Why do you clap so sparsely?
Single handclaps in Papuan Malay

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Abstract
This paper describes a particular form of gestures used by Papuan Malay speakers to achieve their discourse goals, namely single handclaps. They have discourse pragmatic function in that they accentuate or emphasize particular words or phrases, thus marking them as significant for the speaker’s discourse.

In analyzing this nonverbal communicative phenomenon, the attested handclap tokens are investigated in terms of their form, that is, their phonological and syntactic environment, as well as in terms of their function, that is, their discursive environment. Regarding their phonological environment, most handclaps are either embedded with the stressed syllable of their anchor points, or alternatively, precede or follow the lexemes they are anchored with. A minority of the tokens is embedded with an unstressed syllable of their anchor points. Most of the latter tokens can be explained in terms of their syntactic embedding.

Concerning their syntactic environment, two thirds of the handclaps occur in clause-initial or -final position. About one third of them occur in clause-internal position.

As for their discursive environment, half of the handclaps are either associated with discourse elements pertaining to the discourse organization or to the relations between propositions. Speakers also employ handclaps to underline reactions to propositions. Other contexts for the use of single handclaps are interaction management, attitude specification, and enumerations. About one quarter of the handclap tokens fits none of the above categories. These tokens highlight different discourse elements deemed pertinent by the speakers, namely pertinent referents, activities, states, or moments.

1. Introduction
This paper discusses single handclaps as co-speech gestures in Papuan Malay, an eastern Malay language; the ISO code is [pmy]. Papuan Malay is spoken in coastal West Papua, on the island of New Guinea, where it is the language of wider communication and the first or second language for an ever-increasing number of people in the area (1,100,000 to 1,200,000 speakers).

The discussion of single handclaps in Papuan Malay is based on a 16-hour corpus of narratives and spontaneous conversations between Papuan Malay speakers. The texts were recorded in the Sarmi area from a sample of about 60 different Papuan Malay speakers. Sarmi is located about 300 km west of Jayapura; both towns are located on the north-east coast of West Papua.

Generally speaking, gestures are body movements, mostly of the hands and arms, which are used as a means of expression; that is, they are “part of what a person meant to say” (Kendon 1997: 109–110). Moreover, as Wiesemann and Spielmann (2002: 32) point out, gestures serve to intensify “the speaker-hearer relationship”.

1 The author would like to thank Lenice Harms, Ray Stegeman, Lydia van den Berg, René van den Berg, and Brendon Yoder of SIL International for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.
2 This conservative population estimate is based on Kluge’s (2017: 37) assessment.
As co-speech phenomena, gestures form tightly bound units with the segments of speech they are synchronized with (McNeill 2005: 24). Based on their usage, origin and coding, Ekman and Friesen (1969) identify five categories of gestures:

- Emblems are conventionalized, culture-specific gestures “which have a direct verbal translation, or dictionary definition”, such as signs between a pilot and the landing crew (1969: 63).
- Illustrators are “movements which are directly tied to speech, serving to illustrate what is being said verbally” (1969: 68). They include batons, ideographs, deictic movements, spatial movements, kinetographs, and pictographs.
- Affect displays are movements which express “affect states”, such as happiness or fear (1969: 71).
- Regulators are “acts which maintain and regulate the back-and-forth nature of speaking and listening between two or more interactants”, such as head nods or eyebrow raises (1969: 82).
- Adaptors are movements that serve “to satisfy self or bodily needs, or to perform bodily actions, or to manage emotions, or to develop or maintain prototypic interpersonal contacts, or to learn instrumental activities”; an example is head-scratching (1969: 84).

The Papuan Malay single handclaps seem to be best classified as illustrators, in terms of Ekman and Friesen’s (1969) categories, as they are directly tied to speech. The attested single handclaps are movements where both hands come into contact with each other for a single clap. As shown throughout this paper, speakers employ them to accentuate pertinent elements of their speech utterances.

The phenomenon of single handclaps as co-speech gestures has not received much attention in linguistics so far, however. The only study known to the author is Muñoz’s (2014) analysis of “Hijra handclapping”. Muñoz identifies three distinct types of handclapping in the Hijra speech community of India. While Type I involves two successive handclaps, Types II and III consist of single handclaps. As for their functions, Muñoz (2014) notes that Type I handclaps are used in public for collecting money and recounting stories of conflict, while Type III handclaps always occur in conjunction with dancing, playing music, or singing. Type II handclaps are those that are used elsewhere, but Muñoz (2014) provides no further information concerning their discursive functions.

Given that the Papuan Malay single handclaps are directly tied to speech suggests, however, that speakers use them as illustrators. More specifically, the single handclaps most closely resemble ‘batons’ which are up and down or back and forth movements of the hand or fingers. Batons “have no independent meaning or connotation when viewed without hearing the words”; that is, they “tell no message, in the sense of conveying message content” (1969: 69). Instead they “time out, accent or emphasize a particular word or phrase” (1969: 68).

Designating these hand movements as ‘beats’ rather than as batons, McNeill (1992: 15) submits that

Beats reveal the speaker’s conception of the narrative discourse as a whole. The semiotic value of a beat lies in the fact that it indexes the word or phrase it accompanies as being significant, not for its own semantic content, but for its discourse pragmatic content.

Along similar lines, Papuan Malay single handclaps serve to accentuate or highlight particular words or phrases of the accompanying speech, as shown in (1). The single handclap is signified by two juxtaposed vertical lines “||”; the lexeme that anchors the single handclap is bolded; and the stressed syllable of the anchor point is marked with the acute accent which signals the slight increase in pitch. The utterance in (1) occurred during a conversation between a group of teenagers and their aunt after the group had returned from a trip to a neighboring district. The speaker relates that she did not like the village they were staying at, because there were ghosts. She relates how one participant got startled by a ghost with the consequence that her eyes became big begini ‘like this’. By embedding a single handclap with begini ‘like this’ the speaker further highlights how big the referent’s eyes became.
Accentuating function of Papuan Malay single handclaps

(1)
baru Magda pu mata ni besar begini
and.then Magda POSS eye D.PROX be.big like.this

[After having seen a ghost:] ‘and then Magda’s eyes here (got) big like this’

In all, the recorded Papuan Malay corpus contains 136 single handclap tokens. Of the about 60 different speakers contributing to the corpus, 19 speakers were recorded producing single handclaps. Most of them are speakers of Isirawa, a Tor-Kwerba language (15/19 – 79%), as the recordings were conducted in the family home of a pastor who belong to the Isirawa speech community. The vernacular languages of the remaining four speakers are the Austronesian language Ambon Malay, and the Papuan languages Samarokena, Sentani, and Vitou.3

Table 1 gives an overview of the recorded 19 speakers in terms of their gender and age groups. Seven speakers are males (37%) and 12 are females (63%). Age wise, the sample is divided into two groups: 11 adults in their thirties or older (11/19 – 58%), and eight young adults in their teens or twenties (8/19 – 42%).

The following sections describe the phonological, syntactic environment and discursive environment of the attested single handclap (SHC) tokens. With respect to their phonological environment, the SHC tokens are examined as to which position they take vis-à-vis the lexemes that serve as their anchor points (see §2). In terms of their syntactic environment, the SHC tokens are inspected regarding the positions of their anchor points within the clause (see §3). As for the discursive environment, the SHC tokens are investigated with respect to the discourse environment in which they occur (see §4).

2. Phonological embedding of SHC tokens

Phonologically, the attested 136 SHC tokens take different positions with respect to their anchor points, as shown in Table 2. The majority of them (73/136 – 54%) co-occur with the stressed syllable of their embedding lexemes. Another 30% (41/136) precede or follow their anchor points. A minority of SHC tokens (22/136 – 16%) is anchored with an unstressed syllable with their embedding lexemes.

The ISO codes for the five languages are as follows: Ambon Malay [abs], Isirawa [srl], Samarokena [tmj], Sentani [set], and Vitou [vto].

There is no evidence in the literature that SHC are also found in any of the five languages. Given, however, that SHC are, overall, understudied, it cannot be ruled out that SHC were borrowed from one of these languages. Furthermore, resources about Isirawa, Samarokena, Sentani, and Vitou are rather limited (see the OLAC – Open Language Archives Community resources on these languages at http://www.language-archives.org/). Hence, publications on the topic of SHC are unlikely even if they were to exist. It is noted, however, that Erickson (1981) in her ‘Pragmatic account of Isirawa narrations’ does not mention any handclaps, while she does mentions “hand motions to indicate size – or to reach out and twist an ear” (1981: 74).

The term “Papuan” is a collective label used for “the non-Austronesian languages spoken in New Guinea and archipelagos to the West and East”; that is, the term “does not refer to a superordinate category to which all the languages belong” Klamer et al. (: 107).
Table 2: Phonological embedding

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anchor points</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preceding or following embedding lexeme</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstressed syllable of embedding lexeme</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The embedding of the SHC tokens with the stressed syllable of their embedding lexemes is illustrated in (2) and (3).

