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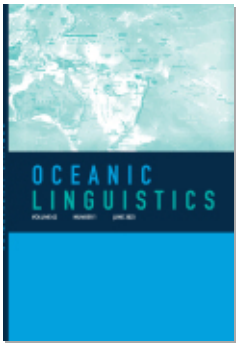

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Comitative Constructions in Reefs–Santa Cruz

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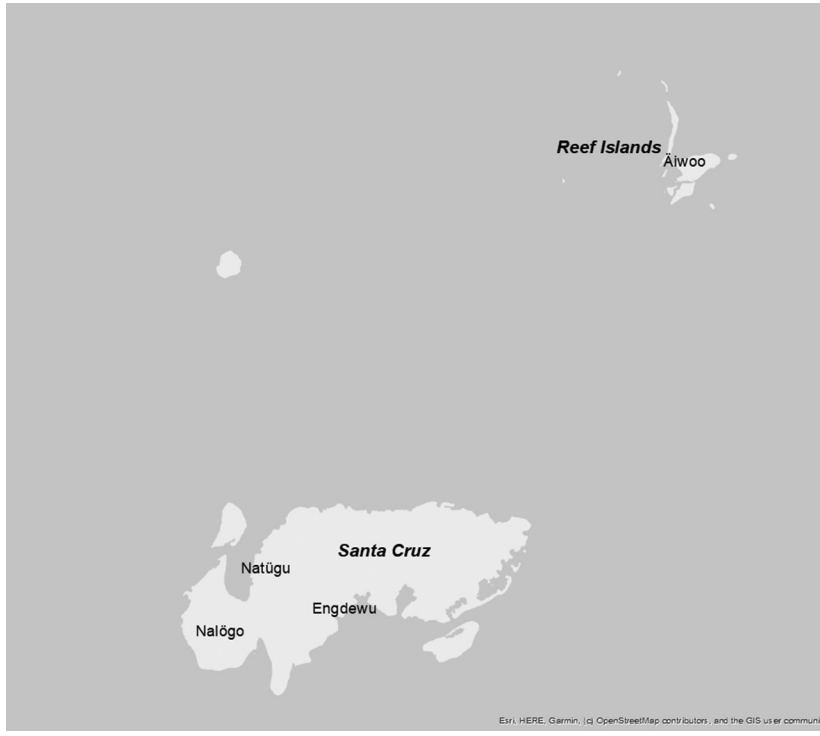
This paper describes and compares comitative constructions across the Reefs–Santa Cruz languages Äiwoo, Engdewu, Nalögo, and Natügu. Each of these languages shows a complex array of constructions, with considerable variation across languages both in the forms used, in which constructions are used for genuine comitative versus depictive constructions (as in *I climbed with the basket*, where I am climbing but the basket is not), and in which additional functions the different constructions can be extended to. At the same time, there are commonalities across the four languages, as would be expected from a low-level Oceanic subgroup such as Reefs–Santa Cruz; but the commonalities are complex and crosscut constructions and language groupings. Our historical account of this situation takes as its starting point the Proto-Oceanic comitative forms *ma, *ma-i, and *aki[ni] and assumes different grammaticalization paths and functional extensions across the languages, in particular, in Äiwoo, on the one hand, and the Santa Cruz languages, on the other. We thus contribute to disentangling the complex historical relationships within this language group, which has only fairly recently been recognized as Oceanic.

Keywords: Comitatives; Reefs–Santa Cruz; Proto-Oceanic; Valency

1. INTRODUCTION. The Reefs–Santa Cruz (RSC) languages are spoken in Solomon Islands' Temotu Province and belong to the Temotu subgroup of Oceanic (Ross and Næss 2007). Given the status of Temotu as a first-order subgroup, understanding how RSC relates to the rest of Oceanic is important for a better understanding of the overall history and typology of Oceanic languages.

In this paper, we describe and compare comitative constructions across RSC. We propose a historical account for the patterns found, starting with the Proto-Oceanic (POC) forms *ma, *ma-i, and *akin[i] discussed in section 2.2. We posit different grammaticalization paths and functional extensions across the languages, which account for significant differences between Äiwoo (Reefs) as opposed to the Santa Cruz (SC) languages.

MAP 1. SANTA CRUZ AND THE REEF ISLANDS WITH APPROXIMATE LOCATION OF THE LANGUAGES DISCUSSED IN THIS PAPER.



The data comes from fieldwork by the authors[1] across four RSC languages:

- **Äiwoo** [nfl] (Reefs), spoken in the Reef Islands approximately 70 km north-east of Santa Cruz, as well as in settlements on Santa Cruz (map 1); the largest language of the area with an estimated 8,000 speakers.[2]
- **Engdewu** [ngr] (Nagu/Nanggu), spoken by approximately 200 people in southeastern Santa Cruz. Speakers there have intermarried

1. Næss' fieldwork on Äiwoo was funded by the Research Council of Norway, grant no. 148717, and the Endangered Language Documentation Programme, grant no. SG0308. Her work on the research presented here was conducted within Research Council of Norway project no. 275243. Næss thanks John Rentz and Luke Gitakulu for additional data and discussion. Alfarano's fieldwork on Nalögo involved three months in 2015 and four months in 2017–2018; the second field trip was funded by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme, grant no. SG0453. Boerger's fieldwork on Natügu spanned twenty years of residence in the language community, supplemented by two twelve-month Documenting Endangered Languages Fellowships in 2010–2011 (#FN-50063-10) and 2015–2016 (#FN-230212-15). Vaa's fieldwork on Engdewu took place during a total of six months in 2009 and 2011 as part of his doctoral research.
2. Speaker numbers are based on the 1999 census (DeBruijn and Beimers 1999); later censuses do not include information about language.

extensively with Äiwoo speakers, which has had some influence on the language (Emerine 2009).

