Papuan Malay

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1   Varieties of Malay in Papua

As with all parts of the Indonesian archipelago in which there has been extensive pre-Independence contact with the Dutch, who used a variety of Malay as an administrative language, or which have had even earlier contact with Malay-speaking traders, a local, rather than 'standard', variety of Malay is used over many of the coastal areas in the eastern province of Papua (formerly *Irian Jaya*; the name changed in late 2001). This variety is not, as it widely assumed by non-native speakers in the province, a simplified, 'reduced', 'pidgin', or 'dumbed-down' version of standard Indonesian, but rather represents the endpoint of a linguistic tradition of its own.[1] It is certainly true that there are strong elements of non-standard grammar in the language, and that many if not most of the morphological devices of Standard Indonesian are absent in Papuan Malay. There is, however, a compensating proliferation of alternative morphological and syntactic constructions that are not found in Standard Indonesian, which serve to render Papuan Malay at least as complex as Standard Indonesian, though with a substantially different set of areal influences shaping its structure (see Gil 1994, 2002 for a similar account of the differences between standard Malay and Riau Indonesian).

It is in a very real sense misleading to write about 'Papuan Malay'[2] as if there was one unified variety of Malay spoken in the west of New Guinea. There are in fact at least four main varieties of Malay/Indonesian spoken in the area, salient amongst which are the following:

South coast	the Malay spoken around Merauke and in the hinterland extending to within sight of the main ranges has several unique lexical items. These are in the main loans from Marind, such as *saham* 'wallaby', *nggat* 'dog', and in particular the discourse particle *pele* 'You're kidding', which are not found in other areas of Papua. Conversely, many words which are unique to northern Papua are not heard in the south.

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[1]   The fact that, of Adelaar and Prentice's (reference?xx) list of eight features characteristic of Pidgin-Malay derived isolects, PM exhibits six, is not evidence for pidgin origins in the language, as the list of these features as defining pidgin-derived varieties begs the question of the origins of these features, and whether or not they are likely to represent independent developments in non-pidgin/creole varieties of Malay as a result of areal influences.

[2]   Or, equally, 'Irian Indonesian'. I shall use the term 'Papuan Malay' rather than 'Papuan Indonesian' since it is apparent that the language which will be described here was used before the advent of the Indonesian control, and so is clearly a descendant of some varieties of eastern Malay, rather than an off-shoot of the national language of Indonesia. If any term is used locally, it is (currently) more likely to the *Melayu Irian* than *Melayu Papua*, but that could quite easily change in the near future.

Serui Malay   described by van Velzen (1995), this is the variety of Malay spoken in Cenderawasih Bay apart from the islands of Numfoor and Biak. It is quite close to the variety described here, though some details of pronunciation and lexicon are different, and the pronominal system in Serui is more complicated than the one described here.

Bird's head   the Malay spoken on the west of the Bird's head, in villages near Sorong, Fakfak and Koiwai is essentially a variety of Ambon Malay, with many of the lexical items that are found in Ambon being used here as well as grammatical constructions that are not attested elsewhere in New Guinea. The Malay of Manokwari and other towns on the eastern Bird's head speak a variety related to Serui Malay.
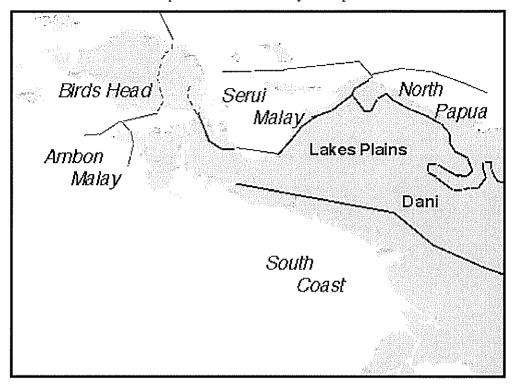
North Papua   the variety of Malay used in villages near points of early Malay or Dutch influence along the north coast of Papua. This is distinct from Serui Malay, which shows more similarities with Ambon Malay, and which has many innovations peculiar to it alone. North Papua Malay, the variety described here, is the speech variety used between Sarmi and the Papua New Guinean border, with variation depending on the grammar of the first language of the people who speak Malay, or the grammar of the language that was previously predominant in that area.

It is a moot point as to whether these different varieties of Malay constitute an entity that can be called Papuan Malay in any linguistic sense. The northern varieties show a clear influence form Menado Malay / North Moluccan Malay (Voorhoeve 1983, Taylor 1983), in lexical items such as *kelemarin* 'yesterday', which are lacking from the south coast, and the extent to which they are a separate entity from various Maluku forms of Malay (C. Grimes nd., B. Grimes 1991) is not known. In some areas of the western Bomberai peninsula, at least, a variety of Ambon Malay appears to be spoken. Since this paper is only dealing with one variety of Malay spoken in Papua, the north-eastern variety, I shall leave the question of whether there can be said to be a 'Papuan Malay' grouping that consists of the (minimally) four varieties mentioned above, to the exclusion of other varieties of eastern Malay such as Ambonese Malay and North Moluccan Malay, for a later date. The (approximate) locations of at least some of these different varieties of Malay in Papua are shown in the map.

In all areas where Indonesian is spoken imperfectly as a second language, there is some inevitable transfer of lexical categories from the local language to Indonesian, as well as the more salient transfer of phonology of the local language. [deβɔrɔm cajaβuɲa dawŋgeβala] for 'He cut my hair' (< *Dia potong daun kepala saya*, rather than *Dia potong rambut saya*) would not be unusual in many areas where there is little use of Indonesian. Where Malay/Indonesian is spoken, it is often spoken without any significant local 'colour', since it has only recently been introduced through mission or school activity. Some local varieties, however, are heavily influenced by first language phonologies, and show strong deviations from more standard varieties of Malay.

Map. Varieties of Malay in Papua

Some perceptually prominent accent types of Malay found in northern Papua include:

Lakes Plains   phonetically no nasals are found, leading to very unusual sounding speech: *Bari kita bakad dasi skara* 'Let's eat some rice now' (<*Mari kita makan nasi sekarang*)

Dani   a distinct accent is found in areas in which Lani/Dani people predominate, widely ridiculed in the rest of the province. It is characterised by the lack of the phonemes *f s h*,[3] palatalisation near high vowels, loss of prenasalisation: *Caya mau cuci* 'I want to be given an injection' (<*Saya mau (di)suntik*), This variety is well known in towns on the coast, and the subject of a good degree of ridicule.

This description focuses on the Malay spoken around Humboldt Bay and its environs, thus including the urban areas of Jayapura. While a narrow geographical scope, the area is certainly one with one of the longest periods of contact with Malay-speaking outsiders, and also one with a fairly heterogenous local population. The ethnic groups in the area include: Tabla, Ormu, Kayu Batu & Kayu Pulau, Tobati & Enggros, Sentani, Nafri, Elseng, and Skou. Since each of these languages has its own phonological and grammatical system, the varieties of regional Malay spoken can vary significantly. There is good evidence that for at least some speakers Irian Malay has a seven vowel system, but it is also clear that for other speakers there is only a five vowel system. In addition to the ethnic groups listed above, varieties of

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3   Mind you, *f* seems to be absent from most varieties of PM, sometimes including those varieties spoken by people whose native language includes distinct *f* and *p* phonemes, indicating again that PM is a speech variety which cannot be characterised as a merely accentual variety of a variety of SI.

this North Papua Malay are also spoken by many peoples from the interior of Jayapura district, typically following the syntactic structures of Northern Papuan Malay without so much of the non-standard lexicon that is found in that coastal variety. Thus, for instance, people from the interior village of Molof, when speaking to non-Molof people, do not use *kitong* as a 1PL pronoun, but rather employ the standard form *kita* with the same range of meanings as the coastal Northern Papuan Malay *kitong*.

In this brief sketch I shall shamelessly assume a knowledge of Standard Indonesian, and additionally shall describe Papuan Malay not as an independent language in its own right, which is the treatment that it (and, of course, any other language) really deserves, but in terms of the most salient ways in which it differs from Standard Indonesian. While not justified empirically, this style of presentation does allow for a more concise description. In particular, most sentences are simply translated, and not glossed morpheme by morpheme.

1.1   A NOTE ON THE NAME 'PAPUA MALAY'

The terms 'Papua Malay', 'Papuan Malay', 'Melayu Papua', and the (logical) pre-name change forms 'Irian Malay' and 'Melayu Irian' have not, as far as I am aware, been widely used to designate forms of Malay spoken on New Guinea. The terms 'Irian Malay' and 'Irian Indonesian' have been used occasionally in print (Suharno 1976), but these terms have never been in use amongst the population that actually speaks the language. Unlike, for instance, residents of Ambon who freely and happily acknowledge the differences between their variety of Malay and Standard Indonesian, there is not a strong awareness of the differences between the two (or more) varieties in Papua. More and more commonly speakers of Papuan Malay are bilingual in Standard Indonesian, and their speech travels on a continuum between more and less standard forms. This is particularly so in the case of pronominal use, which is prescriptively very 'standard', though usage, and requests for information,[4] show that there is a clear non-standard element in their speech.

Additionally, it should be noted that, impressionistically at least, more speakers of Papuan Malay show a much greater diglossia with varieties of Standard Indonesian than do most speakers of, say, Ambonese Malay. This means that, in effect, the decision as to the identity of linguistic forms produced by one and the same speaker as representing Standard Indonesian or Papuan Malay is essentially arbitrary. In presenting statements about grammaticality of some constructions in Papuan Malay, I have been guided by my own experience in the New Guinea area, and that of colleagues with whom I have discussed Papuan Malay over the years, at least as much as I have been by Papuan Malay speakers themselves.

For instance, I have no doubt that most Papuan Malay speakers from whom I have gathered data would accept a sentence such as

(1)   *Perempuan yang dilihatnya telah membawa pelepah sagu ke sini*
       'The woman who he saw has already brought the sago stirrer here.'

as grammatical, even when expressly asked about it as being the kind of 'dialect' that is 'native' (*asli*) to Papua. On the other hand, in unguarded moments when not directly talking

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4   Commonly I have heard *Arti kita sendiri, atau kita semua?* 'Do you mean *kita* just one person, or *kita* all of us?', to find out if I used the first person pronoun *kita* in a PM sense (1SG) or a SI sense (1PL).

to an outsider (such as myself), the same speakers would be more likely, when expressing the concepts in the above sentence, to say a sentence more like:

(2) *Bini*   *tadi*   *ko=liat=tu*   *su=ambe*   *kore-kore*   *ba=datang*   *kamari.*
     woman   just   2SG=see=that   PERF=get   stirrer   carry=come   hither
     'The woman who you saw earlier has already brought the sago stirrer here.'

In this case, and others like it, I have relied not on the native speakers' judgements of what is grammatical, but rather on my own informal 'corpus-based' sense of what is actual basilectal Papuan Malay. A solution of this kind will obviously only work properly if we have a truly monumental corpus of data and detailed sociolinguistic studies into language use in the area, both of which are currently lacking.

