Language Documentation and Description 5

SOAS University of London
December 3-4, 2016

Saturday 3rd December
Morning

Session 1
Brunei Gallery B102

Information Structure

9.00-9.30   Aicha Belkadi & Candide Simard: Second position cliticization and topichood in Ngarinyman

9.30-10.00   Karolina Grzech: Two aspects of common ground management: information structure and epistemic meaning in Tena Kichwa

10.00-10.30 Stefanie Böhm: Focus and word order - A comparative study of Turkish, Russian and Urum

Second position cliticization and topichood in Ngarinyman

Aicha Belkadi, SOAS University of London
Candide Simard, SOAS University of London

The talk focusses on 2nd position cliticization and its interaction with topics in Ngarinyman, a severely endangered Ngumpin-Yapa language (Pama-Nyungan), spoken in Australia's Northern Territory. In particular, we show a tendency for 2P clitics to favour verb attachment in contexts where topic nominals, especially contrastive topics, occur at the left-edge of the clause, and suggest an account of this phenomenon in terms of grammaticalization.

Ngumpin-Yapa languages, as many other Australian languages, are non-configurational: word order is pragmatically-driven, with more prominent elements occurring in 1st position (Simpson & Mushin 2008). In Ngarinyman, events are encoded by complex predicates formed by a coverb and an inflected verb. Only pragmatically salient arguments are overtly realised, but they are always cross-referenced by pronominal clitics. These clitics follow a split 2nd position pattern (McConvell 1996). Their canonical position is after the first constituent of a clause – either a nominal or part of the complex predicate, as in (1) – but clitics can be attracted out by complementizers, negation particles and imperative verbs, as in (2) (McConvell, 1996; 2005; see also Meakins & Nordlinger, 2014, for Bilinarra, closely related).

(1) a. [ngayi=ma]=**rna**   gambarnin   mangarri   ngamanyan
         PRO.1SG=TOP=1SG.S   cook:PST   plant.food   big
         I cooked up a big food.

   b. [warg=gula]=**rna**   garrinyang, kijin-da
         work=LOC-1SG.S   be:PST   kitchen-LOC
         I was working in the kitchen.

(2)   [ngandiba=ma]   gula=**rnalu** guru   garrinyang mangarri   gardiba-nginyi
         1PL.EXCL=TOP   NEG=1PL.EXCL.S   grow be:PST   plant.food
         white.person-ABL

         We did not grow up on the food of the white people.

Previous studies have linked the issue of clitic placement to information structure (IS). McConvell (1996; 2005) notes the strong tendency for clitics in a number of Ngumpin languages to be hosted by focus and contrastive topics. Meakins & Nordlinger (2014) capture the issue in terms of discourse prominence: clitics attach to the most prominent head on the following hierarchy *complementizers, interrogative pronouns > negative particle > imperative verbs > prominent nominals > uninflected verbs, nominals, coverbs*. The only exceptions to these patterns signaled in the literature are clause initial subjects involving a topic-switch, which trigger clitic attachment onto a less prominent inflected verb or coverb.

Our first aim is to contribute to this research by presenting data from an analysis of the prosodic correlates of NPs serving different IS functions at the left-edge of the clause in Ngarinyman (Simard forthcoming). In datasets selected as good representatives of IS categories, 63% of NPs argument focus host the cliticthey are prosodically prominent and clause internal; 26% of 'aboutness topics', which form a prosodic phrase of their own, function as clitic hosts; most importantly, contrastive topics, prosodically similar to argument focus, unexpectedly always trigger attachment onto the verb complex. These results show that clitic distribution is sensitive to specific IS functions rather than discourse prominence in general. Furthermore they force us to revise the notion of 'first position'.

Our second aim is to explore two explanations for the high frequency of verb cliticization in topic contexts in Ngarinyman. One possible hypothesis is to consider verb cliticization as a special strategy to distinguish between contrastive topics and argument focus. Another hypothesis can be formulated in terms of grammaticalisation. According to this view, the phenomenon of verb cliticization in topic contexts reflects (i) the ongoing grammaticalization of the clitics into agreement markers and (ii) their simultaneous grammaticalization into verbal affixes (something already suggested by McConvell (1996)). The second hypothesis is supported by the cross-linguistic tendency of pronominal clitics to develop into agreement markers from topic constructions and in doing so to target particular word classes, including verbs (Givón, 1976; Siewerska, 1999; Cysouw, 2003; Corbett, 2006).

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Two aspects of common ground management: Information structure and epistemic meaning in Tena Kichwa

Karolina Grzech, SOAS University of London

Tena Kichwa (henceforth TK) is an under-documented Quechuan language spoken in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Quechuan languages are well-known to have a set of evidential enclitics, which also participate in marking focus (Muysken 1995; Sánchez 2010). The TK 'evidentials', *=mi* and *=cha*, do not however encode evidential values. Rather, they mark the speaker's (lack of) epistemic primacy (Stivers et al. 2011: 13) – 'the relative right to know or claim'. Consequently, their use is linked to the speaker's subjective perception of their authority over the information, rather than grounded in evidence.

The TK epistemic enclitics are also focus markers. While in other Quechuan varieties the evidentials are described in isolation, I show that in TK they belong to a paradigm including 'pure' markers of information structure (henceforth IS): the topic-change *=ga*, the verum focus *=tá*, and a range of interrogative focus enclitics. The fact that some enclitics only convey IS meanings, while others have both epistemic and IS meanings, suggests that the paradigm is a 'notionally incoherent morphosyntactic system' (Boye 2012: chap. 2). In this talk, I demonstrate that this is not the case. I show that the TK paradigm of discourse enclitics is notionally coherent, and that its main function is the management of common ground (henceforth CG, Stalnaker (1974)).

Common ground is constantly updated in the process of communication, and the primary function of IS is to manage those changes, indicating how CG should develop (Krifka 2007). In the scholarship on IS, the speaker's assumptions related to identifiability and activation of referents have a recognised role in contributing to pragmatic structuring of propositions. In this talk, I show that the morphological marking of IS in TK is also affected by a broader range of considerations related to the distribution of knowledge between discourse participants. Speakers use *=mi* not only to mark focus, but also to indicate that the *=mi*-marked information is congruent with their world knowledge, but not expected by the addressee. By using *=mi*, the speaker attempts to encourage the addressee to immediately accept the previously unexpected information as part of CG. Conversely, by using *=cha*, the speaker renounces epistemic primacy over the information, leaving it to the interlocutor to provide further information that would warrant integrating the *=cha*-marked proposition into the CG.

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Focus and word order – a comparative study of Turkish, Russian and Urum

Stefanie Böhm, Bielefeld University

The purpose of the study presented in this talk is to analyze the effect of focus on the structure of the clause in Turkish, Russian and Caucasian Urum.

Previous studies on focus revealed two asymmetries with respect to the linearization of focused constituents. The first is concerned with the FOCUS TYPE. Although most authors distinguish between several different types of focus, the majority of them make at least a binary distinction between two different types: one that merely expresses non-presupposed information and another one that expresses exhaustive identification (see e.g. Halliday 1967, Rochemont 1986, Kiss 1998). Following Kiss (1998) I refer to the latter as identificational focus, while I call the former non-identificational focus. Despite their semantic differences ([+/- exhaustive]), both types of foci also differ in their structural realizations. A number of studies revealed that identificational foci cross-linguistically occur more often with non-canonical structures than non-identificational ones (see e.g. Kiss 1998). The second asymmetry relates to the hierarchical position of the FOCUSED ARGUMENT. Previous studies on a number of languages (for an overview see e.g. Kiss 1998, Skopeteas 2009) revealed that non-canonical structures are cross-linguistically more likely to occur with subject-focus than with non-subject-focus.

The aim of my study is to compare the effect of the FOCUS TYPE (identificational vs. non-identificational) and FOCUSED ARGUMENT (subject vs. object) on the linearization of arguments in three languages: Turkish, Russian and Urum.

Urum is a little-documented and severely endangered variety of Anatolian Turkish, which is spoken by a small group of ethnic Greeks in the Small Caucasus (Georgia). A comparison of Urum to Turkish and Russian is of particular interest since the variety that is currently spoken in Georgia shares a lot of similarities with Turkish, but also displays some striking differences, which result from the contact to the other languages of the Caucasus, especially Russian (see Skopeteas 2011, 2013). A comparative study on Turkish, Russian and Urum can thus provide insights into the current dynamic of language change.

On the one hand the results of my study confirm the assumption that there is a cross-linguistic asymmetry regarding the FOCUSED ARGUMENT, i.e. subject focus is more likely to occur with non-canonical orders than non-subject-focus. On the other hand, the languages in the study display substantial differences regarding the second asymmetry: First, only Turkish and Russian reveal an asymmetry depending on FOCUS TYPE, while Urum only displays a subject/object-asymmetry. Second, although Turkish and Russian reveal a syntactic asymmetry between identificational and non-identificational foci, both languages show a completely different behavior: in Turkish primarily non-identificational instances of (subject) focus induce non-canonical orders, while in Russian predominantly identificational instances of (subject) focus induce non-canonical orders.

Finally the results of the study provide evidence to assume that Urum has two syntactic focus positions: one in immediately preverbal position, which is characteristic for verbfinal languages like Turkish, and one in postverbal position, which is typical for verbmedial languages like Russian.

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Saturday 3rd December
Morning

Session 2
Brunei Gallery B104

Space

09.00-09.30   Luke McDermott: Do the Mixe-Zoque languages have directionals?

09.30-10.00   Kay Johnson: Spatial Frame of Reference Typology combining Frames of Reference and Deixis in static spatial expression in Ske (Oceanic, Vanuatu)

10.00-10.30   Elena Benedicto: Complex motion predicates: at the intersection of language documentation, description and theory

Do Mixe-Zoque Languages have directionals?

Luke McDermott, The University of Manchester

In their many different forms, directionals (morphemes that convey direction without entailing motion) form a key part of the linguistic resources used in spatial reference for languages from Australia to South America. It has been claimed that the languages of the Mixe-Zoque (MZ) family of southern Mexico belong to this group of directional-featuring languages. The putative MZ directionals take the form of a paradigm of motion roots that, it is claimed (Zavala, 2000), when appearing as the second root in a serial verb construction (SVC) shed their motion semantics, thereby conveying only directional meaning. The principle evidence for this claim is the appearance of these `directional' roots in predicates describing states of affairs in which there is no obvious motion; an example of such a situation is the appearance of the motion root, *kiʔm* `ascend' in the Chiapas Zoque (CZ) description of a static spatial array presented in (1).