- **Nalögo** [nlz], spoken in south and southwest Santa Cruz by around 1,600 speakers, with significant dialectal variation between villages.
- **Natügu** [ntu], spoken in northern Santa Cruz, particularly around Graciosa Bay, with an estimated 4,000 speakers.
- A fifth variety, **Noipä** [npx], was identified in 2015 (Boerger 2017; Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2021) based on 200 words collected in 2015, but no connected discourse data were collected.[3]

The fact that the RSC languages were not conclusively identified as Oceanic until 2007 is due to two major factors. First, these languages exhibit a number of structural properties which seem unusual from an Oceanic perspective (Næss 2006; Næss and Boerger 2008). Second, there has been extensive phonological reduction of lexical roots as well as semantic shift and lexical replacement, which makes identifying cognates within RSC as well as between RSC and the rest of Oceanic a challenging endeavor (Wurm 1978[4]; Ross and Næss 2007; Lackey and Boerger 2021).

Until relatively recently, the RSC languages were poorly described, but ongoing work is showing that the differences within the group are considerable, in particular when comparing the SC languages as a group to Äiwoo. In addition to differences in the lexicon, considerable differences amongst these four languages are also found in the grammar, and structures relating to valency and argument structure, in particular, show significant variation (cf. section 3 below). This points to a complex history which has a bearing on our understanding of the grammatical characteristics and history of Oceanic languages in general, especially since the RSC languages belong to a first-order subgroup of Oceanic the only other members of which are the even less studied languages of Utupua and Vanikoro.

In the domain of valency and argument structure, comparative studies of RSC are of particular interest, since Äiwoo is analyzed as having a symmetrical voice system of essentially the type reconstructed for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP; Næss 2015, 2021), while the SC languages, Nalögo, Natügu, and Engdewu, are described as exhibiting transitivity alternations more akin to those usually found in Oceanic languages (van den Berg and Boerger 2011; Vaa 2013; Alfarano 2021). Assuming that the Äiwoo system is the original one, which seems justified given that the relevant morphology largely continues PMP forms, the RSC subgroup then exhibits a micro-version of the transition from a symmetrical voice system to a system of transitivity alternations, which is usually posited to have taken place between PMP and POc

3. A comparative RSC wordlist, including Noipä, is included as an appendix to Lackey and Boerger (2021).
4. Wurm attributed the scarcity of obvious cognates to a non-Austronesian substrate, a hypothesis which has since been essentially refuted.

(Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002:57–62). The precise relationship between the systems in the various RSC languages is in need of more thorough study, however, and in this paper, we aim to contribute to this understanding through examining comitatives, which interact with core valency-related alternations in different ways and so form a valuable starting point for understanding differences in the complex valency constructions across the RSC group.

Each of the four languages shows at least two basic comitative constructions, one with a preposition or conjunction and one with an applicative morpheme which adds an argument to the verb's valency. Both of these, however, differ considerably in their formal and functional properties across the four languages. For example, the Äiwoo comitative preposition *mo* takes no person markers; Engdewu *ma* can be marked for 3MIN but apparently no other persons; and Nalögo *ba* can take the full range of person markers, whereas Natügu appears to have grammaticalized *ba*+3AUG into the invariant form *badö* 'with'.

As for applicatives, all the SC languages show an applicative suffix *-mi* with a broadly comitative function, but there is variation both in its distributional properties and its functions. Regarding distribution, in Engdewu and Nalögo *-mi* must follow the verb stem directly, whereas two different positions in the verb complex are possible in Natügu (Boerger 2022a). Functionally, in Natügu *-mi* extends to instruments, which is not the case for the other two languages, whereas Nalögo *-mi* also occurs in a clause-linking construction with a nominalized clause as its object which is not attested in the other SC languages. Äiwoo has two forms which might be analyzed as comitative applicatives, *-mäi* and *-i*, but they differ in that each promotes a different argument in the comitative situation, what we will call the accompanee (***I*** *went with Jane*) versus the companion (*I went with* ***Jane***). In addition, there are functions which recur across two or more languages, but with different comitative constructions; for example, the "similative" argument of a verb meaning 'be like, resemble' (*He is like* ***his father***) can be introduced by the comitative preposition in Äiwoo, and by the comitative applicative in Nalögo.

In this paper, we describe the above variation in detail, and attempt to make historical sense of it. Starting from what has been reconstructed for POC in the domain of comitative and related constructions, we show that the patterns in present-day RSC can largely be accounted for by assuming that known POC sources have been grammaticalized and their functions have been expanded differently in the four languages. In particular, the way that the comitative applicative constructions interact with other applicatives in each language differs considerably. Thus, understanding the relationships between comitative constructions is an important step in untangling the complex picture of valency and grammatical relations across RSC, and in turn how this relates to POC.

