

ПОЗИЦИЯ СЧЕТНОГО КОМПЛЕКСА В ИНДОНЕЗИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ*

И. В. Неткачев

Национальный исследовательский университет Высшая школа экономики

В индонезийском языке счетный комплекс может стоять как перед именем, так и после него. В настоящей работе показано, что позиция счетного комплекса определяется двумя факторами: референциальностью ИГ и информационной структурой предложения; информационная структура также мотивирует «плавание» числительных (quantifier float). Разные порядки имен и числительных внутри ИГ могут быть объяснены с помощью понятия «композициональной обязательности» (compositional obligatoriness).

Ключевые слова: индонезийский язык, числительные, плавающие кванторы, референциальность, информационная структура.

* Эта работа была написана под руководством Ю.А. Ландера — и ему я выражаю благодарность прежде всего. Я также благодарен всем тем, кто обсуждал со мной эту работу на разных этапах ее написания: М.А. Даниэлю, Полине Касьяновой, Марку Донохью, Полине Плешак, Полине Наследсковой и Алексею Козлову. Помимо этого, я очень благодарен Полине Наследсковой и Полине Плешак, которые нашли время полностью прочитать текст статьи и откомментировать его. И еще — спасибо моим информантам: Гири Маулана, Хани Чалиста и Аде Ирма Эльвира. Эта работа была представлена на постерной сессии международной летней школы “Areal Linguistics and Languages of Russia”, 11 октября 2018 г. в Москве; и на восьмой конференции «Типология морфосинтаксических параметров», также в Москве, 22 октября 2018 г. Спасибо аудитории за интересные и важные вопросы. Все ошибки на моей совести.

THE SYNTACTIC POSITION OF NUMERATIVE COMPLEX IN INDONESIAN*

Ivan Netkachev

National Research University Higher School of Economics

In Indonesian, numerative complex may either precede or follow the noun. In my work, I will show that two factors determine the position of the numerative complex: specificity and information structure. Information structure is also found to be significant for related constructions, i.e. those involving “floating” of numerals. I conclude that the position of numerals may be determined by compositional obligatoriness.

Keywords: Indonesian, numerals, quantifier float, specificity, information structure.

* This work would have never been written without comments and supervision of Yuri Lander, and my thanks go to him. Many thanks go to those people who have discussed this work with me and provided useful insights: Michael Daniel, Polina Kasyanova, Mark Donohue, Polina Pleshak, Polina Nasledskova, Alexey Kozlov; additional gratitudes go to Polina Nasledskova and Polina Pleshak, who have read the text of this paper and commented on it. I also thank my Indonesian consultants: Giri Maulana, Hani Calista and Ade Irma Elvira. This paper was presented at the poster session of International Summer School “Areal Linguistics and Languages of Russia” in Moscow, September 11, and also at the The 8th conference in the series “Typology of Morphosyntactic Parameters” in Moscow, October 22. I thank all the audiences for their questions. All mistakes are mine.

1. Introduction

Indonesian is a Malayo-Polynesian language (< Austronesian) spoken in Indonesia. This language is subject to a very high dialectal variation (see, e.g., [Paauw 2008] on the different dialects of Malay/Indonesian); in the present paper, I study literary, or standard Indonesian.

The major part of the data comes from texts found on the Internet: mostly from newspapers and blogs. Some examples were elicited: I used elicitation mainly to get negative grammaticality judgments. All of my consultants are native Indonesian speakers from Jakarta; they do not speak any other language of the area, yet they are fluent in English (and possibly Russian).

As it is noted in some grammars of Indonesian [Mintz 1994: 298; Ogloblin 2008: 157], in constructions with cardinal numerals, a numerative complex (NC, a combination of a numeral and a classifier¹) may either precede or follow the noun:

(1) **NC-N order**

<i>[dua</i>	<i>ekor]</i>	<i>kucing</i>
two	CLF	cat
‘two cats’		

(2) **N-NC order**

<i>kucing</i>	<i>[dua</i>	<i>ekor]</i>
cat	two	CLF
‘two cats’		

The difference in meaning between the two constructions remains unclear. In fact, this issue has not yet been studied in a concise way, although some works provide very useful insights. The present study aims to establish the semantic/pragmatic difference between the two possible word orders. I will also consider the closely related constructions, namely those which involve quantifier float.

