

LANGUAGE & LINGUISTICS IN MELANESIA

Journal of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea ISSN: 0023-1959
Vol. 37, 2019



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

Angela Kluge
SIL International

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

Angela Kluge (SIL International)

angela_kluge@sil.org

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 paper¹ 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).²

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||**’ [081025-006-Cv.0107]

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%).

Table 1: The recorded Papuan Malay speakers by gender and age groups

Age groups	Males	Females	Total
Adult (thirties and older)	5	6	11
Young adult (teens and twenties)	2	6	8
Total	7	12	19

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 positions 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.

³ 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” Klammer et al. (: 107).

Table 2: Phonological embedding

Anchor points	Tokens	
Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme	73	54%
Preceding or following embedding lexeme	41	30%
Unstressed syllable of embedding lexeme	22	16%
Total	136	100%

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)
- mungking dia mara pace **ni**
 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 **|| bayar,** (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]

- (7)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------|---------|------|------|--------|--------|-----------|
| baru | Sefanya | pu | mata | ni | besar | |
| 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 boundary⁴

Anchor points at clause boundary	Tokens	
Clause-initial position		
Preceding embedding lexeme	16	44%
Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme	18	50%
Unstressed syllable of embedding lexeme	2	6%
Total	36	100%
Clause-final position		
Following embedding lexeme	13	33%
Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme	16	40%
Unstressed syllable of embedding lexeme	11	28%
Total	40	100%

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.

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. ‘|| **LŃG**’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, ||
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, ||
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 ||
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, **tempát** itu paling rawang
 1SG say place D.DIST most be.haunted
 ‘I said, ‘||that **place** is most haunted’ (Lit. ‘||**place** that’) [081025-006-Cv.0292]
- (14) aaa, itu yang sa snang, **karná** 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, ‘...’ [081110-008-CvNP.0169]⁵

The token frequencies presented in Table 3 and the examples in (8) to (14) indicate a general preference for clause-initial SHC tokens to anchor at the very beginning of the clause. This applies to 34/36 tokens (94%). That is, almost all tokens either precede their embedding lexemes (16/36 tokens – 44%) or anchor with the first syllable of the clause (18/36 tokens – 50%). As for the latter, this tendency matches the typical Papuan Malay stress pattern, with 13/18 tokens (72%) anchoring with the stressed, penultimate syllable of their hosts. Furthermore, the data suggest that speakers apply this overall preference also to SHC tokens that are embedded with lexemes with ultimate stress. That is, 2/18 tokens (11%) are anchored with the unstressed first, that is, penultimate, syllable, namely *tempat* ‘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 **tída** ||
 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

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 **prempúang**
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 **bensing**, 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 **sítu**
1SG see 1SG bathe 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 **tempat**
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 slot⁶

Anchor points in clause-internal position	Tokens	
Predicate slot (25 tokens)		
Preceding embedding lexeme	5	20%
Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme	15	60%
Unstressed syllable of embedding lexeme	5	20%
Total	25	100%
Core argument slot (13 tokens)		
Preceding embedding lexeme (subject)	2	15%
Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme (subject)	3	23%
Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme (object)	5	38%
Unstressed syllable of embedding lexeme (subject)	3	23%
Total	13	100%
Peripheral adjunct slot (5 tokens)		
Stressed syllable of embedding lexeme	4	80%
Unstressed syllable of embedding lexeme	1	20%
Total	5	100%

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%)

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 class⁸

Anchor points	Tokens	
Verbs	21	49%
Nouns	12	28%
Adverbs	3	7%
Prepositions	4	9%
Demonstratives	1	2%
Interrogatives	1	2%
Auxiliaries	1	2%
Total	43	100%

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)
- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------|--------|--|-------------|--|
| | | | | | |
| ... | baru | itu | | sála | |
| | and.then | D.DIST | | be.wrong | |
- [About sexual relations outside marriage:] ‘... but then that (is) || **wrong**’ [081110-006-CvEx.0273]

- (23)
- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|-------|------|-------|-------------|-----|-------|----------|-----|--------|
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| dia | cuma | hanya | taw, | hanya | bawa | dia | punya | istri | dua | itu |
| 3SG | just | only | know | only | bring | 3SG | POSS | wife[SI] | two | D.DIST |
- ‘[... 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’.

