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APLL13: At a glance. Time zones, from left to right: US West Coast (UTC -7), US East Coast (UTC -4), **UK (UTC +1)**, Central Europe (UTC +2), Jakarta (UTC +7), Canberra (UTC +10).

	Thursday 10 June	Friday 11 June	Saturday 12 June
23:00 / 02:00 / 07:00 / 08:00 / 13:00 / 16:00		Ridge	
23:30 / 02:30 / 07:30 / 08:30 / 13:30 / 16:30		4 Fimone	
00:00 / 03:00 / 08:00 / 09:00 / 14:00 / 17:00	OPENING	van den Berg	9 Sarvasy
00:30 / 03:30 / 08:30 / 09:30 / 14:30 / 17:30	Keynote 1: Meyerhoff	BREAK	Muradoglu
01:00 / 04:00 / 09:00 / 10:00 / 15:00 / 18:00	BREAK	Poster session 2	BREAK
01:30 / 04:30 / 09:30 / 10:30 / 15:30 / 18:30	1 Franjeh et al	Social 3	10 Carroll
02:00 / 05:00 / 10:00 / 11:00 / 16:00 / 19:00	Walworth	BREAK	Schokkin & Lindsey
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03:00 / 06:00 / 11:00 / 12:00 / 17:00 / 20:00	BREAK		11 Lovestrand et al
03:30 / 06:30 / 11:30 / 12:30 / 17:30 / 20:30	2 Zahrer	Hopperdietzel	Döhler
04:00 / 07:00 / 12:00 / 13:00 / 18:00 / 21:00	Riesberg & Himmelmann	5 Mazzitelli	Gil
04:30 / 07:30 / 12:30 / 13:30 / 18:30 / 21:30	Bardají i Farré	Krajinović	CLOSING
05:00 / 08:00 / 13:00 / 14:00 / 19:00 / 22:00	BREAK	BREAK	
05:30 / 08:30 / 13:30 / 14:30 / 19:30 / 22:30	3 Bril	6 Krajinović & Rott	
06:00 / 09:00 / 14:00 / 15:00 / 20:00 / 23:00	Alfarano	Gil & Shen	
06:30 / 09:30 / 14:30 / 15:30 / 20:30 / 23:30	Næss	BREAK	
07:00 / 10:00 / 15:00 / 16:00 / 21:00 / 00:00	BREAK	Keynote 2: Daniels	
07:30 / 10:30 / 15:30 / 16:30 / 21:30 / 00:30	ECR plenaries: (1) Walker, (2) Elias	BREAK	
08:00 / 11:00 / 16:00 / 17:00 / 22:00 / 01:00	BREAK	7 Brickhouse & Lindsey	
08:30 / 11:30 / 16:30 / 17:30 / 22:30 / 01:30	Poster session 1	Daniels et al	
09:00 / 12:00 / 17:00 / 18:00 / 23:00 / 02:00	Social 1	BREAK	
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10:00 / 13:00 / 18:00 / 19:00 / 00:00 / 03:00		McDonnell & Hakim	
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Systematicities in the possessive marking of Nkep

Miriam Meyerhoff, University of Oxford

Possessives in Nkep (Northeast Santo, Vanuatu; Oceanic) can be expressed in several ways:

1. Direct suffixation:
nëthngë-c
stomach-1s.poss
'My stomach'
2. Indirect (classifier) possession:
 - a. nithel na-ngër
banana food.class-3p
'Their bananas'
 - b. nloom h-ooc
house gen.class-1s
'My house'
3. Associative possession:
nra hen wam
pig of that.one
'That man's pig'

What makes Nkep possessives worth a closer look are the numerous lexically specified alternatives for the direct possessive suffixes. Compare the endings for the possessed forms of *leg* and *hand* in (4) and (5) for example.

(4) *leg*

Person	Singular	Plural
1	nweileic	nweileicam
1 inclusive		nweileir
2	nweileim	nweileicei
3	nweilein	nweileingör

(5) *hand*

Person	Singular	Plural
1	nwaalküc	nwaalkücam
1 inclusive		nwaalkör
2	nwaalküm	nwaalkücei
3	nwaalkön	nwaalküngör

In this paper, I examine the form of direct possession with body parts and consider the structural and historical implications of this variability. Using a corpus of largely conversational speech recorded in Nkep, we find some evidence that changes to the Nkep possessive system continue to take place.

I then use the corpus to explore in more detail the semantic basis of the different possessive constructions. There has been some debate in the literature about whether the forms in (2)

qualify as heads or classifiers (Lichtenberk 1983, Franjeh 2016). We find that in everyday speech possessives behave a lot like true classifiers (Grinevald 2000).

Possessive marking in Oceanic languages is well-trodden ground. However, this paper adds to our descriptive understanding of the phenomenon, including how it has changed over time, and also demonstrates how the systematic study of variation and change enhances descriptive adequacy (Meyerhoff 2017).

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The origin of in subordinate meaning: Semi-embedded clauses in Aisi

Don Daniels, University of Oregon

There has been increased attention lately on in subordination, the use of formally subordinate clauses as stand-alone main clauses (Evans 2007; Evans & Watanabe 2016; Beijering, Kaltenböck & Sansiñena 2019). Subordinate clauses usually convey backgrounded, non-asserted information (Cristofaro 2003), and in subordinate constructions often retain this backgrounded flavor (Mithun 2008). But sometimes they don't: a particularly common kind of in subordination in Papuan languages is non-embedded nominalization, in which subordination conveys vividness and foregrounding (Schapper & San Roque 2011). This creates a paradox. If in subordinate constructions originate in subordinate, backgrounded structures (which they do, by definition), how do they acquire a meaning that is precisely the opposite of that?

Aisi, a Trans New Guinea language of Papua New Guinea (Daniels 2015), offers a clue. Aisi subordinate clauses take the form of a finite clause followed by a demonstrative. This construction serves as a noun phrase in the matrix clause, and the demonstrative bears a case marker that signals its syntactic role. In (1), the middle accusative demonstrative *gakun* subordinates the clause *abey* 'I'm talking', and the subordinate clause is the object of *iro* 'perceive'.

- (1) [Ab-ey] ga-kun ir-o!
talk-1SG.IPST MID-ACC perceive-2SG.IMP
'Listen to what I'm saying!'

These nominalized clauses convey given, presupposed information (Reesink 2014). In special cases, though, they can convey new, asserted information. In (2), from a folk tale about giants, the subordinate clause introduces a new giant and asserts that it got up.

- (2) [Mo ga-ku kip-is-i] ga-ku, kibi niku yo-s-i.
another MID-NOM get.up-PST-3SG MID-NOM in.law 3SG.POSS hit-PST-3SG
'Another one got up and killed his in-law.'

This use of subordinate clauses is subject to certain restrictions: the demonstrative must be the middle form, not proximal or distal, and it must be in nominative or topic case. Because these clauses are asserted and occupy high positions in the matrix clause structure (they are less "hierarchically downgraded," per Lehmann 1988), I call them "semi-embedded." This structure can also become fully in subordinate, subject to similar restrictions.

The key observation is that these semi-embedded clauses are only seen at climactic points in narratives. As in (2), they contain a rise in narrative tension that sets the stage for a climax in the matrix clause. This is most plausibly accounted for by using Cristofaro's (2016) concept of 'disengagement', in which the bond between a subordinate clause and its matrix clause is weakened in some conversational exchanges. This allows the formerly subordinate clause to acquire an independent meaning based on the meaning associated with the original construction. In this case, just as the presupposed information in a subordinate clause sets the scene and prepares the hearer for the new information in the matrix clause, so the rise in a semi-embedded clause sets the scene and prepares the hearer for the matrix clause climax. This pathway explains how a backgrounding, scene-setting construction can give rise to a foregrounding one, and offers a solution to the paradox mentioned above.

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Alternating Pronominal Indexing in Kamang

Katherine Walker (University of Amsterdam)

Kamang (Alor-Pantar) has several verbal prefix series that index P and patientive S. A third of verbs obligatorily take a fixed series, while the rest alternate between different series and zero (Fedden et al. 2014). Choice of prefix series, while partly determined by lexical class, has been shown to correlate with semantic properties of the verb and its arguments: telicity, volitionality of A or S, and animacy of S or P (Fedden et al. 2013; 2014). These are statistical preferences at the level of the prefix series: for instance, 79% of series I prefixes index animate Ps, while series II favours inanimate Ps (Fedden et al. 2013: 58). Yet, at the level of the verb, the picture is incomplete: animacy-based alternations, shown in (1) for *faafa* ‘search for’, are unproductive (Fedden et al. 2014: 67), and most alternations remain unexplained, e.g., *fal* ‘bind’ in (2), which alternates between zero and a series II prefix despite having the same (inanimate) P.

- (1) a. *ge-dum=a* *ga-faafa* b. *taweng* *te-bini* *Ø-faafa*
3.III-child=SPEC 3.I-search.for¹ in.turns CMN.III-lice Ø-search.for
‘[she] kept looking for the child’ ‘[they] search for each other’s lice’
- (2) *ye-wa* *ga-tang* *Ø-fal* *lai=a* *wo-fal=ak...*
3.AL-leg 3.INAL-arm Ø-bind finish=SPEC 3.II-bind=DEF
‘[we] had tied its hind and front legs together, [we] tied them, ...’

This paper is a quantitative corpus study of the prefix/zero alternation in Kamang natural discourse, building on previous research that drew on video stimulus elicitation data and corpus searches (Fedden et al. 2013; 2014). The current corpus has been enlarged with new narrative data and annotated with the GRAID schema (Grammatical Relations and Animacy in Discourse, Haig & Schnell 2014). The main difference with previous studies that comes to light is the higher rate of zero-marking: 38% of all Ps, compared with 22% reported in prior research (Fedden et al. 2013: 57). In fact, 28% of verb types in the corpus are exclusively zero-marked.

Using the GRAID schema, the present study also considers discourse factors for the first time. The results show that the P index is more likely to be zero when the clause contains an overt independent P argument (pronoun/NP). This would account for the alternation in (2). The effect is not found for S arguments, where the proportion of zero S indexes remains around two thirds with or without an independent S argument (excluding the case of agent pronouns). This indicates a functional difference between S and P prefix alternation: a reference-tracking function may be a competing factor in prefix or zero selection for P, but not for S, which is more strongly conditioned by the semantic factor of patientivity. In this talk, then, we will summarise the insights from the corpus study, showing that prefix/zero alternation of S and P indexes in Kamang involves the complex interplay of semantic, pragmatic and lexical factors.

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¹ 3.I: prefix series I, third person; SPEC: specific; DEF: definite; CMN: common person

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Phonemic initial glottal stops: The emergence and spread of an areal sound pattern in the Lesser Sundas

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This talk will deal with the emergence and spread of an areal sound pattern in six Austronesian languages (Ende, Kéo, Ngadha, Palu'e, Kedang, Sika) spoken on the islands of Flores, Palu'e and Lembata (eastern Indonesia). In these six languages, glottal stops are contrastive in word-initial position. Words which lack a phonemic initial glottal stop are produced with a predictable breathy onset or "breathy attack". The surrounding languages neutralize the distinction between initial glottal stop and its absence by systematically inserting glottal stops before vowel-initial words ("glottal attack"). While these six languages are all Central Malayo-Polynesian, they belong to two subgroups (Central Flores and Flores-Lembata), and not all members of these two subgroups show the sound pattern. Contrastive initial glottal stops (and the accompanying default breathy attack) must have arisen in some subset of daughter languages after these two subgroups had begun to differentiate, and then spread areally. Moreover, the actual etyma which have an initial glottal stop show a striking mirror image pattern: in two languages (Ende, Kéo) all Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) vowel-initial etyma are reflected with an initial glottal stop, while in the other four languages (Ngadha, Palu'e, Sika, Kedang), all PMP vowel-initial etyma are reflected with no glottal stop and a breathy onset.

I propose that the trigger for the emergence of this sound pattern was a series of phonetically motivated sound changes affecting Ende and Kéo (Central Flores) which turned Proto-Central Flores **kl-* clusters into [h-]. Ende and Kéo were once glottal attack languages, precluding the possibility of contrastive glottal stop in initial position. Once the **kl-* clusters developed into [h-], this initial period of breathiness was reanalyzed not as a new fricative consonant, but as the predictable breathy onset of a newly vowel-initial word. This had the effect of promoting the predictable glottal stops inserted before earlier vowel-initial words to full phonemes, although it had no effect on their phonetic realization.

*Table 1: PCF *kl- > h- followed by reanalysis in Ende/Kéo. Ngadha adopted the same pattern, but for its own vowel-initial words*

	Stage 1: PCF	Stage 2: Pre-Ende/Kéo	Stage 3: Modern Ende/Kéo	Compare: Ngadha
Phonemic	<i>*/kliŋa/</i>	<i>*/hiŋa/</i>	<i>/iŋa/ 'ear'</i>	<i>/xiŋa/ 'ear'</i>
Phonetic	<i>*[k^hiŋa]</i>	<i>*[hiŋa]</i>	<i>[hiŋa]</i>	<i>[xiŋa]</i>
Phonemic	<i>*/ana/</i>	<i>*/ana/</i>	<i>/ʔana/ 'child'</i>	<i>/ana/ 'child'</i>
Phonetic	<i>*[ʔana]</i>	<i>*[ʔana]</i>	<i>[ʔana]</i>	<i>[hana]</i>

This new sound pattern was relatively salient, because breathiness is rare in the area and the nearby languages were uniformly glottal attack languages. Speakers of Ngadha, Palu'e, Sika and Kedang were introduced to the Ende/Kéo sound pattern (most likely via contact with Ende, not Kéo, for social reasons) and adopted it themselves. They did not add breathiness to the same words that Ende and Kéo did; instead, they added it to their own vowel-initial words, switching from glottal attack to breathy attack languages and coming into line with the Ende and Kéo sound pattern. This explains how PMP vowel-initial words ended up with an initial glottal stop in Ende and Kéo, but with initial breathiness in Ngadha, Palu'e, Sika and Kedang.

Grammatical relations in Nalögo
Valentina Alfarano (INALCO; LACITO)

In this talk, I will analyse the grammatical relations in Nalögo, a Reefs-Santa Cruz language spoken in Solomon Islands. Nalögo has three basic clausal types—intransitive, transitive and semitransitive. Intransitive clauses have one S argument and a basic SV word order. Transitive clauses display A and O arguments, and a basic VAO word order. Finally, semitransitive clauses also display A and O arguments, and a basic AVO word order. Examples of intransitive, transitive and semitransitive clauses are shown in (1), (2) and (3), respectively.

