

This paper presents a preliminary description and analysis of the ubiquitous sentence-final particle *e* in Papuan Malay.

As with other sentence-final particles in Malay/Indonesian and other Southeast Asian languages, a major challenge facing the study of Papuan Malay *e* is that its occurrence is invariably associated with one of a number of distinctive intonation contours, in turn seemingly associated with different functions or meanings. Based on evidence from ludlings and other sources, this paper argues that the correct representation of sentence-final *e* locates it outside of syntactic structure proper but instead alongside pitch and other such features on a separate intonational tier.

A second major challenge facing the investigation of Papuan Malay *e*, again one that is shared with other sentence-final particles elsewhere, is the broad, variable and seemingly ineffable nature of its associated functions and meanings. A central analytical question is whether to analyze the particle *e* as *homophonous*, involving distinct and unrelated functions, as *macrofunctional*, endowed with a single broad and unified function, or in an intermediate state of affairs as *polysemous*, associated with distinct but related functions. This paper argues that the most appropriate analysis of *e* is of such an intermediate nature, involving polysemy. A tentative description suggests that the forms and functions of *e* can be partitioned into the following three types, classified in terms of their function and, if present, additional phonological content:

<i>type</i>	<i>function</i>	<i>additional phonological content</i>
<i>e1</i>	deixis	none
<i>e2</i>	deixis excessivity	long high falling tone
<i>e3</i>	uncertainty ?deixis	optional nasalization

As suggested by the above table, *deixis* would appear to constitute the basic function of *e*, present at least in *e1* and *e2*. With respect to this function, *e* thus resembles sentence-final deictic particles in other Malayic varieties, such as *(h)a* in Minangkabau and Siak Malay, and *na* in Palembang Malay and East Kalimantan Indonesian (Gil in preparation). The distinctive long high falling tone in *e2*, in conjunction with its duality of functions, points towards a compositional analysis whereby the semantic function of deixis would be associated with the vocalic segment, as it is in *e1*, while the affective function of excessivity would derive from the long high falling tone. Remaining unclear, however, is whether such a compositional approach can be extended also to *e3*. Under a compositional analysis, the semantics of *e3* would result from a scopal interaction between deixis and uncertainty, whereby deixis would be associated, as in *e1* and *e2*, with the vocalic segment, while uncertainty would derive from nasalization. However, the optionality of nasalization points towards an alternative non-compositional analysis of *e3* as a simple marker of uncertainty, thereby bringing it into line with similar particles in other Malayic varieties, such as *(y)e(?)* in Kuala Lumpur Malay and Siak Malay (Gil in preparation). Adjudication between these two analyses would require a better description of the suprasegmental properties of *e1* and *e3*, in order to ascertain whether there are any systematic differences between the two.

In conclusion, this paper briefly considers the process of *fusion*, whereby the sentence-final particle *e*, in one or another of its guises, coalesces with one of a small set of lexical items, e.g. *(itu + e1 > ite1* 'that'; *sana + e2 > sane2* 'there') Such fusion involves the grammaticalization/lexicalization of intonation, resulting in the introduction of lexical tonal distinctions — a process that seems to have taken place in other languages of the region such as Ambel and Roon (Arnold and Gil 2017).

REFERENCES:

- Arnold, Laura and David Gil (2017) "eeeH", Paper presented at the Fourth Symposium on the Languages of Papua, Manokwari, 25 January 2017.
- Gil, David (in preparation) *Atlas of Malay/Indonesian Language Structures*.