

APLL•9

Ninth International Conference on
**Austronesian and Papuan
Languages and Linguistics**

Paris, France
21–23 June 2017



BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

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APLL•9
AUSTRONESIAN AND PAPUAN LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS

Paris, 21-23 June 2017

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The department **LACITO** “Langues et Civilisations à Tradition Orale” of CNRS, together with our university partner **INALCO** “Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales”, are delighted to host this year’s edition of APLL, the ninth international conference on *Austronesian and Papuan Languages and Linguistics*.

Our program includes 35 different presentations, all dealing with various aspects of language or linguistics among Austronesian and Papuan languages. The present volume contains the abstracts of all these presentations, ranked alphabetically by their first author. We wish everybody a pleasant and fruitful conference.

We gratefully acknowledge the financial support of several major institutions:

- ▶ LACITO, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
- ▶ Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO)
- ▶ Université Paris 3 Sorbonne nouvelle
- ▶ Laboratoire d’excellence *Empirical Foundations of Linguistics*
- ▶ SOAS, University of London
- ▶ University of Oxford – University of York – Surrey Morphology Group



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Book edited by / Livre réalisé par

A. François – A. Henri

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Keynote address

Merging meanings in Melanesia: Lexico-semantics of the New Guinea Area

Antoinette SCHAPPER

University of Leiden

Morpho-syntactic and phonological features are regularly used in establishing the existence of linguistic areas and constructing areal typologies. By contrast, lexico-semantic phenomena have, with but a few exceptions, received little attention from areal linguistics and areal typology. In this paper I examine the usefulness of lexico-semantic patterns in defining Melanesia as a linguistic area and in connecting it to adjacent areas, such as the Australian continent and Mainland Southeast Asia. I will show that lexico-semantic features in part define different regions to those tracked by the more conventional typological variables used in areal linguistics. I argue that the lexicon, therefore, has the potential to provide new insights into the history of the macro-linguistic area.

Session presentations

Functions of the prefix *lě-* in Nalögo

Valentina ALFARANO

LACITO-CNRS, EPHE

Nalögo is an Oceanic language spoken on Santa Cruz Island in Temotu Province of Solomon Islands. It belongs to the Reefs-Santa Cruz (henceforth RSC) subgroup together with Natügu, Engdewu and Äiwoo (Boerger & Zimmerman 2012). Along with the languages of Utupua and Vanikoro, RSC languages form the so-called Temotu group, a recently proposed first-order subgroup within Oceanic (Ross & Næss 2007). Nalögo displays a homophonous prefix, *lě-*, which is used to express a number of functions. In this talk, I will give a preliminary analysis of the following ones:

1. *lě-* as a third augmented pronominal prefix;
2. *lě-* as a prefix in nominalizations;
3. *lě-* as a prefix in impersonal/passive-like constructions

Prefixes displaying similar functions are found in other RSC and Temotu languages. For instance, Engdewu, displays a homophonous prefix, *la-*, which can work either as a portmanteau verbal prefix encoding third augmented person and aspectual meanings or can encode generic agents in agent-defocusing constructions and certain types of nominalizations (Vaa 2013). Likewise, Äiwoo has a verbal prefix *li-/lu-* which encodes third person augmented and generic agents (Næss n.d.). When looking at Temotu languages, a similar prefix *li-* occurs in Vanikoro languages to encode both third plural and generic agents (François 2013). As opposed to the previous languages, Natügu shows a different form, the prefix *në-*, which displays three functions:

- i) the prefixal portion of a third person augmented circumfix,
- ii) the prefixal half of a circumfix nominalizer, and
- iii) the prefixal morpheme of a passive construction.

From a diachronic point of view, *në-* is currently analysed as a reflex of PMP *-in- (van den Berg & Boerger 2011). The aim of this talk is to present new data on the functions of the prefix *lë-* in Nalögo, comparing them to those found in other RSC languages.

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On the syntax and pragmatics of negation in Balinese

I Wayan ARKA

ANU–Udayana University–TUFS

I Ketut ARTAWA

Udayana University

Asako SHIOHARA

TUFS

[*talk cancelled*]

This paper will discuss the syntax and pragmatics of negation in Balinese by addressing certain intriguing aspects of negation not previously discussed in considerable depth in Balinese linguistics. Depending on sentence types and registers, e.g. *sing/tuara* (L.R. ‘low register’) vs. *tan* (H.R. ‘high register’) for standard negation and *da* (L.R) and *sampunang* (H.R.) for prohibitive, negation is marked differently in Balinese. Only standard negation will be discussed in this paper.

A satisfactory account for (double) negation must consider its syntax-pragmatics and prosody: variations in the structural units targeted within its negation scope (possibly leading to ambiguity, if out of context) and information structure with the associated coding (e.g. emphatic focus and prosody). This paper will present the basic facts about Balinese negation and discuss the implications of such facts in the typology of negation and in the interface issues in linguistic theory.

The salient feature, which only applies to standard negation in Balinese, is double negation marking, exemplified in (1). As seen, Balinese optionally allows double negation. A crucial constraint is that the second occurrence of the negator *sing* can come after the verb, object or oblique, but typically not after a general temporal adjunct, such as *ibi* ‘yesterday’. In a pragmatically unmarked clause structure of the type shown in (1), the second occurrence of *sing* marks the right edge of an intonation unit. When no extra stress is given to the preceding unit (e.g. *ngalih* for *sing*₁, or *Ketut* for *sing*₂), sentence (1) is ambiguous between the wide (i.e. sentential) scope of negation (reading *i*) and the narrow (i.e. constituent) scope (reading *ii*). Prosody with focal stress is therefore important for disambiguation, e.g. a stress on *Ketut* would mark a narrow scope (reading *ii*).

- (1) Ia sing ngalih (sing₁) Ketut (sing₂) ibi (*sing). (L.R.)
 3 NEG AV. search NEG Ketut NEG yesterday NEG
 i) ‘S/he didn’t look for anybody; he stayed at home’.
 ii) ‘S/he looked for somebody else, not Ketut.’

Given the constraint just outlined above, the constituent negation for an adjunct must be achieved by fronting the negated phrase to the focus position (2a). Non-fronting for a negated adjunct would downgrade the acceptability (2b). Negation with a narrow scope for P(atient) *Ketut* can be done by fronting, too. However, it triggers an obligatory voice alternation with P being the obligatorily grammatical subject—the

well-known ‘subject-only’ constraint in Austronesian languages. This is shown by (3a) and the unacceptability of reading (i) in (3b). Reading (ii) is fine, but it is different, with *Ketut* being the Actor.

(2) a. **Sing ibi (sing)** ia ngalih Ketut. (L.R.)

NEG yesterday NEG 3 AV. search Ketut

‘S/he looked for Ketut at some other time, NOT yesterday’.

(2) b. *?* ia ngalih Ketut **sing ibi (sing)**

(3) a. Sing Ketut sing alih=a. (L.R.)

NEG Ketut NEG UV.search=3

‘S/he looked for somebody else, NOT Ketut’.

(3) b. Sing Ketut sing ia ngalih. (L.R.)

NEG Ketut NEG 3 AV. search

i) *‘S/he looked for somebody else, NOT Ketut’.

ii) OK: ‘Somebody else, NOT Ketut, looked for him/her’.

The full paper will discuss that Balinese negation is in stage 2 in terms of Jespersen’s Cycle (Dahl 1979). The paper will also discuss the information structure aspects of single versus double negation marking in Balinese. Double negation marking is demonstrated to be associated with Focus in the following contexts: (i) an emphatic negative answer to a question expecting a positive answer (i.e. counter-expectation) and (ii) a (counter) negative confirmation to a (non-)negative counterpart proposition that is assumed in the immediate CG (Common Ground).

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Information structure in Northern Amis: the pragmatics and syntax of clefts and evidential foci

Isabelle BRIL

LACITO-CNRS

Information structure and the voice system of Northern Amis (Formosan) are two distinct, but interacting levels. The presentation will center on the pragmatic and syntactic aspects of focus (as defined by Lambrecht 1994, Krifka 2007). In Northern Amis, the two focusing devices are cleft narrow foci (informative or restrictive) and *in situ* evidential foci. While left-dislocated topics are independent from any syntactic pivot constraint in the voice system, cleft foci undergo the well-known nominative-only constraint on extraction and relativisation found in Formosan and Philippine type languages (Keenan & Comrie 1977).

In Amis, both core and peripheral arguments may be cleft, but with radically different constructions. When core arguments are cleft, they become the syntactic, nominative pivot, and their semantic role must be indexed by voice-marked verbs (as Actor, Undergoer, Locus), as in (1a) where an AV verb form would be ungrammatical. Compare with the declarative sentence in (1b).

- (1)a. U buting [k-u kaen-**en** n-ira].
 NM fish NOM-NM eat-UV GEN.3SG
 'It's fish (that) he ate.' (lit. It's *fish* that was eaten by him)
- b. Kaen-en n-ira k-u buting.
 eat<UV> GEN-3SG NOM-NM fish
 'They've eaten the fish.'

By contrast, cleft peripheral arguments, and adjuncts, trigger a COMPLEMENT clauses. Among peripheral arguments are (i) agents of transitive, UV (Undergoer Voice) *ma*-verbs, (ii) superficially affected oblique themes of some AV (Actor Voice) *mi*-verbs such as 'pay a visit, yell at', (iii) oblique arguments of extended intransitive NAV (Non-Actor-Voice) such as *ma*-psych verbs, (iv) prepositional arguments of some AV *mi*-verbs and of three-place *mi*-verbs, expressing destination or source. Yet, in the last two cases of this cline, oblique arguments may be upgraded to core arguments and thus trigger voice indexing, with verb forms in UV *-en* or LOCative voice *-an*. This highlights two distinct types of oblique arguments, core and peripheral. Cleft peripheral oblique arguments behave like place and time adjuncts, they trigger a CMP clauses with no voice indexing.

Another important fact is that WH- words requesting new information and referring to core arguments must also be cleft. Few WH- forms may remain *in situ*; when they do, they just request confirmation. *In situ* WH- words are only allowed for the same peripheral oblique arguments mentioned above (iii, iv) at the far end of the cline.

The other type of focus, never described before in Amis, is *in situ* evidential focus, which occurs under the scope of postposed *han(=tu)* and *sa(=tu)*, respectively the simulative verb *han* and the quotative verb *sa*, which are recruited as pragmatic markers and signal 'alleged', second-hand information or personal judgment. Evidential foci do not trigger any voice indexing nor syntactic restructuring. Unlike cleft foci, but like left-dislocated topics, evidential foci only occur in declarative clauses with epistemic stance and do not fall under illocutionary scope (question or negation). Cleft foci, on the other hand, are questioned and negated, like all predicates.

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Distributed exponence of tense, aspect and mood in Ngkolmpu

Matthew CARROLL

Surrey Morphology Group, UK

Ngkolmpu, a Yam family language spoken in the border area near Merauke in the Indonesian province of Papua, is notable for the extreme degree to which tense, aspect and mood categories are distributed across the inflectional sites of verbs. In order to determine any inflectional value, information must be considered from each inflectional site on the verb, none of which individually are sufficient to determine the feature value in question. For example, consider the paradigm of forms in Table 1; given this paradigm, it is impossible to state any individual element as the realisation of future tense, instead we must say future tense is realised by a combination of forms: the *s* prefix and various combinations of suffixes. In this way, we can say the exponence of future tense is distributed across these three markers, i.e. it is a case of distributed exponence.

We can classify this phenomenon as the interaction between multiple exponence and syncretism (Matthews 1974). Multiple exponence involves marking of features in multiple sites, however this alone is not sufficient to define the phenomenon. In addition, we need to specify that each of the inflectional sites involve contrastive syncretism across a number of cells.

