Papuan Malay Pronominals: Forms And Functions

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Papuan Malay, the easternmost variety of Malay/Indonesian, has received even less attention than other nonstandard varieties of Malay/Indonesian. Papuan Malay has innovative forms and functions for its pronominals that have not been described in detail for other varieties of Malay/Indonesian, though they are present over a wide area. We examine both the bound and the free pronominal forms, describing the status of the different members in each paradigm as they are used with different functions such as possessor, subject, and object. In addition to noting these different uses, we discuss a trivalent construction in the language with an exceptional use of pronominal forms, and propose an ongoing path of grammaticalization that can account for it.

1. AIMS. This paper focuses on a particular aspect of the grammar of Papuan Malay, the pronoun system, to show how this eastern variety differs from the better-known standard varieties of the west, showing significant degrees of complexification and grammaticalization, with the restructured pronoun system being used in a variety of constructions, with clear and idiosyncratic behavior in each construction.

1.1 PAPUAN MALAY: BRIEF OUTLINE AND INTRODUCTION. The term "Papuan Malay" is used here to designate the Malay variety spoken along the north coast of the Indonesian provinces of Papua and Irian Jaya Barat. Subvarieties can easily be distinguished within this area, and external relations with the Malay varieties of Menado, north Maluku, and (possibly) Sangir are probably closer than with, for instance, the Malay of Merauke in the south of the island. The variety described here is spoken along the north coast of the Indonesian part of New Guinea, and appears to be spreading into other regions. It exists in a multiglossic relationship between basilectal local Malay varieties, but to some extent accommodates (mainly lexically) to more western varieties of Malay/Indonesian. This Papuan Malay shares, probably through inheritance, a number of features in common with the Malay varieties of Maluku ("the Moluccas") (for Moluccan Malay varieties, see Grimes 1991, Grimes 1985, Taylor 1983, van Minde 1997, Voorhoeve 1983, and also relevantly Stoel 2005). There have been few studies on this variety of Malay, with mostly anecdotal reports to be found in Roosman (1982), Silzer (1979), and Suharno (1979), and some more recent work in van Velzen (1995), Clouse (2001), Donohue (forthcoming a), and passing mention in Gil (2002). More general work on standard and nonstandard Malay/

Indonesian varieties can be found in Adelaar and Prentice (1996), Sneddon (1996), and many more works, both specialist and nonspecialist. The variety reported here is more basilectal than acrolectal, and represents a variety spoken by younger urban speakers who use Papuan Malay as their first language (including the second listed author). Indications of grammaticality are based on his judgments, on textual materials collected by both authors, on conversations conducted over a period of decades, and on the results of outright elicitation of some of the more infrequent points with linguistically sophisticated speakers.[1] The approximate area in which this variety is known to be spoken as a first language is shown on the map (it is not the single first language spoken in those areas). Given this sociolinguistic background, the variety might be described as "Indonesian" rather than "Malay," if these two terms are taken to differ according to some measure of antiquity (e.g., Gil 1994). In some previous literature (Suharno 1979) the variety described here is referred to as a variety of Indonesian ("Irian Indonesian"). Because these speakers speak a yet different variety of "Indonesian" in contexts that are perceived to be more linguistically formal, and this Indonesian approaches the standard more closely in terms of morphology, syntax, and lexical choice, we have chosen to refer to the variety described here as "Papuan Malay," rather than (for example) "Papuan Indonesian."[2] There is some previous literature (Suharno 1979) that refers to it as a variety of Indonesian, but the choice of Papuan Malay here reflects the fact that the history of Malay in New Guinea predates the Indonesian state, and obliquely it reflects the preferences of the speakers themselves, who refer to their language as Melayu Papua. Despite recent practice (e.g., van Minde 1997) and the lack of any previous use of the label "Papuan Malay" in any of the literature known to us, we have anglicized the name in accordance with *OL* and reviewer preferences. As might be expected of a language that is neither basilectal nor acrolectal, and that is spoken over a large area, there is variation in judgments from different speakers in some areas of the grammar; these have been indicated where relevant (e.g., table 4).

Malay varieties have a long history in the area, but until recently it was a shallow one. In 1828 the Dutch colonial administration had built a fort on Papua, and in 1848 they claimed all of what was to become the eastern boundary of their colony, extending just past modern Jayapura. Large-scale colonial activity did not commence for another half century, despite western New Guinea having been divided up administratively into various residencies by the end of the nineteenth century. For part of the early twentieth century West New Guinea

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1. The strength of the nonstandard use of pronouns can be illustrated anecdotally. While observing two friends speaking together in Ambai (an Austronesian language of Yapen island), the conversation shifted toward a discussion about computers, accompanied by a shift toward the use of Indonesian. After a couple of occurrences of *komputer saya* 'my computer' (in formal Indonesian, the first author interjected, intending to encourage them back into Ambai, saying *"Komputer saya?" "Komputer saya?" Apa ertinya itu, "komputer saya" itu?* '"Computer my?" "Computer my?" What does this mean, this "computer my?"' intending them to use Ambai possessive forms: *ne-hu komputer* 'my computer'. Misinterpreting my intentions, one of the interlocutors explained that *komputer saya* 'my computer (formal Indonesian)' "means" *saya punya komputer* 'my computer (Papuan Malay, adapted to Standard Indonesian forms to comply with the register the first author had adopted)'. In other words, it was assumed that, even with a foreigner, it would be appropriate to use Papuan Malay constructions to explain the use of a phrase rather than rely on the formal, western Indonesian forms for understanding.

2. See Florey (2005) for similar distinctions in Central Maluku between a semistandard local variety ("Ambonese Malay"), the national standard language ("Standard Indonesian"), and the local version of (or approximation to) the national standard ("Moluccan Indonesian").

formed a part of the Moluccan administration, the capital of which was in Ambon. From at least the early twentieth century, people who spoke Ambonese Malay as their first language were the preachers, teachers, clerks, and police of Dutch West New Guinea, though following the end of World War II many traders and fishermen from Sulawesi (and later, and to a lesser extent, Nusa Tenggara Timur) also entered the area, many staying and raising families. During the period of Dutch administration in the twentieth century, particularly following World War II, various (mainly agricultural) schools and police training centers were established in New Guinea, with standard Malay, the forerunner of (standard) Indonesian, officially used as the language of instruction in these venues. The qualification "officially" is necessary, because the teachers were largely speakers of some variety of Ambonese Malay, and cannot in all cases be expected to have been fluent speakers of the standard language. Although these varieties of Malay and "Indonesian" have formed part of the language ecology of Papua for a considerable period of time, their impact beyond the coastal administrative centers was minimal before the Indonesian take-over and the migration of large numbers of people into the cities and interior of the new province. The lack of impact can be seen in the fact that Papuan Malay, as described here, is restricted to a coastal fringe, and does not extend inland to any great extent except where agricultural projects were in force (along the south coast near areas of early administrative contact a different variety of Malay is used, one that resembles varieties from Maluku more closely).

