Don't be fearful, lest it be undesirable: prohibitives and precautions in Papapana

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Outline

1. Introduction to Papapana
2. Papapana prohibitives with *te* vs. *ae*
3. Papapana precautioning sentences with *te*
4. Apprehensive and Prohibitive similarity
   ⁆ Polysemy?
   ⁆ In which direction and how did semantic change occur?
5. Concluding Remarks

Papapana: who, where, what

Map of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands showing the following labels: South Pacific Ocean, Manus Island, New Ireland, Bismarck Sea, Autonomous Region of Bougainville, ★*Papapana villages*, New Britain, INDONESIA, PAPUA NEW GUINEA, Solomon Sea, SOLOMON ISLANDS, Gulf of Papua, ★Port Moresby, AUSTRALIA, Coral Sea.

- 99 fluent speakers in Bougainville, PNG
- Austronesian > Western Oceanic > Northwest Solomonic (NWS)
- Contact with Tok Pisin and Papuan languages (incl. Rotokas)

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Papapana: the data

- Fieldwork 1: June 2011-March 2012
- Fieldwork 2: March-May 2013
  - 10.5 hrs '**T**exts'
    - custom descriptions, personal/traditional narratives, describing objects, procedural descriptions...
  - 48.5 hrs **E**licitation + Fieldnotes

- Fieldwork 3: April 2018
  - 2.5 hrs **E**licitation + Fieldnotes

Grammatical overview

- Nominative-accusative
- SVO and SOV
- 'Verb Complex': verb(s) + modifiers
  - ᕦ Anaphoric verb agreement - subject proclitics, object enclitics
  - ᕦ Postverbal subject-indexing enclitics (PSI) – NWS, reflects former possessor indexing, typically IPFV
  - ᕦ **Preverbal negator *ae***
  - ᕦ **Reduplication: prohibitives,** reciprocal, habitual/continuous
  - ᕦ Tense: marked past and future
  - ᕦ Aspect: proximative, habitual, continuous, repetitive, completive
  - ᕦ Mood: hypothetical COND, counterfactual COND, optative, **apprehensive**
  - ᕦ TAM distinctions often realised by combinations of morphemes – **exponence of TAM value is distributed**

Don't be fearful...

Prohibitives

- **Prohibitives –** "the speaker tries to make the hearer not realize some state of affairs" (Devos and Van Olmen 2013: 22)

- aka **negative imperative** - sometimes used when there is not a distinct negative marker

Papapana verb complex

S B J =	PST. IPFV	OPT COND	NEG APPR	PST	REP	A D V	D I R	V A L	VERB	D I R	COMPL	A D V	= O B J	IPFV ...	D I R	IRR
	pei	eri awa	**ae te**	ara	vare				**REDUP**		osi			=PSI		=i
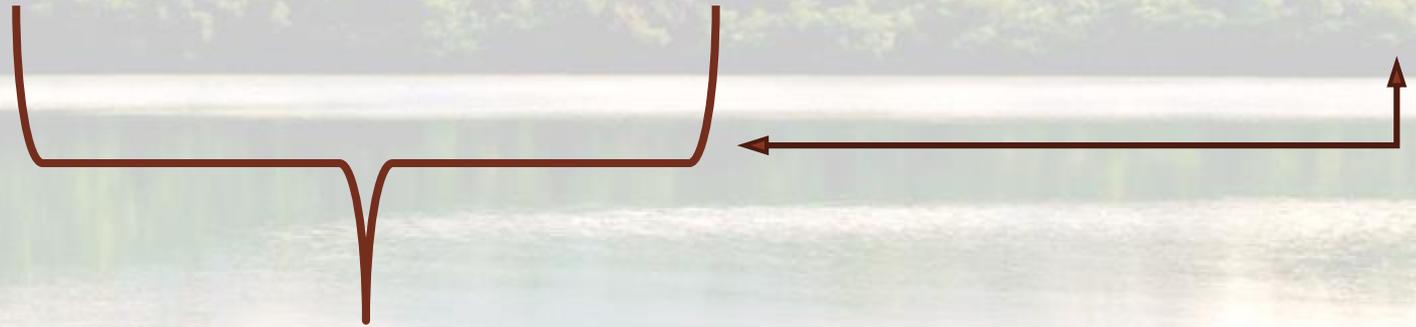
Prohibitive clause

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Prohibitives

- *ae*

10. Mu=ae   va~vatan=i=a=**i.**
    2PL.SBJ=NEG   RD~tell=TR=3SG.OBJ=IRR
    'Don't tell him.' (1-T065)

11. O=**ae**   **oto~'oto**   te=na=au   obutu
    2SG.SBJ=NEG   RD~board   OBL=SPEC=CLII   canoe
    'Don't board the canoe' (2-E026)