In this talk, I provide an exploration of the phenomena of distributed exponence in the inflectional system of Ngkolmpu verbs. I begin with a typologically informed explicit definition drawn from empirical data. I then map the extent to which the phenomenon characterises the Ngkolmpu system. I show that distributed exponence can be operating both for individual features, entire paradigms and as a typological characteristic of the language.

	Perfective	Durative	Imperfective
Future Potential	s-pino-ø-omo-ø	s-pino-nt-omo-ø	
Future-Irrealis	s-pino-ø-ø	s-pino-nt-ø	
Present		y-pino-ø-ø	
Hodiernal Past	s-pino-ø-y	y-pino-ø-y	y-pino-en-ø
Recent Past	s-pino-nt-ø	sw-pino-ø	
Remote Past	s-pino-ngk-ø	y-pino-ø-u	sw-pino-rnt-ø
Past Potential		y-pino-ngk-ø	

Table 1: Partial paradigm of 2sg>3 forms of *opinoi* ‘to touch’

Reference

- Matthews, P.H. (1974). *Morphology*. Cambridge University Press.

Vowel reduction in Mbahám

Fanny COTTET

CoEDL, Australia

Vowel reduction is defined as the weakening of vowels in unstressed position (Crosswhite 2004). Phonetic reduction refers to situations where segments in weak position are produced with a reduced duration and a compressed vocalic space, whereas phonological reduction is the neutralization of some phonemic contrasts in unstressed syllables. In this talk, I report on my research on vowel reduction in Mbahám, a Trans- New Guinea language spoken in the Onin region of the Bomberai peninsula (West Papua, Indonesia).

Both phonetic reduction and phonological reduction have been observed in Mbahám. Phonetically, unstressed vowels have a shorter duration than stressed vowels and their vocalic space is generally contracted, with a raising of the bottom of the vocalic space. Based on the acoustic analysis of 1700+ tokens, I find that, in Mbahám, phonetic reduction is gradual with significant differences in terms of duration and formant frequency between pretonic and post-tonic vowels. Phonologically, immediately pretonic vowels lack a full feature specification, their height and backness being determined by the quality of the following stressed nucleus. While five phonological vowels /i, e, a, u, o/ are present in stressed syllables, only two types of vowels are present in pretonic position: either /a/ or the copy of the stressed nucleus.

The study of vowel reduction in Mbahám informs the discussion on the conflict between articulatory economy and contrast maintenance in the language. Vowel reduction in Mbahám is related to the role of the segment in the word: some vowels carry information load that are essential to lexical contrast while others can be omitted, have a reduced duration and their articulatory target be undershot without impacting on lexical contrast. Speakers tend to reduce their articulatory gesture, as long as it does not threaten relevant phonological contrasts..

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Preliminary overview of the Ninde language

Caroline CROUCH

Kevin SCHAEFER

University of California, Santa Barbara

Previous descriptions of Ninde, an Oceanic language spoken by a population of several hundred people across five villages in the southwest of Malekula, Vanuatu, are scarce (Ray 1926, Dimock et. al. 2014). Based on data collected since 2015 in a project initiated and supported by community desire to both design a practical orthography to improve language maintenance and to preserve specialized knowledge, this overview of Ninde's structure reveals a number of divergent properties: a uvular reflex of proto Oceanic *r, a rich vowel inventory, verbal suppletion based on number (singular vs. non-singular) of the absolutive argument, and bound nominal forms exhibiting complex interactions with a substantive prefix and other roots in noun-noun compounds.

This overview details the phonemic inventory, which has never been described in its entirety, and an overview of the phonetics of some relevant segments. This overview also covers phonotactics and segmental phonological and morpho-phonological processes, such as dissimilation across morpheme boundaries and voicing alternations. Of special phonetic interest are the labialized bilabials, found now only in the speech of older speakers, signaling a loss of the contrast that could be symptomatic of language shift, and has been noted for this same series in neighboring languages (Dimock, 2009). This labialized series can be reconstructed to Proto-Oceanic (Lynch 2002) but has not been the subject of much study.

With phonological and morphological analysis as our basis, we discuss issues of wordhood, especially with regard to developing practical orthographies toward the goals of native language pedagogy.

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Subgrouping the Flores–Lembata languages using Historical Glottometry

Alexander ELIAS

Leiden University

My talk will address the internal subgrouping of the Flores-Lembata subgroup spoken on the islands of (from west to east) Flores, Adonara, Solor, Lembata, Pantar and Alor (Keraf 1978). The linguistic situation in this subgroup is as follows. Sika (or Sikka) and Hewa are spoken in eastern Flores. Then, sprawling across eastern Flores, Adonara, Solor and Lembata we find the numerous dialects of Lamaholot. Kedang is spoken in the north-eastern corner of Lembata, and finally Alorese is spoken on Alor and Pantar, where it is the only indigenous Austronesian language in an otherwise Timor-Alor-Pantar speaking area (Klamer 2011).

Traditional tree-based representations of language history are less useful in this complex linguistic setting for several reasons. First, the events of social splitting which are implicitly posited for every node in a tree are undesirably strong predictions when dealing with a tightly knit dialect group. Secondly, there are intersecting isoglosses that tree representations are unable to represent. In fact, the Flores-Lembata languages seem to form a mini-linkage embedded in the larger linkage formed by the Central Malayo-Polynesian languages as a whole (Blust 2009).

I propose a fine grained and methodologically sound treatment of this group, using a sample of 33 varieties of Lamaholot (Keraf 1978), as well as word lists of Sika, Hewa, Kedang and Alorese drawn from the Lexirumah database, part of the project *Reconstructing the past through languages of the present: The Lesser Sunda Islands* at Leiden University. My paper will propose a subgrouping for these languages inspired by François' (2014) model of Historical Glottometry. In this wave model-based framework, a tree-like structure is merely a special case in which no isoglosses happen to intersect. The strengths of this model are two-fold: 1) it allows a researcher to represent and describe the history of a linguistic group without passing by a tree representation and 2) it does not operate exclusively on the principle of splits, but can also detect reconvergence. The latter is important because the prehistoric information that can be recovered from a tree structure is purely negative; we can only assert that two groups have lost contact from a split in a tree. However, using Historical Glottometry, we can also detect renewed social contact between two groups, reflected in patterns of shared innovation which need not adhere to the strictly nesting pattern of the traditional tree model.

Investigating the Flores-Lembata group using the Historical Glottometry model, I have detected instances of intersecting isoglosses, and found evidence of language communities being in renewed contact after a period of relative isolation. Contrasting my findings with earlier work which applied the tree model (Doyle 2010), I will argue that a wave-model based framework provides us with a more realistic representation of the history of the Flores-Lembata group.

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Demonstratives in Masikoro Malagasy

Beverley ERASMUS

Wycliffe Bible Translation

The Masikoro language spoken in the south-west region of Madagascar forms part of the Greater Barito East group of the Austronesian family of languages. The objective of this paper is to discuss the complex Masikoro demonstrative system, using data from ten oral narratives.

Adapting from and expanding on the system of Standard Malagasy demonstratives described by Rajaona (1972), ten deictic roots of the demonstrative forms are identified, distinguishing the location in or outside of the immediate environment of the speaker, the boundedness of the area (limited versus unlimited), the precision of the location, and distance from the deictic centre, which is the speaker. Certain other features of the deictic roots are also observed: the ability to indicate movement of the referent, the ability to be used in a temporal sense, and the ability to be used in a manner sense.

According to syntactic context, Masikoro demonstratives can be categorised into three types: nominal demonstratives (both pronominal and adnominal distribution, with specific forms for spatial and manner/temporal use), local adverbial demonstratives, and identificational demonstratives. Nominal demonstratives are marked for number, and local adverbial demonstratives are marked for visibility and tense.

Demonstratives are used extensively in Masikoro narratives, and this paper gives an overview of the various functions, focussing on the frequent use of nominal demonstrative forms for tracking (anaphoric reference).

Other than the officially recognised Standard Malagasy, little has been published on the subject of Malagasy languages. This paper contributes to our knowledge of Masikoro, Malagasy languages in general and to the study of Austronesian demonstratives.

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An emerging repertoire of person reference within an Indonesian-language online community

Michael C. EWING

University of Melbourne

Indonesian, like many languages of Southeast Asia, exhibits an open pronominal system in that there are multiple forms for referring to self and others and that new forms are relatively easily adopted by speakers, especially for first and second person reference (cf. Enfield 2007, Smith and Donohue 1998, Thomason and Everett 2001). It has been observed that the multiple person reference forms available to Indonesian speakers are often utilized for stance-taking, social indexicality and identity-construction (Djenar 2008, Englebretson 2007, Ewing 2015, Manns 2015, Sneddon 2006).

This paper examines person reference forms that have become integral to the Indonesian-language online community Kaskus <kaskus.co.id>. Kaskus claims more than six million registered users and is one of the most popular Indonesian websites, incorporating both e-commerce facilities and multiple discussion forums through which users communicate with each other on a broad range of topics. A system of person reference has developed among Kaskus users that incorporates the Arabic-derived Betawi Malay pronouns *ane* '1s' and *ente* '2s', the Sanskrit derived juragan 'boss' and its reduced forms *agan* and *gan*. *Agan* in particular is commonly deployed as a second person pronominal form. These are used alongside Jakartan Indonesian *gua* '1s' and *lu* '2s' and standard Indonesian *aku* '1s' and *kamu* '2s'. Other person reference forms commonly used on Kaskus include the English-derived *sista* and *bro*.

The ability to navigate and deploy this repertoire of person reference is strongly indexical of membership in the Kaskus community. This paper explores a series of interconnected issues related to person reference on Kaskus. I first examine the grammatical properties and distribution of the different forms, showing the extent of grammaticalisation of forms such as *agan*. Issues of gender are central to the use of *sista* and *bro* and have also contributed to the appearance of the 'feminine' form *aganwati* that has emerged on the website alongside *agan*. Finally, I discuss the social-semiotics of person reference on Kaskus, first by presenting meta-semiotic commentary by Kaskus users and then by exploring stance-taking in relation to the deployment of the Kaskus-indexical forms (e.g. *ane*, *ente*, *(jur)agan(wati)*) relative to the more general forms (*aku*, *kamu*, *gua*, *lu*). This paper explores how extant pronouns can be repurposed, how new pronoun-like forms can arise and how such forms can be integrated grammatically and social-indexically into the language repertoire of an online community of practice, thus demonstrating both the pragmatic salience of

person reference (cf. Errington 1985, Woolard 2008) and the flexibility of the Indonesian pronominal system

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Grammaticalization in Mountain Ok

Sebastian FEDDEN

Université Paris 3 Sorbonne Nouvelle – LACITO

After several decades of intensive research, summarized in Heine & Kuteva (2002) and Narrog & Heine (2011), our knowledge of grammaticalization pathways is still heavily skewed towards Indo-European and African languages. Bisang (2011) calls for a typologically more informed approach and data from a larger set of languages in order to confidently identify cross-linguistically valid pathways of grammaticalization.

This study of grammaticalization in Mountain Ok, a family of Papuan languages of Papua New Guinea, consisting of Mian, Telefol, Tifal, Faiwol and Bimin, focusses on cases of grammaticalization in Mian (Fedden 2011) and supplements this with data from the other Mountain Ok languages. I will present both familiar and unexpected grammaticalization processes.