MAP: THE LOCATION OF THE MALAY VARIETY DISCUSSED HERE
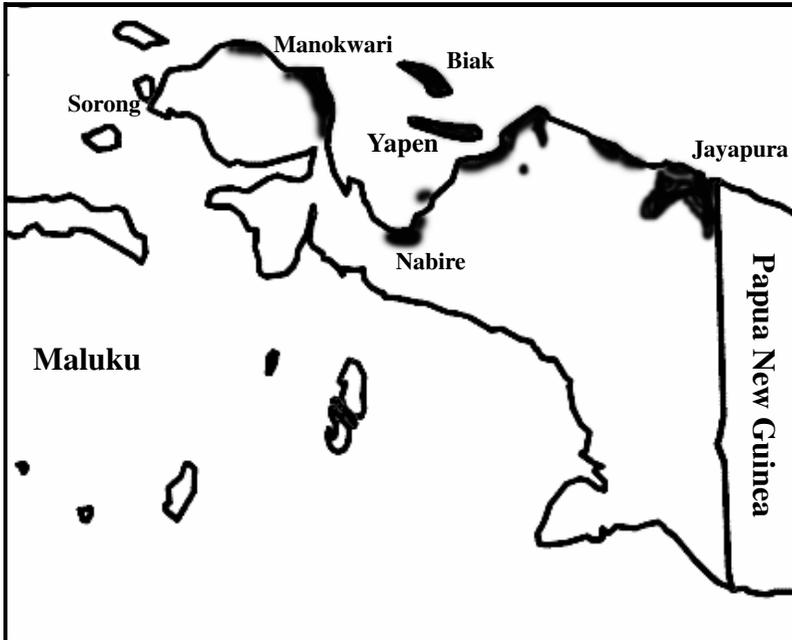
2. PRONOMINALS: FORMS. In common with many Malayic and non-Malayic languages of eastern Indonesia, Papuan Malay has two sets of pronouns, a set that can occur independently, and a set that is only found in bound contexts (the distinctions are described below).[3] The forms of the pronominals are shown in table 1; note that there is no inclusive/exclusive distinction in this variety of Malay.[4] The longer versions of the 2P PRONOUN are rarely used, and are considered to be somewhat impolite. While the independent pronouns show interesting morphological formatives, the use of the bound pronominal forms is the focus of this article.[5] These bound forms are frequently procliticized to their host; as we shall see in (3), for example, these same forms can also be used as enclitics, with somewhat different syntax.

We can easily describe the syntactic environments in which pronouns from these two different sets appear. The independent pronouns are found:

- predicatively, typically as a single-word response to a question;
- as the object of a preposition or a verb;
- as the independent subject of a verb, if third person and contrastive.

The bound pronouns are used:

- to mark a pronominal possessor in a phrasal possessive construction;
- to show agreement with the subject of a clause, obligatorily.
- as the object of a preposition, and, for some pronominals, the object of a verb.

TABLE 1. PRONOMINAL FORMS IN PAPUAN MALAY

	INDEPENDENT	BOUND
1S	saya	sa, saə̀
2S	koː	ko
3S	dia, de	de
1P	kitong, tong	tong
2P	kam (kamo(ra)ng)	kam
3P	dorang, dong	dong

3. Proclitic verbal pronominals distinct from independent pronouns have been observed as far west as the colloquial Malay of Perak (Brown 1921, Zaharani B. Ahmad 1991), indicating that this is not an exclusively eastern Malay phenomenon. As far as we know, the use of clitic pronouns has not been explicitly described for other eastern varieties of Malay such as Ambonese Malay, North-Moluccan Malay, and Kupang Malay, but our own familiarity with some of these varieties, and circumstantial statements found in the descriptions of these varieties, make it clear that similar phenomena are to be found in other eastern varieties as well as in Papuan Malay.

4. See Donohue and Smith (1998) for a discussion of the loss of this distinction. *Kita* is found as an alternative to the 1S form *saya* in the speech of some older, nonurban speakers (particularly in the Jayapura/Humboldt Bay area), but is not used among younger speakers. The bound form *sa=* is used even by these older speakers for whom the first person singular *kita* is more common.

5. Papuan Malay forms are transcribed here in a compromise between national language orthography and phonemic reality. In particular, the eight vowel system of Papuan Malay (*i e ɛ a ɔ o u ə*) has been reduced to five symbols, with "*e*" representing ɛ, *e ~ ɪ*, and *ə*, and "*o*" representing both ɔ and *o ~ ʊ*. The analysis of vowel length is preliminary, but there are some contrasts: in most cases [ɔː] alternates with [aw], and [ɛː] with [aj], but not in all. The schwa similarly shows considerable alternation with peripheral vowel qualities, largely predictable on the basis of surrounding vowels (for example, [páro(t)] ~ [pɔ́ro(t)] 'stomach', and [kátʃɪ(l)] ~ [kɪ́tʃɪ(l)] 'small').

Examples of the use of independent pronouns in a predicative function can be seen in (1b), a possible response to (1a). It is not possible to use a simple bound form in this environment, seen in the ungrammaticality of (1c).[6]

QUESTION: ANSWER:
(1) a. Siapa makan kue itu tadi?   b. Saya.   c. *sa
       who   eat   cake that earlier   1S   1S
       'Who ate that cake?'   'Me.'   'I.'

The phrases in (2) show that an independent pronoun may serve as the object of a preposition. A clitic is not grammatical in this position.

OBJECT OF PREPOSITION (ALL PERSONS)
(2) a. … sama   saya   b. * … sama=sa
          with   1S   with=1S
       'with me/to me'   'with me/to me'

In (3) we see that the object of a verb may be coded with a free pronoun or, if it is first or second person, a clitic. This differs from the ungrammaticality of clitics to show the object of a preposition seen in (2).

OBJECT OF VERB: FIRST OR SECOND PERSON ONLY
(3) a. De=so=lia saya.   b. De=so=lia=sa.
       3S=PF=see   1S   3S=PF=see=1S
       'She's seen me.'   'She's seen me.'

Unlike the local persons, a third person object may *not* be coded with a clitic. The third persons are, in this case, showing the same behavior as the object of a verb as when they are the object of a preposition.[7]

OBJECT OF VERB: THIRD PERSON
(4) a. De=so=lia dia   b. *De=so=lia=de
       3S=PF=see   3S   3S=PF=see=3S
       'She's seen him.'   'She's seen him.'

(5a) and (5b) show that an independent pronoun may appear as the subject of a verb in the same sentence as the inflected verb, but only if the independent pronoun carries a contrastive intonation pattern, and functions to firmly establish the identity of the subject. In the (5c) examples, we can see that a clitic alone is enough for the grammatical representation of the subject of a clause, while the (5d) examples show that a free pronoun alone, in the absence of a clitic, does not create a grammatical clause. When an independent nominal, including a name, is used, it is not compatible with a bound clitic unless it is separated from the clause by a break, as in (5a).[8]

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6. A bound pronoun such as *sa=* could be used in a response if it was hosted by a sentence-level pragmatic marker, such as *to* 'certainty, assertion': *Sa=to!* '(It was) really me!'

7. Verbs with clausal complements present us with a pattern that initially appears to be a counter-example to this claim. If the object of the matrix verb is present as a proclitic on the subordinate verb, it may be pro-dropped from the main clause, as in (i). This is best analyzed as an instance of backward control, found widely in Austronesian languages (e.g., Polinsky and Potsdam 2002).

   (i)   Tong=suru Ø [de=makan dulu].
         1P=order   3S=eat   first
         'We told him to eat first.'

SUBJECT OF VERB (THIRD PERSONS)

(5) a. Día(,)   de=tra=tau.   b. *Dia de=tra=tau.
         3S   3S=NEG=know   3S   3S=NEG=know
         '<u>He</u> doesn't know.'   'He doesn't know.'

     c. De=tra=tau.   d. *Dia tra=tau.
         3S=NEG=know   3S   NEG=know
          'He doesn't know.'   'He doesn't know.'

     c. Lúkas(,)   de=tra=tau.   d. *Lukas de=tra=tau.
         Lukas   3S=NEG=know   Lukas   3S=NEG=know
         '<u>Lukas</u> doesn't know.'   'Lukas doesn't know.'