In Austronesian languages of Central/Eastern Indonesia, numerals may have morphosyntactic properties of verbs [Klamer 2002; Donohue 2005]. In Indonesian, numerals can (i) be used predicatively and (ii) head relative clauses:

¹ The classifier is non-obligatory when the numerative complex precedes the noun, it is omitted in some examples.

(3) **Predicative use of numerals**

kue di meja lima potong
 cake in table five CLF

‘There are five slices of cake on the table.’, lit. ‘The cake on the table is five pieces.’ [Sneddon 1996: 234-235]

(4) **Numerals heading a relative clause**

anjing yang dua ekor itu
 dog REL two CLF this

‘These two dogs ...’, lit. ‘the dogs that are two’ (<https://www.kaskus.co.id/>)

These constructions are beyond the scope of my study, and I will only consider those examples where the numeral is NP-modifier/quantifier.

I will show that when the numerative complex (NC) is postposed, (i) the nominal is (at least preferably) non-specific and (ii) the NC is in focus (the focus can scope over the whole nominal, or over the whole VP). Further, I will argue that (iii) the “floating” of numerals out of the nominal is motivated by information structure, too: it occurs when the noun is topicalized, and the NC is in focus.

Section 2 is dedicated to the semantic/pragmatic difference between NC-N and N-NC constructions; in section 3, I discuss the floating of numerals in Indonesian. Section 4 provides a possible account for some of the facts observed, drawing upon the notion of compositional obligatoriness. Section 5 is a conclusion.

2. Semantics and pragmatics of the two orders of numerals and nouns

Let us quickly review the previous analyses of the constructions in question.

Hopper [1986: 317] suggests that in 19th century Malay the N-NC construction was used when the nominal is definite. He provides the following example:

(5) *maka ada pun mengerjakan lobang sa-buah itu*
 and be PTCL.FOC making hole one-CLF this

sampai lima enam hari
 take five six day

‘Indeed it took five or six days just to dig that one hole.’

[Hopper 1986: 317]

Yet this suggestion is problematic: this example comes from the text written in 1846, hence, it is not relevant for the study of contemporary Indonesian²; further, it seems that the data provided by Hopper are not sufficient to make any generalization.

Some very important insights are provided by Conklin [1981: 215-8]. She argues that the N-NC construction is used when the numerative complex is focalized (even though she does not use the term “focus”). The following two examples are given (the corresponding WH-questions are provided by Conklin):

(6) {What did you buy?}

saya membeli [_{FOC} *tiga buah keranjang*]
I buy three CLF basket

‘I bought three baskets.’ / ‘I bought three of the baskets.’

(7) {How many (baskets) did you buy?}

saya membeli keranjang [_{FOC} *tiga buah*]
I buy basket three CLF

‘I bought three baskets.’

As I am going to show below, this hypothesis is only partly true.

2.1. Specificity issue

In this section, I am going to show that the order of numerals and nouns is to quite an extent determined by the **specificity** of the nominal.

Following Lambrecht [1994: 80-81], I will draw upon the notion of identifiability to define specificity. Specific referents are identifiable to the speaker (and possibly to the hearer), while non-specific referents are not³.

NC-N is basic word order, and it is used most frequently. Apparently, it can occur in all the contexts, regardless of semantic/pragmatic factors (the relevant examples will be given below). N-NC word order occurs much more rarely.

² Early grammars of Malay suggest that N-NC is the neutral (and, hence, the most common) word order, while NC-N order is used when the numeral is “emphasized” ([Winstedt 1913: 131], cf. [Maxwell 1907: 70-71]; the short overview of the issue is given in [Blust 2013: 294]). As it will be shown below, it does not hold for the contemporary Indonesian.

³ Of course, there are other (more formal) definitions of specificity; see [von Heusinger 2011] for an overview.

N-NC word order is used primarily with non-specific nominals. Consider the examples (8-9): the nominal falls under the scope of a distributive operator, and, consequently, it is clearly non-specific⁴.