Among the well-known processes are the use of the verb ‘give’ as a valence-increasing device (Newman 1996, Reesink 2013) or the grammaticalization of verbs into tense or aspect meanings (Foley 2000, Lahiri 2000). On the other hand, the Mountain Ok languages display unexpected behaviour regarding the development of articles. A very common source for articles is the demonstrative (Greenberg 1978), e.g. the Italian definite article *il* from the Latin demonstrative *ille* ‘that’. The development of articles from demonstratives is also familiar from Oceanic (Lynch, Ross & Crowley 2002: 70-72).

The Mountain Ok languages developed (clitic) articles from personal pronouns. These articles indicate the referential use of an NP. Compare (1a) with the article and (1b) without the article in a non-referential context (here negation).

- | | | | |
|-----|---|----|--------------------------------------|
| (1) | unáng=o
woman=3SG.F.ART
‘the/a woman’ | b. | unáng blim
woman no
‘no woman’ |
|-----|---|----|--------------------------------------|

Unlike the well-known situation where the article is a grammaticalization of the demonstrative, in the Mountain Ok languages the source for the article is the personal pronoun. In fact, the demonstratives form part of a series of pronouns which are all derived from the pronoun roots of the 3rd person. This is illustrated for Mian in (2) for the pronoun root *ō*- ‘3SG.F’.

- | | |
|-----|---|
| (2) | <i>ō-lo</i> ‘demonstrative’
<i>ō-le</i> ‘topic’
<i>ō-ta</i> ‘focus’
<i>ō-mi</i> ‘possessive’
<i>ō-maye</i> ‘reflexive’
<i>ō-kob</i> ‘negative’ |
|-----|---|

The Mountain Ok languages are not alone in this. The Australian language Guugu Yi-midhirr has articles which come from the personal pronouns (Round & Corbett 2017), and these forms have no formal relation to the demonstratives (Haviland 1979: 73).

To sum up, this is a contribution to a typologically informed approach to grammaticalization, which will enable us to develop a better understanding of genuinely universal grammaticalization pathways.

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The economy of word classes in Hiw, Vanuatu Grammatically flexible, lexically rigid

Alexandre FRANÇOIS

LACITO-CNRS

The gradient notion of lexical flexibility is often understood as measuring the ability, for individual lexemes, to fill a number of different syntactic functions in the sentence. In this talk, I propose that the issue is better tackled not as a single dimension, but as the articulation of two separate mappings. One dimension, *(multi)categoriality*, maps lexical items onto word classes: e.g. Eng. *travel* belongs to the word classes ‘noun’ and ‘verb’. The second mapping, called *(multi)functionality*, in turn links these word classes to the syntactic functions they can access. For example, English allows nouns to fill the functions both of NP head and of NP modifier; when a noun is used as a modifier (like *travel* in *travel document*), this does not reflect the lexical flexibility of this particular word, but merely results from its status as a noun. A language may endow its lexemes with more or less *(multi)categoriality* in the lexicon, and its word classes with more or less *(multi)functionality* in the grammar: these are two distinct facets of lexical flexibility, which should be assessed separately (cf. Lemaréchal 1989).

Oceanic languages are often described as showing high lexical flexibility on average, but languages differ in their precise properties (van Lier 2016). I will show that the flexibility found in Hiw (Vanuatu) is mostly a factor of the high multi-

functionality of its word classes, each of which can regularly access a broad array of syntactic functions. Conversely, Hiw ranks relatively low on the scale of multi-categoriality: the vast majority of its lexemes can be assigned only one word class. This is how a language can be grammatically flexible, yet lexically rigid.

Finally, I will briefly discuss the methodology of using these two metrics (*categoriality* and *functionality*) in a way that can help us compare flexibility across languages, in an empirical and quantifiable manner.

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VP internal adverbs in Fanbyak (Oceanic, Vanuatu)

Mike FRANJIEH

University of Newcastle, Australia

[talk cancelled]

The grammaticalisation of serial verbs in some Oceanic languages has led to VP internal adverbs (Lynch et al. 2002:48). I argue that in Fanbyak there is a VP internal syntactic slot that allows a class of adverbs which is tightly associated with the verb (c.f. Hyslop 2001).

I present three main arguments for the VP internal slot. Firstly, the transitive enclitic =*ne* attaches to the right edge of a verb phrase, after the verb stem if no VP internal adverb is present (1a), or after a VP internal adverb such as *lili* ‘again’ (1b):

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) a. [Mo-kolier] = ne bwe.
3SG.R-sing =TR song
‘He/she sang the song.’ | b. [Mo-kolier lili] = ne bwe.
3SG.R-sing AGAIN =TR song
‘He/she sang the song again.’ |
|---|--|

Secondly, the VP internal adverbs only occur with intransitive verb root forms. Transitive verbs may be formed by the addition of the transitive enclitic, as in (1), while some verbs have both a transitive and intransitive form related by suppletion, such as *tob* ‘hit.INTR’ and *sie* ‘hit.TR’. The VP internal adverbs only occurs with the intransitive variants:

- (2) a. Mo-tob bini bael b. *Mwi-sie bini bwe.
 3SG.R- hit.INTR DEAD.TR bird 3SG.R-hit.TR DEAD.TR bird
 'He/she killed the bird.' [intended] 'He/she killed the bird.'

Finally, the adverbs are in complementary distribution to incorporated nominal phrases which occur in the same syntactic slot inside the VP. Both only occur with formally intransitive VPs. Compare (3) with (1b).

- (3) a. [na-m-nil maalo]. b. [Na-m-nil] =ne maalo.
 1SG-R-dive fish 1SG-R-dive =TR fish
 'I dived for fish.' 'I dived for a/the fish.'

Incorporated objects are phrasal, but are distinct from non-incorporated objects as they are unable to be fronted and occur with a restricted set of modifiers and quantifiers. VP internal adverbs occur in the same position inside the VP, and are also phrasal, allowing a sequence of two adverbs:

- (4) [go-m-faa **ker~kare** **fini**] ngela?
 2SG-R-spear.INTR RED~AROUND FINISH then
 'Have you finished spearing all around (the ground) then?'

In conclusion, this class of adverbs is not just part of the syntactic periphery. The data implies that intransitive VPs have an internal slot which is phrasal in nature and can be occupied by an incorporated nominal phrase or by an adverbial phrase consisting of up to two adverbs.

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The rise of clause-final negation in Flores-Lembata languages

Hanna FRICKE

Leiden University

The Austronesian Flores-Lembata languages in Eastern Indonesia show great variation in negation patterns. In this talk, I focus on the development of clause-final negation in this group of languages. This feature is not considered to be inherited Austronesian but rather emerged in several Austronesian languages in Eastern Indonesia due to contact with non-Austronesian languages (Reesink 2002:246). The following example sentences show three negation patterns in Flores-Lembata

languages: pre-predicate negation (1), embracing negation (2), and clause-final negation (3).

- (1) *Sika*
 Aʔu **ene** raʔitan.
 1SG NEG understand
 'I don't understand.' (Arndt 1931:42)
- (2) *Hewa*
 Dediʔ anak **eʔon** puas **iva**.
 child little NEG satisfied NEG
 'The little child is not satisfied.' (Fricke 2014:9)
- (3) *Lewoingu*
 Go bərin na **halaʔ**.
 1SG hit 3SG NEG
 'I don't hit him.' (Nishiyama & Kelen 2007:69)

By comparing negation patterns in these languages, I investigate the diachronic stages of a negative cycle and the lexical origin of the clause-final negators. I propose a development in different phases from pre-predicate negation which is still found in Sika (1), over embracing negation, still found in Hewa (2), to clause-final negation, as in Lewoingu (3). This circular development from simple negation to double negation and back to simple negation is cross-linguistically well-known and has been named Jespersen Cycle (Jespersen 1917; Hoeksema 2009:16; van der Auwera & Du Mon 2015:412). Concerning the etymology of the clause-final negators in the examples, it is interesting that they come from different sources. For the Hewa negator *iva* in (2) no source is known. However, the form is strikingly similar to the negator (*u*)*wa* in the non-Austronesian North Halmahera languages (Reesink 2002:247). The Lewoingu negator *halaʔ* in (3) possibly goes back to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian **salaʔ* 'wrong, mistake'.

This study provides a supporting case for the Jespersen Cycle, with the particularity that the circular change of negation patterns has been triggered by contact. Furthermore, the use of the inherited Austronesian word for 'wrong, mistake' as a clause-final negator in Lewoingu presents a case of contact-induced grammaticalization.

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When is a diphthong not a diphthong? Complex nuclei in Fataluku

Tyler M. HESTON

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

In this talk, I give evidence from firsthand fieldwork that complex nuclei in Fataluku, such as surface long vowels and diphthongs, are not derived from true complex segments underlyingly, but rather are derived from vowel sequences that are joined together by a phonological process. The primary subject of this talk, Fataluku, is an underdescribed Papuan language spoken by approximately 37,000 individuals on the far eastern tip of East Timor in island Southeast Asia. Fataluku is a member of the Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) family, which contains approximately twenty-five languages spread across Timor and nearby islands (Schapper et al. 2014).

Because of the scarcity of solid research on Fataluku, I begin with this talk with a brief description of the language's phonemes and syllable structure. I give particular attention to the subject of contrastive vowel length, which has engendered some controversy in past work on the language. After establishing the contrastiveness of surface vowel length on the basis of minimal pairs, speaker metalinguistic awareness, and perceptual ability, I address the underlying representation of surface long vowels and diphthongs.

A given complex nucleus may be represented underlyingly as sequence of vowels, a sequence of a vowel and a glide, a "true" underlying long vowel or diphthong, or even a simple vowel that has been lengthened or diphthongized (Rehg 2007:120). In Fataluku, there are several independent pieces of phonological evidence that indicate that neither surface long vowels nor surface diphthongs are represented as unit phonemes: that is, there are in fact no "true" long vowels or diphthongs in Fataluku.

Languages with true diphthongs generally exhibit a skewed distribution (Rehg 2007), though in Fataluku, all non-high V + high V combinations occur as surface diphthongs. Rarely, in deliberate speech, such a combination may be realized as two syllables, which also suggests an underlying representation consisting of two segments, rather than one (e.g., /rau/ 'good' → [rau], rarely [ra.u]). Furthermore, the behavior of adjacent vowel sequences after intervocalic glottal stop deletion shows that the creation of diphthongs and long vowels from vowel sequences is independently necessary (e.g., /maʔar/ 'person' → [ma:r]). For these and other reasons, I

propose that the analysis treating Fataluku's long vowels and diphthongs as underlyingly vowel sequences is optimally parsimonious.

These results corroborate earlier indications that true diphthongs, while be no means unattested, may be much more rare in the languages of the world than generally assumed (Rehg 2007). These findings are relevant not only for the basic phonological analysis of any language with either surface long vowels or diphthongs, but also for typological and theoretical studies of complex segments more generally.

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A comparative view of spatial orientation in Halmahera, Indonesia

Gary HOLTON

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Halmahera and surrounding islands are home to two distinct language families, the Papuan North Halmaheran (NH) family and the Austronesian South Halmaheran (SH) family. Contact effects are evident in both directions across the families (Voorhoeve 1994), but one of the most striking features shared across all of the languages, both Papuan and Austronesian, is a system of spatial orientation which contrasts a seaward-landward axis with an orthogonal upcoast-downcoast axis (Yoshida 1980). The UP and DOWN terms are generally polysemous, having both a horizontal and vertical interpretation; however, the default meaning is horizontal along the coast. The Halmahera orientation system is absolute, in that it remains invariant under both the rotation of the ground object and rotation of the viewer (Levinson 2003). However, orientation of the axes is not fixed in the sense of Palmer (2015); rather, axes are locally determined according to both local geography and local conventions. In the multilingual setting of Halmahera the system remains invariant under choice of language: regardless of which language is used to express a direction in a given location, the semantic value of the direction remains the same. For example, on the island of Ternate the direction to the right along the coast when facing the sea is *dahu* 'down' in Ternate (NH); *pop* 'down' in Weda (SH); and *ke bawa* 'down' in North Moluccan Malay.