- *te*

12. Mu=**te**   **nao~nao=i**
    2PL.SBJ=APPR   RD~go=IRR
    "'Don't go/You're not going'" (1-T053)

13. "Mu=**te**   **atu~atun=i=a**   enai   au=sinoni!"
    2PL.SBJ=APPR   RD~attack=TR=3SG.OBJ   DEM   1SG.PSSR[CLI]=husband
    "'Don't attack my husband!'" (1-T101)

Prohibitives: *ae* vs. *te*

- 2011-2013: speakers reported *ae* and *te* were interchangeable

14.

O=ae	to~tonu
2SG.SBJ=NEG	RD~stand

15.

O=te	to~tonu
2SG.SBJ=APPR	RD~stand

'Don't stand up' (2-E028-2)

Prohibitives: *ae* vs. *te*

- 2018: one speaker reported *ae is* used when action hasn't begun yet:

16.

O=**ae**	**vae~vaene,**	o=te	pu=i.
2SG.SBJ=NEG	RD~climb	2SG.SBJ=APPR	fall=IRR

'Don't climb (that tree that you haven't climbed yet), (or) you might fall.' (3-E001)

- while *te is* used when prohibiting someone from doing something already commenced:

17.

O=**te**	**vae~vaene,**	o=te	pu=i.
2SG.SBJ=APPR	RD~climb	2SG.SBJ=APPR	fall=IRR

'Don't climb (that tree that you've started to climb), (or) you might fall.' (3-E001)

Prohibitives: *ae* vs. *te*

✓ **Traditional narrative**: people are running with bows and clubs to attack woman's husband and she suddenly jumps down:

18.
"Mu=**te**	**atu~atun=i=a**	enai	au=sinoni!"
2PL.SBJ=APPR	RD~attack=TR=3SG.OBJ	DEM	1SG.PSSR[CLI]=husband

"'Don't attack my husband!'" (1-T101)

? **Personal narrative (civil war):** speaker and other women were travelling and stopped by soldiers who told them:

19.
"Mu=**ae**	**nao~nao**	tae=**i,**	mu=**ae**	**nao~nao=i**"
2PL.SBJ=NEG	RD~go	up=IRR	2PL.SBJ=NEG	RD~go=IRR

"'Don't go up, don't go/You're not going up, you're not going'" (1-T053)

? Women explained they were looking for some women (not just anybody), soldiers told them:

20.
Mu=**te**	**nao~nao=i**
2PL.SBJ=APPR	RD~go=IRR

"'Don't go/You're not going'" (1-T053)

...lest it be undesirable

Apprehensives

- **Apprehensive** – possible, undesirable, best avoided
- A mixed modality...both epistemic and attitudinal... speaker's degree of certainty and attitude (Lichtenberk 1995: 291)
- Various terms: *admonitive, evitative, monitory, negative purpose clauses, timitive mood* (Vuillermet 2018)

- Functional subtypes (Lichtenberk 1995):
1. **Apprehensional-epistemic**: independent clause
2. **Fear:** complement clause, predicate of fear
3. **Precautioning:** precaution main clause + apprehension-causing subordinate clause

Papapana verb complex

SBJ=	PST. IPFV	OPT COND	NEG APPR	PST	REP	ADV	DIR	VAL	VERB	DIR	COMPL	ADV	=OBJ	IPFV…	DIR	IRR
	pei	eri awa	ae **te**	ara	vare				REDUP		osi			=PSI		**=i**

Apprehension-causing clause

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Precautioning sentences

- **Precaution (main) clause:**

  1. Declarative

  2. Imperative/Hortative *V (=i)*

  3. Prohibitive *ae/te* + RD~V (*=i*)

  ❧ Expresses preventative action to take, to avoid the…

- **Apprehension-causing (adverbial) clause:** *te + =i*

1. "**Sa**=nao   tovoni   nao=**i**,   i=**te**   moroko=ira=**i**."
   1INCL.SBJ.HORT=go   check   thither=IRR   3PL.SBJ=APPR   lie=1INCL.OBJ=IRR
   "'Let's go check, (in case) they might be lying to us.'"

   (1-T034)

Precaution clause

- Imperative *V (=i)*

2.
O=nabe=i,		o=te	mate=i.
2SG.SBJ=swim=IRR		2SG.SBJ=APPR	die=IRR

'Swim, (otherwise) you might die.'/ 'Swim, (so that) you don't die.'