(8) **Distributive context: N is non-specific**

Penerima zakat produktif men-dapat ternak
receiver zakat productive ACT-get cattle

kambing tiga ekor per kepala keluarga.
goat three CLF per head family

‘The receivers of productive zakat get three goats per family head.’

(<https://www.republika.co.id/>)

(9) **Distributive context: N is non-specific**

Bagaimana Kelingking bisa menangkap kancil
how Kelingking can catch mouse.deer

dua ekor se-kali-an, padahal yang
two CLF one-time-ABSTR while REL

di-kejar-nya tadi hanya satu?
PASS.3-chase-POSS.3 now only one

‘How can Kelingking catch two mouse deer at once, while he’s now chasing only one?’ (<http://ceritarakyatnusantara.com/>)

In (10) the nominal *telur dua buah* ‘egg two CLF’ is non-specific, too: no “particular eggs” are meant.

(10) *Biasa-nya di-beri-kan telur dua buah.*
usual-POSS.3 PASS.3-give-TR egg two CLF

‘Usually, two eggs are given {to the crocodile}.’ (<http://www.kuebugis.com/>)

The same holds for (11):

(11) *Laki-laki tersebut akan di-denda babi tiga ekor <...>*
man~PL mentioned will PASS.3-fine pig three CLF

‘That man will be fined three pigs <...>’

(<http://www.pusat4.litbang.depkes.go.id/buku/2014/topo%20tawui.pdf>)

⁴ Apparently, (8) involves a participant-distributive operator, and (9) involves event-distributive operator in terms of Cable [2014: 574]. On the interaction of specificity and distributivity see [Tatevosov 2002: 92].

Yet sometimes one can find the examples of clearly specific nominals encoded by N-NC construction, for example:

(12) *Pada saat penangkapan, polisi juga meng-aman-kan*
 in moment arrest police too ACT-arrest-TR

sejumlah barang bukti yakni sapi tiga ekor,
 overall thing evidence namely cow three CLF

satu unit sepeda motor Yamaha Vixion,
 one unit bike motor Yamaha Vixion

dan uang tunai Rp 40 juta.
 and money cash rupiah forty million

‘In the moment of arrest, the police also arrested the following evidence: three cows, one motorbike Yamaha Vixion and 40 million rupiah in cash.’ (<https://beritasampit.co.id/>)

In (12), the referent *sapi tiga ekor* ‘cow three CLF’ is mentioned for the first time in the discourse; after this, it is only mentioned once, hence, one can conclude that this nominal is not prominent in the discourse. This is not unexpected: Givón [1983: 26] suggests that it is typical for languages to encode non-specific nouns and nouns of “lesser importance” in the same way.

The standard NC-N construction can be used to denote both specific and non-specific referents, see (13-14):

(13) **Distributive context: N is non-specific**

... *dengan per-kira-an rata-rata*
 with NMLZ-estimate-ABSTR average~PL

panen dua kucing per tahun
 population two cat per year

‘{There are about 1,000 Pallas cat hunters in Mongolia,} with an estimated annual harvest of two cats.’ (<https://id.wikipedia.org/>)

(14) **Definite nominal**

Namun tiga ekor sapi tersebut di-serahkan
 however three CLF cow mentioned PASS.3-hand.over

ke Polres Pulang Pisau
 to police.station Pulang Pisau

‘However, the three cows were handed over to the police station of Pulang Pisau.’ (<https://beritasampit.co.id/>)

2.2. Focus

Now let us return to the Conklin's suggestion: she argues that when the numerative complex is postnominal, it is focalized. Does focus really affect the order of numerals and nouns?

For the purposes of the present work, I will use the following definition of focus: focus of a statement is "that part of the utterance that answers the Question under Discussion" ([Clopper, Tonhauser 2011] after [Kroeger 2017]; cf. [Roberts 1996]).

In the following examples, Questions under Discussion will be recovered from the context.

Most often, when the N-NC construction is used, not only the numeral is focalized, but the whole nominal, or even the whole VP (so-called predicate focus, see [Lambrecht 1994]). This can be seen in examples (16-18). Examples (15-16) are in fact a question-answer pair, retrieved from a parallel Bible corpus [Christodouloupoulos, Steedman 2014].

