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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 $A(-\text{link})B$, $A$ and $B$ are structurally symmetrical in some sense, whereas in a dependency structure of the type $X(-\text{link})Y$, $X$ 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’ 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.dist.rict.police say if get
tembak kaki pata
shoot foot break

b. … malam Kapolsek bilang, kalo [kam] dapat
night head.of.dist.rict.police say if [2PL] get
[dia,] tembak [de pu] kaki [supaya] [kaki] pata
[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

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 linking 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 bilang, …
‘he took his boat and he paddled and he said, …’ [080917-008-NP.0018]

(7) pagi helikopter turung, dang kembali ke 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 …
‘I let mother and aunt know, ‘later you …’’ [080919-007-CvNP.0001]

(9) de suda taw ruma dang kampung
‘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
‘in the evening (my wife) arranges (the food), we and the children eat’ [080919-004-NP.0007]

232 The subscript letters keep track of what each term refers to.
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(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 dengan 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, deng dei pu maytua, sama depi, Aris to Siduas with 3SG POSS wife to 3SG:POSS dei punya maytua 3SG POSS wife ‘[all (of you will) be taken (on board …,)] Aris and Siduasi and his wifei, and hisi, his, 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]

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 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
‘som 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]
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 sebelum ‘before’ (§14.2.3.4), and posteriority-marking/conditional kalo ‘when, if’ (§14.2.3.5)

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

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

‘when I lived in the village, I worked like a man’ (Lit. ‘(at) that time’) [081013-007-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 selesai 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
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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, 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 de₃ sandar di de₃ 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 de₃ kas pata leher ke bawa di atas
and.then 3SG give break neck to bottom at top
de₃ 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
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antiority. 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. Antiority-marking seblum ‘before’

Antiority-marking seblum ‘before’ also introduces a temporal clause. 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]

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 3 PL kick 3 SG POSS foot D.DIST 3 SG 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 3 PL already stay at city like this 3 PL
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 2 SG be.absent 1 PL NEG walk

[Talking to her son about an upcoming trip:] ‘*if* you play hooky, we won’t go’ [080917-003a-CvEx.0038]
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’.
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(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 2 PL come for 2 PL 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 3 SG at L.MED but because mother 3 PL pu bapa-ade …, **tapi karna** tete meninggal, **jadi** POSS uncle but because grandfather die so dong pu kluarga ini yang piara 3 PL 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
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?’’

(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
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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 similitative 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.)
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’

… 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’

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’

(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’
(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

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)

\[ \text{gün} \text{tur} \text{ kilat} \text{ hújang itu dia sambar} \]

\[ \text{thunder} \text{ lightening rain D.DIST 3SG strike.one.after.the.other} \]

\[ \text{ruma itu sampeee} \]

\[ \text{house D.DIST reach} \]

\[ \text{‘that that thunder, lightening, (and) rain, it hit one house after the other ON AND ON’} \]

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.
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(68) kâing | bântal | smúa | tikar
| cloth | pillow | all | plaited.mat |

[Listing laundry items: ‘the cloths, pillows, everything, the plaited mats’ [081025-006-Cv.0057]

(69) kita pake búnbaru | fetsin gáraam | 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:

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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONJUNCTIONS</th>
<th>CL-CL</th>
<th>NP-NP</th>
<th>PP-PP</th>
<th>VP-VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Addition</td>
<td>dang ‘and’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dengan ‘with’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td></td>
<td>sama ‘to’</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alt.</td>
<td>ato ‘or’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka ‘or’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time and Condition</td>
<td>trus ‘next’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
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<td></td>
<td>baru ‘and then’</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td></td>
<td>sampe ‘until’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>seblum ‘before’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kalo ‘when, if’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequence</td>
<td>jadi ‘if, since’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>supaya ‘so that’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>untuk ‘for’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sampe ‘with the result that’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>karna ‘because’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gara-gara ‘because’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>tapi ‘but’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>habis ‘after all’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baru ‘after all’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>padahal ‘but actually’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>biar ‘although’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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238 Abbreviations: CL = clause, NP = noun phrase, PP = prepositional phrases, VP = verb phrase, Alt. = alternative, Sim. = similarity.
Conjunctions and constituent combining

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONJUNCTIONS</th>
<th>CL-CL</th>
<th>NP-NP</th>
<th>PP-PP</th>
<th>VP-VP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sim.</td>
<td>sperti ‘similar to’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaya ‘like’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONJUNCTIONS</th>
<th>CL [CNI CL]</th>
<th>[CNI CL] CL</th>
<th>CL [CNI CL]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Addition</td>
<td>dang ‘and’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dengan ‘with’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sama ‘to’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All.</td>
<td>ato ‘or’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka ‘or’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time and Condition</td>
<td>trus ‘next’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baru ‘and then’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sampe ‘until’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sebelum ‘before’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kalo ‘when, if’</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.