2   Phonology

The segmental phonemes of Papuan Malay are shown in table 1:

Table 1. The segments of Papuan Malay

p	t	(tʃ)	k	i		u
b	d	(dʒ)	g	(e		o)
m	n	(ɲ)	ŋ	ɛ	(ə)	ɔ
w	r l	j			a	
(f) s			(h)			

In most cases the phonetic value of the symbol conforms closely to IPA norms. While the arrangement above is the maximal inventory, it is true that not all varieties of Papuan Malay show all these contrasts. The lack of an /h/ is fairly common, as is the absence of /f/. The distinction between r and l is maintained in the area around Humboldt Bay that is the focus of description here, but is frequently lost in communities which are lack a number first-language speakers of Papuan Malay, or lack frequent cause for its use. The existence of a palatal(-alveolar) series is questionable. In those varieties that do appear to have a separate series it might be better to represent the members as clusters, *ty*, *dy* and *ny*, rather than as separate phonemes. In many cases both [tʃ] and [dʒ] are neutralised to either [t] and [d], respectively, or to [j].

The schwa is problematic. It is clearly present in pre-stressed positions in some words, such as *ke(le)láwar* 'small bat', but other words with a schwa in standard Indonesian are heard with an *a*, such as *sadíki* 'a little bit'.

Phonotactically, many of the final consonants of Standard Indonesian are not heard, or at best irregularly heard, in Papuan Malay. This applies not just to stops, but also to many sonorants, though nasals are more immune to this process than other consonants. In some cases an elided final nasal is still preserved in nasalisation on the now-final vowel. Some examples include:

Standard Indonesian	Papuan Malay	
ambil	*ambe*	'take'
ikut	*iko*	'follow'
pukul	*pukol*	'hit'
pinang	*pinã*	'betelnut'
atas	*ata*	'top'

Note that while 'take' is usually *ambe*, 'hit' is never **puko*. The absence of the final lateral in 'take' is simply lexically specified, and cannot be derived by rule from a Standard Indonesian form, showing that we cannot consider Papuan Malay as being a derivative of Standard Indonesian, but rather a language with its own history. Nonetheless, for descriptive purposes, it is convenient to examine some of the features of Papuan Malay in terms of their divergence from Standard Indonesian forms.

One common pattern of correspondence involving the vowels of Papuan Malay when compared to the vowels of Standard Indonesian concerns the schwa. There is not a consistent schwa in Papuan Malay, often appearing as a, e or o, depending on the vowel in the following syllable. If the following vowel in Standard Indonesian is u, then the schwa and the following vowel can both be realised as o. If the following vowel is i, the both vowels can be realised as e. Otherwise the Standard Indonesian schwa usually corresponds to a Papuan Malay unstressed a, sometimes to an [ɛ].

Standard Indonesian	Papuan Malay	
perut	*poró, porót*	'stomach'
jemput	*jompót*	'ride'
depan	*dapá*	'front'
berat	*bará, bra(t)*	'heavy'
petik	*p[ɛ]té*	'pick'
kecil	*k[ɛ]cél*	'small'
dengan	*deng, d[ɛ]ngan, y[ɛ]ngan*	'with'

In some other cases the schwa is simply deleted. Note that all of these examples show either Cər or səC as the start of the word:

Standard Indonesian	Papuan Malay	
terus	*tru, trus, tus*	'and then'
berat	*bra:*	'heavy'
sekarang	*skarang*	'now'
sekolah	*skoula*	'school'
terang	*trang*	'bright'

The other regular correspondences between Papuan Malay and Standard Indonesian involve the Standard Indonesian diphthongs /aj/ and /aw/. These most commonly correspond to Papuan Malay [ɛ] and [ɔ], respectively.

Standard Indonesian	Papuan Malay	
pakai	*pake*	'use, by means of'
lantai	*lante*	'floor'
pantai	*pante*	'beach'
sampai	*sampe*	'until'
gayung	*penggayung*	'paddle'
payung	*payung*	'umbrella'

Note that the Standard Indonesian /aj/ only corresponds to Papuan Malay [ɛ] when it is in the coda of a syllable; the last two examples show that a sequence /aj/ does not correspond to [ɛ] when the vowel is the nucleus of one syllable, and the glide the onset of another. The correspondences with Standard Indonesian /aw/ are at variance in exactly this respect, in that

a Standard Indonesian /aw/ corresponds to a Papuan Malay [ɔ] whether the two elements in the sequence occur in the same syllable or in adjacent syllables.

Standard Indonesian	Papuan Malay	
pulau	*pulo*	'island'
pisau	*piso*	'knife'
atau	*ato*	'or, but if'
kalau	*kalo*	'as for'
ikan nyawa	*ikan noa*	'manta ray'
tertawa	*tatoa*	'laugh'

Note that this process of monophthongisation is not found with the lexeme *bawa* 'carry', which is heard in abbreviated form as the clitic *ba=*, but never as *bo=*.

2.1 SPELLING

The variance of Irian Malay from standard Indonesian requires some orthographic conventions different from those found in Standard Indonesian. I shall be as faithful to the standard Indonesian representation of words as possible, simply for ease of comparison, but the changed phonology of Papuan Malay does require some new conventions.

au   this grapheme shall be occasionally used for the vowel [ɔ], as in *pulau* [pulɔ]. This is because the Standard Indonesian pronunciation is [aw], and it is spelled {au}, leading to variation in Papuan Malay between [ɔ] and (occasional) [aw]. In contrast to this, words which show an unvarying diphthong [aw] will be represented by the letters *aw*.

-h   orthographic final *h* of Standard Indonesian has been largely omitted from the Papuan Malay spelling , since there is no evidence for its appearance in the basilectal variety of Malay spoken in Papua.

Schwas are inconsistently spelled as *e*, *a* or *ə*, in part reflecting the varying pronunciation heard from speakers.

3   Pronouns and demonstratives

The pronominal system of Papuan Malay shows less distinctions than does standard Indonesian, but does, for the singular forms at least, have a difference between the free forms and clitic pronouns.

The first person pronouns show an age-based difference: the form *kita* for 1SG is normal amongst people aged approximately 35 and over, while younger speakers are increasingly likely to use *saya* or *say*, influenced by modern schooling in Standard Indonesian and contact with non-Irianese people (and note that the clitic form for 1SG is *sa=*, not something based on *kita*). Similarly, the form *kita* is used with a plural sense by some speakers all the time, particularly those from the interior, and by other speakers occasionally. In most speakers there is a strong level of diglossia between Papuan Malay and some degree of standard Indonesian, and so definitive statements about the use of pronouns, or indeed other features peculiar to Papuan Malay or Standard Indonesian, are by necessity only tendential statements. The forms of the pronouns are shown in table 2.

Table 2. Papuan Malay pronouns: free forms and clitic

	Free	Clitic
1SG	*kita, saya, say*	*sa=*
2SG	*kaw, ko*	*ko=*
3SG	*diǝ, de*	*de=*
1PL	*kitong, kita, kitorang*	*torang=*
2PL	*kamu*	
3PL	*dorang*	*dong=*

We can see that the inclusive/exclusive distinction that is prescriptive for Standard Indonesian (though see Donohue and Smith 1998 for the absence of this distinction in other varieties of Malay as well) is absent in Papuan Malay. The form *kami* is sometimes used, by some speakers, but not with any consistent functional distinction from *kitong*: sometimes *kami* is used in a clearly inclusive context, sometimes in a clearly and intentional exclusive context.

The clitic forms are used as subject agreement markers on verbs, as markers of possession on the possessive particle, especially when abbreviated, and as clitics on the numerals, quantifiers and classifiers. Examples of these uses are shown in the examples below.

(3)　　*Sa=sendiri tará=taw.*
　　　'Even I don't know.'

(4)　　*Dong=dua su=barangkat.*
　　　'The two of them have already left.'

(5)　　*Sa=su=ketemu de=pu mama.*
　　　'I've already met his mother.'

(6)　　*Dong=Indonesia benci kitong buka sadiki. Dong=lia kita anjing kaskado.*
　　　'The Indonesians hate us, and not just a bit. They look on us as if we were dogs with scabies.'

(7)　　*Dong=Yesus datang su=tarada.*
　　　'The Christians have some, so there aren't any of them (evil spirits) any more.'

The examples below show a Standard Indonesian register free pronoun *mereka*, combined with a clitic *dong=* on the verb. Note that there is no intonation break between the free pronoun and the verb.

(8)　　*Mereka dong=pi hutan cari babi.*
　　　'They went to the forest to hunt pigs.'

(9)　　*Tapi mereka dong=kerja bagitu untu dong=punya jalan suda top.*
　　　'But they worked like that so that their roads could be the best.'

An interesting divergence between Papuan Malay and Standard Indonesian involves the third person pronouns. The singular pronoun *dia* can be used for both animate and inanimate referents, and when referring to inanimates can be either singular or plural. In distinction to the Standard Indonesian use, and the plural *dorang/dong* can only be used with human reference.

(10)   *Babi hutan itu bahaya. De=tara taw takut manusia. Cari dia, musti hati-hati.*
     'Wild pigs are dangerous. They're not afraid of people. You've got to be
     careful if you want to go hunting them.'

(11)   *Potong cabang itu. Su=potong, ambel de ba=pulang.*
     '(And then we) cut the branches. When they're all chopped, (we) take them
     home.'

(12)   *dia suda, sagu suda banyak   /*
     'it's already, there's a lot of sago, ...'

Clearly the meanings of *dia* and *dorang* are different in Papuan Malay to those of the translation equivalents *dia* 's/he' and *mereka* 'they' in Standard Indonesian (or English). The translation equivalents are accurate only with respect to human referents, and not for others. The meanings of these pronouns as they apply to different categories are shown in table 3.

Table 3. Uses of the third person pronouns with different referents

	Human	Animate	Inanimate
dia	SG	SG	SG/PL
dorang	PL	n/a	n/a

The gap for plural animate non-human is filled not pronominally, but by reduplication of the appropriate noun, a strategy that can be used to mark plurality for human or for inanimate nouns, but is not commonly employed to do so. Thus *babi-babi* is commonly used to refer to plural 'pigs', but # *bai-bai* is unusual for 'baskets', and # *orang-orang* is dispreferred, with *orang dong* being more usual way to express 'people', as in the following examples (note that the position of *dong* in the second of these is indeterminate between being a verbal clitic and a marker of plurality on NPs; in the case of this example, the intonation makes it clear that it is part of the NP).

(13)   *Orang kampong dong torang=tra=taw=bicara banyak.*
     'We don't talk a lot with <u>people from the villages</u>.'

(14)   *Mahasiswa dong, taw banyak tapi saring tarada usa.*
     'The university students, they know a lot, but aren't a lot of use.'

Since Standard Indonesian accepts reduplication in all categories, outright rejection of proffered forms such as *bai-bai* or *orang-orang* is not likely, given the level of diglossia in most speakers, but there are clear tendencies.

In addition to the personal pronouns, there are also demonstratives, which may, in their free forms, be used either attributively or as independent referential pronouns. The forms of the demonstratives are shown in table 4:

Table 4. Demonstratives and directions

	Free	Clitic	Location
proximal, close to speaker	*ini*	*=ni*	*sini*
distal, not close to speaker	*itu*	*=tu*	*(situ)*
distant, not close			*sana*
Elevationals:			
towards settlements			*kemari, kamari*
landward, away from settlement			*kedara, kadara(t)*

Examples of the demonstratives are easy to find, though we should note that *itu* has other, topic-marking, functions (10.2.4), and is a popular conversational response (similar in meaning and function to *em nau* in Tok Pisin). Note also that *di situ* (and the concomitant *ke situ, dari situ*) is rarely, if ever, heard in Papuan Malay, which has a two-way distinction between demonstratives. Examples of the demonstratives are:

(15)   *Praw ini tara bae.*
        'This canoe is not good.'

(16)   *Dong=pu kampong itu taramaw terima tamu.*
        'Their village there isn't very friendly.'

(17)   *Ana=ni ana bae.*
        'This child is a good child.'

