because already be.protracted night few
    ‘the two of us said to Iskia, ‘you Iskia come with (us), you come with (us) because it’s already a bit late in the evening’ [081025-006-Cv.0325/0327]

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

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

This also seems to apply to ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrase apostrophes in Papuan Malay as illustrated in (52) to (54). Structurally, these utterances resemble direct quotations. Contrasting with the direct speech situations in (44) to (47), however, the addressed referents were not present when the utterances occurred. And in contrast to the reported speech situation in (50) and (51), the speakers in (52) to (54) do not relate direct quotes. Instead, they “turn away” from their audience to “address a second audience of human or nonhuman referents.
The example in (52) is part of a story about a fight between Martin and Fitri, with the speaker relating how Martin attacked Fitri. Notably, neither Martin nor Fitri were present when the speaker recounted the incident. First, the speaker refers to Martin as a third-person actor (first occurrence of Martin), as is typical of narratives with non-speech-act participants, and then as one of the addressees (second occurrence of Martin). More specifically, the speaker first refers to Martin with a ‘NP 3SG’ noun phrase, as in Martin dia lewat ‘Martin went past’ (literally ‘he Martin’), or the third person pronoun, as in de lompat ‘he jumped’ (see §6.2.1.2). Fitri returns the attack and kicks Martin badly. At this point, the speaker interrupts the flow of her narrative about the two non-speech-act participants and employs the ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrase Martin ko ‘you Martin’ to relate that Martin fell to the ground. In turning away from her audience and addressing absent Martin, the speaker gives “emotional impetus” to the fact that Martin went down after having been kicked, thereby creating an emotional reaction in her audience.

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

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

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

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

(53)  
… anging ko datang suda, hujang besar datang suda
wind 2SG come already rain be.big come already
[About a storm during a boat trip:] ‘you wind already came up, a big rain already came up’ [080917-008-NP.0137]

(54)  
… tida perna dia liat, [ko] [sungay ko] bisa terbuka
NEG once 3SG see 2SG river 2SG be.able be.opened
Personal pronouns

begini
like>this

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

‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases and their head nominals

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

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

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

(55) … dasar bodo babi ko
    base be.stupid pig 2SG
    ‘[you (SG) here, do you (SG) have ears (or) not,] (you are of course) stupid, you pig’ [081014-016-Cv.0047]

(56) babi puti ko dari atas turung
    pig be.white 2SG from top descend
    [About an acquaintance:] ‘you white pig came down from up (there)’
    [081025-006-Cv.0262]

(57) sa taw kaka ko pu ruma
    1SG know oSb 2SG POSS house
    ‘I know you older brother’s house’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0238]

(58) nanti kitong lewat di pace ko pu kampung itu
    later 1PL pass.by at man 2SG POSS village D.DIST
    ‘later we’ll pass by you man’s village there’ [081012-001-Cv.0017]

(59) de blang, a, om ko ini tra liat …
    3SG say ah! uncle 2SG D.PROX NEG see
    ‘he said, ‘ah, you uncle here didn’t see …’’ [080923-009-Cv.0051]

(60) Barce ko ini ko takut
    Barce 2SG D.PROX 2SG feel.afraid(.of)
    ‘you Barce here, you feel afraid’ [081109-001-Cv.0131]
6.2.1.2. ‘NP 3SG’ noun phrases

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

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

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

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

(62) Wili ko jangang gara-gara [tanta dia itu]
   Wili 2SG NEG.IMP RDP---irritate aunt 3SG D.DIST
   ‘you Wili don’t irritate that aunt’ [081023-001-Cv.0038]

(63) macang kalo [bapa de] kasi nona ini, a, nanti …
   variety if father 3SG give girl D.PROX ah! later
   [About bride-price children:] ‘for example, if (my) husband gives this (our) girl (to our relatives), ah, later …’ [081006-024-CvEx.0079]