(1) teʔ   tsahj   ø-həʔm-**kiʔm**-u   teʔ   kuhj=kəhsi
    DET   rope   3ABS-hang-**ascend**-CP   DET   tree=on
    ' The rope is hanging up in the tree' (PSPV 33, F)

In this paper I will present my reanalysis of the existence of directionals in CZ – based on data collected during a total of 5 months of fieldwork in the town of Ocotepec, Chiapas - as a means of demonstrating the need for a good understanding of the general semantics of descriptions of motion in a language before discussing related formal elements such as directionals. Specifically, I will show that the observation that change of location relative to a reference object or location (CoL) is encoded *exclusively* in those roots claimed as directionals leads to the conclusion that, in fact, these roots maintain their `motion' semantics when appearing in SVCs and therefore do not constitute a grammaticalised paradigm of directionals.

I will also show that my reassessment of the existence of directionals in CZ leads to the interesting insight that Talmy's notion of fictive motion (Talmy, 2000) may be key to the development of directionals. This is evidenced by the need to invoke this notion to explain the appearance of the CoL roots in combination with roots of perception or locution (as in [2]): the most `directional-like' use of these roots in CZ.

(2) teʔ   ʔune   ø-ken-**təhkəj**-u   teʔ   sudu=ʔomo
    DET   child   3B(ABS)-look-**enter**-CP   DET   hole=in
    `*The child looked into the hole'* (FS, AT)

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Typology of static spatial expression: combining Frames of Reference and Deixis in Ske (Oceanic, Vanuatu)

Kay Johnson, University of Kingston (London)

There are two ways of locating an object in space. One method is to refer to topological, or non-projective relations, and the other is to use a frame of reference (FoR), which involves projective relations.

Presented here are empirical observations of FoR use amongst a cross-section of speakers of Ske, an Oceanic language of Pentecost Island, Vanautu. FoR use was analysed in which speakers gave location and orientation descriptions of entities in the Men and Trees stimuli game (MPI 1993) and in naturally-occurring discourse.

This study examines FoR use and preference of Ske speakers and also looks at how FoRs combine,or what I term *compositional FoRs*. In particular, the ways that deixis 'creeps in' (Levinson 2003) to spatial expressions is examined within a framework proposed by Danziger (2010) and built on by Bohnemeyer (2008) and Bohnemeyer & Levinson (2011). Deixis poses problems for traditional FoR typology and until recently has been excluded from the three-way classification of FoRs despite its ubiquity in gesture and language in spatial expressions. Deictic language is commonly used by Oceanic and Polynesian language speakers (Bennardo 2002; Senft 1997, 2004) and is even found to be the foremost strategy to locate and orient entities in some cases (Terrill & Burenhult 2008). Despite this, deictic strategies have not been dealt with in the analysis of FoR use and it has remained unclear how to fit demonstratives and directionals in to FoR typology (ibid).

This study finds that deictic language in angular spatial referencing constitutes a distinct strategy and can be analysed as use of the direct FoR (Danziger 2010). Moreover, deixis in Ske is *compositionally 'promiscuous'* (Bohnemeyer 2008) in that it can combine with other already well-formed angular references and may alter their functions, from orienting to locating an entity in space. The reasoning behind Ske speakers' dispreference for the relative FoR are scrutinized. It is suggested that the relative FoR is unused by Ske speakers not because of the availability of the absolute FoR (Levinson & Wilkins 2006) but rather due to the large number of relational nouns which can combine with deictic expressions in Ske and the promiscuous nature of deixis. This offers Ske speakers a wealth of alternative angular expressions without needing recourse to a relative FoR.

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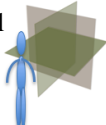
Complex motion predicates: at the intersection of language documentation, description and theory

Elena Benedicto, Purdue University

Though one of the tenets of linguistic theory, and in particular of Generative Grammar, is the existence of a core linguistic module in the human mind, responsible for the creation of multiple grammars out of specific input (i.e, what is generally called *Universal Grammar*, UG), and though powerful evidence for such component would come from the existence of the same abstract structural properties in languages that are unrelated and not in contact (thus, ruling out potential explanations other than UG), relatively little work has been done in that realm. In this paper, I address a particular set of phenomena that combines and intersects language documentation, description and linguistic theory and ultimately provides support for the existence of UG. I show how language documentation of a broad range of languages and language modalities (sign vs spoken) can provide data whose description can then reciprocally inform each other and begin to shape theoretical hypotheses which in turn generate new questions and identify gaps in the documentary and descriptive processes. The phenomena that I address is that of complex motion predicates, a phenomenon that is disjoint from and does NOT include the very well-known area of manner of motion and path combinations.

The story begins with the documentary process of Mayangna, a small Misumalpan language of Northern Nicaragua. The documentation of certain areas of knowledge revealed the existence of certain verbal root combinations that could easily be interpreted as lexical compounding (*kil-yaklâ-kiu*):

(1) kâma   tât   munah kil   yaklâ kiuna
     iguana   board through go_up.ø   cross.ø go.PST3S 'the iguana went up (through) the board across (the creek)'

however, the wide range of combinations and the systematicity of those combinations made a lexical approach suspect. In fact, when compared to the description of the use of space in sign languages, a pattern became clear: there was expression (in Mayangna) of the 3 spatial planes, vertical/horizontal/ deictic, that are so commonly talked about in the sign language literature and not so much in the literature on spoken (even minority/endangered) languages. These planes are represented below:

(2)

('Up/Down') [Z↑]=Vertical

[X↗]= Deictic ('Go/Come')

[Y→] =Horizontal ('Left/Right')

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This constitutes the reciprocally informing each other's descriptive tasks part of the story. It led to postulating a certain <u>theoretical</u> approach to the issue: that there is, in a motion predicate, a sub-structure π corresponding to Path that can incorporate, using the syntactic tools already available, this 3D specification:

(3)

$$\pi$$

$$[Z\uparrow] \qquad [Y\rightarrow] \qquad [X\nearrow]$$
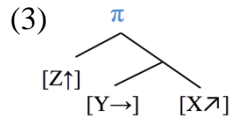
Returning this theoretical proposal back to the descriptive/documentary process, it led to the discovery of similar phenomena in languages where it hadn't been documented/described before:

(4) hi2-ziah4-diang6tui1 ki2   ke3 ou3   (SwaTawWe, Zheng 2015: App-211a)
      elevator   go-up go   Asp-perf.   'The elevator went up (and away).'

(5) Tkäbé́ d-á   =sã=kã=jũ=të.   (Cabecar; Benedicto-Gonzalez-Obando 2015)
      snake   come-PFV =EGR=ASC=MOV=VEN   'The snake is coming out, up towards me'

The data in Cabecar in fact produced one of the 'parametrization' options expected of the initial theoretical proposal: heads can be morphologically free or morphologically bound; if the latter, we would expect affixation or cliticization as a result of head movement, which is indeed what happens in Cabecar. The data from SwaTawWe and Cabecar also revealed the existence of other parameters in motion predicates: telicity markers, resultatives, backwards/forward, in/out and the possibility of a 'raw' motion marker (=jũ) in addition to agentive/transitivizing markers (already seen in Mayangna).

In the typological tradition, similar phenomena had been identified as *equipollent constructions* (within the discussion of variation in the <manner+path> realization). Within the theoretical perspective taken here, and independently of the manner+path discussion, the presence of the same (abstract) properties across languages that are unrelated and not in contact provides strong support for a unified origin of such structures: UG.

Saturday 3rd December
Morning

Session 3
Brunei Gallery B102

Languages of Africa

11.00-11.30   Rozenn Guérois and Lutz Marten: Dynamic developments in the marking of diminutives in Bantu Geraldo

11.30-12.00   Hannah Gibson: Diagnosing contact in the Mara region

12.00-12.30   Emmanuel Asonye: Semantic hierarchy and initializing in name signs: examples from Nigerian Sign Language

Dynamic developments in the marking of diminutives in Bantu

Rozenn Guérois & Lutz Marten, SOAS University of London

Diminutives are a well-attested grammatical category in Bantu languages. Historically diminutives were expressed as part of the noun class system, and the reconstructed Proto-Bantu class 12 (with prefix *ka-) has been proposed as being centrally associated with diminutives (together with a corresponding plural class 13 *tu-). In terms of semantics, diminutives in Bantu languages often express physical smallness, but the meaning of the category can also include off-spring, young age, or perceived deficiency. Morphologically, diminutives are typically formed by nominal derivation, for example through class shift into a diminutive class such as class 12 (1-3). However, in addition to the use of the historic diminutive noun class 12, diminutives are formed in different ways in several Bantu languages, including the use of other noun classes (4), of derivational suffixes (3, 5), or through compounding (6).

Nyamwezi (Maganga and Schadeberg 1992: 63)
(1)   a. ŋgwa-aná 'child' (class 1)   b. **ka**-aná 'small child' (class 12)

Chindamba (Edelsten and Lijongwa 2010: 36-38)
(2)   a. li-piki 'tree' (class 5)   b. **ka**-piki 'small tree' (class 12)

Herero (Güldemann 1999)
(3)   a. om-bahu 'locust' (class 9)   b. **oka**-paho-**na** 'small locust' (class 12)

Swahili (Ashton 1947)
(4)   a. ndege 'bird' (class 9)   b. **ki**-dege 'small bird' (class 7)

Tonga (Güldemann 1999)
(5)   a. yim-bwa 'dog' (class 9)   b. yim-bw-**ana** 'small dog' (class 9)

Cuwabo (Guérois 2015)
(6)   a. múyaná 'woman' (class 1)   b. **mwáná**-múyaná 'young woman' (class 1)

There are also numerous examples of lexicalised diminutives which show a relation to productive diminutive derivation, but contain elements of lexical idiosyncrasy in form or meaning.

The talk will present an overview of diminutive formation in different Bantu languages, and chart different process of language contact and language change which have shaped the present-day situation. Based on the resulting cross-Bantu typology the paper will also address semantic and pragmatic processes underlying the change and variation in diminutives, thus illustrating the dynamic developments affecting diminutive formation in Bantu.

On a wider level, the paper will investigate how Bantu diminutives relate to diminutives typically attested in the languages of the world on morphological and semantic levels (Wierzbicka 1984, Jurafsky 1996), and thus examine to which extent Bantu diminutives correspond to cross-linguistic tendencies or, on the contrary, deviate from them.