(18)   *Sapa=tu mo datang malam?*
        'Who's that who's coming in the middle of the night?'

This last example shows that demonstratives are not necessarily used with referential meaning, since the reference of *sapa* is clearly not determinate.

In addition to the extended senses that apply to itu, ini is also occasionally used in a non-locational sense, to indicate anaphora (though the exact usage is not yet well understood). One such example is shown below (the full text from which it is taken is included in the appendix).

(19)   *Waktu dong=prang, waktu Papua ini, kalo dong= tembak atau …*
        'When they were fighting, when they were in Papua here, if they shot, or …'

It should be mentioned that, although *dia* is acceptable as a pronoun to refer to non-humans, the demonstrative itu is also found in this function, as in the following extract, in which the first *itu* is a subject NP, and the second one is a topic marker (see 10.2.4).

(20)   *Itu baru gigit itu mati.*
        'They (snakes), as soon as they bite (you), (you) die.'

As with other varieties of eastern Malay, the pronouns may be followed by a demonstrative or a demonstrative clitic. Thus, in addition to the simple pronouns in table 2, the following forms, shown in table 5, are also attested.

Table 5. Pronoun + demonstratives

	'proximal'	'distal'
1SG	*kita ini, kita=ni, sa=ni*	*kita itu, kita=tu*
2SG	*ko ini, ko=ni*	*kaw itu*
3SG	*de=ini, de=ni*	*de=itu*
1PL	*kitong ini*	*kitong itu, kitong=tu*
2PL	*kamu ini*	*kamu itu*
3PL	*dong=ini*	*dong=itu, dong=tu*

It is interesting that both a 'proximal' and a 'distal' variant of each pronoun can be formed. This is not surprising for the third person pronouns, and third persons can be both near and far from the speech act, or the point of reference in a text. The use of both the proximal and the distal demonstratives, in either clitic or free form, with both first and second person singular pronouns is perhaps more surprising. Since a first person singular pronoun is inherently proximal, how can it occur with a distal demonstrative? The answer lies in the scope of the demonstrative: the demonstratives are used not only for locating a referent in space, but also in time. The meaning of *itu* can be either 'distant from me in space' or 'at a previous time'. For a third person referent the distinction is not always apparent; *kampong itu* can, and often is, used to refer to a village that is neither near the speaker (or locus of attention), nor is the relevance of its mention contemporaneous with the point of reference of the speech act. The use of first person pronouns with non-proximal demonstratives forces the non-contemporaneous interpretation. In the following sentence the only interpretation of *itu* is to indicate that the speaker (a highlander discussing his arrival on the coast for education) talks about himself as a different self to the modern one (which can, and does, eat sago).

(21) *Kita itu tara taw makan papeda.*
'In those days I wasn't used to eating sago.'

(that is, the earlier me was not one who ate sago)

(22) *Saya ini taw bahasa Inggeris sadiki.*
'I can now speak some English (but before I couldn't).'

When demonstratives occur with non-1SG pronouns the scope of the demonstrative cannot, without an explicit and unambiguous context, be clearly separated into temporal or spatial senses. For instance, given the following sentence, in the absence of a clear pointing gesture that makes the spatial use of the demonstrative clear, the listener cannot know whether *itu* refers to a 'previous incarnation' of that person, or spatially singles that one person out from other people in the field of view, or in the discourse.

(23) *Orang itu tara taw pi kota.*
'That person doesn't go to the city much.' / 'That person didn't used to go to the city much.'

The use of time adverbials and other non-demonstrative markers usually makes clear what the intended reference is. Or else a long explanatory conversation ensues, which is after all one of the main points of language.

4 Adjectives

Adjectives may be used, without any special morphology, as predicates or as modifiers within the NP. Reduplication is also found, used as either an intensifier of the quality, or in an opposite function to distribute the quality, over time or to a reduced degree.

(24) *Sa=ada bae-bae saja.*
"'I'm doing fine.'

Intensification will usually follow, but can occasionally precede, the adjective.

(25) *Dong=pu ana-ana banya sikali.*
'They've got a lot of children.'

(26) *Skarang ma- rayat sikali bingun.*
'Now the popul- the people are really confused.'

Adjectives, which form only a small word class in Papuan Malay, can be morphologically distinguished from verbs in that they do not, generally, take pronominal proclitics marking subject (though auxiliary verbs, such as *ada* above, may take proclitics even if the main predicator is an adjective). Compare the following two sentences, in which the first shows acceptable proclitics on a stative verb, and the second shows unacceptable clitics on an adjective.

(27) *Sa=saki.*
"'I'm sick.'

(28) *Sa=kecil.*
"'I'm small.'

Most intransitive stative concepts are expressed by stative verbs in Papuan Malay, and so behave just as do verbs with respect to precliticisation. A full list of the adjectives in Papuan Malay cannot at this stage be given, but the membership includes *kecil* 'small, young', *besa(r)* 'big, grown up', *laku* 'good, acceptable', colour terms, but not other adjectival primes such as *tua* 'old', *muda* 'young', *jahat* 'bad, evil', which are morphologically verbs.

5 Noun phrases

The noun phrase in Papuan Malay is fairly unproblematic, and does not deviate much from Standard Indonesian. A template showing the structure of the maximal NP in Papuan Malay is shown in (29) (all the elements are optional)

(29) NP → (POSSESSOR) N ADJ RC DEM PRO

The morphosyntax of possession is described in the following section; demonstratives have been dealt with in the previous section, and relative clauses are described in section 5.3, where examples of their use are given.

The final entry for 'PRO' calls for some explanation. Often a noun phrase, particularly one which is composed of conjoined elements, appears with a pronoun summarising the person and number features of the entire NP. When the identity of one of the conjuncts is clear by subtracting the features of the overt nominals from the pronoun, then one of the conjuncts may be unexpressed (typically the most highly animate one).

(30) *Maria kitong=dua su=tara=bisa lae.*
      'Maria and I can't do it any more.'

This strategy is less acceptable with obliques than with subjects or objects, implying that there is also some case restriction associated with this function.

(31) *Kitong pi lia Yohannes dong.*
      'We went to see Yohannes and his mates.'

(32) # *Sa=su=masa banyak untu sa=pu ana dong.*
      'I've already cooked a lot for my daughter and her friends.'

(note the contrast with the completely acceptable *Sa su masa banya untu dong ana* 'I've already cooked a lot for the children.')

5.1 MORPHOLOGY ON THE NOUN

There is little morphology associated with the noun, other than possession, dealt with in the next section, and the use of plural pronominal prefixes to specify the inclusion or exclusion of the speaker or addressee, and the plurality of the reference. Some examples include:

dong=dua	'those two'
dong=Yesus	'those church-goers'
kitong=mori(d)(-morid)	'we students'
kamu=tukang pikul	'you wharf-workers'
dong=Indonesia	'the Indonesians'

Dong= 'they' is often used with a pluralising function, even (occasionally) with non-humans, which is in contrast to the use of *dorang*, which is restricted to human reference. This is further evidence that the clitic pronouns and the free pronouns are separate entities, as their reference is somewhat different. Note that some speakers find all of the phrases below unacceptable, preferring that *dong=* is used exclusively with human referents. All speakers find *dong=kakerlak* unacceptable, probably because it is not animate enough to warrant the plural pronoun.

dong=babi	'the pigs'
dong=ikan noa	'the manta rays'
? *dong=ikan*	'the fish' (PL)
* *dong=kakerlak*	'the cockroaches'

Other morphology associated with the noun phrase includes the prepositions, and the prepositional verbs, described in the following section.

5.2 PREPOSITIONS

In some cases the prepositions found in Papuan Malay are identical in both form and function to those found in Standard Indonesian, but there are also a number of innovative forms. These are described in the following section.

5.2.1 Instrumental/Adverbial *pake*

This preposition is clearly related to the verb *pake* 'use', though it can be shown to have also grammaticalised to a preposition (or semantically bleached serial verb construction) through its appearance with nominals that could not have been the object of the verb *pake*. *Pake* is primarily used with instruments of actions, often with other verbs in a complex construction

(see (34) - (36) below), but is also frequently used with adverbial meaning. These different uses are shown in (33)a - c.

(33)   a.   *Dong=ambe kapak pake potong kayu.*

      b.   *Dong=pake kapak potong kayu.*

      c.   *Dong=potong kayu deng kapak.*
         'They chopped wood with an axe.'

Pake may also be used in a clearly grammaticalised sense to introduce adverbial concepts. In these cases there there can be no question of there being a physical 'using'.

(34)   *De=pake akal.*
       'He was smart (in what he did).'

(35)   *De=pake de=pu pendidikan tolong masarakat.*
       'He helped the villagers with what he knew from his education.'

(36)   *De=musti suda ada di sana jadi, de=pake cepat lari.*
       'He already has to be there, so he's running quickly.'

In some instances an instrument may appear without any over marking in the clause; this does not seem to be particularly 'standard'.

(37)   *De=ikat tali sapi.*
       'He tied the cow with some rope.'

5.2.2   Comitative *deng*

This preposition is used with adverbial meaning, or as a marker of associated action (either two co-participants in the one action, or one participant performing two predicatable actions simultaneously), or sometimes an instrumental marker, as already discussed. These different uses are shown in (38) - (41).

       Adverbial

(38)   *Dong=terima deng bai.*
       'They received us in a friendly fashion.'

       Associated action

(39)   *De=pi pasar jual hasil kebun deng pace.*
       'She went to the market to sell her garden produce with (her) friend.'

       Associated action

(40)   *Mama=tu, de=dudo deng caritera.*
       'That lady, she was sitting and talking.'

       Instrument

(41)   *Dong=bikin bersi deng parang.*
       'They cleaned (the garden) with machetes.'

Some adverbial senses can or must be rendered without *deng*, as in *De lari cepat* ~ *#De lari deng cepat* 'He ran quickly', and *De datang polan-polan*, **De datang deng polan-polan* 'He came slowly.' The variation seems to be lexically based, and not rule-based.

5.2.3 Locative, allative and ablative *di*, *kə*, and *dari*

The general marker of location, on common nouns, is *di*. This can be used for motion towards a goal as well as activities taking place at a location; the form *kə* 'allative' is also possible for marking a goal. Examples of their use in this function are not given, as they are identical to Standard Indonesian, though we can note that the use of *di* is often optional in Papuan Malay where it is obligatory in Standard Indonesian, such as the following extract in which the lexically locative *situ* does not require the use of a locative preposition.

(42) ... *suda panas sa=bisa isterihat situ.*
      'because it'll be already hot I'll be able to rest there ...'

This appearance of a location without an oblique marker has not been observed with non-locational nominals: **Sa=mo dudok ruma* for *Sa=mo dudok di ruma* 'I'm going to sit in the house.'

These prepositions may also be used to mark the predicate in a non-verbal clause, just as in Standard Indonesian, and just like Standard Indonesian this is a relatively infrequent construction: *De su ke kota* 'He's already gone to the city', for instance, is more likely to be coded as *De su pi kota*, with a verbal clause. For direction from a source the preposition is used, but usually in combination with a serial verb construction, and it is not commonly found in a non-verbal clause on the predicate if the event is not stative. The following clause is at best marginally acceptable with an eventive reading, but is acceptable with a stative one.

(43) *Dia dari kampong lain.*
      'He is from another village.'

      # 'He's come from another village.'

The eventive reading is much more likely to be expressed with a verbal clause, or preferrably a clause with a serial verb:

(44) *De=su=datang dari kampong lain.*
      'He's come from another village.'

(45) *De=dudok di kampong lain, baru datang kemari.*
      'He's come here from another village.'

