Table of Contents

Breathy ingressive nasals in Chini grammar

Joseph Brooks
University of Virginia at Charlottesville

Breathy phonation and ingressive airflow have nothing obvious in common, and the latter is typically understood as a paralinguistic feature of peripheral lexical items or a means of expressivity, rather than a feature of phones. That these phonetic features might pattern together in a language has not been described before. So here I describe the role of these sounds in the lexicon, phonology, and verbal morphophonology of Chini, a Ramu language spoken in two villages in northeastern Papua New Guinea.

Chini has two nasals with ingressive airflow and/or breathy phonation as contrastive features. The bilabial nasal exhibits a three-way phonemic contrast: /m/ /m'/ and /mh'/, as seen in the minimal triplet (where <'> indicates ingression, <h> breathy phonation):

> *mi* 'those'
> *m'i* 'enter (irrealis)'
> *mh'i* 'green'

The velar nasal, which unlike the other nasals has no egressively produced phone, exhibits a two-way contrast (i.e., in contrastive distribution, but with no known minimal pairs): /ng'/ and /ngh'/, as seen in:

> *ng'ing'i* 'wasp'
> *Avemngh'I* (demigod's name)

These sounds are, moreover, infrequent in the lexicon and are furthermore largely restricted to particular semantic and word classes. /m'/ (and /r'/, not discussed) are restricted to a handful of verb forms. While /mh'/ does occur in some common nouns, /mh'/ and /ngh'/ are found primarily in kin terms, proper names, and certain verb forms.

/mh'/, though infrequent in the lexicon, is quite frequent in speech due to its occurrence in a derivational imperfective construction, the most productive of several aspectual derivations for the Chini verb. The imperfective suffix in question is formed according to consonant harmony, where /mh'/ as a phoneme occurs in the following allomorphs: -mh', -cmh', -tmh', -ndmh' and -pmh', as seen in: *yẽcmh'i* 'is chewing betelnut'.

After describing these sounds and their patterning in Chini grammar, I discuss the methods of analysis I have used to understand them thus far, a process that has taken ten years of fieldwork, as these sounds are as hard to pin down as they are hard to miss.

References

Z'graggen, John. 1972. Comparative Ramu wordlist. Anthropos manuscript.

The inclusory construction in Komnzo

Christian Döhler
Leibnitz Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft

This first part of the paper describes the inclusory construction (henceforth IC) in Komnzo, which is unique among the world's languages in assigning a distinct set of pronouns as well as a case marker to this construction type. The second part of paper shows the difference between the ic and the coordinative construction through a qualitative corpus study.

ICs can be described as constructions in which "some elements of a larger group are referred to along with the larger group itself" (Singer, 2001: 1). This can be seen in the Russian example below in (1), where we have the larger group (henceforth: superset) expressed by the pronoun *my* and the included elements of the larger group (henceforth: subset) expressed by the pronoun *toboj*. Superset and subset expression are connected with the comitative marker *s*.

(1)   Russian (Indo-European; Balto-Slavic)
       my   s   toboj
       1PL   with   2SG
       'you and I' (lit. 'we with you')

There have been a number of classifications of ICs in the literature, which focus on different coding dimensions. Schwartz (1988a, 1988b) draws a distinction between (plural) pronoun-coded versus verb-coded ics. Lichtenberk (2000) highlights the difference between phrasal versus non-phrasal ICs in one dimension and overt versus non-overt coding of ICs in a second dimension. The Komnzo IC is shown below in (2), where the superset is expressed by the verb inflection (3du). The Komnzo IC allows for the expression of multiple subsets. One of the subset sets is flagged with the appropriate (core) case, which is always non-singular; the ergative *=é* in (2). The other subset is the included subset, which is flagged with the inclusory case marker *=r*.

(2)   Komnzo (Yam; Tonda)
       maureen=é   bi   y\näbü/nth   kowi=r
       PN=ERG.NSG   sago(ABS)   3DU>3SG.MASC/beat   PN=IC.DU
       'Maureen beats the sago with Kowi.'
       (lit. 'Maureen, they beat the sago, with Kowi.') (Döhler, 2018: 277)

In typological work on associative plurals, Moravsik has observed that "no language differentiates inclusory and non-inclusory pronouns by assigning distinct phonological forms to the two" (2003: 485). Khachaturyan (2019) has shown that Southern Mande languages do have a set of distinct inclusory pronouns. Komnzo is then the second attested case, which has a distinct set of inclusory pronouns for all person values as well as for the categories of recognitional, indefinite and interrogative (cf. Table 1). Moreover, Komnzo is possibly the only attested case of a language with a distinct case marker for the IC.

Table 1: Inclusory pronominals and inclusory case

		DUAL	PLURAL
PERSONAL PRONOUNS	1	*ninrr*	*ninä*
	2	*bnrr*	*bnä*
	3	*nafrr*	*nafä*
RECOGNITIONAL		*bafrr*	*bafä*
INDEFINITE		*nä bunrr*	*nä bunä*
INTERROGATIVE		*mafrr*	*mafä*
CASE ENCLITIC		=*r*	=*ä*

References

Döhler, C. (2018). *A grammar of Komnzo*. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Khachaturyan, M. (2019). Inclusory pronouns in Mande: The emergence of a typological rarum. *Folia Linguistica 53*(1), 87–123.

Lichtenberk, F. (2000). Inclusory pronominals. *Oceanic Linguistics 39*(1), 1–32.

Moravcsik, E. (2003). A semantic analysis of associative plurals. *Studies in Language 27*(3), 469–503.

Schwartz, L. (1988a). Asymmetric feature distribution in pronominal 'coordinations'. In *Agreement in natural language*, pp. 237–50. Center for the Study of Language and Information Palo Alto.

Schwartz, L. (1988b). Conditions for verb-coded coordinations. *Studies in syntactic typology 17*, 53–73.

Singer, R. (2001). A brief investigation of the inclusory construction in Australian languages. Master's thesis, The University of Melbourne.

Grammaticalization of Aro tense particles from 'yesterday', 'tomorrow', 'earlier today', and 'later today'

Andrey Drinfeld

University at Buffalo

The most cross-linguistically common grammaticalization source for tense markers is verbs (Heine and Kuteva 2002). On the other hand, perhaps somewhat counterintuitively, lexical items that express time are rarely grammaticalized as tense markers (Comrie 1985:12). In particular, grammaticalization as tense markers of adverbs or nouns referring to days in relation to the present ('today', 'yesterday', 'tomorrow', etc.) is cross-linguistically uncommon and, according to some sources (Comrie 1985:12; Heine and Kuteva 2002:315-316), has only been attested in a number of African languages and one Australian language.

In this presentation, I present evidence, based on a corpus of texts and elicited data that I collected as part of my field research, that Aro [tei], a Torricelli language spoken in Sandaun Province of Papua New Guinea, has grammaticalized four tense particles, expressing non-hodiernal (before today) past tense, non-hodiernal (after today) future tense, hodiernal (same day) past tense, and hodiernal (same day) future tense, from nouns meaning 'yesterday', 'tomorrow', 'earlier today', and 'later today' respectively (see table 1 below). This finding is significant since, as far as I am aware, no Papuan language has thus far been described in the literature as displaying this cross-linguistically rare pathway of grammaticalization.

Table 1: Aro tense particles and the nouns from which they have been derived

Tense particles	Nouns from which the tense markers have been derived
bwan 'non-hodiernal past'	*kəbwan* 'yesterday'
əgwæu 'non-hodiernal future'	*əgwæu* 'tomorrow'
yak 'hodiernal past'	*yak* 'earlier today'
yək 'hodiernal future'	*yək* 'later today'

Although they are still almost identical in phonological form to the nouns from which they have been derived, the aforementioned tense particles display the following four properties, each of which strongly suggests that grammaticalization has taken place:

1) The tense markers have undergone some phonological reduction. The non-hodiernal past tense particle is *bwan*, whereas the temporal noun from which it has been derived is *kəbwan*. The other three particles optionally undergo phonological reduction in fast speech, being reduced from *əgwæu* to *əgwæ*, from *yak* to *ya*, and from *yək* to *yə* respectively.

2) The tense markers have undergone semantic bleaching. Thus, the non-hodiernal past particle *bwan* may be used for past events that happened at any time prior to the present day, including a very long time ago (as shown in examples (1) and (2) below), even though the noun from which it has been derived means specifically 'yesterday'. The same happens, in reverse, with the non-hodiernal future particle *əgwæu* (as shown in (3) and (4)). The hodiernal future particle *yək* has also undergone some semantic bleaching, having developed the meaning 'should' with

vague temporal reference (as shown in (5)).

3) The tense markers and the nouns from which they have been derived may cooccur in the same clause (as shown in (6) and (7)).

4) The tense markers may be repeated multiple times across several adjacent clauses (as shown in (8)), which would be unlikely if they were nouns.

Examples

(1) *æ bwan m-əgān wurau al*
1SG NONHODPST 1-come year other
'I came last year.'

(2) *kəday sayun bwan yātək matau*
old.woman Sayun NONHODPST yet young
'Old woman Sayun was still a young woman [at that time].'

(3) *æ əgwæu m-əgen wurau al*
1SG NONHODFUT 1-come.IRR year other
'I will come next year.'

(4) *paləu mon ajəŋ kwæm apət əgwæu təwet*
PREP what language village 1PL NONHODFUT finish.IRR
'Why will our indigenous language become extinct?'

(5) *yək aro k-emwac ik yək aro k-iniy paləu*
HODFUT NEG NON1.SG-curse.IRR 2SG HODFUT NEG NON1.SG-say.IRR PREP
eyŋ ø-kāwɨr
man NON1.SG-die.NONPLACT
'You should not curse. You should not talk about a person who died.'

(6) *kəbwan æ bwan m-əgān*
yesterday 1SG NONHODPST 1-come
'I came yesterday.'

(7) *yak æ yak m-əgān*
earlier.today 1SG HODPST 1-come
'I came earlier today.'