Diagnosing language contact in the Mara region

Hannah Gibson, SOAS University of London

Tanzania is known for its linguistic diversity, with a high level of sustained language contact present in the region for centuries (Kießling et al. 2008, Aunio 2015). This contact is further characterised by close relations between speakers of languages with diverse genetic affiliations. The Mara region of north-west Tanzania provides an ideal – but under-examined – case study for the exploration of the effects of language contact in a range of linguistic domains. Bantu languages have been present in the region for thousands of years, with speakers of Cushitic and Nilotic languages more recent additions to the area (Nurse 1999). The present-day Mara region is home to more than 20 Bantu varieties, with different languages having been in contact with the non-Bantu languages of the region to varying degrees.

The paper explores effects of language contact in the Mara region with a focus on the Bantu language Ngoreme. In addition to a range of broadly Bantu-typical features, Ngoreme exhibits features that cause it to stand out from a comparative (and in some instances a typological) perspective. These include an asymmetrical vowel system with seven phonemic vowels in nouns and only five vowels in verbs, final vowel deletion in causative and passive verbal forms (1-2), and an unusual word order in compound constructions (3).

(1)   Omo-ona   n-a-tem-ir-u   na   saawavu
       1-child   FOC-SM1-hit.APPL-PASS   CONN   1a.father.his/her
       'The child was hit by his/her father'

(2)   Ama-ng'anga gha-ra-teg-er-u   na   maani
       6-news   SM6-CONT-listen-APPL-PASS   CONN   1a.uncle
       'The news is listened to by uncle.'

(3)   Che-nsiko   che-ende   yaaya   n-ko-giy-a   aa-ni   ko-risii
       10-day   10-some   1a.mother FOC-INF-go-FVSM1-AUX   INF-herd.CAUS
       'Some days mother goes herding.'

This paper explores the extent to which these structures can be considered the result of language contact with non-Bantu languages, particularly when examined within the broader comparative context of East African Bantu. This is done with a view to better understanding the (possible) effects of language contact in East Africa, the position of Ngoreme amongst the languages of the region, as well as routes of structural change in languages more broadly.

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Semantic hierarchy and initializing in name signs: examples from Nigerian Sign Language

Emmanuel Asonye, PhD. University of New Mexico, USA

Every speech or linguistic community shares linguistic traits particular to that community, different or sometimes similar to those of other linguistic communities. Supalla (1990) and Mindess (1990) have argued that name signs in Deaf Cultures of the world are not only "handy labels for individual persons but reflect cultural values and patterns of social interaction as well."

In a particular Deaf Linguistic Community in Southeastern Nigeria, with over 600 signers, given names are signed with initialized handshape in a hierarchical order of the body location to show seniority between two or more people with the same name. For instance, the name Chioma in senior class is signed with the 'C' handshape on the shoulder, while Chioma in junior class will be signed with the 'C' handshape at the lower abdomen. Initializing is traced back to early American Sign Language (ASL), which originated from French Sign Language whereby the initial letter of a lexical item is used to sign the word. Till date initializing is a lexical characteristic in ASL and Nigerian Sign Language (NSL), which also has its base in ASL. This unique linguistic phenomenon is interestingly a prominent feature of given names in this dialect of Nigerian Signed Languages. This study looks at how these two linguistic phenomena play an important role in sign-naming and person identification in a Deaf Linguistic Community in Imo State Nigeria. In this study, over 50 sign names from this Deaf community were collected and classified. Name signs showing seniority against similar name signs of same mates were elicited. The study employs the formal context and concept hierarchy analyses, in line with cognitive linguistic approach to analyze its data made up of given names in both English and other Nigerian languages. The study further identifies name markers, on different body locations, and establishes identifiable patterns of sign-naming in this community. The study, which represents an ongoing documentation project on Nigerian signed languages also attempts to determine or measure the semantic relatedness and/or distance in terms of location of the name signs.

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Saturday 3rd December
Morning

Session 4
Brunei Gallery B104

Phonology

11.00-11.30   Pavel Iosad & Máire Ní Chiosáin: Making sense of consonant palatalization and vowel backness in Irish

11.30-12.00   Jean-Christophe Verstraete: Lamalamic word structure: erosion and expansion

12.00-12.30   Sabrina Bendjaballah & Julien Dufour: On propagation and reduplication in Modern South Arabian

Making Sense of consonant palatalization and vowel backness in Irish

Pavel Iosad, University of Edinburgh & Máire ní Chiosáin, University College Dublin

Despite its status as a minority language, Modern Irish has a rich body of phonetic and phonological descriptions, based on (near-)native fieldworker knowledge and traditional auditory methods. In this paper, we draw on a range of up-to-date instrumental and quantitative methods in order to verify and expand the traditional findings regarding the nature and status of the interaction between consonant palatalization and vowel backness in Irish.

According to the descriptive literature, there are several types of consonant-to-vowel coarticulation in Modern Irish. In the case of long vowels, the distribution of front and back vowels is free with respect to surrounding consonant palatalization: *ciúin* /kʼuːnʼ/ 'quiet', *buíon* /biːn/ 'company'. However, descriptions recognize the phonetic reality of "on-" and "off-glides" when the backness of the long vowel does not match that of the neighbouring consonant: [kʲuˑʲn], [bʷiˑˠn]. In the case of short vowels, it is commonly argued that (some) front and back vowels show complementary distribution driven by consonant palatalization (e.g. Ó Siadhail & Wigger 1975; Ní Chiosáin 1991; Ó Maolalaigh 1997), such that, for instance, *giobal* 'rag' (surface [gʲʊbəl]) and *duine* 'man' (surface [dɪnʲə]) both contain the underlying segment (phoneme) /ɯ/, and are derived from /gʼɯbəl/ and /dɯnʼə/ by "vowel separation" rules. At the same time, some of the more careful phonetic descriptions (De Bhaldraithe 1945; Breatnach 1947) also recognize the existence of finely grained (though apparently categorical) vowel allophony driven by consonant palatalization.

We report the results of a project aiming to disentangle the categorical and gradient aspects of this coarticulation using instrumental methods. Ní Chiosáin & Padgett (2012) show that for low vowels the effect of consonant palatalization on the quality of adjacent vowels cannot be described as simply a "glide": the consonant exerts an influence throughout the duration of the vowel. The ultrasound study by Bennett et al. (2015), focusing on long vowels, also shows that consonant-vowel coarticulation in Irish is gradient. In this paper, we focus on a controlled acoustic study of *short* vowels, claimed in the literature to undergo both categorical (complementary distribution) and gradient (fine-grained allophony) coarticulation.

We present the results of fitting a variety of generalized additive mixed models (Wood 2006) to the acoustic data, and show that both kinds of effects co-exist in Modern Irish: a categorical rule enforcing (near-)allophony and gradient consonant-vowel coarticulation. We argue that this is a theoretically interesting example of the phenomenon of *rule scattering* (Bermúdez-Otero 2015), which would have been difficult to establish with confidence solely on the basis of traditional descriptions. We also discuss some of the challenges associated with gathering balanced data (necessary for quantitative analysis) using reading tasks from a minority language, even one with a well-established tradition of literacy.

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Lamalamic word structure: Erosion and expansion

Jean-Christophe Verstraete, University of Leuven

The aim of this paper is to examine the effects of initial-dropping (historical dropping of root-initial consonants or syllables) on word structure and phoneme inventory in the Lamalamic languages of Cape York Peninsula in NE Australia. Initial-dropping has often been discussed as a driver of phonological change in parts of Australia (in tandem with stress shift, e.g. Blevins 2001), and has been studied in detail for Pama-Nyungan subgroups like Arandic or Northern Paman (Hale 1976, Koch 1997). Lamalamic languages (a small subgroup of Paman languages, themselves a subgroup of Pama-Nyungan) have long been known to show extensive initial-dropping, but their historical phonology has not been studied in detail (though see Sommer 1976, Rigsby 1997). The aim of this paper is to fill this gap, and thus also contribute to our understanding of 'aberrant' systems in what is otherwise a fairly uniform continent phonologically (see Fletcher & Butcher 2014). The analysis is based on original fieldwork on Umbuygamu and Lamalama, as well as archival material on all three known Lamalamic languages (i.e. including Rimanggudinhma).

In a first step, I will show how processes of root-initial erosion can be traced by comparing the different Lamalamic languages. Umbuygamu and Rimanggudinhma show dropping of initial consonants, while Lamalama shows dropping of entire initial syllables (see (1)). In addition, Umbuygamu and Rimanggudinhma also have contextual dropping of initial V in the context of compound-like structures, going hand in hand with stress shift.

(1)	Proto-Paman	Umbuygamu	Lamalama	Rimanggudinhma
	*kuna 'shit'	una	ndua	utan

In a second step, I will investigate the effects of initial-dropping on word structure and phonology. One obvious consequence of the dropping of entire sylalbles in Lamalama is that root phonotactics, especially the inventory of root-initial consonants, is very different from the typical Australian pattern (see Hamilton 1996). Also, initial-dropping seems to go hand in hand with expansion in word structure, in that all three Lamalamic languages make extensive use of compound-like structures, and many polysyllabic forms in the lexicon can actually be analysed as compounds diachronically. Initial-dropping also has effects on what is historically the second syllabe of the root, in some cases leading to expansion of the phoneme inventory. Effects on the onset include the development of series of prestopped nasals (allophonically, as in Umbuygamu) or poststopped nasals (phonemically, as in Lamalama, see (1)). Effects on the nucleus include a form of CV metathesis whereby high vowels in the historical first syllable move to the next syllable in Lamalama, leading to the addition of diphthongs to the vowel inventory (see (1)). In the other Lamalamic languages, this is reflected as offglides for consonants following root-initial high vowels (eg Umbuygamu *una* in (1) is [uˈnʷa]).

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On propagation and reduplication in Modern South Arabian

Sabrina Bendjaballah, UMR6310-LLING CNRS & Université de Nantes,
Julien Dufour, Université de Strasbourg

1. Introduction. Modern South Arabian languages (MSAL) are South Semitic languages spoken in the South of the Arabian Peninsula, mainly in the eastern part of Yemen and in the western part of Oman. The MSAL family includes 6 languages: Mehri, Ḥarsūsi, Hobyōt, Jibbāli, Baṭḥari and Soqoṭri. Even if the estimations vary according to the sources, MSAL are all considered to be endangered. These languages have been studied in the late 60's and in the 70's by T.M. Johnstone from SOAS, whose impressive work includes, among others, three reference dictionaries (*HL*, *JL*, *ML*). Although important work has been published in the last decade (*e.g.* Rubin 2010, 2014, Watson 2012, Nakano 2013, Naumkin *et al.* 2015), MSAL remain dramatically understudied. In this presentation, we examine the phenomena that affect the verb forms involving the propagation or reduplication of root consonants in Mehri and Jibbali and their implications on morpho-phonological representations. The data are taken both from the literature and from original fieldwork conducted between 2012 and 2016 in Dhofar (Oman).