Anchor point: Stressed syllable of the embedding lexeme

(2) baru sa pi ketemu sa pu siápa di sana?
and.then 1SG go meet 1SG POSS who at L.DIST
‘and then I’ll go (and) meet [whom of my (relatives) over there?’ [080921-009-Cv.0020]

(3) mungkin g dia mara pace nó
maybe 3SG feel.angry(.about) man D.PROX
‘maybe he felt angry, [this man’ (Lit. ‘man this]] [081014-016-Cv.0042]

The examples in (4) and (5) illustrate that the SHC tokens can also precede or follow their anchor points with an audible delay, respectively.

Anchor point: Preceding or following the embedding lexeme

(4) baru nanti de punya om itu pas mo bayar.
and.then very.soon 3SG POSS younger.uncle D.DIST be.exact want pay
bayar mas-kawing itu
pay bride.price D.DIST
‘but then, later his uncle definitely will || pay, (he’ll) pay that bride-price’ [081110-005-CvPr.0112]

(5) yo suda jang sa molo dalam air itu
yes already NEG.IMP 1SG dive inside water D.DIST
‘yes, well, I must not drown in that water ||’ (Lit. ‘in water that ||’) [080923-014-CvEx.0016]

The embedding of the SHC tokens with an unstressed syllable of their respective anchor points is demonstrated in (6) and (7). In (6), the handclap co-occurs with the unstressed, first syllable of the embedding lexeme kluarga ‘family’, while the stressed syllable is the penultimate one. Likewise, in (7) the handclap co-occurs with an unstressed syllable of its anchor point begini ‘like this’, namely the ultimate syllable. The stressed syllable, by contrast, is the penultimate one.

Anchor point: Unstressed syllable of the embedding lexeme

(6) jadi bapa tida mampu tinggal dengang sa punya kluárga banyak
so father NEG be.capable stay with 1SG POSS family many
‘so my husband doesn’t manage to live with my big ||family’ [081110-008-CvNP.0087]
baru Sefanya pu mata ni besar begini
and.then Sefanya POSS eye D.PROX be.big like.this
‘and then Sefanya’s eyes here (got) big like ||this’ [081025-006-Cv.0106]

In §3, the SHC tokens embedded with an unstressed syllable of their anchor points are examined in more detail to explore the reasons for this phonologically rather unexpected behavior. The findings suggest that most of these tokens can be explained in terms of their syntactic embedding.

3. Syntactic embedding of SHC tokens

Syntactically, the attested 136 SHC tokens take different positions vis-à-vis the clause. The vast majority of them are anchored with a clause, namely 119/136 tokens (87.5%). Of these, the majority are anchored at the clause boundary, that is 76/119 tokens (64%), while 43/119 SHC tokens (36%) are embedded clause-internally, as discussed in §3.1 and §3.2, respectively. The remaining 17/136 SHC tokens (12.5%) are anchored with extra-clausal constituents, as discussed in §3.3.

3.1. Syntactic embedding at the clause boundary

Of the 76 SHC tokens anchored at the clause boundary, slightly more than half (40/76 – 53%) occur in clause-initial position, while slightly less than half (36/76 – 47%) occur in clause-final position.

Table 3 gives an overview of the anchor points in clause-initial and clause-final positions. Clause-initially, half of the SHC tokens are anchored with the stressed syllable of the clause-initial lexeme (18/36 – 50%). Slightly fewer tokens precede their anchor points with an audible delay (16/36 – 44%). The remaining two SHC tokens (6%) are anchored with an unstressed syllable of the embedding clause-initial lexeme.

A similar picture emerges for SHC tokens in clause-final position. In this position, a majority of tokens (16/40 – 40%) are anchored with the stressed syllable of the clause-final lexeme. Fewer tokens follow their anchor points with an audible delay, namely 13/40 (33%). The remaining 11 tokens (28%) are anchored with an unstressed syllable of the embedding clause-final lexeme.

Table 3: Syntactic embedding at the clause boundary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anchor points at clause boundary</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clause-initial position</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preceding embedding lexeme</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstressed syllable of embedding lexeme</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clause-final position</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following embedding lexeme</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstressed syllable of embedding lexeme</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Embedding of SHC tokens in clause-initial or clause-final position is illustrated and discussed in more detail in §3.1.1 and §3.1.2, respectively.

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4 The percentages in Table 3 are rounded; hence, they do not always add up to 100%.
3.1.1. **Syntactic embedding in clause-initial position**

The embedding of SHC tokens in clause-initial position is illustrated in (8) to (14).

Clause-initial SHC tokens which precede their anchor points with an audible delay are presented in (8) and (9). In (8), the clause-initial lexeme is a pronoun, whereas it is a noun in (9).

Clause-initial anchor point: Preceding the embedding lexeme

(8) dalam nama Yesus, skarang jang, ko jang pukul–pukul lagi,
inside name Jesus now NEG.IMP 2SG NEG.IMP RDP–hit again

||

kó datang untuk pukulang ka?
2SG come for stroke or

‘in the name of Jesus, now don’t, don’t you continue hitting, || you came (here) for hitting, or (what)?’ [081115-001a-Cv.0086]

(9) \[LŃG pu terpol itu tinggal\]
liquefied.natural.gas POSS container D.DIST stay

[About the need to buy gasoline:] ‘[that jerry can,] that || metal jerry can stays behind’ (Lit. ‘|| LNG’s container that’) [081110-002-Cv.0071/0075]

SHC tokens anchored with the stressed syllable of their respective embedding clause-initial lexemes are presented in (10) to (12). All attested 18 tokens have penultimate stress which corresponds to the typical Papuan Malay stress pattern (see Kluge 2017: 96–98). In (10), the embedding lexeme is the distal demonstrative, in (11) an adverb, and in (12) a pronoun. The example in (12) also illustrates that in relative clauses, the clause-initial SHC is not embedded with the relativizer yang ‘REL’ but with the first lexeme of the actual clause.

Clause-initial anchor point: Stressed syllable of the embedding lexeme

(10) \[… liat secara mimpi itu, itu sa punya talenta\]
see a.way dream.(of) D.DIST D.DIST 1SG POSS gift

‘(and visions also,) really seeing something in the manner of dreaming, || that’s my gift’ [081006-034-CvEx.0061]

(11) \[… gara-gara bapa meninggal saja, antára yang laing bilang, …\]
because father die just between REL be.different say

‘[it got to the point that they wanted to wage war] because (my) father had simply died, || among the others (there were those who) said, … [081011-022-Cv.0068-0072]

(12) \[ini, klapa yang dúng bawa ini, kam dua tanam\]
D.PROX coconut REL 3PL bring D.PROX 2PL two plant

‘this, this coconut that || they brought, you two plant (it)’ [081110-005-CvPr.0118]

In addition, the corpus includes two SHC tokens in clause-initial position, presented in (13) and (14), which are not anchored with the stressed syllable of the embedding clause-initial lexeme. Deviating from the typical Papuan Malay stress pattern, both lexemes have ultimate stress. The SHC tokens, by contrast, are still anchored with the typical penultimate, but in this case unstressed, syllables, of their embedding clause-initial lexemes. That is, while the speakers produced the anchor points with the typical ultimate stress patterns, they failed to synchronize the placement of their SHC tokens with the non-canonical stress pattern of these lexemes. (For more details on the pervasiveness of the penultimate stress pattern see Kluge 2017: 96–98.)
Clause-initial anchor point: Unstressed syllable of the embedding lexeme

(13) 
| sa bilang, tempá̄t itu paling rawang |
| 1SG say place D.DIST most be.haunted |

‘I said, ’that place is most haunted’ ([Lit. ’that place’]) [081025-006-Cv.0292]

following one. In both cases the embedding lexemes are trisyllabic, namely tempá̄t ‘place’ in (13) and karna ‘because’ in (14). The remaining 3/18 tokens anchor with monosyllabic words, such as dong ‘3PL’ in (12). This preference to anchor either before or with the clause-initial syllable of their respective embedding lexemes, however, is not an absolute one: 2/36 SHC tokens anchor with a syllable other than the word-initial one. In both cases the embedding lexemes are trisyllabic, namely antara ‘between’ in (11) and kalanya ‘sometimes’.

3.1.2. Syntactic embedding in clause-final position

The embedding of SHC tokens in clause-final position is illustrated in (15) to (21).

Clause-final SHC tokens which follow their anchor points with an audible delay are presented in (15) and (16). In (15), the clause-initial lexeme is an adverb, while it is a stative verb in (16).