The behavior seen in (5a) is marginally acceptable with first or second person sub-
jects as well, but is less likely. A sentence such as (i) is less likely to be judged accept-
able than a sentence with a third person subject such as (5a). Note that an intonation
break is OBLIGATORY between the pronoun *saya* and the rest of the sentence in (6),
whereas it is optional in (5a), indicating that the "separation" of *saya* from the clause in
(6) is greater than the separation of *dia* from the rest of the clause in (5a). The simplest
analysis is that first or second person independent pronouns, in sentences with
inflected verbs, must appear in a clause-external topic position (this is in keeping with
work such as Aissen 1992, Donohue 2005, Jelinek 1984, and Jelinek and Demers
1994). Despite this treatment of local persons, third person pronouns can be (barely)
accommodated within the clause, as was seen in (5a).

(6) Sáya (=ni), sa=tra=tau.
     IS   this   IS=NEG=know
     '*He* doesn't know.'

We have seen that the free pronouns may be used as more than simple one-word
responses, but only in restricted circumstances: as the subject of the verb, they can only
appear extraclausally, but are grammatical as objects of verbs or prepositions. In the
following section we illustrate the use of the pronominal clitics, examining their status
in different constructions.

2.1 USES OF THE BOUND FORMS. The use of the bound forms is consider-
ably more complex than that of the relatively restricted free pronominals, involving the
grammaticalization of the bound forms into different paradigms, and differences in gram-
maticality based on person. The uses of the bound forms may be divided into two broad
classes, uses combined with nominals to show possession, and uses combined with verbs
and other predicates to show agreement. These two topics, and their syntactic restrictions,
will be dealt with separately.

2.1.1 Possessive. The clitic pronouns may be used to indicate the possessor of a noun,
either with or without the possessive clitic *pu=*. Examples of possession by different

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8. Note that an (independent) interrogative pronoun is able to function as a subject without the
    use of clitics on the verb, as seen in (1a). While far-fetched, it is worth noting that in the Skou
    languages spoken east of Jayapura, the cultural and probably historical center of Papuan
    Malay, interrogatives show exceptional behavior with respect to agreement, and do not pattern
    as third persons. The details vary from language to language, but the pattern of exceptionality
    is clear (Donohue and San Roque 2004, Donohue forthcoming b).

person and number combinations, with both a kin term and an alienable noun, can be seen in table 2.[9]

Evidence for the nonindependent status of the bound pronominals can be found in the behavior of stress. Papuan Malay, like many eastern varieties of Malay, shows essentially regular penultimate stress, as seen in (7). The only exceptions involve schwas, which cannot be stressed, as in (7e). (Many etymological schwas show either variable realization, indicating a level of vowel harmony (see fn. 5), or else are not in any synchronic way still schwas. For instance, in (7d) the two schwas of Standard Indonesian [ˌpəməˈnnta] never show any variation with schwa in Papuan Malay, and must be considered to be instances of /a/.)

(7) a. di   'locative preposition'   [ˈdi]
    b. ruma   'house'   [ˈruma]
    c. papeda   'sago pudding'   [paˈpɛda]
    d. pamarenta 'government'   [ˌpamaˈrenta]
    e. bəsar   'big'   [bəˈsar]

All nouns show these trochaic stress patterns, but the pronominal clitics and the possessive *pu=* are not footed with the lexical root to which they are attached, acquiring at most a weak secondary stress on the pronominal clitic; the clitics, or clitic combinations, can never appear as a separate unit. This is a clear argument that the clitics cannot be considered to be independent words (identical arguments hold for verbal clitics as well) (see [1c], where we saw that these morphemes do not constitute grammatical independent utterances).[10]

In (8a) we see that the disyllabic root *bapa*, when possessed, remains a disyllabic (and bimoraic) foot. The two syllables that are attached to the front of the word do not form their own foot, and are most naturally pronounced without any stress at all. Similar facts can be seen in (8b), where the fact that the root *papeda* is trisyllabic would—assuming that the whole string (including proclitics) was one metrical unit—imply that secondary stress should fall on *pu*. This stress pattern is highly unacceptable.

TABLE 2. BOUND PRONOUNS IN POSSESSIVE FUNCTIONS

	bapa 'father'		*ruma* 'house'	
	a.	b.	a.	b.
1s	sa=pu=bapa	sa=bapa	sa=pu=ruma	sa=ruma
2s	ko=pu=bapa	ko=bapa	ko=pu=ruma	ko=ruma
3s	de=pu=bapa	de=bapa	de=pu=ruma	de=ruma
1p	tong=pu=bapa	tong=bapa	tong=pu=ruma	tong=ruma
2p	kam=pu=bapa	kam=bapa	kam=pu=ruma	kam=ruma
3p	dong=pu=bapa	dong=bapa	dong=pu=ruma	dong=ruma

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9. The distinction between alienable possession and inalienable possession (which includes body parts and, for some speakers, some kin terms) emerges in external possession constructions.

10. The fact that, as in most (all?) varieties of Malay, independent words must be minimally bimoraic is also a strong argument that forms such as [sa] in (8) (which, crucially, is not *[saː]) cannot be considered to be independent words. Lexemes such as *pi* 'go' are either affixed, as in (42), or else grammaticalized such that they, too, are bound. Some uses of *pi* are analogous in use to prepositions, and may well represent a further grammaticalization from the verb (*pergi* > *pigi* > *pi*). *Pi* on its own is not a possible independent utterance, unlike the bimoraic alternant *pigi* 'go', again indicating that the constraint on bimoraicity holds.

(8) a. sa=pu=bapa
         1S=POSS=father
         'my father'
         [ˌsapuˈbapa]; #[ˌsapuˈbapa], *[ˈsapu ˈbapa]

    b. sa=pu=papeda
         1S=POSS=sago.pudding
         'my sago pudding'
         [sapupaˈpɛda]; #[ˌsapupaˈpɛda] , *[ˈsapu paˈpɛda], !*[saˌpupaˈpɛda]

Evidence for the bound, but not affixed, status of the clitics can be found in the consonant clusters that result when these morphemes are added to various roots. The phonotactic structure of Papuan Malay requires that NC clusters be homorganic: *mp mb nt nd nc* ([nt<esh>]) *nj* ([nd<ezh>]) *<engmar> k* and *<engmar> g* are all possible clusters, but, for instance, *nb, *<engmar>b, *md, *<engmar>d, *mk, and *nk (among others) are not.[11] Despite the productive existence of this constraint we find forms such as (9), in which the nasal-stop sequence is clearly articulated heterorganically, as can be seen in (9a–c).

(9) a. tong=bapa   b. kam=kaka
         1P=father   2P=sister
         'our father'   'your (PL) big sister'
         [tɔŋˈbapa], *[tɔmˈbapa]   [kamˈkaka], *[kaŋˈkaka]

    c. dong=tanta
         3P=aunt
         'their aunt'
         [dɔŋˈtanta], *[dɔnˈtanta]

This indicates that the word-internal phonotactic constraints on homorganicity of nasal-stop sequences do not apply to the bound pronominals and any root-initial consonant, and so, that the final nasals in *tong=*, *kam=*, and *dong=*, and the rest of the morphemes of which they form a part, cannot be treated as affixes. At the same time, the fact that these morphemes cannot function as independent words, in that they cannot bear independent stress, and do not satisfy conditions on minimal word size, means that they cannot be treated as separate words. The analysis most in keeping with standard assumptions is that these morphemes are clitics.[12]

2.1.2 Predicative. Pronominal proclitics are obligatory with verbal predicates to show agreement with the subject (the nominative argument, the S or A) of the clause. Examples showing the ungrammaticality of verbal predicates that lack these clitics have appeared in (5). The use of the bound pronominal clitics is not restricted to verbal predicates, but can

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11. Words such as Standard Indonesian *tanpa* 'without' that show heterorganic N+T clusters are not used in Papuan Malay. Similarly, heterorganic clusters found across morpheme boundaries, such as *pinjam-kan* 'lend to' or *turun-kan* 'lower (TR)' are not part of Papuan Malay, because the suffix *-kan* is only found in lexicalized expressions in which the preceding nasal, if any, is homorganic, such as *jalangkan* 'start, run (vehicle)' (cf. Standard Indonesian *jalan-kan*).