(8) *ik yək aro ø-əgen ələu acər yək aro*
2SG HODFUT NEG NON1-come.IRR skin nothing HODFUT NEG
kə-trul finiŋ il yək k-iniy sou
NON1.SG-cover.oneself limbum 3SG HODFUT NON1.SG-say.IRR pig
abwen yək ø-garəu ø-kalɨm ik
cassowary HODFUT NON1.SG-go.down NON1.SG-kill.NONPLACT 2SG
'You would not come bare skin. You would not cover yourself with a limbum. It [the eagle] would think that [you are] a pig or a cassowary and would go down and attack you.'

References

Comrie, Bernard. 1985. *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harris, Alice C. and Lyle Campbell. 1995. *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heine, Bernd and Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marchese, Lynell. 1984. Tense innovation in the Kru language family. *Studies in African Linguistics*, 15.

Expressing the abstract through the physical in Aro, Srenge, and Walman

Andrey Drinfeld, Jose Antonio Jódar-Sánchez, and Lea Brown

University at Buffalo

Our presentation discusses data from Aro [tei], Srenge [lsr], and Walman [van] – three languages belonging to the Torricelli family and located in Sandaun Province of Papua New Guinea – showing that these languages express most abstract concepts by extending the referential scope (through metaphor) of various nouns, verbs, and adjectives whose primary uses are to denote non-abstract entities, actions, and states. Whereas some lexemes whose primary meanings are abstract do exist in these languages, they form a relatively small set of words compared to the larger set of words whose primary meanings are non-abstract and from which abstract meanings are derived through metaphor. This tendency, displayed by Aro, Srenge, and Walman, strikes us as cross-linguistically unusual (although, perhaps, not as unusual in a Papuan perspective).

Previous literature dealing with Papuan lexical semantics has pointed out a number of lexical features that seem to be commonly found in Papuan languages, including some having to do with extensive use of certain types of metaphors. For example, a number of Papuan languages have been described as expressing a wide variety of concepts related to emotions and cognitive processes by means of metaphors based on body parts (Aikhenvald 2015; Bruce and Bruce 2010; Priestley 2002). Our study takes a somewhat different angle, pointing out that, in addition to displaying many of the body part metaphors that have been previously described in literature on Papuan languages, Aro, Srenge, and Walman display also a more general tendency to express the abstract through the physical by means of metaphor.

In our study, we use a corpus of naturalistic speech and elicited data to identify a list of nouns, adjectives, verbs, and phrases in Aro, Srenge, and Walman that we consider to express abstract[1] concepts, and investigate the range of meanings expressed by each of these words or phrases. We find that, although in each of these languages there is a small set of nouns, verbs, and adjectives with inherently abstract meanings, most of the words and phrases used to express abstract meanings have non-abstract primary meanings from which one or more abstract meanings are derived through metaphor. This holds true across a variety of word classes and semantic domains (some examples are provided in table 1 below).

We also find a significant degree of overlap in the specific metaphors used across the three languages. For example, in all three languages, the meaning 'be afraid' is expressed by a verb whose primary meaning is 'run away', the meaning 'happy' is expressed by the phrase 'chest good', and the meanings 'origin', 'reason', and 'basis' are expressed by a noun whose primary meaning is 'base of a tree'. Such similarities between the metaphors in Aro, Srenge, and Walman are perhaps not surprising considering these languages' geographic proximity and genealogical relatedness. At the same time, based on some limited data that we have seen from a number of other Papuan languages, we tentatively hypothesize that some of the metaphors shared by Aro, Srenge, and Walman may, in fact, be a cross-Papuan

---

[1] Although a precise delineation of what is and is not abstract is hard to make, we generally assume that a concept is abstract if it is either non-physical (e.g. a social or psychological construct) or physical but not easily tangible (e.g. an astronomically based unit of time such as a month or a year).

phenomenon. We hope that collaboration with other linguists who have conducted field research on various other Papuan languages may eventually lead us to identify which of these metaphor-related phenomena are found across other Papuan languages, and whether the general tendency to express most abstract concepts through metaphor should be considered a Papuan areal feature.

Table 1: some examples of abstract concepts expressed as metaphors in Aro, Srenge, and Walman

Abstract concept	Aro word/ phrase	Non-metaphorical meaning of Aro word/phrase	Srenge word/ phrase	Non-metaphorical meaning of Srenge word/phrase	Walman word/phrase	Non-metaphorical meaning of Walman word/ phrase
angry	*əpəum yām*	belly hot	*apee neti*	belly bitter	*won no cheliel*	chest hot
agree	*əpəum latən*	belly one	*apee eldi*	belly one	*-napi yikiel alpa*	speak word one
happy	*wonim kəñay*	chest good	*wanə yingə*	chest good	*won nyopu*	chest good
mind/thought/ idea	*wonim*	chest	*lnanə*	brain	*won*	chest
convince/ persuade	*-əuŋ wonim*	give chest	*tngalə mningi*	cut branches	*-aon won*	shoot chest
remember	*wonibəlp*	chest+?	*wanə pra*	chest open	*won chrieu*	chest marks
forget	*wonigic*	chest+?	*wanə sii ~ wanə sii sii*	chest full/whole	*won osopul*	chest + ?
be uneasy	*yālkip kalim*	blood hits	*sina lap/lak*	blood hits	—	—
be afraid	*-əgārk/ -arkit*	run away	*-arku*	run away	*-arul*	run away
be angry	*-wonim*	argue	*apee wlpəndi*	belly hot	*-elpete-*	argue with
understand	*-akip*	hear	*-rkondung*	hear	*-in*	hear
think	*-anəy*	say	*wanə lindi*	chest with	*-napi -na*	say want
believe	*-wosip*	search for	*wanə lindi*	chest with	*woruen wai wan*	forehead be.at
method/ manner/way of doing	*ədal*	hand	*nungu*	hand	*cha/chakonu*	road
origin/reason/ basis	*wāwey*	base of a tree	*ykaiyə*	base of a tree	*ein*	base of a tree
warfare/ conflict	*wəlmay*	arrow	*apee neeti wndama*	belly bitter arrow	—	—
work/job	*ño*	garden	*to*	garden	*ala*	garden
year	*cæmir*	star	—	—	*kulkul*	Pleiades (constellation)
year	*wurau*	feast	*to*	garden	—	—

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2015. Body, mind, and spirit – What makes up a person in Manambu. *Studies in Language* 39:1, pp. 85-116.

Bruce, K. L. and L. P. Bruce. 2010. Emotions in the Alamblak lexicon. In K. A. McElhanon and G. Reesink (eds.) *A mosaic of languages and cultures: studies celebrating the career of Karl J. Franklin*, pp. 38-59. Dallas, TX: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Priestley, Carol. 2002. Insides and emotion in Koromu. *Pragmatics and Cognition*, 10(1/2), pp. 243-270.

High tones in Yali: Lexical or post-lexical?

Katharina Gayler & Nikolaus P. Himmelmann

University of Cologne

Yali is one of the Dani languages of the TNG phylum. Prosodic systems of these languages, on lexical as well as post-lexical levels, have not been studied much yet, except for a detailed description of Lower Grand Valley Dani in Bromley (1961). In this description, Bromley defines the phonological word in Lower Grand Valley Dani as a unit carrying a single primary stress. This word stress falls on the final syllable of the stem (which may optionally be followed by one or more unstressed clitics), and is acoustically realised as a pitch rise (Bromley 1961: 49). In a more modern typological taxonomy, as for example Donohue's (1997) classification of tone systems in New Guinea, such a system of highlighting one syllable per word by means of one specific tone or pitch contour (a rise) would be classified as a pitch accent system.

At first glance, the situation in Yali looks quite similar to the Lower Grand Valley Dani system described in Bromley (1961): final syllables of (prosodic) words are generally realised with an H target, preceded by an L target on the penultimate syllable, or, put differently, there is a clear rising pitch movement on word-final syllables in Yali as well. The pattern is sensitive to affixation, i.e. where a suffix is added as an additional syllable to a word, the H tone will shift to that affix. However, at least in Yali, this tonal pattern is not lexically contrastive or indeed lexically specified at all. Rather, the H tone occurs completely regularly with any type of words and always on the word-final syllable. Furthermore, in some cases, the domain of this tonal pattern may also be enlarged to span more than one (morphological) word or even whole complex syntactic phrases. This talk will thus raise the question whether the tonal pattern is indeed best analysed as a word-prosodic phenomenon, as proposed by Bromley (1961), or whether it might also, maybe even more convincingly, be regarded as an intonational phenomenon, i.e. as a (post-lexical) edge-marking tone. The latter analysis has to the best of our knowledge not been proposed or considered for any of the genetically and areally related languages yet.

References

Bromley, H. Myron. 1961. *The Phonology of Lower Grand Valley Dani*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. doi:10.1007/978-94-017-5916-8

Donohue, Mark. 1997. Tone Systems in New Guinea. *Linguistic Typology* 1. 347-386.

Towards a reconstruction of Proto-Baining

Marc Hausdorf
University of Cologne

Baining is a small language family comprising five to six languages, all spoken on the Gazelle Peninsula in the Bismarck Archipelago of the East New Britain Province of Papua New Guinea. These languages are so similar to each other that their genetic relatedness can be taken for granted. However, no historical reconstruction of its hypothetical common ancestor, Proto-Baining, has been done before. This is what I attempted in my master's thesis by comparing wordlists from the four reasonably well documented Baining languages Qaqet, Mali, Ura, and Kairak. Despite the relative scarcity of published material, I was able to formulate about a dozen relatively consistent sound laws, plus some tentative but inconsistent sound correspondences. These sound laws allow us to arrive at a first reconstruction of Proto-Baining and further our understanding of the diachrony of the Baining languages. It will become clear that Mali is the most conservative Baining language, while Qaqet and Kairak are very innovative. Moreover, an internal classification of the family remains difficult. While there are a handful of sound laws present in more than one language each, these do not neatly fit into well-defined clades. My tentative hypothesis is that only Qaqet and Kairak form a distinct genetic clade, while the other innovations were spread later through areal diffusion. In my talk, I will explain my methods and material and present the major sound laws I could find, along with evidence for their validity. I invite everyone to join in the discussion, particularly of the less conclusive sound correspondences.