(15) "Ada *berapa* *roti* *pada* *kalian*?"
 there.is how.many bread on you.all

tanya *Yesus* *kepada* *mereka*.
 ask Jesus to they

'And Jesus saith unto them, How many loaves have ye?' (Mt. 15:34)

(16) The whole nominal focalized

"*Tujuh*," *jawab* *mereka*, "*dan* [_{FOC} *ikan* *kecil* *beberapa* *ekor*]"
 seven answer they and fish little some CLF

'And they said, Seven, and a few little fishes.'⁵ (Mt. 15:34)

(17) The whole nominal focalized

{What is usually given to the crocodile?}

Biasa-nya *di-beri-kan* [_{FOC} *telur* *dua* *buah*].
 usual-POSS.3 PASS.3-give-TR egg two CLF

'Usually, two eggs are given {to the crocodile}.'

(<http://www.kuebugis.com/>)

⁵ I assume that *ikan beberapa ekor* 'fish some CLF' is a numerative complex, although *beberapa* 'some' is, strictly speaking, not a numeral.

(18) **Predicate focus**

{What do they do?/What happens to them?}

Mereka bisa punya mobil, malah ada yang
they can have car even there.is REL

[_{FOC} *mendirikan rumah tiga buah dalam se-tahun*],
build house three CLF in one-year

dan sekaligus pula.
and at.once also

‘They can have a car, there are even those that build three houses a year, and all this at the same time.’ (<https://arifuddinli.blogspot.com/>)

Still, it is possible to find the examples where the numerical complex is focalized, while the noun is in topic. Look at the following example, which apparently involves some kind contrastive focus:

(19) **NC focalized**

Sedan dan Station Wagon memiliki lampu
Sedan and Station Wagon ACT:have headlight

depan [_{FOC} *bulat*] [_{FOC} *4 buah*], *sedangkan Hardtop*
front round 4 CLF while Hardtop

dengan lampu depan [_{FOC} *kotak*] [_{FOC} *2 buah*].
with headlight front box 2 CLF

‘Sedan and Station Wagon have **four round** front headlights, while Hardtop has **two box** front headlights.’ (<https://id.wikipedia.org/>)

So, it is true that the N-NC construction is often focalized. But the focus can scope not only over (i) numerative complex, but also over (ii) the whole noun phrase and (iii) the whole VP, so Conklin’s [1986] suggestion cannot be fully accepted.

2.3. Topicalising N-NC construction

According to Alsagoff [1993: ch.4], in Indonesian⁶ the initial argument is always topicalized. Further, Alsagoff argues that the initial argument must be

⁶ In fact, Alsagoff considers not Indonesian, but Malay language. The two languages are mutually intelligible and can be regarded as the dialects of one and the same language; some authors even “merge” the two languages for their purposes, cf. [Kroeger 2014]. I assume that Alsagoff’s suggestions hold for Indonesian language, too.

either specific or definite⁷. As we have already seen, the N-NC construction is used with (i) non-specific nominals and (ii) it usually falls under the scope of focus. Consequently, one would expect that it is impossible for N-NC construction to appear clause-initially, and this is in fact the case:

- (20) ??*teroris dua orang telah di-tahan hari ini*
 terrorist two CLF PST PASS.3-arrest day this
 Intended meaning: ‘Two terrorists have been arrested today.’

- (21) ??*saudara laki-laki dua orang akan pergi ke bioskop*
 sibling male~PL two CLF FUT go to cinema
 Intended meaning: ‘Two brothers will go to the cinema.’

Clearly, if N-NC word order was not associated with specificity and focus, it would be possible for such constructions to occur clause-initially, but it is not.

It is not yet clear which of the two factors – specificity or focus – is the most important one. For example, one could hypothesize that the NC in N-NC construction is focalized because non-specifics tend to be focalized; still, in this work, I will not pursue that issue.

2.4. NP-internal or NP-external?

As it will be discussed below, in Indonesian numerative complex may occur outside of the nominal (i.e. “to float”). Consequently, the N-NC construction as presented above can be analyzed in two ways:

- (22) *Biasa-nya di-beri-kan [_N telur [_{NC} dua buah]].*
 usual-POSS.3 PASS.3-give-TR egg two CLF
 ‘Usually, two eggs are given {to the crocodile}.’