12. We admit that a term like "clitic" is, in effect, a waste-basket category, admitting all and only "messy" morphemes. The term is nonetheless in wide use, and serves to accurately characterize the behavioral peculiarities of the morphemes in question.

also be found with nonverbal predicates. (10) and (11) show that a nominal functioning as a predicate must be marked with a clitic showing agreement in order to be grammatical.

(10) Pace=tu de=guru.
     man=that 3S=teacher
     'The man's a teacher.'

(11) *Pace=tu guru.
      man=that teacher
     'The man's a teacher.'

Preposition phrases may serve as predicates in Papuan Malay without a verb, and so are eligible to receive agreement marking. PP predicates contrast with verbal and nominal predicates, however, in that agreement is only optional, as can be seen in the grammaticality of both (13) and (14).[13]

(12) Guru de=ada di ruma.
     teacher 3S=exist LOC house
     'The teacher is currently in the house.'

(13) Guru de=di ruma.
     teacher 3S=LOC house
     'The teacher's in the house.'

(14) Guru di ruma.
     teacher LOC house
     'The teacher's in the house.'

This pattern, with the optional use of the verb *ada*, stands in contrast to the normal use of PPs as predicates in Standard Indonesian, with no verb: *Guru di rumah* 'The teacher is in the house' is a pragmatically unmarked clause, compared to *Guru ada di rumah*, which with the use of *ada* 'be, exist' is very marked and carries a strong emphatic (as well as progressive) sense that is absent in *Guru di rumah*.[14]

As an aside, we note that although verbal and nominal predicates pattern identically for the purposes of clitic agreement, we must still differentiate different lexical categories. Only verbal predicates are compatible with the use of aspect clitics, as in (15a) and (16a); (15b) and (16b) show that nominal predicates are not compatible with these clitics. If a nominal predicate requires a perfective or intentional reading, a verbal predicate must be used, to which the nominal predicate incorporates, as in (17) and (18).

(15) a. Pace=tu de=so=jalan.   b. *Pace=tu de=so=guru.
        man=that 3S=PF=walk   man=that 3S=PF=teacher
        'The man's already walked (away).'   'That man's already a teacher.'

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13. *Ada* is used to mark progressive aspect, a feature shared in many contemporary varieties of Malay, and attested in the sixteenth-century *Sejarah Melayu*, though it is not found in the modern standard language. Whether or not the appearance of *ada* in the *Sejarah Melayu* is historically accurate or not, minimally it represents variation in the writing, and presumably speech, of earlier writers that is not sanctioned in the modern standard languages.

14. Standard Indonesian judgments are based on Sneddon (1996), various other sources on Indonesian grammar, and the second author's judgments. Because of the emphasis associated with the clause containing a PP predicate and *ada*, the emphatic clitic *-lah* is often used if *ada* is found: *Guru adalah di rumah*. In very formal speech an affixed verb, *berada*, may be used: *Guru berada di rumah*.

(16) a. Pace=tu de=mo=jalan.   b. *Pace=tu de=mo=guru.
     man=that 3S=INT=walk   man=that 3S=INT=teacher
     'The man wants to walk (away).'   'That man wants to be a teacher.'

(17) Pace=tu de=so=jadi   guru.
     man=that 3S=PF=become teacher
     'That man's already (become) a teacher.'

(18) Pace=tu de=mo=jadi guru.
     man=that 3S=INT=become teacher
     'That man wants to become a teacher.'

We can accurately state that the clitics are used primarily with a predicative function because, when we compare the same lexical (or phrasal) items in attributive functions, we find that the agreement is optional. As well as verbs appearing without agreement clitics, we also find that PPs may be used directly to modify nouns. In (19) we can see that the use of clitics with verbs in relative clauses is optional. (20) and (21) show that nonverbal predicates, too, do not require the use of agreement clitics when they are used to modify nouns in relative constructions.

(19) a. pace (yang) jalan itu   b. pace (yang) de=jalan   itu
     man REL   walk   that   man REL   3S=walk   that
     'the man who went'

(20) a. pace (yang) guru itu   b. pace (yang) de=guru   itu
     man REL   teacher that   man REL   3S=teacher that
     'the man who is a teacher'

(21) a. pace (yang) di   ruma itu   b. pace (yang) de=di   ruma itu
     man REL   LOC   house that   man REL   3S=LOC house that
     'the man who's in the house'

The same clitic forms can be used to represent the object of the clause, in which case they are found postverbally as enclitics. In this function we find a restriction on the use of the pronouns: while both first and second person bound forms may be used to mark the object of the verb, third persons do not allow for encliticized pronominals.[15] (22–25) show that first and second persons may be coded as objects with either the bound pronominals or with the free pronominals. In (26) we see that the third person bound forms may not be used to mark an object, while (27) shows the grammatical (and pragmatically unmarked) use of the independent pronouns in this function.

(22) Dong=so=liat=sa.   (23) Dong=so=liat=ko.
     3P=PF=see=1S   3P=PF=see=2S
     'They've already seen me.'   'They've already seen you.'
     (the object is already topical in the discourse)

(24) Dong=so=liat sáya.   (25) Dong=so=liat ko;.
     3P=PF=see   1S   3P=PF=see   2S
     'They've already seen *me*.'   'They've already seen *you*.'
     (emphasizing the identity of the object in contrast to other possible referents)

15. The independent pronouns may also be used to code an object, in which case they imply contrastive focus on the identity of the object. Unlike their use to code a subject, independent pronouns functioning to code objects are not intonationally distinct from the rest of the clause in which they are an argument (see the discussion relating to examples [3] and [4] earlier).

(26) *Dong=so=liat=de.
      3P=PF=see=3S
      'They've already seen him.'

(27) Dong=so=liat dia.
      3P=PF=see   3S
      'They've already seen him.'

We have mainly illustrated the person split with singular pronouns, but the same facts hold for plural pronouns as well: first and second persons may be cliticized to the verb as objects, using the bound forms seen in table 1, while third persons may not. In the following section we examine some consequences of the inability of the cliticized pronouns to cooccur with independent pronominal forms.

2.2 STATUS OF THE BOUND FORMS. We have seen examples of clitic agreement pronouns occurring with coreferent NPs in the same clause if there is special identificational focus on the identity of the subject of the clause; in normal circumstances a pronominal subject is represented in the clause in the form of the proclitics alone, as seen in (5). Even when an independent pronoun appears, possible when there is contrastive focus on the subject, clitic agreement is still compulsory (see [5d]).

While it is at least possible, albeit marked, for a third person independent pronoun to appear in the same clause as verbal agreement, this is not grammatical with local persons. A first or second person subject of a verb can only be present in the form of a clitic (though see [6]). This is illustrated for the 1S subject only, but is equally true for plural, or second person, subjects.

(28) a. Sa=mo=makan.   b. *Saya mo=makan   c. *Saya sa=mo=makan
          1S=INT=eat   1S   INT=eat   1S   1S=INT=eat
      'I want to eat.'

We must conclude that the first and second person verbal clitics, *sa=, ko=, tong=,* and *kam=,* are fully pronominal in status: they are not simply markers of agreement, as is found in, for instance, German or English, but they represent the arguments directly (as argued in, for instance, Bresnan and Mchombo 1987, Jelinek 1994, and many others). The third person clitics, *de=* and *dong=,* on the other hand, are only optionally pronominal: they may appear as the sole exponent of the subject in the clause, but are also compatible with the presence of a separate clause-internal subject, pronominal or otherwise.