Clause-final anchor point: Following the embedding lexeme

(15) 
| dasar itu harus ada itu, harus punya tida bole tida |
| base D.DIST have.to exist D.DIST have.to have NEG may NEG |

[About basic school education:] ‘the basics (in English) have to be (there), (they) have to have (the basics), it’s a must’ ([Lit. ‘it may not be not’]) [081115-001a-Cv.0177/179]

(16) 
| kalo kamu besár kamu kawing, kawing dengang |
| if 2PL be.big 2PL marry.unofficially marry.unofficially with |

orang pejabat … person functionary |

‘when you’re grown-up’, you marry, (you) marry a functionary …’ [081110-008-CvNP.0016]

SHC tokens anchored with the stressed syllable of their embedding clause-final lexemes are presented in (17) to (19). Of the 16 attested tokens, 13 have penultimate stress such as prempuang ‘woman’ in

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5 Triple vowels, such as aaa ‘ah’ indicate vowel lengthening.
(17), while two tokens have ultimate stress, namely bensing ‘gasoline’ in (14), repeated as (18), and selesay ‘finish’. The remaining token is a monosyllabic lexeme, namely ka ‘or’ in (19).

Clause-final anchor point: Stressed syllable of the embedding lexeme

(17) tida ada yang tegas sperti ibu, ibu yang tegas 
NEG exist REL be.firm similar to woman woman REL be.firm

||
ana-ana  prempia\ng
RDP~child woman

[A mother talking to her daughter’s teacher] ‘there is no (other teacher) like you, (it’s) you who is firm with the girls’ [081011-023-Cv.0241/243]

(18)  ko stembay bens\ng, ko bli bensing
2SG stand by for gasoline 2SG buy gasoline

‘you stand by for the gasoline[], you buy the gasoline’ [081110-002-Cv.0073]

(19) ...
... kita kasi ko hári ini dua ratus juga ka tiga ratus juta ká
1PL give 2SG day D.PROX two hundred also or three hundred million or

‘[(how much money do you want?, do you want one billion rupiah?)], this very [[day] we also give you two hundred or three hundred million] or (some other amount)’ (Lit. ‘[day this’)

[081029-004-Cv.0026]

The corpus also includes 11 SHC tokens which are anchored with an unstressed syllable of their respective embedding clause-final lexemes. Nine of these lexemes have the typical penultimate stress pattern. Their SHC tokens, by contrast, are anchored with the respective unstressed ultimate syllables, as illustrated in (20). The remaining two lexemes are the nouns bensing ‘gasoline’ and tempat ‘place’, both of which have ultimate stress. The SHC tokens, however, are anchored with the respective unstressed penultimate syllables, as shown with the first bensing ‘gasoline’ token in (18) and with tempat ‘place’ in (21).

Clause-final anchor point: Unstressed syllable of the embedding lexeme

(20) dia pu tiang~tiang yang dia tanam itu masi ada,
3SG POSS RDP~pole REL 3SG plant D.DIST still exist

||
sa liat, sa mandi di situ
1SG see 1SG bath at L.MED

[About an ancestor:] ‘his poles which he implanted there still exist, I saw[] (them), I bathed there’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0298]

(21) ...
... sampe dia kas tunjuk itu sampe dia punya tempát
reach 3SG CAUS show D.DIST reach 3SG POSS place

‘... until he showed (me) that (area) as far as his (own) place’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0297]

The token frequencies in Table 3 and the examples in (15) to (21) suggest a clear preference for clause-final SHC tokens to occur at the very end of the clause which applies to 25/40 tokens (63%). That is, most tokens either follow their embedding lexemes (13/40 tokens – 33%) or anchor with the last syllable of the clause (12/40 tokens – 30%). As for the latter, only two tokens are embedded with the stressed, that is, ultimate syllable of their host, namely bensing ‘gasoline’ in (18), and selesay ‘finish’. By contrast, nine tokens anchor with the unstressed ultimate syllable of their hosts, such as liat ‘see’ in (20). The remaining token is embedded with the monosyllabic lexeme ka ‘or’ in (19). This leaves 15/40 SHC tokens (38%) which do not occur in clause-final position. Instead they are anchored with the penultimate syllable of their host. For 13 of them this is also the stressed syllable; the two exceptions are the first bensing ‘gasoline’ token in (18) and tempat ‘place’ in (21).
This preference for the clause-final SHC tokens to occur at the very end of the clause explains the rather high percentage of tokens that co-occur with the unstressed ultimate syllable of the clause-final lexeme (9/40 – 23%). By contrast, only 2/36 clause-initial SHC tokens (6%) are embedded with an unstressed syllable of their host.

### 3.2. Syntactic embedding clause-internally

Of the attested 119 SHC tokens anchored with a clause, 43 tokens (36%) are embedded clause-internally. The lexemes that the clause-internal SHC tokens are anchored with take different syntactic slots within the clause.

Table 4 gives an overview of the anchor points in clause-internal position. More than half of the SHC tokens are anchored with the clausal predicate (25/43 – 58%). Another 13 SHC tokens (30%) are embedded with a core argument. Of these, eight are embedded with the clausal subject, and five with a clausal object. The remaining 5/43 SHC tokens (12%) are embedded with peripheral adjuncts.

**Table 4: Syntactic embedding clause-internally by syntactic slot**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anchor points in clause-internal position</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Predicate slot (25 tokens)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preceding embedding lexeme</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstressed syllable of embedding lexeme</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Core argument slot (13 tokens)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preceding embedding lexeme (subject)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme (subject)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme (object)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstressed syllable of embedding lexeme (subject)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Peripheral adjunct slot (5 tokens)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstressed syllable of embedding lexeme</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data also show that most SHC tokens are anchored with the stressed syllable of their embedding lexemes (27/43 – 63%). Another seven tokens (16%) precede their anchor points with an audible delay. The remaining nine SHC tokens (21%) are anchored with an unstressed syllable of their embedding lexemes. More specifically, eight of them are anchored with the unstressed ultimate syllable. The remaining SHC token is anchored with the word-initial, that is antepenultimate syllable of *kluarga* ‘family’ which has penultimate stress, as shown in (6), repeated as (41). As discussed below, one explanation for the unexpected embedding with the unstressed ultimate syllable could be that the speakers failed to embed the respective SHC tokens with the word-initial, that is, the stressed penultimate, syllable of the following disyllabic lexeme.

The attested data also indicate a clear pattern as to which word classes the embedding lexemes belong to, as shown in Table 5. Typically, the SHC tokens co-occur with lexemes that belong to an open word class (36/43 – 84%). More specifically, 21/43 tokens (49%) are embedded with verbs, 12/43 tokens (28%) with nouns, and 3/43 tokens (7%) with adverbs. The remaining 7/43 SHC tokens (16%)

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6 The percentages in Table 4 are rounded; hence, they do not add up to 100%.
anchor with lexemes that belong to closed word classes (four prepositions, one demonstrative, one auxiliary, and one interrogative).\(^7\)

Table 5: Syntactic embedding clause-internally by word class\(^8\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anchor points</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbs</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prepositions</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogatives</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxiliaries</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following sections, the embedding of SHC tokens in clause-internal position is discussed according to the different syntactic slots the respective anchor points take within the clause: embedding in the predicate slot in §3.2.1, in a core argument slot in §3.2.2, and in a peripheral adjunct slot in §3.2.3.

### 3.2.1. Syntactic embedding in the predicate slot

The clause-internal embedding of SHC tokens with lexemes taking the predicate slot (25 tokens) is illustrated in (22) to (29).

Clause-internal SHC tokens which precede their anchor points with an audible delay (5 tokens) are presented in (22) and (23). If the predicate contains an auxiliary or an adverb, the SHC token occurs between the clausal verb and that auxiliary or adverb, at least as far as the five attested tokens in the corpus are concerned, as shown in (23).

Clause-internal anchor point: Preceding the embedding lexeme

(22) \[ \text{… baru itu sála} \]

[About sexual relations outside marriage:] ‘… but then that (is) || wrong’ [081110-006-CvEx.0273]

(23) \[ \text{dia cuma hanya taw, hanya bawa dia punya istri dua itu} \]

[… but Sope didn’t know (where his child came from),] he only knew (that he) had just || brought those two wives of his (to Merne)’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0203]

SHC tokens anchored with the stressed penultimate syllable of their respective embedding clause-internal lexemes (15 tokens) are presented in (24) to (27). In (24), the SHC token is embedded with the clausal verb tanya ‘ask’. If the predicate also includes an adverb or an auxiliary, the SHC token can take different positions, depending on which part of the predicate the speaker wants to emphasize. In (25), the SHC token is anchored with the clausal verb ada ‘exist’, while in (26) the focus adverb juga ‘also’ rather than the verb ada ‘exist’ serves as the anchor point. In (27), the SHC token is embedded with the auxiliary bisa ‘be capable’.

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\(^7\) One could argue, of course, that the SHC distribution is not a property of the SHC tokens, but reflects the typical text frequencies of the different word classes.