- (23) *Biasa-nya di-beri-kan [_N telur] [_{NC} dua buah].*
 usual-POSS.3 PASS.3-give-TR egg two CLF
 ‘Usually, two eggs are given {to the crocodile}.’

How to decide, then, whether the numerative complex is NP-internal or NP-external in the examples that we have discussed?

⁷ It is well known that topicality normally implies definiteness, although this is not always so. See [Lyons 1999: 232-6] for discussion.

Some authors suggest that in Indonesian the demonstrative *itu* is the right-most element of the NP (see [Razak 1995]; cf. [McCune, Simin 1983: 82]⁸). Hence, one could suggest that it is possible to establish whether the NC is NP-internal or NP-external by using demonstrative:

(24) [_N *buaya* [_{NC} *dua ekor*] *itu*]
 crocodile two CLFt hat
 ‘the two crocodiles’

(25) {*muncul lagi*} [_N *buaya itu*] [_{NC} *dua ekor*]
 appear again crocodile that two CLF
 ‘the two crocodiles {appeared again}’

But the problem is that this would not really help us. B. Partee [Partee 1995a] *inter alia* assumes that non-restrictive modifiers are attached to fully fledged NPs:

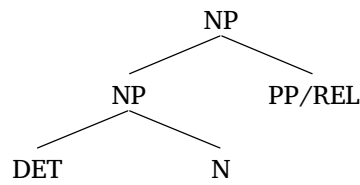


Figure 1. The structure of (English) noun phrase modified by a non-restrictive relative clause/PP [Partee 1995a: 320]

So the structure of (25) can also be as follows:

(25') [_N [_N *kucing itu*] [_{NC} *dua ekor*]]
 cat that two CLF
 ‘the two cats’

Consequently, *itu* cannot be used to verify whether the numerative complex is NP-internal or NP-external, and I could not find any other means to do it.

So, for now, it is unknown whether N-NC construction discussed above is a single phrase or a nominal followed by a floating quantifier.

3. Floated NCs

In Malayo-Polynesian languages numerals often “float” away from their nominal head. The floating of numerals is attested, e.g., in *Tukang Besi* [Donohue 1999: 110], *Nias* [Brown 2001], *Lamaholot* [Nishiyama, Kelen 2007: 39-42]. In Indo-

⁸ McCune and Simin [1983: 82] assume that the demonstrative *itu* is used to “clarify the closure of a heavy NP”.

nesian this construction is possible, too; but, rather impressionistically, I would suggest that in Indonesian, constructions with floating numerals are more peripheral (i.e. less frequent) than in (some) other Malayo-Polynesian languages. In Nias, for example, “disjoint quantifier phrases ... are, in fact, more frequent than phrases in which the numeral, classifier and noun occur together” [Brown 2001: 433].

[Conklin 1981] was the first work to provide the evidence of floating of numerals in Indonesian; she also attempted to describe the meaning of such constructions, but did it in a very brief and impressionistic way. The floating of numerals in Indonesian is also mentioned in [Jenks 2013a]. Still, the phenomenon has not yet been studied thoroughly.

Virtually, floating numerals may (i) be adjacent to the nominal over which they quantify and (ii) they may be floated to the right periphery of the clause, as in (26). In this work, I will only discuss the second case, since I did not manage to find enough data to study the first one.

- (26) *Udang Purba itu Tinggal Dua Ekor*
 shrimp ancient that live two CLF
 ‘Only 2 (of those) shrimps are living.’ (<https://tulisan.reynoldsumayku.com/>)

Note that in (26), as well as in other examples given in this section, the floated numerals may be in fact outside of the clause.

It seems that the floating of numerals is motivated by information structure, since it only occurs in contexts where the numeral and the noun do not form a single information unit. As examples from texts suggest, floated numerals occur when the noun is topicalized, while the numerical expression is an answer to a QUD, i.e. while it is in focus⁹.