From nature to *neitsa*: The birth of a new word/concept in Awiakay cosmology

Darja Hoenigman
The Australian National University

After years of waiting for and praying for *developmen*, the Awiakay from East Sepik Province in Papua New Guinea recently discovered gold on their land. Unsurprisingly, this has led to dramatic changes in their everyday lives and modes of sociality. It has also given rise to a new concept, *neitsa*, referring to a class of nature spirit previously unknown in Awiakay cosmology. Thus, *neitsa* emerged as a word that was both shaping and being shaped by Awiakay ideas about people's interactions with spirits.

In this paper, based on Raymond Williams's concept of keywords, I show how some important social and historical processes occur *within language* – in the invention of new terms, as well as in the adaptation and alteration of older terms (Williams 2015: xxxiii). I trace the events and cultural conditions that led to the emergence of a new word/concept and explain how it fits within Awiakay cosmology. I follow its usage through a case study involving the death of a young man at a gold-panning camp. I will illustrate the use of the word *neitsa* in its everyday context with subtitled video clips of a village meeting that was called to discuss the mysterious death.

Williams, Raymond. 2015. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society.* New York, Oxford University Press.

Horokoi: a divergent member of the Rai Coast group of Madang languages

Wesley Kuhron Jones

This talk presents data from recent fieldwork on Horokoi, also known as Wasembo or Gusap (ISO 639-3: gsp), which is spoken in Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea (Van Cott 2009). Before the author's fieldwork of four weeks in 2021, the only data on Horokoi was that collected by McElhanon in the 1970s (McElhanon & Sogum 1976, McElhanon 1975). To my knowledge, John Z'graggen did not collect a wordlist for Horokoi.

Horokoi is located inland from the Rai Coast region, on the Ramu-Markham side of the Finisterre Range. It is physically separated from all of its Madang relatives by members of the distantly related Finisterre-Huon branch of Trans-New Guinea, as well as unrelated Austronesian languages. It was for this reason, and because so little was known about it, that I chose to document this language.

Based on evidence from its pronouns (Ross 2005, 2006), Horokoi is a member of the Rai Coast language group. It shows reflexes of Proto-Madang pronouns (Daniels 2020: 9) as well as Rai Coast innovative pronouns, giving evidence for sound changes such as *s > h and loss of *l. The language is typologically typical of Rai Coast languages in several ways, but here I focus on its unusual features. It is hoped that continued work on Horokoi will aid in reconstruction of Proto-Rai Coast and understanding of Papuan linguistics.

Phonologically, its stops contrast plain, aspirated, and prenasalized (e.g. k, kʰ, ŋg), whereas many other Rai Coast languages instead have a voicing distinction. Phonemic aspiration is rare in the family. It has productive morphophonemic alternation between velar and alveolar stops (k~t and ŋg~nd), as well as kʰ~s, which suggests *tʰ > s. Alveolar stops t and nd are otherwise almost absent from the language, and tʰ is completely absent. All syllables are phonemically open, but Horokoi has processes of stop lenition and vowel reduction leading to surface-level clusters such as [ɸç], [ɸx], [cçʷ], and others. This is related to a strong trochaic stress pattern. The recoverability of the underlying vowels shows that the creation of complex syllable structure is underway but not complete (Easterday 2019).

Morphologically, Horokoi has synthetic negation which licenses a separate paradigm of subject markers. This is otherwise absent in Rai Coast. Some of the TAM markers show evidence of grammaticalization from auxiliary verb constructions. For instance, irregular stress patterns suggest that these suffixes have not yet become fully integrated into the verb's stress domain. Verb stems have several patterns of vowel raising conditioned by TAM category. The verb Ø- 'hit, kill' has zero root, so its stem consists only of the object marker (except for 3SG object).

Syntactically, Horokoi is a typical Trans-New Guinea language (Pawley & Hammarström 2018). Transitivity appears to be lax, with many verbs being ambitransitive. Horokoi also has a complex system of deixis, indicating at least three degrees of distance, closeness to the speaker versus the listener, visibility, and above/below location.

References

Daniels, Don. 2020. *Grammatical reconstruction: the Sogeram languages of New Guinea* (Studies in Language Change 16). 1st edn. Boston: De Gruyter.

Easterday, Shelece. 2019. *Highly complex syllable structure: A typological and diachronic study*. Zenodo. https://doi.org/10.5281/ZENODO.3268721.

McElhanon, K.A. 1975. Isolates: Morobe District: Wasembo (or Gusap). In S.A. Wurm (ed.), *New Guinea area languages and language study, Vol. 1, Papuan languages and the New Guinea linguistic scene*. The Australian National University: Pacific Linguistics. http://sealang.net/archives/pl/pdf/PL-C38.897.pdf. (23 January, 2020).

McElhanon, Kenneth & Sigkepe Sogum. 1976. English-Wasembo Vocabulary. Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Pawley, Andrew & Harald Hammarström. 2018. The Trans New Guinea family. In Bill Palmer (ed.), *The Languages and Linguistics of the New Guinea area: A Comprehensive Guide* (The World of Linguistics volume 4), 21–195. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Ross, Malcolm. 2005. Pronouns as a preliminary diagnostic for grouping Papuan languages. In Andrew Pawley, Robert Attenborough, Jack Golson & Robin Hide (eds.), *Papuan pasts: cultural, linguistic and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

Ross, Malcolm. 2006. A preliminary subgrouping of the Madang languages based on pronouns.

Van Cott, Sara. 2009. Preliminary Data for Wasembo [gsp]. *SIL-PNG* 4.

Stem change in Sawila

František Kratochvíl, Matěj Kundrát, and Jeffrey Parrott

Sawila is a Papuan language spoken in Eastern Indonesia. It belongs to the East Alor branch of the Timor-Alor-Pantar family (Holton et al. 2012; Kaiping and Klamer 2022). Its basic documentation includes a grammatical sketch (Kratochvíl 2014) and a dictionary (Kratochvíl, Bantara, and Malaikosa 2014). This paper provides a comprehensive analysis of the stem changes, described in Kratochvíl (2014: 360-364). Kratochvíl (2014: 360) estimates that approximately 25% of the Sawila stems are paired: a consonant-final stem, labeled as the non-final (NFIN) and a vowel-final stem, labeled as the final stems (FIN), hinting at their distributional properties.[2] We focus here primarily on the morphophonological properties of the stem change and expand the brief treatment offered in (Kratochvíl 2014).

The Sawila stem change targets the final consonant coda, which after resyllabification becomes the onset of a new syllable whose nucleus is mostly a low open vowel /a/:

(1) Sawila stem change: (X).CV(V)**C** → (X).CV(V).**CV**

We distinguish two classes of paired stems in Sawila that undergo stem change. The left column lists velar-nasal stems (ŋ-final) that develarise. The right column lists stems where the coda consonant is not affected (liquid, stop, non-velar nasal).

'above'	*ayaa**ng** → ayaa**na***		'bitter'	*maka**l** → maka**la***
'fable'	*asii**ng** → asii**na***		'salt'	*asii**r** → asii**ra***
'very'	*boora**ng** → boora**na***		'bolt'	*bo**t** → bo**ta***
'breath'	*ki**ng** → ki**ne***		'kitchen'	*daapu**r** → daapu**ru***
'open'	*pati**ng** → pati**ne***		'not'	*naa**n** → naa**nu***
'couple'	*luuti**ng** → luuti**ne***		'night'	*idu**n** → idu**ni***
'cracked'	*araabu**ng** → araabu**no***		'fall'	*taa**n** → taa**ni***

Following (Embick 2012) we argue that the consonant stem is the derivational base of the vowel stem in the ŋ-class. For the non-ŋ-class (right column), the situation is more complex and it is not always possible to maintain that the consonant stem is the derivational base, but rather that the pair is lexicalised. Interestingly, loans and cognates point to both the final vowel addition (e.g. 'bolt' *bot* → *bota*, *cf.* Dutch *bout*) and back-formation (e.g. 'salt' *asiira* → *asiir*, *cf.* PAN **qasiRa* 'salt') as diachronic processes populating both classes.

Ignoring the lexicalised backformations for now, we argue, following Embick (2012), that the derivation of the vowel stem includes resyllabification, develarisation, and vowel harmony:

---

[2] Stem changes have been reported also for the neighboring languages Kula (Williams 2017) and Wersing (Schapper and Hendery 2014).

Resyllabification: /a/ is added to form a new nucleus whose onset attracts the final coda
Velar to alveolar: the /ŋ/ coda in the consonant stem becomes an alveolar nasal [n]
Progressive vowel harmony: short high cardinal vowels /i/ and /u/ cause: (i) partial harmony
/a/ → [e]/ XC**i.n**_#; /a/ → [o] / XC**u.n**_# in the ŋ-class and (ii) full harmony in non-ŋ class.

Note that the vowel harmony is not triggered by long high vowels, suggesting that its domain may be two morae. Morphophonemic analysis of the stem change in Sawila is a prerequisite to understanding the paired stem distribution drivers (syntactic, prosodic, mixed).

References

Holton, Gary, Marian Klamer, František Kratochvíl, Laura C. Robinson, and Antoinette Schapper. 2012. "The Historical Relations of the Papuan Languages of Alor and Pantar." *OceanicLinguistics* 51 (1): 86–122.

Kaiping, Gereon A., and Marian Klamer. 2022. "The Dialect Chain of the Timor-Alor-Pantar Language Family: A New Analysis Using Systematic Bayesian Phylogenetics." *Language Dynamics and Change* 12 (2): 274–326. https://doi.org/10.1163/22105832-bja10019.

Kratochvíl, František. 2014. "Sawila." In *The Papuan Languages of Timor, Alor and Pantar: Volume 1 Sketch Grammars*, edited by Antoinette Schapper, 1:351–438. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Kratochvíl, František, Isak Bantara, and Anderias Malaikosa. 2014. "Sawila–English Dictionary." *MS, Nanyang Technological University*.