5.2.4 Beneficiaries, and *untuk*

As in Standard Indonesian, the preposition *untuk* can be used to mark a beneficiary of an action (most commonly an intransitive one) or to mark a purposive clause.

(46) *Saya tadi bikin asal gosok parang, untuk saya mau ke kebun.*
      'What I was doing before, was sharpening my machete, because I'm going
      to go to my gardens.'

While a beneficiary may be marked with *untuk*, more usually it is coded with one of two more non-standard constructions. The most more common strategy with transitive verbs is to code the beneficiary (or recipient) as the possessor of the object:

(47) *Dong pana mama punya laolao.*
      'They shot a wallaby for me.'
      (elder female speaking)

(48)   *De=ba=datang sa=pu=barang baru.*
       'He brought some new things for me.'

In these cases the morphosyntactic possessor of the object is not in possession of the object until after the predicate has taken place; the possession is thus anticipatory, and a sentence such as (48) does not necessarily encode the meaning 'He brought my (previously acquired) new things.', but is more likely to mean something like 'He brought me some new things (that he had purchased/traded for/bought for me).'

Another strategy for marking a beneficiary is by serialising with *kasi* 'give', as in the following paraphrases of the above sentences:

(49)   *Dong pana laolao kasi mama.*
       'They shot a wallaby for me.'
       (elder female speaking)

(50)   *De=ba=datang barang baru kasi kita.*
       'He brought some new things for me.'

Again, this could be construed as referring to two separate events: 'He brought the new goods, and then gave them to me.' The evidence that *kasi* has clearly grammaticalised into a general beneficiary marker comes from sentences such as the following, in which there is no transfer of property.

(51)   *De=nyanyi kasi kitong.*
       'She sang for us.'

(52)   *Sa=minta dia suda banyak kali, tus de=pi kota kasi saya.*
       'I'd asked her a lot of times, so in the end she went to the city for me.'

Other varieties of Papuan Malay, such as that spoken in Yapen, employ *buat* as a beneficiary marker, but this is not normal in varieties of Malay indigenously spoken near Jayapura. An example of the sort of sentence that can be encountered in Serui and environs is shown below.

       Yapen Malay

(53)   *Dong ada masak nasi buat kitong.*
       'They're cooking rice for us.'

5.3   RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses are normally post-nominal, just as in other varieties of Malay, and which also reflects the typical position of relative clauses in languages of New Guinea. An example is

(54)   *orang tadi ada makan sagu itu*
       'the person who was eating the sago earlier on'

Note that the presence of a relativiser, *yang*, is not obligatory in this relative clause type. The voice alternations that are characteristic of relative clause formation in Standard Indonesian are not found as a core element in Papuan Malay relative clauses, where either a subject or an object can head a relative clause with an active verb.

(55)   *Dong=tadi   jalan   pi   tanjung   itu*
       3PL=earlier   walk   go   cape   that
       'that lot who went to the cape earlier on'

(56)   ... *ampas-ampas* *yang*   *kitong* *buang*
             rubbish-RED   that   1PL   throw.away
             'the rubbish that we throw away'

The relatively more free access to relative clauses is not simply a 'flow-on' affect of the lack of a voice system. There is a systematic alternation of voice in Papuan Malay, through the analytic passive in *kena* (see 6.3). Rather, the rules for relative clause formation are not as tight as in Standard Indonesian and other western Austronesian languages, and allow arguments other than subject to head a relative clause. We have seen that objects can appear in relative clauses, but in fact obliques are also grammatical, as can be seen from the following.

(57)   *Itu tadi saya bilang, itu kampong dong=tinggal.*
       'That's what I told you before, that's the village that they stayed in.'

(58)   *Trus alat-alat yang saya kerja itu juga, bisa taruh di dalam rumah jadi.*
       'So then the tools that I've been working with, too, I can leave them in the hut, ...'

As with many languages endemic to Papua, relative clauses are normally found with demonstratives, especially when the head of the relative clause is human.

(59)   *Orang yang tadi de=ambe dong=pu tobu ba=jalan itu, ...*
       'That person who took their sugar cane, ...'

Another difference between Papuan Malay and more standard varieties is that prenominal relative clauses are not unheard of:

(60)   *Karna*   *saya*   *dari*   *sini*   *banyak* [RC *saya* *bawa*]   *barang-barang ...*
       because   1SG   from   here   many   1SG carry   thing-RED
       'Because I, when I go from here, I (have) to take a lot of things, ...'

(literally, 'the things that I take are many')

Another relative clause type is found, again very common in Papuan languages, in which the head of the relative clause is found inside the relative clause. In the following sentence the relative clause is shown in labelled brackets, the head inside a second labelled brackets. Note that in this example the Standard Indonesian relativiser *yang* has been used, but not to link a head noun with the relative clause

(61)   *sa=mo=panas itu,* [RC *yang sa=mo=tutup*] [N *atap*], ...
       'and because I'll start getting hot, so, that roof that I'm going to make, ...'

(62)   *supaya,* [RC *yang sa=mo=potong*] [N *atap*] *itu, ...*
       'so that, that roof that I'm going to cut, ...'

5.4   POSSESSION

As is usual in eastern Malay varieties, the possessor precedes the possessum. Possession is indicated by the verb *punya* 'have', which has been grammaticalised to be a marker of phrasal possession as well as serving as a possessive verb. It is often reduced to *=pu*, and when a pronominal possessor is indicated the pronoun is cliticised on to the possessive marker directly.

(63)   *Anjing punya ekor*
       'dog's tail'

(64)   *Anjing=pu ekor*
       'dog's tail'

(65)   *De=pu ekor*
       'it's tail'

(66)   *sa=pu ruma*
       'my house'

Note that the first person singular possessive is usually based on *saya*, not on *kita*: # *kita=pu*. This might be because there is no clitic form of *kita*, since non-clitic forms using *kita*, such as *kita punya*, are possible. With pronouns the full form pronoun is possible, but the cliticised version of the pronoun is more common. The full form pronoun may not be used with the clitic possessive marker =*pu*.

(67)   *saya punya ruma*
       'my house'

(68)   *sa=punya ruma*, * *saya=pu ruma*

It could be argued that some kinship terms, such as *mama* '(my) mother' represent examples of non-morphologically marked possession, but here they shall be assumed to be a small class of words with some degree of inalienability built into them (there is otherwise no indication of an alienable/inalienable split in the phrasal marking of possession in the language). This is because the non-marked pattern does not appear to be productive, and only a limited set of words may appear in this construction.

5.4.1   External possession

External possession is found in Standard Indonesian only in 'passive' clauses, such as:

Standard Indonesian (though heard in a formal setting in then-Irian Jaya)

(69)   *Saya diangkat ovari saya*
       'I had my ovaries removed.'

Papuan Malay allows EP on active transitive clauses as well as passive clauses. An example of each is shown below, with the first sentence showing EP in an active sentence, compared to the non-EP version in (70)', and the second pair of sentences showing EP in passives (also compared to the non-EP and non-passive versions of the same descriptive sentence).

(70)   *De=pukol* [NP *saya*] [PP *di* [NP *bahu*]].
       'He hit me on the shoulder.'

(70)' *De=pukol* [NP *sa=pu bahu*].

(71)   *Sa=kena pukol* [PP *di bahu*].
       'I was hit on the shoulder.'

(72)' [NP *Sa=pu bahu*] *kena pukol.*

(72)" *De=pukol* [NP *sa=pu bahu*].

In addition to these constructions there is another construction that might be analysed as kind of EP. It involves 'topic assumption': the possessor of a nominal, when much more salient than that nominal, is coded as the subject of a topic-establishing clause.

(72)   *Sa=pergi, barubaru sa=punya ana pergi.*
       'I went, just recently my son went.'

Note that it appears that the restrictions on the appearance of external possession construcitons (the usual, almost prototypical ones – see Payne and Barshi 1999) in effect delimit a class of inalienably possessed nouns: only body parts and some kin terms have been observed with external possession constructions, and elicitation attempts such as translations of 'He broke me in the mirror.' (**De=kas pica sa=pu cermin*) have always been deemed ungrammatical.

6   Verbal morphosyntax

The basic clause order in Papuan Malay is SVO. Although there is a 'basic' word order pattern, variation away from this pattern is rife, due to the extensive use of topicalisation and other pragmatically marked patterns that affect the word order, due to these pragmatically salient elements occupying different structural positions. Thus, for instance, from the basic clauses uch as:

(73)   [NP:SUBJ Kita=ini] [VERBAL ELEMENT tra suka makan] [NP:OBJ nasi].
       'I don't like eating rice.'

The following variants are also commonly found. Nnote that, based on the patterns here, there is some evidence for a VP in Papuan Malay, due to the possibility of not only NPs occupying a preclausal topic position, but also a unit consisting of the V and the object NP, but not the subject NP and the V (unit).

(74)   Kita=ini, sa=tra suka makan nasi.
       'I don't like eating rice.'

(75)   Nasi=tu, sa=tra suka makan.
       'Rice, I don't like eating (it).'

(76)   Makan nasi=tu, sa=tra suka.
       'Eating rice, I don't like.'

(77)   ? Kita=ini tra suka makan, nasi.
       'I don't like eating, rice.'[5]

(78)   Sa=tra suka makan nasi, Kita=ini.
       'Me, well, rice, I don't like eating.'

The variation away from SVO is always accompanied by a pragmatically marked information structure, so it seems to be motivated to speak of Papuan Malay as being basically an SVO language, with extraposed topic positions to the left of the clause, and 'afterthought' or 'clarificatory' additions to the right of the clause. An alternative, basically free word order (such as seems to be the case in Riau Indonesian - Gill 1994) does not seem to hold in Papuan Malay. For instance, a sentence with both preposed object, and sentence-initial subject, such as would be expected in a syntactically unconstrained language, is at best stilted in Papuan Malay.

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[5]   As a clause with an afterthought, clearly differentiated by intonation patterns, the segmental patterns of this clause is acceptable, given the right discourse context.

(79) ? Kita=ini, nasi=tu, sa=tra suka makan.
'Me, well, rice, I don't like eating.'

There is no special structural position for focussed information, such as questions, though contrast is also expressed pre-clausally, and so a surprising response to a question may well appear sentence-initially, though . Some examples of question (and answer) pairs are given below.

(80)   Q.   Sapa=tu mo=makan sama saya?
            'Who wants to eat with me?'

(81)   Q.   Ko, tadi ko=pukol siapa?
            '(Hey) you, who did you hit earlier on?'

(82)   Q.   De=tangkap ikan bosar itu di mana?
            'Where did he catch that big fish?'

(83)   Q.   Ko=mo=biking bakul=tu mo=kasi siapa?
            'Who are you making that basket for?'

       A₁. Orang puti itu, sa=bikin kasi dia.
            'The white guy, I'm making (it) for him.'

       A₂. Sa=bikin kasi orang puti itu.
            'I'm making (it) for the white guy.'

6.1   SERIAL VERBS

One major point of difference between Papuan Malay and Standard Indonesian in terms of morphosyntactic patterns is the extensive use of serial verb constructions in Papuan Malay, often corresponding to single verbs with more explicit semantics in Standard Indonesian. For instance, corresponding to the Standard Indonesian verb *ambil* 'get, take', Papuan Malay uses the collocation *ambe ba(wa)=pergi* 'get carry go'. Similarly 'bring' is *ambe ba=datang* 'get carry=come'

(84)   *De=ambe bai*   *ba=pergi pulang*   *di*   *ruma.*
       3SG=get bucket   carry=go return   LOC   house
       'He took the bucket back home.'