2. The problem. Although most roots in MSAL are triliteral, biliteral and quadriliteral roots also exist. Biliteral roots are mapped onto triliteral and quadriliteral templates in the verbal morphology, yielding a wide range of propagation/reduplication (*PR / R*) effects. We illustrate the situation in Jibbali (1, 2). In the perfective, within a given morphological category, all root-types are mapped onto the same template (1a, 2a). In the imperfective (1b, 2b), the situation is different: the triliteral templates selected by biliteral roots cannot be readily derived from those selected by triliteral roots, (1b.ii) *vs* (1b.i). This phenomenon is not restricted to biliteral roots: similar facts can be evidenced whenever biliteral and triliteral roots are mapped onto quadriliteral templates, *e.g.* (2b). It thus characterises the *PR / R* process as such.

(1) *Triliteral template (Š1)*

	PR / R			a. *pf.3ms*	b. *ipf.3ms*	*example*		
i.	-	$\sqrt{C_1C_2C_3}$	ʃʷə-CC**é**C	yə-ʃʷə-C$_1$**e**C$_2$**ɔ́**C$_3$	$\sqrt{k's'r}$	ʃʷək's'**é**r	yəʃʷək'**e**s'**ɔ́**r
ii.	+	$\sqrt{C_1C_2}$		yə-ʃʷə-C$_1$C$_2$**é**C$_2$	$\sqrt{md}$	ʃʷəmd**é**d	yəʃʷəmd**é**d

(2) *Quadriliteral template (Q1)*

	PR / R			a. *pf.3ms*	b. *ipf.3ms*	*example*		
i.	-	$\sqrt{C_1C_2C_3C_4}$	eCəCC**é**C	yə-C$_1$eC$_2$**e**C$_3$**ɔ́**C$_4$	$\sqrt{ʁðfr}$	eʁəðf**é**r	yəʁɛðf**ɔ́**r*
ii.	+	$\sqrt{C_1C_2}$ $\sqrt{C_1C_2C_3}$		yə-C$_1$əC$_2$C$_{1,3}$**é**C$_{2,3}$	$\sqrt{df}$	edəfd**é**f	yədəfd**é**f
						$\sqrt{zħl}$	ezəħl**é**l	yəzəħl**é**l

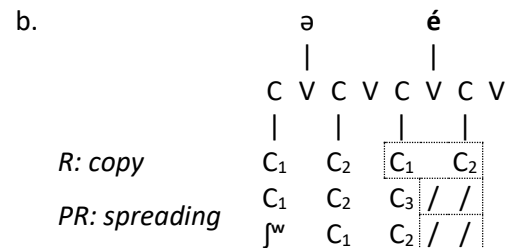* yəʁɛðef**ɔ́**r = /yəʁɛðef**ɔ́**r/: /e/ is lowered to [ɛ] by the preceding guttural consonant ʁ.

3. Generalizations and implications. We examine two implications of the data presented above.

a. <u>Contrast (1/2a) *vs* (1/2b)</u>. The status of the consonantal root in Semitic is still controversial: does it have a grammatical status as a morpheme, or not? One central argument against the morphological "reality" of the consonantal root, and in favor of an "output-output" approach, is the presence of "transfer effects" between the base and the output (Bat-El 1994). The data in (1-2) clearly show that the *ipf* is insensitive to the properties of the base (=*pf*). The consonantal root, and not the *pf*, must be the base of the derivation. We take these new data from MSAL to provide additional evidence in favor of the morphological status of the root in Semitic.

b. <u>Contrast (1/2b.i) *vs* (1/2b.ii)</u>. Although *PR* and *R* correspond to two different processes (spreading *vs* copy), Jibbali uses them in the same morphological class (here *ipf.3ms*) with identical effects: the forms derived by *PR* and those derived by *R* display the same template (3b) as opposed to non- *PR* / *R* forms (3a). In order to gain insight into the typology of *PR* and *R* in MSAL, we review the situation throughout Jibbali and Mehri verbal morphology, and systematically compare the properties of both processes.

(3) *ipf.3ms*

a.
```
  {ə, e}   e    ɔ́
    |      |    |
  C V  C  V  C V  C V
  |      |    |    |
  C₁     C₂   C₃   C₄

  ʃʷ      C₁   C₂   C₃
```

b.
```
         ə        é
         |        |
  C V  C V  C V  C V
  |    |    |    |
  C₁   C₂  [C₁   C₂]
```
R: copy

```
  C₁   C₂   C₃ / /
  ʃʷ   C₁   C₂ / /
```
PR: spreading
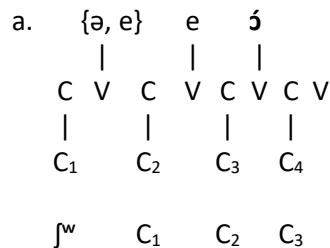
Selected references.

Bat-El, O. 1994. "Stem modification and cluster transfer in Modern Hebrew." *NLLT* 12: 571-593 | *HL* = Johnstone, T.M. 1977. *Harsusi Lexicon* | *JL* = Johnstone, T.M. 1981. *Jibbali Lexicon* | *ML* = Johnstone, T.M. 1987. *Mehri Lexicon* | Rubin, A. 2010. *The Mehri Language of Oman*. Brill. | Rubin, A. 2014. *The Jibbali (Shahri) Language of Oman*. Brill.| Nakano, A. 2013.| Naumkin, V. & L. Kogan (eds). 2015. *Corpus of Soqotri Oral Literature*. Brill. | Watson, J. 2012. *The Structure of Mehri*. Harrassowitz.

Saturday, 3th December
Afternoon session

Plenary
14.00-15.30
Main Building, Khalili Lecture Theatre (KLT)

Aditi Lahiri
Oxford University

Constraints on phonological diversity:
Evidence from change, production and comprehension

Saturday 3rd December
Afternoon

Session 1
Brunei Gallery B102

Syntax of Arguments

11.00-11.30   Martine Bruil: Differential argument marking in Ecuadorian Siona

11.30-12.00   Evangelia Adamou: On universal subject preference (and how to make it more universal): a case study from Ixcatec

Differential Argument marking in Ecuadorian Siona

Martine Bruil, Universite de Lyon, DDL, LABEX ASLAN, CNRS

Ecuadorian Siona, as most Western Tukanoan languages, has a larger set of case marking suffixes than most Eastern Tukanoan languages. Almost all syntactic functions can be marked with a case suffix. The language possesses the object marker *-de* that is found in almost all Tukanoan languages and it can mark principally direct objects, indirect objects, and locations. Additionally, the suffix *-bi* is used to mark subjects, source, and instruments, *-ni* marks animate objects, *-na* marks goals, *-hã'ã* marks paths or limits, and *=hã're* marks comitative objects.

An interesting fact is that although most syntactic relations can be marked, they are often left unmarked. Stenzel (2008) already discussed that Kotiria and other Eastern Tukanoan languages show differential object marking (DOM) in the case of the object marker *-re*. In this talk, I will show that Ecuadorian Siona does not just display complex differential object marking, but also differential goal marking (DGM) and differential subject marking (DSM).

Dalrymple and Nikolaeva (2011) make a strong case that DOM is at least historically related to information structure in the world's languages. They argue that since objects are prototypically in focus, languages tend to mark objects that are not the focus, but the topic of conversation. The Ecuadorian Siona seems to show that DSM displays the mirror function of topic marking function of DOM. Since subjects are generally topics, topic subjects are unmarked. Focused subjects, however, are marked for case. DGM is on the other hand governed by referentiality and specificity. Weak referentials such as *aido* 'forest' tend to be unmarked, whereas more referential and specific goals tend to be marked. The goal of this talk is to discuss the different patterns of differential case marking in Ecuadorian Siona.

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On universal subject preference (and how to make it more universal) A case study from Ixcatec

Evangelina Adamou, (CNRS)

Universal subject preference has been demonstrated for a number of well-described, written languages, using a variety of methodologies, e.g., for English, measures of brain activity (ERP in King & Kutas 1995, fMRI in Caplan et al. 2001; PET Caplan et al. 1999), and behavioural tasks (reading time in King & Just 1991; eye-tracking in Traxler et al. 2002). Recently, behavioural studies have been adapted for the field and conducted with speakers who are not literate in the language under study, i.e., Avar (Polinsky et al. 2012), Ch'ol and Q'anjob'al (Clemens et al. 2015). In parallel, studies of English have shown that subject relative clauses (SRCs) are more frequent than object relative clauses (ORCs) in both written and spoken corpora (Reali & Christiansen 2007).

In this talk, I will present the results from two studies conducted with the last four fluent speakers and three of the semi-speakers of Ixcatec, an Otomanguean language of Mexico. Ixcatec is of interest to the study of universal subject preference because it has ambiguous relative clauses in the third person, as can be seen in (1), and may thus offer an unconfounded result for subject preference.

(1) ndi²ra²   ki¹ʔi²   sa¹   kʷa²-ʔĩ¹   [la²   te²ngi²ʔe²   sa¹   mi²-tʃa²]
    where   LOC   DEF   CLF-little COMP follow   DEF   CLS-woman
    SRC: 'Where is the girl that follows the woman?' *or*
    ORC: 'Where is the girl that the woman follows?'[1]

Study 1 is a picture-matching comprehension experiment. Results show that 63% (N=401) of the ambiguous relative clauses are interpreted as SRCs. Study 2 is based on the analysis of a three-hour, free-speech corpus collected and annotated within an ELDP language documentation programme (2010-2013). The analysis indicates that SRCs are significantly more frequent (82%, N=146) than ORCs (30%, N=17).

The Ixcatec experimental and natural data thus support universal subject preference. They also illustrate how lesser-known, oral-tradition languages can contribute to the theoretical discussions that have mainly been addressed for well-described, written languages.

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[1] Abbreviations: high tone ¹, mid tone ², COMP: complementizer, CLS: class, CLF: classifier, DEF: definite article, LOC: locative.

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University of London
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Saturday 3rd December
Afternoon

Session 2
Brunei Gallery B104

Meaning and Lexicon

16.00-16.30   Geraldo Faria: Truth be told: reported speech in Bakairi

16.30-17.00   Signe Rix Berthelin: Semantic and pragmatic fieldwork data and types of
linguistic meaning

Truth Be Told: Reported Speech in Bakairi

Geraldo Faria, Vrije Universiteit (Ph.D. candidate)

Bakairi, an endangered and underdocumented Cariban language spoken in the Southern Amazonia, is an example of an increasing number of non-Western European languages, which have been found to lack indirect quotations (Coulmas 39, Dixon 397). This paper will analyse data collected from the Bakairi to examine how they form narrative quotations; by doing so, it aims to shed light on the way they convey information.