In a previous paper I provided preliminary evidence that the spatial orientation system in Halmahera has a geographic origin, namely the riverine systems used by

the Forest People of Halmahera (Holton 2015). In this paper I provide additional evidence showing the incompatibility of non-geographic social explanations for the orientation of the up-down axis in Halmahera. I then compare the Halmahera system to orientation systems found in Oceanic languages, a language family coordinate to SH. Unlike Halmahera, Oceanic languages tend to make use of a fixed cardinal axis which is not tied to local geography (cf. François 2004). Finally, I contrast the Halmaheran system with those found in neighboring regions of Indonesia, including Central Maluku, Papua, Sulawesi, and Nusa Tenggara, providing a tentative typology of Eastern Indonesian orientation systems and concluding that the unique status of the Halmahera orientation system likely reflects a pre-Austronesian pattern.

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A “pseudo-geographic” approach to reconstructing the histories of words: Application to Austronesian and peri-Austronesian languages

Siva KALYAN

Mark DONOHUE

Australian National University

When reconstructing the histories of words in a language family, it is customary to reconstruct each word to the lowest-level subgroup that covers all of the languages

that show reflexes of that word. Yet identifying the subgroups in a language family itself involves examining the distributions of cognates and making assumptions about how broadly they were once shared.

One way around this potential circularity is to reason on the basis of geography: if the languages on the periphery of a certain geographic area reflect cognate set A for a given meaning, while the languages in the center reflect cognate set B, then it is likely that cognate set A represents the ancestral state, which once held throughout the region, and that B is a later innovation. This type of inference allows linguists to determine how “high up” in a language family a given word should be reconstructed, but without needing to construct a genealogical tree beforehand, and even without assuming that this genealogy must be tree-like.

In this presentation, we propose a computational (hence easily scaled-up) version of this type of reasoning, and apply it to data on 2629 lexical isoglosses from a sample of 32 Austronesian and 32 (neighboring) non-Austronesian languages. In our approach, rather than using geographic distances (which are often hard to interpret, particularly when traversing bodies of water), we use purely linguistic distances: each language is represented as a vector of 0s and 1s indicating its membership in various isoglosses, and the distance between two languages is the Euclidean distance between these two vectors. Given two languages A and B, a language C is defined to be “between” A and B if C is at least as close to A and to B as A and B are to each other (a definition inspired by Hammarström & Güldemann 2014).

For each isogloss, we take every language that is not already in the isogloss, and if it lies between two languages that are in the isogloss, we assign it a value of “NA” (rather than 0), indicating that it may have once been part of the isogloss. We then use Bayes’ theorem to estimate a probability (between 0 and 1) for each NA value, aggregating the evidence from each language that is known to belong to the isogloss and each language that is known not to belong.

The result is a (probabilistic) reconstruction of the “original scope” of each isogloss. This enables us to infer when a word can be plausibly reconstructed to proto-Austronesian, even if it is not synchronically attested in *all* Austronesian languages in our sample: for example, in our data, PAN **labaw* ‘mouse’ is only attested in seven languages (Kambera, Bugis, Embaloh, Rote, Tetum, Paiwan, and Amis), but is reconstructed with more than 67% confidence (but typically more than 99%) throughout all the Austronesian languages. Moreover, in cases where a word is attested broadly in both Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages (i.e. a *Wanderwort*, e.g. PAN **manuk* ‘bird’, attested in a scattering of Austronesian, Papuan, Tai-Kadai and Austroasiatic languages), the reconstructed scope of the isogloss suggests hypotheses about its original “sphere of influence” (e.g. possibly including Jahai and Inanwatan).

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***LexiRumah*: A lexical database for languages of the Lesser Sunda Islands**

Marian KLAMER
Gereon A. KAIPING

Leiden University Centre for Linguistics, Netherlands

In this presentation, we present *LexiRumah*: a new database containing lexical items of Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian, MP) and Papuan (Timor-Alor-Pantar, TAP) languages of the Lesser Sunda Islands in eastern Indonesia. This database is the first of three related Cross-Linguistic Linked Databases (CLLD, [1]) about these languages, which will provide open access to lexical, structural and cultural features of the region.

The core data of *LexiRumah* was collected in recent fieldwork and is supplemented by lexica from complementary sources e.g. [2]. *LexiRumah* presents information for ca. 30 000 forms in 100 different lects, each linked to the respective entries in Concepticon [3], Glottolog [4] and other relevant CLLDs. In addition to the lexical forms, the entries in the database are currently being cognate coded based on a manual correction of an automatic cognate detection algorithm [5].

With the larged database, it is now possible to investigate relevant patterns of borrowing between MP and TAP languages on regional and sub-regional levels – and to do this fast. This is important, as little is yet known about lexical borrowing in the Lesser Sunda region. Malayo-Polynesian speakers settled in the region some 3 800 years ago [6], and some MP loans entered the TAP languages at the proto-family level (e.g. PTAP **baj* ‘pig’ from PMP **babuy*; [7, 8, 9]). Contact between MP and TAP speakers thus goes a long way back, and it continues till today.

In our talk we present some initial results of working with *LexiRumah*. Focusing on those domains that we expected to show traces of cultural contact between MP and TAP speakers, we investigated ca. 70 meanings related to marriage & kin, body, subsistence, trade, culture, tradition and socio-political system. We detected numerous interesting loans on especially the regional and sub-regional levels. Providing just a single example here, we noted that some TAP languages to the west of Alor have a form for ‘slave’ *jongos* which connects with the Lerek variety of Lamaholot in the Flores region using *jongos*, a borrowing from colonial Malay originally denoting ‘houseboy’.

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The spatial conceptualization of lexical temporal expressions in Kavalan

Wei-Wei LEE

Leiden University

The experience of temporality is shared by all human beings. However, the manner in which we express and conceive time varies cross-linguistically. Besides variation, a striking similarity has also been observed across various genetically and geographically unrelated languages: the tendency to express temporal notions in terms of space and motion (e.g. Clark 1973; Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Alverson 1994 among many others). Previous works on lexical time (broadly defined here as any form of temporal depiction outside the TAM system) in Formosan linguistics have shown a fairly to very limited role of spatial metaphors in temporal expressions (Paiwan, Sung 2005; Tsou, Pan 2007; Isbukun Bunun, Huang 2016; Saisiyat, Hsieh forthc.). For Isbukun Bunun (Huang 2016) and Saisiyat (Hsieh forthc.), a preference for metonymic strategies (i.e. through associations within a single domain, e.g. that of time) has been suggested rather than metaphorical ones. In this talk, I will explore and analyze space-time metaphors in Kavalan, a moribund Formosan language spoken by less than a hundred people on the east coast of Hualien, Taiwan.

This study is primarily based on new fieldwork data collected from six multilingual native speakers (aged between 53-74 years) in Sinshe Village (Hualien), currently the most significant Kavalan-speaking settlement. Besides three narratives, the corpus mainly consists of elicited data (ca. 48 hours of recordings). The semantic functions of NP-based temporal adverbials classified by Haspelmath (1997) were elicited. The expressions were then analyzed within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), more specifically, Moore's (2014) enhanced theory of space-time metaphors. In CMT, a 'metaphor' represents a cross-domain mapping of coherent sets of implications in the conceptual system. These mappings provide motivations for linguistic metaphorical expressions.

The data demonstrate that metaphorical transfer from space to time is quite prevalent in Kavalan: locative case-marking, motion verbs (1), spatial orientation terms, and spatial source/goal markers (2) are commonly used for all primary

semantic functions defined by Haspelmath (1997). These consist of the expression of temporal location, temporal distance, and temporal extent (i.e. duration).

- (1) **me-laziw** ya u-sepat tasaw
 AF-pass NOM CLF.NHUM-four year
 'in/after four years'
- (2) **nizi** ta 1990 **tuzus** tu 1995
 move.from LOC 1990 reach OBL 1995
 'from 1990 until 1995'

As will be shown, some of these terms occur in multiple structures with various underlying conceptualizations, rather than merely in incidental, fixed expressions. This observation strongly supports the reality and productiveness of the conceptual metaphors.

The findings suggest that metaphorical strategies are more common in the temporal domain in Kavalan than in previous Formosan languages studied. However, this conclusion must be taken with caution due to the heterogeneity in the type of temporal concepts examined and the method of analysis. Systematic cross-linguistic, including quantitative, research is thus called for, in order to gain a better understanding of the structuring of abstract concepts in the Formosan languages, more specifically, the degree to which metaphorical and metonymic strategies are entrenched.

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A first look at the Pahoturi River family

Kate LINDSEY

Stanford University

Languages in the Pahoturi River (PR) family are spoken in the South Fly region of Western Province, Papua New Guinea. The earliest descriptions of the PR family provide tenuous evidence to classify these languages as Trans-New Guinea¹ or ‘South-Central Family,’² – for now PR is best regarded as a distinct maximal clade. Existing sources cite between two³ to four⁴ languages, but PR language speakers count five: Idi, Taeme, Ende, Agöb, and Kawam. In 2016, a research team traveled to Limol (Ende-speaking) to record the 386 words in the southern New Guinea-specific Yamfinder⁵ database in all five languages. This collection provides the first look at comparative phonetic transcriptions for the PR family.

In this talk, I will present a typological sketch that summarizes what is known about each language in terms of phonemes, word order and case, and verbal morphology, comparing PR features with neighboring families. I’ve listed some exciting examples below.

In terms of phonetic inventory, the PR family is distinctive in southern New Guinea in that it contains a retroflex series of stops/affricates, an arsenal of laterals (r, ɹ, ɻ, l, ʎ), and the *ŋ* phoneme — features that, like PR's inclusive/exclusive pronoun distinction, are more common just to the south in Australia. From the Yamfinder dataset, examples can be drawn that show a high degree of similarity (58) within the family, regular phonological variation (64; *ɑ~æ*, *ŋ~ŋg*), or a high degree of disparity (12). In general, Ende/Agöb/Kawam contrast with Taeme/Idi (134).

Yamfinder #	English	Ende	Agöb	Kawam	Taeme	Idi
58	mouth	bod	bod	bod	bod	bod
64	arm	ṭṣaŋ	ṭṣæŋ	ṭṣaŋ	ṭṣæŋ	ṭṣæŋg
12	big	uɾe	ɹate	ure	kwak	ɹæmb
134	come	wia	wia	wia	abe	abe

In terms of word order and case, PR languages are generally SOV with frequent scrambling. This is not very surprising considering verbs display both subject and object agreement and arguments generally appear with morphosyntactic case. Case is especially interesting as the case distinctions differ across languages. For example, notice how Ende pronouns and nouns are nominative/accusative, while Idi pronouns and nouns differ in pattern.

	Ende Agent	Subject	Object	Idi Agent	Subject	Object
pronouns	-∅	-∅	-m	-∅	-∅	-m
nouns	-(d)a	-(d)a	-de	-(d)a	-(d)a	-(d)a

Additionally, this talk will detail a fascinating characteristic of PR verbal morphology, called the ‘second-person quirk’. In the future tense, whenever the 2nd person is

either the agent or patient with 3rd person agent, the recent past prefix (*n-*) is used instead of the future (*b-*), as shown in the Idi paradigm⁶ of ‘to hit (future)’ below.