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows: In section 2, we discuss the typology of comitative constructions and the terminology used in this paper, and lay out what is known about comitative-type constructions in POC. Section 3 presents the key grammatical properties of each of the four languages

that are relevant for the rest of this paper. Sections 4–7 describe the comitative constructions found in each of the four languages, while section 8 concludes by comparing them and relating them back to the POc forms introduced in section 2.2.

2. COMITATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS: TYPOLOGICAL AND OCEANIC PERSPECTIVES.

2.1. DEFINITIONS AND TERMINOLOGY. We base our analytical distinctions on Arkhipov's (2009) typological work on comitatives. Arkhipov distinguishes between genuine comitative constructions and what he calls quasi-comitatives, that is, constructions which have properties in common with comitatives proper, but deviate along one or more parameters. He defines genuine comitative constructions as follows:

> A (genuine) comitative construction (=ComC) is a morphosyntactic construction used to express a nonobligatory participant set in a given situation S, such that:
>
> (i) the predicate denoting S is not repeated more than once;
>
> (ii) the individual participants making up the participant set are expressed separately;
>
> (iii) the expressions denoting these participants differ in structural rank. (Arkhipov 2009:224)

A participant set is defined as "two or more separate individuals [who] are ascribed the same type of participation in the event" (Maslova 2007:337). In other words, cases like *I ran home with my brother*, where I and my brother are both running, count as involving a participant set and therefore as a genuine comitative, whereas *I ran home with the groceries*, where I am running but the groceries are not, does not. The latter is labeled a "depictive"[5] function by Arkhipov (2009:237), and is a type of quasi-comitative.

The requirement that the expressions denoting the participants differ in structural rank further excludes cases like *My brother and I ran together*, where 'my brother and I' form a single, complex subject noun phrase NP.

In discussing the arguments of comitative constructions, we follow Stolz, Stroh, and Urdze (2006:17) in using the terms "accompanee" for the participant presented as carrying out an action, and "companion" for the participant presented as carrying out the action along with the accompanee. So, for instance, in *I went with Jane*, *I* is the accompanee and *Jane* is the companion.

5. Alternative terms for this depictive function found in the Oceanist literature are 'confective' (e.g., Harrison 1982; Lichtenberk 2008; Schnell 2011; see also Lehmann and Shin 2005) and 'non-co-agentive' (Bril 2004).

2.2. COMITATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN OCEANIC. From a crosslinguistic perspective, it is not unusual for forms meaning 'with' in a comitative sense to be difficult to classify as either prepositions or conjunctions (Libert 2013:101–03), and this classificatory issue is well known from Oceanic languages. Often, comitative markers in Oceanic languages are homophonous with a conjunction used for so-called tight nominal coordination, that is, indicating a close relationship between the conjuncts such as, for example, husband and wife or other entities considered to naturally belong together (Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004:477); the question then becomes whether a formal distinction can be drawn between the forms in the two functions. Examples of comitative markers in Oceanic languages are given in (1).[6]

(1) a. ANEJOM̃ [aty] (Vanuatu)
Et apan aen **im** etma-n.
3SG.AOR go 3SG COM father-3SG
'S/he went with his/her father.' (Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004:477)

b. EAST UVEAN [wls] (Wallis and Futuna)
Ne'e momoe te kiu **mo** te fo-i 'uga i Vaitupu.
PAST sleep.PL DEF egret and DEF CLAS hermit.crab OBL Vaitupu
'The egret and the hermit-crab slept at Vaitupu'
(Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004:478)

c. NÊLÊMWA [nee] (New Caledonia)
Hli muuvi **ma** ti?
3DU live COM who
'Who does s/he live with?'
(Bril 2000 cited in Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004:477)

The key criteria for distinguishing a comitative adposition from a coordinating conjunction are usually considered to be extraction (an adposition may be stranded, a conjunction may not) and agreement, that is, whether the verb or other elements in the clause agrees with the referents of one or both NPs (Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004:487; Bril 2011). Note that in the Anejom̃ example in (1a), the verb is marked for the accompanee only, which by the agreement criterion would make Anejom̃ *im* a preposition rather than a conjunction. By contrast, the reduplicated verb *momoe* 'sleep.PL' in the East

6. Abbreviations used in glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules where these apply. Additional abbreviations: AOR, aorist; APPR, apprehensive; AUG, augmented number; AV, actor voice; COM, comitative/depictive; CONJ, conjunction; CONT, continuous; COS, change of state; CV, circumstantial voice; DEHOR, dehortative; DEIC, deictic; DEM, demonstrative; DETR, detransitivizing prefix; DIR, directional; DISTR, distributive; GDIR, geocentric directional; MIN, minimal number; MOD, modal particle; N3AUG, non-third person augmented; PA, pluractional; PCLF, possessive classifier; PDIR, person directional; PRAG, pragmatic marker; PREF, prefix with uncertain function; PREP, preposition; QNT, quantifier; QUOT, quotative marker; RL, realis; SEQ, sequential; TPNYM, toponymic; UA, unit-augmented number; UV, undergoer voice. The indices I and II on person markers refer to distinct paradigms with different distributional restrictions. The distinction between 'person directionals' and 'geocentric directionals' is made for the SC languages, where both sets are clearly bound grammatical morphemes. The Äiwoo equivalent of geocentric directionals are arguably better analyzed as verbs serialized to the main predicate of the clause; they are thus glossed as 'go up', 'go down', and so on, while the label DIR is used for the person directionals.