The language differentiates levels of truthfulness in quotations since some clitics are added to quotations to denote degrees of truthfulness. The clitic {=lə} denotes truth based on first-hand knowledge, whereas {=mɨ} is a non-visual evidential; the clitic {=le} is an intensifier, {=ma} denotes focus or topic, and {=ro} expresses a doubtful or non-factual irrealis condition. Secondly, as the language possesses complex (a) morphological and (b) demonstrative pronoun systems, a heavy burden is placed on the narrator's ability to recall formal details accurately when (re)creating quotations. Finally, there is little room for a narrator to exercise creativity, inference, or judgment when giving a quotation, because quotative verbs are limited to /kelɨ/ 'say,' /adapəigeolɨ/ 'ask,' and /ihogulɨ/ 'answer.'

Bakairi has two variants of direct quotation. The first variant uses an intransitive quotative verb /kelɨ/ typically following the quotation.

(1)   "pepi   sirə,"   Ø-ke-lɨ   awəkə.
        canoe this.proximal.INAN   3S-say-IMPF   3.ANIM.medial
        "This is a canoe," says s/he.

The second strategy is the flanking of the quotation with two quotatives. One of the quotative verbs is transitivised with the prefix /a-/.

(2)   Paulo a-ge-lɨ,   "podo m-ə-də,"   Ø-ke-lɨ   awəkə.
        Paulo 3O-say-IMPF   meat   2-eat-PST   3S-say-IMPF[2] 3.ANIM.medial
        Paulo says, "You ate meat," says s/he.

As most people are illiterate and they do not possess a written documented history, it can be deduced that the community members safeguard its history through the careful listening and retelling of its stories. Hence, little is expected of a storyteller in terms of instilling judgment, making inferences, or even, reaching conclusions. Two documents are analysed here to demonstrate this point: an oral story documented by den von Steinen (1892) compared to the same story retold more than eighty years later by Taucai (1975).

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[2] Conventions and abbreviations: <u>3</u>: third person, <u>ANIM</u>: animate, <u>INAN</u>: inanimate, <u>INC</u>: inclusive, <u>IMPF</u>: imperfective aspect, <u>PST</u>: past, <u>O</u>: object prefix for a transitivised verb, <u>S</u>, person prefix for an intransitive verb.

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Semantic and pragmatic fieldwork data and types of linguistic meaning

Signe Rix Berthelin, Norwegian University of Science and Technology

This paper examines how the Relevance-theoretic distinction between conceptual and procedural meaning interacts with fieldwork data on two fairly similar hearsay expressions in Inupiatun[3]. The postbase –*ni*– as well as the clitic –*guuq* indicate that the information represented by the linguistic material in its scope is reported (see Lowe, 1984). Speakers of Inupiatun[4] have shared their knowledge on –*ni*– and –*guuq*, and it is evident from their judgments, comments and elaborations that truth-conditionality alone does not capture the difference between the two suffixes. I will argue that –*ni*– and –*guuq* rather matches the conceptual-procedural distinction (Blakemore, 1987; Wilson and Sperber, 1993).

Tests showed that –*guuq* does not contribute to truth-conditions, while –*ni*– does; according to the Inupiatun speakers I consulted, (1a) is contradictory, while (1b) is not:

(1) a.

   ?Sue igluqaqtur**uuq**, aglaan igluitchuq

     Sue house-have-she-**report**, but house-not.have-she

   *'Sue has a house-*guuq*, but she has no house.'

b.

Sue atnir**ni**îʔuq, aglaan atnianngitchuq.

Sue sick-**report**-she, but sick-not-she

'Sue said she was sick, but she wasn't sick.'

As we shall see, however, an utterance with –*guuq* may in fact in some contexts express a commitment to 'report(p)' rather than to 'p'. This is left unexplained if we merely conclude that –*guuq* is non-truth-conditional. Moreover, it turns out from the knowledge shared by speakers of Inupiatun that –*guuq* may be used to strengthen, weaken or leave open the epistemic status of p. Conceptual meaning evokes a representation, and procedural meaning triggers instructions on how to manipulate or entertain the representations (see Blakemore, 1987; Wilson and Sperber, 1993). I argue that the collected data favor an analysis where –*ni*– evokes a conceptual representation of a situation where someone has said p to the speaker. This concept is part of the truth-conditions and hence the acceptability of (1b). –*guuq* is non-truth-conditional – hence the contradiction in (1a) – and moreover, –*guuq* is procedural. When the meaning of –*guuq* sometimes appears to fall inside the truth-conditions (i.e. when the speaker seems to express commitment to 'report(p)'), this is, in my view, is due to epistemic implicatures triggered by –*guuq*. Wilson (2016) argues that procedural expressions have strong potential for activating processes leading to implicatures. As an evidential expression, –*guuq* triggers 'epistemic vigilance' (Sperber et. al., 2010), and because –*guuq* encodes its epistemic meaning procedurally rather than conceptually, this suffix is very likely to trigger epistemic implicatures.

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[3] Inupiatun here refers to the two closely related Inuit dialects North Slope Iñupiaq spoken in Alaska and Uummarmiutun spoken in the Northwest Territories in Canada.

[4] I worked together with Panigavluk, Mangilaluk, Kavakłuk, Agnagullak and Suvvatchiaq in Inuvik, Canada, and with Etta Frounier, Dr. Edna Ahgeak MacLean, Uumiñaq, Beverly Faye Aqaŋŋiq Hugo and Ronald Aniqsuaq Brower Sr. in Barrow, Alaska.

Implicatures are ostensively communicated assumptions which are accessed through inferences based on the linguistic code plus relevant aspects of the context in which the utterance occurs. With its reportative meaning, *–guuq* triggers implicatures concerning the epistemic status of p rather than merely giving rise to a representation of a situation where some individual has said that p. When the implicature triggered by *–guuq* yields an interpretation where p has a high epistemic status, the speaker appears to communicate commitment to p. When the implicature renders a low epistemic status, the speaker does not appear to communicate commitment to p.

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Sunday 4ᵗʰ December
Morning

Session 1
Main Building 4426

Possession and Typology

09.00-09.30   Anne-Laure Dotte: Possession in Kanak languages: idiosyncrasies and diversity

09.30-10.00   Sandy Ritchie, Irina Nikolaeva & Oliver Bond: Prominent possessors in the Indosphere

10.00-10.30   Anna Alexandrova: Narrowly averted and partially completed events in Europe and North Asia: an areal typology

Possession in Kanak Languages: Idiosyncrasies and diversity

Anne-Laure Dotte, CNEP – University of New Caledonia

The 28 Kanak languages spoken in New Caledonia belong to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian family. They show remarkable heterogeneity in terms of linguistic characteristics as well as in terms of sociolinguistic vitality, though many of the Kanak languages are considered as endangered, leading to massive language shift to French.

For the expression of possession, Kanak languages do not differ from the Oceanic canonical template that contrasts two nominal categories: obligatorily possessed nouns (bound nouns) *versus* non-obligatorily possessed nouns (free nouns). The idiosyncrasy of Kanak languages lies in the different manners the category of free nouns encodes the expression of possession. It can be indirect, making necessary the use of a possessive classifier, as in Iaai (1); mediate, with a possessive relator or preposition, as *i* in Drehu (2); semi-mediate, with a lengthening of the final vowel in Xârâcùù (3); or, finally, immediate, for both bound nouns (4a.) and some possessible free nouns (4b.) in Caac:

(1). <u>Iaai</u> {st.ClP_Me.4} (Dotte, 2013: 281)

belâm jee wanu			'your green coconuts (to drink)'
belâ	-m	jee	wanu
P.CL_DRINK	-2SG	ART.DEF.PL	green_coconut

(2). <u>Drehu</u> {PosComp.st_Dre.18}

he	***i***	*Elen*	'Elen's boat'
boat	**POSS**	Helène	

(3). <u>Xârâcùù</u> (Moyse-Faurie, 1995: 18)

a. *jö*		'assegai'
b. *jö**ö***	*kâmûrû*	'man's assegai'
assegai	man	

(4). <u>Caac</u>

a. *abaany*		'my brother'	{PosComp.phr_Caa.01}
abaa-	-ny		
brother	-1SG		

b. *keeny*		'my basket'	{PosComp.st_Caa.04}
kee(t)	-ny		
basket	-1SG		

The diversity consists of the fact that, depending on the language, possession for free nouns can be expressed by exclusively one of these options, whereas in some other Kanak languages it can mix several options depending on variable factors.

This paper aims at studying this diversity from a typological and comparative perspective and to propose hypotheses about the encoding of possession in Proto-Neo-Caledonian.

Moreover, part of the data used in this work comes from elicitations among students in Oceanic Linguistics at the University of New Caledonia who are native speakers of Kanak languages. Indeed, it invites to consider data collection as a co-construction work undertaken by speakers and the researcher.