Negation shows that this cannot be interpreted as a sequence of related clauses:

(85)   *De=tra ambe bai ba=pergi pulang diruma.*
       'He didn't take the bucket back home.'
       Unlikely to be read as #/* 'he didn't take the bucket, but went home'

As in the example above, serial verb constructions are especially common when the predicate involves motion, in which case directions, or means are often added in serial verb constructions. Predicates of giving, transport, and communication also frequently involve expression with serial verb constructions. Common examples include:

Papuan Malay	lexical items	
ba(wa) datang	carry come	'bring'
ba(wa) pigi	carry go	'take'
ba(wa) pulang	carry return	'bring back'
ambe(l) curi	take steal	'steal'

Some examples of these collocations can be seen below.

(86) *Sa=pu toman dong=su=ambe buku ba-pi ruma.*
'My friends have taken the books to their houses.'

(87) *Jadi sa=punya nenek pigi dong=terima yengan bai. Tru dong=kasi barang-barang de=bawa pulang.*
'So my grandmother went (there), and they welcomed her heartily. They gave her presents which she took back home.'

The aspectual use of serial verb constructions is discussed in 7.

(88) *Bagus dulu, orang tua-tua dulu, dong-saritera itu sa=dengar, paling sanang-sanang.*
'It was good then, the older folk before, they'd tell stories and I'd listen, I was really happy.'

It is most likely that certain other multi=verbal constructions are likley to turn out to be instances of serial verb constructions in Papuan Malay, such as *pukol mati dia* 'hit him dead', and *makan itu habis* 'eat it up', but they ahve not been investigated in such detail at the present time.

6.2 CAUSATIVE

Causation in Papuan Malay is expressed either lexically, with such pairs as *mati* 'die' and *bunu* 'kill', or through the productive causativisers *bikin(g)*, *kasi=/ kas=*, and *buat*. Of these the first and last are synthetic, while *kas(i)=* is a bound form, though clearly historically and synchronically related to *kasi* 'give'. Additionally, a wide range of speech verbs may be used with causative functions.

Kasi may be used with any predicate, agentive or non-agentive and transitive or intransitive. Examples of the basic use of this causative are shown in (89) - (90):

(89) *De=kas=bangun dia.*
'She woke him up.'

(90) *Mama itu de=kas=makan de=pu ana.*
'That woman is feeding her child.'

The causativiser *bikin(g)* is only found with intransitive bases, and is particularly frequent with non-agentive bases. An object can appear either following the caus+verb sequence, or intrude between the two elements.

(91) *Jangan de=bikin=takot kau.*
'Don't let him scare you.'

(92) *Jangan de=bikin kau takot.*
'Don't let him scare you.'

Although it is more commonly associated with non-agentive bases, *bikin(g)* is also found with agentive predicates:

(93) *Dong=su=biking kerja dia.*
'They've made him work.'

Buat is used for a less 'direct' sense of causation, and only allows the causee to appear between the two verbs.

(94) *Dong=buat de=pulang.*
'They made him return home.'
(through the things they said, they made him uncomfortable, etc.)

(95) * *dong=buat pulang dia.*

6.3 PASSIVE

There is a passive construction in Papuan Malay, but unlike the Standard Indonesian inflectional *di-* and *ter-* 'passives', which are not found in Papuan Malay except in fixed lexicalisations or in the diglossic speech of Standard Indonesian speakers,[6] it is formed periphrastically with the auxiliary *kena* '(be) affect(ed by)'. In this construction the agent is usually not mentioned, though there are a variety of mechanisms for doing so, and the theme/patient must be adversely affected by the event denoted by the predicate. This relates to the main verb use of *kena*, a regular transitive verb meaning 'adversely affect', seen in (96)

(96) *Hujan besar kena kita.*
'I was caught in a downpour.' (literally, 'A big rain adversely affected me.')

Examples of passive clauses, and their corresponding active equivalents, are given in (97) - (98), with the equivalent transitive clauses with the undergoer encoded as a P shown in (99) and (100). The two passive sentences show examples of, first, the normal use of the passive without any agent mentioned, and second the possible, though unusual, optional mention of an agent in an oblique phrase headed by *dari* 'from', the same preposition that is used for passive agents in Ambon Malay.

Active

(97) *Oto tabrak sa=pu pace.*
'A car hit my friend.'

Passive

(98) *Sa=pu pace kena tabrak.*
'My friend was hit (by a car).'

(99) *Sa=pu pace kena tabrak dari oto.*
'My friend was hit by a car.'

Active, transitive clauses with *kena*

(100) *Oto tabrak kena sa=pu pace.*
'My friend was hit by a car running into him.'

(101) *Oto tabrak sa=pu pace kena.*
'My friend was hit by a car running into him.'

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6 It should be noted that there is a use of *di-* heard in Papua from people who are speaking SI which differs markedly from that found further west, in which it seems to be functioning not as a passive marker, but as a marker of formal or polite speech. When being asked to wait on the phone, you might be told or asked to *Ditunggu*, where clearly the passive reading that we might expect from SI is not appropriate.

The active transitive clause with *kena* is more commonly heard than the passive clause. That, plus the fact that voice systems are uncommon in New Guinea and that serialisation of the sort seen in (100) and (101) above are traits that we can easily identify in the local languages of the area, leads us to conclude that the source of *kena* is in a serial verb construction that has an alternative interpretation as a passive morpheme. In this light, it might be the case that a more literal rendering of (98) is 'My friend$_{TOP}$ (is) affected, hit (by a car).' As with the use of this passive in other (but not all) varieties of Malay, it is a fairly strict requirement that the affected argument of the clause must be animate, preferably highly topical, and adversely affected by the predicate. Thus sentences such as

(102) */# *dong kena kasi kawde (KUD).*
'They were given a village cooperative.'
(KUD = Kooperasi Unit Desa 'Village-level Cooperative')

in which the apparent passive subject is not adversely affected by the action, is not grammatical.

The same *kena* may also be used to show the inception of adversely-affecting states, such as is shown in the following sentences:

(103)   *Kita ita ini wa! Kita kona takot itu.*
'If I see one of them (snakes), well, I get terrified.'

(104)   *Sa=kena saki(t).*
'I got sick.'

(105)   *Sa=kena sakit hati*
'I became bitter.'

(106)   *Kitong kena lapar.*
'We became hungry.'

(107)   *Kita ita ini wa! Kita kona takot itu.*
'If I see one of them (snakes), well, I get terrified.'

Despite this wide range, *kena* may not be used with non-adversative senses:

(108)   * *Kitong kena senang.*
'We became content.'

(109)   * *Sa=pu ana kena besar*
'My child got big.'

This use of *kena* is similar to 'get' in English, which can be used for a passive, and for an inception of a state: *I got hit*, and *I got better*.

Another passive-like construction is formed by topicalisation, with the object appearing sentence-initially. The equivalent of an agentless passive is formed by using the nonreferential *orang* 'person' in place of an agent, as in the following example.

(110)   *Dong orang gigit ka.*
'Have they been really annoyed by someone?'

Structure of (110)

(111)   [$_{S'}$ *Dong* [$_{S}$ *orang gigit* Ø]] *ka.*

6.4 REFLEXIVES AND RECIPROCALS

Rather than the Standard Indonesian *samping*, the more usual marker of reciprocity in Papuan Malay is baku, multiply attested in many non-standard varieties of Malay, as in the following example.

(112) *Dong baku taru tangan.*
'They were hitting each other.'

Reflexive constructions are formed with *diri*, as in Standard Indonesian, though it is not at all clear that *diri* is in fact a reflexive marker, but might simply be a variant of *sendiri*, the emphatic/contrastive marker (similar in semantic range to Standard Indonesian *pun*, or *juga*). The reflexive use or *diri* and *sendiri* may be seen in the following:

(113) *Dia pake piso kena diri.*
'He cut himself with the knife.'

(114) *Dia mara sama sendiri.*
'Shes angry with herself.'

A perhaps more natural way to express a reflexive is with an affected body part as the object; an accidental reflexive action is more likely to be expressed with a stative predicate:

(115) *Dia potong diri punya jari, kasihan.*
'He cut his own finger, the poor thing.'

(116) *Kena luka sendiri, de=pu ana baramai.*
'He wounded himself, his child did.'

The non-reflexive use of *diri* and *sendiri* can be seen in the examples below:

(117) *Dia sendiri tra taw.*
'Even he doesn't know.'

(118) *Adu, diri sama sekali tra enak.*
'Eurgh, I'm really sick.'

6.5 DITRANSITIVE VERBS AND *SAMA*

The coding of the arguments of three-place verbs presents some options not available in the main to two place verbs, and introduces the recipient/dative marker *sama*. Note that in Papuan Malay this is a marker distinct from the also-existent *untuk*; *untuk* is used solely to mark beneficiaries and purposes, and cannot be used for recipients or the Ps of certain low-transitive predicates (see below).

A typical three-place predicate has the form shown below:

(119) *De=kasi uang sama kita.*
'He gave the money to me.'

There is no analogy of 'dative-shift' in Papuan Malay (or, indeed, in other varieties of Malay with which I am familiar)

(120) * *De=kasi kita uang*

Papuan Malay does, however, have an alternative coding strategy, using a serial verb construction in which the theme is the P of the verb *ambe(l)* 'get', and the P of *kasi* is the recipient:

(121)   *De=ambe uang kasi saya.*
        'She gave me the money.'

The preposition *sama* is also used as a dative case marker with certain other verbs, such as the following:

(122)   *Kita minta terima kasi sama Tuhan.*
        'I thank God.'

(123)   *Dong senang sama saya.*
        'They're happy with me.'

In some of these cases it can be replaced with *dengan*, in some cases not; certainly *sama* serving to mark a recipient may not be substituted for by *dengan*:

(124)   *Dong senang dengan saya.*
        'They're happy with me.'

(125)   * *saya minta dengan dia*

(126)   * *saya kasi uang dengan dia*

7   Tense, aspect and modality

A different set of modal verbs are used in Papuan Malay than in Standard Indonesian. Prominent amongst these is the use of *taw* 'know' to indicate a habitual aspect,[7] *habis* 'finish'. These different modals are not mutually compatible. The following examples illustrate only some of the more common possibilities.

(127)   *Kitong taw makan sabeta sagu.*
        'We habitually eat sago grubs.'

(128)   *Dong Indonesia tra taw cari makan.*
        'Those Indonesians don't know how to look for food (in the bush).'

(129)   *De=bikin rumah habis.*
        'He finished building the house.'

(130)   *Dong=su=makan habis.*
        'They've already finished eating.'

The modal *musti* 'be bound to' is usually heard not with a clitic pronoun, but with a free pronoun. Unlike the cognate *mesti* in Standard Indonesian it is not necessarily used with any sense of control on the part of the subject, as in the following sentence.

(131)   *Kitong musti mati*
        '(As a result of sorcery,) we'd be bound to die.'

Habis is used following a main verb to indicate completive aspect:

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[7]   Similar in extension to Tok Pisin *save* 'know', which is also used as a marker of habituality.

(132) *Semua burung-burung itu mati habis.*
'All the birds were dead.'

(133) *De=beli mangga habis*
'He bought all the mangoes.'

A continuative is coded by the use of *ada* 'be, exist' before the main verb. Any subject clitic precedes this marker.

(134) *Sa=pu adi ada kulia di UNCEN.*
'My younger brother's studying at UNCEN.'