\(^8\) The percentages in Table 5 are rounded; hence, they do not add up to 100%.
Clause-internal anchor point: Stressed syllable of the embedding lexeme

(24)  
| \  
tapi bapa waktu itu sa tánya bapa, bapa ketawa 
but father time D DIST 1SG ask father father laugh 
[A boy wonders where the children come from:] ‘... but father at that time (when) I asked him, father laughed’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0193-0194]

(25)  
| \  
a tida áda masala 
ah! NEG exist problem 
[About problems getting a leave of absence from school:] ‘ah!, (there) ||won’t be any problems’ (Lit. ‘not ||exist problem’) [081011-020-Cv.0173]

(26)  
| \  
jadi klápa tu, jadi ságú, penokok sagu júga ada 
so coconut D DIST so sago pounder sago also exist 
‘so those ||coconuts, so the ||sago, the sago pounder is ||also there’ [081110-005-CvPr.0119]

(27)  
| \  
ko pikir sa tida bisa bicara ka? sa tida bisa dengar? 
2SG think 1SG NEG be.capable speak or 1SG NEG be.capable hear 
[After having been insulted:] ‘do you think I cannot speak? I ||cannot hear?’ [081115-001a- Cv.0188]

The corpus also includes five SHC tokens which are anchored with an unstressed syllable of their respective anchor points, three of which are presented in (28) and (29). Three of them are verbs, as illustrated with biking ‘make’ and ikut-ikut ‘RDP~follow’ in (28) and (29), respectively. The remaining two tokens are adverbs, namely aspectual suda ‘already’ (29), and temporal skarang ‘now’. All five embedding lexemes follow the typical penultimate stress pattern. The SHC tokens, by contrast, are anchored with the respective unstressed ultimate syllables.

One explanation for this unexpected placement of the three SHC tokens could be as follows. The speakers attempted to embed the SHC tokens in clause-boundary position with the stressed penultimate syllables of the clause-final constituents but failed to do so. The respective clause-final constituents in (28) and (29) are kebung ‘garden’, bapa ‘father’ and nasihat ‘advice’.

Clause-internal anchor point: Unstressed syllable of the embedding lexeme

(28)  
| \  
de kalo biking kébung, biking sa pu ruma kecil, 
3SG if make garden make 1SG POSS house be.small

| \  
... saya suka ikut-ikut bápa 
1SG enjoy RDP~follow father 
‘when he (my father) worked’ (in) the gardens, (he) made a shelter for me, … I loved following|| my father’ [081110-008-CvNP.0007]

(29)  
| \  
... cukup sa punya orang-tua dong súda nasihat 
be.enough 1SG POSS parent 3PL already advice 
[so I also married, (I) left my parents,(it) was enough (that) my parents had already|| advised (me)’ [081110-008-CvNP.0175]

3.2.2. Syntactic embedding in a core argument slot

The clause-internal embedding of SHC tokens with lexemes filling a core argument slot (13 tokens) is shown in (30) to (38).
Clause-internal SHC tokens which precede their embedding lexemes with an audible delay (2 tokens) are rare in the corpus. The only two attested occurrences of this are presented in (30) and (31). In both cases, the SHC tokens are embedded with the clausal subject *ibu* ‘woman’ and *istrinya* ‘his wife’, respectively, both of which are Indonesian loanwords.

Clause-internal anchor point: Preceding the embedding lexeme

(30)  
| nanti  | *ibu* ni su mara | very soon *woman*[SI] D.PROX already feel.angry.(about)  
| very soon | **this lady** will already feel angry (about us)** [081014-017-CvPr.0073] |

(31)  
| ... pas | *istrinya* Merne ini dia melahirkang | be.exact *wife*[SI]:3POSS Merne D.PROX 3SG give.birth[SI]  
| [About an ancestor:] ... right at that moment **the wife** of Merne here, she gave birth** [080922-010a-CvNF.0051] |

SHC tokens embedded with the stressed penultimate syllable of their respective clause-internal anchor points (8 tokens) are presented in (32) to (35). The targeted core argument can be the clausal subject such as the distal demonstrative *itu* ‘D.DIST’ in (32). It can also be the clausal object, such as the head nominal *bahasa* in the N1N2 noun phrase *bahasa Inggris* ‘English language’ in (33) or the nominal modifier *Nokia* in the N1N2 noun phrase *kartu Nokia* ‘Nokia (SIM) card’ in (33). (SHC tokens anchoring with an unmodified head in the object slot are unattested.) Another attested anchor point is the possessum slot in adnominal possessive constructions. This is demonstrated in (2), repeated as (35), where the interrogative functions as the possessum.

Clause-internal anchor point: Stressed syllable of the embedding lexeme

(32)  
| de blang, itu to suda pagi, jadi *itu* sejara itu | 3SG say D.DIST right? already morning so D.DIST history D.DIST  
| ‘he said, ‘that’s it, or? (it’s) already morning’, so **that** is that story** [080922-010a-CvNF.0087] |

(33)  
| sa bilang itu harus blajar *bahasa* Inggris | 1SG say D.DIST have.to study language England  
| [About basic school education:] ‘I said (EMPH), (they) have to study the English **language** (Lit. ‘**language** (of) England’ [081115-001a-Cv.0177] |

(34)  
| kartu *Nokia* tu om de hancur | card Nokia D.DIST uncle 3SG be.shattered  
| ‘that **Nokia** (SIM) card, uncle destroyed (it)’ [081014-016-Cv.0014/0016] |

(35)  
| baru sa pi ketemu sa pu *siapá* di sana? | and.then 1SG go meet 1SG POSS who at L.DIST  
| ‘and then I’ll go (and) meet **whom** of my (relatives) over there?’ [080921-009-Cv.0020] |

The remaining three SHC tokens embedded with core arguments in clause-internal position are anchored with unstressed syllables of their hosts. All three of them have penultimate stress, as shown

---

* The speaker is mixing his Papuan Malay speech with Indonesian terms and constructions, such as *istrinya* ‘his wife’ and *melahirkang* ‘give birth’. Most likely the reason for this mixing is the setting of the communicative event: his interlocutor is a well-educated pastor (for more details see Kluge 2017: 14-21, 124-125).
in (36) to (38). The SHC tokens, by contrast, are anchored with the unstressed ultimate syllables of their respective embedding lexemes. Two of these lexemes fill the subject slot, namely tugas ‘duty’ in (36) and klápa ‘coconut’ in (26), repeated as (37), while Síus in (38) takes an object slot.

The unexpected placement of the SHC tokens in (36) and (37) could result from an unsuccessful attempt of embedding the respective SHC tokens with the stressed penultimate syllable of the adnominally used, post-head distal demonstrative (i)tu ‘D.DIST’. As for the utterance in (38), the reasons for the unexpected placement of this SHC token remain uncertain.

Clause-internal anchor point: Unstressed syllable of the embedding lexeme

(36) ... sa punya plajarang tu, slalu tús tu banyak
1SG POSS course D.DIST always duty D.DIST many

[A primary teacher about her work load:] ‘that teaching load of mine, those duties] are always plentiful’ (Lit. ‘duties] those’) [081011-023-Cv.0317]

(37) jadi klápa tu, jadi ságu, penokok sügu júga ada
so coconut D.DIST so sago pounder sago also exist

‘so those coconuts], so the [sago, the sago pounder is [also there’ (Lit. ‘coconuts] those’) [081110-005-CvPr.0119]

(38) itu, paytua dia bli Mekí satu, Síus, Yán deng Robeka ...
D.DIST husband 3SG buy Melkianus one set Sius Acang with Robeka
‘that (equipment), the gentleman bought one (TV-CD) set (for) Mekí, (one for) Síus], and one for ||Yan and Robeka’ [081011-009-Cv.0055]

3.2.3. Syntactic embedding in the peripheral adjunct slot

The corpus also contains five SHC tokens which are embedded with lexemes filling peripheral adjunct slots, three of which are presented in (39) to (41).

Four of these clause-internal SHC tokens are anchored with the stressed syllable of their respective hosts. Two examples are presented in (39) and (19), repeated as (40). The SHC token in (39) is anchored with a prepositional phrase expressing accompaniment. More specifically, the token is embedded with the comitative preposition deng(ang) ‘with’ which heads the prepositional phrase. The SHC token in (40) is embedded with the nominal head hari ‘day’ in the temporal adjunct hari ini ‘this day’.

Clause-internal anchor point: Stressed syllable of the embedding lexeme

(39) mama ni bukang hidup dengang orang-tua di kampung,
mother D.PROX NEG live with parent at village

‘(the situation was) not (that) I (‘mother’) (EMPH) lived with (my) parents in the village, (but) I (‘mother’) (EMPH) lived ||with strangers away from home’ [081115-001b-Cv.0043]

(40) ... kita kasi ko hári ini dua ratus juga ka tiga ratus juta ká
1PL give 2SG day D.PROX two hundred also or three hundred million or

‘[(how much money do you want?, do you want one billion rupiah?),] this very ||day we also give you two hundred or three hundred million ||or (some other amount)’ (Lit. ‘||day this’) [081029-004-Cv.0026]

The corpus also includes one SHC token that is anchored with an unstressed syllable of its host, presented in (6), repeated as (41). The embedding trisyllabic noun kluarga ‘family’ has penultimate
stressed. The SHC token, by contrast, is anchored with the antepenultimate syllable. The reasons for placing the SHC token with this syllable remain uncertain, though.

