A scenic landscape featuring a calm lake in the foreground, a dense forest of green trees in the middle ground, and a range of blue mountains in the background under a bright blue sky with scattered white clouds. A wooden canoe is partially visible on the left side of the lake.

Don't be fearful, lest it be undesirable:
**prohibitive and precautionary clauses
in Papapana**

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Outline

1. Introduction:
 - i. Papapana and the data
 - ii. Grammatical overview
2. Papapana prohibitives with *te*
3. Papapana precautionary sentences with *te*
4. Polysemy and grammaticalisation pathways
5. Concluding remarks

Apprehensive

- Type of **epistemic modality** “belief, knowledge, truth, etc. in relation to proposition” (Palmer 1986:96), “characterised by subjectivity, by pragmatic force” (Lichtenberk 1995: 293)
- **Apprehensive** – potential, undesirable, best avoided
- Subtypes (Lichtenberk 1995):
 1. Apprehensive - independent clause
 2. Precautionary (“preemptive” Evans 1995) clause + Apprehension-causing clause
 3. Fear Complementation – complement clause, fear predicate

Papapana: who, where, what



- 99 fluent speakers in Bougainville, PNG
- Northwest Solomonic (NWS) > Oceanic > Austronesian

Papapana: the data

- ❖ Fieldwork 1: June 2011-March 2012
- ❖ Fieldwork 2: March-May 2013
 - 10.5 hrs **T**exts'
 - Observed communicative events: custom descriptions, personal/traditional narratives...
 - Staged communicative events: describing objects, procedural descriptions...
 - 48.5 hrs **E**licitation + Fieldnotes
- ❖ Fieldwork 3: April 2018
 - 1.5 hrs **D**ialogues
 - 2.5 hrs **E**licitation + Fieldnotes

Grammatical overview

- SVO and SOV
- Nominative-accusative
- ‘Verb Complex’: verb (or sequence) + modifiers
 - Subject proclitics and object enclitics
 - Postverbal subject-indexing enclitics (PSI) – NWS, reflects former possessor indexing, typically IPFV
- Tense: absolute, marked past and future
- Aspect: proximative, habitual, continuous, repetitive, completive
- Mode: hypothetical conditional, counterfactual conditional, optative, apprehensive

A scenic landscape featuring a calm lake in the foreground, a dense green forest in the middle ground, and a range of mountains in the background under a blue sky with scattered white clouds. A log is visible in the lower-left corner of the frame.

Don't be fearful...

Overview: Reduplication

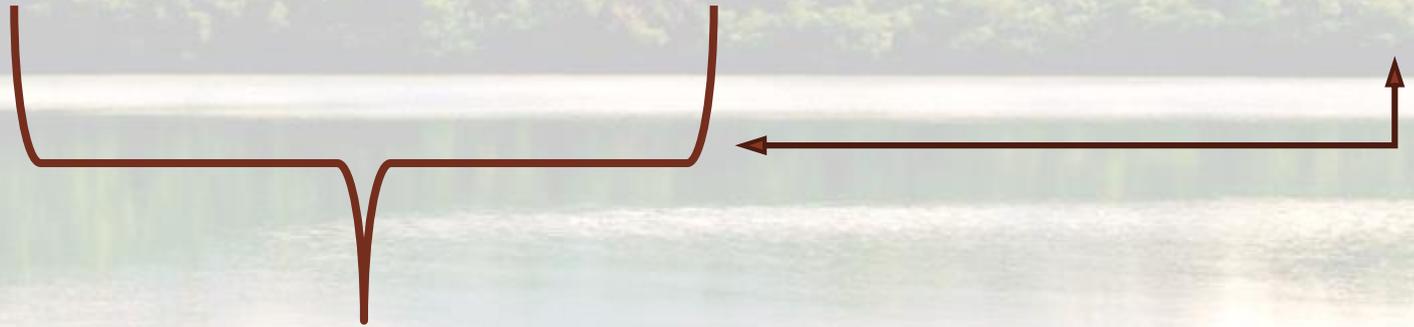
- Leftward, continuous
- Monosyllabic, disyllabic, two patterns of multiple reduplication
- Inflectional functions (Verbs):
 - All four types + **PSI** = Continuous/Habitual
 - Mono/Disyllabic + Reciprocal/Reflexive **vei** = Reciprocal
 - **Mono/Disyllabic + Negative *ae* = Prohibitive**
 - **Mono/Disyllabic + Apprehensive *te* = Prohibitive**