Uvean example (1b) agrees jointly with both referents, the egret and the hermit crab. The Nêlêmwa example in (1c) shows a construction type which is common in Oceanic languages (Lichtenberk 2000; Bril 2011), namely the use of a so-called inclusory pronoun, the dual *hli*, which does not refer to two people in addition to the accompanee, but rather includes the accompanee in its reference.

We lack systematic data on the criterion of extraction for RSC comitatives, but the question of whether person marking agrees with both accompanee and companion is a relevant parameter in comparing comitative-type constructions both across languages and within individual languages, as the discussion below will show. We will use the term "inclusory marking" to refer to all cases of pronominal reference that includes both the accompanee and the companion, regardless of the type of construction involved. Another criterion which we will discuss below is that of being able to take a bound pronominal complement, which may be considered a "prepositional" rather than a "conjunctional" feature, in the sense that conjunctions are generally defined as joining together two elements of the same type (Haspelmath 2007:1). We will see, however, that these criteria do not always point in the same direction in RSC, confirming the crosslinguistic tendency that clear categorial distinctions may be difficult to draw in this domain. Note that RSC conjunctions do not appear to distinguish systematically between tight and loose coordination.

Moyse-Faurie and Lynch (2004) reconstruct a POc form *ma which they believe to have had both the tight coordination and the comitative functions. An additional form *me was possibly used for common as opposed to proper nouns (Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004:486).

Moyse-Faurie and Lynch also reconstruct a related comitative verb *ma-i (cf. Ross 1988:110), and tentatively propose a form *ma-ni which may have been a verb meaning 'accompany' or a coordinator with a sequential meaning (Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004:486).

As far as verbal morphology is concerned, adding a companion-type argument to motion verbs (what Evans [2003] calls a concomitant) is one of the functions reconstructed for the POc transitivizing form *akin[i] (Pawley 1973:128; Evans 2003:199, 235). Some examples of languages showing this function for a reflex of *akin[i] are given in (2).

(2) a. LONGGU [lgu] (Solomon Islands; Hill 1992:59)
Mwaa-i e ango-**ta'ini**-ra gale ngai-gi.
snake-SG 3SG crawl-TR-3PL baby 3SG-PL
'The snake is crawling with its babies [on its back]'

b. NORTHEAST AMBAE [omb] (Vanuatu; Hyslop 2001:326)
Go=mese toa-**gi** na here.
2SG.S=DEHOR run-APPL ACC coco.torch
'Don't run off with the coconut leaf torch!'

Most of the examples given in Evans (2003) of the comitative function of *akin[i] reflexes appear to show depictive rather than genuine comitative uses, although generally the information given is too sparse to decide whether this is

a hard restriction or just a tendency. Other functions reconstructed for *akin[i] include cause/stimulus of psychological and emotional states, content of speech and cognition verbs, product of verbs of excretion/secretion, and instrument or benefactive of process-action verbs.

3. RSC GRAMMATICAL PRELIMINARIES.

3.1. RSC PRONOUN SYSTEMS. All the RSC languages exhibit minimal-augmented pronoun systems, in which the category 'you and I' functions as a distinct "person," which can be "pluralized" in the same way as pronouns in other persons. That is, the SC languages have only one pronoun with dual reference, namely *nide* (Engdewu)/*nigi* (Nalögo/Natügu) 'you and I', which indicates that "dual number" is not a feature of the system. Rather, there are four basic persons: first person, second person, first+second person ('you and I'), and third person, and these occur, in the SC languages, in two numbers. Since the 'you and I' category is not a "singular" form, the term 'singular' is not suitable for the category to which it belongs. Instead, the term **minimal number** is used. The number category that adds more than the minimal number of referents is referred to as **augmented number**. Minimal–augmented pronoun systems are common in Philippine languages; Reid (2016) suggests that such a system may be reconstructible to PMP. The systems of independent pronouns in the SC languages are shown in tables 1–3.

TABLE 1. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS IN ENGDEWU.

	Minimal		Augmented	
1	ni	'I'	nigâ	'we = I and others'
1+2	nida	'you and I'	nidabwe	'we = you and I and others'
2	nim(u)	'you (sg.)'	nimwe	'you (pl)'
3	nide	's/he'	ningö	'they'

TABLE 2. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS IN NALÖGO.

	Minimal		Augmented	
1	ni	'I'	nigom	'we = I and others'
1+2	nigi	'you and I'	nigo	'we = you and I and others'
2	nim	'you (sg.)'	nimwi	'you (pl)'
3	nide	's/he'	nigö	'they'

TABLE 3. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS IN NATÜGU.

	Minimal		Augmented	
1	ninge	'I'	nigö	'we = I and others'
1+2	nigi	'you and I'	nigu	'we = you and I and others'
2	nim(ü)	'you (sg.)'	nimu	'you (pl)'
3	nide	's/he'	nidö	'they'

TABLE 4. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS IN ÄIWOO.