(135) *Sekarang angin besar ada tiup, jangan kitong pigi.*
'It's really blowing up a storm right now, we shouldn't go out.'

(136) *Tapi orang yang bisa urus-urus masi ada cari jalan toh, masi cari jalan.*
'But the people who can organise it are still trying to find a way, you know, to work out how to do it.'

There are also a number of morphological markers used for TAM distinctions. A sense of impending event is marked with the clitic *mo=* 'be going to, want to, will, shall'. Note that this is not necessarily a marker of any sort of volitionality on the part of the subject of the sentence, as the following extract from a text illustrates.

(137) *... sa=mo=panas itu, ...*
'and because I'll start getting hot, ...'

The perfective marker *telah* from formal (written) Indonesian is unknown in colloquial Papuan Malay, but Standard Indonesian *sudah* finds its counterpart in *suda* or the clitic *su=*. When the clitic form of the aspect marker is used, it appears between the subject marker and the verb root.

(138) *Dong=su=pigi.*
'They've already gone.'

(139) *Jang ganggu dia, de=su=tua.*
'Don't bother him, he's already old.'

The clitic form of the aspect marker is only possible on verbs and adjectives; other lexical categories take the full *suda*.

(140) *De=suda murid.*
'He's already a student.'

(141) * *de=su=murid*

For verbs and adjectives, the bare root may be used either in a stative or an inchoative sense, but for nouns the auxiliary *jadi* 'become' must be used in order for an inchoative sense to be grammatical. With *suda* or *su=* 'perfective' the most normal interpretation of a noun or adjective is as an inchoative predicator.

Stative or inchoative readings

(142) *Sa=pu bapa saki.*
'My father's sick.' / 'My father's getting sick.'

(143) *Sa=terkejut skali, tiba-tiba de=jato.*
'I was really surprised, suddenly he fell.'

(144) *Dong=jato di lao.*
'They started to fall into the sea.'

Non-stative readings

(145) *De=su=tidor*
'She's already fallen asleep.'

(146) *De=basar di kampong.*
'He grew up in the village.'

(147) *Selese sekola de=jadi guru.*
'When he finished school he became a teacher.'

Note that, with a nominal predicate, *jadi* must be used in order for the sentence to be grammatical. Compare the following sentence with (147).

(148) * *selese sekola, de=guru*

8 Negation

Negation in all clauses is expressed by the negator *tra / tará*. There is no distinction between the negation of a verbal and a non-verbal predicate, and there is not a Papuan Malay cognate of *bukan*. Interestingly, the use of *balom* 'not yet' is much less frequent than the use of *belum* in Standard Indonesian. While it is not normal in Standard Indonesian, for instance, to respond to a question about one's marital status with *Saya tidak kawin*, preferring *Belum kawin*, the Papuan Malay equivalent, *Sa=tará kawin*, is completely acceptable, and *Sa=balom kawin* is somewhat stilted.

Nominal negation

(149) *De=pu suami tara orang Papua.*
'Her husband isn't a Papuan.'

Verbal negation

(150) *Kitong tra jalan malam ini.*
'We're not going tonight.'

Furthermore, it is notable that negatives are more common in Papuan Malay than in Standard Indonesian. For instance, it is normal in Standard Indonesian to say *Dia pendek* 'She's short', and rather marked to make the same comment by uttering # *Dia tidak tinggi*. In Papuan Malay, on the other hand, both *De pendek* and *De tra tinggi* are acceptable and not especially marked with respect to each other. The negative for nominals, formed with *bukan*, is especially prominent.

(151) *Dong=lia kitong buka(n) manusia.*
'They look at us as if we're sub-human.'

The use of the negator as a predicate, rather than simply to negate a nominal predicate, is more common in Papuan Malay

(152)   *Ini KORKAR tidak, ini Belanda punya saja.*
        'Did the Indonesian government make this, no, the Dutch made this.'

(153)   *Sampe skarang ini, yang sampe skarang, KORKAR punya ini burum ada, burum
        ada bukti jalan mobil.*
        'Up to now, including the present day, there's nothing that the Indonesian
        government has made, they haven't made any roads.'

The marking of negation with an intentional predicate that in the positive would be
marked by *mo=* is suppletive. Although the incipient prefix *mo=* is found on verbs in positive
sentences denoting intention or desire (translations of 'will' or 'want'), in the negative there is
a separate negative intention verb, *taramaw*. This verb is stressed on the first syllable,
whereas the negative *tará* is stressed on the second syllable. Also, the final syllable of this
putative compound it consistently heard with a diphthong [aw], never [mɔ], as shown in the
following sentences.

(154)   *De=mo=jalan.*
        'He wants to go.'

(155)   * *de=tra mo=jalan*

(156)   *De=taramaw jalan.*
        'He doesn't want to go.'

These points of evidence strongly suggest that *taramaw* is a separate, suppletive, lexical
entry for 'not want', rather than being a productively formed compound.

9   Non-declarative sentences

The syntactic patterns of Papuan Malay are quite divergent to those of Standard Indonesian,
and show strong influence from New Guinea areal patterns which must have been substratal
to at least early forms of the language. In particular, we can note that there is considerable,
and unavoidable, use of serial verb constructions in Papuan Malay, where there are nearly
absent in Standard Indonesian, and the discourse style that matches that found in New Guinea
area languages, including stylistic repetition and head-tail linkages. These will be discussed in
at least outline form in this section.

9.1   QUESTIONS

Questions are formed with the same structure as normal sentences, with only the presence of
an question word, or a question intonation, distinguishing questions from statements.

(157)   *Ko=pu kulia bagaimana kabar?*
        'How's your study going?'

(158)   *De=su=sampe di mana?*
        'Where's he come to (now)?'

9.2   IMPERATIVE

Imperatives are mainly formed with the simple unmarked verb, and most usually with a
subject clitic:

(159) *Ko=kamari!*
       'You, come here!'

(160) *# Kamari!*

The verb 'go' has, in the reduced form *pi=*, grammaticalised away from it's motion sense and become an adhortatory marker, as in

(161) *Ko=pi=makan!*
       'Come on, eat something!'

9.3 TAGS

The tag *=ka* or *=kan* is used pretty much as in Standard Indonesian, roughly translatable as 'isn't it' or 'you know'. It is not used as a question marker in Papuan Malay.

(162) *Itu Sentani ka.*
       'That's Sentani, you know.'

10 Clause linkage

Some aspects of clause linkage differ from their Standard Indonesian norms. The conjunctions, such as *dan, dengan, terus, baru, (te)tapi* from Standard Indonesian are used in much the same way as in Standard Indonesian, albeit with often divergent pronunciations. Only the differences that characterise Papuan Malay are described here.

10.1 REPETITION

The strategy of head-tail linkage, widely reported in languages of the New Guinea area (Longacre 1972, 1985) is prevalent in Papuan Malay as well. Other forms of repetition are stylistic, similar to the use of parallelisms that is better reported further west in Indonesia. The following extracts show this feature. In the first example, the second clause is a parallel of the first, with the same content and only slightly different coding.

(163) *Dong=terima deng bai. Dong=terima macam bai.*
       'They welcome us nicely, they welcome us well.'

This next example shows an example of classic head-tail linkage. The end of the first sentence encodes the mountain as goal, and the start of the following sentence repeats this goal, albeit in a different structure. The same pattern is found in the second example below.

(164) *Dong=jalan jalan jalan, pi gunung. Sampe di gunung, dong=su=capek, taramaw jalan lai.*
       'They went, and went and went, and got to the mountain. When they got to the mountain they were tired, and didn't want to continue.'

(165) *Dong=nae jalan pi sampe di pondok. Sampe di pondok dong=duduk isterihat.*
       Selese isterihat dong ambe barang pikul ba=pulang di kampong.
       'They follow the road to the hut. Arriving at the hut they sit down and rest. After resting they take their things and carry them back to the village.'

In the next example there is no goal element coded, but simply the repetition of the last predicate. The notation [/] marks a rising intonation in the previous clause, showing that the

head of the second clause, that element which repeats the previous 'tail', is set off prosodically from the rest of its sentence.

(166) *Amerika pulang* [/], *eh, UN yang pegang. UN pegang* [/], *sekarang Indonesia masuk. Itu saya lihat deng mata itu.*
'So America left (to go) back home, and the UN took over. After the UN took over, well, now Indonesia's here. This I have seen with my own eyes.'

This prosodic marker is proof that the head-tail linkage pattern is not simply a disfluency, with the speaker stuttering or repeating the last element of the previous clause as a 'filler'.

Many examples of clause linkage in natural textual material can be found in the texts included at the end of this description.

10.2 CONJUNCTIONS

The conjoining of clauses follows different patterns to those seen in Standard Indonesian. A lot of clauses are conjoined by simple apposition, with no overt conjunctions. This is a pattern found in many varieties of local Malay, and so is not unique to Papuan Malay; one example is shown below:

(167) *Ambil hasil itu saya suda habis ya* [clap] *kapur, suda hilang Artinya de=pu uang su=habis, de=su=hilang.*
'They'l take the produce, and when I'm finished, well, [clap], like, they'll be gone. I mean their money'll be finished, they'll take off .'

10.2.1 Use of *jadi*

Jadi, which functions as an inchoative marker (see 7), is also used to conjoin clauses with the same semantics as the Standard Indonesian counterpart, though the syntax is quite different. *Jadi* can be used with the same position as Standard Indonesian:

(168) *Dong=su=datang, jadi papeda musti siap.*
'They'd already arrived, so the sago jelly had to be ready.'

It is more common, however, to find *jadi* as a sentence-final particle, indicating the reason for the sentence.

(169) *Sa=tra=ikot. Sa=capek jadi.*
'I'm not coming along. It's 'cos I'm tired.'

(170) *Sa=tra=rajin jadi.*
'It's just that I don't work very hard.'

(171) *Jadi skarang torang=bilang,* [click], *kita harus minta itu orang asing.*
'So now we're saying, yeah, we've got to ask foreigners about it.'

Clearly there is an assumed prior proposition: sentence (170) could not be uttered without some discussion of work that needs to be done.

A second use of *jadi* is as a new topic marker, often in conjunction with *itu* (see below).

(172) **Jadi** *orang rambut lurus, biasa tara=taw jalan.*
'So the Indonesians, they don't usually know how to walk (in the jungle).'

(173) **Jadi** *Belanda datang itu, saya masih mudah.*
'So when the Dutch arrived, I was still young.'

10.2.2 Use of *baru*

Baru is used as a conjunction with clauses in connected speech, somewhat similar to *lalu* in varieties of Indonesian further west.

As noted by De Vries (1989), there is a contrastive use of *baru* in some varieties of Papuan Malay, to indicate switch reference. While De Vries discusses certain varieties of South Papuan Malay, the same comments apply to many northern varieties as well. We can identify the following common means of coordinating clauses.

The use of *baru* in Papuan Malay is similar to the serialising use of *na* in Tok Pisin (Verhaar xxxx), and is illustrated in the example below.

(174)   *Kalo dari Wusku ke Senggi baru ada jalan mobil.*
        'Now from Usku to Senggi, that's where there's a verhicle road.'

10.2.3 Use of *trus*

The connective *trus*, sometimes reduced to *tus*, is a commonly used connective when there is same subject coreference condition between clauses, and some, but not much, time has elapsed between the events in the two clauses.

(175)   *De=selesé sekola. Trus, de=mo=cari uang di kota jadi, su=pinda dari sini.*
        'He finished school. Then, because he wanted to make some money, he moved away from here.'

10.2.4 Use of *itu*

The erstwhile demonstrative *itu* is used as both a conjunction showing reason, and as a topic marker. The topic marking use can be seen in the following extracts.