Schapper, Antoinette, and Rachel Hendery. 2014. "Wersing." In *The Papuan Languages of Timor, Alor and Pantar: Volume 1 Sketch Grammars*, edited by Antoinette Schapper, 439–503. Pacific Linguistics Vol. 644. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Williams, Nicholas. 2017. "Kula." In *The Papuan Languages of Timor, Alor and Pantar, Volume 2 Sketch Grammars*, edited by Antoinette Schapper, 655:185–266. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614519027-004.

Applicative verbs in Abui

František Kratochvíl, George Saad, Maksim Vyzhlakov, Benidiktus Delpada, Václav Kratochvíl, and Jiří Vomlel

This paper discusses the applicative verbs in Abui, a Papuan language of Eastern Indonesia, belonging to the Central Alor branch of the Timor-Alor-Pantar family (Kaiping and Klamer 2022; Holton et al. 2012). Abui verbal morphology has been subject to various studies which examined argument indexing (Kratochvíl 2011; 2014; Saad 2020a) and the factors driving it (Fedden et al. 2013; 2014; Kratochvíl and Delpada 2015; Klamer and Kratochvíl 2018) including the effects of the ongoing language shift (Saad 2020b). However, none of the above works considered the argument indexing from the point of view of valency and valency-changing operations.

In this research we build on the recent advances in mapping the Abui verbal morphology using computational and mathematical methods to mine and analyze the Abui corpora (Zamaraeva et al. 2017; Kratochvíl et al. 2022) as well as the extensive lexical documentation (Kratochvíl and Morgado da Costa 2022).

Abui has two types of applicative prefixes distinguished by the inclusion or absence of the person-number features. The first type, consisting of three applicative prefix paradigms, is listed in Table 1. It fuses the applicative feature with person-number indexes to add a human argument to the verb frame. The prefixes are labeled with the typical semantic roles of the applied objects: **BEN**EFACTIVE, **GOAL**, and **COM**ITATIVE for convenience, not implying a one-to-one mapping. The second set of applicative prefixes does not index person-number features.1 This set of four prefixes, listed in Table 2, typically add or modify various locative arguments and historically derive from other TAP prefixes.

The benefactive paradigm (**BEN**) is used to add a benefactive argument (1a) or a cause (1b) to the valency frame. The goal paradigm (**GOAL**) adds a human argument towards which the activity is oriented: a goal of a motion in (2a-b) or a patient who receives the treatment (2c). A minimal pair, illustrating the contrast between the **BEN** and **GOAL** paradigm is given in (3). Finally, the comitative (**COM**) marks human companions (4). The non-agreeing applicatives add inanimate arguments into the valency frame. The prefix *ming-* adds locations (5a-c), *la-* adds causes or circumstances (5b). Prefixes *doong-* and *lang-* add goals and distinguish their distance, as constructed in the interaction.

In our discussion, we will also address the relationship between the applicative prefixes and the allative case marker *=ng*, which has a similar role as some applicatives and appears with the NP. However, when the NP is fronted, separated from the verb by other particles, or omitted from the clause together, the applicative prefix on the verb is used, as shown in (6).

In addition to describing the applicative system in Abui, we will argue that the systematic study of applicatives opens up new possibilities to understand the lexical semantics of the Abui verbs. It offers an important perspective on the fluidity of argument indexing in discourse and can be used as a yardstick to assess the effects of the ongoing language shift on various parts of the Abui grammar.

Table 1: Person-number indexing APPL prefixes

	BENEFACTIVE	GOAL	COMITATIVE
1SG	*nee-*	*noo-*	*nada-*
2SG	*ee-*	*oo-*	*ada-*
3	*hee-*	*hoo-*	*hada-*
3.REFL	*dee-*	*doo-*	*dada-*
DISTR	*tee-*	*too-*	*tada-*
1PL.INCL	*nii-*	*nuu- ~ noo-*	*nida-*
1PL.EXCL	*pii-*	*puu- ~ poo-*	*pida-*
2PL	*rii-*	*ruu- ~ roo-*	*rida-*

Table 2: APPL prefixes

GENERAL APPLICATIVE	MEDIAL APPLICATIVE	ALLATIVE PROXIMAL	ALLATIVE MEDIAL
ming-	*la-*	*dong-*	*lang-*

(1) a. na-taang na-riik=hare, a **nee**-kafii-te
1SG.INAL-hand 1SG.PAT-hurt=so 2SG.AGT 1SG.BEN-scrape:PFV-PRIOR
'my hand hurts, so scrape (the leaves) in my stead' [EVY.1282]

b. afe Len he-yaa nu hen **nala hee**-ha-riik-e?
before name 3.AL-mother SPC 3.COP what 3.BEN-3.PAT-hurt-PROG
'what did Len's mother suffer from earlier on?' [AAA.854]

(2) a. tafuda dee-l=to-liyol-i-ba raaha **hoo**-baleei
all 3.REFL.BEN-GIVE=DISTR.REC-gather-PFV-SIM chief 3.GOAL-around:PFV
'everybody gathered and surrounded around the king' [B7.57.3a]

b. di el mii **noo**-ha-kuoili
3AGT before take:PFV 1SG.GOAL-3.PAT-throw.down:PFV
'he has dropped it at me (lit. he took it, dropped it at me)' [N2012.123]

c. a **hoo**-daweeng-di?
2SG.AGT 3.GOAL-cure-INCH
'did you treat her (with medicine)?' [Alowai.LAF.205]

(3) a. a raaha **hee**-kariiyang?
2SG.AGT king 3.BEN work:IPFV
'are you doing the king's work (i.e. working instead of the king)?' [EL.BD.OL]

b. a raaha **hoo**-kariiyang?
2SG.AGT king 3.GOAL work:IPFV
'are you working in the king's service (but not instead of the king)?' [B7.29.1e]

(4) a. Simon di **nada**-mui~muila
         name 3.AGT 1SG.COMIT-RDP~play:IPFV
         'Simon is playing with me' [EL.BD.OL]

     b. do-adik-tinei haba di **nada**-anaanra
         3.REFL.REC-mat-weave:IPFV but 3.AGT 1SG.COMIT-talk:IPFV
         'he is weaving mats but he is but also speaking with me' [B7.35.5]

(5) a. ama nuku di keju mii-ba **ming**-ha-munang
         person one 3.AGT cheese take:PFV-SIM APPL-3.PAT-smell
         'a man took the cheese and smells at it'

     b. ne-kaweni he-bula e wii **ming**-hayeei
         1SG.AL-machete 3.AL-blade before stone APPL-fall.from.above:PFV
         la-paliik-di
         APPL.MED-crooked-INCH
         'the blade of my machete hit the stone and bent from that' [EVY.1074]

     c. fala do **doong**-mareei-ba **ming**-wahai-si…
         house PROX ALL.PROX-go.up:PFV-SIM APPL-look:PFV-CNFT
         'they went into the house and looked inside and then…' [MM.YF.2125.6]

     d. awaai baai ba mi pelastik hu **laang**-ia
         chalk ADD TOP take plastic.bag DIST.ADDR ALL.MD-put:IPFV
         'the lime has been put in the plastic bag (i.e. not it the proper container)' [CV.AH.56]

(6) a. anuui ba e saai do pi-ut loku baai
         rain REL before come.down:PFV PROX 1PL.INCL.AL-garden PL ADD
         ming-hayeei
         APPL-fall.from.above:PFV
         'the rain earlier on fell also on our gardens' [B7.62.1a]

     b. bataa yo nahare he-toqu=**ng** hayeei
         wood MED.ADDR almost 3.AL-foot=ALL fall.from.above:PFV
         'the log almost fell on his foot' [SS.43yr.M]

20

References

Fedden, Sebastian, Dunstan Brown, Greville G. Corbett, Gary Holton, Marian Klamer, Laura C. Robinson, and Antoinette Schapper. 2013. "Conditions on Pronominal Marking in the Alor-Pantar Languages." *Linguistics* 51 (1): 33–74.

Fedden, Sebastian, Dunstan Brown, František Kratochvíl, Laura C Robinson, and Antoinette Schapper. 2014. "Variation in Pronominal Indexing: Lexical Stipulation vs. Referential Properties in Alor-Pantar Languages." *Studies in Language* 38 (1): 44–79.

Holton, Gary, Marian Klamer, František Kratochvíl, Laura C. Robinson, and Antoinette Schapper. 2012. "The Historical Relations of the Papuan Languages of Alor and Pantar." *Oceanic Linguistics* 51 (1): 86–122.

Kaiping, Gereon A., and Marian Klamer. 2022. "The Dialect Chain of the Timor-Alor-Pantar Language Family: A New Analysis Using Systematic Bayesian Phylogenetics." *Language Dynamics and Change* 12 (2): 274–326. https://doi.org/10.1163/22105832-bja10019.

Klamer, Marian, and František Kratochvíl. 2018. "The Evolution of Differential Object Marking in Alor-Pantar Languages." In *Diachrony of Differential Argument Marking*, edited by Ilja A. Seržant and Alena Witzlack-Makarevich, 69–98. Studies in Diversity Linguistics. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Kratochvíl, František. 2011. "Transitivity in Abui." *Studies in Language* 35 (3): 588–635.

———. 2014. "Differential Argument Realization in Abui." *Linguistics* 52 (2): 543–602.

Kratochvíl, František, and Benidiktus Delpada. 2015. "Degrees of Affectedness and Verbal Prefixation in Abui (Papuan)." In *Proceedings of the 22nd International Conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar, Nanyang Technological University (NTU), Singapore*, edited by Stefan Müller, 216–33. Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Kratochvíl, František, and Luís Morgado da Costa. 2022. "Abui Wordnet: Using a Toolbox Dictionary to Develop a Wordnet for a Low-Resource Language." In *Proceedings of the First Workshop on NLP Applications to Field Linguistics*, 54–63. Gyeongju, Republic of Korea: International Conference on Computational Linguistics. https://aclanthology.org/2022.fieldmatters-1.7.

Kratochvíl, František, George Saad, Jiří Vomlel, and Václav Kratochvíl. 2022. "Automatic Verb Classifier for Abui (AVC-Abz)." In *Proceedings of The Workshop on Resources and Technologies for Indigenous, Endangered and Lesser-Resourced Languages in Eurasia within the 13th Language Resources and Evaluation Conference*, 42–50. Marseille, France: European Language Resources Association. https://aclanthology.org/2022.eurali-1.7.