- (27) {How many Sumatran Rhinos are left now?}
Kini, badak sumatera di Malaysia tinggal dua ekor.
 now rhino Sumatran in Malaysia live two CLF
 ‘Now, only two Sumatran rhinos are left.’ lit. ‘Only two Sumatran rhinos are living now.’ (<https://www.republika.co.id/>)

⁹ Apparently, when the numeral is floated to the right periphery of the clause, some kind of “exhaustive” interpretation arises: the quantity of rhinos in (27) can only be equal to two, not more. It may be an instance of so-called identificational focus [Kiss 1998]; yet that issue requires a special investigation.

Further, when floated rightwards, numerals often occur with focus particles *hanya* and *saja*:

(28) ... *dan pada tahun 1998 di-lapor-kan*
and in year 1998 PASS.3-report-TR

burung ini hanya tinggal enam ekor saja
bird this only live four CLF only

‘... and in 1998 it was reported that only four (of) these birds are living.’

(<http://ndobos.blogdrives.com/>)

(29) *teman datang ke pesta se-puluh orang saja*
friend come to party one-ten CLF only

‘Only ten friends (of mine) came to the party.’

A somewhat similar picture can be seen in Thai and Burmese [Jenks 2013b; Simpson 2011]; the numeral is floated when it is focalized, the noun being familiar to speaker and hearer.

(30) Burmese

{How many bungalows are free?}

bangalo kò wàng yùu sóng-sám-láng

bungalow PRT vacant ASP 2/3-CLF

‘Two or three of the bungalows are free.’

[Simpson 2011: 135] (the QUD is reconstructed by me)

Note that, apparently, in all the contexts where the noun is topicalized and the numeral is in focus the standard NC-N construction can be employed (yet some additional investigation is required):

(31) {How many bears did you kill this time?}

kali ini saya membunuh [FOC tiga] beruang

time this I kill three bear

‘This time I killed three bears.’

4. Headedness in constructions with numerals

Since Indonesian is a right-branching language, it is tempting to suppose that the numerals are heads in standard NC-N construction and dependents in non-standard N-NC construction. But how one could account for this?

According to [Lander, Tyshkevich 2015: 195], “there are two sources of the syntactic headedness effects, namely the relevance and the **compositional obligatoriness**”. Compositional obligatoriness “may be thought ... to be a matter of connecting an expression to its immediate context” ([Lander 2009]; cf. [Partee 1995b]). For example, in this line of reasoning, determiners (*a, the, most* etc.) are compositionally obligatory, since they define the reference of the noun.

I suggest that the head properties of the numerative complex in NC-N construction are due to the fact that in such constructions numerals are determiner-like: they (can) restrict the reference of the noun, and hence NC-N constructions may be used with definite referents. In N-NC construction, numerals are not determiner-like: they do not affect the reference of the noun, and, consequently, the noun is (most commonly) non-specific.

(Of course, all this reasoning makes sense only if we assume that numerals in N-NC construction are NP-internal).

The example (32) seem to support the hypothesis I have put forward:

(32) *Setelah itu* [_{FOC} *Kartini* *meng-angkat* *Mala*
 after that Kartini ACT-take.away Mala

dan tidak lama muncul lagi buaya itu dua ekor],
 and NEG longtime appear again crocodile that two CLF

satu-nya ukuran kecil dan satu-nya ukuran besar hitam panjang.
 one-POSS.3 size little and one-POSS.3 size big black long

‘After that Kartini took away Mala, and the two crocodiles appeared: one was small and the other was big, long and black.’

(<https://nasional.republika.co.id/>)

Possibly, in this example we have not a noun followed by the floated numeral, but a noun phrase modified by a non-restrictive NC. *dua ekor* ‘two CLF’ is clearly non-restrictive since the reference has already been established in the previous discourse. If so, the NC here is not compositionally obligatory, and this could explain the fact that it occurs on the right side of the noun.

5. Conclusion

It has been shown that (i) the standard NC-N construction can be used to denote all kinds of referents (specific/non-specific); apparently, it is not sensible to the information structure of the sentence and can be used in any context.

(ii) N-NC construction is (primarily) used to denote non-specifics; this construction also implies that the numeral/the nominal/the VP is focalized. (iii) the numeral may be floated out of the nominal; the floating of numerals is motivated by information structure: it occurs when the NC is in focus, and the noun is topicalized. (iv) in standard NC-N construction numerals (possibly) head the nominal; the headedness effect may be due to the fact that in NC-N constructions the numerals are determiner-like, and hence compositionally obligatory.