	Minimal		Unit-augmented		Augmented	
1	iu	'I'	iungole	'I and another'	iungo(pu)	'I and others'
1+2	iuji	'you and I'	iudele	'you and I and another'	iude	'you and I and others'
2	iumu	'you'	imile	'you and another'	imi	'you and others'
3	ine, inâ	's/he'	ijiile	's/he and another'	ijii	's/he and others'

Äiwoo adds a third number, so-called **unit-augmented**, which refers to minimal number plus one, corresponding to dual in a singular-plural system, although the 1st+2nd person unit-augmented refers to three people, 'you and I and another'. Unit-augmented pronouns are systematically derived from the augmented forms by the addition of the suffix *-le*; this gives the system in table 4.

3.2. RSC CLAUSE STRUCTURES.

3.2.1. Äiwoo. As described in Næss (2015, 2021), Äiwoo is analyzed as having a Philippine-type symmetrical voice system with three voices: actor voice, undergoer voice, and circumstantial voice. The system is Philippine-type in the sense that there is only one target for syntactic promotion; that is, arguments can be promoted by means of voice and valency morphology to "subject" but not to "object" function. Rather than "subject," which is a problematic term for many symmetrical voice systems (see, e.g., Schachter 1976; Kroeger 1993; Riesberg 2014), we use the term **voice-selected argument** (VSA) for the argument promoted by the voice morphology of the verb, that is, the actor of the actor voice, the undergoer of the undergoer voice, and the relevant circumstantial argument of the circumstantial voice.

Actor voice and undergoer voice are systematically distinguished across transitive verbs;[7] verbs fall into a number of inflectional classes with respect to their AV and UV forms, which largely reflect PMP voice morphology (Roversi 2019; Næss 2021). The circumstantial voice promotes a peripheral participant to voice-selected status, typically an instrument, a location, or a temporal expression; it is marked by the enclitic =C*ä*, which can appear on both actor-voice and undergoer-voice verbs as well as on intransitive verbs. These alternations are illustrated in (3) with the verb *vei* (AV)–*vili* (UV) 'weave', which is shown in its actor-voice form in (3a), its undergoer-voice form in (3b), and with the circumstantial voice clitic attached to the actor-voice and undergoer-voice forms, respectively, in (3c) and (3d):[8]

(3) ÄIWOO

a. Lâ kâ-ngopu=wä me-nä-vei nyibä=kâ . . .
DIST say-1AUG.A=CV 1AUG.S/A-IRR-weave.AV basket=DIST
'When we want to weave baskets . . . '

7. With some exceptions; a few verbs only seem to have an undergoer-voice form, and some verbs, such as *nu* 'drink', take the same form in the actor voice and the undergoer voice.
8. Note that *vei/vili* 'weave' can take either the material or the product as its O argument, as a and b show; in d, the material behaves as a peripheral argument and is promoted with the =C*ä* clitic.

b. Nyige nenu ki-vili-i ki-nyibä.
leaf coconut IPFV-weave.UV-3AUG.A IPFV-basket
'They weave coconut leaves into baskets.'

c. nuu ngââgu ki-vei-i=lä=nâ
place bush IPFV-weave.AV-3AUG.A=CV=DIST
'the place in the bush where they weave them'

d. (I climbed up for the coconut leaves and cut them off, and climbed down and tore them,)
Lâto ile ki-vili-wâ-no=ngä
thus now IPFV-weave.UV-DIR.2-1MIN.A=CV
'. . . and now I'm weaving with them.'

Äiwoo has two sets of bound person markers: one set of prefixes, found on intransitive verbs and transitive actor-voice verbs (4a,b), and one set of suffixes, which appear with the undergoer and circumstantial voices (4c,d).

(4) ÄIWOO

a. Li-ko-oli lâ ki-**li**-mei=to=wâ.
3AUG.S/A-lie-go.down DIST IPFV-3AUG.S/A-sleep=now=DIST
'They lay down and slept.'

b. Ilâkâ dä nuu bulaape-mä
DIST some place next.day-DIR.1
li-pängä talâu wä nuu pevaio=kâ.
3AUG.S/A-eat.AV meal of.3MIN place morning=DIST
'The next day, they ate breakfast.'

c. Deu ko-mä olman=kä, nuduwo ki-ngä-**i**=lâ.
before say-DIR.1 old.man=CV wild.yam IPFV-eat.UV-3AUG.A=DIST
'In the old days, the old man told me, they ate wild yams.'

d. Ilâ lu-pwasele-ee-le opo nugono,
DIST 3AUG.S/A-make.AV-go.up-UA house areca.leaf
lâ i-mei-**i**-le=to=wä=nâ.
DIST PFV-sleep-3AUG.A-UA=now=CV=DIST
'They built a shelter of betel leaves and slept in it.'

In addition to the voice morphology described above, valency-related morphology in Äiwoo includes a causative prefix *(w)â-*, which is added to intransitive verbs to form an actor-voice causative; an additional suffix *-(e)â/-nâ* must be added in order to form an undergoer-voice causative (Næss 2021:173). Constructions which add a patient or theme-like argument to an intransitive verb result in an undergoer-voice clause. That is, the introduced argument gets the status of VSA; as mentioned above, this is one of the reasons for analyzing the Äiwoo pattern of clausal organization as a Philippine-type system. This pattern is illustrated in (5) with the suffix *-ive*, which has properties in common with canonical Oceanic applicatives in that it adds an O argument to an intransitive verb; but it differs from canonical applicatives in that the added argument becomes the "subject" rather than the "object" of the clause.[9] As can be seen from (5b), the actor argument is here marked with a suffix, which is the marking pattern found in nonactor-voice clauses.