Saad, George. 2020a. "Abui." In *The Papuan Languages of Timor, Alor and Pantar: Volume 3 Sketch Grammars*, edited by Antoinette Schapper, 267–346. Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501511158-005.

———. 2020b. "Variation and Change in Abui - The Impact of Alor Malay on an Indigenous Language of Indonesia." Leiden: Leiden University. https://www.lotpublications.nl/variation-and-change-in-abui-the-impact-of-alor-malay-on-an-indigenous-language-of-indonesia-2.

Schapper, Antoinette. 2020. "Introduction to The Papuan Languages of Timor, Alor and Pantar. Volume 3." In *The Papuan Languages of Timor, Alor and Pantar: Volume 3: Sketch Grammars*, edited by Antoinette Schapper, 1–52. Boston/Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Zamaraeva, Olga, František Kratochvíl, Emily M. Bender, Fei Xia, and Kristen Howell. 2017. "Computational Support for Finding Word Classes: A Case Study of Abui." In *Proceedings of ComputEL-2: 2nd Workshop on Computational Methods for Endangered Languages, Honolulu, Hawaii, March 6-7, 2017*. Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL).

Pronominal articles in Kwoma

Renée Lambert-Brétière
University of Maryland

In this presentation, I analyze the formal and functional properties of NP-final pronoun constructions in Kwoma (ISO code: *kmo*), a Papuan language spoken in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. I will refer to the pronouns in these constructions as "pronominal articles" following Himmelmann (2001) who states that they are "generally severely constrained by grammatical and semantic factors and rather infrequent overall." (p. 838) Contrary to this view, I show that pronominal articles are pervasive in Kwoma, as they perform a wide range of functions and can be used with any type of nouns.

Pronominal articles are defined as personal pronouns that occur adnominally to fulfill the role of articles. In Kwoma, they are always found in final position of the noun phrase that they determine. Only third person pronouns are used as pronominal articles. The forms of the pronouns are given in Table 1. The pronominal system recognizes singular, dual and plural number. Pronouns are differentiated for gender only in the singular. They can appear in their emphatic form with the suffix *-ta*, and be modified by clitics *=ba* 'restrictive', and *=ka* 'comitative'.

Table 1. Third person pronouns in Kwoma

SINGULAR		DUAL	PLURAL
MASC.	FEM.	pər	ye
rə	sə		

Pronominal articles are never obligatory. They can occur with all types of nouns, contrary to what is observed in, e.g., Oksapmin (Loughnane 2009), where pronominal articles do not generally occur with non-human referents. Noun phrases in any grammatical function can be modified by a pronominal article as illustrated in (1)-(3) for subject, object and oblique, respectively. Note that as the final component of the NP, the pronominal article becomes host to the enclitics *=na* 'object' and *=ka* 'oblique'. They can co-occur with numerals (cf. (1)), and demonstratives (cf. (3)).

The use of an NP-final pronoun serves a variety of functions in Kwoma. Number and gender are not marked on the noun word itself but can be indicated by pronominal articles, as illustrated in (4) for number and (5) for gender. These two examples are the first sentences of two stories, one about centipedes, and one about a hornbill and a kookaburra. These contrast with example (6), where the pronominal article, in addition to marking number and gender, has an anaphoric function, referring to information present in the previous discourse, the coconut. Pronominal articles in Kwoma are also found in inclusory constructions—where the pronoun refers to a set of participants along with a noun which identifies a member of the set (Lichtenberk 2000)—and summary constructions (Haspelmath 2007)—where the pronoun sums up the set of nominal conjuncts—, both illustrated in (7) and (8).

Similar constructions are found in other Papuan languages, for example Mende (Hoel, Ikäheimonen & Nowawa 1994), Manambu (Aikhenvald 2008), and Abau (Lock 2011). Overall this presentation contributes to the typology of Papuan languages by providing corpus-based data from an understudied

language, Kwoma, and by showing that the ability of pronouns to act as articles may not be that constrained after all.

Examples

(1) [ma   por   **rə**]ₛ   ha-kw-ta-r
     man   one   **3SG.M**   die-PURP-DUR-PAST
     'One man was about to die'

(2) ye =ba   [asa **rə**   =na]ₒ yebu =k   pi-wa
     3PL =RESTR   dog   **3SG.M** =OBJ   spear =OBL hit-PERF
     'Only they shot the dog with a spear'

(3) korob   ə-ta   Gagami-Gagawop, [ə-ta   korob   rə-ta   =ka]ₒBL
     spirit_house DEM-EMPH PN   DEM-EMPH spirit_house **3SG.M-EMPH** =OBL
     saya-to
     celebrate-DUR.PERF
     'This spirit house is Gagami-Gagawop, it's at this spirit house that (they) celebrates'

(4) [mageko **ye**]   ə-ta   savaka =k   ta-r
     centipede **3PL** DEM-EMPH   tree_fruit =OBL stay-PAST
     'Centipedes live in the *savaka* fruit'

(5) apo   yi   noma ə-ta   [epey   **rə**]   [golal   **sə**]
     bird 3PL.POSS story DEM-EMPH hornbill **3SG.M** kookaburra **3SG.F**
     'This story of birds, it's the one of the hornbill and the kookaburra'

(6) rə   s<u>ə</u>va   kwotə-ri,   [s<u>ə</u>va   **sə**]   saka-ri,
     3SG.M   coconut   cut_down-TEMP.PAST   coconut   **3SG.F** fall_down-TEMP.PAST
     kwow   buwu =k   i-r
     mountain steep =OBL go-PAST
     'When he cut down a coconut, she (the coconut) fell down and went straight down the mountain.'

(7) [mima sə   =na] ya-chi,   [[ma rə]   **pər**] ə-ta   akama =k   ha-chi   i-wa
     woman 3SG.F =OBJ   take-COMPL   man 3SG.M **3DU** DEM-EMPH village =OBL give-COMPL   go-PERF
     'After taking the woman, the man (and the woman) they two left to go to the village.'

(8) [[asa rə-ta   =ka] [ma rə-ta   =ka] **pər** =na]   ə=ka   sech-wa
     dog   3SG.M-EMPH =COM   man 3SG.M-EMPH =COM   **3DU** =OBJ   DEM=OBL   put-PERF
     'The dog and the man they two were left there'

References

Aikhenvald, A. Y. A. 2008. *The Manambu Language of East Sepik, Papua New Guinea*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Haspelmath, M. 2007. Coordination. In T. Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Linguistic Description*, 1-51. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hoel, H. M., Ikäheimonen, T. & Nozawa, M. 1994. *Mende Grammar Essentials*. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Unpublished.

Himmelmann, N. P. 2001. Articles. M. Haspelmath, E. König, W. Oesterreicher & W. Raible (eds.) *Language Typology and Language Universals: An International Handbook*, pp. 831-841. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Lichtenberk, F. 2000. Inclusory Pronominals. *Oceanic Linguistics* 39. 1-32.

Lock, A. H. 2011. *Abau Grammar*. Ukarumpa: SIL-PNG Academic Publications.

Loughnane, R. 2009. A Grammar of Oksapmin. PhD dissertation. University of Melbourne, Australia.

Valency-changing constructions in Papuan languages

Bruno Olsson

Universität Regensburg

In this talk, I give an overview of constructions whose function is to decrease valency (reflexives, passives, antipassives, anticausatives, etc.) or increase valency (causatives and applicatives) based on descriptions of more than 100 Papuan languages. My main aims are to give an idea of our current state of knowledge about such phenomena, point out some recurring and interesting patterns, and identify some key areas for future research.

Valency-decreasing constructions are generally rarer than their valency-increasing counterparts (with the exception of reciprocals, which are common). Information about reflexives is surprisingly difficult to come by in Papuan grammars, but it is impossible to tell whether grammaticalized constructions for expressing reflexive situations are especially rare in Papuan languages, or whether Papuanists simply lack interest in such structures. I will present some recurring non-reflexive strategies, such as simple coreference (*I saw me*) and preference for meronymic expressions (*I heard my voice* instead of *I heard myself*). Among true reflexives, I find that reflexive-reciprocal coexpression is more common in Papuan languages than in e.g. Eurasian and Austronesian languages, with a couple of areal clusterings (around Torricelli languages in the north, and in the eastern Trans-Fly area). I have found no convincing examples of passive or (dedicated) antipassive constructions in Papuan languages, in accordance with the findings of previous surveys. Anticausatives are attested, and sometimes have an antipassive function with a subset of verbs (following cross-linguistically common patterns).

Among valency-increasing constructions, causatives are widespread, but it is noteworthy that the more grammaticalized causatives (affixes, SVCs) are mostly of very limited productivity, typically being restricted to intransitive bases (suggesting perhaps lexicalization rather than grammaticalization). Verb-marked applicatives are also widespread, and often more productive than causatives. I survey common semantic subtypes of applicatives (benefactive, comitative, instrumental, locative) and applicative-causative polyfunctionality, which is attested in several Papuan families.

Referent size in nominal classification systems of Papuan languages

Rita Popova

Papuan languages feature systems of nominal classification governed by a plethora of semantic principles, with referent size amongst them. When size-related assignment principles are reported, the usual form such reports take is, "small things get assigned to class X and/or large things get assigned to class Y". For example, both masculine gender value of Tehit (isolate) and *-wi'* numeral classifier of Motuna (South Bougainville) are described as "classes for small" (Flassy 1991:25; Onishi 1994:166). Only relatively rarely reference grammars go beyond such generalizations – which, upon scrutiny, turn out to be rather vague. In this talk, I suggest an account of size effects in nominal categorization that allows to disentangle different types of these effects.

This study suggests that size effects in Papuan go far beyond well-known instances of size-based classification in Sepik and Torricelli areas (see Aikhenvald 2012 on Ndu; Dryer 2016 on 'inflectional diminutive' of Walman, Torricelli). So far, I have encountered 12 Papuan families (according to the classification in Palmer 2018:8) with 23 languages in total.