My study showed that the existing treatments of the subject [Hopper 1986: 317, Conklin 1981: 215-8] are not (fully) consistent with the actual data. Still, there are many questions yet to be answered. The most important ones are: how to establish NP constituency in Indonesian? how to establish whether – in some contexts – the NC is a floating quantifier adjacent to the noun or a non-restrictive modifier? which factor is more important for the ordering of nouns and numerals – specificity or information structure? Hopefully, they will be answered in subsequent work.

Abbreviations

2/3 — second/third person; 3 — third person; ABSTR — abstract; ACT — active voice; ASP — aspect; CLF — classifier; FOC — focus; FUT — future tense; NEG — negation; NMLZ — nominalization; PASS — passive voice; PL — plural; POSS — possessive; PST — past tense; PTCL — particle; REL — relative pronoun; TR — transitive.

References

- Alsagoff 1993 — Alsagoff L.S. Topic in Malay: The other subject. Ph.D. thesis. Stanford University, 1993.
- Brown 2001 — Brown L. A grammar of Nias Selatan. Ph.D. thesis. University of Sydney, 2001.
- Blust 2013 — Blust R. The Austronesian languages: Revised edition. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, 2009.
- Christodouloupoulos, Steedman 2014 — Christodouloupoulos C., Steedman M. A massively parallel corpus: The Bible in 100 languages. *Language Resources and Evaluation*. 2015. Vol. 49. No. 2. P. 375–395.
- Cable 2014 — Cable S. Distributive numerals and distance distributivity in Tlingit (and beyond). *Language*. 2014. Vol. 90. No. 3. P. 562–606.
- Conklin 1981 — Conklin N.F. The semantics and syntax in numeral classification in Tai and Austronesian. Ph.D. thesis. University of Michigan, 1981.
- Clopper, Tonhauser 2011 — Clopper C.G., Tonhauser J. On the prosodic coding of focus in Paraguayan Guaraní. Washburn M.B., McKinney-Bock K., Varis E., Sawyer A., Tomaszewicz B. (eds.). *Proceedings of the 28th West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 2011. P. 249–257.
- Donohue 1999 — Donohue M. A Grammar of *Tukang Besi*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999.