In possessive constructions the clitic pronouns are obligatory if the possessor is pronominal, and they are not compatible with independent pronouns. This is as true for third person pronouns as it is for first or second person ones, showing that the status of the pronouns in possessive constructions is different from the (phonologically identical) clitics in predicative constructions. In (29) we can see that the use of a local person bound pronoun is obligatory, and that a free pronoun may not replace the bound pronoun, with or without *pu=.*[16] Furthermore, the presence of a bound pronoun excludes a free pronoun, indicating that the clitics are fully pronominal in status. Only 1S pronouns are illustrated in (29), but the same patterns are found for first and second persons, singular and plural.[17]

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16. As mentioned earlier, in 1.1 and in fn. 1, there is a variety of local Indonesian as well as the Papuan Malay described here. In this variety of Indonesian, clitic pronouns or possessives are not used, and structures analogous to (29c) are grammatical: *saya punya bapak* [1S POSS father] 'my father'.

(29) a. sa=bapa   b. sa=pu=bapa   c. *saya pu=bapa
       1S=father   1S=POSS=father   1S   POSS=father
     'my father'   'my father'

     d. *saya sa=bapa   e. *saya sa=pu=bapa   f. *saya bapa
         1S   1S=father   1S   1S=POSS=father   1S   father

With a third person, the patterns are slightly different. Again, the bound pronoun may appear directly on the noun, or in combination with *pu=*. A third person nominal, such as *ana* 'child', may appear as a possessor with or without a pronoun; unlike possession by a pronominal clitic, such as (30a), possession by a nominal requires the use of *pu=*. The use of both a pronominal clitic and *pu=* with a nominal possessor, in (30e), is unusual.[18]

(30) a. de=bapa   b. de=pu=bapa   c. *ana pu=bapa
       3S=father   3S=POSS=father   child POSS=father
     'his father'   'his father'

     d. ana de=bapa   e. ana de=pu=bapa   f. *ana bapa
        child 3S=father   child 3S=POSS=father   child father

Phrases with independent pronominal possessors, such as in (31), constructed by analogy with (30c–e), are not grammatical. As mentioned earlier, the difference between local and third persons that was seen when examining the status of clitics on verbal predicates, is not found with possession.

(31) a. *dia   pu=bapa   b. *dia   de=bapa
        3S   POSS=father   3S   3S=father
      'his father'

     c. *dia   de=pu=bapa   d. *dia   bapa
        3S   3S=POSS=father   3S   father
      'his father'

In their possessive use, then, the clitics are unexceptionally pronominal in status, and may not occur with an independent pronominal possessor. Table 3 summarizes the status, in terms of the feature [±PRO (nominal)], of the different bound clitics we have examined in predicative and possessive uses. Note that, while local (first or second person) clitics

TABLE 3. STATUS OF THE PRONOMINAL CLITICS

| | | FUNCTION OF CLITIC | |
		PREDICATE AGREEMENT	POSSESSIVE
PERSON OF CLITIC	FIRST OR SECOND	+PRO	+PRO
	THIRD	±PRO	+PRO

17. The patterns in (29) are also felicitous when a common noun is used with first or second person reference. Thus, addressing a child, (i) might be asked, by analogy with (29b) (question words are commonly omitted in Papuan Malay conversation, if context is judged to be sufficient to render a speaker's intent). Compare the grammaticality of (i) with the ungrammaticality of (30c).

    (i)   Ana   pu=bapa   (mana)?
           'child' POSS=father where
           'Where's your father?'

18. Phrases with independent pronominal possessors, such as *dia pu=bapa*, *dia de=bapa*, *dia de=pu=bapa,* and *dia bapa*, constructed by analogy with (30c–e), are not grammatical. As mentioned earlier, the differences between local and third persons that was seen when examining the status of clitics on verbal predicates, is not found with possession.

are unambiguously pronominal in status, a third person clitic is only invariably pronominal in possessive constructions. Although both the agreement clitics and the possessive clitics clearly have an identical origin in the grammicalization of the free pronouns, they have grammaticalized into different functions, with different syntactic behavior.

We have dealt with clauses with human subjects and human possessors, and for these arguments the use of clitics is compulsory. With nonhuman, but still animate, arguments, and with inanimate arguments, we find different behavior. Examine the clauses in (32–36) with subjects of varying levels of animacy. While clitic agreement can be found with any animate referent, it is unlikely to be found with lower-animate referents, and is ungrammatical (except in cases of strong emphasis) with a nontopicalized inanimate referent. Even with an animate referent like *kakerlak* 'cockroach', the use of a pronominal clitic is unusual unless the NP is topicalized. These data are summarized in table 4, which deals with the use of bound forms of the pronouns to provide an agreement function, appearing either on the head of the clause, the verb, or the head of an NP—the noun. In the following section we examine another class of uses of the pronouns in Papuan Malay, namely their use in NPs in nonagreeing functions.

HUMAN

(32) Ana   itu de=besar.
    child   that 3s=big
    'That child is big.'

NONHUMAN, HIGHER ANIMATE

(33) Babi itu #(de=)besar.
    pig   that   3s=big
    'That pig is big.'

NONHUMAN, ANIMATE

(34) Burung itu (de=)besar.
    bird   that 3s=big
    'That bird is big.'

NONHUMAN, LOWER ANIMATE

(35) Kakerlak itu (#de=)besar.
    cockroach that   3s=big
    'That cockroach is big.'

INANIMATE

(36) Batu itu (?de=)besar.
    stone   that   3s=big
    'That rock is big.'

TABLE 4. USE OF CLITICS WITH ARGUMENTS OF DIFFERENT ANIMACY

			PREDICATE AGREEMENT		POSSESSIVE
			SUBJECT	OBJECT	
	LOCAL PERSON	SG	+	+	+
		PL	+	+	+
	THIRD PERSON	SG	+	n/a	+
	PRONOUN	PL	+	n/a	+
+HUMAN	pace	SG	+	n/a	+
	'friend'	PL	+	n/a	+
− HUMAN,	anjing	SG	+	n/a	+
+ ANIMATE	'dog'	PL	(+)	n/a	+
	burung	SG	(+)	n/a	+
	'bird'	PL	(+)	n/a	(+)
	kakerlak	SG	(+)	n/a	(+)
	'cockroach'	PL	–	n/a	(+)
− ANIMATE	batu	SG	(+)	n/a	—
	'stone'	PL	–	n/a	—
	tana	SG	–	n/a	—
	'land'	PL	–	n/a	—

3. THIRD PERSON PRONOUNS IN NPs. In addition to their proclitic functions in verbal agreement and possessive constructions, pronouns are found inside NPs with an associative plural reading, such as in (37). Here the lexical head of the NP, *babi* 'pig', is elaborated upon by the use of the third person plural pronoun *dong* 'they'.[19]

(37) Tong=pi hutan cari   [NP babi dong].
      1P=go   bush   search   pig   3P
      'We went to the bush to look for pigs.'

In the following sections we discuss the use of these NP-final pronominals, as well as the use of NP-initial pronominals.

3.1 THE ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL. The use of an NP-final pronoun indicates either a plurality of the head noun of the NP, or else a collection of individuals associated with that individual.[20] These two readings are given in the two translations of (38). Note that either the long or the short forms of the plural pronouns may be used in this function, showing that these constructions should not be considered a feature of the clitic pronouns.

(38) De=so=makan sama bapa dong.
      3S=PF=eat   with   father 3P
      'He's already eaten with (my) father and father's friends.'
      'He's already eaten with (my) classificatory fathers.'