(2-E028-2)

3.
Ta	na=au	dada	o=noe	a'aisi,	e=te	tuatuare=i.
but	SPEC=CLII	coconut.milk	2SG.SBJ=put	many	3SG.SBJ=APPR	burn=IRR

'But put lots of coconut milk [on your hands], (otherwise) it will burn.'/ 'But put lots of coconut milk [on your hands], (so that) it doesn't burn.'

(1-T036-8)

- Prohibitive *ae/te* + RD~V (*=i*)

4.
O=ae	ago~agos=i=a	pei	to'o~to'o,	e=te	tepe=i=o=i.
2SG.SBJ=NEG	RD~hold=TR=3SG.OBJ	part	RD~cut	3SG.SBJ=APPR	cut=TR=2SG.OBJ=IRR

'Don't hold the knife, (otherwise) it might cut you.'/'Don't hold the knife, (so that) it doesn't cut you.'

(2-E028)

Apprehensive clause: dependent

- Precaution clause and Apprehension-causing clause are usually linked asyndetically

- Apprehension-causing clause is syntactically dependent

  1. Evidence that subordinator **can** be employed

  2. No strong evidence that *te + V + =i* can occur as independent clause

Apprehensive clause: subordinator

5.

…e=va-mamago=a		pei	tanga
3SG.SBJ=CAUS-decorate=3SG.OBJ		part	hang

tenava	e=**te**	uga	poto=i…
so.that	3SG.SBJ=APPR	drown	INTS=IRR

'…she adorned him with the necklace, so that he didn't drown…'/'…she adorned him with the necklace, otherwise he might drown…'

(1-T029)

6.

O=tavia	o'ogo=a=i,	**avosia**	saviako	te	ani	o	na=gono,
2SG.SBJ=rub	well=3SG.OBJ=IRR	SUBR	tapioca	OBL	2SG	or	SPEC[CLI]=banana

mata=au	o=to	atuma'as=i=a=i,
what=CLII	2SG.SBJ=EMPH	cook=TR=3SG.OBJ=IRR

e=**te**	ravarava=i
3SG.SBJ=APPR	black=IRR

o=to	Eri	tatu=ina=mu=i.
2SG.SBJ=EMPH	OPT	mash=3PL.OBJ=2SG.IPFV=IRR

'You rub it well, so that your tapioca or the banana, whatever you cooked, won't be black when you want to mash them.'

(1-T036-8)

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Apprehensive clause: independent?

- Only examples from **one** speaker in April 2018 when…

  - …I elicited with Tok Pisin *nogud* 'lest'

7.
U=**te**   nao=**i**   Buka   natui
1SG.SBJ=APPR go=IRR Buka   tomorrow
'Nogud bai mi go long Buka tumora'
'I might go to Buka tomorrow' (3-E002)

  - …we'd discussed the complex sentence first

8.
O=**te**   mate=**i**
2SG.SBJ=APPR   die=IRR
'you might die' (3-E001)

  - …I provided context (shock/Tok Pisin *lukaut* 'look out')

9.
Na='oru   e=**te**   ani=o=**i**
SPEC[CLI]=snake   3SG.SBJ=APPR   eat=2SG.OBJ=IRR
'the snake might/will bite you' (3-E002)

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Apprehensive clause: dependent