Clause-internal anchor point: Unstressed syllable of the embedding lexeme

(41) jadi bapa tida mampu tinggal dengang sa punya klápa banyak
so father NEG be.capable stay with 1SG POSS many
‘so my husband doesn’t manage to live with my big ||family’ (Lit. ‘father’, my ||family (is) many) [081110-008-CvNP.0087]

3.3. Syntactic embedding with extra-clausal constituents

Of the 136 SHC tokens, 17 (13%) are anchored with units outside the clause. Dik and Hengeveld (1997: 379) label such “expressions which can be analyzed neither as clauses nor as fragments of clauses” as “extra-clausal constituents”. They occur especially in spoken discourse and include elements such as dislocations, formulae of social exchange, imperatives, tag questions, interjections, and vocatives.

The attested 17 SHC tokens are embedded with three different types of extra-clausal constituents, namely with dislocations (8 tokens), interjections (7 tokens), and vocatives (2 token).

In all four left-dislocations, the SHC tokens are embedded with the stressed syllable of their anchor points, such as klápa ‘coconut’ in (42) or itu ‘D.DIST’ in (43). As for the four right-dislocated constituents, two SHC tokens precede their anchor points, as sa ‘1SG’ in (44), and two co-occur with the stressed syllable of their embedding lexeme, as in (i)ni ‘D.PROX’ in (3), repeated as (45).

Dislocated constituents

(42) klápa ini saya pata siram ko dengang itu
coconut D.PROX 1SG break pour.over 2SG with D.DIST
[About bride-price customs:] ‘this ||coconut, I’ll break (it) open (and) drench you with ||that (if you commit adultery)’ [081110-005-CvPr.0117]

(43) tikus itu de masuk waktu de gigit itu
rat D.DIST 3SG enter time 3SG bite D.DIST
‘||that rat, it went into (the trap) when it bit that (bait)’ [080922-009-CvNP.0045]

(44) a, jadi saya biasa ikut bapa Yuli, sa punya bapa
ah! so 1SG usual follow father Yulius 1SG POSS father
Yuli punya bapa, sa punya bapa itu
Yulius POSS father 1SG POSS father D.DIST
[About a male relative who raised the speaker as his own child:] ‘ah!, so I usually followed Yuli’s father, ||my father, Yuli’s father, that father of mine’ [081110-008-CvNP.0006]

(45) baru laki–laki de mulay angkat de mulay padam,
and.then RDP–husband 3SG start lift 3SG start extinguish
[mungkin dia mara pace ni
maybe 3SG feel.angry,(about) man D.PROX
[About an angry police officer:] ‘and then the man picked up the receiver and put (it) down (again), maybe he felt angry, ||this man’ (Lit. ‘man this’) [081014-016-Cv.0042]

The seven SHC tokens embedded with interjections co-occur with their anchor points, as illustrated with mmm ‘wham’ and ey ‘hey’ in (46).
Interjections

(46) di sik sana, kalo kitong makang tunduk, mmm, bapa pukul kitong
    at SPM-L.PROX L.DIST if 1PL eat bow wham father hit 1PL
    punya muka, ey, angkat muka supaya liat orang!
    POSS front hey! lift front so.that see person

[About hospitality:] ‘here[SPM], over there, when we ate (and) bowed (our head), ||wham,
father hit us in the face, ‘||hey, lift (your) face so that (you) see (the other) people!’’ [081110-
008-CvNP.0101]

The corpus also includes two extra-clausal SHC tokens that are embedded with vocatives, one of which, kawang ‘friend’, is presented in (47).

Vocatives

(47) || kawang, kalo kalo nanti tong maing biar sa cadangang!
    if if very.soon 1PL play let 1SG reserve

‘||friend, later when when we play (volleyball), let me be a reserve!’ [081109-001-Cv.0154]

4. Discursive embedding of SHC tokens

The attested SHC tokens occur in a variety of different discourse environment where they accentuate or emphasize particular discourse elements which the speaker wishes to highlight. Table 6 gives an overview of the different contexts in which the 136 SHC tokens occur.

Table 6: Discourse environment for SHC tokens

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse environment</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discourse organization</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourse grounding</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations between propositions</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reactions to propositions</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interaction management</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude specification</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enumerations</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other pertinent discourse</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following sections, the contexts in which these SHC tokens occur are discussed in more detail: discourse organization §4.1 and discourse grounding in §4.2, relations between propositions in §4.3, reactions to propositions in §4.4, interaction management in §4.5, attitude specification in §4.6, enumerations in §4.7, and other pertinent discourse elements in §4.8.

4.1. Discourse organization

A considerable number of the attested SHC tokens (39/136 – 29%) play a role in structuring, organizing and presenting the discourse content. In narratives, speakers employ them to accentuate pertinent elements of the plot structure. Adopting Wiesemann and Spielmann’s (2002: 14) terminology for narrative discourse plot structure, these elements are the “introduction” (§4.1.1), the “climax” (§4.1.2), and the “conclusion” (§4.1.3).
4.1.1. Narrative introduction

Speakers use SHC tokens in the introduction of a narrative to accentuate the aperture as in (48), or to emphasize pertinent parts of the setting as in (49). The corpus includes six such tokens (6/136 – 4%).

In (48), the SHC token is anchored with the aperture skárang begini ‘now (the story went) like this’. This conventionalized opening statement serves to raise the interlocutor’s attention. By embedding an SHC token with the aperture, the speaker further reinforces his attempts to gain the interlocutors’ undivided attention. In (49), the speaker creates the setting for her narrative by introducing Sela, one of the two main protagonists. By anchoring an SHC token with this character, the speaker further accentuates the importance of Sela.

Opening statement and setting

(48) skárang begini, waktu malam ato siang, pas istrinya Merne ini now like this, time night or day be.exact wife[SI]-3POSS Merne D.PROX

dia melahirkan 3SG give.birth

‘now (the story went) like this, it was in the evening or during the day, right at that moment || the wife of Merne here, she gave birth’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0051]

(49) skarang baru~baru tu begituuu, Sélá masuk, e, yo, masuk … current RDP–be.new D.DIST like.that Sela enter uh yes enter

‘very recently it was like that, ||Sela came in, uh, yes, (she) came in … ’ [081115-001a-Cv.0183]

4.1.2. Narrative climax

Speakers also anchor SHC tokens as plot marking devices with the climax of their discourse (11/136 tokens – 8%), as illustrated in (50) and (51).

The example in (50) is part of a narrative about an uneducated friend of the speaker. Preceding the utterances in (50), the speaker relates that his friend has a Nokia cell phone with a working SIM card. He does not know the difference between a phone and a SIM card, though; neither does he know how to top up his card. Finally, in (50), the speaker asks his friend which SIM card he uses. The climax of the narrative is reached, when this friend provides the unreasonable answer kartu Nokia ‘a Nokia card’. To emphasize the ridiculousness of this reply, the speaker repeats it, embedding an SHC with Nokia.

The example in (51) is part of an explanation why the speaker and her family are going to move away from their current house in Sarmi to another village, where the speaker works as a pastor. The reason is that members of the speaker’s extended family from the village frequently come to Sarmi and stay at her house expecting to be hosted for free. To minimize the financial burden caused by these frequent visits, the family decided to move away and to leave their current house to any visiting relatives. The climax of the speaker’s account is reached when she relates that she will let her relatives know that they can tinggal ‘stay’ at the current house. To further accentuate the climax, the speaker employs an SHC token, anchoring it with tinggal ‘stay’. Here it accentuates the result of the increasing difficulties for the speaker and her immediate family: the relatives can take over the current house.

Opening statement and setting

(50) sa bilang begini, sa eee mungking ka, bapa pake kartu apa ka?
1SG say like.this 1SG uh maybe card-TRU father use card what or

AS ka? Simpati ka?, de bilang, a kartu Nokia Nokíá tu!
AS or Simpati or 3SG say ah! card Nokia Nokia D.DIST

‘I said like this, ‘I, uh, maybe, the (SIM) card-TRU, what SIM card do you (‘father’) use? AS?, or Simpati?’, he said, ‘ah! (it’s) that Nokia card!’, he said ||Nokia (SIM) card!’’ [081014-016-Cv.0014]

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(51) ruma itu tinggal untuk ade–ade dong tinggal dari Arbais ka dari mana house D.DIST stay for RDP–ySb 3PL stay from Arbais or from where

||
ka datang, silakang tinggal ruma su ada biar tong tinggal di situ or come please stay house already exist let 1PL stay at L.MED '(we) leave that house behind for the young relatives (who) live (in Arbais), (when they) come from Arbais or from wherever, please, stay (here) ||, the house does already exist, let us live over there’ [081110-008-CvNP.0091]

4.1.3. Narrative conclusion

Most of the SHC tokens used as plot marking devices in the corpus occur in the conclusion of a speaker’s discourse (22/136 – 16%) to accentuate pertinent parts of their closing as in (28), repeated as (52), or their finis as in (53).

