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# Verbal number in Kibiri

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## Summary

- Introduction to Kibiri
- Methodology
- Intransitive stative verbs
- Intransitive dynamic verbs
- Transitive verbs: PN of O + EN
- Ditransitive verbs
- Conclusion

- Kibiri [prm] No ISO code yet
- Etymology: Kitouri tree (species?)
- Kibiri-Porome: Isolate (Hammarström 2017 : 297)
- 300 people (Kimuri Kaini, p.c.)
- 32 L1 speakers
- Intelligible with Porome [prm] (Franklin 1973:273-274; Petterson 2019:1-2)
- Most documentation on Porome by Robert Petterson (SIL)
- Previous documentation: 6 sentences and pronouns in Franklin (1973)

#### Kitouri tree (species?)



- Gulf Province, Kikori district
- Kikori, Babeio/Veiru, Kekea 1 and 2, Doibo.



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- Other L1 speakers: Port Moresby, Veraibari and Kerema
- Live among other groups: Kerewo, Porome, Rumu, etc.

- 300 people
- 32 remaining L1 speakers
- 40 90 years old
- Hiri Motu [hmo], Tok Pisin [tpi], Kerewo [kxz], some English
- Hiri Motu: all social settings (house, church, tribal meetings, etc) + Kerewo
- Children generation (30 55): referential KBR NPs into HM speech, understanding, translation
- Grandchildren generation (< 25): recognition of some words, some understanding no understanding at all.

- Low socialization among L1 speakers: HM, KBR sometimes
- As L2: Non-Kibiri partner (Kerewo, Porome)
- Today's house: Kibiri + Kerewo grandparent
- Start of cessation of transmission: 1970's
- Intermarriage with other groups: Kerewo, etc.
- Non-Kibiri parent's language took over house interactions
- Port Moresby national missionaries speaking HM with the kids. Ban to use KBR?
- Expanded Graded Intergenerational Distruption Scale (EGIDS, Lewis and Simons 2010)
- 8a Moribund or 8b Nearly Extinct

- Corbett (2000)
- Problem: Event number (EN) and Participant number (PN) exhibit the same morphological means:
- Suppletion, partial reduplication.
- How do they interact?
- How to disambiguate situations?

- Ongoing analysis!
- Empirical data
- Elicitation, oral texts, data discussion with speakers
- Stimuli material
- 727 videos/pictures
  - Intransitive statives: 61
  - Intransitive dynamics: 167
  - Transitives: 480
  - Ditransitives: 19
- 3 months, 3 speakers
- 14 participants

- Verbs that were investigated, but not all of them are sensitive to verbal number
- Intransitive statives: 5
  - Lie (on the ground)
  - Hang
  - Stand
  - Sit
  - Float
- Intransitive dynamics: 15
  - Jump
  - Stand up
  - Fall
  - Limp
  - Roll (on the ground)

- Verbs that were investigated, but not all of them are sensitive to verbal number
- Transitives: 30 verbs
  - Hit
  - Kill
  - Hang
  - Break
  - Blow
- Ditransitives: 1
  - Give

- Stimuli parameters
  - Repetition of the event (2 or more times)
  - Number of S, O, theme, recipient.
    - Singular, dual?, plural
  - Once one by one (O1B1)
  - Once at the same time (OATST)
  - Many times one by one (MT1B1)
  - Many times at the same time (MTATST)

## Nominal number vs. Verbal number

| Nominal Number   | Verbal Number   |
|--|---|
| Locus: Noun  | Locus: Verb   |
| Suffixes: $-bu$ , $-a$ on nouns<br>Partial reduplication is very rare. | Suffixes –sto, -wo<br>Partial reduplication is widespread<br>Suppletion |
|  |   |

opuito tere kubi ke~kere buai ma~mairi (...) now person tree.abst PL~PART two O.PL~carry 'Now, the man carried two logs'

#### Intransitive stative verbs: PN of S



(1) Myriam da=ba e-a
 myriam 3SG=EMPH lie.S.SG-3.PRS
 'Myriam is lying (on the floor)'



(2) Mi buai da=ba teri-a girl.ABST two 3SG=EMPH lie.S.PL-3.PRS
'The two girls are lying on the floor'

#### Intransitive stative verbs: PN of S



(3) Mi ewa da=ba ete-a
girl.ABST big 3SG=EMPH stand.S.SG-3.PRS
'The big girl is standing'



 (4) Miryam Umo aboai=ba uri-a myriam umo 3D=EMPH stand.S.PL-3.PRS
 'Myriam and Umo are both standing'

#### Intransitive stative verbs: $\ensuremath{\text{PN}}$ of S





(5) Ukukuro da=ba tete-a
rope.ABST 3SG=EMPH? hang.S.SG-3.PRS
'The rope is hanging'

(6) Ukukuro buai da=ba rope.ABST two 3SG=EMPH 'The two ropes are hanging' kaiw-a hang.S.PL-3.PRS

#### Intransitive stative verbs: PN of S





 (7) Kubi kere da=ba ubi-neika bai-a (8) tree.ABST PART 3SG=EMPH water.ABST-in float.S.SG-3.PRS
 'The stick is floating in the water'

(8) Kubi kere buai ubi-neika ba~bai-are
 PRS tree.ABST PART two water.ASBT-in S.PL~float -IPFV
 'The two sticks are floating in the water'

#### Intransitive stative verbs: PN of S



Also: *ibitimaro* vs *ibi~bitimaro* 'Sit'



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## Intransitive dynamics: EN > PN of S

(9) bueri nimo paruoi do-bu
 unmarried.woman woman jump.SG AUX-3.HODPST
 'The girl jumped once'