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 **tányá** 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 ságu, penokok sago **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 **bísa** 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).

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 *klapa* ‘coconut’ in (26), repeated as (37), while *Sius* 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 (*itu* ‘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 **tugas** tu banyak
 I SG 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 **klapa** tu, jadi ságu, penokok sago 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 Meki satu set, **Sius**, 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) Meki, (one for) **Sius**, 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 bu kang hidup dengang orang-tua di kampung,
 mother D.PROX NEG live with parent at village
 mama ni hidup **déng** orang di luar
 mother D.PROX 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’ [081115-001b-Cv.0043]
- (40) ... kita kasi ko **hári** ini dua ratus juga ka tiga ratus juta ká
 I PL 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

stress. 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 **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]

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 *klapa* ‘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
 mungking 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

Discourse environment	Tokens	
Discourse organization	39	29%
Discourse grounding	7	5%
Relations between propositions	29	21%
Reactions to propositions	10	7%
Interaction management	4	3%
Attitude specification	5	4%
Enumerations	10	7%
Other pertinent discourse elements	32	24%
Total	136	100%

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).

- (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 kebun, biking sa pu ruma kecil, sa tinggal,
 3SG if make garden make 1SG POSS house be.small 1SG stay
 ||
 de babat kebun, 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) ade masi skarang itu masi 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 “announcement 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

Backgrounding

- (56) 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]
- (57) baru laki~laki de mulay angkat de mulay padam,
 and.then RDP~husband 3SG start lift 3SG start extinguish
 mungking dia mara **pace ní**
 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**’ [081014-016-Cv.0042]

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, **karná** 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
 biasa 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 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’ (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’ [081115-001b-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’) [081110-002-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) || || ||
 pána 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. ‘||walk 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.0324]

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

sa **liat**, sa mandi di **situ**
 1SG see 1SG bathe at L.MED

[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”.

- (70) ||
káwang, kalo kalo nanti tong maing biar sa cadangang!
 friend 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]

4.6. Attitude specification

Furthermore, speakers employ SHC tokens in the context of “attitude specification”, another term adopted from Dik and Hengeveld (1997: 386).¹² One particularly important means for attitude specification is the use of interjections as they directly convey the speaker’s current emotional and mental state. (For more details on interjections in Papuan Malay, see Kluge 2017: 316–319.)

The corpus includes five SHC tokens (5/136 tokens – 4%) that are anchored with interjections. Their main function is to further highlight the speaker’s current state. The example in (46), repeated as (71), is part of a story in which the speaker recounts how her father taught her to be hospitable: While eating she should not bow her head to avoid the looks of hungry neighbors passing by. Instead, she should sit upright and invite these neighbors to join them. Using the interjection *mmm* ‘wham’, the speaker relates how her father would hit her in the face whenever she bowed her head while eating. The SHC token underlines the strength and impact of the blow she received from her father.

In (72), the speaker relates how happy she is about her upbringing, because her parents taught her to behave in such a way that she would not give any reasons for gossip. She signals her contentment with the interjection *a* ‘ah’.¹³ The SHC token further highlights her pleasure.