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Prominent possessors in the Indosphere

Sandy Ritchie, Irina Nikolaeva & Oliver Bond

Possessors in attributive possessive constructions have an unusual status in grammar, since they can refer to semantically and information structurally prominent entities, but have a 'lowly' syntactic status, functioning as specifiers or modifiers internal to the phrase headed by the possessed noun. Many languages have a strategy for signalling prominent possessors, which typically involves 'raising' of the internal possessor into a clause-level position (Payne & Barshi 1999). However, possessor raising is not the only strategy by which possessor prominence can be signalled. There is also a family of constructions in which possessors which are apparently internal to the phrase containing the possessed noun can control agreement on the verbal predicate similar to clause-level arguments. This is attested in a number of languages of the 'Indosphere' (Matisoff 1991), including Indo-Aryan languages like Maithili (Stump & Yadav 1988; Bickel et al. 1999), Magahi (Verma 1991), Rajbanshi (Wilde 2008), Bajjika (Kashyap 2012) and Darai (Dhakal 2015), and potentially some Tibeto-Burman languages like Karbi (Konnerth 2015) and Yakkha (Schackow 2015). Agreement between verbs and internal possessors in Indo-Aryan languages can occur with possessors internal to any argument with no additional morphology on the verb, as in the examples in (1) from Rajbanshi, where possessors internal to the subject (1a) and an oblique (1b) control agreement on the verb:

(1) a. [to-r   beṭa-ḍʌ] bides   ge-l-ku
      2SG[OBL]-GEN son-NCLS   abroad   go-PST-SA2SG
      'Your son went abroad.'

    b. am-ḍʌ   [uhã-r hat-ʌt] pʌr-ip-ki
      mango-NCLS 3SG[PRO]-GEN hand-LOC fall-FUT-SA3
      'The mango fell into his hand.' (Wilde 2008: 154)

In Tibeto-Burman languages, what appears on initial inspection to be agreement between verbs and internal possessors may in fact be better explained as a case of ambiguity between possessive and benefactive constructions. This can be seen for example in Karbi, where the internal possessor in examples like (2) appears to control agreement on the verb, but is also coreferential with an external maleficiary argument:

(2) nè   bàng-hiní   a-phān=tā   nang-prán nang=ēn-èt-jí
    1EXCL CLF:HUM.PL-two POSS-NSUBJ=ADD 2:POSS-life 1/2:NSUBJ=take-all:S/O-IRR2
    'I will take both of your lives.' (Konnerth 2015: 34)

Examples such as (2) might be explained as canonical (Corbett 2006) cases of predicate-argument agreement in which a clause-level maleficiary argument controls agreement on the verb and also happens to be coreferential with the internal possessor, leading to ambiguity as

to which one controls agreement. However, constructions like those in (1) cannot be explained in the same way. There is no obvious external maleficiary argument here, and possessors internal to subjects and obliques (and presumably also objects) can control agreement on the verb.

Viewed from a purely syntactic perspective, such constructions present a puzzle, because an element in one syntactic domain (the phrase containing the possessed noun) is somehow able to participate in syntactic processes in another domain (the clause). However, the fact that all the available literature mentions some kind of semantic and/or information structural prominence of the possessor as a motivation for using these constructions in discourse, it seems likely that in such cases, agreement does not correlate one-to-one with grammatical functions, but is instead sensitive to other levels of description.

Narrowly averted and partially completed events in Europe and North Asia: An areal typology

Anna Alexandrova, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa / Sapienza University of Rome, Italy

It has been widely assumed since Dowty (1979) that, in past contexts, approximative adverbials, such as the English *almost*, can receive two readings with telic verb phrases: (a) the event was on the verge of occurring but it did not, and (b) the event was partially realized but its endpoint was not reached. Accomplishments ([+dynamic], [+durative], [+telic]) are generally compatible with both, while achievements ([+dynamic], [-durative], [+telic]) accept only (a). However, the domain of verbal approximation can be structured in different ways, and English, wherein specialized markers for meanings (a) and (b) are missing, does not present the only possible situation. In numerous languages meanings (a) and (b) receive differential marking (e.g., in Russian, Bulgarian, Lithuanian, Udmurt, Buryat, Tyvan etc). In turn, Kuteva (1998; 2001) introduced the avertive as a semantically complex category, grammaticalized in a wide range of languages, with a meaning that exactly coincides with (a), but she does not discuss meaning (b). However, both receive specific marking is a wide range of languages, for instance:

(1)   Sakha (Altaic > Turkic > North Siberian Turkic)

a.   *Byøtyr   beɣehe*: *timir-e   **sɯːs-pɯt-a***.
Büötür.NOM   yesterday   drown-CVB.IPFV   miss/fail-REMPST-3SG
'Yesterday Büötür almost drowned. (He was on the point of drowning but something happened that prevented him from doing so.)' [Avertive]

b.   *Kuoska balɯg-ɯ   sie-n   **byt-er-en   er-er***.
cat.NOM   fish-ACC eat-CVB   [finish-CAUS-CVB   AUX-PRS.3SG]PROG
'The cat has already almost eaten up the fish.' [Partial Completion]

(2)   Tatar (Altaic > Turkic > North Kipchak)

a.   *Min   byrĕ-nĕ kyr-gæɕ   kurku-dan yl-æ   **jaz-dǐ-m***!
1SG.NOM   wolf-ACC   see-CVB.PPF   fear-ABL die-CVB1   lose-DIRPST-1SG
'When I saw the wolf, I almost died of fear!' [Avertive]

b.   *Ul   bøtĕn   næmsæ-nĕ aʃa-p   bĕt-ĕr-dĕ
dij-ar-lĕk*.
3SG   whole   thing-ACC   eat-CVB.PFV   finish-CAUS-DIRPST.3SG   say-[DISP-ADJZ]ABLE
'S/he has almost eaten up everything (the whole thing).' [Partial Completion]

(2)   Modern Greek (Indo-European > Greek)
a.   ***Paralígo***   *na   pésō*.
AVER.ADV   [COMP.SBJV   fall.SBRD.1SG]SBJV
'I almost fell.'

b.   *Chthes éfaga   **schedón**   olókliro   to
kéik.*
yesterday   eat.AOR.1SG   ADV.PARTCOMPL   whole.N.ACC.SG   DEF.N.ACC.SG   cake.N.ACC.SG
*Móno   mía   mikrí   féta
apémeine.*
only/just   one.F.NOM.SG   small.F.NOM.SG   slice.F.NOM.SG   remain.AOR.3SG
'Yesterday I almost ate up the cake. Only a small slice is left.' [Partial Completion]

My aim is to address the strategies of encoding the (a) avertive and (b) partial completion categories within the framework of areal typology with a focus on some issues that so far have not been tackled within either typological or formal semantic studies. First-hand data was collected using translation questionnaires for a convenience sample of 47 languages of Europe, North Asia and some other areas. Data on this topic are mainly missing from grammatical descriptions. Moreover, the availability of comparable sets of contexts is essential for this study because it allows for developing a discrete classification based on transparent functional/semantic criteria.

I explore (1) asymmetries (e.g., opposition 'specialized avertive' vs. 'generic approximator'), (2) interactions with event structure (e.g., are specialized avertives always compatible with accomplishments?), and (3) compositionality (an avertive construction can be built out of several grams and/or lexemes, e.g., an irrealis marker denoting counterfactuality plus an imminential adverbial).

The distribution of the above patterns across Europe and North Asia shows that avertive and partial completion marking strategies are subject to massive areal skewing. Moreover, multiple avertive patterns in a language, noted by Kuteva (2001:89), can be explained in many cases from contact-induced change, when borrowed patterns compete with "native" ones. This is the case, for instance, in Turkic and Uralic languages spoken in Russia that have borrowed the 'a.little NEG V' avertive pattern from Russian but have also maintained the respective auxiliary constructions in the majority of cases.

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**Sunday 4th December
Morning**

**Session 2
Main Building 4429**

Creoles

09.00-09.30   Eva Schultze-Berndt, Maïa Ponsonnet and Denise Angelo: Maybe it is less straightforward than you might think: modality in Northern Australian Kriol

09.30-10.00   Mario Pinharanda-Nunes: Describing morphosyntactic variation in an acrolect creole corpus: the case of Makista

10.00-10.30   Kevin Martens Wong: Pesi ja kumih? Passives in Kristang and their implications for documentation and theory

Maybe it is less straightforward than you might think: Modality in Northern Australian Kriol

Eva Schultze-Berndt, University of Manchester; Denise Angelo, Australian National University;
Maïa Ponsonnet, Sydney University

Kriol is an English-lexified creole language which has become the *lingua franca* of many indigenous communities in northern Australia; its modal system has not received any in-depth treatment to date. The analysis presented here is based on fieldwork of all authors covering several Kriol-speaking regions, and on published sources.

Kriol has developed a complex system of modals, consisting of preverbal markers and particles with variable position. There are obvious resemblances with English in the form of the markers and many of their uses. However, when taking a closer look at the semantic categories underlying the modal distinctions, important similarities emerge with modal systems of traditional Australian languages. Since the genesis of Kriol and, consequently, the identification of its substrate languages are a matter of debate (see Munro 2011 and Meakins 2014 for recent overviews), we take a cautious approach and consider as potential substrate features only those attested as areal features across northern Australian languages (cf. Siegel 2008). The following characteristics of the Kriol modal systems are substrate features in this sense, not shared with English:

- The markers for epistemic and non-epistemic modality do not overlap. If one uses compatibility with all tenses as a criterion for identifying true epistemic modals – excluding solely future-oriented modals because of the principled undecidedness of the future (Condoravdi 2002) – it becomes evident epistemic modality in Kriol is always marked by particles (most prominently *maitbi*). Preverbal modal markers of possibility (*mait, wana)* and of necessity (*labda),* unlike their apparent English equivalents, do not have epistemic uses.

- Kriol has a specialised apprehensive modal particle, *bambai* (grammaticalised from a temporal marker) which encodes an undesirable possibility to be avoided.

- Modals covering deontic meanings (*wana* 'might, should' and *labda* 'must, have to') compositionally combines with past tense markers, yielding counterfactual interpretations (for this feature in Australian languages see Verstraete 2005).

- Certain modal distinctions are neutralised in future-oriented negative clauses, in favour of a general irrealis marker. In Kriol, the negative possibility modal *kan* (< English *can't*) serves as the negative counterpart of dedicated markers of participant-internal and –external possibility (*gin*), of deontic/teleological necessity (*labda, shudbi*) and of future *(gata, gona).*

These findings should not be taken to suggest that the Kriol system of modals is a simple calque of a "typical" substrate language: the Kriol system exhibits a considerably higher number of modal distinctions than most northern Australian languages. In striking similarity to research on modality in Caribbean creole languages (e.g. Winford and Migge 2007; Essegbey et al. 2013), a nuanced picture emerges of a complex system which cannot be traced to a single origin, but reflects properties of substrate languages and the lexifier as well as independent developments.

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PESI JA KUMIH?: PASSIVES IN KRISTANG AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR DOCUMENTATION AND THEORY

KEVIN MARTENS WONG, NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE

Kristang is an endangered Portuguese creole with less than 750 speakers in Malacca and 100 in Singapore. Fieldwork data on Singapore Kristang suggests that Kristang licenses at least four different passive forms: 1. an agentless object-to-subject raising without any change in verbal morphology.

(1)   pesi ja   kumih
        fish PST eat
        "The fish was eaten."

2. a construction similar to (1) but with no overt raising of the object and no subject.

(2)   ja   kumih pesi
        PST eat   fish
        "The fish was eaten."

3. an "Adversity Passive", where passivisation using the serial verb *tokah* ("touch") is available "to transitive verbs capable of expressing adversity and which have agent subjects and undergoer objects" (Baxter, 1988, p. 196).

(3)   pesi ja   tokah kumih
        fish PST touch eat
        "The fish was eaten."