(39) De=so=makan sama bapa dorang.

This associative plural is only available with third person reference. In contrast to (38) and (39), which employ the third person plural pronoun, (40) and (41), calquing on (38) but with local pronouns, either singular or plural, are ungrammatical.

(40) *De=so=makan sama bapa ko:.
       3S=PF=eat   with   father 2S
      'He's already eaten with (my) father and you.'

(41) *De=so=makan sama bapa kitong.
       3S=PF=eat   with   father 1P
      'He's already eaten with (my) father and us.'

The associative plural is most frequently heard with objects of verbs or prepositions, but can be found with subjects as well. A peculiarity of subjects marked with the associative plural will be discussed in 3.3.

3.2 GROUP DESIGNATION. In addition to the NP-final use of pronouns to mark the associative plural, it is possible for the bound pronouns to be used as proclitics on the head noun. In this construction the independent pronouns may not be used, as seen in the ungrammaticality of (43). Note particularly that the agreement clitic, which might be expected on the verb on the basis of the examples in (5), is neither compulsory nor grammatical if the subject NP is marked with a clitic, as shown in (44).

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19. The "fuller" pronoun *dorang* is only used with humans, and cannot appear with an animal referent: *Tong pi hutan cari babi dorang*.

20. The pronoun appears in the position normally filled by a demonstrative. These NP-final pronouns are mutually exclusive with demonstratives in the same NP. This cooccurrence restriction extends to a prenominal demonstrative, which is similarly ungrammatical when combined with a pronoun marking the associative plural (an NP consisting of a pronoun alone may, however, be modified by a demonstrative).

(42) Dong=Yesus so=datang.
      3P=Jesus   PF=come
      'The Christians have come.'

(43) *Dorang(=)Yesus so=datang.

(44) *Dong=Yesus dong=so=datang.

Unlike the NP-final use of pronouns to mark the associative plural seen in 3.1, the NP-initial use of bound proclitics is available for first and second persons as well as for third persons.

(45) Tong=guru taramau beli buku mahal.
      1P=teacher   not.want buy book expensive
      'We teachers don't want to buy expensive books.'

(46) Kam=pedalaman saring datang kota cari   uang.
      1P=interior   often come city search.for money
      'You interior people are always coming to Jayapura to look for money.'

3.3 SUBJECT AGREEMENT ON THE VERB WITH MARKED PLURAL

NPs. An interesting feature of both the associative plural and the group designation constructions emerges when we examine the marking on the verb. Unlike "plain" NPs, where there is no NP-internal bound pronominal, and for which agreement on the verb is compulsory, NPs with bound pronominals in either the associative plural or the group designation constructions do *not* require agreement marking on the verb, as in (42)/(44). (47) and (48) show this restriction with the associative plural.

(47) [NP Ana dong] so=lari-pigi.
           child   3P   PF=run-go
      'The children have all run off.'

(48) *[NP Ana   dong] dong=so=lari-pigi.
            child   3P   3P=PF=run-go
      'The children (they) have all run off.'

Evidence that *dong* in (47) is part of the NP, and not the proclitic on the verb, comes from the fact that under topicalization *ana dong* behaves as a unit, and not as an *ana* NP and a *dong=* proclitic.

(49) [NP Ana dong], ini hari, so=lari-pigi.
           child   3P   this day   PF=run-go
      'The children, today, have all run off.'

It may seem strange that the overt marking of number in the NP precludes number being marked (in the form of agreement) on the verb, but such co-occurrence restrictions are not uncommon, being similar to the appearance of number marking in Altaic languages, such as Tatar (Poppe 1963), or gender in Dutch. In Tatar, number may be marked on the noun, but not if there is a (nonsingular) numeral in the NP. In Dutch, the neuter gender in a singular NP may be marked with the use of a neuter definite article, or the base form (as opposed to the general attributive form) of an adjective, but not by both.

TATAR
(50) a. kitap-lar   b. altï kitap   c. *altï kitap-lar
          book-PL   six   book
          'books'   'six books'

DUTCH

(51) a. het   boek   b. een   klein(*-e) boek
          DEF.SG.N   book   INDEF.SG.N small.N   book
          'the book'   'a small book'

      c. het   klein-e   boek   d. *het   klein boek
          DEF.SG.N small-ATTR book   DEF.SG.N   small book
          'the small book'   'the small book'

4. THE TRIVALENT CONSTRUCTION.

There are two coding options available for trivalent verbs such as 'give' in Papuan Malay. The first of these is the common coding option that sees the recipient coded as an oblique argument, while the theme is coded as the (primary) object (the so-called "indirect object" coding option). This is shown in (52).[21]

       SUBJ   OBJ   OBLIQUE
       agent   theme   recipient
(52) De=kase   uang   sama sa=pu=mama.
      3S=give   money   with 1S=POSS=mother
      'He gave the money to my mother.'

There is a second option, however, and it is this second option that is challenging. In this coding option the theme is not adjacent to the verb, but is separated from it by the recipient. The recipient is not coded in a PP with *sama*, but almost appears to be a simple NP. The challenge is in the presence of *de* between the recipient and the theme. This *de* is only found when there is a third person singular recipient. With a plural (human) recipient, *dong* '3P' must be used.[22]

       SUBJ   OBJ?   ?   OBJ2?
       agent   recipient   theme
(53) De=kase   sa=pu=mama   de   uang.
      3S=give   1S=POSS=mother   3S   money
      'He gave the money to my mother.'

       SUBJ   OBJ?   ?   OBJ2?
       agent   recipient   theme
(54) De=kase   sa=pu=kaka   dong   uang.
      3S=give   1S=POSS=elder.sibling 3P   money
      'He gave the money to my elder brothers.'

---

21. Note that the argument structure of this construction is the same as English 'give', without dative shift. It is different from, for instance, English 'present' or 'gift' (or Standard Indonesian *anugerah*) in clauses such as 'He gifted my mother **with** money' (*Dia menganugerahi ibuku **dengan** uang*). In these English or Standard Indonesian examples the theme is marked by an oblique preposition, while in Papuan Malay the recipient is marked in this way.

22. The fact that the word in question is not invariant (it changes according to number) argues against it being a reduced form of *deng* 'with', and thus argues against (53) being simply a clause varying from (52) only in choice of preposition. Further arguments against this position include the fact that *deng* does not show alternations with *de* in any of its other functions (for example, a variant of [70] with *de*, *Dong so jalan de bapa*, is ungrammatical), and that while topicalization of a PP is grammatical, such that (52) may show the variant *Sama sa=pu=mama itu, de=kase uang* 'To my mother, she gave (some) money', this is not possible with (53): **De uang itu, de=kase sa=pu=mama* 'This money, she gave (to) my mother'. Rather, if the *de* is to be topicalized, it must be as part of the *sa=pu=mama* phrase: *Sa=pu=mama de, de=kase uang* 'To my mother, she gave money'. This clearly indicates that *de* cannot be analyzed as a preposition. The fact that the unreduced form of the preposition *deng* is never used with *kase* is also a strong argument against *de* being analyzed as a form of *deng*.

The status of this apparently pronominal element is essential to our analysis of this construction. As it is, the appearance of *dong* in (54) is highly reminiscent of the associative plural construction, which would lead to a simple two-NP analysis with *kaka dong* and *uang* being used unexceptionally in (54). The appearance of the singular *de* in *sa pu mama de* in (53) still requires explanation, and ideally this explanation will extend to account for (54) as well. We briefly review the variation found in three-place constructions involving 'give' in 4.1, before returning to the analysis of the Papuan Malay construction.