(64) [Dodo de] bilang, adu coba ko kas taw sa
   Dodo 3SG say oh.no! try 2SG give know 1SG
   ‘Dodo said, ‘oh no, if only you had let me know’’ [081014-003-Cv.0029]
Anaphoric uses of *dia/de* ‘3SG’ ‘3SG’ in *NP 3SG* noun phrases

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

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

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

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

(65) … pas ketemu deng sa pu nene, nene,
be.exact meet with 1 SG POSS grandmother grandmother
trus kaka laki–laki, mama-tua pu ana
next oSb RDP–husband aunt POSS child

‘[I passed by (and) reached the village market there, I was sitting, standing there,] right then (I) met my grandmother, grandmother and then (my) older brother, aunt’s child’

baru nene de mulay tanya saya, de blang …
and.then grandmother 3 SG start ask 1 SG 3 SG say
‘and then grandmother started asking me, she said, …’ [080918-001-CvNP.0056-0057]

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

181 Introducing new characters with a bare noun and subsequently marking them as familiar with the adnominally used third person pronoun as a potential discourse strategy in Papuan Malay was brought to the author’s attention by van Engelenhoven (p.c. 2013).
Anaphoric uses of *dia/de* ‘3SG’: Example #2

(66) baru de luda–luda keee, ... Rahab yang liat, Rahab de and.then 3SG RDP–spit spoot! Rahab REL see Rahab 3SG jemur–jemur pakeang begini baru de perhatikang, ... RDP–be.dry clothes like.this and.then 3SG observe

[About a bad-mannered intruder:] ‘and then he was spitting ‘spoot!’ ... (it was) Rahab who saw (it), Rahab was drying clothes at that moment, then she noticed ...’ [081006-035-CvEx.0042]

‘NP 3SG’ noun phrases and their head nominals

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

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

Determiner uses of *dia/de* ‘3SG’

(67) ... di dano situ di [[kaka laki–laki de] pu [tempat situ]] at lake L.MED at oSb RDP–husband 3SG POSS place L.MED ‘[we wanted to pray a whole night while picnicking, at what’s-its-name,] at the lake there, at the older brother’s place there’ [080922-002-Cv.0090]

(68) ... karna ini bapa dari Jepan dia suda kutuk because D.PROX father from Japan 3SG already curse kota ini city D.PROX ‘... because, what’s-his-name, the gentleman from Japan already cursed this city’ [080917-008-NP.0021]

(69) *kaka pendeta di Mambramo de tu* jual RW oSb pastor at Mambramo 3SG D.DIST sell cooked.dog.meat ‘that older sibling pastor at (the) Mambramo (area) sells cooked dog meat’ [081011-022-Cv.0105]

(70) ... *kasioari dia* ada berdiri pas perhatikang begini ... or cassowary 3SG exist stand be.exact watch like.this ‘[if you see a cassowary’s footprint] or the cassowary is standing right there watching (you) like this, ...’ [080923-014-CvEx.0022]
(71) … bawa anaang pinang, anaang sagu, bibit klapa, bibit bring offspring betel.nut offspring sago seedling coconut seedling pisang, … mungking bua mangga de punya bibit … banana maybe fruit mango 3SG POSS seedling

[About wedding customs:] ‘[(when) we bring (our son,) (we) bring betel nut seedlings, sago seedlings, coconut seedlings, banana seedlings, … maybe seedlings of the mangga fruit, …]’ [081110-005-CvPr.0056-0057]

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

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

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

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

(72) trus Martina de tanya saya, mama | ko rasa bagemana?
next Martina 3SG ask 1SG mother 2SG feel how
‘and then Martina asked me, ‘mother, how do you feel?’’ [081015-005-NP.0018]

(73) jadi Ise ni tong su bilang dia, Ise | ko tinggal
so Ise D.PROX 1PL already say 3SG Ise 2SG stay
di sini suda!
at L.PROX already
‘so Ise here, we already told her, ‘Ise, you stay here!’’ [080917-008-NP.0026]