(176)   *Jadi, dorang **itu**,   mama dulu **itu**,   kurang   biasa   perang,*
        so   3PL   that   1SG before that   lacking used.to war

        *tapi dong=prang   **itu** yang   diam-diam.*
        but   3PL=fight.war   that   which silent-RED
        'So, that mob, when I was young, they didn't used to fight, but they waged a war that was stealthy.'

(177)   *Daera **itu** ular jahat-jahat saja.*
        '(In) that area, the snakes are really bad.'

Each use of *itu* in the texts above shows a topic; the first one establishes them (a neighbouring village) as the main topic, the next line establishes the time ('when I was young'), and in the last line returns to the reintroduced (and global in the text) topic, wars and fighting, and presents contrastive topic status for the predicate to build on.

Another use of local topics marked by *itu* can be seen in the following extract from a different text, in which the predicate (*baha'a Skou*) is a comment on the narrowing focus of the topic constructions that set the scene for its scope.

(178)   *A Nyao **itu** logat **itu** ya baha'a Skou ya, ...*
        'And Nyao, their accent, well, it's the Skou language isn't it ...'

A further pair of examples are shown below. In each of these the first appearance of *itu* is as a demonstrative, and the second, pre-pausal, *itu* is a topic marker (shown in bold).

(179) *Itu sa=pu kaka itu, ular gigit juga.*
       'And like that my brother, a snake bit him.'

(180) *Itu tadi saya ceritera itu, ...*
       'What I said earlier, ...'

The use of *itu* as a conjunction can be seen in the following extract:

(181) *Ular gigi dia itu, dong=panggil manteri datang.*
       'Because he'd been bitten by the snake they called to aid worker to come.'

A fourth use of *itu* is as a discourse tag, as can be seen in this description of the inhabitants of a neighbouring village. The first use of *itu* is a demonstrative on *orang itu*, the second is a discourse tag, quite likely an extended sense of the conjunction use just demonstrated.

(182) *Dong suda tidak ada, apa, bia senang ka atau apa, dong orang gigit ka, jadi dong
       lia orang itu, tidak senang itu.*
       'They're just not really all there, I mean, are they happy or what, have they
       been really annoyed?, anyway they look sort of like that, not happy
       y'know?'

(183) *... kalo waktu Papúa itu, dong=bom kiri-kanan. Kita Irian mungkin tará hidup
       begini, habis.*
       '... and if we get independence, they'll just blow everything up. We Irianese
       probably won't be able to live like this, it'll all be over.'

Sometimes there are two occurrences of *itu* in the one clause, one initially and one marking the conclusion of the topic, showing a clitic equivalent of circumfixal behaviour. The following textual examples show the recurrence of *itu* at both the beginning and the end of the NP.

(184) *Itu baru gigit itu mati.*
       'They, as soon as they bite (you), (you) die.'

(185) *Itu sa=pu kaka itu, ular gigit juga.*
       'And my brother, a snake bit him.'

Itu is also commonly used as an agreeing response to a proposition, similar to the use of *em (nau)* in Tok Pisin:

(Talking about the steps to take to invite a logging company into the area)

(186) a. *Alasan mereka kita minta perusahan satu, ko=ambil kayu sudah, tapi harus
           ko-bikin sa=punya jalan itu.*
           'The plan is we'll ask a company, "You can take the wood, but you've
           got to build a road for us first."

       i. *Tapi harus hati-hati dengan itu. Biasa, kalo perusahan kayu bikin jalan,
           dong=bikin, tapi tidak bikin bai*
           'But you've got to be careful with that. Usually, if a logging company
           builds a road, they build it, but they don't build it well.'

b. *Ya itu*
   'Right.'

ii. *Artinya tidak sampai aspal, ...*
    'I mean, they don't pave it, ...'

c. *Ya itu.*
   'Right.'

This same usage can be seen in the following

(187) a. *Karna, memang betul itu, betul* [/] *sikali. Karna kami suda ...* menilei ... *politik-politik Indonesia.*
   "'Cos, that's true, that's the truth. 'Cos we've already ... evaluated' the Indonesian political situation.'

   i. *Itu, itu.*
      'Right, right.'

b. *Kami suda menilei politik-politil Indonesia. Mereka tipu alasan, bikin tipu masyarakat* [/], *ambil hasil* [/] *tapi tidak peratikan masarakat.*
   'We've already evaluated the Indonesian political situation. They fool (us) with their methods, they confuse the people, they take the produce but they don't '

   ii. *Artinya tidak sampai aspal, ...*
       'I mean, they don't pave it, ...'

   c. *Ya itu.*
      'Right.'

10.2.5 The use of *kalo*

Kalo, clearly related to 'if' in Standard Indonesian, and still serving in that function, has also acquired a topic-marking function, a feature that it shares with many varieties of eastern Malay. The more predictable meaning of 'when' is shown in the sentence below:

(188) *Kalo su=malam, jangan dia jalan sandiri.*
   'If it gets dark, don't let her walk (home) on her own.'

In addition there is another use of *kalo* to mark contrastive focus, shown in the following example (and in the texts).

(189) *Kalo=sa, muda-mudahan tawn ini sa=bisa selese.*
   'As for me, with any luck I'll finish this year.'

   (note that the clitic form of the 1SG pronoun is here used as an enclitic, not at a proclitic. Full pronominal use is also acceptable)

Some other uses of *kalo* can be found in the texts.

10.2 TOPICS

A major information-structure difference between Papuan Malay and Standard Indonesian is that, like other languages of the New Guinea region, Papuan Malay is a topic-prominent language. The following extract from a conversation is completely natural Papuan Malay, but stilted Standard Indonesian. The main deviation from Standard Indonesian forms lies in the

elaboration of the new topic in the third line, in which the new person is introduced gradually over the course of several phrases.

(190)   *Jadi tadi itu, say=ini suda mo=jalan.*
'So, earlier on, I was going to leave.'

      Jalan, sa=jalan, sampe sa=jalan sampe di pertigaan.
'I went, so I went, up to, I went up to the cross-roads.'

      *Sampe di pertigaan, sa=liat **orang itu, orang berdiri itu, orang berdiri di tempat.***
'Up at the cross-roads, I saw someone, someone standing, someone standing there (at the cross-roads).'

      ***Orang itu,** sa=dekat **dia,** sa=tanya, De=pu=nama sapa. Tus, ...*
'And that person, I came up to him, and I asked him what his name was. Then, ...'

The following extract also shows the preference for establishing a topic first, and then discussing it:

(191)   *supaya **di rumah itu** nanti sa=pele, a barang nanti sa=taru samua **di dalam itu.***
'so that in the hut there I can just leave everything about, all the things that I'll put in there, ...'

In the following we can also see that the topic is, in each case, slowly established. Firstly the women are introduced as a pair marked by the topic marker itu. Having been established as a topic we then re-establish a smaller topic based on their names, and then actually present the names of each of them, and then the topic shifts to them as a pair. In the second line we pan out again to the two of them, shown by the use of itu once more, and the as comment mention their joint husband. This man is then the topic of the following clause.

(192)   a. *Apa, **dua perempuan itu,** dong=pu=nama, satu, satu perempuan nama, ah, Túe. Satu Háue.*
'Whatsit, there were two women, and their names, one of them, one of the women's names, was, uh, Túe. And (the other) one was Háue.'

      b. *Dorang dua **itu,** eh, tinggal satu laki-laki. Dorang punya suami **itu** satu.*
'And those two, um, they lived with a man. Their husband was one (and the same).'

      c. *Dongdua tinggal, ...*
'So the two of them lived (there) , ...'

1   Vocabulary

As with all local varieties of Malay / Indonesian, there are a number of lexical items that are found in Papuan Malay, but not in Standard Indonesian. I shall list a number of the more salient of these here. By doing so I do not claim that they are necessarily unique to Irian Malay – *kelemarin* 'yesterday', for instance, is attested in northern Maluku and northern Sulawesi, presumably a spread from Menado Malay. In some cases lexical items are shared by Standard Indonesian and Papuan Malay, but are used in specialised senses in Papuan Malay that are not found in Standard Indonesian. Some of these specialised uses are found in other varieties of non-standard Malay, though this is in some cases beyond the experience of the present writer. Other lexical extensions seem to be more particular to the New Guinean

situation, as can be judged by expressions and semantic ranges found in other languages of the area, both indigenous and introduced (eg., Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea).

naik 'climb, travel by (vehicle)' → 'travel by (path)'

(193) *Sa=t(a)ra=pi kota naik praw, sa=mo=naik darat.*
'I'm not going to Jayapura by canoe, I'm going by land.'

gigit 'bite' → 'bother, annoy'

(194) *Dong orang gigit ka*
'Are they being annoyed by someone?'

kemari 'kemari' → 'bitter'

(195) *Ayo, ko=datang kemari!*
'Hey, come here, you.'

kedarat 'to the land' → 'away from settlement'

(196) *Bapa adi su=pi kedarat buru babi*
'My uncle has gone to the bush to hunt pigs.'

ba(wa) 'carry' → 'get, take'

(197) *Buku itu kelemarin de=ba(wa)=datang*
'He brought the book yesterday.'

taru tangan   'place a hand' → 'hit with hand, slap'

(198) *Ana nakal bagitu kita musti taru tangan*
'If you keep on misbehaving like that I'll have to slap you.'

cari jalan   'search for a road' → 'walk round (looking for something)'

(199) *Dong pi buru babi, dong pi hutan, dong cari jalan sampe ada bekas, tus …*
'When they go out hunting for pigs, they go to the forest, and they walk about searching until they find some traces, and then …'

táralaku   'not happen' → 'not good, not acceptable'

(200) *Dong=pu ruma taralaku.*
'Their house is just no good (at all).'

samua   'all' → 'at all(Standard Indonesian *sama sekali*)'

(201) *Kitong tarada pana samua.*
'We don't have any arrows at all.'

Other forms:

Papuan Malay	Other Malay	Standard Indonesian	Papuan Malay sense
noa	< nyawa	*pari manta*	'manta ray'
toruga	< tataruga	*kore-kore laut*	'turtle'
bobatu			'poison fish'
ka(i)tu			'contrary to hopes'
menetas		*tetes*	'lay (eggs)'

(202) Ini ceritera bagus kaita, sa=su=lupa ini.
'This is a good story, but I've forgotten it.'

11.1 KINSHIP

The salience of the distinction between Mother's Brother and Father's Brother probably reflects the wide-spread cultural importance of a man's mother's brother in rites of passage, and this is reflected in the distinction between these two kinship terms in Papuan Malay. This set of distinctions is paralleled in the terminology used for parent's sister, but the rest of the kin terms are unremarkable.

bapa	father
mama	mother
bapa tua	father's elder brother, father's elder sister's husband
bapa adi	father's younger brother, father's younger sister's husband
om	mother's brother
mama tua	mother's elder sister, mother's elder brother's wife
mama adi	mother's younger sister, mother's younger brother's wife
tanta	father's sister
tete	grandfather
nene	grandmother
cucu	grandchild
cici	great-grandchild
ana	child
maitua	parent-in-law

Appendix: some representative texts

The following texts illustrate North-west Papuan Malay, as spoken by people of different backgrounds, but all of whom have resided in the Abepura area for an extensive time, and not had overly much day-to-day contact with official Indonesian. In some cases there is a fair bit of quite overt code-switching between Papuan Malay and Standard Indonesian.