1. *Mö-kâ* *i-bwë=∅*
male-DEM₁.DIST PFV.N3AUG-die=3MIN.SBJ
'The man died.' (intransitive; SV) (nalogo059)

2. *I-mwale* *mö-kâ* *toki* *kâ*
PFV.N3AUG-hold male-DEM₁.DIST knife DEM₁.DIST
'The man holds the knife.' (transitive; VAO)

3. *Mö-kâ* *i-vö-nibü=∅* *leplë*
male-DEM₁.DIST MIDD₁-kill=3MIN.SBJ people
'The man killed people.' (semitransitive, AVO) (nalogo060)

Semitransitive constructions are morphologically intransitive, but they display two arguments, i.e. no incorporation involved. Constructions of this type are attested in Oceanic languages (Sugita 1973; Margetts 2008). In Nalögo, semitransitives typically encode a focus on the action, which tends to correlate with semantically less individuated objects. Depending on the verb type, semitransitive verbs can take the prefix (*v*)*ö-*, a proposed reflex of *paRi-. The semitransitive clause in (3) has two arguments, but the subject marking is intransitive. This is evident if we compare (3) with the intransitive clause in (1) where the 3MIN person is unmarked. In terms of subject-marking pattern, transitive clauses are different, since A is either expressed by a postverbal NP as in (2), or by a pronominal bound form.

While in terms of alignment of pronominal bound forms, Nalögo is a fairly typical Oceanic language where we can identify a kind of 'subject' pattern (at least with all the persons except for the third one), other constructions select different sets of grammatical relations. In this talk, I will focus on the existence of two verb phrases (VP) in transitive and semitransitive clauses where the transitive A and the semitransitive O form a syntactic unit with the verb in the respective clauses, based on two properties: (i) word order restrictions, and (ii) the marking of the applied object in some applicative constructions (only for the VP in transitive clauses). By contrast, the transitive O and semitransitive A are the most privileged arguments in terms of word order and relativization strategy. In the processes of relativization, the transitive O and the semitransitive A make use of the gap strategy, while the transitive A, together with oblique arguments, makes use of the resumptive strategy. Finally, I will compare some aspects of the grammatical relations in Nalögo with those attested in Äiwoo, a symmetrical voice language belonging to the same group (Næss 2015a), which in some contexts, displays similar patterns (Næss 2015b).

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Living Dictionaries: A Tutorial for Austronesian and Papuan Languages

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We propose to run a digital training workshop to empower local language activists and their scholarly collaborators to produce [Living Dictionaries](#): interactive, mobile-friendly web tools that support endangered, under-represented and diasporic languages. Living Dictionaries are never out-of-print and infinitely expandable multimedia resources that combine language data (represented in diverse writing systems) with digital audio recordings of native speakers alongside photos and videos to expand cultural content well-beyond a static print dictionary.

Due to globalization, cultural assimilation, the long-term impacts of colonization, and official policies hostile to diversity, many languages in the Austronesian and Papuan worlds are threatened or endangered. There is an urgent need to address these issues with comprehensive, freely accessible tools that can assist in conservation efforts and revitalization programs while also creating safe spaces for these languages and their user communities. Living Dictionaries serve these needs by providing a cutting-edge solution to accessing language content with accurate pronunciations paired with engaging visual multimedia. Led by community activists and linguists around the globe, Living Dictionaries are collaborative projects that can help Austronesian and Papuan languages survive for generations to come. These digital dictionaries are the future of languages: vibrant and continually expanding.

Living Dictionaries have the power to shift how we think about endangered languages. Rather than perceiving these tongues as being antiquated, difficult to learn and on the brink of vanishing, we can see them as modern, accessible for learning, and easily visible and audible online. Living Dictionaries promote connectivity over vast distances and support an online community of language learners who wish to hear and learn a language without close proximity to proficient speakers. They allow thousands of recorded words and phrases to be available at one's fingertips. High-quality audio recordings can be created through mobile phones and saved in the dictionary entries so that community members, new speakers and research scholars can listen to the correct pronunciation by a speaker. Thus, Living Dictionaries can serve multiple functions for different communities of stakeholders and provide real opportunities for indigenous citizen science. The intended audience of this web app is diverse and multilingual. User groups that could benefit from the development of such resources in Austronesian and Papuan languages include indigenous language activists, local and diasporic community stakeholders, cultural and linguistic advocates, educators and leaders, researchers, scholars and conservation scientists looking to understand ecological knowledge in local languages.

We will cover the following topics: how to register for an account in the software, create a new Living Dictionary, add new entries, edit entries, add images, upload audio files, how to record directly into the Living Dictionary using a smartphone or laptop. We have taught this software online to diverse global audiences during webinars many times. The web app and platform are provided free of charge. The interface is currently available for use in English, French, Portuguese, Indonesian and Malay, among other languages. Dictionary users can select from many available glossing languages that include other major world languages as well as approximately 65 locally and regionally dominant Austronesian and Papuan languages such as Achenese, Bakumpai, Batak Toba, Cebuano, Ekari, Filipino, Gorontalo, Hiri Motu, Ilokano, Javanese, Kâte, Lamaholot, Minangkabau, Ngaju Dayak, Pangansan, Tausug, Tetum, Wolio, and Yabem, plus Bislama, Pijin and Tok Pisin among many others. The software works seamlessly across all mobile devices and on desktop computers, and it can be used in "Offline Mode" in locations with limited internet connectivity. We will show examples of multilingual Living Dictionaries for endangered languages spoken in Indonesia and Papua New Guinea.

Split Inalienable Coding in the East Bird's Head family

Laura Arnold

The East Bird's Head (EBH) family comprises three languages – Meyah, Moskona, and Sougb – spoken in the Arfak mountains in the east of the Bird's Head peninsula, west New Guinea. In this talk, I will compare the paradigms used in inalienable possessive constructions in the three languages, and reconstruct the inalienable morphology of proto-Meax, the common ancestor of Meyah and Moskona.

In all three of the EBH languages, there is a morphosyntactic alienability distinction: all body parts and at least some kin terms are possessed in constructions in which the Possessor NP (PossR) precedes the Possessed NP (PossD), and the person and number of the PossR is marked directly on the PossD with prefixes. This is shown for Sougb in (1a). All other nouns are possessed in constructions in which the order is again PossR-PossD, but the person and number of the PossR is marked on an inflected prenominal particle, as in (1b).

(1) Sougb (Reesink 2002):

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| a. dan ind-ums | b. dan ind-an tu |
| 1SG 1SG-ear | 1SG 1SG-POSS house |
| 'my ear' | 'my house' |

In Sougb inalienable constructions, there is a single possessive paradigm used to mark the person and number of the PossR. However, both Meyah and Moskona have more complex inalienable marking. As I will show in the course of this presentation, this complexity is in part due to a formerly productive system of Split Inalienable Coding (SIC). SIC is a phenomenon in which two or more paradigms are used in inalienable possessive constructions (Arnold submitted). Based on the data and discussion in Gravelle (2004) and Gravelle (2010), and in comparison with the single inalienable paradigm of Sougb, I will show that proto-Meax can be reconstructed with two inalienable paradigms. The choice of inalienable paradigm in proto-Meax was conditioned by the semantics of the PossD noun, such that body parts were marked with one paradigm, and kin terms with a second. However, subsequent changes have obscured this distinction in the daughter languages; these changes include the borrowing of morphological material from Sougb, suppletion, and the extension of possessive affixes from some cells into others.

While SIC is rare cross-linguistically, it is attested in several other unrelated languages spoken around the Bird's Head, indicating it is an areal feature. Most notably, SIC is found in the nearby isolate Hatam, with which the EBH languages have been in close contact; it is also an innovation of several Austronesian languages in the area. Arnold (submitted) speculates that SIC spread from the EBH languages and Hatam into the Austronesian languages; and that this contact-induced change in the Austronesian languages is remarkably recent. The reconstruction of SIC to proto-Meax that I will present in this talk provides further evidence for the relative antiquity of the distinction in the non-Austronesian languages of the Bird's Head, and thus contributes to what is known about the contact history of the area.

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Existential constructions with verbal predicates in western Austronesian languages

Maria Bardají i Farré, Universität zu Köln

It is a common feature of western Austronesian languages to have a specialized existential clause construction formed with an existential particle or verb. Most typically, the existential operator is immediately followed by a noun phrase. The major function of such constructions is a presentational one, whereby a new participant is introduced into discourse or availability of a specific entity is indicated (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 274ff; Sneddon et al. 2010: 272ff). However, there is a lesser studied type of existential constructions, in which the existential particle or verb occurs with verbal predicates, as in the following examples:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) Tagalog (Schachter & Otanes 1972: 278)
<i>may s<in>ulat ako</i>
EXIST<PV>write 1s
‘I wrote something’ (‘there is sth. I wrote’) | (2) Indonesian (Sneddon et al. 2010: 274)
<i>ia ada menerima surat itu</i>
3s EXIST AV:receive letter DIST
‘he did receive the letter’ |
|--|---|

Although the data in (1) and (2) looks superficially identical, this paper claims that existential constructions with verbal predicates differ substantially in structure and meaning across languages. In Tagalog, an existential construction with a verbal predicate denotes the existence of an entity, as in (1). By contrast, the same type of construction in Indonesian denotes an event, as in (2). These latter constructions – attested also in other languages like Totoli, Makassarese or Manado Malay – have been claimed to have an intensifying function (Sneddon et al. 2010: 274), to mark polarity focus (Stoel 2005: 127), or to express emphasis (Hopper 1972: 136). We will argue that these are best analysed as instances of verum focus.

We will also show that a further difference between the languages regards the form of the existential operator: whereas Indonesian uses *ada* for both the presentational and the focal function, in Totoli the two functions are coded differently. The presentational function is coded with the existential prefix *ko-*, while verum focus is marked with the existential quantifier *daan*:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (3) Totoli | |
| a. <i>ana ko-gula=mo</i>
if EXIST-sugar=CPL
‘if there is already sugar’ | b. <i>daan mo-usa itu</i>
EXIST ST- long DIST
‘it does take a long time’ |

We propose [or hypothesize] that the different existential constructions with verbal predicates can be interpreted as forming a grammaticalization cline with three major stages. In the first stage, the construction only denotes the existence of an entity, as in Tagalog. In a second stage, the scope of the existential operator extends to a full clause, as in (4)a. Here, the construction retains the existential semantics and function, but allows for an extended scope: it denotes the existence of an event, being translatable as ‘it is (not) the case that...’. In the third and fully grammaticalized stage, the operator loses its previous function and meaning and takes over the focus-marking function, as in (4)b. The grammaticalized status of the operator can be seen in its clause-internal position (in contrast to the clause-external position in (4)a).

- | | |
|---|---|
| (4) Totoli | |
| a. <i>geiga daan isia no-RDPI-lako.</i>
NEG EXIST 3s AV.RLS-RDP1-walk
‘it is not the case that he went’ | b. <i>oh Iyam ingga daan nakko=ai</i>
INTJ PN NEG EXIST AV.RLS:go =VEN
‘oh, Iyam did not come here’ |

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Un-Austronesian features of Malol, an Oceanic language of North New Guinea

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Malol [mbk] is an undescribed Oceanic language, spoken by around 3,000 people who live on the north coast of Sandaun Province in Papua New Guinea, west of the town of Aitape and east of the Sissano lagoon. The Malol area was heavily affected by a local tsunami in 1998 with considerable loss of life. Malol is one of the westernmost languages of the North New Guinea cluster (itself a subgroup of Western Oceanic), and until around 2005 was considered a dialect of Sissano, one of the seven Siau languages in the Schouten linkage. The information presented here is based on two short periods of fieldwork in 2016 and 2020.

Malol shows various regular Oceanic features, including five vowels, dual pronouns, subject-marking prefixes, a three-way demonstrative system, realis and irrealis mood, SVO word order and serial verb constructions. But Malol also has a number of features which are distinctly un-Austronesian in appearance, six of which are listed below.

- Four falling diphthongs acting as units: /iě uǝ ɛǝ ɔǝ/.
- Word-final palatal consonants: /rutʃ/ ‘3 dual’ and /raŋ/ ‘water’.
- Absence of a clusivity distinction among the pronouns.
- No valency-changing morphology (no passive, causative, reciprocal, applicative).
- A simple binary numeral system, distinguishing only ‘one’ and ‘two’.
- A light verb *-ho* ‘do’, used to make various verb adjunct phrases.

The paper will illustrate each of these features and also try to answer the question: how did some of these unusual characteristics develop? There are two avenues for research.

a) Some of these features were already present in Proto-Schouten. Ross (1991) shows several phonological and morphosyntactic innovations in the Schouten languages. These include the gradual reduction of the Proto-Oceanic numeral system as one moves westward, building on Proto-Schouten which had already lost the numerals 6-9.

b) There has been convergence with neighbouring Papuan languages belonging to the Torricelli family, such as Walman (Foley 2020, M. Dryer, p.c), and languages of the Skou family, such as Barupu (Corris 2005). Promising candidates for Torricelli influence on Malol are word-final palatal consonants; Skou influence can be discerned in the light verb. Both families might have played a role in the loss of clusivity and the minimal number system.

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Saving an endangered language by adopting it

Rapid and radical language shift in the village of Gio

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This talk discusses a case of rapid language shift as it occurred in the village of Gio (Central Sulawesi, Indonesia). Nowadays, Gio is seen as the heart-land of the language and culture of Totoli. It is the only place where children and infants are raised with Totoli, and the language is used in all domains by all generations. The other Totoli speaking areas, however, witness a rapid reduction in the domains where Totoli is used and children are usually not raised with Totoli. In the presentation, I discuss the paradoxical situation that up to the 1980s/90s, Gio was an exclusively Dondo-speaking settlement (Himmelman 2001: 28). After social approximation to the neighboring village beginning in the 1970s, the residents of Gio adopted the language Totoli at the expense of their original language Dondo and the village is now considered the heart-land of Totoli language, music and culture (Riesberg 2019). The inhabitants of the village Gio hence “saved” the language Totoli at the expense of their original language Dondo. This new development adds fruitful new insights to the discussion of “endangerment scenarios” in the region (Himmelman 2010).

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Frustrative in Doromu-Koki

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The category of frustrative, defined as ‘...a grammatical marker that expresses the non-realization of some expected outcome implied by the proposition expressed in the marked clause (Overall 2017:479)’, has been identified in a few languages of the world, including those of Amazonia. A frustrative, translated as ‘in vain’, typically expresses an unrealised expectation and lack of accomplishment, as well as negative evaluation.

In this presentation, I examine the Doromu-Koki (Papuan, Manubaran, Southeast) of Papua New Guinea frustrative adverb *tavoi*. This form encodes multiple evaluative meanings, including ‘(in) vain, purposelessly, aimlessly, silly, worthlessly, futile, haphazardly, helter-skelter, messy, uselessly and untidily’. I further investigate the ways in which frustrative in Doromu-Koki interacts with verbal constructions, clause types, aspect, modality and negation.

A similar type of construction is found in the national languages, Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu. Forms with similar meanings are also found in a number of other languages throughout Papua New Guinea. Examination of these forms in mostly Papuan, and a few Oceanic languages, will consider frustrative as a possible New Guinea areal feature.

Keywords: frustrative, in vain, New Guinea, non-realisation, Papuan languages, unfulfilled, unsuccessful

Reconstructing labialized velars in proto-Pahoturi

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In this paper, we reconstruct labialized velars in proto-Pahoturi River (proto-PR), a small non-Austronesian family-isolate spoken in southern Papua New Guinea. The family consists of six closely-related varieties: Agob, Em, Ende, Idi, Kawam, and Taeme.