I consider gender and classifiers together as instantiations of nominal classification. Classifiers, relatively rare in Papuan languages, tend to express rather complicated physical characteristics of an object combining its size, form, manipulability, etc. but are unlikely to categorize entities on the grounds of their size alone. As for gender, two distinct phenomena are repeatedly related to 'size effects' in classification in different sources. The first one is **categorizing nouns** based on the size of the prototypical referent and is comparable to categorization governed by other semantic parameters, such as sex. For example, in Abau (Sepik) *eagles* are masculine because they are big birds, and *cockatoos* are feminine because they are small birds (Lock 2011:49). The second phenomenon attested is **evaluation of the referent's size** leading to flexible gender assignment (Di Garbo 2014:145). A noun may undergo an evaluative shift from its default class value to another one if its referent is conspicuously small/large as compared to the default. Again, in Abau a word for *mouse* referring to an exceptionally big specimen shifts from its default feminine to a masculine gender. This second phenomenon is not an instance of nominal classification *per se* but rather akin to augmentatives or diminutives (Grandi 2015:13). In Papuan languages, the expression of size most often emerges exactly in the form of evaluative shift, and only optionally entails lexical classification based on size. As the example of Abau shows, both size effects may be attested simultaneously and conveyed via the same morphosyntactic mechanisms of agreement.

After accounting for the categorization/evaluation distinction, I will present a classification of systems in morphosyntactic terms. The tentative typological space I suggest is shaped by 2 interdependent parameters: the presence of a **dedicated size-related value** (after Di Garbo 2014) and, if such value is present, the existence of nouns that are **inherently classified** as small, i.e., nouns for which this value is a default one (after Dryer 2016) in terms of the size of their typical referents.

References:

Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2012). Round women and long men: Shape, size, and the meanings of gender in New Guinea and beyond. *Anthropological Linguistics*, *54*(1), 33–86.

Di Garbo, F. (2014). *Gender and its interaction with number and evaluative morphology: An intra-and intergenealogical typological survey of Africa* (Doctoral dissertation). Department of Linguistics, Stockholm University.

Dryer, M. S. (2016). Crosslinguistic categories, comparative concepts, and the Walman diminutive. *Linguistic Typology*, *20*(2), 305–331.

Flassy, D. A. L. (1991). *Grammar sketch of Tehit: A Toror language, the West Doberai Peninsula, New Guinea (Irian Jaya)*. MA Thesis: Leiden University.

Grandi, N. (2015). Evaluative morphology and number/gender. In Nicola Grandi & Körtvélyessy (eds.), *Handbook of evaluative morphology*. Edinburgh University Press

Lock, A. A. H. (2011). *Abau grammar*. SIL Papua New Guinea.

Onishi, M. (2012). *A grammar of Motuna (Bougainville, Papua New Guinea)*. München: Lincom Europa.

Palmer, B. (2018). 1. Language families of the New Guinea Area. In B. Palmer (Ed.), *The Languages and Linguistics of the New Guinea Area: A Comprehensive Guide* (pp. 1-20). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

A longitudinal study of language contact and change in Abui: Comparing morpho-syntax and lexical semantics

George Saad
Palacký University Olomouc

This paper presents recent findings from a panel study on language contact and change in Abui. It answers the question of what happens to contact-induced innovations in children's speech as they enter young adulthood.

Abui is a Timor-Alor-Pantar (Papuan) language spoken on Alor, eastern Indonesia (Kratochvíl 2007). Like almost all languages in Indonesia, it is in contact with at least one Malay Indonesian variety (Arka 2013). Furthermore, in many speech communities across Indonesia, children are more fluent in Malay Indonesian than they are in the vernacular. We know that children are known to play a key role in language change (O'Shannessy 2019; O'Shannessy and Davidson 2020; Ross 2013); therefore, studying innovations children make and tracking them over time will help us understand how Malay Indonesian is affecting the vernacular languages of Indonesia. Currently, we are still in the early days of understanding how these processes affect specific languages, which will in turn affect a large part of the linguistic landscape of Indonesia.

This paper offers a reliable first step in this endeavor by exploring how this contact affects morpho-syntax and semantics. It provides insights into speakers' language use over time (**7 years**), as well as focusing on language knowledge and language performance of two linguistic variables: the expression of the reflexive possessive prefix (**morpho-syntax**) and the verb usage (**lexical semantics**). A group of ~20 Abui (pre)adolescents, tested in 2015, were tested again in 2022 as young adults. It was found in 2015 that, compared to elder speakers, (pre)adolescent speakers rarely ever produced the reflexive possessive prefix, instead using the non-reflexive possessive (Saad, Klamer, and Moro 2019). With regards to lexical semantics, it was found that (pre)adolescent speakers were generalizing certain high frequency verbs and using them in contexts that were considered unfelicitous by older speakers. Bearing this in mind, the specific questions this paper targets is: Once speakers become young adults and their Abui language use increases, what happens to their knowledge and performance of the reflexive possessive and of the subset of verbs in question? How are morpho-syntax and lexical semantics affected differently and what can this tell us about how these domains are influenced under contact?

This study will have exciting implications for the study of language endangerment, bilingualism, and language acquisition in the Papuanesian world. Given the fact that it describes a common sociolinguistic scenario across Indonesia, it will create a platform from which additional hypotheses can be tested for similar linguistic variables and for various other languages. Through research of this kind, we can have a better understanding of whether research on minority languages simply supports existing bilingualism and acquisition research on WEIRD languages, or whether it reveals new, untapped insights into the bilingual mind (Adamou 2021).

Referenced

Adamou, Evangelia. 2021. *The Adaptive Bilingual Mind: Insights from Endangered Languages*. Cambridge University Press.

Arka, I Wayan. 2013. "Language Management and Minority Language Maintenance in (Eastern) Indonesia: Strategic Issues." *Language Documentation & Conservation* 7: 74–105.

Kratochvíl, František. 2007. "A Grammar of Abui: A Papuan Language of Alor." PhD dissertation, Leiden: Leiden University.

O'Shannessy, Carmel. 2019. "Why Do Children Lead Contact-Induced Language Change in Some Contexts but Not Others?" In *Language Contact, Continuity and Change in the Genesis of Modern Hebrew*, edited by Edit Doron, Malka Rappaport Hovav, Yael Reshef, and Moshe Taube, 321–35. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

O'Shannessy, Carmel, and Lucinda Davidson. 2020. "Language Contact and Change through Child First Language Acquisition." In *The Handbook of Language Contact*, edited by Raymond Hickey, Second edition, 67–91. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119485094.ch3.

Ross, Malcolm. 2013. "Diagnosing Contact Processes from Their Outcomes: The Importance of Life Stages." *Journal of Language Contact* 6 (1): 5–47. https://doi.org/10.1163/19552629-006001002.

Saad, George, Marian Klamer, and Francesca Moro. 2019. "Identifying Agents of Change: Simplification of Possessive Marking in Abui-Malay Bilinguals." *Glossa: A Journal of General Linguistics* 4 (1): 1–29. https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.846.

Adult Vernacular Production in Island Southeast Asia and the Pacific

George Saad (Palacký University Olomouc)
Laura Arnold and Emma Peddie (University of Edinburgh)

The goal of this paper is to bring to light a key element of Papuan and Austronesian languages, which has largely been ignored. First, we present an overview of a phenomenon known as Adult Vernacular Production (AVP) in Island Southeast Asia and the Pacific (ISEAP). AVP is an under-researched pattern of language acquisition that occurs when a local vernacular language is in contact with a more dominant lingua franca. Individuals with AVP are exposed to at least both languages in childhood; however, while they are active users of the lingua franca in childhood and into adolescence, they only become active users of the vernacular in early adulthood (Anderbeck, 2015). An increasing body of evidence indicates that AVP is widespread in ISEA and the Pacific (Saad, 2020), with at least two dozen cases attested across the region (Peddie, 2021). A number of descriptive linguists have listed this as an acquisition pattern in footnotes, or in personal communication. In this paper, this acquisition pattern takes centre stage, as we argue that it can have serious consequences on the linguistic landscape of ISEAP.

Second, in addition to showing a database of languages for which this has been attested, we explore what sociolinguistic factors might favour such a pattern of acquisition. Based on the available documentation, factors that favour AVP include: i) the use of the lingua franca and exclusion of the vernacular in educational contexts, ii) positive community attitudes towards the vernacular among adults, iii) a strong sense of local identity throughout the community, iv) a strong belief in the community that the vernacular can be learned later on life. However, more research is required in order to understand whether AVP arises under similar conditions across various communities in ISEAP.

Third, we explore the theoretical implications of AVP for conventional models of language acquisition, language change, and language endangerment. We explore how AVP may interact with critical age hypothesis in bilingual language acquisition. In addition, we look at what impact this may have on the apparent-time hypothesis, which has been assumed to be a much more robust construct than age-grading in explaining language change (Sankoff, 2006). Regarding language endangerment: all of the standard models for determining the endangerment status of a language use stability of intergenerational transmission as one of the primary criteria (e.g. Lewis & Simons, 2010; UNESCO, 2003; Language Endangerment Index, Lee & Van Way, 2018). However, intergenerational transmission is typically determined by taking a snapshot of children's language use, rather than paying attention to the more complex, evolving patterns of language use – in other words, a linguist observes that children are not producing the vernacular at one given point and thus concludes that intergenerational transmission has broken. We argue that, in at least some cases, generational asymmetries of language use may be better explained by a linguistic ecology involving AVP.

We conclude this paper by sketching out questions for future research, including what the implications of AVP may be for typological change as well as language revitalization.

References

Anderbeck, K. (2015). Portraits of language vitality in the languages of Indonesia. In I. W. Arka, L. N. Seri Malini, & I. A. M. Puspani (Eds.), *Language documentation and cultural practices in the Austronesian world: Papers from ICAL 12 (A-PL 019)* (pp. 19–47). Pacific Linguistics.

Kratochvíl, F. (2007). *A grammar of Abui: A Papuan language of Alor* [PhD dissertation]. Leiden University.