4.1 A BRIEF TYPOLOGY OF THREE-ARGUMENT CONSTRUCTIONS.

If we examine the variation found in coding the three arguments of verbs of giving cross-linguistically, we arrive at the different "types" found in the following table (drawing on Dryer 1986, expanded and illustrated with data from the New Guinea region wherever possible).

Examples of these different constructions are shown in (55–60), using languages from the region wherever possible. (55) serves as an example of the "bivalent 2" option, in which the recipient is coded as an oblique. The construction that is most relevant for us is "bivalent 3," shown here with data from One, a Torricelli language spoken at perhaps the easternmost limits of the range of the nineteenth-century bird-of-paradise trading in inland New Guinea, and so exposed, to a very limited extent, to a variety of trade Malay. In this construction, the recipient is coded as the possessor of the theme, in the same NP, a construction that has previously been referred to as "indirect object lowering" (Croft 1985; see also Lichtenberk 2000), because the "indirect object," the recipient, appears not as an argument of the verb directly, but in a "lower" position, inside the NP coding the direct object, the theme.

BIVALENT I CONSTRUCTION: Ailans Tok Pisin (New Britain, New Ireland)

(55) Em i-givim   mama bilong mi   long moni.
3S   PRED-give mother POSS   1S   OBL   money
'He gave my mother the money.'

Straits Salish

(56) 'oŋəs-t-oŋəɬ=sxʷ   ('ə cə kwən-t-əxʷ).
give-TRANS-1P.ACC=2S.NOM OBL DET take-TRANS-2S.SBD
'You gifted us (with the one you caught).'

BIVALENT 2 CONSTRUCTION: Papuan Malay (see [55] earlier)

BIVALENT 3 CONSTRUCTION: One (northwest Papua New Guinea)

(57) Wo y-ani   [NP ama   e   malma toma].
3S   2/3S-give   mother GEN devil   stone
'He gave my mother the money.'

TABLE 5. CODING CHOICES IN THREE-ARGUMENT CONSTRUCTIONS

	AGENT	RECIPIENT	THEME
bivalent, 1	subject	object	oblique
bivalent, 2	subject	oblique	object
'bivalent', 3	subject	possessor of …	object
'bivalent', 4	subject	object of 'give'	object of 'get'
'bivalent', 5	subject	object of 'go'	object of 'give'
trivalent	subject	object	object2

BIVALENT 4 CONSTRUCTION: Skou (northeast Irian Jaya)

(58) Ke   taíngbe ke=ké   leng ánì-nì=ne.
     3S.NF money   3S.NF=get give mother-1S.GEN=1S.DAT
     'He gave my mother the money.'

BIVALENT 5 CONSTRUCTION: One (northwest Papua New Guinea)[23]

(59) Wo y-ani   malma toma y-i   i ama.
     3S 2/3S-give devil stone 2/3S-go 1S mother
     'He gave my mother the money.'

TRIVALENT CONSTRUCTION: Standard Indonesian

(60) Dia mem-beri ibu-ku   uang.
     3S ACT-give mother-1S money
     'He gave my mother the money.'

We hypothesize that the Papuan Malay 'give' construction developed from a structure involving indirect object lowering, similar to the bivalent 3 pattern shown in (57). This argumentation is developed further in the following section.

4.2 THREE-ARGUMENT VERBS IN PAPUAN MALAY. Clauses such as (61) are not attested in modern Papuan Malay, or in any attested earlier varieties.[24] We suppose that rather than simply having the string *sa pu mama de uang* following the verb, as in (53), it was licit to have a full possessive structure with *pu* preceding *uang*. This, we suppose, would have been a variety of the same construction that is directly reflected in the modern string of words, and could be described as a "bivalent 2" construction (we do not know of any modern Malay varieties that have the structure shown in [61]).

PUTATIVE PRE-PAPUAN MALAY
SUBJ=VERB   [NP [POSS   ]   OBJ]
agent   recipient   theme

(61) De=kase   sa=pu=mama de=pu   uang.
     3S=give   1S=POSS=mother 3S=POSS money
     'He gave the money to my mother.'

We posit a stage in which the grammatical functions of the recipient and theme were identical to that in (61), but in which the *pu* 'possessive' morpheme was omitted in this construction; we refer to this construction as the "reduced possessive" construction (see [36] in 2.2). This loss of *pu* (not simply as an option; the absence of *pu* is obligatory in the modern language, and so defines the new construction's status) would result in the string of

23. There is a third way to express giving predicates in One, involving the use of the verb *yupu* 'transact' with *yani* 'give': *I upu mankli ani mana nu* [1S transact arrow give man that] 'I gave an arrow to that man'. This is a variation of the "bivalent, 5" pattern.

24. We have only fragmentary records of earlier varieties of Malay in this area, making direct comparison with earlier forms of the language speculative at best. Recordings made by the first author and by Lila San Roque, from speakers in villages that had fled across the border to Papua New Guinea to escape the Indonesian government in the early 1960s, show that these speakers have preserved a form of the language with less change than has taken place in the now-Indonesian provinces. Linguistic data from these peripheral refugee populations give us an insight into what earlier varieties of Malay in the Papua area might have looked like before the influences of both Standard Indonesian and Ambonese Malay began to make themselves felt more profoundly than had been the case under Dutch administration. For instance, the use of a passive with *dapa*, which is allowed in urban Papuan Malay, is not found in more conservative villages, the variety of which is reported in Donohue 2006. This passive is most likely the result of influence from Ambonese Malay or North-Maluku Malay.

words attested in modern Papuan Malay, shown with a schematic representation in (62), repeating (53). Note that the structure posited for the "reduced possessive" construction is at odds with the function of bound pronouns in possessive constructions discussed earlier in 2.2, where we saw that they may not normally appear with a free pronominal possessor, because the bound pronoun itself is fully pronominal (see the discussion preceding example [36]). This is only apparent when the recipient is pronominal, as in (63). A phrase showing the ungrammaticality of this "clitic doubling" strategy is given in (64).

> PUTATIVE STRUCTURE OF MODERN PAPUAN MALAY CLAUSE
> SUBJ= VERB [NP [POSS   ]   OBJ]
> agent   recipient   theme

(62) De=kase   sa=pu=mama de uang.
     3S=give   1S=POSS=mother 3S money
    'He gave the money to my mother.'

(63) De=kase dia de uang.
     3S=give 3S 3S money
    'He gave the money to her.'

> UNGRAMMATICALITY IN MODERN PAPUAN MALAY
> OF POSSESSIVE CLITIC DOUBLING

(64) *[NP [NP dia]   de(=pu) uang]
          3S   3S=POSS money
         'her money'

This development, if postulated accurately, would be similar, but showing the reverse direction of grammaticalization, to one that is attested in Mainland varieties of Tok Pisin. In (65) we can see the bivalent 2 coding strategy in which the recipient is coded as an oblique with the general oblique preposition *long*. In (66) we see the alternative, which is templatically identical to (65), the only difference being the use of *bilong* rather than *long*. This presents an interpretative ambiguity: is the structure in (66) the same as that in (65), with the only difference between them lying in the choice of preposition (this option being shown in [68a]; the assumed grammatical functional structure of [65] is shown in [67]), or does the use of *bilong* indicate that the recipient is coded as the possessor of the theme, thus being an exemplar of the bivalent 3 strategy described earlier (shown in [68b])? (To my knowledge this issue has not been addressed with respect to Tok Pisin.)

> MAINLAND TOK PISIN: I

(65) Em i-givim moni long   mama.
     3S   PRED-give money OBL   mother
    'He gave money to my mother.'