These labialized velar phonemes are of special interest because they represent a major phonological split in the family: /k^w, g^w/ are present but infrequent in the western varieties (Idi and Taeme) and truly exceptional in the eastern varieties. Where it is found, these phonemes vary in realization between a labialized /k^w, g^w/ and a coarticulated /k^ɸ, g^ɸ/, with more frequent coarticulation occurring in the Dimsisi dialect of Idi, a variety in close contact with neighbouring Nen, a Yam language (Schokkin et al., forthcoming). Yam languages also boast coarticulated /k^ɸ, g^ɸ/ phonemes (Evans & Miller, 2016; Kashima, forthcoming), which has been posited as a contact source for the appearance of these phonemes in the western varieties.

Notwithstanding potential language contact effects, we suggest a reconstruction of four velar plosives for proto-PR: *k, *k^w, *g, *g^w. The infrequency of the labialized velars in modern PR results from the diachronic interactions of the labialized velars with the roundedness of following vowels. Where a labialized velar was followed by a rounded vowel (pattern 1), this resulted in a sequence of [+labial] features that were reanalyzed by the western varieties as belonging solely to the plosive (rule A) and by the eastern varieties as belonging solely to the vowel (rule B). Where a labialized velar was followed by an unrounded vowel (pattern 2), the labiality of the plosive is transferred to the vowel via a process of compensatory rounding (rule C). This compensatory process is opaque in the western varieties, as the rounded counterpart to the schwa (/ə/) reverses to /ə/ in the west but backs to /o/ in the east (rules D, E).

Table 1: Patterns (1-4) also hold for voiced plosives and other vowel qualities (see ex. 5-8)

Ex.	pPR	Western		Eastern	
(1)	*k ^w u	k ^w ɪ	A. [+labial] → [-labial] / [+labial] _	ku	B. [+labial] → [-labial] / _ [+labial]
(2)	*k ^w ə	kə	C. k ^w [-labial] → k[+labial] (k ^w ə → k ^w ə) D. ə → ə	ko	C. k ^w [-labial] → k[+labial] E. ə → o
(3)	*ku	ku		ku	
(4)	*kə	kə		kə	

Non-labialized velars (*k and *g) are straightforwardly retained in all the modern PR languages regardless of the roundedness of the following vowel (patterns 3-4). This neutralization of the labialized and non-labialized velars to the non-labialized form results in the modern rarity of labialized velars in PR languages.

Our findings are based on audio and transcription data of 386 cognates spoken by ten speakers of six PR varieties. The data comes from original fieldwork undertaken in southern New Guinea (Lindsey, 2015; Schokkin, 2014) and the paper is accompanied by audio files for all correspondence sets from as many speakers as audio files are available. An example of the audio files are linked here for examples (5-8 below), which show patterns (1) and (2) for voiceless and voiced labialized velars, respectively: shorturl.at/gqLSV.

Examples

Table 2: Cognate sets for labiovelars following rounded and unrounded vowels.

Ex.	Sequence	Idi	Taeme	Ende	Kawam	Em	Agob	Gloss	YF
5	*k ^w V[+round]	k ^w ɪ̄t̄	k ^w ɪ̄t̄	kūt̄	kūt̄ʃ̄	kūt̄	kūt̄	‘bone’	13
6	*k ^w V[-round]	tikəp	tikəp	tikop	tikop	tikop	tikop	‘heart’	23
7	*g ^w V[+round]	g ^w ə̄g	g ^w ə̄g	gog	gog	gog	gog	‘erect’	324
8	*g ^w V[-round]	gəz	gəz	gəz	god̄z̄	goz	goz	‘kill’	318

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Syntax and semantics of imperatives and prohibitives in Amis (Formosan)

Isabelle Bril (LACITO-CNRS, LABEX EFL)

Imperative and prohibitive moods are aspects of the rich, symmetrical voice system of Amis, whose morphological exponents vary with mood (indicative, optative, hortative, imperative, etc.), and with negative polarity. Beyond this variation of morphological exponents, the case-marking system is the same, with the bipartite encoding of arguments (antipassive-like for all non-UV constructions and ergative for all UV and LV (locative voice) constructions). On the other hand, the rationale behind voice alternations is different; in declarative mood, voice alternations are driven by verb classes (i.e. denoting activities vs. states), telicity, degree of patient affectedness and definiteness; while in imperative or prohibitive moods, voice alternations express a cline of politeness (with Actor Voice at the lower point and Undergoer Voice at the highest point). In terms of morphology, the imperative and prohibitive moods select the nonfinite verb stems, which is a specific form different from the bare root, e.g., *pi-* for AV *mi-* stems, *ka-* for NAV *ma-* stem, etc.; these non-finite *pi-* and *ka-* stems also appear on verb stems dependent on some polarity or modality auxiliary. Ex. (1a) is an AV imperative with a subject Actor and an oblique patient, addressed to equals or children; (1b) is a mild order in Locative Voice and (1c) is a polite order in UV, both have a Patient subject, the Agent if expressed is genitive.

- (1) a. **Ka-k**aen (k-isu) t-ina buting-an!
NFIN.IMP-<AV>eat NOM-2SG OBL-DEICT fish-OBL
'Eat that fish !' (order)
- b. **Kaen-i** k-ina buting!
eat-LV.IMP NOM-DEICT fish
'Eat that fish.' (invitation > let that fish be eaten)
- c. **Kaen-en** k-ina buting!
eat-UV.IMP NOM-DEICT fish
'Eat that fish.' (polite)

With regards to syntactic alignment, imperative mood gives evidence of S/P pivots: in AV, the Actor subject encodes the addressee; in imperative UV, the Patient is the subject, while the non-subject addressee is marked as a genitive Agent; this pattern is found in other Austronesian languages (Starosta et al. 1982: 305). The addressees of imperatives (nominative S or genitive A) can be left unexpressed, unless some emphasis is intended (ex. 2). Addressee's elision in imperative mood is not a compelling test with regards to alignment since referential arguments are generally dropped; besides elision of the S or A addressee occurs with similar frequency and are due to discourse reasons.

- (2) **Tengil-i**=isu k-u tangic n-iyam.
listen-IMP.LV=GEN.2S NOM-NM cry POSS-1PL.EXCL
'Listen to our weeping !' (polite entreaty)

Imperatives are not restricted to active verbs, all types of verb stems (stative) and predicates may occur in imperative mood, e.g., nouns, pronouns, numerals (ex.3), locative and time words in predicate function. Restrictions only bear on their morphological exponent.

- (3) **Cacay-en** k-u buhcal-ay a 'ayam !
one-IMP.UV NOM-NM white-MODF LNK hen
'(take) one white hen!' (lit. let it be one the white hen)

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The double verb construction in Yei

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Yei, a Yam family language spoken in Indonesian Papua, displays an usual and previously undescribed double-verb construction. This construction involves the use of both a fully inflected finite verb along with a nominalised verb as in (1).

1.	Markus	pər-a	asəgə	s-əsīgə
	Markus	tree.ACC	cut.INF	3NPLO.RMT-cut

‘Markus cut the tree.’

In this construction the event is indicated through both an infinitive form of the verb ‘to cut’ *asəgə* and a fully inflected form of that same verb *səsīgə*. This construction looks superficially similar to a standard auxiliary construction in which a non-finite lexical verb is paired with a semantically light auxiliary verb. However, in the Yei example both forms of the verb here contain all the lexical information and in this example are cognate and built from the same verbal stem. Every verb in Yei displays such a pair, although the infinitive form is not necessarily cognate with the verb stem as in (2). Note that displaying non-cognate infinitive forms are a feature of other Yam languages (Carroll 2016). Similar constructions are found in other Yam languages but are much more highly restricted. In Ngkolmpu, for example, cognate-object constructions are used for highly agentive.

2.	Markus	Jon-a	tar	s-owg
	Markus	John.ACC	hit.INF	3NPLO.RMT-hit

‘Markus hit John.’

It is important to note that in natural texts examples occur with just the inflected verb without the dependent infinitive form. Strikingly similar constructions have been described as an areal feature of African Languages under the term Cognate Head-Dependent Constructions (Bond & Anderson, 2014). Such constructions of the sort have, to my knowledge, not been attested in the languages of New Guinea and the region. Bond & Anderson (2014) describe these constructions as either modifying the aspect or the focus status of the predicate. In this case of Yei, it seems that information structure plays a major element in determining the function of this construction.

This paper will describe the distributional and functional features of this rare construction. This adds to what is known about these constructions on a world-wide scale. It is also of significance as it describes a feature of a language which is almost entirely undescribed.

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The phonetics and phonology of Jilim intrusive vowels

Don Daniels, Zoë Haupt & Melissa Baese-Berk

This paper presents a phonetic and phonological analysis of certain vowels in Jilim, a Trans New Guinea (TNG) language of Madang Province, Papua New Guinea. We argue that these vowels are intrusive, per Hall's (2006) typology, meaning that they are not phonologically real. This analysis has numerous implications, but we focus on those that are relevant for the typology of consonant clusters.

Jilim intrusive vowels occur between the first two consonants of an onset cluster, which can be two or three consonants long. Their phonetic quality can be predicted by the following rules, which apply in the order they are presented: (i) if C2 is /j/, the intrusive vowel is [i]; (ii) if C2 is bilabial, it is [u]; (iii) if the following vowel is front /e i/ or back /o u/, the vowel is [i] or [u]; (iv) otherwise it is [ɨ]. Illustrative forms are given in (1).

- (1) i. /kjaŋ/ [kijaŋ] 'hit (pl. obj.)'; /syi/ [siji] 'give to 1SG'
- ii. /kmim/ [kumim] 'dry'; /sm̩bleŋ/ [sumbleŋ] 'dawn'; /dwem/ [duwem] 'bird'
- iii. /s̩nd̩zweŋ/ [sind̩zweŋ] 'cockroach'; /bd̩zrub/ [bud̩zrub] 'root'; /sle/ [sile] 'before'
- iv. /m̩bqa/ [mbiqa] 'large leaf'; /g̩l̩nam/ [gil̩nam] 'path'; /ŋ̩ŋl̩aŋ/ [ɲiŋl̩aŋ] 'wavy'

In addition to their predictability, these vowels show other characteristics of being intrusive. They are optional, they copy phonetic features from nearby segments, and they occur in clusters regardless of their sonority sequencing (Hall 2006: 391). However, they also differ from the typological norm in that they occur in homorganic clusters and copy vowel features across non-guttural consonants. In this way they are similar to predictable vowels in Kalam, a distantly related TNG language (Blevins & Pawley 2010), suggesting an areal pattern. Loanword adaptation also reinforces the reality of this pattern. When Tok Pisin words contain a vowel that can be interpreted as intrusive, it is treated as such, and exhibits the properties characteristic of intrusive vowels. An example is *misineri* 'missionary', which is realized as *msneri* [misneri]. We offer additional evidence for the non-phonemic character of these vowels from reduplication processes and native speaker intuitions.

Following that, we present a phonetic analysis of Jilim vowels, based on measuring 292 intrusive and 903 phonemic vowels from connected speech. Intrusive vowels are very short: half as long as phonemic vowels, and two-thirds as long as phonemic high vowels. This confirms their status as intrusive. But, curiously, they are equal in intensity to phonemic vowels, and are more peripheral in the vowel space. This suggests that they are not simply the result of gestural overlap, but represent articulatory targets for Jilim speakers.

This observation has numerous implications, and we explore those relevant to the typology of consonant clusters. If our analysis is correct, then Jilim possesses what Easterday (2019) calls "highly complex consonant clusters," (HCCC's) defined as consisting of three obstruents. Examples include /tdbew/ 'plant (pl. obj.)' and /q̩nd̩zqa/ 'be wet'. Only 7.6% of the world's languages allow HCCC's. But Jilim is an unusual HCCC language in a number of ways. It is a Pacific language that allows HCCC's as a "major" pattern; it has prenasalized stops and an alveolar flap, which these languages usually do not; and it allows HCCC's in onset and coda position (as in /teb-sg/ 'plant-1PL.SAME.SUBJECT'). This data thus enriches the typology of consonant clusters in two ways: by adding a new language, with different features, to the set of HCCC languages; and by illustrating how the analysis of vowels can either qualify or disqualify a language from the set in the first place.

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Front rounded vowels in the Tonda languages of the Yam family

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Front rounded vowels, like [y] or [ø], are typologically pretty rare. They exist in Germanic languages (Norwegian, German), Finno-Ugric (Finnish, Hungarian), Turkic (Yakut, Kirghiz) and in Sino-Tibetan (Tibetan, Cantonese). In the WALS sample of over 550 languages, front rounded vowels are attested in only three languages of the Pacific region: one of them in Australia (Malakmalak), one in New Caledonia (Iaai), and one in the Banks Islands (Natügu). On the island of New Guinea, we find phonemic front rounded vowels only in the south, in languages of the Awyu-Dumut family and the Yam family.

This paper will present evidence from the ongoing reconstruction of the Yam languages.¹ I will focus on front rounded vowels in Komnzo and a few neighbouring languages. I argue that front rounded vowels have developed from labio-velar consonants. As shown in Table 1 for the pYam word *k^wəm ‘centipede’, the reflexes of pYam *k^w regularly lose the labial element in the Nambu branch (Nen, Nmbo, Nama) and descend as /ku/ in the Yei branch. Within the Tonda branch, the western languages (Rema, Smerki) lost the velar element, while the eastern languages (Arammba, Komnzo, Wèré) preserved the labial element only in the rounding of the following vowel. Note that some languages like Komnzo and Wèré took the process one step further and palatalized the consonant (*k^w > kʏ > tʃʏ / sʏ), while other languages like Arammba stopped after the one step (*k^w > gʏ). Moreover, there are a few cognates attesting a wider pattern, in which rounded labial consonants might be another source of front rounded vowels. An example is the correspondence of Nama [m^wil] ‘Nipa palm’ to Komnzo [myr].

Table 1: Cognates for pY *k^wəm ‘centipede’ (sorted from West to East)

language	form
Nen	kəmo
Nmbo	akama
Nama	ⁿ dər kamə
Arammba	gʏm
Komnzo	tʃʏm
Wèré	sʏm
Kancha	k ^w əm
Rema	bəm
Smerki	^m bom
Yei	ku

¹This is a joint project together with Matthew Carroll and Nicholas Evans, both ANU, Canberra.

Kayanic Language Varieties: A Language Mapping Survey of Borneo

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While considered a ‘hotspot’ of linguistic diversification (cf. Smith 2017), very little is known about the languages of eastern Borneo. This paper describes a language survey among the Kayanic languages—one of the largest language groups on the island. The varieties of the Kayanic subgroup are outlined here based on patterns of mutual intelligibility, derived from lexico-statistical and phono-statistical data. The aim of this study is to clarify and discuss: (1) how many Kayanic languages are spoken in the region, (2) how many dialects exist within each language, and (3) some possibilities of how this diversity could have occurred. Some attention will be given to language vitality and language documentation among the Kayanic languages.