Lee, N. H., & Van Way, J. R. (2018). The language endangerment index. In L. Campbell & C. Beier (Eds.), *Cataloguing the world's endangered languages* (pp. 66–78). Routledge.

Lewis, M. P., & Simons, G. F. (2010). Assesssing endangerment: Expanding Fishman's GIDS. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*, *55*, 103–120.

Peddie, E. (2021). *Delayed vernacular production in Melanesia: A case study-based analysis* [MA (Hons.) thesis]. University of Edinburgh.

Saad, G. (2020). *Variation and change in Abui: The impact of Alor Malay on an indigenous language of Indonesia* [PhD dissertation]. Leiden University.

Sankoff, G. (2006). Age: Apparent time and real time. In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* (2nd edition, pp. 110–116). Elsevier.

UNESCO. (2003). *Language vitality and endangerment*.

Idan: A hidden language variety steps into the open (Pahoturi River Family)

Catherine Scanlon
UC Santa Barbara

In this talk I present the first academic description of Idan, a Pahoturi River language variety closely related to Taeme. Idan was "hidden" and is now being brought into the open by its speakers. This situation provides a window into ongoing processes of shift and revitalization among closely related language varieties spoken by small numbers of people in highly multilingual societies. It also offers an interesting case study of how variation among named Pahoturi River language varieties compares with and is related to within-variety variation.

The Pahoturi River language family of Western Province in southern Papua New Guinea contains six widely recognized varieties, each associated with a tribe: Idi, Taeme, Agob, Em, Ende, and Kawam. Another named variety, Idzuwe, has been mentioned in the literature but does not seem to be currently spoken (Lindsey et al. 2022). In addition, there were distinctive ways of speaking associated with clans that have fallen out of use in living memory. While working on Ende language documentation this summer, I learned about another named Pahoturi River variety, Idan, that was also unfamiliar to some of the Ende people I was working with. The material for this talk comes primarily from Bomso Maikong, an Idan speaker and the chief of Malam, an Ende village. In section 1, I present a brief linguistic overview of Idan, focusing on its phonology and its relationships with the other Pahoturi River language varieties. The description is based on a full Yamfinder wordlist of well over three hundred vocabulary items, as well as two recorded stories about the origins and movement of Idan people. However, the conclusions are necessarily preliminary as they are based on data from a single speaker.

In section 2, I share what I know about Idan's social and historical context, and I present a case study of Bomso Maikong's linguistic history and language use. Due to patterns of sister-exchange marriage as well as other types of mobility, it is common for people to speak more than one Pahoturi River variety. Maikong's story is an interesting illustration of the sometimes complex relationships among ancestry, tribe, language, and place, and how individuals and families make decisions regarding language. Through his story we can see a process of linguistic and tribal reclamation/revitalization that is ongoing, moving out from being a "hidden" group to publicly claiming recognition.

In section 3, I continue the case study, turning to Maikong's pronunciation of Ende. I compare his Ende pronunciation with that of other Ende speakers and with his own pronunciation of Idan, exploring which differences are important for switching between Ende and Idan. In the broader area, some variation corresponds to named language varieties with their own origin stories and ties to place, whereas other variation goes unnamed, instead indexing other things such as age or orator status (Lindsey 2021, Schockkin 2021, Strong et al. 2020, 2022). I end with some open questions and directions for future research.

References

Lindsey, Kate L. 2021. Oration and variable /n/-realisation in Ende. Asia-Pacific Language Variation 7(1). 30–61.

Lindsey, Kate L., Dineke Schokkin, and Nairan Wu. 2022. The Pahoturi River Language Family, with special reference to its verbal puzzles. *Linguistic Typology*. https://doi.org/10.1515/lingty-2022-2096.

Schokkin, Dineke. 2022b. Verbal number in Idi. Studies in Language. https://doi.org/10.1075/sl.21052.sch.

Strong, Katherine A., Kate L. Lindsey & Katie Drager. 2020. Gender, oration, and variable affrication in Ende. In Ruaridh Purse & Yosiane White (eds.), Penn working papers in linguistics (PWPL), vol. 26(2), 129–138. Philadelphia, PA. Available at: https://repository.upenn.edu/pwpl/vol26/iss2/15.

Strong, Katherine A., Kate L. Lindsey & Katie Drager. 2022. Kawa and the variable stopping of retroflex obstruents in Ende. Asia-Pacific Language Variation 8(2).

Introducing the OUTOFPAPUA database: Lexicons of the West Papuan language area

Antoinette Schapper

In this talk I present a new comparative lexical database that is currently in development as part of the project "Papuans on the move. The linguistic prehistory of the West Papuan languages" (OUTOFPAPUA). Covering the area on and around the Bird's Head of New Guinea, the database includes over 400 sources from almost 250 lects (languages and/or dialects) of both Papuan and Austronesian classifications:

Lexical histories and lexical reconstructions of proto-languages in this area are almost non-existent and, accordingly, our understanding of linguistic prehistory here is highly limited. Because small database size is often a limiting factor in assessing claims of remote genealogical relationships between languages, the database does not make use of a standardised list of concepts, but seeks to integrate maximal lexical resources for each language in the area. Although shorter word lists are included in the database in order to give a thorough view of dialectal variation, sources containing over 800 lexical entries have been primarily targeted for ingestion. Unlike in other databases, words in the OUTOFPAPUA do not have their meanings reduced to simple glosses or "concepts". Instead, the OUTOFPAPUA database includes a range of search, comparison and mapping tools to aid the user in the discovery and tracking of language relationships. In this talk, I will demonstrate the tools of the OUTOFPAPUA database and discuss the future of such lexical databases for historical linguistics in the region.

Contact-induced morphological change in Dedua

Edgar Suter
Universität zu Köln

Dedua is a member of the Pindiu subfamily of the Huon Peninsula family. The language has been influenced on all levels–phonology, grammar, lexicon–by the languages of the adjacent Huon Tip family, another subfamily of the Huon Peninsula family. In my talk I focus on morphological change. The verb morphology of Dedua is compared with the verb morphology of both the other Pindiu languages and the more distantly related Huon Tip languages with the aim of discovering contact-induced change.

I present and discuss six cases of contact-induced morphological change in Dedua. None of these changes led to a simplification of the morphology. To the contrary, in four cases an additional morphological category was introduced, in one case a reduction of morphological contrasts was thwarted, and one case is neutral between simplification and complication. The verb morphology of the Huon Tip languages is more copious than that of the Pindiu languages. As a result of language contact, Dedua has assimilated to the Huon Tip languages and its verb morphology has been enriched.

Phonological phrasing in Idi (Pahtouri River family): A preliminary analysis

Volker Gast
Adam J.R. Tallman
Friedrich Schiller Universität Jena

Idi is a language belonging to the Pahoturi River family spoken by about 1,000 people in Southern Papua New Guinea (Morehead district, Western Province; Evans et al. 2018). There are currently no descriptions of the prosody of any Pahoturi River language (see Schokkin et al. 2021 for a description of the segmental phonology of Idi, and Lindsey 2021 on Ende). In this paper we describe pitch accent placement in Idi with a specific focus on its relationship to vowel tenseness.

The study is based on data gathered in Sibidiri in 2013 and 2014 (elicited sentences and narratives). Idi makes a systematic distinction between strong (full, long) and weak (reduced, short) vowels. The six strong vowels are organized into two harmony sets and constitute three pairs of a 'dark' and a 'light' vowel (<a, ɛ>, <e, i>, <o, u>). Vowel harmony holds within a specific phonological domain which comprises most (but not all) affixes (non-detachable segments of nouns and verbs). For the purposes of this paper we refer to this domain as the phonological word. Idi allows specific consonant clusters in the onset but not in the coda, though only in inflected words (e.g. [wɛ.splɛn] '(s)he fell'). Illicit consonant clusters are resolved with epenthetic vowels, /ʌ/ in dark contexts and /ɪ/ in light contexts.

We argue that Idi has one lexical tone H, one pitch accent LH* inserted by rule and four intonation level boundary tones %L, %H, L% and H%. The LH* is inserted on the final syllable of the rightmost syllable of the leftmost prosodic word of a phonological phrase ((Pwd Pwd)$_{PPH}$ -> (Pwd-LH* Pwd)$_{PPH}$). The L tone of the LH bitonal unit maps to a prior syllable. Phonological phrases are mapped over the verb and a left-adjacent noun phrase or adpositional phrase (*thudhi-a spl -m e- r -a* 'line throw' below) in the first place and over noun phrases and adpositional phrases in the second place.

(1) ((Wàsáŋ)$_{Pwd}$)$_{PPh}$ ((lùdó)$_{Pwd}$ (kʌɗpeaŋ)$_{Pwd}$)$_{PPh}$ ((ʈuɖí ɛ)$_{Pwd}$ (sɪpɪlɪm)$_{Pwd}$ (era)$_{Pwd}$)$_{PPh}$
Wasang   ludo   kdh-peang   ʈuɖi-a/e   spl-m   era
Wasang   rod   small-with   line-GNR   throw-OBJ   AUX
'Wasang is fishing with a small rod.'

The mapping of LH pitch accents to all phonological phrase initial prosodic words *ceteris paribus*. If there is an underlying H tone in the phonological phrase, then LH* is blocked from occurring. Certain affixes contain underlying H tones. This is true of the attributive morpheme *-a/-ɛ*. We can see the effects of this H-listed suffix in the following example: there is no dip in pitch accent. The positing of an underlying H is based on H plateau phenomena.

(2) ((gɛ̀-dɛ́)$_{Pwd}$)$_{PPh}$ ((ɛ̀trɛ́)$_{Pwd}$)$_{PPh}$ ((gʌmbága)$_{Pwd}$ (ŋʌlbʌnʌm)$_{Pwd}$ (era)$_{Pwd}$)$_{PPh}$
gɛ-dɛ   ɛtrɛ   gmb-ag-a   nglbn-m   era
child-GNR   yam   thick-ATTR-GNR   hold-OBJ   AUX
'The boy is holding a very thick yam in his hand.'