> MAINLAND TOK PISIN: II

(66) Em i-givim moni bilong mama.
     3S   PRED-give money POSS   mother
    'He gave money to my mother.'

         agent   theme   recipient

(67)   [SUBJ] V [OBJ   ]   [OBL   ]

(68) a. [SUBJ] V [OBJ   ]   [OBL   ]   ?
     b. [SUBJ] V [OBJ   [POSS   ]]   ?

Returning to the Papuan Malay construction, we hypothesize that the construction in (65), while accurate synchronically, has led to a further grammaticalization, one that exists concurrently with the reduced possession strategy in clauses headed by verbs of giving. The fact that the "reduced possessive" necessarily requires the use of a bound pronominal form in a construction for which this is not possible has led, we suggest, to the development of a second construction, one in which the *de* is not marking possession at all, but rather a degree of definiteness on the part of the NP marked by the bound pronoun. In essence, this is the singular version of the associative plural function of bound pronouns already examined in 3.1, and we will be following this lead in the next section.

4.3 THE ASSOCIATIVE SINGULAR. A singular pronoun may not seem to be the most obvious candidate for marking a group, but if we accept the notion of a very limited group of one, the concept is defensible. The "group of one" notion makes the same sense as a "group of [more than one]" does in the context of the pragmatics of the associative plural. The associative plural is used to highlight the salience of one member of the group in question, and to let the audience infer the identities of the less salient other members of that group on the basis of the very topical first member. Compare the following two sentences, both in Papuan Malay and in English translation. In (69), with associative plural coding, *bapa* is the salient member of the group, and the rest of the group takes its designation on the basis of this one member. In (70), by contrast, the group, *dong*, is the topical— and hence salient—part, and *bapa* is coded in a nonsalient manner. (Example [70] is unusual, though grammatical. If, indeed, *bapa* lacks salience to the extent of not requiring coding with the associative plural construction, as in [69], then it is most likely not to be mentioned at all.)

       ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL CODING
(69) Bapa dong so=jalan.
       father 3P   PF=go
       'Dad and his group have already gone.'

       WITHOUT ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL CODING
(70) Dong=so=jalan deng bapa.
       3P=PF=go   with   father
       'They have already gone with dad.'

       ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL CODING
(71) De=belom=ketemu deng bapa dong.
       3S=NOT.YET=meet   with   father 3P
       'He hasn't yet met with dad and his group.'

       WITHOUT ASSOCIATIVE PLURAL CODING
(72) ?De=belom=ketemu deng dong deng bapa.
       3S=NOT.YET=meet   with   3P   with   father
       'He hasn't yet met with them and dad.'

In this context, the function of the associative plural can be seen to be not only the marking of plural, but also the singling out of a particular referent in the group as being more salient than the others in the same group. Still, crucially, there is a "group" that defines the single salient referent's salience: *bapa* in (69) is salient only with respect to the rest of the group that he occurs with, and is not necessarily salient with respect to other participants in the discourse. The "group of one" concept, then, is simply using the

salience-coding function of the associative plural without having to refer to any other participants. The same pragmatic highlighting of the named participant is found, but there is no implication that there were any other participants in the event or state described by the predicate. We might, for lack of a better term, call this the "associative singular": the named participant is highlighted by association with an unnamed group of other potential participants or referents, and is highlighted relative to those potential participants.

> "ASSOCIATIVE SINGULAR" CODING

(73) De=belom=ketemu deng bapa de.
     3S=NOT.YET=meet   with   father 3S
     'He hasn't yet met with *dad*.'

(74) De=belom=ketemu deng bapa.
     3S=NOT.YET=meet   with   father
     'He hasn't yet met with dad.'

4.4 THE SPECIFIER. Having shown that we can postulate a plausible pathway from a putative possessive construction with the recipient coded as a possessor, and thence to a nonpossessive construction with the NP-final pronominal not functioning as a marker of a possessive construction, we now discuss the use of this morphosyntactic device in more general clauses as an NP-final singular pronominal clitic. Compare the sentences in (75a) and (75b). This construction bears obvious similarities to the associative plural discussed in 3.1, differing morphosyntactically only in the fact that the pronoun is singular, not plural. Semantically, sentences such as (75b) are used to establish particular unique reference.

(75) a. Ko=so=liat bapa?
        2S=PF=see   father
        'Have you seen dad yet?'

     b. Ko=so=liat bapa de?
        2S=PF=see   father 3S
        'Have you seen *dad* yet?'

The link that runs consistently between the grammaticalized possessive construction and the associative singular, through to the identificational focus that is the only interpretation available for (75b), is that of high transitivity parameters (Hopper and Thompson 1980). The recipient of a theme in an event of transfer is necessarily animate, and this is a high transitivity feature. Similarly, being singled out as the salient member of a potential group is a strong indication of individuation, another feature of high transitivity. Finally, identificational focus is perhaps the ultimate expression of individuation, because the participant in question is necessarily referential, and most probably countable and proper. The grammaticalization pathway that we are proposing is no stranger than many pathways involving recipients, beneficiaries, experiencers, and individuated objects in a great number of languages with extended dative cases or dative agreement.

5. CONCLUSIONS. We have seen that not only is Papuan Malay interesting in terms of the divergence it shows from the better-described "standard" varieties of Malay and Indonesian, which are based on varieties or perceived varieties spoken in the west of the archipelago, but also from the perspective of grammaticalization studies involving triva-

lent verbs, and studies of the development of agreement systems from the cliticization of pronouns. We have seen that, while there is a single set of clitic pronouns, their uses and the pronominal status that they display in these different uses vary considerably. In some constructions, such as marking possessors, the clitics are fully pronominal and may not co-occur with an independent pronoun. When marking subjects, however, only the local clitics can be described as fully pronominal, with third persons allowing clitic-doubling, optionally having a nominal subject as well as the bound clitic. The marking of subjects by proclitic is not an across-the-board prescription, but is dependent on the lexical class of the predicate, with verbs, prepositions, and nominals behaving differently. Finally, as seen in table 4, the third person clitics show differing degrees of grammaticality, with low-animate referents depending on the function for which they are employed, clearly showing that one and the same set of bound clitics must have grammaticalized in different directions into the different functions with which they are found.

We hope that further studies into the detailed grammar of nonstandard varieties of Malay and Indonesian will allow us to have a better understanding of both gradual and dramatic change in language. It is possible that some of the nonstandard features of Papuan Malay reflect aspects of the grammar of older varieties of Malay, many features of which have vanished in modern standard Indonesian but which can be shown to survive in nonstandard varieties.[25] At the same time, the fact that the kind of head-agreement that has been shown here reflects linguistic patterns found across much of New Guinea makes language contact and language change inspired by the indigenous languages of Papua a very promising direction for future research. That the languages of the north coast of New Guinea in the areas in which the variety of Malay described here is spoken tend to show prefixal agreement adds further support for the possibility of the agreement patterns in Papuan Malay representing a non-Malay substrate. The degree to which the features described here for Papuan Malay are retentions, and the degree to which they are innovations, compared to other varieties of Malay, is not yet known, and much of the social history of Papuan Malay remains to be documented.

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25. One such example of a possible contribution to the reconstruction of Malay is the retention of *ada* 'be' as a continuative marker in many nonstandard varieties, while it is not acceptable in Standard Indonesian or Malay, despite having been attested in Classical sources (though see fn. 13). Another example is the fact that increasingly verbal agreement is being thought to be part of the morphosyntax of an early stage of Malayo-Polynesian (e.g., Wolff 1996, Zobel 2002, and Jonker 1911). While agreement is not acceptable in Standard Indonesian or Malay (beyond the 'pasif semu'—see Cartier 1976, 1984, Cole 2006, and outside early Bible translations where agreement for both subject and object can appear), it is, as we have seen, attested in nonstandard varieties such as Papuan Malay.

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