9. Zúñiga and Kittilä (2019) call this function a «subjective applicative».

(5) ÄIWOO
a. I-ki-mängä.
1MIN.S/A-IPFV-laugh
'I'm laughing.'
b. Doo=lâ ki-mängä-**ive**-mu=wâ?
what=DIST IPFV-laugh-APPL-2MIN.A=DIST
'What are you laughing at?'

3.2.2. SC languages. By contrast, the SC languages show clause patterns similar to the transitivity-based systems in canonical Oceanic languages. They have suffixed or enclitic pronominal markers for S/A arguments which do not vary across intransitive and transitive clauses, except in the third person; 3MIN is typically unmarked in intransitives and overtly marked in transitives, and 3AUG either shows distinct enclitic pronouns in transitive and intransitive clauses (Natügu), or overt suffix/enclitic marking in transitives but not intransitives (Engdewu, Nalögo). Examples (6)–(8) illustrate this for each of the SC languages, with the a and b examples showing that person marking is the same across intransitive and intransitive clauses in 1AUG, and c and d showing that it differs in 3MIN.

(6) ENGDEWU
a. I-tu-**gâ.**
PFV.N3AUG-stand-1AUG.S/A
'We stand.'
b. I-ta-**gâ.**
PFV.N3AUG-hit-1AUG.S/A
'We hit him.'
c. I-tu-**Ø.**
PFV.N3AUG-stand-3MIN.S
'He stands.'
d. I-nibi-**ä** kuli.
PFV.N3AUG-kill-**3MIN.A** dog
'He killed a dog.'

(7) NALÖGO (Alfarano 2021:97–98)
a. Nü-mno=angidö**=kom**.
IRR.N3AUG-live=well=1AUG.S/A
'We must live well.'
b. Tü-ya-kö-pä=pe**=kom** be=je.
IPFV.N3AUG-peel-take.soft.bit.off-GDIR.out=COS=1AUG.S/A skin=3MIN.POSS
'We are peeling off its skin.'
c. I-vë=pmo**=Ø**.
PFV.N3AUG-go=again=3MIN.S
'He went again.'
d. I-va-lu**=le** ngumö lepelë.
PFV.N3AUG-CAUS-be.alive=3MIN.A spirit people
'He makes the spirit of people alive.'

(8) NATÜGU (van den Berg and Boerger 2011:231)
a. Tu**=kö**.
stand=1AUG.S/A.I
We are standing.'

b. Të**=kö** nide.
hit=1AUG.S/A.I 3MIN
'We hit him.'

c. Tu**=Ø** mö-kâ.
stand=3MIN.S.I place-DEM.DIST
'He stands there.'

d. Të**=le** nide.
hit=3MIN.A.I 3MIN
'He hit him/it.'

In addition to transitive and intransitive clauses, the SC languages show a third clause type analyzed as "semi-transitive," which takes a second argument but otherwise patterns like intransitive clauses, called "transitivity discord" by Margetts (2008). Morphologically, this difference is only evident in clauses with third-person subjects, where, as noted above, person marking differs between transitive and intransitive clauses; but syntactically the O argument of semi-transitives differs from that of transitives in allowing fewer modifiers and being constrained to postverbal position (Alfarano 2021:391–93; Vaa 2013:433). This is one point that distinguishes SC semi-transitive clauses from the Äiwoo actor voice; in the latter, the O argument may be fronted (although this is not frequent), and does not seem to show constraints on modifiers. Semi-transitive clauses are illustrated for the SC languages in (9): note the lack of overt marking of the 3MIN subject, which patterns with the intransitive clauses illustrated in examples (6)–(8), above.

(9) a. ENGDEWU (Vaa 2013:434)
Ö-bi-Ø butöte.
DETR-bake-3MIN.S sweet.potato
'S/he baked sweet potato.'

b. NALÖGO (Alfarano 2021:98)
Mö-kâ i-vö-nibü=Ø no.
male-DEM1.DIST PFV.N3AUG-DETR-kill=3MIN.S fish
'The man killed fish.'

c. NATÜGU (Boerger 2019:15)
Sâ tü-ö-pnë=pe-mü=Ø.
PFV RL-DETR-shoot=COS-PDIR.hither=3MIN.S.I
'Then he shot (at him) [toward speaker/narrator]'

All the SC languages have a causative prefix *(v)a-*, as well as a detransitivizing prefix *(v)ö-* which can be added to lexically transitive verbs to form a semi-transitive construction, cf. (9).[10] Unlike Äiwoo, the SC languages have canonical applicative constructions which add an object argument to a lexically intransitive verb; this is illustrated in (10) with an example from Nalögo of

10. A likely cognate in Äiwoo has mainly a pluractional function; since the key distinction in Äiwoo is between actor voice and undergoer voice rather than transitive and semi-transitive, the closest parallel to the detransitivizing function is simply the actor-voice forms of transitives. At least one of these is derived with the prefix posited as a likely cognate to SC *(v)ö*: *bi* (UV) ~ *e-bi* (AV) 'bake', cf. *bi* (TR) ~ *ö-bi* (STR) in the SC languages (Næss 2023).

the applicative *-ti*, and will be further discussed in sections 5.2, 6.2, 7.3, and 8.2 below.