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Revisiting Religious Variation in Rotuman: A Phonetic Variable

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Documentation and studies of Rotuman (ISO 639-rtm) record very little geographical variation. However, denominational affiliation – Roman Catholicism vs. Wesleyan Methodism – conditions lexical variation (Churchward, 1940). This has been a result of religious wars and tribal tensions on the island of Rotuma that have managed to seep into today's Rotuman socio-cultural landscape – even in diasporic communities – and the language, with lexical variables functioning as denominational shibboleths.

Since 1940, no study until Fimone (2020a, b) has explored the possibility of variation in Rotuman besides the lexicon, and whether denomination plays a significant role in the prediction of variation. This paper continues in the same vein: to find out, primarily, if denominational affiliation plays a role in the prediction of a phonetic variable – glottal stop deletion. In addition, it aims to track the possibility of ongoing religious differences, if any, expressed implicitly in language, by looking at the results of an apparent-time study against personal anecdotes, metalinguistic commentaries, and ethnographic observations.

In order to achieve this paper's aims, 18 Rotuman speakers from Suva, Fiji, were interviewed, and 1368 tokens were extracted and analyzed auditorily for whether glottal stop was deleted or not. The data were put through Rbrul, and denomination affiliation and age of the speakers were tested as well. Furthermore, the presence of glottal stop was treated as standard speech, and standard speech is associated with Methodist speech, which is how linguistic prestige is analysed by Rotumans.

Logistic regression analyses reveal tentative results:

- 1) Denominational affiliation is a significant predictor;
- 2) Methodists tend to favour glottal stop deletion, contrary to stereotypical norms;
- 3) The apparent time study shows that young Catholics seem to favour glottal stop retention together with older Catholics. This suggests young Catholics indexing some sort of Catholic identity in opposition to Methodism. However, a closer look at personal anecdotes show this result to be due to language maintenance and identity. On the other hand, this argument may hold for the older Catholics, as personal observations of their lives appear to support this.

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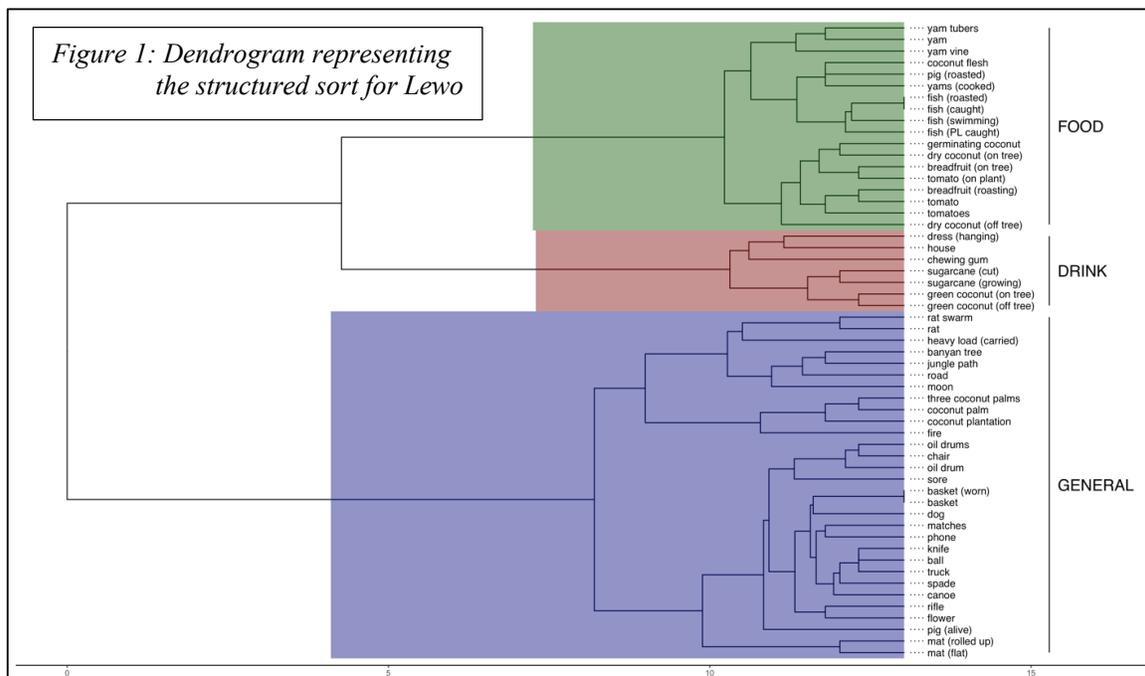
Visualising complex data: dendrograms help in interpreting possessive classifier membership

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Do the nominal categorisation systems found in Oceanic languages have an impact on cognition? Many Oceanic languages have a set of possessive classifiers that are used to categorise alienable possessions according to how the possessor intends to use these possessions. Data from a suite of experiments were collected from six Oceanic languages spoken in Vanuatu and New Caledonia (Merei, Lewo, Vatlongos, North Ambrym, Nêlêmwa and Iaa). The inventory of possessive classifiers for each language ranges from two to 24.

We discuss the results from one experiment, card sorting. Participants sorted pictures of possessed entities into groups in two ways: (i) a free sort, where participants put the pictures into as many piles as they wanted according to perceived similarity; (ii) a structured sort, where participants were asked to group the images according to which classifier they could occur with. If possessive classifiers have an impact on cognition we expect to find similar groupings of pictures across the two tasks.

We explore the resulting data visually using hierarchical agglomerative clustering. This type of cluster analysis produces trees called dendrograms, which are a heuristic aid to explore categorisation data (Borcard et al. 2011:63). We present dendrograms for our experimental data and discuss ways of exploring the clusters. Fig. 1 shows a dendrogram for the structured sort for the Lewo language: its three possessive classifiers – *drink*, *food* and *general* – are represented by three distinct clusters. We outline the different statistical methods that make use of heuristic data exploration to compare clusters across different dendrograms (Robinson & Foulds 1981; Fowlkes & Mallows 1983; Lapointe & Legendre 1995). The value of these methods is that they help us to answer our key question as to whether the groupings made in the free sort (i) are similar to those made in the structured sort (ii). We then discuss how our findings bear on the relationship between classifier categories and cognition.



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Macrocategorial Absolute/Construct Phrasal Alternations

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This paper draws attention to a striking parallel between a range of constructions present in two different geographical clusters of Austronesian languages, in central Sumatra and Timor, as described by van Engelenhoven (2004), McKinnon (2011), Ernanda (2017), Edwards (2020), and several others. This parallel is captured via the definition of a novel construction type, the *Macrocategorial Absolute/Construct Phrasal Alternation*:

- (1) A *Macrocategorial Absolute/Construct Phrasal Alternation (MACPA)* is a morphological alternation satisfying the following two conditions:
- (a) The alternation is macrocategorial, applying to most words in the language;
 - (b) The alternation consists minimally of two forms, an *absolute* form, whose prototypical functions are associated with final phrasal positions, and a *construct* form, whose prototypical functions are associated with pre-final phrasal positions.

Formally, MACPAs make use of a diverse set of phonological processes, including ablaut, consonant insertion and metathesis, as shown, for a sample of languages, in the following table:

	<i>phonological substance</i>	<i>absolute</i>	<i>construct</i>
Tanjung Pauh Mudik Kerinci	ablaut	\ABS	\OBL
Amfo'an Meto	consonant insertion	-C	∅
Amarasi Meto	metathesis	\U	\M
Helong	metathesis	\U	\M
Leti	metathesis	\U	\M
Roma	metathesis	\M	\U
South Mambae	metathesis	\M	\U

In Tanjung Pauh Mudik Kerinci, absolute and construct forms (commonly referred to as "absolute" and "oblique"), are related via complex rules of ablaut; in Amfoan Meto, the absolute is distinguished from the construct by the presence of an inserted consonant, while in the remaining languages, absolute and construct forms are related via metathesis — however, while in some languages the absolute is unmetathesized and the construct metathesized, in others the absolute is metathesized and the construct unmetathesized.

Notwithstanding their formal diversity, MACPAs exhibit a similar range of functions belonging to three general classes, basic, syntactic and discourse, as shown in the following table:

	<i>basic</i>		<i>syntax</i>		<i>discourse</i>	
	<i>citation</i>	<i>pre-final</i>	<i>predicative</i>	<i>attributive</i>	<i>weak</i>	<i>strong</i>
TPM Kerinci	absolute	construct	absolute	construct	absolute	construct
Amfo'an	absolute	construct	absolute	construct	construct	absolute
Amarasi	split	construct	absolute	construct	absolute	construct
Helong	absolute	construct	absolute	construct	absolute	construct
Leti	absolute	construct	absolute	construct	construct	absolute
Roma	absolute	construct	absolute	construct	—	—
South Mambae	absolute	absolute	—	—	absolute	construct

The first basic function, distinguishing between citation and pre-final environments, is largely definitional: for an alternation to be characterized as involving absolute and construct forms,

the absolute form must be associated with final phrasal positions, of which the citation form is a prototypical case, while the construct form must occur most commonly in pre-final phrasal positions. The second syntactic function of absolute and construct forms is the expression of the distinction between the subject of a predication and the head of an attribution; this function is present in all of the languages cited except for South Mambae. The third grammatical function is more of a mixed bag, grouping together a variety of phenomena pertaining to discourse structure which may nevertheless be characterized in terms of a dichotomy between *weak* and *strong* reference manifest in a variety of ways: definite is stronger than indefinite, specific stronger than non-specific, possessed stronger than non-possessed, and (as defined in Edwards 2020) resolved stronger than unresolved. Thus, as suggested in the above tables, the MACPA construction embodies an abstract functional unity incorporating a substantial amount of variation along a number of functional and formal dimensions.

In addition to the defining characteristics of the MACPA construction in (1), the particular constructions discussed here share a number of further properties which may perhaps, pending further investigations, be considered to be contingent properties of the MACPA construction. One shared property is that all of the alternations apply to the final syllables of words in their respective languages. A second shared property is that of phonological baroqueness, as attested by the complexity of Kerinci ablaut, the rather unnatural phonological class { *dʒ*, *l*, *gw* } referred to by Amfo'an consonant insertion, and of course the myriad intricacies of metathesis in the various languages of Timor. A third shared property is that the details of MACPA constructions, both formal and functional, often vary significantly across otherwise closely related dialects of the same language, a feature that is in dramatic evidence in both Kerinci and Meto. More investigations into MACPA constructions in other languages are called for in order to determine whether these additional shared properties are accidental similarities or, alternatively, systematic and inherent characteristics of the MACPA construction.

Diachronically, MACPAs result from the grammaticalization of phonological alternations distinguishing between final and pre-final positions in a phonological phrase. Such alternations presumably constitute the historical precursors of the grammaticalized MACPA constructions under consideration here, providing further instantiations of the aphorism that in some cases, at least, today's morphology is yesterday's phrasal phonology.

At present, I am familiar with very few instances of constructions outside the central Sumatra and Timor regions that might qualify as MACPAs. One likely case is that of metathesis in the Oceanic language Rotuman; another potential case, involving quite different phonological substance, is that of tone sandhi in Southern Min varieties of Sinitic. Further work is necessary to determine to what extent these two cases fit the bill of MACPA constructions. Whether and how the two MACPA locales, in Sumatra and Timor, might be related to each other, and perhaps also to Rotuman and even Southern Min, must remain subject to future investigations.

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Sociolinguistic Variation in Metaphor Comprehension: An Experimental Study

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Linguistic typology tends to focus on variation across geographical space, comparing languages from different parts of the world and belonging to different families. However, languages vary not only geographically and genealogically but also across sociolinguistic space. Moreover, such variation is not random: languages of different sociolinguistic types, or spoken in different sociolinguistic settings, often differ from one another in systematic ways.

This paper presents a case study of such variation, in the form of an online experimental study of metaphor comprehension in some of the Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages of Indonesia. As noted by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Kogan et al (1989), Glucksberg and Keysar (1990) and others, metaphors exhibit a pervasive directionality, founded in conceptual hierarchies. As argued in Porat and Shen (2017) such directionality is observable not just in the conventionalized metaphors that we are all familiar with but also in novel and anomalous metaphors, such as the following:

- (1) (a) Forgetfulness is like a mackerel
(b) # A mackerel is like forgetfulness

In (1) above, the (a) variant is preferred to the (b) variant because it conforms to the tendency for abstract concepts to be explicated in terms of concrete ones rather than the other way around. To explore possible patterns of variation in metaphor comprehension, we adapted the Context Experiment first developed in Porat and Shen (2017). In this experiment, subjects are presented with 22 novel comparisons in the less natural order, such as that in (1b). Beneath each comparison, two potential speakers are offered, and subjects are asked to choose which of the two is more likely to have uttered the comparison. An example experimental stimulus derived from (1) above is presented in (2) below:

- (2) A mackerel is like forgetfulness
a very old man
a fisherman

The experiment thus pits the directionality of conceptual hierarchies against the asymmetries of grammar, posing subjects with a dilemma. In accordance with the tendency to explicate abstract entities in terms of concrete ones, the comparison should be about forgetfulness, and hence the speaker is more likely to be the very old man. However, the grammatical structure of the sentence is such that the mackerel is the subject, and hence the speaker is more likely to be a fisherman. Who wins?

In English, grammar tends to win; for example, in (2), speakers tend to prefer the fisherman over the very old man as the more likely speaker. However, in other languages, different preferences are in evidence. In this paper, we present two findings based on experimental results from Standard Indonesian, Jakarta Indonesian, Minangkabau, and Abui, further supported by data from languages in other parts of the world. First, the larger the polity size associated with the language, the stronger the grammatical effect; thus, the grammatical effect is stronger in Standard and Jakarta Indonesian than in Minangkabau, and stronger in Minangkabau than in Abui. Secondly, the higher the socioeconomic status of the subjects the stronger the grammatical effect; this tendency is revealed in a comparative study of Minangkabau speakers of different socioeconomic status.

In conclusion, we suggest that our findings may be viewed within the broader perspective of a journey from symmetry to asymmetry manifest in cognitive architecture, in ontogenesis and in phylogenesis. In particular, the weaker grammatical asymmetries in languages of low polity complexity and speakers of low socio-economic status would appear to point towards an earlier stage in the evolution of metaphors in which the comprehension of metaphors was more symmetric than it is now.

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Manner/result ambiguity: Complex paradigms in Daakaka verbal predicates

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Introduction. In the Oceanic language Daakaka (Central Vanuatu, Southern Oceanic), one group of transitive verbs is ambiguous in lexicalizing either a manner or a result meaning component (cf. Beavers & Koontz-Garboden 2012, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2010). In its manner variant, the verb denotes the manner of action without entailing a (specific) result state, whereas in its result variant, the verb denotes the result state of an underspecified action event (see Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2013 on English *cut*). Based on original fieldwork, I demonstrate that the respective interpretation, as either a manner or result verb, is determined by the morphosyntactic context. Moreover, I show that both manner and result verbs participate in transitivity alternations, which gives rise to complex verbal paradigms that also include root suppletion. Daakaka ambiguous verbs therefore provide additional support for the assumption of manner/result complementarity (Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2010; Gast et al. 2014 on Oceanic) whilst representing a case of rarely described manner/result ambiguity.