In the closing in (52), the speaker wraps-up her narrative: as a child, she loved to follow her father when he went to work in their gardens. By embedding an SHC token with the verb ikut–ikut ‘RDP–follow’, she further accentuates this summary of her message. In (53), the SHC token is embedded with the finis suda ‘already’. This conventionalized closing statement signals the end of the speaker’s discourse. By embedding an SHC token with the finis, the speaker accentuates the fact that he has indeed finished his elaborations on traditional matches.

Conclusion: Closing and finis

(52) ||
de kalo biking kebung, biking sa pu ruma kecil, sa tinggal, 3SG if make garden make 1SG POSS house be.small 1SG stay

de babat kebung, tanam, smua, sa suka ikut–ikut bapa 3SG clear.away garden plant all 1SG enjoy RDP–follow father

‘when he (my father) || worked (in) the gardens, (he) made a shelter for me, I stayed (there), he cleared the garden, (he) planted, (he did) everything, I loved || following (my) father’ [081110-008-CvNP.0007]

(53) adeiasi skarang itu masih pake adat itu, korek adat itu ySb still now D.DIST still use tradition D.DIST matches tradition D.DIST

||
masi ada, suda! still exist already

[About traditional matches:] ‘nowadays the young people still use those traditional, those traditional matches still exist, || that’s it!’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0077]

4.2. Discourse grounding

Speakers also use SHC tokens in the context of discourse grounding to further accentuate fore- or backgrounded discourse elements. Attested are seven SHC tokens (7/136 – 5%) that have this function. Four of them emphasize foregrounded discourse elements, as illustrated in (18) and (43), repeated as (54) and (55), respectively. The remaining three tokens highlight backgrounded discourse elements, as shown in (44) and (3), repeated as (56) and (57), respectively.

The four SHC tokens associated with foregrounding are embedded with left-dislocations. Their main function is “topic-announcement”; that is, they signal the “annunciation or establishment of a new topic relation between a referent and a predication” (Lambrecht 2001: 1074). Besides, speakers also employ left-dislocations to re-introduce or activate a topic “that was introduced previously but has not been mentioned for some clauses” (Foley 2007: 443, citing Lambrecht 1994).

The foregrounding of a new topic is demonstrated with pana ini ‘this arrow’ in (54). In her explanations about local wedding customs, the speaker relates how the groom’s uncle is dancing in
circles around the bride while holding an arrow in his hands. While dancing, the uncle addresses the bride with the utterance presented in (54), foregrounding the topic panä ini ‘this arrow’. By embedding a SHC token with panä ‘arrow’, the uncle further accentuates the foregrounded constituent.

The foregrounding of a topic that had been introduced earlier is illustrated with tiküs itu ‘that rat’ in (55). Earlier in his explanations about building traps, the speaker had already mentioned a tiküs ‘rat’ that he would like to catch with his trap. In (55), the tiküs ‘rat’ is re-introduced in a left-dislocated construction. Again, the embedded SHC token further accentuates the foregrounded constituent.

Foregrounding

(54)    ||    ||
     panä ini,   kάlo ko jalang deng laki-laki laing saya akang
     arrow D.PROX if 2SG walk with RDP-husband be.different 1SG will[SI]
     jubi ko dengang panä ini
     bow.shoot 2SG with arrow D.PROX
     ‘this ||arrow, ||if you commit adultery with another man, I will bow shoot you with this
     arrow’ (Lit. ‘||arrow this’) [081110-005-CvPr.0116]

(55)    ||    ||
     tiküs itu   de masuk waktu de gigi itu klapa
     rat D.DIST 3SG enter time 3SG bite D.DIST coconut
     langsung batang pisang itu jatu …
     immediately stick banana D.DIST fall
     [About traps:] ‘||that rat, it enters (the trap), when it bites what’s-its-name the coconut,
     immediately that (banana) trunk falls (down) …’ (Lit. ‘that ||that’) [080922-009-
     CvNP.0045/0047]

The three SHC tokens associated with backgrounding are anchored with right-dislocated or “antitopic” (Chafe 1976; Lambrecht 1981) constructions which mark the dislocated referent “as already established, or presupposed, in the discourse” (Lambrecht 2001: 1075). The main function of right-dislocations is “topic-continuation” by signaling that an already established relation between a referent and a predicate is being continued or maintained (2001: 1074). Hence, antitopics differ from afterthoughts which speakers employ as repair devices when they feel the need to add new information to clarify or disambiguate the reference of a constituent (Givón 2001: 267).

In (56) and (57), the identity of the intended referents is obvious as they have been at the center of the speaker’s preceding discourse. Hence, the backgrounded constituents do not have a clarifying function. Instead, they serve to emphasize the already established referents. The embedded SHC tokens further accentuate the respective antitopics.

The example in (56) is part of a narrative about the speaker’s childhood. After her parents had died, she was raised by her older sister and her husband. This couple also has children of their own, one of which is a son named Yuli. The speaker gives an account of how she loved to spend time with her foster father. In (56), she relates that she usually followed him, namely bapa Yuli ‘Yuli’s father’. The three right-dislocated constituents following the main clause further emphasize this referent, with the speaker embedding an SHC token with the first antitopic sa punä bapa ‘my father’ to further accentuate her foster father.

The example in (57) is part of a narrative about an acquaintance who had called the local police station erroneously twice in a row. Each time he refused the police officer’s explanation that he had dialed the wrong number. The utterance in (57) relates how the police officer reacted when the speaker’s acquaintance called him a third time: he lifted the receiver and just put it down again. The speaker draws the conclusion that the police officer may have felt angry at this point, with right-dislocated pace ni ‘this man’ further emphasizing the main protagonist. To further accentuate the police officer, the speaker embeds an SHC token with this noun phrase.
4.3. Relations between propositions

A substantial number of the attested SHC tokens (29/136 – 21%) highlight relations between propositions, namely consequence relations (§4.3.1), contrast relations (§4.3.2), condition relations (§4.3.3), and alternative relations (§4.3.4).

4.3.1. Consequence relations

The corpus contains 16 SHC tokens (16/136 – 12%) which accentuate consequence relations between two propositions, such as the causal relation in (58), the purposive relation in (59), and the resultative relation in (6), repeated as (60).

In (58), the SHC token is embedded with the causal conjunction karna ‘because’, thereby accentuating the reason why the speaker is happy. In (59), the SHC token is anchored with kesaksiang ‘testimony’ where it emphasizes the speaker’s purpose of visiting the different churches in her area. The example in (60) is part of an account of the speaker’s upbringing. Her parents raised her to be generous and give freely to relatives who are in need. Her husband, however, finds this generosity more and more difficult. The SHC token is embedded with kluarga ‘family’ where it accentuates the result of the husband’s increasing difficulties: he no longer manages to live so close to the speaker’s extended kluarga ‘family’.

(58) ||
aaa, itu yang sa snang, karna sa pu orang-tua
ah! D.DIST REL 1SG feel.happy(.about) because 1SG POSS parent
bilang sa begitu, … say 1SG like.that
‘[ah!], that’s why I am happy, [because my parents told me like that, [‘never let (other) people see you and then gossip about you’]]’ [081110-008-CvNP.0169]

(59) saya bersaksi untuk greja~greja ke, saya biasa ikut di Pentakosta, saya
1SG testify for RDP~church to 1SG be.usual follow at Pentecostal 1SG
bisa ikut GBI untuk kesaksiang to?
be.usual follow Bethel.Church.of.Indonesia for testimony right?
‘I give (my) testimony in the churches in, I usually attend a Pentecostal (church), I usually attend a GBI church to give (my) testimony [, right?’, [080917-008-NP.0187]
(60) jadi bapa tida mampu tinggal deng sa punya kluárga banyak
so father NEG be.capable stay with 1SG POSS family many
‘so my husband doesn’t manage to live with my big |family’ (Lit. ‘father’, my family (is) many) [081110-008-CvNP.0087]

4.3.2. Contrast relations

The corpus also includes six SHC tokens (6/136 – 4%) which accentuate contrast relations between two propositions, as shown in (39), repeated as (61), and in (62).

The example in (61) is part of a discussion about a group of ill-behaved teenagers. They are the speaker’s nephews and nieces from her home village. The speaker invited the teenagers to stay with her so that they can go to the local high school. Complaining how lazy the teenagers are when it comes to household chores, the speaker contrasts her own life as a teenager with that of her nephews and nieces. Whereas these young people can stay with their aunt, she had to live |deng orang di luar |with strangers’ when she was a teenager. Embedded with comitative |deng |‘with’, the SHC token serves to highlight this contrast.

The example in (62) is part of a conversation about the need to buy gasoline for the village. After having discussed which jerry cans she may and which ones she may not borrow from her interlocutor, the speaker tells her interlocutor that she should buy gasoline for all the small jerry cans. But, as already agreed upon, LNG pu terpol itu ‘that metal jerry can’ would stay behind. Anchored with the possessive noun phrase LNG pu terpol ‘the metal jerry can’, the SHC token emphasizes the contrast between the jerry cans that may be borrowed and the one that should stay behind.