Overview: Negation

- **Negative *ae*** = Negation of verbal declarative predicates
- ***aruai***
 - Negation of verbless declarative predicates
 - Numeral ‘zero’
 - Negative answer to questions ‘no’
 - Negative existential verb ‘to be not’
- ❖ In a few Oceanic languages negators are “derived from a negative verb [that] has been grammaticalised to such a degree that it has become part of the VC” (Lynch et al. 2002: 88)

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	



Prohibitives

1. **Mu=ae** **nao~nao** **tac=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)
2. **O=ae** **oto~‘oto** **te=na=au** **obutu**
2SG.SBJ=NEG RD~board OBL=SPEC=CLII canoe
‘Don’t board the canoe’ (2-E026)
3. **Mu=te** **nao~nao=i**
2PL.SBJ=APPR RD~go=IRR
“Don’t go/You’re not going” (1-T053)|
4. **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

- 2011-2013: speakers reported no difference between *ae* and *te*; interchangeable

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

6. O=**te** **to~tonu**
2SG.SBJ=APPR RD~stand
'Don't stand up' (2-E028-2)

Prohibitives

- 2018: one speaker reported *ae* is used when action hasn't begun yet, while *te* is used when prohibiting someone from doing something already commenced

7. O=**ae** vae~vaene, o=te pu=i
2SG.SBJ=NEG RD~climb 2SG.SBJ=APPR fall=IRR
'Don't climb the tree (that you haven't climbed yet), (or) you might fall' (3-E001)
8. O=**te** vae~vaene, o=te pu=i
2SG.SBJ=APPR RD~climb 2SG.SBJ=APPR fall=IRR
'Don't climb the tree (that you've started to climb), (or) you might fall' (3-E001)

Prohibitives

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

9. **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:

10. **Mu=ae** **nao~nao** **tac=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:

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

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...lest it be undesirable

Overview: General irrealis =i

- Future
- Present Habitual
- Imperatives (optionally)

+ Past Imperfective *pei*

= Past Habitual

+ Optative *eri* + PSI

= Optative

+ Conditional *awa*

= Hypothetical Conditional
(with =i in main clause)

+ Apprehensive *te*

= Apprehensive
(with Imp/Proh/Decl main)

Overview: General irrealis =i

- Future
 - Event is about to occur

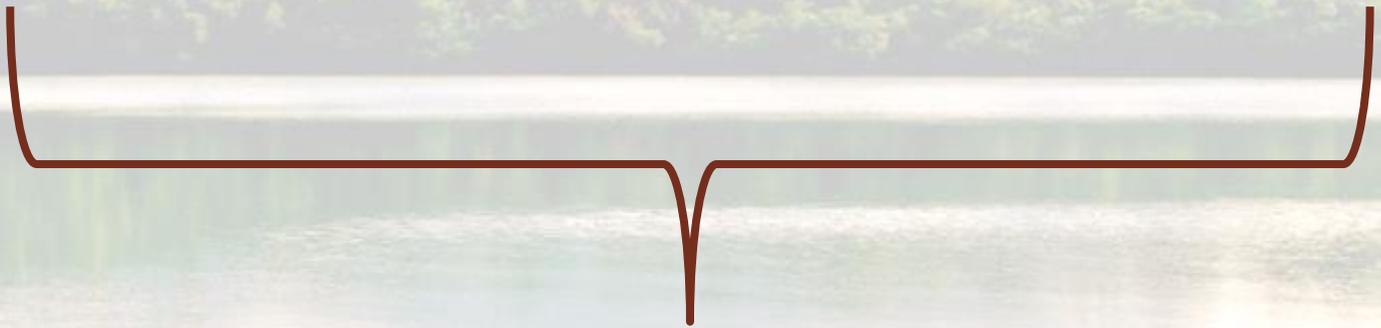
12. “U=nao=i i-ava”
1SG.SBJ=go=IRR LOC-sea
“‘I’m going to sea’” (1-T031)