Manner/result ambiguity. Based on diagnostics for the distribution of manner and result meaning components (cf. Beavers & Koontz-Garboden 2012, Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2010), I show that in Daakaka, some roots like \sqrt{tiwiye} may be used either as manner or result verbs (cf. Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2013 on *cut*). When \sqrt{tiwiye} is used as a manner verb, *tiwiye* describes an attempt of the agent to break something by applying manual force on it (~prototypical ‘breaking’-action). This manner component can be satisfied when the agent acts on a branch, but typically not when it acts on a tree, hence the contrast in (1a/b). In this manner use, *tiwiye* allows object drop as well as semi-transitivity. This is indicated by the availability of the intransitive verb form (*tiwir*) (1b).

- (1) a. *Bong ma tiwiye pwesye / #lee ente* b. *Bong ma tiwir pwesye / #lee.*
 Bong REAL break.action.TR branch tree DEM Bong REAL break.action.INTR branch tree
 ‘He applied manual force at the branch / #tree.’ ‘He broke branches / #trees with his hands.’

When \sqrt{tiwiye} is used as a result verb, *tiwiye* does not have manner component, and thus denotes an event causing a ‘broken’ result state, leaving the nature of the causing event underspecified. This explains why (2a) is now felicitous also with *lee* ‘tree’ in the theme position. In this use, *tiwiye* exhibits properties typically associated with result verbs: (i) it does not allow semi-transitivity (2b) and (ii) it appears with manner verbs (here: *ta* ‘cut’) in resultative serial verb constructions (RSVCs) (2).

- (2) a. *Bong ma #(ta) tiwiye pwesye / lee ente.* b. **Bong ma ta tiwir pwesye / lee.*
 Bong REAL cut break.TR branch tree DEM Bong REALcut break.INTR branches tree
 ‘He broke the branch by cutting them.’ Intended: ‘He broke branches by cutting.’

Contextual sensitivity. However, the respective interpretation as either manner or result verb is determined by the morphosyntactic contexts in which the verb appears. When ambiguous verbs such as *tiwiye* occur as independent transitive predicates, the verb receives a manner interpretation (3a). In contrast, the result interpretation is reduced to the non-initial position in RSVCs. Notably, both manner and result forms of the same root can appear in the same RSVC without redundancy (3b).

- (3) a. *Bong ma tiwiye pwesye. ente* b. *Bong ma tiwir tiwiye pwesye ente.*
 Bong REALbreak.TR branches DEM Bong REALbreak.action.INTRbreak.TR branches DEM
 ‘Bong applied manual force at/ #broke the branches.’ ‘Bong broke the branches by applying manual force.’

Verbal paradigms. Since both manner and result verbs undergo transitivity alternations (Hopperdietzel 2020, von Prince 2015), ambiguous verbs like *tiwiye* exhibit a complex paradigm of four verbal morphological forms (5): (i) transitive manner (1a), (ii) intransitive/unergative manner (1b), (iii) transitive result (3b), (iii) and (iv) intransitive/unaccusative result, which shows root suppletion (4).

- (4) *Lee ente ma setyup.*
 tree DEM REALbreak.INTR
 ‘The tree broke.’

(5)

\sqrt{tiwiye}	manner	result
transitive	<i>tiwiye</i>	<i>tiwiye</i>
intransitive	<i>tiwir</i>	<i>setyup</i>

Other roots that show a manner/result ambiguity are *guo* ‘clean’, *sengave* ‘open’, *kyu* ‘close, cover’ and *mawa* ‘fight, spoil’, each showing specific overlapping and suppletive patterns in the verbal paradigm. Therefore, this talk not only provides additional evidence for the assumption of manner/result complementarity from an underdocumented language (cf. Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2010), but also

contributes to our understanding of the expression of manner and result meaning in Oceanic languages and beyond (cf. Gast et al. 2014, Næss 2012, Næss & Boerger 2008; cf. Bohnemeyer 2007).

The "Irrealis" in Bongu: Polyfunctional Categories in Semantic Typology

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Reality status (realis/irrealis) has suffered from a lack of clear definitions in both descriptive and typological work. Some authors define it with counterfactuality as an essential feature (Givón 1994) or as "purely within the realm of thought" (Mithun 1999). Some dismiss the idea of irrealis as a valid category outright, since it has no common feature cross-linguistically (Bybee 1998).

This paper examines a highly polyfunctional irrealis morpheme *-aq* in Bongu, a Trans-New Guinea language. My goal is to show that a description of the Bongu Irrealis must be informed by the central role of cognitive contiguity in creating polysemy. In order to understand the conceptual region coded by *-aq*, I create a cross-linguistic semantic map of irrealis functions using the theory and methodology of Haspelmath (2003), Zwarts (2010), and de Haan (2004).

The group of functions of *-aq* is a category which is not defined by any internal semantic featural structure other than family resemblance among adjacent members (Wittgenstein 1953). A category can spread far in conceptual space by iterated semantic extension. This process can even lead to a morpheme occupying disconnected regions of conceptual space (van der Auwera et al. 2003). Evidence from switch-reference agreement shows that the Bongu system still treats *-aq* as a coherent category despite this variety.

Examples of the irrealis functions in Bongu, including one with functional overlap:

Imperative	Future	Desiderative/Purposive
<i>Ñi=n mur-aq.</i>	<i>Ga oŋ-aq-mun.</i>	<i>Bisnis at-aq gin-eben.</i>
2S=AGT tell.3S-IRR	1P go-IRR-1P.DIST	business make-IRR come-3P.DIST
Tell him/her.	We will go.	They came [wanting] to do business.

Bongu also has contexts in which a form using *-aq* has ambiguity among more than one irrealis function. This functional overlap corroborates the cognitive contiguity between those functions. Diachronic evidence is given: in 1909 (Hanke 1909), a certain construction involving *-aq* coded desiderative only, but in 2016, it coded both desiderative and immediate future.

The cross-linguistic semantic map of irrealis morphemes shows how far *-aq* reaches relative to semantically similar morphemes in other languages. The sample used for the semantic map includes 27 languages with polyfunctional irrealis categories, from various language families and geographic areas. The map shows how closely different irrealis functions are related in conceptual space, as well as how far apart they can be.

I analyze the Bongu Irrealis as a language-specific descriptive category (Haspelmath 2010) containing all semantic functions coded by *-aq*. For the synchronic description of this Bongu-specific category, monothetic definitions fail because the functions have no common feature. The best that can be done is family resemblance, in which only some pairs of members share features. This is a direct consequence of how the category evolved via repeated semantic extension from various points along its boundary. It is a mistake to think of the Bongu Irrealis as an instantiation of a cross-linguistic comparative concept of irrealis (Haspelmath 2010), but this need not mean that no such comparative concept exists.

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Second place clitics in Chamorro: Syntactically constrained prosody

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In this poster presentation I attempt to account for 2P clitics—unstressed weak pronouns—in Chamorro, an Austronesian language; providing with a different analysis from Chung (2003).

It is difficult to see Chung's analysis well capturing the behaviors of the pronominal clitics in Chamorro. The major problems in her analysis are: (1) In the literature many researchers categorize 2P clitics in terms of their hosts: the hosts of the clitics can be the first (prosodic) word or/and the first constituent/first phrase depending on languages that have 2P clitics. However, claiming that such a distinction cannot account for 2P clitics in Chamorro, Chung discards the possibility of first prosodic word hosts for the clitics in Chamorro, (2) it is claimed that all 2P clitics are special clitics in the sense of Zwicky (1977) (but there are simple clitics, too, in Chamorro), and (3) the 2P clitics' placements cannot be accounted for syntactically, but only prosodically.

I will show that it is crucial to distinguish first prosodic word (FirstPw) hosts from first phonological phrase (FirstPPh) hosts to explain the placements of the clitics in Chamorro, with the following reasons: (1) the clitics whose hosts are FirstPw are special clitics, while those whose hosts are FirstPPh simple clitics. (2) those simple clitics are allowed to encliticize the immediately preceding FirstPPh as their hosts, only when the branching (syntax) direction of the prosodic constituents of the hosts is left. On the other hand, those special clitics will be placed, without such branching constraint, at the right edge of FirstPw in a sentence, as if they merge smoothly with the branching directions of the inside of their hosts—although they apparently break into the constituency of their hosts. Thus, the placements of those 2P clitics in Chamorro cannot account for only prosodically.

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The non-compositional semantics of perfect proclitics in Nafsan

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A well-known problem in linguistics is the disagreement between numerous linguistic approaches and frameworks. In semantics, there is a very sharp divide between the formal approaches with a strictly compositional approach to meaning (e.g. Iatridou, 2000) and usage-based cognitive semantics with a non-compositional construction-based approach to meaning (e.g. Caudal & Bednall, 2018). In this paper, I take the case study of portmanteau subject proclitics, which express subject person/number and perfect aspect meanings, in Nafsan (Oceanic, Vanuatu) to argue that certain grammatical meanings are not compositional and can only be understood by studying their diachrony. Crucially, however, these non-compositional expressions can exist alongside other compositional rules of the grammar.

Thieberger (2006) divides the Nafsan portmanteau subject proclitics into three categories: realis, irrealis mood, and perfect aspect, which in turn combine with other TAM markers. The perfect proclitics combine with the perfect marker *pe* (Thieberger, 2006). However, in my fieldwork elicitations it became clear the perfect proclitics have the meaning of perfect *only* in combination with the perfect marker *pe*, as they can occur alone in contexts where the perfect *pe* is not acceptable, such as in co-occurring with a definite temporal adverb in (1), which is a context typically incompatible with perfects (cf. Dahl, 2000).

- (1) [Question: When Columbus ARRIVE at America for the first time?] Answer: He ARRIVE at America in 1492. Dahl (2000:PQ 25)
- Columbus ki=(*pe)taasak America ntau ni 1492.*
Columbus 3SG.PRF=(*PRF)come.ashore America year of 1492
'He (*has) arrived in America in 1492.' (AK1-120-01)

The occurrences as in (1) are elicited, and the perfect proclitics almost never occur without *pe*, if not directly asked for, in the newly collected data (Krajinović, 2017). This makes it hard to postulate that they have another TAM meaning on their own. I propose that the “perfect” proclitics are simply subject markers without any additional TAM meanings, which are mostly restricted to occurring with *pe*, because they form a construction. This means that these “perfect-agreeing” proclitics are not compositional, because they do not contribute any TAM meanings to the overall expression. The reason for their co-occurrence with *pe* and their vacuous TAM semantics seems to lie in an idiosyncratic diachronic development. The corpus data of Nafsan (Thieberger, 1995–2019), collected mostly in the 1990s and among older speakers, have a large number of perfect-agreeing proclitics occurring without *pe*, and without any perfect semantics. A similar situation is attested in Bible translations by Rev. J.Cosh (1874) [archived by Thieberger (1995–2019)], where the perfect-agreeing proclitics are also underspecified for aspect, as they even occur with the prospective *po*, which is semantically an opposite of perfect.

In a diachronic perspective, these observations lead us to conclude that the perfect-agreeing proclitics must have had a wider semantic distribution, which was compatible with perfect meanings and *pe*, while occurring exclusively in combination with the perfect *pe* is a recent development, whereby their combinations became non-compositional conventionalized constructions.

Bad thoughts and heads: Psych expressions in Nafsan

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Julian Rott (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

The morphosyntactic richness and multifunctionality of the lexicon of psych expressions has often been observed in Oceanic languages (e.g. Bugenhagen, 1990; von Prince, 2017). In this paper we focus on the morphosyntactic patterns of psychological expressions in Nafsan, an Oceanic language of Vanuatu. We show that Nafsan uses a range of structural types to express psych meanings, and focus on the frequent pattern of combining *sa* ‘bad’ with nouns, verbs, and clauses to express negative emotions, which has not been identified in previous descriptions of the language. Our data sources are the Nafsan grammar (Thieberger, 2006), corpus (Thieberger, 1995–2019), our newly collected fieldwork elicitations with storyboards (Krajinović, 2017) and non-translational questionnaires on psych expressions, developed by Rott & Verhoeven (2018).

Nafsan exhibits a range of structures in its psych domain. Apart from simplex verbs which express some of the most common emotions, for instance *semsem* ‘happy’, *maet* ‘angry’, and *krokur* ‘shocked’ (1), there are a large number of morphosyntactically more complex psycho-collocations and verb compounds. Psycho-collocations typically consist of either a body part or a more abstract person part noun (e.g. *namroan* ‘thought’) followed by *wi* ‘good’ or *sa* ‘bad’ (either as a verb in the predicate position or adjective in NPs) for positive and negative emotions, respectively, as shown in (1) [abb. DP–direct possession] with *n̄pau-n i=trau sa* ‘his head was really bad’, referring to ‘going mad’.

- (1) *kano nen i=krokur wul i=to nkanr-o-n me n̄pau-n*
man DET 3SG=shocked maggot 3SG=PROG mouth-V-3SG.DP and head-3SG.DP
i=trau sa wes
3SG=really bad 3SG.OBL
‘The man was shocked by the maggots in his mouth and went really mad [at it].’

Verb compounds expressing psych meanings are also often formed by combinations of an otherwise independent verb and the verb/adjective *sa* ‘bad’, as shown in (2) [abb. P–possession, O–object] with *le-sa* ‘see-bad’ meaning ‘hate’. The good/bad distinction is further productive with *le*, as *le-wi* ‘see-good’ means ‘like’. Another interesting formation is the verb *nrog-te-sa* meaning ‘sad’, morphologically consisting of ‘feel-DET-bad’. Nafsan can also form apprehensive complement clauses, expressing undesirable events, with *i=sa* ‘3SG=bad’ as the embedding verb (Krajinović, 2017).

- (2) *̄palu-n i=preg-sa-ki m̄it ga me i=trau le-sa-ki-n wes*
brother-3SG.DP 3SG=make-bad-TR mat 3SG.P and 3SG=really see-bad-TR-3SG.O 3SG.OBL
‘His brother destroyed his mat and he really hates him for it.’

In conclusion, besides simplex verbs, Nafsan makes prominent use of collocations and compounds, combining otherwise non-psych predicates, such as *sa* ‘bad’, for emotional valence, with a nominal or verbal component, which metaphorically locates the expression in the psych domain.

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A new type of auxiliary: Evidence from Pahoturi River complex predicates

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This paper discusses complex predicates in Pahoturi River (PR), a family of six closely related varieties spoken in the South Fly of Papua New Guinea, particularly in Ende (kit; Limol village) and Idi (idi; Dimsisi village). We use the term “complex predicate” in the sense of Butt (2010: 2) to “[designate] a construction that involves two or more predicational elements (e.g., nouns, verbs, and adjectives) which predicate as a single unit, i.e., their arguments map onto a monoclausal syntactic structure.”