We also describe a host of other rules for positioning phrase level pitch accents in Idi, according to how these interact intonation level boundary tones. This paper attempts to contribute to the growing literature on phonological phrasing and intonation in PNG (e.g. Kaland et al. *forthcoming*).
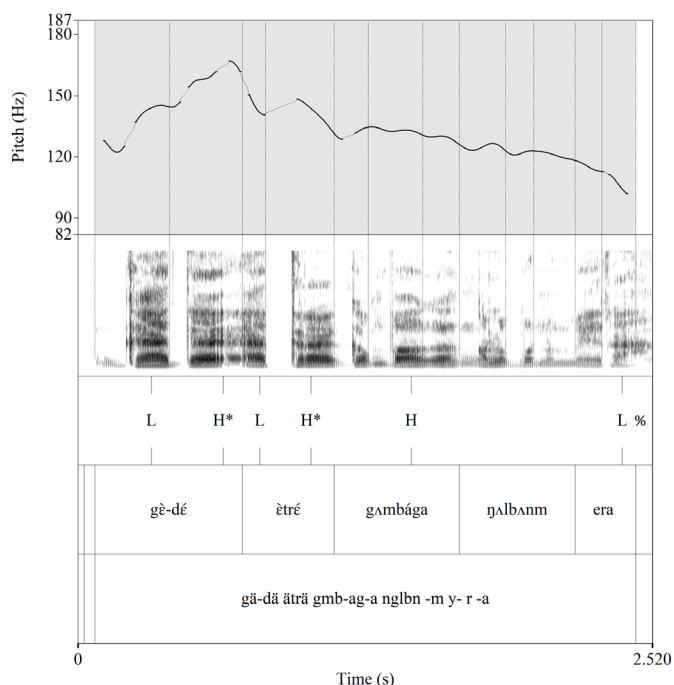

Figure 1. Pitch track for (2). Note the relatively flat pitch from the end of *ètrɛ́* to the second syllable of *gʌmbága*. Note that there appears to be a falling pitch on the final syllable of *ètrɛ́* which is a result of microprosody (the postaspiration of the plosive /t/ creating an uptick in pitch)

References

Evans, N., M. Carroll, W. Arka, C. Döhler, V. Gast, E. Kashima, E. Mittag, K. Quinn, D. Schokkin, C. van Tongeren, J. Siegel, P. Tama (2018). 'The languages of Southern Papua New Guinea'. In B. Palmer (ed.): *The Languages and Linguistics of New Guinea: A Comprehensive Guide*, 641-774. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.

Gast, V. (2015). Advanced tongue root harmony in Sibidiri Idi, a language of Southern Papua New Guinea? Talk given at the 1th Biennial meeting of the Association for Linguistic Typology, Albuquerque, NM.

Kaland, Constantijn, Katharina Gayler, Martine Grice, and Nikolaus P. Himmelmann. *Forthcoming.* The phonetics and phonology of word- and phrase-final f0. *submitted*

Lindsay, Kate Lynn.(2021). "Ende (Illustration of the International Phonetic Alphabet)." *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 52.3: 581-601.

Schokkin, Dineke, Volker Gast, Nicholas Evans, Christian Döhler (2021). 'Phonetic fieldwork in Southern New Guinea'. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 24: 76-107.

The pronominal system of Urat, a Torricelli language of PNG

René van den Berg
SIL International

Urat [urt] is an endangered Torricelli language spoken by some 7,000 speakers in the Dreikikir area of the East Sepik Province in Papua New Guinea. There are some 50 languages in the Torricelli family, which is "perhaps the least documented largish language family in the world." (Foley 2018: 297). Neighbouring languages to Urat are Urim and Kombio, but the exact relationship between them is debated. Laycock (1973), Foley (2018), and Dryer (pers. comm.) all offer different opinions.

A first (unpublished) grammatical description of Urat was provided by Barnes (1989), while a trilingual dictionary of Urat was published by Arminen et al. (2017), also available online. The data presented here is based on Barnes, with revisions and additions obtained from Hilkka Arminen (pers. comm.), drawing from a number of native texts and the Urat translation of the New Testament.

The pronominal system of Urat distinguishes singular and plural number (but no dual), gender for 3rd person singular, but no clusivity. There are six pronominal paradigms: 1) free pronouns, 2) subject realis prefixes, 3) subject irrealis particles + prefixes, 4) object prefixes, 5) possessive pronouns, and 6) reflexive-emphatic pronouns. These paradigms show various syncretisms, homophonies, and also a number of gaps.

The presentation will discuss the following points.

1. The system features and the functions of the first four pronominal paradigms, with particular attention to the object prefixes, typologically the most unusual feature in this SVO language.
2. A brief comparison of the pronominal systems of Urat, Urim and Kombio, highlighting the differences in the areas of dual number, gender, and object prefixes.
3. A diachronic perspective on the Urat pronominal system, based on Ross (n.d.) and Foley (2018). Urat shows an interesting mix of retained, lost and innovated features, the causes of which ask for further study.

References

Arminen, Hilkka; Barnes, Robert; Belyeme, David; Mundum, Enoch; Baker, Judi; Baker, Nate; Barnes, Dawn (eds). 2017. *Wusyep Tehei ŋaiye Wusyep Yehre. Urat – Melanesian Pidgin – English Dictionary*. Ukarumpa: SIL. Online version: https://www.webonary.org/urat/

Barnes, Barney. 1989. Urat Grammar Essentials. Unpublished manuscript. Ukarumpa: SIL.

Foley, William A. 2018. The languages of the Sepik-Ramu basin and its environs. In Bill Palmer (ed.) *The Languages and Linguistics of the New Guinea Area.* Pp. 197–423. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Laycock, Donald C. 1973. *Languages of the Sepik area: checklist and preliminary classificatio*n. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Ross, Malcolm D. n.d. Pronouns as preliminary evidence for grouping Papuan languages. Unpublished manuscript.

Many times, many people or many things? Verbal number in Kibiri: a critically endangered isolate of southern Papua New Guinea

Moisés Velasquez
Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3
LACITO CNRS UMR 7107

For this talk, I will present verbal number in Kibiri [prm], a critically endangered isolate known by 32 people at Kikori and surrounding villages in the Gulf Province of PNG. Following Corbett (2000)'s definition of event and participant number, I consider that a language exhibits event number when there is a formal means to distinguish an event being performed one time from several times. Participant number occurs when there is a formal means to distinguish the number of entities involved in the event. Kibiri exhibits both event (1) – (2) and participant number (3) – (4); (5) – (6); (7) – (8); with almost the same formal means and on an ergative basis: stem alternation, partial reduplication and suffixation of *-sto*.

(1) Myriam da=ba paruo-bu
    myriam 3SG=EMPH jump.SG-3.HODPST
    'Myriam jumped (once)'

(2) Myriam da=ba pa~paru-a
    myriam 3SG=EMPH PL~jump-3.PRS
    'Myriam jumps (many times)'

(3) Myriam da=ba e-a
    myriam 3SG=EMPH lie.S.SG-3.PRS
    'Myriam is lying (on the floor)'

(4) mi buai da=ba teri-a
    daughter.ABST two 3SG=EMPH lie.S.PL-3.PRS
    '(My) two daughters are lying (on the floor)'

(5) kubi kere da=ba ubi-neika bai-a
    stick.ABST PART 3SG=EMPH water.ABST-in float.S.SG-3.PRS
    'The stick is floating in the water'

(6) kubi kere buai ubi-neika ba~bai-are
    stick.ABST PART two water.ASBT-in S.PL~float-IPFV
    'The two sticks are floating in the water'

(7) kubi okoire-ra-bu
    tree.ABST fall-PRF-3
    '(The) tree has fallen'

(8) kubi-abo okoire-sto-ra-bu
    tree.ABST-DEF.PL fall-S.PL-PRF-3
    'The trees have fallen'

(9) moi-da=nei kubi kere mairi-are
    man-DEF.SG=AGT tree.ABST PART carry.O.SG-IPFV
    'The man is carrying one log'

(10) moi-da=nei kubi kere ma~mairi-are
    man-DEF.SG=AGT tree.ABST PART O.PL~carry-IPFV
    'The man is carrying many logs'
    There are also instances where both categories combine, see (11) – (14) below.

(11) karera etere-mi=nei kubi kere kevo-are
    kid small-DIM=AGT tree.ABST PART break.SG-IPFV
    'The small kid is breaking one stick once'

(12) karera etere-mi=nei kubi kere ke~kevo-are
    kid small-DIM=AGT tree.ABST PART PL~break-IPFV
    'The small kid is breaking one stick many times'

(13) karera etere-mi=nei kubi kere buakei kevo-sto-are
    kid small-DIM=AGT tree PART two break.SG-O.PL-IPFV
    'The small kid is breaking two sticks once'

(14) karera etere-mi=nei kubi kere buakei ke~kevo-sto-are
    kid small-DIM=AGT tree.ABST PART two PL~break-O.PL-IPFV
    'The small kid is breaking two sticks many times'

However, unexpectedly, *kevo-sto* in (13) was unattested: the speaker did not produce such a form and stated that the verbal forms in (11), (12) and (14) were possible to express (13). This could be explained by the fact that, in certain circumstances, only event number or participant number is relevant, or that one implies the other on semantic grounds.

The marking patterns shown above are summarized in Table 1 below.

	Participant		Event
	S	O	
Intransitive statives	St. Alt / Part. Red.		
Intransitive dynamics	Suffix -sto		Part. Red.
Transitives		Suffix -sto / Part. Red.	Part. Red.

Table 1. Marking of event and participant number in Kibiri, Velásquez (2022)

I will therefore show both categories separately and their interactions. The data presented were collected during my 10-month-long fieldwork in the area between January and November 2022. The results presented are partial as the data is in the process of being analysed.

References

Corbett, G. (2000) *Number* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Velásquez, M. (2022) Preserving the unheard, promoting the unspoken : The challenges of documenting, preserving, and promoting Kibiri, a critically endangered isolate. *Proceedings of the 54th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea*. 54th Annual Conference of the Linguistic Society of Papua New Guinea: Preserving and Promoting the Indigenous Languages of the South Pacific in IDIL 2022-2032, Port Moresby.