13th International Austronesian and Papuan Languages and Linguistics Conference (APLL13)

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The purpose of the APLL conferences is to provide a venue for presentation of the best current research on Austronesian and Papuan languages and linguistics, and to promote collaboration and research in this area. APLL13 follows a successful online instantiation of APLL, hosted by the University of Oslo, as well as previous APLL conferences held in Leiden, Surrey, Paris and London, and the Austronesian Languages and Linguistics (ALL) conferences held at SOAS and St Catherine's College, Oxford.

Language and Culture Research Centre (James Cook University) representative Robert Bradshaw gave a Poster presentation on 'Frustrative in Doromu-Koki' (LINK TO POSTER)

Additionally, LCRC Associates Dr René van den Berg (SIL International) gave a talk on *'Un-Austronesian features of Malol, an Oceanic language of Papua New Guinea'*

Dr Hannah Sarvasy presented *'Nungon Switch-Reference: Processing and Acquisition' and*

Dr Dineke Schokkin, University of Canterbury in association with Kate L. Lindsey, Boston University presented *'A new type of auxiliary: Evidence from Pahoturi River complex predicates'*

Abstracts of those sessions are presented below

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Nungon Switch-Reference: Processing and Acquisition

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

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

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

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

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

Kate L. Lindsey, Boston University Dineke Schokkin, University of Canterbury

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The PR data pose a challenge to the current typology of complex predicates because they show features of both light verb and auxiliary verb constructions. We argue that the definition of auxiliary verbs may have to be broadened, to allow for the non-inflecting element to have a structurally ambivalent status in terms of its part of speech and to allow the auxiliary to host voice and valency

information. These data also show that in some languages, auxiliary verb and light verb constructions may have more in common with each other than we previously thought.

Examples

(1) *dia bom yndhpä gagn*
dia bom jəndpæ g-a-g-ən
deer 1SG.ACC **see** (also eye) REM-AUG-AUX.NPRS.NPL-1|3SGA 'The deer saw me.' (Qbr 2015 #64)

(2) a. *ngn gta ngiä wot yran*
ŋən gəta ŋi=æ **wot** jɜ-r-an
1SG.NOM this coconut **eat** 3SGO-AUX.PRS.NPL-1|3SGA 'I am eating this coconut.' (elicited)

b. *bo gta ngiä beotn*
bo gəta ŋi=æ be-**ot**-ən
3.NOM this coconut=CORE 3SGO.REM-**eat**-1|3SGA
'She ate this coconut.' (Ḡadang 2014 #33)

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