PR complex predicates (1, 2a) consist of a sequence of two elements. One element is essentially uninflected and provides the lexical-semantic information, and the other is a morphologically complex verb that only contributes inflectional information (e.g., TAM, valency, voice, argument person/number, etc.). Complex predicates contrast with simplex ones, which contain a single inflected lexical verb (2b).

With regards to the first element, we see two types of verbal elements in this position. First is a class of non-inflecting words that act as verbs in this construction (e.g., Idi *yndhpä* ‘see’ in [1]) but act as non-verbs elsewhere (*yndhpä* also means ‘eye’). This class of words must occur in a complex predicate when they are the predicate of the main clause. We also observe infinitival forms of inflecting lexical verbs in this position. These only occur in complex predicates in the present tense (2a).

With regards to the second element, there are three verbs that act as inflectional support for the preceding lexeme. The first is a grammaticalized form of the verb ‘go’ (Idi *l/r/nga*) and is used in the present tense (2a) and only exceptionally in non-present tenses. In the present tense, this grammaticalized verb differs in form from the main verb meaning ‘go’. The second and third have no known lexical source (Idi *g* and *nd*) and are used only in non-present tenses (1).

And thus, we turn to the classification of PR complex predicates. In many ways, these constructions have features of *auxiliary verb* constructions (Anderson 2006, 2009), especially because the second element is not identical in form to any main lexical verb and doesn’t have even a light semantic contribution, in the ways that e.g. Australian light verbs have (Bower 2014). PR complex predicates, especially those of the type of example (1) are unlike auxiliaries, though, in that the “pre-auxiliary element” is not unambiguously verbal.

PR complex predicates also share many features of a *light verb* construction (Butt 2010; Butt & Lahiri 2002; Seiss 2009: 509). For example, the inflectional paradigms of these second elements span the entire verbal paradigm and are not defective in any way. They also indicate the valency, voice, and argument structure of the construction through inflectional morphology.

PR complex predicates differ significantly from similar constructions classified as light verbs, specifically in terms of verbal inventory. Other Papuan and nearby Australian languages that make extensive use of light verb constructions tend to have very small inventories of inflecting lexical verbs (Foley 1986; Bower 2014). In contrast, PR languages have hundreds of inflecting lexical verbs and dozens of non-inflecting forms.

The PR data pose a challenge to the current typology of complex predicates because they show features of both light verb and auxiliary verb constructions. We argue that the definition of auxiliary verbs may have to be broadened, to allow for the non-inflecting element to have a structurally ambivalent status in terms of its part of speech and to allow the auxiliary to host voice and valency information. These data also show that in some languages, auxiliary verb and light verb constructions may have more in common with each other than we previously thought.

Examples

- (1) *dia bom yndhpä gagn*
dia bom jəndpæ g-a-g-ən
deer 1SG.ACC see (also eye) REM-AUG-AUX.NPRS.NPL-1|3SGA
'The deer saw me.' (Qbr 2015 #64)
- (2) a. *ngn gta ngiä wot yran*
ŋən gəta ŋi=æ wot j3-r-an
1SG.NOM this coconut eat 3SGO-AUX.PRS.NPL-1|3SGA
'I am eating this coconut.' (elicited)
- b. *bo gta ngiä beotn*
bo gəta ŋi=æ be-ot-ən
3.NOM this coconut=CORE 3SGO.REM-eat-1|3SGA
'She ate this coconut.' (Ġadang 2014 #33)

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Metathesis and double vowels in Kodi (Sumba)

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This paper reports on progress in the analysis of the phonology of Kodi, an Austronesian language spoken by around 100,000 people on the island of Sumba in Indonesia (Ghanggo Ate 2021; Lovestrand 2021). Data for this analysis are primarily recorded word lists (Balle & Lovestrand 2019). The maximal syllable structure in Kodi is CVC with a few exceptional words. Consonants contrast in length. A vowel in a stressed syllable is phonetically lengthened under certain syllabic constraints. Stress is consistently assigned to the penultimate syllable of the root (Lovestrand & Balle 2019).

One typologically unusual feature of Kodi is the presence of synchronically productive metathesis. The function of metathesis in Kodi remains unknown, but phonologically speaking, the final vowel of a word and its preceding consonant alternate their order, from the more basic CV# pattern to a derived VC# form. However, a long consonant preceding the final vowel prevents metathesis from occurring. There are two types of metathesis in regards to vowel quality. In one type, the root-final vowel must be a high vowel, /i/ or /u/, and the metathesized derived form is pronounced with a diphthong in the nucleus of the stressed syllable; e.g. /watu/ [ʔβaʔu] → /waut/ [ʔβa.ʔi] ‘stone’. In the second type of metathesis, the final vowel and penultimate vowel are identical, and the derived form contains a double vowel in the nucleus, pronounced as a single syllable; e.g. /mete/ [ʔmeʔe] → /meet/ [me:ʔ] ‘black’.

In addition to metathesis, Kodi also has a morphophonological alternation of apocope with compensatory lengthening; e.g. /lo^oge/ [loŋge] → /lo^og/ [loŋg] ‘hair’. This raises the question of whether metathesis which results in a double vowel can be distinguished from apocope with compensatory lengthening. In order to distinguish between double vowels and stress-induced lengthening, we measured the lengths of 396 vowels (or diphthongs) in a recorded list of words. Each word was elicited three times in its basic form, and three times in a shorter, derived form. By comparing the first utterance of the basic form with the first utterance of the derived form, the second with the second, and the third with the third, we calculated the average difference in the length of the nucleus of the stressed syllable. These averages were categorized by type of morphophonemic alternation (Table 1). In cases of apocope, the nucleus of the derived form is on average 11.3% longer than the corresponding vowel in the basic form. The average lengthening in double vowel metathesis is 35.2%, much closer to the average difference of a diphthong compared to a single vowel nucleus (46.8%). These data are phonetic evidence of double vowels resulting from metathesis in Kodi. The analysis is also confirmed by native speaker intuition (Ghanggo Ate, personal communication). An exception for further analysis are cases of apocope in onsetless words (VCV → VC) where the average lengthening of the stressed syllable is 55.1%.

Table 1: Average lengthening of stressed syllable by type of morphophonemic alternation

Type of alternation	Example	Gloss	Avg. nucleus lengthening
Only first vowel reduction	/manihi/ → /mnihi/	‘thin’	5.2%
Long C Apocope: CVCC(V)	/rutta/ → /rut/	‘blood’	6.8%
Apocope: CVC(V)	/kaleyo/ → /kley/	‘left’	11.3%
Metathesis: Double vowel	/mete/ → /meet/	‘black’	35.2%
Metathesis: Diphthong	/kati/ → /kait/	‘to bite’	46.8%
No onset apocope: VC(V)	/iya/ → /iy/	‘fish’	55.1%

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Habituality in Lakurumau

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In this paper, I describe how the semantic category of habituality is expressed in Lakurumau, a Western Oceanic language spoken in New Ireland (Papua New Guinea). All data come from a 19-hours corpus of Lakurumau natural speech. Partially following Krifka et al. (1995), I distinguish three kinds of habitual expressions: (a) generic expressions (GE; 1a.); (b) habitual expressions (HE; 2.); (c) situational habituals (or ‘generic passages’; Carlson & Spejewski 1997), describing sequences of habitual events (SH; 3.).

- (1) *A boi a= vuna yaan a mayaang*
 ART pig 3SG.S HAB eat.TR ART dry.coconut
 ‘Pigs eat dry coconuts’ (GE)
- (2) *Nadai o= za-zangas tomaai*
 3DU 3DU.S RED-walk together
 ‘The two of them always walked together’ (HE)
- (3) *[Nam Malaxon] ka= daa wut, ka= daa wut sop fa-maat ket a buna*
 PERS.ART M. 3SG.S IRR come 3SG.S IRR come hit CAUS-die again ART people
ayaam aa ka= daa ulai zik awaa ket Ngaavalus
 here and 3SG.S IRR return take DIR again Ngaavalus
 ‘[Malaxon] would come, he would kill again the people here and he would come back to Ngaavalus.’ (SH)

Lakurumau speakers use several strategies for the expression of habituality: the realis unmarked form, the irrealis marker *daa*, the habitual marker *vuna*, the progressive marker *nga* and the partial reduplication of the verbal stem. All of them, except *vuna*, have also functions outside the domain of habituality, too (Table 1.).

Realis (unmarked stem)	All kinds of past and present events (punctual/non-punctual)
Irrealis <i>daa</i>	All kinds of irrealis (future, counterfactual, modal) events (punctual/non-punctual)
Progressive <i>nga</i>	Events that are taking place at the reference time
Reduplication	Events performed by a plurality of actors
Habitual <i>vuna</i>	-

Table 1. Non-habitual functions of Lakurumau TAM markers

Realis predicates can express all kinds of habitual situations: GE, HE and SH (provided they describe past or present events). Irrealis-marked predicates can express HE and SH but not GE. The habitual *vuna* can express GE and HE, but not SH. Finally, the progressive marker *nga* and the stem reduplication can only express HE (Table 2.).

	GE	HE	SH
Realis	√	√	√
Habitual <i>vuna</i>	√	√	
Irrealis <i>daa</i>		√	√
Progressive <i>nga</i>		√	
Reduplication		√	

Table 2. Distribution of Lakurumau strategies to express habituality

As Table 2. shows, Lakurumau marks a distinction between generic and habitual expressions, unlike other Oceanic languages which do not make this distinction (von Prince et al. 2019).

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Adverbial Universal Quantifier Constructions in Nasal

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So-called ‘quantifier float’ constructions in several western Austronesian languages have provided critical evidence for a privileged syntactic argument (e.g., Tagalog) or core argument status (e.g., Indonesian). In these languages, quantifiers canonically occur within the NP, but under special circumstances certain arguments may ‘launch’ a quantifier allowing it to ‘float’ to adverbial positions in the clause. Thus, western Austronesian languages have been shown to differ based on which arguments can launch floated quantifiers. Given these descriptions of (floating) quantifiers in western Austronesian languages (e.g., Kroeger 1993, Musgrave 2001), Nasal [glottocode: nasa1239], a Malayo-Polynesian isolate spoken by some 3,000 people in southwest Sumatra, presents a marked system of universal quantification with the following properties:

- Adverbial Universal Quantifiers (AUQs) place severe restrictions on which arguments can be quantified, wherein only the privileged syntactic argument can be quantified in an AUQ construction.
- The basic means of universal quantification is expressed through one of two AUQs, *sun* ‘all’ or *ungin* ‘all’. While universal quantifiers can occur in the NP, they are far less frequent (accounting for 3% of instances) and are morphologically derived from the AUQ.

Based on these properties, we argue that AUQ constructions in Nasal are fundamentally different than those described as ‘quantifier float’ in other western Austronesian languages.

As in many western Indonesian languages, Nasal has a two-way symmetrical voice system that distinguishes A-Voice (AV), wherein the privileged syntactic argument is A, from P-Voice (PV), wherein the privileged syntactic argument is P. In AUQ constructions, the universal quantifier only targets the privileged syntactic argument, as in (1) below.

- (1) a. Sekhekhanak ng-akuk dugan ungin.
children AV-take coconut all
- b. Dugan di-akuk sekhekhanak ungin.
coconut PV-take children all
- ‘(All) the children took (*all) the coconuts.’ ‘(*All) the children took (all) the coconuts.’

In (1a), the AUQ *ungin* only quantifies the A argument *sekhekhanak* ‘children’ and not the P argument *dugan* ‘coconut’. In (1b), the same pattern can be seen for a PV construction, where the AUQ *ungin* only quantifies the P argument *dugan* ‘coconut’ and not the immediately preceding A argument *sekhekhanak* ‘children’. Furthermore, when the the universal quantifier occurs as an adverbial, it requires no additional morphology (i.e., *sun*, *ungin*), as is evidenced in (1). However, when it occurs within an NP, it must be reduplicated (i.e., *sun-sun*, *ungin-ungin*).

Based on examples from a corpus of Nasal conversations as well as detailed elicitation of AUQ constructions, this presentation provides a thorough description of universal quantification in Nasal, demonstrating the severe restrictions for universally quantifying privileged syntactic arguments.

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Harnessing the power of computation for documentation: The case of Nen morphology

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Recent works in natural language processing (NLP) and computational linguistics (CL) focus on the importance of diverse linguistic representation (e.g. Vylomova et.al, 2020). As our quest for diversity of linguistic representation grows, so does the need to build corpora, and to build corpora someone or something must go through the collected recordings (audio or video) and mark, annotate and describe the contents into a desirable format. As Himmelmann (2018) puts it, ‘*It is only a minor exaggeration to say that language documentation is all about transcription*’.

Morphological parsing and interlinear glossing are essential steps for linguists when analysing and documenting language. Often linguists enlist the use of software tools such as ELAN (Sloetjes et al, 2008), FLeX and toolbox (Black and Simons, 2006). These tools range from allowing tier-like structures for annotation (transcription, translation or otherwise), building a lexicon or basic corpus statistics. The focus of these tools is to be as user-friendly as possible, and this often comes at the price of being heavyweight and rigid. Here we present two methods for modelling morphology of the Papuan language Nen, finite-state transducers and deep learning. Nen verbal morphology is incredibly complex, with a transitive verb taking up to 1, 740 unique features. Nen morphology utilises distributed exponence – a non-trivial means of mapping form to meaning. The combined effect of having a large combinatoric space and a low-resource setting amplifies the need for NLP

tools. With on-going documentation efforts, the Nen corpus is approximately 30, 000 words of natural speech, of which there are approximately 6, 000 verbs tokens (Muradoğlu, 2017). Over a third of these verb tokens (2, 379 tokens) are varieties of the copula, which form a restricted paradigm of their own. Simply put, the amount of data is scarce. To add to this problem, Nen exhibits complex verbal morphology. In fact, verbs are morphologically the most complicated word-class in Nen (Evans, 2016).

Finite-state Transducers (FSTs) are widely accepted as a standard way to computationally model the morphological structure of words in natural languages (Beesley and Karttunen, 2003) To develop a morphological analyser for Nen, we employed the foma Finite-State toolkit (Hulden. 2009) and present the first morphological analyser for Nen, with an overall accuracy of 80.3% (Muradoglu, 2020). We follow the methodology of the morphological inflection task as laid out by the SIGMORPHON shared tasks, to train two-state-of-the-art deep learning models (Aharoni and Goldberg, 2017; Makarov & Clemantine, 2018). Essentially, it involves predicting a target word form from a corresponding word lemma and a set of morphosyntactic features. We compare the accuracies of both methods and summarise the advantages and disadvantages of both. Depending on the stage of documentation, and the desired degree of freedom, one method might be chosen over the other. Inclusion of diverse languages not only benefits the CL and NLP community, in turn, but it also feeds back to alleviate some of the burdens from fieldworkers.