- Event will occur tomorrow/following week
- Event will occur at unspecified time in future
- Event that speaker is hypothesising will happen

13. Ben bea e=oto=i te=na=au obutu
Ben maybe 3SG.SBJ=board=IRR OBL=SPEC=CLII canoe
‘Maybe Ben will board the canoe’ (2-E007-1)

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



Precautionary sentences

- **Precaution/pre-emptive (main) clause:**
Imperative/Hortative (=i) or Prohibitive *ae/te* + RD (=i)
 - Expresses preventative action to take, to avoid the...
- **Apprehension-causing (adverbial) clause:** *te* + =i

14. “**Sa=nao** tovon*i* 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, if/in case they’re lying to us/they might be lying to us.” (1-T034)

- Precaution precedes Apprehension-causing - iconic and common cross-linguistic tendency (Dixon 2009: 48)

Avertive vs. 'in case' (Lichtenberk 1995)

- AVERTIVE function: Agent can prevent event

19. nu=tataguvu o=de=a,
SPEC.CLII=umbrella 2SG.OBJ=take=3SG.OBJ

o=te u'usi=i
2SG.SBJ=APPR wet=IRR

'Take the umbrella so that you don't get wet/*or you might get wet*' (3-E002)

- IN CASE function: Agent cannot prevent event

20. o=de=a nu=tataguvu,
2SG.OBJ=take=3SG.OBJ SPEC.CLII=umbrella

na=naoi e=te si'i=i
SPEC[CLI]=rain 3SG.SBJ=APPR rain=IRR

'Take the umbrella, in case it rains/*it might rain*' (3-E002)

- No formal distinction in Papapana

Apprehensive clause: dependent

- Precaution clause and Apprehension-causing clause are usually linked asyndetically
- Apprehension-causing clause is pragmatically dependent as it is justification for Precaution
- Apprehension-causing clause is syntactically dependent
 - Evidence that subordinator can be employed
 - No strong evidence that Apprehension-causing clause can occur independently

Apprehensive clause: subordinator

- Sometimes there **is** a subordinator:

21. **tenava e=te uga pota=i.**
so.that 3SG.SBJ=APPR drown INTS=IRR
'she adorned him with the necklace, otherwise he would drown
/so that he did not drown' (1-T029)

22. **O=tavia o'ogo=a=i,**
2SG.SBJ=rub well=3SG.OBJ=IRR

avosia saviako te ani o na=gono... e=te ravarava=i
SUBR tapioca OBL 2SG or SPEC[CLI]=banana 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 banana... [whatever you cooked] won't be black when you want to mash them' (1-T036-8)

Apprehensive clause: independent?

- Only examples from **one** speaker in April 2018 when...
 - ...we'd discussed the complex sentence first