1. World War II

Note that this speaker has a consistent [s] for /c/ in Standard Indonesian. In thi stext he changes registers, slipping from Papuan Malay to Standard Indonesian and back again.

(1) *Waktu itu sa=pung mama itu, blum dapat kami juga, prang itu, prang dunia kedua,*
'Back then, my mum, before she had us, in the war, in the Second World War, ...'

(2) *Sa=pu mama itu masi cewe.*
'My mum was still unmarried.'

(3) *Ah, itu yang saya punya mama dulu dia serita.*
'And, this is what my mum used to tell us.'

(4) *Kita su=jadi baru de=serita tadi.*
'When we had been born, then she'd tell us before.'

(5) *De= – adu, waktu saya=tu su=bujang-bujang bagitu saya lari-lari saja, pesawat itu datang.*
'She('d say), alas, "When I was still unmarried I'd just run away, when a plane came by."

(6) *Tapi mereka dong=tra=bisa tembak sembarang [/], dong=suda lihat "Oh, ini masarakat".*
"But they wouldn't just shoot for no reason, they'd see (us) and realise "Oh, these are native people."

(7) *Oh, ini sudah, dong=melawan hantam bom, sekarang macam ...*
"Oh, here they are (the enemy), they face them and crush them with bombs, not it's like, ...'

(8) *Oh [/], dulu orang tua-tua=tu dong=sarita bagitu.*
'Oh the old people used to tell tales like that.'

(9) *Waktu dong=prang, waktu Papua ini, kalo dong= tembak atau ...*
'When they were fighting, when they were here in Papua, if they shot, or ...'

(10) *sembarang tap tara bisa,*
'just all over the place, but they wouldn't, ...'

(11) *Kalo waktu itu dong=bom kiri-kanan. Kita Irian mungking tara hidup bagini.*
''cos then, if they just bombed all over the place. We Irianese probably wouldn't be here any more.'

(12) *Habis. Kita habis dulu, prang dunia kedua itu habis.*
'All gone. We'd have all been killed, in the second world war we'd've been wiped out.'

(13) *Karna mereka dong=su=perhati - "O, ini kasi rayat, ah, ini suda yang kita cari, wa!,*[clap] *buang situ, itu sudah.*
'But because they watched out for us, "Oh, these are poor natives, ah, those are the ones we're looking for, Pow!, drop them there, it's all over.'

(14) *Sampei, Indonesia masuk. Itu orang tua kami dulu itu dong=suda serita itu sampei itu mereka itu suda hati-hati.*
'Up until, the Indonesians came. That's what our old people would tell, up until then, they were really careful.'

(15) *Sekarang kita dudu, pikir ini saja, masarakat. Dulu orang hidup serikaya, aduh.*
'Now we just sit, and think about it, we native people. The life before, it was milk and honey, alas.'

2. Kebun / Gardening

(1) *Itu tadi saya omong itu,*
'What I was saying before, ...'

(2) *Saya tadi bikin asal gosok parang, untuk say=mau pergi, ke kebun.*
'What I was doing before, was sharpening my machete, because I'm going to go to my gardens.'

(3) *supaya, sa=mo=potong atap itu, itu saya, karna atap kan jauh sekali, daun itu, jauh.*
'In order to, I want to cut some roofing, that's 'cos I, because that roofings far off, the leaves (for the roof), they're far, ...'

(4) *jadi sa=naik, harus potong di gunung karna nanti turun lagi itu*
'so I go up, I have to cut (the leaves) on the mountain, and then later I'll come back down again, ...'

(5) *tapi sa=ikot jalan pinggir lagi, pinggir pinggir hampir trus pasti ujung kanan*
'but I follow a road round the side of the mountain, right around the side, anticlockwise, ...'

(6) *sa=mo=panas itu, yang sa=mo=tutup atap, supaya saya katu kerja, suda panas sa=bisa isterihat situ.*
'and because I'll start getting hot, so, that roof that I'm going to make, so I can have a rest in my work, because it'll be already hot I'll be able to rest there.'

(7) *Trus alat-alat yang saya kerja itu juga, bisa taruh di dalam rumah jadi.*
'So then the tools that I've been working with, too, I can leave them in the hut, ...'

(8) *Supaya dari sini pergi juga suda ambil itu saja bisa kerja*
'So then, if I'm going from here,I've already got them, and I can work ...'

(9) *karna ke- sa=biasa bawa-bawa pulang di rumah jadi*
''cos going to – I can take (the things) back to the hut , ...'

(10) *supaya di rumah itu nanti sa=pele, a barang nanti sa=taru samua di dalam itu.*
'so in the hut there I can just leave everything about, all the things that I'll put in there, ...'

(11) *supaya dari sini pergi, itu suda barang-barang semua ada di atas, di ruma itu jadi*
'so that, going from here, well, all my things will already be up above, in the hut up there, ...'

(12) *nanti sa=pergi hany sa=mo=kerja saja*
'and then I can just go, when I want to work, ...'

(13) *karna saya dari sini banyak saya bawa barang-barang parang banyak, a mmm.*
'because I, when I go from here, I (have) to take a lot of things, my machetes, and stuff.'

3. Sagu / Sago

Sago processing is at the heart of most New Guinean lowland societies. In this text a strongly marked rising intonation is shown by a / at the end of the intonation unit that displays it. We can see that there is a strong correlation between the use of this intonation pattern and the use of a tail-head linkage strategy, in which at least some of the preceding clause is repeated after the rising intonation contour, as in, for instance, lines (5) - (6) and (24) - (25).

(1) *Ya, ja-, tadi saya omong itu, /*
'Yes, so-, what I was saying just then, ...'

(2) *kami biasa dari kampong itu,*
'we normally (go) from the village, ...'

(3) *nanti kam=mo=pegi ke dusun,　/*
'then we go to the sago stands, …'

(4) *tus nanti kita lihat sagunya kalo sudah tinggi kita tebang,　/*
'then I look for a sago (tree) that already fully grown, and I'll chop it down,
…'

(5) *trus kita buka dia punya pelepa itu,　/*
'then I'll open its bark.'

(6) *Pelepa itu hambil untuk,*
'That bark, (we) take it for, …'

(7) *satu itu untuk kita ramas ke situ.*
'one of them, I'll squeeze (the sago) into it.'

(8) *Nanti saya punya di situ*
'Later that's mine there, …'

(9) *yang satu itu kita kasi agak dulu sedikit*
'and one I work that one first, …'

(10) *itu untuk ampas.*
'that's for the flour.

(11) *Ampasnya kita taru situ baru nanti*
'The (one for the) flour, I'll put that down below, and then, …'

(12) *siram air　/*
'pour in the water, …'

(13) *kita ramas di sini*
'I rinse it (up) here, …'

(14) *baru nanti, siram air, kita ramas di sini*
'and then some more, rinsing (it with) water up here, …'

(15) *baru nanti sagu deng ampas*
'and then later the sago, the flour of it, …'

(16) *dan de santan lihat turun ke situ.*
'and the sago milk, we see it pour down there, …'

(17) *artinya, hampai,　/*
'I mean, (we go on like this) until, …'

(18) *dia suda, sagu suda banyak　/*
'it's already, there's a lot of sago, …'

(19) *sudah ampas lagi suda habis*
'(there's) already (lots of) flour, it's all used up.'

(20) *Nanti kami ambil sagunya*
'Then we take the sago, …'

(21) *nanti kita baw-pulang*
'and I'll carry it back to the village, …'

(22) *Otu suda.*
'That's it.'

(23) *Nanti kita kasi kering.*
'Then we dry it, ...'

(24) *kasi kering,* /
'dry it, ...'

(25) *tus kita patah-patah*
'and then we split it up, ...'

(26) *tapi tara usa makan sendiri*
'But you shouldn't eat it on your own.'

(27) *Kalo kita di sana.*
'If I'm there (in the village), ...'

(28) *harus musti patah-patah*
'(I) have to divide it up, ...'

(29) *atau ada saudara ka,*
'or if I've got some siblings, ...'

(30) *ada kaka,*
'or if my elder brother's there, ...'

(31) *kita harus bagi-bagi,* /
'I've got to share it out, ...'

(32) *langsung kita makan.*
'and then I (can) eat (it).'

4.   Ilmu / Sorcery

This tale tells of the way in inland group used to feign friendship in order to obtain the materials necessary for sorcery.

(1) *Jadi,*
'So, ...'

(2) *dorang itu,*
'that mob, ...'

(3) *mama dulu itu,*
'when I was young, ...'

(4) *kurang biasa perang,*
'they weren't used to waging real wars, ...'

(5) *tapi dong prang itu yang diam-diam.*
'but they'd fight in secret.'

(6) *Kita dudu sama-sama,*
'We'd sit together, ...'

(7) *trus,*
'and then, ...'

(8) *kas-ampas-ampas ambe roko,*
'we'd share papers, or take tobacco, …'

(9) *atau ampas roko ka,*
'or the butts of cigarettes, …'

(10) *ampas pinã ka,*
'or the discards of betelnut (we'd chewn), …'

(11) *ampas-ampas yang kitong buang,*
'the rubbish that we'd throw away, …'

(12) *garam,*
'or salt, …'

(13) *suda lembo begitu,*
'something that had been thrown away like that, …'

(14) *è,*
'well, …'

(15) *musti mati.*
'then we were bound to die.'

5. Nyao

(1) *Sa=pergi, baru-baru sa=punya ana pergi.*
'I went, just recently my sone went there.'

(2) *Ah, Nyao itu logat itu ya baha'a Skou ya.*
'And Nyao, their accent, well, it's the Skou language isn't it …'

(3) *Abe; dong=kerja yadi tinggal deng saya di situ.*
'In Abepura, some of) them work there, so they stay with me there.'

(4) *Jadi sa=punya nenek pigi dong=terima yengan bai.*
'So my grandmother went (there), and they welcomed her heartily.'

(5) *Tru dong=kasi barang-barang de=bawa pulang.*
'They gave her presents which she took back home.'

(6) *Dong=kenal deng saya.*
'They know me.'

6. Skou lands

(1) *Dari Tangjung Tangwáto sampe di, Skou Yambe, pante itu te Laya punya.*
'From Tangwato to, uh, Skou Yambe, that beach is the Laya's.'

(2) *Dari Skou Yambe kampung itu sampe di Skou Mabo, itu Skou Mabo punya.*
'From the village at Skou Yambe to, to Skou Mabo, that's Skou Mabo's.'

(3) *Dar Skou Mabo sampe di tenga-tenga pante, Nàho, Léli, itu Skou Mabo punya.*
'From Skou Mabo to half-way along the beach, Naho, Leli, that's Skou Mabo's.'

(4) *Dari Nàho sampe di, Tàmi, itu Skou Sai punya.*
'And from Naho up to the Tami River, that's Skou Sai's.'

7. Exchange

(1) *Dong=sudah tidak ada, apa, bia senang ka ataw apa, dong orang gigit ka, jadi dong lia orang itu, tidak senang itu.*
'They're just not really all there, I mean, are they happy or what, have they been really annoyed?, anyway they look sort of like that, not happy y'know?.'

(2) *Tapi kalo, Te Máwo datang ke Skou Sai, Te Tángpe latang ke Skou Sai, dong terima deng bai.*
'But if, if Skou Mabos come to Skou Sai, if Skou Yambes come to Skou Sai, they receive us well.'

(3) *Dong terima macam bai. Itu baru kitorang baku kasi.*
'They receive us well. So like we exchange gifts.'

(4) *Ya begitu.*
'Like that.'

(5) *Jadi tidak begitu berkelahi.*
'So we don't fight amongst ourselves.'

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