		PATIENTS					
		1sg	2sg	3sg	1pl	2pl	3pl
AGENTS	1sg		b-a-bd	b-bd		b-e-a-bd	b-e-a-bd
	2sg	n-a-bd		n-bd	n-e-a-bd		n-e-a-bd
	3sg	b-a-bd-n	n-a-bd-n	b-bd-n	b-e-a-bd-n	n-e-a-bd-n	b-e-a-bd-n
	1pl		b-a-bd-a	b-bd-a		b-e-a-bd-a	b-e-a-bd-a
	2pl	n-a-bd-n		n-a-bd-n	n-e-a-bd-n		n-e-a-bd-n
	3pl	b-a-bd-o	n-a-bd-o	b-bd-o	b-e-a-bd-o	n-e-a-bd-o	b-e-a-bd-o

This presentation will not only detail the resources available and what is known about the Pahoturi River family, but also what is unknown, in order to encourage future work in this region.

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Automated tone level annotation in the documentation of New Caledonian tone

Laura McPHERSON

Emily GRABOWSKI

Dartmouth College, New Hampshire

Tone in Oceanic languages is vanishingly rare, yet a small number of languages in New Caledonia have followed this evolutionary path. Rivierre has made huge strides in describing and analyzing the tone system in languages like Paicî and Cemuhî (Rivierre 1972, 1974, *inter alia*) and has laid solid foundations for the southern tonal languages Drubea, Numèè, and Kwényî (Rivierre 1973), but much work remains to be done. Rightly or wrongly, tone has the reputation for being one of the most difficult aspects of a language to document, and hence it is often left out of transcriptions and orthographies. But with highly endangered and typologically rare tone systems like those in New Caledonia, it is imperative to make the effort.

Drawing on data from Numèè and Kwényî, this talk demonstrates a novel computational tool, ATLAS (*Automated Tone Level Annotation System*), designed to facilitate the inclusion of tone in documentation projects. One of the fundamental goals of tonal

analysis is to determine the number of underlying tonal contrasts—e.g. H, M, L—whose diacritics can be used in phonemic transcription. For a broad phonetic transcription of tone, the descriptive lingua franca are tone levels, represented either numerically or with dashes arranged on a vertical axis, e.g. Rivierre’s (1973) transcriptions of Numèè /gòò miè/ ‘wet tree’ represented as 2 3 or - _ and /góó miè/ ‘wet *Hibbertia* sp.’ as 1 3 or ^ _ . Until now, these levels have been subjectively assigned, dependent on the researcher’s ear. ATLAS provides a means of objectively assigning tone levels to vowels or other tone bearing units (TBUs). In the current prototype, the process is semi-automated: First, a Praat script extracts, smooths, and normalizes the pitch (f0) from a recording annotated with a text grid delimiting the TBUs. Then, a Python script takes the output of the first step and divides the speaker’s pitch range into levels, excluding outliers. The number of levels can be set to best meet the needs of the language and the research question (e.g. more levels for a suspected 4-level vs. 2-level tone system or more levels when investigating the phonetic realization of tone). Each interval in the text grid is annotated with two levels, one at 20% of the way through the interval and one at 80%, allowing the tool to capture contour tones. The output—a time-aligned series of tone level annotations—is compatible with ELAN, thus facilitating objective tonal annotation of documentary recordings, even in cases where the researcher(s) do not feel comfortable marking tone by hand.

Such automated annotations are useful for a variety of purposes. First, for Numèè and Kwényĩ, it allows us to objectively test anecdotal accounts given in Rivierre (1973) and echoed by others that Numèè phrases have overall descending melodies while Kwényĩ phrases have overall ascending “plaintive” melodies. We ran ATLAS on recordings of the Rat and the Octopus story in both languages, with the number of levels set at 10 (where 10 is the highest). The average Numèè sentence begins on level 3.9 and ends on level 2, while the average Kwényĩ sentence begins on level 2.7 and ends on level 5.7, thus supporting the anecdotal account (though Numèè phrases typically rise before they fall). By automating annotations, we can also more easily create large corpora of searchable tone data, which can be used to test hypotheses (like Rivierre’s) on the realization of tones, to investigate tones in particular morphosyntactic environments (particularly if annotations are part of full ELAN glossing), or even to uncover the underlying tone system of a language like Kwényĩ, which has to date eluded researchers.

In summary, this talk presents a novel computational tool for tone in language documentation and its applicability to the study of New Caledonian tone languages.

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Standing up to the canoe: Figure vs ground in descriptions of vertical spatial relations in Äiwoo

Åshild NÆSS

University of Oslo

In the Oceanic language Äiwoo, spoken in Solomon Islands' Temotu Province, the forms *ee* 'go up' and *woli* 'go down' can function as intransitive predicates of motion in space, either literally on the vertical dimension or in various other domains such as along a Southeast/Northwest axis (cf. François 2004). In addition, however, they are frequently used to describe vertical relations in space between two entities, which may involve movement (X goes onto Y), but are typically stative (X is above/below/on top of/underneath Y). Äiwoo has only a single spatial preposition *ngä*, and so spatial relations such as 'on, in, above, below' etc. are differentiated by other means, one of which is the use of directional verbs modifying a verb of motion or location. Consider examples (1-2), where *ee* 'go up' modifies *so-kou* 'stand-hide' and *ebu* 'fall' respectively:

- (1) Basiki-ee-kä=nâ lâto kä=nä **ki-so-kou-ee-kä** ngämi=nâ.
 run-up-DIR:3=DIST then say=CV IPFV-stand-hide-up-DIR:3 ANAPH=DIST
 'He ran up (from the beach) to it (=an overturned canoe),
 wanting to stand and hide underneath it.'
- (2) Tememe ku-wo-maa lâ **ki-ebu-ee=kä** ilâ ngä nyime-i=lâ.
 baby IPFV-go-DIR:1 DIST IPFV-fall-up=DIST there LOC hand-3AUG=DIST
 'When the baby comes (= is born), it falls onto their hands.'

These examples describe the location of an entity, which we can call the figure, relative to an object which we will refer to as the ground; the figure is, by definition, the actor/subject of the verb modified by *ee/woli*. From examples like (1), where the figure is said to 'stand hiding up', one might expect the situation denoted to be one

where the figure is 'up' relative to the ground, but in fact the opposite is the case: it is the canoe which is 'up' in relation to the man. This pattern of «figure-ground reversal», where 'up' or 'down' characterise the position of the ground relative to the figure, is consistently found when the verb modified by *ee/woli* is one of location or position. In (2), on the other hand, *ee* 'up' modifies the motion verb 'fall', though clearly does not describe the direction of motion of the falling entity; rather, it characterises the spatial relation between the baby and the hands. Here, as opposed to in (1), it is the figure that is 'up' relative to the ground.

This paper will explore these patterns in detail, discussing the complexities of the interacting dimensions of figure vs ground and motion vs location, and suggesting that figure-ground reversal is possible only when the aspect of motion is absent, since motion implies an inherent figure-ground relation (figure moves with respect to ground) whereas stative location arguably does not. Thus the analysis will add to research on the semantics of motion and location expressions in general, as well as to the already complex picture of the uses of vertical directional terms in Oceanic languages.

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The mysterious case of *em*: Grammaticalization of a SVC in Fataluku

Colleen O'BRIEN

University of Hawai'i

Yuko OTSUKA

Sophia University

Fataluku, a Papuan language of East Timor with SOV word order, exhibits a frequent morpheme *em* that attaches to the first noun phrase in constructions with multiple objects. In transitive sentences with multiple object noun phrases, the morpheme *em* marks the first object. It does not mark a natural class of semantic roles; rather, it marks themes in certain cases and instruments in others. We argue that this morpheme is in transition from being a verb in part of a serial verb construction (SVC) to becoming a postposition.

Constructions in which *em* occurs can be classified into three types, dependent on the semantic roles of the two objects: theme and goal, theme and location, and instrument and theme. The constituent order of these constructions is fixed; the two objects may not switch their positions and *em* always attaches to the first object noun phrase, which immediately follows the subject. When the combination of the two objects is theme-goal or theme-instrument, the theme is always first and *em* attaches

to it (1). When it is instrument-theme, however, the instrument is first and *em* attaches to it, not the theme (2). The morpheme *em* behaves like a clitic rather than a suffix; it occurs on the end of the noun phrase, not on the noun itself, and it is phonologically conditioned by the word to which it attaches (e.g., =*im* occurring on consonant-final nouns).

- (1) Jon a ulur=**im** Mari aci-pura.
 Jon SUBJ breadfruit=*em* Mary DIR-sell
 'John sells Mary a breadfruit.'

- (2) Jon a hika**r**=**im** pai uca.
 Jon SUBJ knife=*em* pig kill
 'John kills the pig with a knife.'

We argue that *em* has grammaticalized from the verb *eme* 'take' (often reduced to *me*), which still exists in the language and appears in certain SVCs, as shown in (3):

- (3) tawa [kafe **me** ma'o]
 3sg [coffee take come]
 'He brings the coffee.'

The semantic roles of the NPs to which *em* attaches suggests *em* originated from the verb *eme* of a SVC of the following patterns: theme-take goal/location-V2 and instrument-take theme-V2. SVCs such as 'I mango-take Mary-sell' and 'I knife-take mango-cut' became 'I mango-*em* Mary sell' and 'I knife-*em* mango cut'. This scenario also explains why *em* attaches to the instrument instead of the theme in sentences like (2).

We argue that *em* is no longer a verb, as it is (a) semantically bleached, (b) limited in where it can occur, and (c) phonetically reduced, which are all characteristics of grammaticalized morphemes. Typologically common structures are more likely to grammaticalize (Bybee 2003). Thus, if Fataluku had a very frequent SVC using *eme* 'take' in ditransitive constructions, it would be susceptible to grammaticalization of a verb to a postposition. In fact, we show that *em* is still in the process of grammaticalization, i.e., it is no longer a verb, but also not yet a full postposition. By looking at this morpheme in a less-documented language, we hope to contribute to the wider discussion of grammaticalization and the origin of postpositions.

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Pronouns and the DP in Oceanic

Bill PALMER

University of Newcastle, Australia

Although the DP is well established in syntactic theory (after Abney 1987), it is under-investigated in Oceanic outside some theoretical literature, and is absent from the Oceanic descriptive tradition (e.g. Lynch et al 2002), where pronouns are assumed to be the head of an NP – in effect located in N.

Following the Oceanic tradition, pronouns in Hoava (Solomon Islands) have been analysed as NP heads (Davis 2003). However, a range of facts argue against this analysis. The 3rd pronouns *sa* ‘3sg’ and *ria* ‘3pl’ clearly occur as phrasal heads (1a), (2a), but are formally identical to Davis’s sg and pl definite articles (1b), (2b). Moreover, these directly parallel non-3rd pronouns in isolation (3a) and preceding nominal material (3b). Davis analyses forms as in (3) as pronouns in all contexts, with data such as (3b) involving apposition, an analysis inconsistently not extended to parallel strings (1b) and (2b). Davis’s analysis involves treating *sa/ria* as pronouns in some contexts and articles in others, also inconsistently not extended to non-3rd forms. Her analysis also fails to account for the fact that pronouns cannot be accompanied by an article, while the supposedly apposed NP is prohibited from carrying an article. Unexplained by Davis’s analysis, these facts follow automatically from an alternative analysis in which pronouns are located in head of DP, i.e. in D. (DPs consist of D+NP.) Following Author (2017), this paper argues that pronouns in Hoava may not carry an article because they are already occupying D, and the accompanying nominal structure may not carry an article because it is an NP in a DP whose D is already occupied by the pronoun. I present evidence that Hoava has a DP; that its pronouns are determiners located in D; and that *sa/ria* are always pronouns in D.