(10) NALÖGO (Alfarano 2021:446)
I-miblë-**ti**-nga nim mweli ka.
PFV.N3AUG-dream-APPL=1MIN.S/A 2MIN time DEM.PROX
'I dream about you now.'

4. COMITATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ÄIWOO.

4.1. ÄIWOO PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES WITH mo 'WITH'. The preposition *mo* is homophonous with a coordinating conjunction which may conjoin NPs or clauses. As a preposition, *mo* can encode a companion argument with both genuine comitative (11a) and depictive (11b) relations:

(11) a. I-ku-wä i-ku-pole **mo**
1MIN.S/A-IPFV-go 1MIN.S/A-IPFV-work with
tumä pelivano-u ngä paveli.
father.3MIN.POSS children-1MIN.POSS LOC garden
'I will go and work with my husband in the garden.'
b. Lâto ipe-ee Ø-i-wo-lâ-kä
thus old.woman-DEM.PROX 3MIN.S/A-PFV-go-go.out-DIR.3
mo bepo nogo=nâ.
with k.o.basket PCLF.3MIN=DIST
'So the woman went with her basket.'

In (11), the verb is marked for the accompanee only, and this distinguishes *mo* as a comitative preposition from the NP conjunction shown in (12), where the person marking refers to both the conjoined nouns. Note, however, (13), where *mo* syntactically patterns like a preposition in that the two nouns do not form a phrase, but the verb nevertheless shows inclusory marking; this is what Lichtenberk (2000) labels a "split inclusory construction." Bril (2011:267) considers such constructions to be instances of noncontiguous conjunction; as we have already noted, however, in the comitative domain a clear distinction between prepositions and conjunctions may be difficult to draw, and split inclusory constructions might be perceived as a case in point.

(12) Dä nyidâbu, toponu **mo** lâpu
some day turtle CONJ rat
lâ ki-li-mo-le=to=wâ.
DIST IPFV-3AUG.S/A-live-UA=now=DIST
'Once upon a time, the turtle and the rat were living.'

(13) Deu mana sigiläi nyigi ki-li-e-mo-le **mo** siväle.
before very man one IPFV-3AUG.S/A-PA-live-UA with wife.3MIN
'A long time ago, a man lived with his wife.'

Instrument is more commonly expressed with the preposition *go*. Example (14) appears to show *mo* with instrument function, but note that the boundary between depictive and instrumental is not a sharp one in cases like these, and

that it could be debated whether (14) is most felicitously translated as 'you embrace it while holding the net' (depictive) or 'you embrace it using the net' (instrumental):

(14) Toponu ki-gapo-mu, ki-gapo-wo-lâ-mu **mo** nupo.
turtle IPFV-embrace-2MIN.A IPFV-embrace-go-go.out-2MIN.A with net
'You embrace the turtle, you embrace it with the net.'

Äiwoo *mo* is also used in comparisons with the verb *kine* 'be like':

(15) I=nâ ki-kine **mo** tumä.
3MIN=DIST IPFV-be.like with father.3MIN.POSS
'He looks like his father.'

4.2. THE ÄIWOO APPLICATIVE CONSTRUCTION WITH -i (-ive). When added to an intransitive verb, the suffix *-i*[11] typically adds a companion argument to the verb's argument structure. The outcome is an undergoer-voice construction with the companion as the VSA. In other words, this construction follows the pattern noted in section 3.2.1 above, where applicative-type constructions in Äiwoo add a "subject" rather than an "object" argument to the clause. The alternation is illustrated in (16).

(16) a. I-ki-eâ-lâ bwää=kâ.
1MIN.S/A-IPFV-paddle-go.out sea=DIST
'I paddle out to sea.'
b. Nâ-wâ-ki-ee-mi iu ngä tepukei
IRR-CAUS-IPFV-go.up-2AUG.A 1MIN LOC canoe
lâto ki-eâ-**i**-mi iu=ngâ wâluwo=kâ.
thus IPFV-paddle-COM-2AUG.A 1MIN=DIST middle=DIST
'Put me in the canoe and paddle me to the middle (of the lagoon).'

The *-i* construction is used with depictive relations rather than comitatives proper. A single example, presented in (17), suggests that it may be possible for this construction to code a genuine comitative relation. Note, however, the inclusory marking on the verb, which differs from (16); that is, in (17) the person suffixes *-i-le* '3AUG-3UA' refer jointly to the accompanee and the concomitant:

(17) nää ki-tei-**i**-i-le
spirit IPFV-fish.with.net-COM-3AUG.A-UA
'a spirit that fishes with him/that he fishes with'

We will return to the relation between inclusory marking and comitative semantics in sections 7.3.2 and 8.3 below.

A few examples show the suffix *-ive* rather than *-i* in this function (see Næss 2021, for more discussion):

11. There are several homophonous *-i* suffixes in Äiwoo. In addition to functioning as a comitative applicative, *-i* marks undergoer voice in complex verb stems (this suffix probably has the same historical origin as the comitative suffix; Næss 2021), while a distinct *-i* suffix marks a 3AUG actor in nonactor voices.