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

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

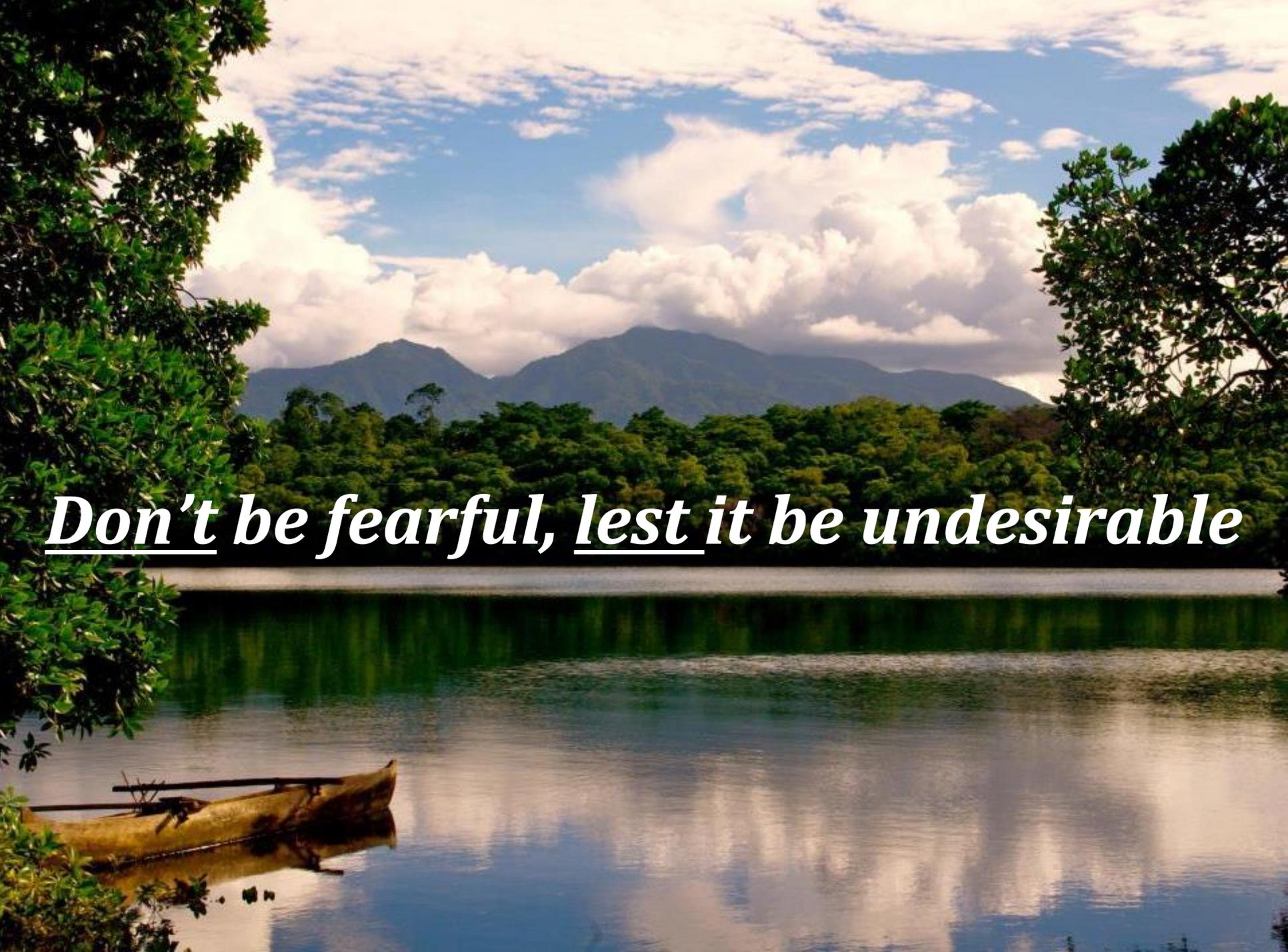
24. Na='oru e=**te** ani=o=**i**
SPEC[CLI]=snake 3SG.SBJ=APPR eat=2SG.OBJ=IRR
'the snake might/will bite you' (3-E002)

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

25. 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)

Apprehensive clause: dependent

- Arguably the speaker was biased by Tok Pisin, especially as using English ‘might’ > =*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; Vanuatu):** Command left implicit (François 2003)
- **Ese Ejja (Takanan; Amazon):** Precaution not syntactically obligatory in Apprehensive (only for Avertive) (Vuillermet 2018)

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Don't be fearful, lest it be undesirable