However, this is not the situation in those Oceanic languages where pronouns do occur with articles. Fijian, for example, has two articles: proper (*k*)o, and common *na*. (*K*)o occurs with several categories including pronouns (Schütz 1985). Unlike Hoava, Fijian independent pronouns require the article (4a), and any accompanying N that specifies the referent also occurs with its own article (4b). These facts indicate that pronouns in Fijian are located in N, rather than D.

I conclude that the syntactic and categorial status of pronouns varies across Oceanic languages. In some (e.g. Hoava) pronouns are in D. In others (e.g. Fijian) they are in N. In the latter, pronouns are nouns that encode person features, while in the former, pronouns are person-encoding determiners.

- (1) a. “Aso mae goe” gua-ni rao [sa] rao
 walk come 2SG say-APPL 1SG sa 1SG
 ‘ “Walk towards me,” he said to me.’
- b. [sa nikana tarai]
 sa man preach
 ‘the preacher’

- (2) a. Kiug=ii rao [**ria**]. (b) [**ria** nikana Merika]
 call=ACC 1SG *ria* *ria* man America
 ‘They called me.’ ‘the Americans’
- (3) a. Va-mate=a [**gami**] keke boko.
 CAUS-die=3sg.ACC 1EXCL.PL one pig
 ‘We killed a pig.’
- b. [**gami** nikana hupa]
 1EXCL.PL man black
 ‘we black men’
- (4) a. Era sã qito [**ko** **ira**].
 3SG.SBJ PERSIST play PERS 3PL
 ‘They are still playing.’
- b. Era qito [**ko** **ira** [**na** **gone**]].
 3SG.SBJ play PERS 3pl the child
 ‘The children played.’

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Pluractionality in Mono-Alu

Bill PALMER

Sabrina MEIER

University of Newcastle, Australia

Drawing on a current field study, this paper investigates verbal number in Mono-Alu (MA) (Oceanic, Solomon Islands), finding pluractionality that is not ergative and that employs a reduplicant with unusual characteristics, and that a very rare category, referred to here as duactional, also occurs.

Verbal number encodes multiple tokens of an event: one individual participating on multiple occasions (event number), multiple individuals on one occasion (participant number), or multiple individuals on multiple occasions (both). It is claimed to be ergative: an intransitive pluractional has a plural subject, while a transitive pluractional has a plural object. It is primarily attested in North America (Mithun 1988), South America (Veselinova 2013), Africa (Dimmendaal 2014:58-59) and New Guinea (Foley

1986:128-130), but for Austronesian Veselinova (2013) finds it only in Samoan, while Corbett (2000:245) finds it in Rapanui and Tokelauan. It is significantly under-investigated in Austronesian.

MA encodes pluractionality with reduplication. With intransitive verbs, the default interpretation is participant number (1a), but with singular subjects it indicates event number (1b). With transitives it is not strictly ergative: it usually indicates a plural object (2a), but with a singular object and a plural subject it indicates the subject (2b). Only when both are singular is it interpreted as event number (2c). The reduplicant attaches to a stem, not root, occurring outside the causative or passive prefix, resulting in copying of the prefix plus root-initial syllable (3). Verbal number encoding dual is extremely rare. Veselinova (2013) finds it in 7 of 193 languages, all but one in North America, where it is confined to intransitives, typically postural or motion verbs. MA is unique in that the duactional marks unergative and unaccusative intransitives (4), as well as transitives (5), with the same range in participant number as pluractional. It is also the first attestation of dual verbal number outside North America or Africa.

- (1)a. Ir-i **kapa~kapa**.
 3PL.S-REAL PLURACT~have.fallen
 ‘They have fallen down.’
- b. Maito o-na **taga~taganini**.
 2sg 2SG.S-IRR PLURACT~turn.round
 ‘You keep turning around.’
- (2)a. Ir-i **lapu~lapu-ri**.
 3PL.S-REAL PLURACT~ hit-3PL.O
 ‘They hit them all together.’
- b. Eri-a **are~areai** sa-ria tave.
 3PL.S-IRR PLURACT~speak[3SG.O] POSS-3PL.P reply
 ‘They will discuss their answer.’
- c. I **ko~koput-i** ga nihe.
 [3SG.S]REAL PLURACT~cut-tr[3SG.O] ga snake
 ‘He chopped up the snake.’
- (3) Avu e-na **tale~ta-lele**.
 NEG 3SG.S-IRR PLURACT~PASS-free
 ‘It won’t come loose.’
- (4)a. Ir-i **isa-?ela**.
 3PL.S-REAL PLURACT~ hit-3PL.O
 ‘They both sing together.’
- b. Osong elua-ria ir-i **isa-kanega**.
 all two-3PL.P 3PL.S-REAL DUACT-[INCH]old.man
 ‘Both of them have become old men together.’
- (5)a. Ir-i **isa-lapu-ri-nana** ga elua.
 3PL.S-REAL DUACT-hit-3PL.O-EMPH ga two
 ‘They hit the two of them together.’
- b. Ir-i **isa-roro-i**.
 3PL.SBJ-REAL DUACT-see-TR[3SG.O]
 ‘They both saw it at the same time.’

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Negation in Southeast Ambrym, Vanuatu

Eleanor RIDGE

SOAS, University of London

Southeast Ambrym is an Oceanic language of Vanuatu spoken in the South East of Ambrym island and in Mele Maat, a peri-urban community on the outskirts of the capital Port Vila. Negation in SEA is marked discontinuously as in many other Oceanic languages (Lynch, Ross & Crowley 2002). The negative prefix (taa-/naa-) distinguishes present tense from other TAM contexts and cooccurs with a clitic *ti*, which is used independently for partitive and suggestions.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) Taa-pat ti.
3SG.NEG1.PRES-sleep NEG2
'He doesn't sleep.' | 2) Taa-pat.
3SG.NEG1.PRES-sleep
(* 'He doesn't sleep.') |
|--|---|

In some sentence types the position of *ti* is fixed. In copular constructions, *ti* must appear after the complement of the copular verb *he*. With verbs taking a complement clause, *ti* must appear immediately before the complement clause, and the verb does not take a bound object pronoun.

However elsewhere the position can vary, unlike in closely related Paamese (Crowley 1982). With transitive verbs *ti* appears before or after the object without affecting interpretation.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (3) Puskat taa-toxol asu ti.
cat 3SG.NEG1.PRES-catch rat NEG2
'The cat doesn't catch a/the rat.' | (4) Puskat taa-toxol ti asu.
cat 3SG.NEG1.PRES-catch NEG2 rat
'The cat doesn't catch a/the rat.' |
|---|---|

While in many Vanuatu languages the relative ordering of negative elements is strictly constrained (Lynch, Ross & Crowley 2002) leading to the 'NEG1', 'NEG2' glossing conventions, the clitic *ti* can precede the prefixed verb for term-negation of the subject.

- (5) Moletin ti taa-kkesae.
 person NEG2 3SG.NEG1.PRES-lose
 'No-one is lost.' (*'The person isn't lost.')

- (6) Moletin taa-kkesae ti.
 person 3SG.NEG1.PRES-lose NEG2
 'The person isn't lost.' (*'No-one is lost')

With verbs which take a possessed subject (mostly emotion or mental-state verbs), *ti* always appears in this pre-verbal position. This irregular behaviour seems to be being lost in the Mele Maat community, where post-verbal *ti* remains ungrammatical in this context, but instead *ti* can be dropped altogether with this class of verbs.

- (7) Xi e-n ti taa-vei viak.
 3SG inside-3SG.POSS NEG2 3SG.NEG1.PRES-like taro
 'He doesn't like taro.'

In non-contiguous serial verb constructions, both verbs take the negative prefix - unlike in Paamese (Crowley 1987; Crowley 2002) - while the clitic *ti* only appears after the first verb, before or after any object of V1.

The complex behaviours of the clitic *ti* thus resist an analysis of negative marking in Southeast Ambrym as a single bipartite morpheme. Instead Southeast Ambrym exhibits complex constraints between these two morphemes and the constructions they appear in.

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If it exists in one language, why not use it in another? The insertion of *kalau* 'if' in Abui and Central Lembata, two languages of Eastern Indonesia

George SAAD
 Hanna FRICKE
 Leiden University

Among the hundreds of local languages in Indonesia in contact with Malay, there are several cases reporting the insertion of the Malay conditional conjunction *kalau* into local languages (e.g van den Heuvel 2007; Nivens 1999). In this talk, we zoom in on two such case studies to understand the underlying mechanisms involved in this growing, converging trend. Presenting recent Abui (Papuan) and Central Lembata

(Austronesian) data, we seek to answer the question of how two typologically different languages yield similar outcomes of contact. In particular, we expand on the simultaneous observation that Malay *kalau* is used in both languages, in conjunction with the native near-equivalent (a case of *doubling*, Muysken 2000:104-105). We show that its incorporation into the lexicon allows for an enhancement of clause-chaining possibilities in the repertoires of these speakers.

A similar time depth (60 to 70 years) of contact with a local, colloquial variety of Malay and/or Indonesian (henceforth MI) has fostered a comparable contact scenario among the Abui and Central Lembata speech communities. As a result, almost all speakers of Abui and Central Lembata below the age of 35 exhibit transfer effects from Malay into their local language. This has resulted in a large influx of, not only content words, but also function words, as the following examples show:

- (1) ABUI (Saad Corpus)²
***Kalau** ama uisaha loqu di pi-tanga he-sakola naha maiye...*
 COND.MI person west PL 3 1PL.IN.POSS-language 3OBJ-learn NEG COND
 'If westerners don't learn our language, (we shouldn't either?)'
- (2) CENTRAL LEMBATA (Fricke Corpus)
***Kalau** ma da bukut-i, [...] kam dapat no tapu mirek wai...*
 COND.MI COND 3PL protect-3PL 1EX get OBJ coconut candlenut some
 'If they protected them [the little plants],
 they would get some coconuts and candlenuts.'

As can be seen, both languages have a native conditional conjunction, and yet there is a tendency to simultaneously insert the MI term. In the Abui case, the use of *kalau* has been found to be restricted to conditional readings, whereas *maiye* may license a broader set of functions including not only conditional but also temporal and causal relations. Thus, its insertion, and particularly its clause-initial position, allows speakers to instantly specify the nature of the desired clausal relation. The insertion of conjunctions to 'fill a gap' is a common process in contact among local languages in Indonesia (Bowden 2013) and other languages as well (Heine & Kuteva 2008:123). In Central Lembata, Malay *kalau* and local *ma* can both have conditional and temporal interpretations. Both terms, thus, cover the same functional range. A reason to insert *kalau* in Central Lembata could be that the word *kalau*, having a dysyllabic structure, is more prominent than the native *ma*. In sum, we show how, despite typological differences between the two languages, the outcomes of contact remain similar. We conclude that the insertion of Malay *kalau* provides speakers with an additional resource to express a more salient conditional relation between two clauses, while also allowing for the retention of the local conjunctions. This talk sheds light on these on-going processes of change, which as Bowden (2013) points out, will probably affect hundreds of Eastern Indonesian languages in the near future.

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² COND: conditional, MI: Malay/Indonesian, PL: plural, 3: third person, OBJ: object marker.