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

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

(74) baru dia datang, orang Jayapura sana, kawang itu,
and.then 3SG come person Jayapura L.DIST friend D.DIST
As an aside, it should be reiterated that topic-comment constructions with no comma intonation are also possible. In this type of topic-comment constructions, the topic is expressed in a noun phrase with a pronoun determiner and demonstrative modifier, as in (60), repeated as (76), and in (61) in §6.2.1.1. Very often, however, the preposed topical noun phrase does not contain a pronoun determiner, as in the topic-comment constructions ade ini de ‘this younger sibling, he/she’ in (77), and in Ise ni de ‘Ise here, she’ in (78). In such ‘NPDEM PRO-SG’ constructions, the demonstrative sets aside the topic and therefore no comma intonation is needed.

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

(76) [Barce ko ini] [ko] takut
Barce 2SG D.PROX 2SG feel.afraid(.of)
‘you Barce here, you feel afraid’ [081109-001-Cv.0131]

(77) baru [ade ini] [de] sakit
and.then ySb D.PROX 3SG be.sick
‘and then this younger sibling, he/she is sick’ [080917-002-Cv.0020]

(78) … [Ise ni] [de] su mulay takut ini
Ise D.PROX 3SG already start feel.afraid(.of) D.PROX
‘[this tree began shaking, shaking like this, and] Ise here, she already started feeling afraid’ [080917-008-NP.0028]

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

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

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

First, ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions can occur in positions other than the clause-initial subject slot, as shown with the ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases in (55), (57), and (58), and the ‘NP 3SG’ noun phrases in (62) and (67). In these positions, however, the respective common nouns cannot be interpreted as topics in topic-comment constructions. This is due to the fact that topicalized constituents do not remain in-situ but are fronted to the clause-initial position (see also §1.4.1.4).
Second, an ‘NP PRO-SG’ expression can be modified with a demonstrative, as in the ‘NP 2SG’ noun phrases in (59) to (61), or the ‘NP 3SG’ noun phrases in (62) or (69). In these ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions, the demonstratives have scope over the pronouns. The fact that the pronouns occur in noun phrases with adnominal demonstrative, in turn, supports the conclusion that in ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions the pronoun functions as determiner. Moreover, in two of the examples, an ‘NP PRO-SG DEM’ expression has topic function in topic-comment constructions, namely the ‘NP 2SG DEM’ noun phrases in (60) and (61). In both cases, the preposed noun phrases are copied by co-referential ko ‘2SG’ which has comment function.¹⁸² Neither bare Barce in (60), nor bare Eferdina in (61) can be topics in topic-comment constructions. Instead it is the entire noun phrase, including determiner ko ‘SG’, which has topic function. This, in turn, also supports the conclusion that in ‘NP PRO-SG’ expressions, the pronoun functions as a pronominal determiner.

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

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

(79) [pace de], [pace de] mandi rapi, de mandi rapi
the man, the man bathed neatly, he bathed neatly [081109-007-JR.0002]

(80) akirnya [Markus de], [Markus dia] turung begini
finally Markus 3SG Markus 3SG descend like this
‘finally Markus, Markus came down (to the coast) like this’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0204]

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

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

\[(81) \text{ pemuda dong naang skali } \text{ youth 3PL feel.happy(.about) very} \]
\[
\text{‘the young people feel very happy’ (Lit. ‘youth they’) [080925-003-Cv.0220]}
\]

\[(82) \text{ Ise dong su datang } \text{ Ise 3PL already come} \]
\[
\text{‘Ise and her companions including herself already came’ (Lit. ‘Ise they’) [080925-003-Cv.0169]}
\]

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

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

6.2.2.1. Additive plural interpretation

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

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

Additive plural interpretation with bare head nominal

\[(83) \text{ jadi nene kitorang ini masak } \text{ so grandmother 1PL D.PROX cook} \]
\[
\text{‘so we grandmothers here cook’ [080924-001-Pr.0008]}
\]
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(84)  bangsat kamu tu tinggal lari ke sana ke mari
     rascal  2PL  D.DIST stay run to L.DIST to hither
     ‘you rascals there keep running back and forth’ [080923-012-CvNP.0011]