- (71) ||
 di sik sana, kalo kitong makang tunduk, **mmm**,
 at SPM-L.PROX L.DIST if 1PL eat bow wham

 bapa pukul kitong punya muka ...
 father hit 1PL POSS front
 [About hospitality:] ‘here[SPM], over there, when we ate (and) bowed (our head), ||**wham**,
 father hit us in the face ...’ [081110-008-CvNP.0101]

- (72) || ||
aaa, itu yang sa snang, karná 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]

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, **Síduas**, Nais dong menang
Nikson Hulki Siduas Nais 3PL win
[About a volleyball match:] ‘Nikson, Hulki, ||**Síduas**, Nais, they won (the match)’ [081109-001-Cv.0004]
- (74) ||
de kalo **bíking** kebung, 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 **káwiiing**,
so night father be.usual RDP~tell for 1SG manner marry.unofficially
||
cara bayar **mas-káwiiing**
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 plajaran tu, slalu **túgas** 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) tapi bapa waktu itu sa **|| tanya** 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) pagi bangun ini sa pu leher ini rasa~rasa
 morning wake.up D.PROX 1SG POSS neck D.PROX RDP~feel
||
 mo **páta**, adooo!
 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) ... kita kasi ko **|| hari** ini dua ratus juga ka tiga tiga ratus juta **||** ká
 IPL give 2SG day D.PROX two hundred also or three 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]
- (81) ... a bagemana orang-tua duluu dong punya cara bayar mas-kawiiing
 ah! how parent be.prior 3PL POSS manner pay bride.price
||
 sampe skarang **iiii**
 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

Abbreviations	
1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person
CAUS	causative
D.DIST	demonstrative, distal
D.PROX	demonstrative, proximal
EMPH	emphasis
L.DIST	locative, distal
L.MED	locative, medial
L.PROX	locative, proximal
N	noun
NEG	negation
NEG.IMP	negative imperative
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
RDP	reduplicant
REL	relativizer
SG	singular
SI	Standard Indonesian
SPM	speech mistake
TRU	truncated
UV	undergoer voice

References

- Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics and point of view. In Charles N. Li (ed.), *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic Press, 25–55.
- Dik, Simon C. and Kees Hengeveld. 1997. *The theory of functional grammar. Part 2: Complex and derived constructions* (Functional Grammar Series 21), 2nd edn. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ekman, Paul and Wallace V. Friesen. 1969. The repertoire of nonverbal behavior: Categories, origins, usage and coding. *Semiotica* 1: 49–98. Online URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/semi.1969.1.1.49> [Last accessed on 11 Feb 2016].
- Erickson, Carol. 1981. A pragmatic account of Isirawa narrations. *Irian – Bulletin of Irian Jaya* 9(2): 65–94. Online URL: <http://papuaweb.org/dlib/irian/9-2.PDF> [Last accessed on 13 Nov 2019].
- Foley, William A. 2007. A typology of information packaging in the clause. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description. Volume 1: Clause structure*, 2nd edn.. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 362–446.
- Givón, Talmy. 2001. *Syntax: An introduction. Volume 2*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Kendon, Adam. 1997. Gesture. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26: 109–128 [Last accessed on 13 Nov 2019].
- Klamer, Marian, Gerard P. Reesink and Miriam van Staden. 2008. East Nusantara as a linguistic area. In Pieter Muysken (ed.), *From linguistic areas to areal linguistics* (Studies in Language Companion Series 90). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 95–151.

- Kluge, Angela. 2017. *A grammar of Papuan Malay* (Studies in Diversity Linguistics 11). Berlin: Language Science Press. Online URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/langsci.b78.35>; <http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/78>.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1981. *Topic, antitopic, and verb agreement in non-standard French* (Pragmatics & Beyond II:6). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: Topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 71). Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 2001. Dislocation. In Martin Haspelmath, Ekkehard König, Wulf Oesterreicher and Wolfgang Raible (eds.), *Language typology and language universals: An international handbook. Volume 2* (Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science 20.2). Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1050–1078.
- McNeill, David. 1992. *Hand and mind: What gestures reveal about thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McNeill, David. 2005. *Gesture and thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Muñoz, Jesús. 2014. Hijra handclapping: An analysis of co-speech gesturing, conversational grounding and linguistic forms of subversion (Term paper for course LING 6200 ‘Structure of Indo-Aryan Languages’, taught by Benjamin Slade). Salt Lake City: The University of Utah.
- Wiesemann, Ursula and Kent Spielmann. 2002. *Grammar by means of discourse analysis*. Dallas: SIL International.