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The semantics of the syntactic position of adjectives in Truku Seediq

Claire SAILLARD

UFR Linguistique – UMR 7110 Laboratoire de Linguistique Formelle
– Université Paris Diderot – USPC

In studies on linguistic typology concerned with the relative order of nouns and adjectives (Greenberg 1963, Dixon 1977), it is usually considered that most languages have a dominant order. However, this does not prevent the relative position of nouns and adjectives from fluctuating, and in some languages, both N-Adj and Adj-N orders are attested for (some) adjectives. Truku Seediq, a Formosan Austronesian language spoken on the East Coast of Taiwan, exhibits such variation³, as briefly mentioned in grammatical studies of the language. Tsukida (2005) describes this double possibility without associating it to any semantic or pragmatic difference, writing: “Verbs (and nouns, too) always appear after the head noun when in modifying function, but some adjectives can appear either before or after the modified noun” (2005: 296). Pecoraro (1979: 50-51) on the other hand considers this difference in syntactic position as semantically meaningful, translating Noun Phrases exhibiting the N-Adj order as definite, and NPs exhibiting the Adj-N order as indefinite.

- (1) Paru sapax ka sapax Diyan. [adapted from Pecoraro, *ibid.*]
 big house PRED house Diyan
 ‘Diyan’s house is a big house.’
- (2) Sapax paru ka sapax Diyan. [adapted from Pecoraro, *ibid.*]
 house big PRED house Diyan
 ‘Diyan’s house is the big house.’

This paper aims to question the semantic value of the pre- and post-nominal position of the adjective in Truku Seediq, based on semi-spontaneous oral data. Collected in 2014 using a task design, our data set consist of 39 dyadic interactions for a total of 10,469 words, involving 24 bilingual speakers (Truku Seediq and Mandarin Chinese). Thoroughly transcribed and annotated, these data are fully

³ As opposed to Tgdaya/Paran Seediq (Chang 2006: 66, Ochiai 2015), in which only the post-nominal position is available for modifying adjectives.

searchable with digital tools⁴.

Based on careful examination of these data, we formulate two main claims. On the syntactic level, the post-nominal position of adjectives in Truku Seediq, similar to their position in closely related languages, is the unmarked one, while the pre-nominal position of adjectives is a marked innovation of Truku Seediq. Secondly, on the semantic and discourse level, we claim that (in-)definiteness of the Noun Phrase is not linked to the position of the adjective. Rather, while post-nominal adjectives have a descriptive -- or non-restrictive modification -- function, pre-nominal adjectives have a restrictive modification function (Martin 2014), as apparent from discourse stretches such as the following:

- (3) Angal ka kingal pratu - pratu ga - m-banah pratu.
 take PRED one bowl bowl DET AF-red bowl
 ‘Take one bowl. That bowl. The red bowl (as opposed to the black bowl).’

This finding was made possible by the dialogic and naturalistic nature of our data set, and would have been obscured by more classical elicitation procedures.

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Subordination in Ninde avoidance registers

Kevin SCHAEFER

University of California, Santa Barbara

Not uncommon for Oceania (Geertz 1960, Philips 1991), speakers of Ninde (Oceanic, Vanuatu) use an in-law register and clan-based avoidance lexicons, namely for animal

⁴ This data set was constructed as part of the CLAPOTY project (Agence Nationale pour la Recherche ANR-09-JCJC-0121-01); fieldwork was co-funded by the LabEx Empirical Foundations of Linguistics.

names. In addition to strategies observed in other languages with taboo avoidance vocabulary, some Ninde lexical items likely have origins in subordination.

As has been described for other languages (Dixon 1980), respect-based forms are often semantic extensions of non-taboo words. Taboo forms may impose restrictions on morphologically relatives and homophones, leading to linguistic borrowing as one substitution strategy (Comrie 2000). Speaking to in-laws in Ninde, the usual word for 'eat' (1a) is taboo; instead, the common word for 'light, ignite' is used to denote 'eat'.

1a) *ka'an* 'eat'

1b) *sumoxo* 'ignite, eat'

In other taboo items like (2b), the form appears to share a root with the non-taboo form (2a).

2a) *ni-mbox-men* 'dog'

2b) *ka-pox* 'dog'

In Ninde, evidence from serial verbs and personal names, both of which frequently appear with a prefix *ka-*, suggests an origin in subordination for some taboo noun forms which share a root with non-taboo forms. This is unusual, given that taboo avoidance often imposes restrictions on morphologically or phonetically related substance in the lexicon (Comrie 2000). Across languages, semantic extension, borrowing, and lexical innovation may yield suppletive honorific forms. Honorific verb forms and secret language lexicons, on the other hand, may tolerate some degree of morphological transparency, employing affixes and clitics to mark honorifics (Agha 1994).

The historical construction proposed for Ninde avoidance forms would be a derivational strategy used to create new lexical forms resembling the form to be avoided, deriving forms like example (2b) from (2a). The relative indirectness of subordinate verb forms (Evans 2007) and semantically bleached referents (Philips 2010) has been considered in terms of their function for politeness styles, but little has been said about the indirectness of derived nominals. Since nominal roots in Ninde virtually always appear bound to a verb or substantive prefix *nV-*, nouns formed by subordination with the prefix *ka-* are infrequent in the lexicon. This stark division of nominal types could have enforced the effect of subordination when this was a productive strategy, while the complexity of taboo rules may have necessitated a large degree of recognizability over total obscuration.

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Local nouns and directionals in Marshallese: A diachronic perspective

Jonathan SCHLOSSBERG

University of Newcastle, Australia

Marshallese is a typical Oceanic language (Micronesian subgroup) in that it encodes static relations by means of local nouns and dynamic relations by means of directionals. This study, based on primary research, describes in detail the semantics and distribution of local nouns and compound directionals in Marshallese. It goes on to use both language-internal and comparative evidence to suggest possible grammaticalisation paths of compound directionals in the language.

The language displays two subtypes of directional. The first includes the three deictic directionals *tok*, *waj* and *lqk*, which are obligatory following certain verb stems, as well as after other directional enclitics. They may also be optionally employed as post-nominal modifiers. Directionals belonging to this sub-class are descended from Proto Oceanic directional verbs, as is common throughout the Oceanic group (Ross 2004:193). The second subtype, termed *compound directionals* by Bender et al. (2016:219), are generally only used in conjunction with the deictic directionals. These have mostly grammaticalised from local nouns, yielding a class of approximately 16 members (Table 1), an unusually high amount compared to Oceanic languages (cf. Schokkin 2013). This appears to be unique to Marshallese, and is not attested in close relatives such as Ponapean (Rehg & Sohl 1981).

While most compound directionals are identical in form to their nominal counterparts, 'east-west' cardinal directions reflect unrelated etyma (nominal: *rear* - *rilik*; directional: *=ta* - *=to*) providing evidence for directionals and local nouns as distinct lexical subcategories. The nominal and directional 'north-south' terms appear to have diverged more recently, and there is evidence of a divergence in progress for *iar* (nominal) and *=ar* (directional), which is more advanced in the Rālik (western) dialect. Furthermore, *=ta* and *=to* are the only Marshallese compound directionals to have grammaticalised from POC directional verbs for 'go up' (**sake*) and 'go down' (**sipo*), but have since almost entirely shifted to their present cardinal meaning (cf. François 2004). Their cognate forms with similar function in related languages such as Ponapean (Rehg & Sohl 1981:231) point towards a history distinct from other Marshallese compound directionals.

Topographic		Cardinal		Vertical / horizontal		In/outward	
=ar	lagoonward	=niña	northward	=lōñ	upward	=nabōj	outward
=lik	oceanward	=rōñā	southward	=laļ	downward	=deļqñ	inward
=meto	seaward	=ta	eastward	=ṃaan	forward		
=āne	landward	=to	westward	=lik	backward		
=qqj	wildernessward					=ia	where?

Table 1: Compound directionals in Rālik Marshallese

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Allomorphy and homophony in Formosan languages: A study of Ca-reduplication (and its variants) and implication for reconstruction

Stacy F. TENG
Elizabeth ZEITOUN
Academia Sinica

Since Blust (1998), synchronic and diachronic studies on Ca-reduplication have flourished. Scholars disagree on its function(s) in PAn. Blust (1998, 2013:426) mentions that “Ca-reduplication in Proto Austronesian had at least two functions: 1) it marked a derivative series of [+human] numerals *a-esa ‘one’, *da-duSa ‘two’, *ta-telu ‘three’, etc., and 2) it was used to derive deverbal instrumental nouns”. Based on Formosan evidence, Zeitoun, Teng & Ferrell (2010) and Yeh (2009) respectively argue that (i) deriving [+human] numerals is not a primary function of Ca-reduplication and (ii) that Ca-reduplication actually conveys an iconic meaning: INCREASE.

The goals of the present talk are two-fold: re-examine the functions of Ca-reduplication and its allomorphs in Formosan languages and reassess its reconstruction and meaning in PAn. Contrary to previous studies, our analysis will mostly rely on first-hand data. This will allow us to provide a more accurate, extensive and in-depth analysis of the functions of Ca-reduplication, examine the role its phonological and morphological allomorphs in the languages investigated and reconsider its core

meaning in PAn. In so doing, we will show that (i) there are different variants of *Ca-*, including *a-*, *ka-* and *pa-*, which, by themselves, represent homophonous forms and that (ii) there is an obvious overlap between two grammatical domains: aspect and mood.

Table 1 – A comparison of *Ca-* and *a-/ka-* in Puyuma and Saisiyat:
Allophony vs. allomorphy

	<i>Ca-</i>	<i>Verbal function</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>Verbal function</i>
Puyuma	<i>a-</i>	imperfective	<i>a-</i>	mood
	<i>Ca-</i>			
Saisiyat	<i>a-/ha-, ra-</i>	(i) repetivity	<i>ka-</i>	irrealis
	<i>Ca-, Cae-</i>	(ii) irrealis		

More specifically, we will show that there is a contrast that should be reconstructed at the PAn level between *Ca*-reduplication which functions as an aspectual marker encoding imperfective (thus its semantic shift as an irrealis marker in a number of Formosan languages) and the prefix *a-* (and its variants), an under-described morpheme carrying a mood function.

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Irrealis in Austronesian: the contribution from Sulawesi and New Guinea

René VAN DEN BERG

SIL International

[talk cancelled]

Despite the prominent role of Austronesian languages in the discussion on the status and semantics of irrealis (see Elliot 2000, Cristofaro 2012), there is as yet no general overview of realis and irrealis in Austronesian. Bugenhagen (1993) made a start by discussing the semantics of irrealis in seven Oceanic languages from Papua New Guinea, but little subsequent work has been done in this area. In Blust (2013) irrealis is barely mentioned.

This presentation attempts to provide a more comprehensive understanding of irrealis within Austronesian, by looking at a number of Celebic languages from Sulawesi and Oceanic languages from New Guinea, in which the realis-irrealis

opposition is grammaticalised and morphologically indexed on the verb (or the verb phrase). The Celebic languages under investigation are Balantak, Pendau, Da'a, Tukang Besi, Muna, Cia-Cia and Busoa. The Oceanic languages from Papua New Guinea are Paluai, Wogeo, Malol, Bukawa, Vitu, Siar and Mekeo (none of these were in Bugenhagen's sample).

By looking at both the morphosyntactic marking of reality status, as well as the areas of meaning covered by irrealis in these languages, various conclusions can be drawn, some of which are listed below.

- Realis and irrealis are indispensable descriptive categories for many Celebic and Oceanic languages. Irrealis has a clear canonical semantic core in Austronesian, adducing evidence that 'reality status' is a bona fide linguistic category.
- In Sulawesi the realis-irrealis opposition appears to be a semantic innovation in Proto Celebic. Daughter languages have either expanded or narrowed down the range of irrealis usages.
- Irrealis in Oceanic is a more diffuse category, with many languages showing various formal subdivisions, such as definite and indefinite future. The implications for Proto Oceanic remain to be explored.