- Arguably the speaker was biased by Tok Pisin, especially as using English 'might' resulted in irrealis *=i + bea* 'maybe'
- Arguably the speaker had Precaution clause in mind, c.f.
- **Diyari (Pama-Nyungan; Australia):** Implicit imperative/warning/suggestion and such sentences "may be regarded as structurally subordinate because it is always *possible* to add a main clause before them, although context may make it unnecessary" (Austin 1981:229)
- **Mwotlap (Austronesian, Oceanic; Vanuatu):** Implicit precaution which is reconstructed; context restores/implies precaution or semantic content inferable from speaker's reaction (François 2003: 310-312)
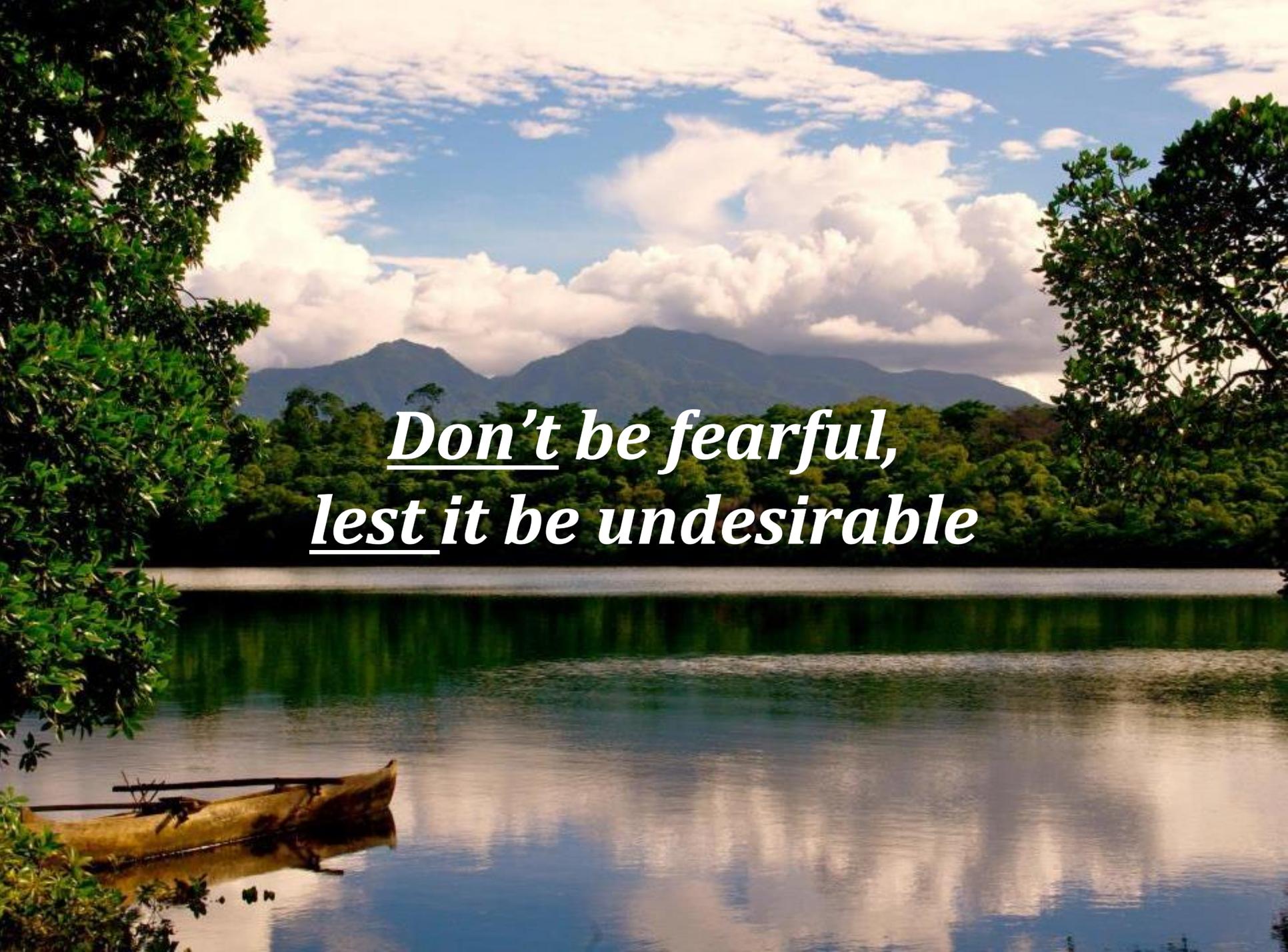
Don't be fearful,
lest it be undesirable

APPR and PROH similarity

- **Lavukaleve (E.Papuan; Solomon Islands):** admonitive mood *-n* = admonitive, deleterious possibility, neg. imperative... (Terrill 2003)

- **Rotokas (E.Papuan; Bougainville):** APPR particle *teapi* 'lest', also as PROH, 'don't / mustn't' c.f. *opeita* 'don't' (Robinson 2011)

- **Tok Pisin (English-based creole; PNG):** *nogut* 'lest, don't, else'

- **Tukang Besi (Austronesian; Indonesia):** conjunction *bara* 'lest', or 'don't' in main clauses, c.f. *ka'ulu* 'don't' (Donohue 1999: 453-454)

- **Maori (Austronesian; NZ):** monitory particle *kei* can also negate imperatives c.f. other negative imperative (Bauer 1993: 37, 465)

- **Vatlongos (Austronesian, Oceanic; Vanuatu):** overlap between APPR mood and PROH prefix paradigm, though prohibitives also require -ve clitic *ti* (Ridge 2019)

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Polysemy?