- Donohue 2005 — Donohue M. Numerals and their position in Universal Grammar. *Journal of Universal Language*. 2005. Vol. 6. P. 1–37.
- Givón 1983 — Givón T. 1983. Topic continuity in discourse: An introduction. Givón T. (ed.). *Topic continuity in discourse: A quantitative cross-language study*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1983. P. 1–43.
- Hopper 1986 — Hopper P. Some discourse functions of classifiers in Malay. Craig C.G. (ed.). *Noun classes and categorization: Proceedings of a symposium on categorization and noun classification*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986. P. 309–325.
- von Heusinger 2011 — von Heusinger K. Specificity. Maienborn C., von Heusinger K., Portner P. (eds). *Semantics: An international handbook of natural language meaning*. Vol. 2. P. 1024–1057.
- Jenks 2013a — Jenks P. Accounting for a generalization about quantifier float and word order in classifier languages. Paper presented at the 23rd annual meeting of the Southeast Asian linguistics society (SEALS23). Bangkok, May 29–31, 2013.
- Jenks 2013b — Jenks P. Quantifier float, focus, and scope in Thai. *Annual meeting of the Berkeley linguistics society*. 2013. Vol. 39. No. 1. P. 90–107.
- Kiss 1998 — Kiss K. E. Identificational focus versus information focus. *Language*. 1998. Vol. 74. No. 4. P. 245–274.
- Klamer 2002 — Klamer M. Typical features of Austronesian languages in central/eastern Indonesia. *Oceanic Linguistics*. 2002. Vol. 41. No. 2. P. 363–383.
- Kroeger 2014 — Kroeger P. External negation in Malay/Indonesian. *Language*. 2014. Vol. 90. No. 1. P. 137–184.
- Kroeger 2017 — Kroeger P. Basic concepts in information structure: Topic, focus, and contrast. *GIALens*. 2017. Vol. 11. No 1.
- Lambrecht, K. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form: A theory of topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Lander 2009 — Lander Yu. Western Indonesian pronominal modifiers and compositional obligatoriness. Kasevich V.B., Vydrin V.F., Lander Yu.A., Shakhbieva M.Kh. (eds). VIII Mezhdunarodnaya konferentsiya po yazykam Dal'nego Vostoka, Yugo-Vostochnoi Azii i Zapadnoi Afriki (Moskva, 22-24.09.2009): tezisy i doklady. Moscow: Kluch-C, 2009. P. 242–257.
- Lander, Tyshkevich 2015 — Lander Yu., Tyshkevich N. True, liminal and fake prototypes in syntactic typology. Lyutikova E.A., Zimmerling A.V., Konoshenko M.B. (eds.). *Tipologiya morfosintaksicheskikh parametrov. Materialy mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii «Tipologiya morfosintaksicheskikh parametrov 2015»* [Typology of morphosyntactic parameters. Proceedings of the international conference “Typology of morphosyntactic parameters 2015”]. Iss. 2. Moscow: Moscow State University of Education, 2015. P. 185–199.
- Lyons 1999 — Lyons Ch. *Definiteness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Maxwell 1907 — Maxwell W.E. *A manual of the Malay language, with an introductory sketch of the Sanskrit element in Malay*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1907.
- McCune, Simin 1983 — McCune K., Simin A.M. Anaphoric markers in Indonesian texts. Halim A., Carrington L., Wurm S. (eds). *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*. Vol. 4: Thematic Variation. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics C-77, 1983. P. 71–100.
- Mintz 1994 — Mintz M.W. *A Student's Grammar of Malay and Indonesian*. Singapore: EPB publishers, 1994.
- Nishiyama, Kelen 2007 — Nishiyama K., Kelen H. *A grammar of Lamaholot, Eastern Indonesia: The morphology and syntax of the Lewoingu dialect*. München: Lincom Europa, 2007.

- Ogloblin 2008 — Ogloblin A.K. *Grammatika indoneziiskogo literaturnogo yazyka* [Grammar of standard Indonesian]. Saint Petersburg: Izd. SPbGU, 2008.
- Partee 1995a — Partee B.H. Lexical semantics and compositionality. Gleitman L.R., Liberman M. (eds). *An invitation to cognitive science: Language*. Vol. 1. Cambridge/Massachusetts: A Bradford Book/The MIT Press, 1995. P. 311–361.
- Partee 1995b — Partee B.H. Quantificational structures and compositionality. Bach E., Jelinek E., Kratzer A., Partee B.H. (eds). *Quantification in natural languages*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1995. P. 543–601.
- Paauw 2009 — Paauw S.H. *The Malay contact varieties of eastern Indonesia: A typological comparison*. Ph.D. thesis. State University of New York at Buffalo, 2009.
- Razak 1995 — Razak R. *The syntax and semantics of quantification in Malay — a government and binding approach*. Ph.D. thesis. University Sanis Malaysia, 1995.
- Roberts 1996 — Roberts C. Information structure in discourse: Towards an integrated formal theory of pragmatics. *OSU Working Papers in Linguistics*. 1996. Vol. 49. P. 91–136.
- Simpson 2011 — Simpson A. Floating quantifiers in Burmese and Thai. *Journal of the South-east Asian Linguistics Society*. 2011. Vol. 4. No. 1. P. 115–146.
- Sneddon 1996 — Sneddon J.N. *Indonesian: A comprehensive grammar*. London/New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Tatevosov 2002 — Tatevosov S.G. *Semantika sostavlyayushchikh imennoi gruppy: kvantornye slova* [Noun phrase semantics: Universal quantifiers]. Moscow: Nasledie, 2002.
- Winstedt 1913 — Winstedt R. *Malay grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.

Статья поступила в редакцию 20.11.2018

The article was received on 20.11.2018

Иван Валерьевич Неткачев

студент 3-го курса бакалавриата, Национальный исследовательский университет Высшая школа экономики

Ivan V. Netkachev

3rd year B.A. student, National Research University Higher School of Economics

netkachev.hum@gmail.com