(61) mama ni bukang hidup |deng orang-tua di kampung, mama ni
mother D.PROX NEG live with parent at village mother D.PROX

hidup déng orang di luar
live with person at outside

‘(the situation was) not (that) I (‘mother’) (EMPH) lived with (my) parents in the village, (but) I (‘mother’) (EMPH) lived |with strangers away from home’ [0811115-001b-Cv.0043]

(62) smua kasi ke mari, sa mo bawa … terpol itu,
2SG give to hither 1SG want bring container D.DIST

LNG pu terpol itu tinggal
liquefied.natural.gas POSS container D.DIST stay

[About the need to buy gasoline:] ‘give all (of the small jerry cans) to (me) here, I want to take (them to the village) … (but) that jerry can, that |metal jerry can stays behind’ (Lit. ‘| LNG’s container that’) [0811110-002-Cv.0071/0075]

4.3.3. Condition relations

Six SHC tokens (6/136 – 4%) accentuate condition relations between two propositions, as demonstrated in (63) and (64).

The example in (63) belongs to a description of local wedding customs. Before the wedding, the bridegroom’s uncle tells the bride that he is going to kill her, kalo ‘if’ she ever jalang ‘walks’ with another man, that is, commits adultery. This condition clause serves as the anchor point for two SHC tokens. One is embedded with the conditional conjunction kalo ‘if’ and another one with the clausal verb jalang ‘walk’. Both SHC tokens emphasize the severity of the uncle’s threat: if she does commit adultery, she will surely be killed.

In (64), the speaker addresses a group of teenagers who are staying with her and who are too lazy to help with the daily household chores. She asks them to listen to her words and to help in the house. The
SHC token is embedded with conditional *kalo* ‘if’, accentuating the importance of the condition put forward by the speaker: if they do not help, she – their aunt and host – will have to do their work.

(63) || ||
\[pá\ ng ini, \ kálo \ e ko \ jálang \ dengang \ laki-laki \ laing,
arrow \ D.PROX \ if \ uh \ 2SG \ walk \ with \ RDP-husband \ be.different \]
saya akang \ jubi \ ko \ dengang \ pana \ ini
\[1SG \ will[SI] \ bow.shoot \ 2SG \ with \ arrow \ D.PROX \]
\[‘this arrow, \ [if \ uh \ you \ [commit \ adultery, \ I \ will \ bow \ shoot \ you \ with \ this \ arrow’ \ (Lit. \ ‘[\text{textual form}] with \ man’)] (081110-005-CvPr.0116)\]

(64) kalo \ sa \ su \ kasi \ nasihat, \ kamu \ikut, \ sa \ kalo \ bicara \ kalo \ kam \ dengar,
if \ 1SG \ already \ give \ advice \ 2PL \ follow \ 1SG \ if \ speak \ if \ 2PL \ hear
\[|| \]
\[kálo \ tida \ itu \ sa \ kerja \ sendiri \]
\[if \ NEG \ D.DIST \ 1SG \ work \ be.alone \]
\[‘when I’ve \ already \ given \ (you) \ advice, \ you \ follow, \ if \ I \ speak \ (and) \ if \ you \ listen, \ [if \ not, \ those \ (chores) \ I \ (myself \ will \ have \ to) \ do \ (them)’ (081115-001a-Cv.0524)\]

4.3.4. Alternative relations

The corpus also includes one SHC token which accentuates an alternative relation between propositions. In (19), repeated as (65), the alternatives are marked with disjunctive *ka* ‘or’. Occurring at the right periphery of a constituent, *ka* ‘or’ indicates that a list of alternatives is not exhaustive; that is, a few possible options are overtly mentioned, while others are implied. The SHC token is embedded with the final *ka* ‘or’ token, thereby stressing the fact that the given list of alternatives is not exhaustive; that is, other, higher amounts of money are also conceivable. (See Kluge 2017: 543 for details on the alternative-marking functions of *ka* ‘or’.)

(65) ||
\[… \ kita \ kasi \ ko \ hári \ ini \ dua \ ratus \ juga \ ka \ tiga \ ratus \ juta \ ká, \]
\[1PL \ give \ 2SG \ day \ D.PROX \ two \ hundred \ also \ or \ three \ hundred \ million \ or \]
\[ko \ bawa \]
\[2SG \ bring \]
\[‘[(how much money do you want?, \ do \ you \ want \ one \ billion \ rupiah?), \ this \ very \ [day \ we \ also \ give \ you \ two \ hundred \ or \ three \ hundred \ million \ [or \ (some \ other \ amount), \ you \ (just) \ take \ (the) \ money’ (081029-004-Cv.0026)\]

4.4. Reactions to propositions

Speakers also employ SHC tokens to accentuate their reactions to propositions, in terms of their confirmation, as in (20), repeated as (66), or their rejection, as in (25), repeated as (67), and in (68). In total, the corpus includes ten such tokens (10/136 – 7%), six of which accentuate confirmation and four of which reject a proposition.

The example in (66), is part of a narrative about the speaker’s ancestor. The speaker relates how the ancestor had implanted a number of poles close to the beach and that these poles still exist. To confirm the truth value of this proposition, the speaker submits that he himself has *liat* ‘seen’ the poles and that he has bathed *situ* ‘there’. The speaker further reinforces his confirmation of the proposition’s truth value with two single handclaps: one is anchored with the verb *liat* ‘see’ and one with the medial locative *situ* ‘L.MED’.

Reaction: Confirmation

(66) dia pu tiang–tiang yang dia tanam itu \ masi \ ada,
3SG POSS RDP–pole REL 3SG plant D.DIST still exist
[About an ancestor:] ‘his poles which he implanted there still exist, I saw (them), I bathed there’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0298]

Along similar lines, SHC are used to reject propositions. The example in (67), is part of a conversation about a planned youth retreat. The speaker’s interlocutor worries that the young people will not get a leave of absence from school to attend the retreat. The speaker, however, rejects these concerns. To reinforce his rejection he anchors an SHC token with existential ada ‘exist’. In (68), the speaker relates how she once got invited to Java. Given her heart problems and fear of flying, however, she rejected the invitation. She reinforces her rejection with an SHC token which she embeds clause-initially with the subject sa ‘1SG’. (Alternatively, one could argue that the SHC in (68) accentuates a contrast between the two propositions.)

Reaction: Rejection

(67) a tida ada masala
ah! NEG exist problem

[About problems getting a leave of absence from school:] ‘ah!, (there) won’t be (any) problems’ (Lit. ‘not exist problem’) [081011-020-Cv.0173]

(68) sa diajak mo ke Jawa, sa tida maw
1SG UV-invite want to Java 1SG NEG want
‘I was invited to come to Java, (but) I didn’t want to (go there)’ [081015-002-Cv.0003]10

4.5. Interaction management

Speakers also use SHC tokens in the context of “interaction management”. This term, adopted from Dik and Hengeveld (1997: 384),11 denotes speaker strategies for getting another person’s attention and for attaining their readiness to partake in the desired discourse event. The SHC tokens serve to support and reinforce these strategies.

Attested are four SHC tokens (4/136 – 3%). Two of them are anchored with interjections which the speakers employ to signal the addressees that they would like to say something to them, as shown with ey ‘hey’ in (46), repeated as (69). The remaining two tokens are embedded with vocatives which unambiguously signal the addressees that they are the intended recipients of the respective utterances, as illustrated with kawang ‘friend’ in (47), repeated as (70).

(69) … ey, angkat muka supaya liat orang!
hey! lift front so.that see person

[About hospitality:] ‘[here[SPM], over there, when we ate (and) bowed (our head), wham, father hit us in the face,] ‘hey, lift (your) face so that (you) see (the other) people!’’ [081110-008-CvNP.0101]

10 Papuan Malay does not have an undergoer voice. Most likely, the speaker’s use of the Indonesian undergoer voice marker di- ‘UV’ is triggered by the mention of the Indonesian island of Java which is closely associated with the Indonesian government and the Indonesian language.

11 In their discussion of extra-clausal constituent, Dik and Hengeveld (1997: 384) suggest that one function of such constituents pertains “to the creation and maintenance of the interactional conditions which must be fulfilled for a discourse event to be implemented”.

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The triple vowels "aaa" ‘ah’ in (72) represent vowel lengthening.

4.7. Enumerations

Some SHC tokens occur in list-like enumerations formed by juxtaposition of same-type constituents (10/136 tokens – 7%). Here they serve to accentuate enumerated items. These items can be encoded as noun phrases, such as *Siduas* in (73), or as clauses such as *biking kebung* ‘work (in) the gardens’ in (28), repeated as (74), or *cara kawing* ‘the way to marry’ in (75). Speakers may accentuate only one enumerated item as in (73) where the third constituent, *Siduas*, is accentuated, or as in (74) where the first occurrence of *biking* ‘make’ is accentuated. Alternatively, speakers may accentuate more than one enumerated item, as in (75). (See Kluge 2017: 558–559 for details on juxtaposition in Papuan Malay.)