(85)  … di mana anjing dong gong-gong
     at where dog  3PL  bark(.at)
     ‘[I just ran closing in on the pig] where the dogs were barking’ [080919-003-NP.0007]

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

Additive dual interpretation

(86)  laki–laki kam dua sapu
     RDP~husband  2PL  two sweep
     ‘you two boys sweep’ [081115-001b-Cv.0010]

(87)  pace dorang dua ini ke atas
     man  3PL  two D.PROX to top
     ‘the two men here (went) up (there)’ [081006-034-CvEx.0010]

6.2.2.2.  Associative inclusory plural interpretation

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

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

Associtative inclusory plural interpretation

(88) itu yang Lodia torang bilang begini …
D.DIST REL Lodia 1PL say like this
‘that’s why Lodia and we companions including her said like this, …’
(Lit. ‘Lodia we’) [081115-001a-Cv.0001]

(89) tanta ada mara Pawlus dorang
aunt exist be.angry Pawlus 3PL
‘aunt is being angry with Pawlus and his companions including Pawlus’
(Lit. ‘Pawlus they’) [081006-009-Cv.0002]

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

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

Associtative inclusory plural interpretation with the third person plural pronoun

(90) bapa Iskia dong bunu babi, bapa desa dorang
father Iskia 3PL kill pig father village 3PL
dong bunu babi
3PL kill pig
‘father Iskia and his companions including Iskia killed a pig, father mayor and his companions including the mayor, they killed a pig’
[080917-008-NP.0120]

(91) Ise ko tinggal di sini suda deng mama-tua dorang!
Ise 2SG stay at L.PROX just with aunt 3PL
‘you Ise just stay here with aunt and her companions including aunt!’
[080917-008-NP.0026]

(92) dokter dorang bilang begini …
docto 3PL say like this
‘the doctor and his companions including the doctor said like this, …’
[081015-005-NP.0047]

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

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

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

(93) itu yang Lodia torang bilang begini …
D.DIST REL Lodia 1PL say like this
‘that’s why Lodia and her companions including me said like this, …’

(94) tanta Oktofina kam pulang jam brapa?
aunt Oktofina 2PL go.home hour how.many
‘what time did you aunt Oktofina and your companions including you (Oktofina) come home?’

(95) Lodia kam pake trek ke sana baru sa …
Lodia 2PL use truck to L.DIST and.then 1SG
‘Lodia and her companions including you (addressee) took the truck to (go) over there, and then I …’

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

Associative inclusory dual interpretation

(96) om kitong dua kluar mo pergi cari pinang
uncle 1PL two go.out want go search betel.nut
‘uncle and I went out and wanted to look for betel nuts’

In terms of the lexical classes employed in associative plural expressions, Daniel and Moravcsik (2011: 3) observe “a clear preference for associative plurals formed
from proper names over kin terms over non-kin human common nouns over non-human nouns”. This also applies to Papuan Malay, in that the focal referents in associative inclusory expressions are formed from human nouns while non-human animate focal referents are unattested. Among human nouns in the present corpus, however, kin terms as in (91) are more common than proper names as in (88). This has to do with the fact that culturally people prefer not to use proper names, if they have another option, especially if the person is older and/or present. In addition, although not very often, associative plural expressions are formed from non-kin terms such as the title noun expression *bapa desa* ‘father mayor’ in (90), or the common noun *dokter* ‘doctor’ in (92). (See also Moravcsik 2003: 471–473.)

Concerning the relationship between the focal referent X and the associates, Daniel and Moravcsik (2011: 3) note that “the group may be: (i) X’s family, (ii) X’s friends, or familiar associates, or (iii) an occasional group that X is a member of” with “kin forming the most commonly understood associates”. Papuan Malay also conforms to this cross-linguistic finding in that the associates are most often X’s family as in (91). Less commonly, X’s associates are friends or companions in a shared activity as in (92). Associative plurals denoting occasional groups or, following Moravcsik (2003: 473), “incidental association”, have not been identified in the present corpus.