(10) bueri nimo pa~paruoi do-bu
 umarried.woman woman jump.PL AUX-3.HODPST
 'The girl jumped many times'

(11) koberi tere wawa paruo-bu bueri nimo unmarried.man male one jump.SG-3.HODPST unmarried.woman female

itapa wawa paruo-bu also one jump.SG-3.HODPST 'The man jumped once, the woman also jumped once' (O1B1)

## Intransitive dynamics: EN > PN of S

(12) nauara wawa pa~paruo-bu
together one S.PL~jump-3.HODPST
'(They) jumped together once' (OATST)

(13) aboakei mi ai keu pa~paruo-bu
3D girl.ABST boy.ABST many S.PL~jump-3.HODPST
'The girl and the boy both jumped many times' (MT1B1)

(14) aboakei keu pa~paruo-bu

3D many S.PL~jump-3.HODPST 'They both jumped many times' (MTATST)

Other verb(s): bai vs ba~bai 'stand up'

## Intransitive dynamics: PN of ${\rm S}$

#### -sto suffix

- (15) kubi okoire-ra-bu tree.ABST fall-PFV-3.HODPST 'The tree has fallen'
- (16) kubi-abo okoire-sto-ra-bu
  tree.ABST-DEF.PL fall-S.PL-PFV-3.HODPST
  'The trees have fallen'

#### Transitives: PN of O





- (17) moi-da=nei kubi kere **mairi**-are man-DEF.SG=AGT tree.ABST PART **carry.O.SG**-IPFV 'The man is carrying one log'
- (18) moi-da=nei kubi kere ma~mairi-are
   man-DEF.SG=AGT tree.ASBT PART O.PL~carry-IPFV
   'The man is carrying many logs'

#### Transitives: PN of O



Also: *mare vs. ma~mare* 'Catch'



(17) moi-da=nei kubi kere **mairi**-are man-DEF.SG=AGT tree.ABST PART **carry.O.SG**-IPFV 'The man is carrying one log' (18) moi-da=nei kubi kere ma~mairi-are
man-DEF.SG=AGT tree.ASBT PART O.PL~carry-IPFV
'The man is carrying many logs'

## Transitives: PN of O +EN

- (19) moi-da ukukuro wawa tetea-bu
  man-DEF.SG rope.ABST one hang.O.SG-3.HODPST
  'The man hung the rope'
- (20) moi-da opoi ukukuro buai nauara kaiawo-bu man-DEF.SG now rope.ABST two together hang.O.PL-3.HODPST
   'The man hung two ropes (once) at the same time' (OATST)
- (21) moi-da ukukuro-da wawa keu beiro maira=nei man-DEF.SG rope.ABST-DEF.SG one many day.CSTR time=?

ka~kaiawo=ba

PL~hang.O.PL=DECL

'The man hung the (SAME) ROPE many times' (1MT, O1B1) = hung the ROPES SEPARATELY ONE BY ONE = MANY TIMES. Both meanings are ok.

#### Transitives: PN of O +EN

(22) Karera etere-mi=nei kubi kere kevo-are
 kid small-DIM=AGT tree.ABST PART break.SG-IPFV
 'The small kid is breaking one stick once'

(23) Karera etere-mi=nei kubi kere ke~kevo-are
 kid small-DIM=AGT tree.ABST PART PL~break-IPFV
 'The small kid is breaking one stick many times'

(24) Karera etere-mi=nei kubi kere buakei kevo-sto-are
 kid small-DIM=AGT tree PART two break.SG-O.PL-IPFV
 'The small kid is breaking two sticks once'

(25) Karera etere-mi=nei kubi kere buakei ke~kevo-sto-are
 kid small-DIM=AGT tree.ABST PART two PL~break-O.PL-IPFV
 'The kid is breaking two sticks many times'

## Transitives: PN of O +EN



## Ditransitives: PN of T

(26) mi=nei=nei
kubi
kere
wawa apa-bu
mi=nei=nei=ra
girl.ABST=?=AGT tree.ABST
PART one
give-3.HODPST
girl.ABST=?=R
'The girl gave one stick to the (other) girl'

(27) mi=nei=nei kubi ke~kere buai buai apa-wo-bu girl.ABST=?=AGT tree.ABST PL~PART two two give-T.PL-3.HODPST

mi=nei=nei=ra

girl.ABST=?=?=R

'The girl gave four sticks to the (other) girl'

### Conclusion

|                | Par                     | Event   |           |            |
|----------------|-------------------------|---|-----------|------------|
|                | S                       | O/T   | Recipient |            |
| Intr. Statives | Suppl / Part. Red.      |   |           |            |
| Intr. Dynamics | Suffix -sto/ Part. Red. |   |           | Part. Red. |
| Transitives    |                         | Suffix <i>-sto /</i><br>Part. Red./<br>Suppletion |           | Part. Red. |
| Ditransitives  |                         | Suffix -wo  |           |            |

In intransitive dynamic verbs, when the participant number of S is SG, partial reduplication expresses event number (many times), but when the participant number of S is PL, then partial reduplication expresses plurality of the S participant and event number expression is obliterated

### Conclusion

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| Ditransitives  |                                 | Suffix -wo  |           |            |

In intransitive dynamic verbs, when the participant number of S is SG, partial reduplication expresses event number (many times), but when the participant number of S is PL, then partial reduplication expresses plurality of the S participant and event number expression is obliterated

## Conclusion

- Ergative behaviour: Corbett (2000)
- PN's morphology is more complex tan EN's
- EN interpretation is obliterated when PN is PL in intransitive dynamic verbs, more research is needed.
- EN and PN can be marked simultenously, but semantically one can imply the other (break)
- The parameters 1B1 and ATST help to disambiguate situations

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## Amo dororiba!

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