4. an unproductive variant limited to the verbs *kumih* ("eat") and *rintah* ("enter") where when the agent is realized; both passive and active are phonologically identical (Baxter, 1988, p. 196).

(4)   pesi ja   kumih gatu
        fish PST eat   cat
        Passive reading: "The fish was eaten by the cat."
        Active reading: "The fish ate the cat."

I postulate that these four variant forms of the passive were inherited from Kristang's substrate, Malay, and I show that these variants could be unified under a single structure. Due to conflicting grammaticality judgements regarding the *Kumih*-Passive and the two bare passives among my collaborators, I am unable to conclude that this structure is the most accurate, as "it is difficult to represent multiple variants without indicating that one is more valued than the other" (Nagy, 2009, p. 411) and thereby privilege one group of speakers' grammaticality judgements over the others as 'correct'. I hypothesise that such contestation has arisen because (i) Kristang in Singapore has been reduced to a fragmented and diffuse body of less than 100 speakers, who rarely speak the language, speak it at varying levels of proficiency, and demonstrate widespread syntactic variation and "modification" (Campbell & Muntzel, 1989, p. 191), and (ii) Kristang is a contact language existing on a continuum, meaning that significant variation is to be expected (Rickford, 1976, p. 443) and indeed is "more visible" than normal (de Roojj, 1995, p. 53). Kristang's example suggests that documentation and theory must not "rely heavily on a single highly gifted and benevolent source for the ultimate form of the grammatical description produced", since that excludes other data and other speakers whose voices may be equally, if not more, "valid and revealing" (Dorian, 1994, pp. 632-633).

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Describing morphosyntactic variation in an acrolect creole corpus: the case of Makista
Mário Pinharanda Nunes, University of Macau

The Portuguese-based creole originating from Macau has received diverse denominations throughout its existence - *patuá* (*patois*), *doci papiaçam di Macau*, *macaísta* and *maquista* (Makista). From the mid 19th century onwards, sociopolitical changes in the region caused the gradual demise of this creole (Pinharanda Nunes 2012), reaching its current vitality status of severely endangered. Data on the sociolinguistic setting of Macau throughout its existence gives us a very probable picture of a creole with a widely variable continuum, ranging at any given moment from a basilect form right up to the acrolect. In view of increasingly encroaching colonial language, education and social policies and economic realities in Macau and Hong Kong, towards the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, Makista entered a decreolizing process and witnessed the consequent increase of standard forms from the targeted lexifier (ie. Portuguese) in that variation continuum.

In this paper we present instances of variation between typically creole matrix and standard forms in the VP and the NP, specifically, verb forms, TMA markings and gender agreement, among the last acrolectal L1 speakers of Makista. The data analyzed comes from the yet unpublished oral corpus collected 1999 and 2007. All instances of the mentioned three grammatical categories were analyzed quantitatively with GOLDVARB X. In view of variation in the studied forms and markings, our reading of the analysis and the ensuing description of the underlying patterns of such variation took into consideration theories of decreolization, second language acquisition and creolization (DeGraff 1999; Mather 2006; Lefevre et al 2006; Mufwene 2010). Our confirmed hypothesis is that the variation in decreolizing acrolect Makista, for the categories studied, shares characteristics with the variation patterns in the interlingua of L2 learners, specifically of the lexifier (Portuguese). In view of our findings, we propose that the description of acrolectal variation, in a multilingual context where the lexifier is the target language, needs to take into account SLA processes and their resulting interlinguas.

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**Sunday 4ᵗʰ December
Morning**

**Session 3
Main Building 4426**

Morphosyntax and Variation

11.00-11.30 Arantzazu Martinez Etxarri Morphosyntactic and semantic interface to account for the variety of [N + egin]V light verbs in Basque

11.30-12.00 Maria Mazzoli: Morphological productivity in Michif

12.00-12.30 Jie Cui: Language variation and revitalization of an endangered minority language in China

MORPHOSYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC INTERFACE TO ACCOUNT FOR A VARIETY OF [N + *egin*]ᵥ LIGHT VERBS IN BASQUE

Arantzazu Martinez Etxarri, University of Deusto

Light verb constructions of the type [N + *egin*]ᵥ play an important role in the grammar of Basque as complex and productive transitive predicates. In the first part of this paper we describe the main characteristics of the noun and the verb constituents and some properties of the verbal construction as a whole:

> (1) Mikel-ek   negar   egin du
>   Mike (erg) cry (abs) make aux (abs-erg)
>   "Mike has cried"

We apply both semantic and syntactic tests to a numerous corpus of sentences that include these constructions. The application of semantic tests proposed by Dowty (1979) leads us to classify the locutions into two main aspectual classes: activities and achievements. We also apply the following syntactic tests to a corpus of light verbs: insertion, word order change in focalization and topicalization, partitive marking, relative clause, coordination, linking words and others. The results lead us to classify the analyzed verbs into three main classes depending on the degrees of union shown between its constituents: Type I or *alde egin* 'to escape' type, type II or *negar egin* 'to cry' type and type III or meteorological locutions such as *elurra egin* 'to snow'. Based on the development of these constructions we place them within a *continuum.*

Finally, we present a theoretical approach to account for the different behaviors. Locutions of type I and some type II are explained by means of incorporation or Baker´s adjunction (1988) and we propose to reanalyze them as unergative predicates.

We posit that, besides syntactic incorporation, semantic incorporation is needed to account for the unitary concept of all these locutions which are explained by reanalysis in the sense of Jackendoff (1990). The dummy verb needs to receive a meaning and the incorporating noun functions as its semantic base. Nevertheless, the process taking place in idiomatic locutions needs further research.

As stated by Martínez (1997) and Oiartzabal (2006), we conclude that [N + *egin*]ᵥ constructions constitute an heterogeneous group of verbs. Some of the light verbs showing an ambiguous behavior may be part of the incorporated ones in the future.

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MORPHOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION AND PRODUCTIVITY IN MICHIF VERBS

Maria Mazzoli, University of Bremen

Michif is one of the world's rare mixed languages, a unique mixture that has taken most verbs from Plains Cree (an Amerindian language of the Algonquian family) and most adjectives and nouns from French (a Romance language). Today Michif is spoken by an estimated 100-200 speakers in Metis communities in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and North Dakota (Mazzoli, forthcoming, Golla 2007:64, Bakker 1997: 3 and 2013). At present, intergenerational transmission of Michif has ceased. All fluent speakers are elderly.

My research project will contribute to the description of word formation in Michif by creating a list and database of Michif verbal derivational morphemes using Fieldworks Language Explorer. I will start by analysing the Michif texts available. Working with the speakers (field research February-July 2017), I plan first to conduct tests of word segmentation and morphological parsing, and later to conduct focus groups aimed at the elicitation of possible words and acceptability judgments, and possibly stimulate creative word brainstorming. Elicitation tests are the only type of productivity measurements that can actually test the aspect of *potentiality* in word-formation patterns (Romaine 1983: 181). Linguistic issues relevant to the investigation include:

(a) Parsing of verbs composed by concrete finals and pre-verb-like initials as (1). The formative -*eeiht*- is a root that cannot occur alone but is present as a *final* in several stems. It is recognized by linguists as a unit in paradigmatic terms (Haspelmath 1995), but the speakers' awareness is uncertain. Interesting topics are also connected to the relation between morpheme recognition and productivity.

(1)   ni-miyo-eeiht-en
          IND1ps-good-do.with.mind.IN.OBJ-IND.VTI.1psSJ
          'I like it.'

(b) Parsing and interpretation of verbs that incorporate a French noun or adjective into the Michif verb including the dummy determiner *li*, as (2) (Bakker 1997:241).

(2)   ka-li-bude'-ihk-ee-w
          FUT-?-sausage-to.make-IND.VTA.3s3o-IND.3s
          'she will make the sausages.'

This project is innovative in many respects. Tests on morphological representation and compositionality have rarely been submitted to speakers of a polysynthetic and non-written language, such as Michif. In fact, most research in the field has focused on Western languages and reflected Western biases towards how languages work, so that linguists simply assumed

that morphological parsing and productivity work the same way in Western languages and in Michif or other indigenous languages. In fact, recent experimental research on morphological parsing with speakers Dene, an oral, polysynthetic and endangered language, has deliberately challenged the idea that the morphological information we collected on Standard Average European (SAE) languages may be extended to non-written, lesser known, typologically different languages (Rice, Libben & Derwing 2002). Similar concerns apply to the methodology used in elicitation experiments and focus groups, which should be tailored with respect to the specificities of the language and the context.

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Language Variation and Revitalization of an Endangered Minority Language in China

Jie Cui, University of Pittsburgh

Recent increasing variationist studies of indigenous minority languages have brought many new insights to sociolinguistics (e.g. Stanford & Preston 2009). However, variation within endangered languages had been commonly treated as de facto and has therefore been somehow "sanctioned" as a banal phenomenon (Dressier 1988) that usually escapes researchers' scrutiny. Academics usually associate variation in endangered languages with community-level language attribution. In this paper, the author draws from her sixteen-month long ethnography-based fieldwork (2014-2015, 2016) among the Ho Ne people (a.k.a. She; an endangered Hmong-Mienic language with less than 800 estimated speakers) of southern China.

Data was collected through sociolinguistic interviews, linguistic elicitation, language survey, as well as participation observation. The author examines language choice among community members as well as seven sets of varying phonological (segmental and tonal) and morphosyntactic features across individual speakers. The preliminary findings suggest that a strong correlation between speaker's variable usage with generation as well as his/her personal social network. Most "new" variants of the variables under study can be associated with younger speakers with an open social network.

The author has also been participating in two ongoing concurrent language revitalization projects sponsored by another local university: (1) Ho Ne language documentation project: compiling a sketch grammar for the Ho Ne language (2) the mother tongue education project: editing textbooks (first volume was published in 2015) as well as developing curriculum for the local elementary school children. Variation emerged as a recurrent and thorny issue throughout these projects: to what degree should we document interspeaker variation in the grammar book? Which form (or variant) should be taught at school? Illustrative examples of educational materials and analysis of excerpts from a typical Ho Ne language class period will be presented as well.