12 In the above-mentioned description of extra-clausal constituent, Dik and Hengeveld (1997: 384) further submit that another function of these constituents is to “pertain to the emotional/attitudinal tone in which the discourse is carried out”.

13 The triple vowels "aaa" ‘ah’ in (72) represent vowel lengthening.
The reasons why the speakers chose the specific items over the others listed in the enumerations in (73) to (75) are yet to be established.

(73)
Nikson, Hulki, **Siduas**, Nais dong menang
Nikson Hulki Siduas Nais 3PL win

[About a volleyball match:] ‘Nikson, Hulki, **Siduas**, Nais, they won (the match)’ [081109-001-Cv.0004]

(74)
de kalo **biking** kebong, biking sa pu ruma kecil sa tinggal
3SG if make garden make 1SG POSS house be.small 1SG stay
‘when he (my father) ***worked*** (in) the gardens, (and) made a shelter for me, I stayed (there)’
[081110-008-CvNP.0007]

(75)
jadi malam bapa biasa ceritra–ceritra untuk saya cara **káwwiing**,
so night father be.usual RDP–tell for 1SG manner marry.unofficially

cara bayar **mas-káwwiing**
manner pay bride.price
‘so at night (my) father usually told stories for me (about) the way to ***marry***, (about) the way to pay the ***bride-price***’ [081110-008-CvNP.0010]

4.8. Other pertinent discourse elements

The corpus also includes a sizeable number of SHC tokens (32/136 – 24%) which do not fit into any one of the above categories. They accentuate or emphasize particular discourse elements, which the speakers deem pertinent. These include pertinent referents as in (33), repeated as (76), and in (36), repeated as (77), pertinent activities or states as in (78) and (79), or pertinent moments, as in (80) and (81).

The embedding of SHC with pertinent referents is illustrated in (76) and (77); in all, the corpus includes 14 such tokens (14/136 – 10%). The example in (76) is part of an extended discussion about the young teenagers living in the house whom the adults consider to be lazy. One of the adults brings up the topic of English classes. She relates how she tells the young people how important it is for them to study English, emphasizing the referent bahasa Inggris ‘English language’ with an SHC token. In (77), a primary teacher tells her interlocutor about the many duties she has as a teacher, accentuating tugas ‘duty’ with an SHC token.

Pertinent referents

(76)
sa bilang tu, harus blajar bahása Inggris
1SG say D.DIST have.to study language England

[About basic school education:] ‘I said (EMPH), (they) have to study the English ***language*** (Lit. ‘***language*** (of) England’ [081115-001a-Cv.0177]

(77)
sa punya plajarang tu, slalu túsas tu banyak
1SG POSS course D.DIST always duty D.DIST many

[A primary teacher about her work load:] ‘that teaching load of mine, those ***duties*** are always plentiful’ (Lit. ‘those courses’) [081011-023-Cv.0317]

Another 13 SHC tokens (13/136 – 10%) are embedded with the clausal verb to accentuate a pertinent activity or state, as shown in (24), repeated as (78), and in (79), respectively. The example in (78) is part of a story about the speaker’s ancestor and his first offspring. When the speaker was still a boy and heard this story for the first time, he wondered where the ancestor’s first child had come from. When
he asked his father, his father laughed, however, and told him to grow up first before he would answer this question. To emphasize *tanya* ‘ask’, the speaker marks it with an SHC token. In (79), the speaker tells his interlocutor how much his neck was hurting when he got up in the morning: it felt like it was going to *pata* ‘break’. The SHC token emphasizes the painful state the speaker had been in.

Pertinent activities or states

(78) \[ \text{tapi bapa waktu itu sa tánya bapa, bapa ketawa but father time D.DIST 1SG ask father father laugh} \]

[A boy wonders where children come from:] ‘... but father at that time (when) I asked him, father laughed’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0193-0194]

(79) \[ \text{pagi bangung ini sa pu leher ini rasa-rasa morning wake.up D.PROX 1SG POSS neck D.PROX RDP~feel} \]

\[ \text{mo páta, adoo! want break oh.no!} \]

‘(when I) woke up this morning, this neck of mine felt (like) it wanted to ||break, ouuuch!’ [081013-002-Cv.0001]

The corpus also includes 5/136 SHC tokens (4%) which accentuate pertinent moments, as illustrated in (19), repeated as (80), and in (81). In (80), the speaker relates how rich some people are and how they use this money to influence others. They are so rich that they can easily hand out two or three hundred million rupiah right on the spot, *hari ini* ‘this very day’. To emphasize this temporal specification, the speaker marks *hari* ‘day’ with an SHC token. In (81), the speaker emphasizes that the traditional bride-price customs have not changed until the present. She accentuates this temporal specification by lengthening the final vowel of *ini* ‘D.PROX’ and by embedding an SHC token with the proximal demonstrative.

Pertinent moments

(80) \[ \text{... kita kasi ko hári ini dua ratus juga ka tiga ratus juta ká 1PL give 2SG day D.PROX two hundred also or three hundred million or} \]

\[ \text{[(how much money do you want?, do you want one billion rupiah?),] this very ||day we also give you two hundred or three hundred million ||or (some other amount)] (Lit. ‘[||day this’)} \]

[081029-004-Cv.0026]

(81) \[ \text{... a bagemana orang-tua duluuu dong punya cara bayar mas-kawiiing} \]

\[ \text{ah! how parent be.prior 3PL. POSS manner pay bride.price} \]

\[ \text{sampe skarang iniiii} \]

\[ \text{reach now D.PROX} \]

‘(my father told me,) ah!, how (our) ancestors’, (how) their way (was to) pay the bride-price until ||right now’ (Lit. ‘now ||this’) [081110-008-CvNP.0011]

5. **Summary**

This paper has described a particular form of illustrator gestures, used by Papuan Malay speakers to achieve their discourse goals, namely single handclaps. They have discourse pragmatic function in that they accentuate or emphasize particular constituents of speaker utterances. By highlighting particular words or phrases, they mark them as significant. Thereby, similar to beats, single handclaps (SHC) reveal “the speaker’s conception” of their discourse as a whole, employing McNeill’s (1992: 15) terminology.
In analyzing this nonverbal communicative phenomenon, the attested SHC tokens were investigated in terms of their form, that is, their phonological and syntactic environment, as well as in terms of their function, that is, their discursive environment.

The analysis of the phonological environment of the attested SHC tokens shows that the majority of tokens are embedded with the stressed syllable of their lexical anchor points, while about one quarter precedes or follows their anchor points with an audible delay. The remaining tokens are anchored with an unstressed syllable of their respective anchor points which mostly can be explained in terms of their syntactic embedding.

With respect to their syntactic environment, the analysis of the SHC tokens indicates that the vast majority of them are anchored with a clause. Of these, a majority are anchored at the clause boundary, while a minority are embedded clause-internally. In addition, an even smaller minority are embedded with extra-clausal constituents.

Of the SHC tokens embedded at the clause boundary, slightly more than half occur in clause-initial position, while slightly less than half occur in clause-final position. The clause-initial SHC tokens anchor either before or with the clause-initial syllable of their respective embedding lexemes. The latter preference matches the typical stress pattern for disyllabic words in Papuan Malay. Hence, only very few SHC tokens are embedded with an unstressed syllable of their anchor points. Along similar lines, the data shows a clear preference for clause-final SHC tokens to occur at the very end of the clause. That is, they tend to either follow their embedding lexeme or anchor with the last syllable of the clause. Given, however, the typical Papuan Malay penultimate stress pattern, the ultimate syllable is usually not the stressed one. Hence, a fairly high percentage of clause-final SHC tokens are embedded with the unstressed ultimate syllable of the clause-final lexeme.

Concerning SHC tokens in clause internal position, more than half are anchored with the clausal predicate while slightly less than one third are embedded with a core argument; the remaining SHC tokens co-occur with peripheral adjuncts. Similar to the SHC tokens in clause-boundary position, most of the clause-internal SHC tokens are either embedded with the stressed syllable of their anchor points or precede them with an audible delay. The remaining clause-internal SHC tokens, that is, about one fifth of them, are embedded with an unstressed syllable of their anchor points. This rather high percentage could result from unsuccessful attempts to embed the respective SHC tokens with the word-initial, that is, the stressed penultimate, syllable of the following disyllabic lexeme. The data further show clear preferences regarding the word classes which serve as anchor points for the SHC tokens. Most of them are anchored with lexemes belonging to an open word class.

The analysis of the discursive environment hosting the attested SHC tokens shows that the majority of them are associated with discourse elements either pertaining to the discourse organization or to the relations between propositions. Other discursive environments are reactions to propositions, interaction management, attitude specification, and enumerations. About one quarter of the SHC tokens fits none of the above categories. These tokens highlight different discourse elements deemed pertinent by the speakers, namely pertinent referents, activities, states, or moments.
List of abbreviations

<table>
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<th>Abbreviations</th>
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<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3</td>
<td>1st, 2nd, 3rd person</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
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References