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Two comitative strategies in Äiwoo

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The Oceanic language Äiwoo has two distinct constructions which may be described as comitative applicatives. These vary along two parameters: firstly, whether they express a comitative relation in the strict sense, where the two participants participate in the event in the same way (*I walked to the market with John*, where both John and I are walking), or what Arkhipov (2009) calls a depictive relation (*I walked to the market with a basket*, where I am walking but the basket is not). Secondly, which of the two participants is introduced by the construction: the accompanee or the companion, in the terminology of Stolz et al. (2006). The comitative construction with *-i* (1a) mainly indicates depictive relations and introduces the companion, whereas the construction with *-mäi* (1b) indicates comitative proper and appears to introduce the accompanee:

- (1) a. Ngaa i-tapo-i-to-mu=to ilâ ngâ ny-ângâ.
so PFV-enter-COM-go.in-2MIN=now DIST LOC place-DEM:DIST
'So you take him (lit enter with him) into that place.'
- b. Wagukä go mi-ku-wä-mu-mäi=le
say-DIR:3 to one-IPFV-go-2MIN-COM=DIST
de-lu-pâbuli=eo.
APPR-3AUG-make.noise=PROH
'Tell those going with you not to make noise.'

Both these distinctions seem relatively unusual in an Oceanic context. Both constructions are valency-increasing; this can be seen from the presence of person suffixing on verbs that are lexically intransitive (*tapo* 'enter', *wä* 'go'), as intransitive verbs in Äiwoo normally take person prefixing. The situation is complicated, however, by the existence of two similar, formally intransitive constructions; one where *mäi* functions as an adverb 'together' (2a), and one which is parallel to (1b) except that the construction is formally intransitive and the accompanee and concomitant are jointly marked by a single person prefix on the verb (2b). The latter has much in common with (2a), except that the form here is *mä* rather than *mäi*; compare also (2b) to (1b), where the difference seems to be whether or not both participants are 3rd person:

- (2) a. Mi-tu-woli-wâu-i-mu ijji=lâ
one-bring-go.down-before-UV-2MIN 3AUG=DIST
i-doo ba mi-wo-ute-mä=gu mäi=lâ?
PFV-what NEG 2AUG-go-back-DIR:1=NEG together=DIST
'The ones you brought down with you before, why didn't you all come back together?'
- b. Wagu-kä go mi-ku-lu-pâ-mä=nâ
say-DIR:3 to one-IPFV-3AUG-go-COM=DIST
de-lu-pâbuli=eo.
APPR-3AUG-make.noise=PROH
'Tell those going with him not to make noise.'

In this talk, I will discuss the parallels and differences between these constructions and attempt to account for their distribution and historical origins. I will propose an analysis whereby *mäi* 'together' has grammaticalised into the comitative applicative, with the intransitive construction in (2b) as a possible bridging context, and originating in the reconstructed POC comitative verb *ma-i or *ma-ni (Moyses-Faurie and Lynch 2004).

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Complement clauses in Vatlongos: not clausal objects, but key to transitivity marking

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Complement clauses are very frequent in Vatlongos (also Southeast Ambrym; Oceanic, Vanuatu; SVO), occurring once every 51 words in a ~48,000-word corpus of spontaneous texts, selected by verbs of desire, speech, cognition, perception, emotion, ability and causation. They can be distinguished from serial verb constructions by unconstrained TAMP marking and the possible inclusion of subordinators, subject NPs, auxiliary verbs, negative clitics, fronted constituents and clefts. Although complement clauses are often analysed as clausal objects fulfilling the role of an object in relation to the matrix verb (e.g. Dixon 2006), Vatlongos complement clauses can be robustly distinguished from objects by language-internal morphological and distributional criteria. However, the presence of a complement clause does interact with transitivity marking on the matrix verb in interesting ways.

Most complement-taking verbs (CTVs) can alternatively occur with an object noun phrase, supporting the claim that complement clauses are related to the object function. Some morphologically intransitive verbs obligatorily occur with the transitivising suffix *-ni* when they take a complement clause, probably because the transitive form has a causative semantic component which is closer to the intended meaning in relation to the complement clause (e.g. *pol* ‘work’, *pol-ni* ‘do or make something’). However, the majority of CTVs are morphologically transitive, belonging to a class of verbs that must either be immediately followed by an object NP, or take a lexically-determined pronominal object suffix; clauses containing both (2a) or neither (2b) are ungrammatical. In affirmative polarity, morphologically transitive CTVs are obligatorily marked with a semantically empty third-person pronominal object suffix (1). This is evidence that the complement clause does not act as an object, as objects cannot co-occur with these suffixes (2a).

- (1) *na-pus-i* [*nim* *taa-xeih* =*ti*]¹
 1SG.NFUT-see-3OBJ house 3SG.NFUT.NEG-strong =NEG
 ‘I saw the house wasn’t strong.’
- (2) * *na-pus-i* *nim* (3) * *na-pus*
 1SG.NFUT-see-3OBJ house 1SG.NFUT-see
 (‘I saw the house’) (‘I saw [it]’)

The syntactic distribution of complement clauses also differs from objects. Object NPs are always the closest constituent to the verb, and only the negative clitic *ti* can intervene between a verb and its object. Alternatively, the negative clitic can follow the object NP, but not any other constituents. Instead, complement clauses behave like oblique PPs, adverbials and serialised VPs, occurring in any order relative to each other after the object NP and negative clitic.

- (3) *na-taa-kil* =*ti* *vari* [*tati navan ba* *xavi*]
 1SG.NFUT-NFUT.NEG-know =NEG at_once(adverb) dad my 3SG.NFUT.go where
 ‘I didn’t know straightaway where my Dad had gone.’

With CTVs of perception, it is also possible to express the subject of a complement clause as an object NP in the matrix clause. This phenomenon can be described as raising (e.g. Bresnan et al. 2015) or matrix coding (Van Valin & La Polla 1997), and is rarely observed in Oceanic languages of Vanuatu as cross-indexing of subjects and lack of case-marking mean many diagnostics are not available. The strict constraints on morphologically transitive CTVs in Vatlongos mean that an NP that is co-referential with the subject of the complement clause can be identified as an object in the matrix clause when a morphologically transitive CTV does not take a pronominal object suffix (4). In these cases it is not possible for the complement clause to contain an additional co-referential subject NP (5), which distinguishes these cases from juxtaposed coordinated clauses.

- (4) *la-long* *tas* [*bang*]
 3PL.NFUT-hear sea 3SG.NFUT.make_noise
- (5) * *o-pus* *Mael* [*xi* *mi-loh*]
 2SG.NFUT-see Mael 3sg 3SG.NFUT-run

¹ The complement clause is in [square brackets]. Non-Leipzig glossing: NFUT, non-future.

'they heard the sea making a noise'

('You see Mael running')

Polygrammaticalization of the Yali sequential medial verb marker *-lug*

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This paper presents three case studies that show how constructions involving the Yali (TNG) sequential medial verb marker *-lug* grammaticalize in different ways, always resulting in constructions which are no longer proper sequential medial verb constructions. As we will show, all three cases present intermediary stages in the grammaticalization process where the source construction is still well attested and where the bridging contexts that give rise to the new constructions can be identified.

Example (1) shows a Yali clause chaining construction consisting of two medial clauses ((1 i.) & (1 ii.)) which precede the finite clause in (1 iii.). Both medial verbs are marked by the sequential marker *-lug*, while the final verb inflects for tense (remote past) and agrees in person with the subject referent.

- (1) i. *Tanghe itno yali fil=en isag sa-lug*
 Tanghe DET east direction=ERG cook SB-SEQ
- ii. *eke Temhe itno hubula fil=en wat-sa-lug*
 and Temhe DET west direction=ERG kill-SB-SEQ
- iii. *wilip at-pag*
 go.out become-3.REM.PST
- '(i) after Tanghe was cooked (by the people) from the east, (ii) and after Temhe was killed (by the people) from the west, (iii), they went out'

In the first case study, we illustrate how the medial verb form *walug* 'take:SEQ' frequently occurs in juxtaposition with directed motion verbs (e.g. 'go away', 'come', 'go up', 'go down', etc.) to express caused accompanied motion events. While these expressions arguably originate from "mini-clause chains" (i.e. after taking Y, X went away/came/went up/went down, etc.), they do not always behave syntactically like two separate clauses anymore. Rather they seem to form a complex predicate that predicates as a single unit. Consider the following two examples.

- (2) a. i. *a-sembulal wirat-ko wa-lug*
 3s.GEN-pig.fat bake-ADV take-SEQ
- ii. *owik=mu itno libag*
 cave=LOC DET go:3.REM.PST
- '(i) after they took the baked pig fat (ii) they went to the cave'
- b. *owik=mu itno [wa-lug libareg] ...*
 cave=LOC DET take-SEQ go:3.REM.PST.SS.PRIOR
- 'after they took it to the cave...'

While (2a i.) and (2a ii.) constitute two chained clauses, similar to the ones in (1), this is not the case in (2b). Here, the goal argument 'to the cave' occurs outside of the 'chain' and thus functions as the goal of the whole verb complex *walug libareg* '(they) took (it)', which we therefore argue to be a complex predicate. In contrast, in (2a) the same goal phrase 'to the cave' occurs after the medial verb *walug*, and can only be interpreted as the goal of the directed motion verb *libag* '(they) went'.

In the second case study we present evidence that the medial verb form *ulug* 'say:SEQ' is on its way to developing into a marker with optative-like meaning, i.e. indicating a wish or hope. In its most grammaticalized form, this construction has turned into a new type of main clause construction via insubordination, as illustrated in (3).

- (3) *winag-ik kehek ari, tia horiyeg laha=on ulug*
 see-DIR enter:3s.IM.PST DEM DEM sit go:3s.IM.PST=AM ULUG
- 'he was looking inside, because (he hoped that) it was sitting in there'

Finally, in the third case study, we show that yet another medial verb form, *halug* 'perceive:SEQ', frequently functions as a conditional subordinating conjunction.

We will discuss both the source constructions and the bridging contexts, and argue that the intermediate stages we observe in Yali can help shedding light on similar developments in other languages in which the grammaticalization process is already completed.

Nungon Switch-Reference: Processing and Acquisition

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Clause chains are a well-known feature of many Papuan languages. In this type of complex sentence, clauses are dependent but not embedded, and dozens of clauses can be combined into one morphologically-indicated syntactic unit. Clause chains in many Papuan languages require morphological switch-reference marking (Roberts 1997), in which speakers are obliged to announce in advance whether the subject of the following clause will differ from that of the current clause. While the question of how to fit switch-reference into various theoretical syntax frameworks has received a fair amount of attention (Finer 1985, Stirling 1993, Baker & Camargo Souza 2020, *inter alia*), there has been almost no interest in the phenomenon in other sub-disciplinary fields, such as psycholinguistics and language acquisition. Switch-reference marking would seem to represent a cognitively demanding type of long-distance dependency that requires speakers to plan their speech at least two clauses at a time (*contra*, perhaps, Pawley & Snyder 2000). Thus, Papuan switch-reference systems should bear on research into cognition—and the results of this research should further contribute to community decisions around language maintenance.

I first summarize the results of recent eye-tracking and electroencephalography (EEG) studies of switch-reference comprehension and production in the Finisterre-Huon Papuan language Nungon. Data from gaze during speech production, for instance, supports the notion that listeners plan Nungon switch-reference morphemes (and, by extension, at least the subject of the following clause) more than one clause in advance. In contrast, gaze during listening does not show that listeners use switch-reference markers as the primary cues to predict upcoming subject identities. This could be due, in part, to the fact that Nungon different-subject markers encode nothing about the identity of upcoming subjects—only that they will differ from current subjects.

Switch-reference marking also seems to make special demands on children learning Nungon. Their earliest clause chains occur around the same age at which children learning English produce their first attempts at coordinated and subordinated clauses (Sarvasy 2020). But the children acquiring Nungon must apparently plan their complex sentences farther ahead than the children learning English, to be able to correctly apply switch-reference marking. (The Nungon data contrast with those from children learning the Papuan language Ku Waru, Rumsey *et al.* 2020, in which children show marked delays in producing clause chains with different-subject marking—but this primarily relates to contrasts between adult discourse styles in the two languages.)

In sum, fine-grained behavioral data from eye-tracking and EEG studies can help evaluate the role of Nungon switch-reference marking in predictive processes by listeners, and what it tells us about the extent of cross-clause advance planning by speakers. Children apply Nungon switch-reference marking correctly and productively from before age 2½, despite the accompanying cognitive challenges. For speakers of Papuan languages with switch-reference marking, results of such studies could form a crucial new component to deliberations over the value of maintaining these languages. This type of work can show the degree to which their intricate languages exact previously unknown cognitive demands, and the impressive ways in which adults and children rise to these demands.

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Budai Rukai, one of the Formosan (Austronesian) languages spoken in Taiwan, utilizes three conjunctives, *si*, *la*, and *si la*, the former of which is a general conjunctive taking both nominal and non-nominal conjuncts, whereas the latter two serve as a non-nominal conjunctive. This paper aims to examine these conjunctives from three syntactic levels, namely, nominal, verbal, and clausal.

Regarding nominal conjunction, the conjunctive *si* in (1) conjoins two DP arguments, as the same case in Paiwan and Mayrinax Atayal instead of two KPs as required in Puyuma (Tang 2011).

Verbal conjunction seems more complicated, as two situations can be found. First, when the conjuncts are main verbs, all three conjunctives *si/la/si la* can be used despite a more restricted distribution for *la/si la*. The conjunctive *si* can have its second conjunct marked as either in finite or non-finite, whereas *la* and *si la* require their second conjunct to only appear in non-finite, as in (2). Though the finiteness may depend on the conjunctives, three conjunctives still have the same behavior. Concerning the negator *kai* or aspectual marker *-nga*, if there is one, it cannot be elided on the second conjunct as indicated in (3). Second, when the conjuncts are bare VPs in the V2 non-finite position in the serial verb construction in (4), only the conjunctive *si* can be used, but not *la/si la*, even though the second conjunct is a non-finite verb, different from (2b).

Last, concerning clausal conjunction, all three conjunctives can serve as linkers, shown in (5). Similarly, the conjunctive *si* conjoins two different clauses, one in finite whereas the other either in finite or non-finite. The conjunctives *la/si la* strictly conjoin a finite sentence and a non-finite one.

In this paper, we argue that *si* is a general conjunctive, while *la/si la* are strictly clausal ones. This generalization then regards the verbal conjunction I (of main verbs) as clausal conjunction with subject ellipsis. This assumption is reasonable given that the conjunctive usage patterns with that of clausal conjunction and also that most sentential markers, such as negation and aspect, cannot have the illocutionary force onto the second conjunct, which should be possible if the conjuncts are merely verbal. In addition to this, different from Chen (2008) who considers *si* as a conjunctive and *la* as a sequential, this paper reanalyzes the dual statuses of *la*, one of which is grammaticalized as a neutral conjunctive for clausal conjuncts, and the other of which may occupy a CP-head position for the non-finite interpretation. The dual statuses can be further proven when the second clausal conjunct has a topicalized NP in the CP-specifier position, which linearly separates the CP-head and the higher ConjP-head, as shown in (6). Hence, it is supposed that the dual functions of *la* and the morpheme *la* in *si la* are the result of the haplology of two *la* in two heads.