6.2.2.3. **Associative plural in other regional Malay varieties**

The associative plural interpretation for noun phrases with adnominal plural personal pronoun is also quite common for other regional Malay varieties, such as Ambon, Bali Berkuak, Dobo, Kupang, Manado, or Sri Lanka Malay. In Ternate Malay, however, pronouns do not have adnominal functions (Litamahuputty 2012: 141). The associative plural reading of noun phrases with adnominal plural personal pronoun found in regional Malay varieties is illustrated in the examples in (97) to (102).

In Ambon Malay, Dobo Malay, Kupang Malay, and Sri Lanka Malay, the adnominal pronoun is postposed as in Papuan Malay, as demonstrated in (97) to (100). In Balai Berkuak Malay or Manado Malay, by contrast, the pronoun is in pre-head position, as shown in (101) and (102).

In all examples, the pronoun is the third person plural pronoun. In most varieties only the short pronoun form is used as for instance in Ambon or Dobo Malay, as shown in (97) and (98). Only in Manado Malay, the short and long forms are used, as shown in (102). Contrasting with Papuan Malay, these regional Malay varieties do not use the first and second person plural pronouns to express associative plurality.

Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 169)
(97) mama dong ‘mother and the others’

Dobo Malay (Nivens, p.c. 2013)
(98) pa Kace dong ‘Mr. Kace and his associates’
Kupang Malay (Grimes and Jacob 2008)
(99) Yan dong ‘Yan and his family / mates’
Yan 3PL

Sri Lanka Malay (Slomanson 2013)
(100) Miflal derang ‘Miflal and his friends’
Miflal 3PL

Balai Berkuak Malay (Tadmor 2002: 7)
(101) sidaq Katalq ‘Katalq and her gang’
3PL Kat alq

Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 30)
(102) dorang/dong Yoram ‘Yoram and his family’
3PL Yoram

In short, among the eastern Malay varieties Papuan Malay is unique given that associative plural expressions are formed with all three plural persons, including the long and the short pronoun forms. This different behavior of Papuan Malay ‘N PRO-PL’ noun phrases supports the conclusion put forward in §1.2 that the history of Papuan Malay is different from that of the other eastern Malay varieties.183

6.3. Summary

The Papuan Malay pronoun system distinguishes singular and plural numbers and three persons. In addition to signaling the person-number values of their referents they also signal their definiteness. Each pronoun has at least one long and one short form, with the exception of the second person singular pronoun ko ‘2SG’. The use of the long and short forms does not mark grammatical distinctions but represents speaker preferences. The pronouns have pronominal and adnominal uses.

In their pronominal uses, the pronouns substitute for noun phrases and designate speech roles. The long and short pronoun forms occur in all syntactic slots within the clause. For the direct and indirect object slots, however, speakers use the long forms much more often. This preference interrelates with the preferred use of the ‘heavy’ long pronoun forms in clause-final position, which, in turn, reflects the cross-linguistic tendency for the clause-final position to be taken by ‘heavy’ constituents. In adnominal possessive constructions, the pronouns only take the possessor slot; most often the short pronouns take this slot. Pronouns also occur in inclusory conjunction, summary conjunction, and appositional constructions.

In their adnominal uses, the pronouns occur in post-head position and function as determiners. That is, signaling definiteness and person-number values, the pronouns allow the unambiguous identification of their referents. As determiners, the pronoun forms of all person-number values are employed, with the exception of the first person singular. NP PRO’ noun phrases with plural personal pronouns have two

183 It is important to note, though, that the observed differences could also result from gaps in the descriptions of the other eastern Malay varieties.
possible interpretations. With indefinite referents, they have an additive plural reading and with definite referents an associative inclusory reading.