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Intonation in Kalamang, a Papuan language of West Bomberai

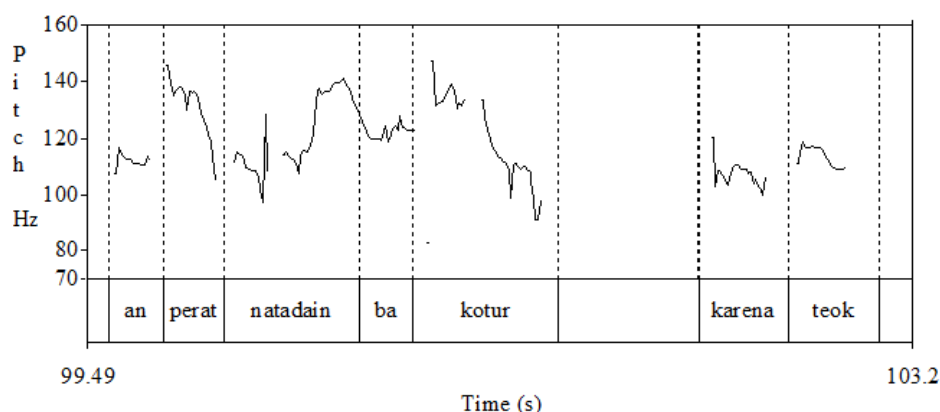
Eline VISSER

Lund University

Intonation is a seriously understudied subject in Papuan languages. By my knowledge only two such languages have received a detailed analysis: Fataluku (Heston 2015) and Kuot (Lindström & Remijsen 2005). In my talk, I will give a description of the intonation system of another Papuan language: Kalamang. This will be done with help of the autosegmental-metrical framework (Pierrehumbert 1980). The talk is based on

ongoing research on the language, and will be supplemented with fresh-from-the-field data gathered in February-April 2017.

Kalamang, spoken in West Bomberai, is previously undescribed, and I have just started (field)work with the goal of producing a grammar. Preliminary findings on intonation are based on six minutes of spontaneous speech. Kalamang has unpredictable lexical stress. It seems to be the case that stress is retained in spontaneous speech, with high pitch accents on stressed syllables, as in *an 'perat nata'dain ba 'kotur karena 'teok* 'I want to collect water but it is dirty because it's unclear.'



This is opposite to the intonational analyses of Fataluku and Kuot, where tonal targets are not related to stressed syllables, but only to the edges of prosodic units of different sizes. These edge or boundary tones are also observed in Kalamang. For example, final declarative clauses seem to have low tone on the last syllable of an intonation unit, whereas non-final clauses have a high tone. Questions have a complex contour on the last two syllables, perhaps characterisable as LHL.

These exploratory observations leave us with some interesting questions that I will be able to answer in June. Are smaller prosodic units such as Accent Phrases needed to correctly analyse Kalamang's intonation? What is the effect of edge or boundary tones on stress? I will do this by recording short discourses for two persons (enacted by three or four couples of informants) to build a small corpus to base the intonation analysis on. Elicitation of phrases in which target words have different positions, nearer or farther the edge of a sentence, will show us whether stress is affected by the boundary of the prosodic unit. Another interesting question is whether loan words from Indonesian (as *karena* in the example above), a language often analysed as stressless, are assigned stress when used in Kalamang.

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Expressing possibility in Saliba and Daakaka

Kilu VON PRINCE

Humboldt Universität zu Berlin

The typological investigation of modal expressions has largely focused on auxiliaries such as English *can*, *may*, particles and adverbs such as *maybe* and inflectional affixes such as Turkish *meli* (obligatory) (Bybee et al. , 1994; Hengeveld, 2004). While some of these strategies are also widespread in Oceanic languages, Saliba (PNG) and Daakaka (Vanuatu) do not appear to have this option. Instead, certain subordinating predicates are the standard way to express corresponding notions, as illustrated by the following examples: In Saliba the inflected noun *gonowa-* ‘ability, possibility’ is used with complement clauses to express various types of possibilities:

- (1) *gonowa-m meta kabo ku dobi ku unui-he-mate*
 ability-2SG.POSS PART then 2SG.SBJ go.down 2SG.SBJ catch-CAUS-die
 ‘you are able to go down, to catch it and kill it
 (lit. “there is your ability to...”)’ (Saliba)

In Daakaka, the verbs *kuowilye* ‘know’ and *wese* ‘be sufficient’ are used with complement clauses in potential mood to talk about epistemic, facultative, deontic and other possibilities:

- (2) *telelel to kuowilye na tas-mar~mar yan lee*
 long.tailed.triller NEG;REAL know NEG;POT sit-REDUP~quiet on tree
 ‘the long-tailed triller can’t sit still on a tree’

In our talk, we will for the first time give a detailed descriptive account of these expressions and discuss in particular the following aspects:

- the range of formal realizations of the relevant predicates and their complement clauses
- the range of modal categories they express (epistemic, facultative, deontic etc.)
- the degree to which the modal meanings are formally differentiated from polysemous uses;

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Plural words in Austronesian languages: Typology and history

Jiang Wu

Leiden University

This talk addresses plural words, a particular kind of nominal plurality marking, in Austronesian languages. Plural words are defined as ‘separate words which modify nouns but which serve the same grammatical function as plural affixes in other languages’ (Dryer 1989: 865). An example of such words can be found in Tagalog as illustrated by 0, where the plural marker *mga* is a separate word.

- (1) Tagalog (the Philippines, Austronesian)

Mga *abogado* *ang* ***mga*** *lalaki*.

PLURAL lawyer TOPIC PLURAL man

‘The men are lawyers.’

(Schachter & Otanes 1972: 111)

Some observations about plural words in Austronesian languages are presented in the literature: (1) in terms of distribution, plural words are mostly found in Philippine and Oceanic languages with other few instances in languages in Borneo, Sumatra and East Indonesia (Dryer 1989, 2013); (2) plural words are present in the majority of Oceanic languages (around 80%) (Dryer 2013); (3) a plural word **mana* is reconstructed in Proto Oceanic (POc), as a descendant from Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) **mana* (Lynch et al 2002: 90–91). Based on these observations, I revisit the typology and history of plural words in Austronesian languages in this talk.

An extensive new language sample is collected, which consists of 128 Austronesian languages across different genealogical subgroups and geographical areas. The languages are all selected as proportionally representing the most optimal genealogical subgroupings of Austronesian languages to our best knowledge so far (cf. Adelaar 2005; Hammarström et al. 2016). In defining plural words, I apply a narrow definition and only consider pure plural words, while excluding plural articles and plural demonstratives, which Dryer (1989, 2013) included in his analysis.

By examining how nominal plurality is coded in my sample languages, my findings are as follows. (1) 54 out of 128 languages employ plural words, and their distribution pattern is indeed skewed and similar to what is observed in previous study: apart from being frequently attested in Philippine and Oceanic languages, plural words are also found in the languages of Borneo (Sabah) and East Indonesia. (2) However, contradicting previous results, half of the Oceanic languages in my sample lack a plural word; plural words are also overwhelmingly absent in languages of West Indonesia, as well as in Sumba and Flores. (3) The reconstructed PMP and POc form **mana* has recurrent reflexes in many Philippine languages and in Wolio (Sulawesi), but reflexes are rarely found in Oceanic languages. In fact, most of the plural words in present-day Austronesian languages are not at all related to the reconstructed form,

and many of them have developed a plural word from third person plural pronouns of various shapes.

The results of this study call for a reconsideration of the reconstruction of PMP and POc **maŋa*. The Oceanic languages that have reflexes of **maŋa*, as listed in Lynch et al (2002: 91), are all genealogically closely-related and geographically adjacent; outside Oceanic, reflexes of **maŋa* is almost exclusively found in Philippine languages. Therefore, even if the reconstruction were correct, the supporting evidence is thin. At last, this study can also serve as a foundation upon which further investigation into plural words in individual languages can be conducted.

References

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	Wednesday 21 June plenary	Thursday 22 June Session 1 Session 2		Friday 23 June Session 1 Session 2	
10:00-10:30	<i>Registration & welcome</i>	<i>coffee</i>		<i>coffee</i>	
10:30-11:00	Sebastian Fedden . Grammaticalization in Mountain Ok	<i>Keynote address:</i> Antoinette Schapper . Merging meanings in Melanesia: Lexico-semantics of the New Guinea Area		Kate L. Lindsey . A first look at the Pahoturi River family	
11:00-11:30	Bill Palmer . Pronouns and the DP in Oceanic			Caroline Crouch & Kevin Schäfer . Preliminary overview of the Ninde language	
11:30-12:00	<i>coffee</i>	<i>coffee</i>		<i>coffee</i>	
12:00-12:30	Isabelle Bril . Information structure in Northern Amis: the pragmatics and syntax of clefts and evidential foci	Laura McPherson & Emily Grabowski . Automated tone level annotation in the documentation of New Caledonian tone	Eleanor Ridge . Negation in Southeast Ambrym, Vanuatu	Siva Kalyan & Mark Donohue . A “pseudo-geographic” approach to reconstructing the histories of words: Application to Austro-nesian and peri-AN languages	Tyler Heston . When is a diphthong not a diphthong? Complex nuclei in Fataluku
12:30-13:00	Claire Saillard . The semantics of the syntactic position of adjectives in Truku Seediq	Eline Visser . Intonation in Kalamang, a Papuan language of West Bomberai	Hanna Fricke . The rise of clause-final negation in Flores-Lembata languages	Alexander Elias . Subgrouping the Flores-Lembata languages using Historical Glottometry	Fanny Cottet . Vowel reduction in Mbahám
13:00-14:30	LUNCH	LUNCH		LUNCH	
14:30-15:00	Jonathan Schlossberg . Local nouns and directionals in Marshallese: a diachronic perspective	Michael Ewing . An emerging repertoire of person reference within an Indonesian-language online community	George Saad & Hanna Fricke . If it exists in one language, why not use it in another? The insertion of <i>kalau</i> ‘if’ in Abui and Central Lembata, two languages of Eastern Indonesia	Bill Palmer & Sabrina Meier . Pluractionality in Mono-Alu	
15:00-15:30	Gary Holton . A comparative view of spatial orientation in Halmahera, Indonesia	Wei-Wei Lee . The spatial conceptualization of lexical temporal expressions in Kavalan	Colleen O’Brien & Yuko Otsuka . The mysterious case of <i>em</i> : Grammaticalization of a SVC in Fataluku	Jiang Wu . Plural words in Austronesian languages: Typology and history	
15:30-16:00	Åshild Næss . Standing up to the canoe: figure vs ground in descriptions of vertical spatial relations in Äiwoo	Beverley Erasmus . Demonstratives in Masikoro Malagasy	Valentina Alfarano . <i>lë</i> in Nalögo: synchronic functions and possible diachronic origins	Francesca Romana Moro . The plural word <i>hire</i> in Alorese (Austronesian): grammatical borrowing from neighboring Papuan languages	
16:00-16:30	<i>coffee</i>	<i>coffee</i>		<i>coffee</i>	
16:30-17:00	Alexandre Francois . The economy of word classes in Hiw, Vanuatu: Grammatically flexible, lexically rigid	Stacy Teng & Elizabeth Zeitoun . Allomorphy and homophony in Formosan languages: A study of <i>Ca</i> -reduplication and implication for reconstruction		Kilu von Prince . Expressing possibility in Saliba and Daakaka	
17:00-17:30	Matthew Carroll . Distributed exponence of Tense, Aspect and Mood in Ngkolmpu	Marian Klamer & Gereon Kaiping . <i>Lexirumah</i> : A lexical database for languages of the Lesser Sunda Islands		Kevin Schäfer . Subordination in Ninde avoidance registers	
Evening	RECEPTION	CONFERENCE DINNER (optional)			