(1) Nominal conjunction

*Ma-telrege ka [taetale si/*la/*si la cukui].*
STAT.FIN-be.heavy NOM chair SI/*LA/*SI LA table
'The chair and table are heavy.'

(2) Verbal conjunction I with (non-)finite tense

a. *Kay bava, ma-limeme si/*la/*si la ma-tuay.*
this wine STAT.FIN-be.tasty SI/*LA/*SI LA STAT.FIN-be.cheap

b. *Kay bava, ma-limeme si/la/si la ka-tuay.*
this wine STAT.FIN-be.tasty SI/LA/SI LA STAT.NFIN-be.cheap

'This wine is tasty and cheap.'

(3) Verbal conjunction I (with negation and aspect)

a. *Ka bava, kai ma-limeme si/la/si la *(kai) ka-tuay.*
NOM wine NEG STAT.FIN-be.tasty SI/LA/SI LA *(NEG) STAT.NFIN-be.cheap

'The wine is not tasty and not cheap.'

b. *Ka bava, ma-limeme-nga si/la/si la ka-tuay*(-nga).*
NOM wine STAT.FIN-be.tasty-PFV SI/LA/SI LA STAT.NFIN-be.cheap*(-PFV)

'The wine has already been tasty and has already been cheap.'

(4) Verbal conjunction II (serial verb construction)

*Pathagili-nga ka Lavurase [VP(*wa-)senay si/*la/*si la (*wa-)dralay].*
start-PFV NOM Lavurase (*FIN-)sing SI/*LA/*SI LA (*FIN-)dance

'(Intended meaning) I started to sing and dance.'

(5) Clausal conjunction

a. *Kay maungu, ma-adraw ka dramare, si/la/si la ka-kalra ku tariaw.*
this night STAT.FIN-be.big NOM moon SI/LA/SI LA STAT.NFIN-be.many NOM star

b. *Kay maungu, ma-adraw ka dramare, si/*la/*si la ma-kalra ku tariaw.*
this night STAT.FIN-be.big NOM moon SI/*LA/*SI LA STAT.FIN-be.many NOM star

'This night, the moon is big, and there are many stars.'

(6) Clausal conjunction with a topicalized NP in the second conjunct

*Kay maungu, ma-adraw ka dramare, si/la/si la ku tariaw *(la) ka-kalra.*
this night STAT.FIN-be.big NOM moon SI/LA/SI LA NOM star LA STAT.NFIN-be.many

'This night, the moon is big, and there are many stars.'

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Prosodic Patterns in Ramari Hatohobei

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With only a couple of resources (Capell, 1969, van den Berg, 2014) describing the languages of Sonsorol-Tobi, and only their phonetics and morphology, this paper focuses on the prosodic patterns in Ramari Hatohobei, or Tobian, a severely endangered Micronesian language. The primary aim of this paper is to identify the extent to which data from the ELAR collection, “Documenting Ramari Hatohobei, the Tobian language, a severely endangered Micronesian language” (Black and Black, 2014) could be useful for linguistic description and in particular to the field of phonology and phonetics. A second aim is to contribute to the description of Ramari Hatohobei. A final aim is to test Rehg’s (1993: 32) hypothesis on Pulo Anian, a relative variety’s prosody, whether stress assignment is mora sensitive, while pitch assignment is syllable sensitive. Recordings have been transcribed and glossed using ELAN (2020), while spectrograms have been extracted using Praat (Boersma and Weenink, 2020) from conversations, descriptions and stories. The ToBI (Silverman et al, 1992) conventions have been used for the analysis of prosodic patterns. Finally, the curators and speakers have been consulted in order to provide their insights.

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This study investigates grammatical relations in Yami (*Malayo-Polynesian*, Taiwan; ISO 639-3: tao, Glottocode: yami1254), a language with a Philippine-type system of grammatical voice. Following Kroeger (1993) and Riesberg (2014), I use relativization, raising & control, universal quantification, scope, and reflexive binding to probe the syntactic behavior of case-marked arguments in the Yami clause. Results from these diagnostics provide solid evidence for the existence of a ‘pivot’ grammatical relation in Yami. Moreover, the Yami pivot displays split-subject (or ‘split-pivot’) properties, conforming to expectations for the privileged syntactic argument in western Austronesian languages. Lastly, I show that these results do not justify claims regarding the syntactic status of any other argument beyond the pivot, as these tests for ‘pivot-hood’ do not apply to non-pivot arguments.

The question of grammatical relations and alignment in Philippine-type languages is a long-standing one and lies at the heart of the ‘symmetrical voice’ debate. Does symmetrical voice constitute a distinct alignment system, or is this pattern simply a permutation of syntactic ergativity? Answering this requires a fine-grained understanding of grammatical relations in Philippine-type languages. Yami has been analyzed as having ergative-type alignment based on morphological patterns of case marking (Rau and Dong 2018), but no previous studies have investigated the syntactic behavior of case-marked arguments in variable syntactic environments. I present evidence from relativization (1-4), raising & control, and universal quantification to show that the NP bearing the case marker *o* (often glossed NOM) is the most syntactically privileged argument, as it is the sole target of these syntactic operations. Reflexive binding and scope, on the other hand, are shown to be sensitive to a semantic hierarchy rather than a hierarchy of grammatical relations. This study succeeds in showing the existence of a pivot relation in Yami, and highlights the need for additional diagnostics for determining the syntactic status of the remaining non-pivot arguments in the Yami clause.

1. *Relativization of agent in Agent Voice*

o [ya ni-k<om>-an so vineveh ___NOM] a sazo
 NOM [3SG.NOM PFV-<AV>eat OBL banana ___NOM] LK monkey
 ‘The monkey that ate bananas’

2. *Relativization of undergoer in Patient Voice*

[na cita-en ni Maoyong ___NOM] a inu
 [3SG.GEN see-PV GEN PN ___NOM] LK dog
 ‘The dog that Maoyong is watching’

3. *Relativization of goal/location in Locative Voice*

o [dengdeng-an namen so rahet ___NOM] a vanga
 NOM [cook-LV 1EPL.GEN OBL fish.for.men ___NOM] LK pot
 ‘The pot that we cook men’s fish in’

(Rau & Dong 2005:58)

4. *Relativization of instrument in Instrument Voice*

ya na om-raci o [na i-paN-tba ni Kaot
 3SG.NOM already AV-rust NOM [3SG.GEN IV-CAU-chop GEN PN
 so kayo ___NOM] a zaig
 OBL wood ___NOM] LK axe
 ‘The axe that Kaot uses to chop wood rusted’

(Rau & Dong 2018:211)

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A New Approach to Polynesian Possession: Mana Control Theory

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Polynesian languages reduced Proto-Oceanic possessive marking strategies to two markers and innovated a sharp opposition in the semantic properties between them. This contrast is more colloquially known as the “a/o distinction” because possession is marked through these two vowels. While the presence of the *a/o* distinction is itself uncontroversial, the semantic subtleties of the contrast between them have been continually debated. This is partly due to the apparent variety in how different Polynesian languages exhibit the distinction, making it difficult to make generalisations about its semantic value. Biggs (1969) and Clark (1976) suggested that the distinction is one of *dominance*, where *a*-marked possessors are dominant over the possessed noun and *o*-marked possessors are subordinate to the possessed. Wilson, in 1982, suggested that the distinction is more related to *agency and control* by the possessor. Other classifications have also been proposed: *alienability* (Du Feu 1996, Buse & Taringa 1996, Besnier 2000, Næss 2000), where alienable possessums are *a*-marked and inalienable are *o*-marked; and *spatial representation* (Bennardo 2000), where possession is determined by a metaphorical distance to the possessor, where *o*-possession implies a direction to the possessor.

For all of the attempts to define the *a/o* distinction, there are numerous exceptions and contradictions. Thus, Polynesian possession cannot be regarded as a system in which nouns can be clearly assigned to one of two possessive categories. Furthermore, instances where the same possessor/possessum pair may be marked differently, suggest that the use of *a* or *o* depends not necessarily on the possessum or the possessor individually, but rather on the relationship between the possessum and the possessor (Clark 2000). One example from Hawaiian is shown below (from Cook 2000:345):

a.	ka	'u	inoa	b.	ko	'u	inoa
	DEF.PossA	1S	name		DEF.PossO	1S	name
	'my name (that I give someone)'				'my name (that represents me)'		

In response to this, and based on native speaker descriptions of possession in Polynesian languages (Mulloy and Rapu 1977, Volkel 2010, Taumoefolau 1996), I suggest that the *a/o* distinction is best described through the Polynesian concept of *mana*, 'inherent power or energy', where the contrast between *a* and *o* relies on an association of a possessor's *mana* with respect to the possessum.

In this paper, I first provide descriptions of various *a/o* possession strategies in a variety of Polynesian languages, based on existing documentation and first-hand data collection. Second, I describe the multiple hypotheses for the semantic value of the *a/o* distinction, focusing on the theory set forth by Wilson in 1982, the *Initial Control Theory*, which has been reconstructed as the strategy for possessive marking in Proto Polynesian. Third, I present a view of early Polynesian concepts of power and control that parallel the *a/o* possessive distinction finally offering a new reconstruction for Proto-Polynesian possession called the *Mana Control Theory*.

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Zero reference as a strategy for tracking main narrative participants in Abawiri (Foau)

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This talk traces two functions of zero reference in the discourse of Abawiri (Indonesia: Lakes Plain), focusing especially on the tracking of main participants in narratives.

Zero reference is a cross-linguistically common grammatical strategy for referring to discourse participants that are maximally relevant, continuing, or “given” in the sense of Chafe (1976; 1994). As such, zero reference is commonly used to indicate subject continuity in stretches of discourse where all clauses have the same subject (Bradshaw 1999; Givón 2017). Speakers of Abawiri use zero anaphora in this way, zero mention being the default strategy for referring to continuing discourse entities when there is little concern of ambiguity.

In addition, Abawiri speakers use zero reference as a “VIP strategy” (Grimes 1978: viii; Dooley & Levinsohn 2001) to distinguish main participants in narrative discourse. Main participants are distinguished from other participants by absence of overt mentions in different-subject contexts. Zero reference in Abawiri thus occurs (1) when the referent is the same as that of the preceding clause (same-subject strategy), and (2) in any context referring to the main narrative participant (VIP strategy). In cases where zero reference would result in confusion between multiple referents, an overt nominal referential form is used.

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Syntactic and informational hierarchy in Yami clause linkage

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This study investigates three clause linkage constructions occurring in spoken discourse in Yami (Austronesian, Batanic; Taiwan) which share a single marker *am*. The marker *am* has previously been shown to mark topicalization (Rau & Dong 2018) and subordination (Young 2019), through the fronting of NP arguments and subordinate clauses (examples 1 & 2). In both of these usages, *am* joins sentential elements of unequal syntactic status. However, a third usage, which has only rarely been addressed, joins multiple equal and symmetrical clauses in the manner of *clause chaining* (example 3), without any implication of dependency.

This study offers a unified account of how a single marker may extend to combine elements across different levels and hierarchies. Firstly, the case of quotative complement constructions (example 2) demonstrates that subordinating *am* does not mark subordination per se, but rather reflects a schema of *presupposition* before *assertion* (Lambrecht 1994). This suggests that topic-marking and subordinating *am* are simply instances of the same general schema operating across different levels of syntax (Bril 2010). Secondly, previous claims of the temporal nature of clause chaining *am* are addressed. A comparison of temporality in subordinating and clause chaining *am* shows that temporal relations are not achieved through the semantics of *am* itself, but rather by the linear order of narrative discourse structure in clause chaining.

(1) Topic-marking *am*

o lalitan ori am, ma-viay a lalitan.
NOM pebble DEM.MED AM STA-alive LK pebble
'That pebble, (it) was a living pebble.'

(2) Subordinating *am*

maN-ciring jiaken am, ap-ey ta yakan nio, mo yama.
AV-say 1SG.LOC AM take-IMP because eat 2PL.GEN VOC father
'He said to me, 'Take it for both of you to eat, father.'''

(3) Clause chaining *am*

to mi-to~toaw rana am, ma-cita da rana rako a kaseslaken.
sudden AV-RDPL~appear already AM PV.able-see 3PL.GENalready big LK big.crab
'It suddenly appeared, and they saw a big crab.'

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Bridging constructions in Muyu narratives

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A recent volume on discourse linkage subsumes two well known linkage types under the notion ‘bridging constructions’ (Guérin 2019). The first type, recapitulative linkage, is better known as tail-head linkage (THL) in Papuan linguistics (de Vries 2005). In THL, two discourse units are linked **by repeating** the final part of one unit (=tail) at the beginning of a subsequent unit (=head). In the second type, summary linkage (SL), the subsequent unit refers to the previous unit with a **generic light verb** instead.

Muyu (TNG>Lowland Ok, West New Guinea) makes use of both types to link utterances in monological narratives. THL is characterized by a high flexibility in the scope of repeated material. Heads can repeat the whole preceding clause or parts of it – mostly verbal predicates. Of special interest is the combination with serial verb constructions (SVCs) where we find two strategies that I call ‘tail-splitting’ and ‘head-expansion’. **Tail-splitting** as illustrated in (1) takes place when the predicate of a tail is split in the head. This process defies the idea that “a serial verb construction will be repeated as a whole” (Aikhenvald 2018:4). **Head-expansion** as seen in (2) expands the head by adding further verbs to the repeated predicate. In this way SVCs emerge from simple predicates or given SVCs are enlarged. The process of head expansion poses a challenge for single eventhood of serial verbs which is a standard assumption in the SVC literature (see Bisang 2009, Haspelmath 2016 among many others).

- (1) *An-on-ip=ket* *kodolok* *odo* *kane* *ok* *kal-ip-ten.*
eat-SS-3PL=and.then head DEM take:SG.O river throw:SG.O-3PL-PFV
'(The dogs) ate (the man) and threw (his) head into the river.'

Ok *kal-ip-ten=got...*
river throw:SG.O-3PL-PFV=and.then
'They threw it into the river and then...'

- (2) *Kole* *ta* *ambip* *wun-an.*
so CONJ house enter-1SG
'So I went into the house.'

Ambip **wune** *ti-mbal-an=e,* *ih,* *ta* *Enip* *men-on-e*
house enter sit-CONT-1SG=DS.SEQ INTJ CONJ PN come-SS-3SG.M
'I went into the house and sat and then, Oh!, Enip came and he...'

SL, on the other hand, is mainly carried out with one of two light verbs *ekune/okune* ‘do like this/that’. They may be serialised with further verbs as well. However, the distribution seems to be different than with THL. SL is generally less frequent and rarely occurs in the first half of the narrative. Its favoured position is most probably after the climax of the narrative.

The findings suggest that the two types of bridging constructions fulfil different discourse functions in Muyu. Whereas THL is better suited to link events from highly dynamic and active scenes of the narrative, SL is constrained to post-climatic events with lower activity.

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