This study contributes to both variationist sociolinguistic research as well as the linguistic anthropological literature on language shift and obsolescence through offering a timely perspective on 'change in motion'. Specifically, this case study suggests that variation in endangered languages is more than *ad hoc* but potentially generalizable phenomenon. Language shift and endangerment are often triggered by dramatic societal changes. It is essentially a shift in linguistic ideologies among the speakers and loss in linguistic domains (Irvine & Gal 2000). The variationist angle of the Ho Ne language help unveil individual choices and experiences under the backdrop of concurrent social and economic changes. The ultimate goal for any revitalization projects is twofold: to produce next-generation speakers, and to increase the creativity and productivity the language (i.e. to make the language more "usable" and adaptable to people's changing life mode). Despite their benign intentions, salvaging documentation work in the past often strip individual variation from grammar books, which in a way helps keep the past and traditions of a community separated from "the modern flow of everyday life" (Giddens, 1979). Teaching materials based on these documentation materials often in the same line. As a result, instead of reviving the language and extend its domains of use, language use among community members can become rather restricted. As for which

linguistic form to present in the textbook and to teach in the classroom, it is better to leave the choice the community. Moreover, the success of language revitalization lies in the close collaboration among the linguists, institutional supports, and most importantly the community members themselves.

Sunday 4th December
Morning

Session 4
Main Building 4429

Documentation

11.00-11.30   Samantha Goodchild and Miriam Weidl: Documentation of speakers' linguistic practices in two sociolinguistically diverse settings in the Casamance, Senegal

11.30-12.00   Helen Jeoung: Avoiding prescriptive influence: collaborative fieldwork with native speakers

12.00-12.30   Bernat Bardagil-Mas & Myriam Lapierre: Challenges and successes in linguistic documentation: the case of Panará

Documentation of speakers' linguistics practices in two sociolinguistically diverse settings in the Casamance, Senegal

Samantha Goodchild, SOAS University of London
Miriam Weidl, SOAS University of London

The Lower Casamance region of Senegal is highly multicultural and multilingual, and thus presents many challenges to researchers aiming to engage in language documentation. Our research documents the multilingual linguistic practices of participants living in the nearby villages of Essyl and Djibonker. Inhabitants of the Casamance are in contact with various languages on a daily basis; thus an average of five languages in participants' linguistic repertoires is not uncommon (Sagna 2008; Cobbinah 2012). Consequently when engaging in sociolinguistic research even the choice of language in which one conducts research is marked. In this talk we will present a critical perspective on conducting sociolinguistic research in a multilingual setting and the challenges it poses for linguistic analyses. Using examples from our fieldwork, we will demonstrate how the researchers and transcribers influence the sociolinguistic setting and, consequently, the data collected. We conclude that due to this influence the use of more than one method of annotation and analysis is crucial to arrive at credible results.

In our research we combine different ways of collecting linguistic data, including interviews, observing communicative events, sociolinguistic surveys and reflexive ethnography, which incorporates participant observation that integrates the researcher to gain a thorough understanding of the participants' language use patterns in their everyday life (Davies 1999; Migge & Léglise 2013; Childs et al. 2014). We present examples of recordings collected using diverse elicitation methods, which foreground the diversity of language use in the two villages. Furthermore, we demonstrate how the researcher's presence in the examples influenced the data collected, such as languages used in a given recording; and how we were influenced in the analyses by our personal experiences and participants' perceptions of their linguistic practices, from considering code-switching between multiple languages to incorporate concepts such as translanguaging across not only spoken, but also signed, repertoires (García & Wei 2014). Our experiences led us to consider alternative analyses of the data. Therefore, the analyses of our (socio)linguistic data involve incorporating participants' attitudes and ideologies towards the sociolinguistic setting and our presence as researchers. In addition, we are working closely with the team of local transcribers to combine their interpretations of the multilingual linguistic practices with our own methods of qualitative analysis. Our aim is to demonstrate the benefits of not only diversifying methods used for data collection, but also triangulating the methods of analysis to arrive at a more holistic, nuanced understanding of diverse linguistic practices in multilingual settings such as the Casamance, Senegal.

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Avoiding prescriptive influence: collaborative fieldwork with native speakers

Helen Jeoung, University of Pennsylvania

In this collaborative model of fieldwork, conducted in East Java, Indonesia, native speakers are trained to take a primary role in gathering linguistic data, while avoiding prescriptive influences.
Background. In Indonesian 'Object Voice,' the Agent is reported to be limited to certain personal pronouns as shown in (1) (Chung 1976, Sneddon 1996):

(1) Buku ini   sudah {aku/kamu/ ?dia/ *Siti/*tetangga-ku/ *ribuan   orang } baca.
    book this Perf   1sg 2sg   3sg   Siti   neighbor-1sg thousands person read
    '{ I/ you/ ?he/ *Siti/ *my neighbor/ *thousands of people } read this book.'

This restriction is cited as a defining characteristic of Object Voice; however, some authors note that the restriction in (1) is prescriptive only (Nomoto 2006, Sneddon 2006).
Research questions. 1) Which Agents are accepted in Object Voice, and is this a categorical or gradient restriction? 2) Is there evidence of a change in progress (older vs. younger speakers)?
Method. 5 interns (students with no linguistics background) were trained to conduct fieldwork using colloquial Indonesian. 133 adult Indonesian speakers ('subjects') were recruited through interns' social networks and interviewed during a 3-week period. Interns collaborated to develop materials and strategies to minimize the influence of prescriptivism in acceptability judgments (e.g. interviews were conducted in an informal register; appropriate context for sentences was provided; subjects had no direct contact with non-native speaking researchers). Subjects judged 49 total sentences (7 sentence types, 19 different Agents).
Data and Results. As expected, personal pronouns have high acceptability (>90%). Contrary to reported Object Voice restrictions however, acceptability of names is also high (>87%). Other Agents show (inter-speaker) variability with regard to acceptability (see below).
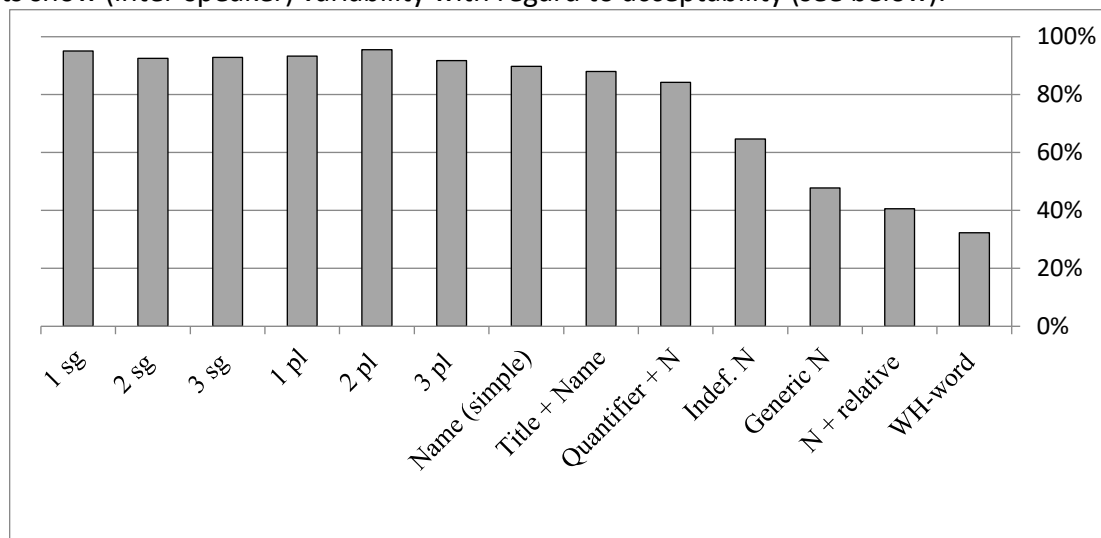
Acceptability rates of Object Voice Agents in Indonesian

Acceptability across age cohorts shows no evidence of ongoing change; however, education and other demographic factors are shown to be relevant. These results indicate that this aspect of the Indonesian voice system is gradient and variable across speakers, rather than categorical.

Conclusion. These results have both theoretical and methodological implications: the data inform our understanding of Object Voice, while the collaborative research model provides training for native speakers to be meaningfully engaged in fieldwork using their own language.

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Challenges and successes in linguistic documentation: The Panará Project

Bernat Bardagil-Mas, University of Groningen &
Myriam Lapierre University of California, Berkeley

Panará is an especially understudied and underdescribed Jê language spoken by a community of approximately 500 speakers in central Brazil. This talk discusses the ongoing project to document the Panará language and some of its implications for the speaker and scientific communities, such as a revision of the current orthography system, the collection of linguistic materials for digital archiving, and a parallel project to create a digital dictionary for the Panará community.

The Panará community's request for a dictionary results from (1) the growing distance between the speech of the younger Panará and the village elders, (2) the realization that the pre-contact generation will soon disappear, and (3) a feeling that the current orthography is not a satisfactory tool to write the language. In the line of community-based lexicographic initiatives such as the Ulwa dictionary (Hale 2001), the authors have put forward a project to elaborate a dictionary for the Panará language. Although an eventual printed version is not ruled out, the focus is to present the Panará community with a digital dictionary that allows for an open-ended update process. The dictionary is planned as a series of lexical entries accompanied with example sentences, pictures and recordings.

Exploratory work on the adequacy of the Panará orthography was conducted in the summer of 2015, based on work on Amazonian languages with a similar literacy history (Nevins & Moore 2011). The preliminary results presented several inadequacies concerning the written representation of nasal stops, contrastive nasal consonants, a previously undescribed vowel length contrast, and epenthetic vowels. Ongoing work with the Panará community is concerned with exploring alternative spelling conventions that prove to be both satisfactory and intuitive, which will be further tested in the field during the summer of 2016.

Parallel to the work with the Panará community on the digital dictionary, an ELDP-supported documentation project for digital archiving is also underway. Both projects are planned to generate secondary output materials that will satisfy the specific linguistic needs of the Panará community, such as teaching materials and traditional narrative texts, while also providing informative primary materials for theoretical linguistic research, such as a morphosyntactically annotated corpus and voice recordings for acoustic analysis.

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Plenary
14.00-15.30
Main Building, Khalili Lecture Theatre (KLT)

Ian Maddieson
University of New Mexico and University of California, Berkeley

Language documentation for communities and language documentation for science – the view from phonetics

The word 'documentation' has a number of meanings. For phoneticians it tends to mean the creation of explicit data on the production, acoustics or perception of the sounds of a particular language at a given time and place. Communities in which normal inter-generational transmission of linguistic knowledge has been interrupted may especially value such data if they care about reviving authentic pronunciation, but for others an approximation may be satisfactory. For the scientific world detailed documentation is required to establish the truth of observational claims. These issues will be discussed in connection with personal experiences with Tlingit, Yurok, Yapese, Vao, Bowiri, Avatime, Yêlí Dnye, Chontal and other languages.