- Aikhenvald (2010: 358) describes Tok Pisin *nogut* as polysemous
- Also arguably the case for Lavukaleve, Rotokas, Tukang Besi and Maori – because "multiple senses of the same phonological word" which "are judged to be related" (Saaed 2016: 60)

- But in Vatlongos and Papapana – not polysemy because APPR and PROH constructions in each language are not identical
  - Vatlongos – addition of -ve clitic *ti* in PROH (Ridge 2019)
  - Papapana – verbal reduplication in PROH (and irrealis *=i* optional)

- Instead, arguably diachronically related in Papapana
  - *te* is formally identical in both, same syntactic position in VC
  - Senses are similar: *te* marks the event as undesirable in both

Development

- Pakendorf&Schalley (2007) find use of affirmative epistemic/apprehensive forms to express prohibitives rare and propose the grammaticalisation path:

possibility → apprehension → warning → prohibition

  - Involves conventionalization of implicatures
    - Undesirability implicates warning > incipient prohibition

- Counter to proposed unidirectional development **Deontic modality → Epistemic modality**
  - see, e.g., Bybee and Pagliuca (1985), Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer (1991), Traugott (1989)

Direction of development

- If **PROH** *te + RD~V + (=i)* → **APPR** *te + V + =i*

- Then (a) both *te* and *ae* in PROH to begin with

  ❖ But unusual for Oceanic languages to have two PROH morphemes

- Or (b) *ae* began to negate IMP as well as DECL

  ✓ Plausible as Oceanic tend to have distinct negators for IMP&DECL (Lynch et al. 2002, Mosel 1999)

  ❖ But why would *ae* begin to negate IMP?

  ❖ Given *te* is restricted to 'cease', why would there not have previously been a way to express general prohibition ?

- Creates new APPR category

  ❖ Yet Oceanic languages often have apprehensives so how likely is it that one did not already exist?

- 2nd person > 2nd and 3rd person ??

Direction of development

- If **APPR** *te + V + =i* → **PROH** *te + RD~V + (=i)*

- ✓ Existing APPR category, typically Oceanic

- ✓ One PROH *ae + RD~V + (=i)*, typically Oceanic
  - ✓ *ae* is widespread negator and PROH with *ae* 2 x more frequent than PROH with *te* in text corpus

- But why would *te* develop into PROH?
  - Perhaps a negative directive with apprehensive nuance or function of cessative/warning develops into new PROH strategy (see Devos and Van Olmen 2013: 45)
  - Intermediate directive puts the face-threatening act "off record"

- 2nd and 3rd person > 2nd person restriction

Insubordination

- APPR subordinate clause ➔ prohibitive main clause via

- **Insubordination** - "the conventionalized main clause use of what... appear to be formally subordinate clauses" (Evans 2007: 367)

1. Precaution 'do/don't' + Apprehension-causing 'let not/might'

2. Ellipsed precaution, reconstructed by hearer

3. Interpretation restricted to IMP/HORT/PROH > Apprehension-causing is associated with and implicates a command > associated with negative polarity due to *te* 'let not/might'

4. Inference is conventionalized, PROH implicature semanticised

➢ Verb reduplicated on analogy with existing PROH *ae + RD~V + (=i)*

- Anomalous April 2018 examples – intermediate stages

- Could also be motivated by contact with Rotokas and Tok Pisin

Deontic modality

- Papapana data supports Pakendorf&Schalley's (2007) path but this is not necessarily counter to **proposed unidirectional development** Deontic modality → Epistemic modality

- Because prohibitives are not necessarily deontic

  - **Jussive (imperative/hortative/optative) modality** - speaker, as authority, asks the addressee to act as a proxy authority and change the world from its inertial path

  vs. deontic modality, "a general authority asks a proxy authority to act in one way" (Timberlake 2007: 329-330)

  - Permission and obligation should be analysed in speech act terms, as **directives** - "an attempt … by the speaker to get the hearer to do something" (Searle 1976: 11)

  vs. deontic modality – "(degrees of) moral acceptability or necessity" (Nuyts, Byloo, and Diepeveen 2010: 16)

Concluding remarks

- Papapana prohibitives: *te + RD~V (+ =i)* 'don't, cease'

  ae + RD~V (+ =i) 'don't, refrain from'

- Papapana apprehensive clauses: *te + V + =i*

- Other languages where APPR&PROH morphemes are formally similar/identical (often polysemy) – perhaps not so rare after all

- Two functions of *te* related diachronically, but not polysemous

- Papapana data supports Pakendorf and Schalley's (2007) proposed pathway: **apprehension → prohibition**

- Not necessarily against **deontic → epistemic**

- Future – further support for April 2018 analyses? Diachronic source of *te?* Contact-induced change? Other languages showing similar development?

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Mata:na!

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