Polysemy

- Some other languages demonstrate same polysemy as *te*
- ? **Hoava (NWS; Solomons):** modal negative, NEG:WARN *maki* ‘lest, let not, don’t’ and NEG *kae* for prohibitives (Davis 2003)
- **Rotokas (Papuan; Bougainville):** APPR particle *teapi* ‘lest’, also as PROH, ‘don’t / mustn’t’ and *opeita* ‘don’t’ (Robinson 2011)
- **Tukang Besi (Austronesian; Indonesia):** conjunction *bara* ‘lest’, or ‘don’t’ in main clauses (Donohue 1999: 453-454),
- **Maori (Austronesian; NZ):** monitory particle *kei* can also negate imperatives (Bauer 1993: 37, 465)
- **Akkadian (Semitic; Iraq):** *lã* negates imperative, purposive clauses, non-main clauses (Deutscher 2009)
- **Sakha (Turkic; Russian Federation):** 2nd affirmative “Voluntative-Potential” forms convey future prohibition, 1st and 3rd forms express possibility&hope but may have apprehensive nuance (Pakendorf&Schalley 2007)

Grammaticalisation

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

possibility → apprehension → warning → prohibition

- Involves **conventionalization of implicatures** (Traugott 1989)
 - Undesirability implicates warning = incipient prohibition
 - Undesirability is semanticised – pragmatic strengthening
- Counter to assumed unidirectional development
Deontic modalities → Epistemic modalities
 - Involves generalisation/weakening of semantic content, brought about by **metaphorical extension**

Summary

<i>=i</i>	APPREHENSIVE <i>te + =i</i>	PROHIBITIVE <i>te + RD (+ =i)</i>	PROHIBITIVE <i>ae + RD (+ =i)</i>	<i>ae</i>
Affirmative	Affirmative?	Negative	Negative	Negative
Declarative	Declarative	Imperative	Imperative	Declarative
1/2/3 person	(1)2/3 person	2nd person	2 nd person	1/2/3 person
Indep./Dep.	Dependent	Independent	Independent	Indep./Dep.
Future (uncertain – <i>bea</i> 'maybe')	Potential	Potential? About to/ In progress?	Potential Not started /General?	
	Undesirable	Undesirable	Undesirable	
	Best avoided (speaker takes precaution or directs hearer to take precaution)	Best avoided (speaker directs hearer to avoid)	Best avoided (speaker directs hearer to avoid)	

■ APPR → PROH

or

PROH → APPR ?

How did polysemy arise?

- Oceanic languages (in Lynch et al. 2002) – unusual to have two PROH
- If **APPR** *te* → **PROH** *te*, then *ae* is original PROH
 - ✓ Why would *te* develop into PROH? To add **more subjectivity/** pragmatic force (disapproval, urgency) to the command?
 - ❖ No evidence of initial Possibility stage (Pakendorf&Schalley 2007)
 - ✓ Some Oceanic languages do use NEG for PROH
 - ✓ x2 more examples of *ae* than *te* in Texts
 - ❖ Restriction to 2nd person, but Dependent → Independent
- If **PROH** *te* → **APPR** *te*, then *te* is original PROH
 - ✓ Creates new APPR category
 - ✓ Oceanic languages tend to have distinct NEG and PROH (Lynch et al. 2002, Mosel 1999)
 - ❖ Why would *ae* develop into PROH? **Extending** its scope from Decl → Imp? Are speakers forgetting *te* and using more **general** marker?
 - ❖ Extension to all persons, but Independent → Dependent

Concluding remarks

- Prohibitives – two constructions
- Precautionary sentences
 - Precaution/preemptive precedes apprehension-causing (common cross-linguistically)
 - No preference for non-co-referential subjects (c.f. Schmidtke-Bode 2009)
 - No formal distinction Avertive vs. In Case
 - Usually clauses linked asyndetically
 - Apprehensive is dependent
- Polysemy with Prohibitive clauses, not widely attested
- APPR *te* ↔ PROH *te* ??

Mata:na!
Thank you!



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