(18) Luwa-kä=nä tememe-ee i-ko-**i**-woli-kä,
take-DIR.3=CV child-DEM.PROX PFV-lie-COM-go.down-DIR.3
i-ko-**ive**-to-kä ilâ ngä nyie-ââ.
PFV-lie-APPL-go.in-DIR.3 DIST LOC fire-DEM.DIST
'She took the child and lay down with him, she lay with him by the fire.'

Comitative/depictive *-i* in Äiwoo is assumed to reflect the POC transitive suffix *-i (Næss 2021).

4.3. ÄIWOO CONSTRUCTIONS WITH mä(i). A number of related constructions involve a form *mä* or *mäi*, which occurs toward the end of the verb complex; the data are insufficient to determine whether its position relative to other elements of the verb complex is the same in all cases. Given its position following certain enclitics, it is analyzed as a clitic throughout, although more research is needed to determine whether all instances of *mä/mäi* show the same formal properties. We gloss all instances as 'WITH' to indicate the shared semantic core, although the syntactic effects vary, as discussed below.

In (19), *mäi* clearly functions as an adverb meaning 'together'. The participants are encoded jointly with the 2AUG person prefix ('you all'), and the construction is intransitive, that is, *mäi* does not have a valency-increasing function:

(19) Mi-tu-woli-wâu-i-mu ijii=lâ
one-bring-go.down-before-UV-2MIN.A 3AUG=DIST
i-doo ba mi-wo-ute-mä=gu=**mäi**=lâ?
PFV-what NEG 2AUG.S/A-go-back-DIR.1=NEG=WITH=DIST
'The ones you brought down with you before, why didn't you all come back together?'

In (20), on the other hand, *mäi* clearly does have a valency-increasing function. The companion is here encoded with a suffix on the verb, that is, like the actor argument of an undergoer-voice transitive. Note that the person marking is not inclusory here; the suffix marks the companion only, as it is 2MIN ('you singular'):

(20) Wagu-kä go mi-ku-wä-**mu=mäi**=le
say-DIR.3 to one-IPFV-go-2MIN.A=WITH=PROX
de-lu-pâbuli=eo.
APPR-3AUG.S/A-make-noise=PROH
'Tell those going with you not to make noise.' (Luke 19:39)[12]

12. The majority of our data come from speaker-generated texts either as audio recordings or as written text by native speakers. However, for Äiwoo and Natügu, some examples are taken from Bible translations. Although it could in some contexts be problematic to compare translation data with data produced by speakers in a monolingual context, we believe that the translation data used here is reliable and valid, for two reasons: First, the relevant examples mainly illustrate bound derivational forms, which do not have direct formal parallels in the source language, and so are unlikely to have been influenced directly by the translation context. Second, some of the translation examples in fact involve constructions which are difficult to find in the spontaneous data, and so constitute a valuable addition to understanding the range of available constructions in this domain.

Example (20) involves a relative clause, with the accompanee argument being relativized on. In that sense, this construction patterns like a "comitative voice" in that relativized arguments in Äiwoo usually must be the VSA: that is, the verb of a relative clause with a relativized actor must be in the actor voice, the verb of a relative clause with a relativized undergoer must be in the undergoer voice, and so on (See Næss 2015, for a discussion of exceptions.)

However, the valency-increasing construction is not available with arguments of all persons and numbers. Compare (20) with (21) (elicited as a contrast to (20)):

(21) Wagu-kä go mi-ku-**lu**-pâ=**mä**=nâ
say-DIR.3 to one-IPFV-3AUG.S/A-go=WITH=DIST
de-lu-pâbuli=eo.
APPR-3AUG.S/A-make-noise=PROH
'Tell those going with him not to make noise.'

There are two formal differences between (20) and (21). First, (21) is an intransitive construction with inclusory person marking; the accompanee and companion are jointly marked on the verb by the prefix *lu-* '3AUG'. A more literal translation of (21) might be 'those such that they+he go together'.

Second, the form of the comitative morpheme is *mä* rather than *mäi* in (21). This distinguishes (21) from (19), in which we argued that *mäi* functions as an adverb meaning 'together'. If we assume that there are two constructions, one intransitive involving an adverb 'together' and one transitive involving a valency-increasing morpheme, then the intransitive construction can show either *mä* or *mäi*, while the transitive construction always shows *mäi*. The available data are limited, but they suggest an analysis where the choice of *mä* versus *mäi* in the intransitive construction depends on the person/number of the companion: *mä* if the companion is 3MIN (22a), *mäi* otherwise (22b):

(22) a. Ä isä-pelivano li-lilu=kâ
CONJ mother.3MIN.POSS-children.3MIN.POSS 3AUG.S/A-two=DIST
lu-po-epu-mä=**mä**.
3AUG.S/A-go-also-DIR.1=WITH
'And his two wives also came with him.'

b. Mo i-tu-mä-no pelivano-u
CONJ PFV-bring.UV-DIR.1-1MIN.A children-1MIN.POSS
mi-nâ-mo=**mäi**.
2AUG.S/A-IRR-stay=WITH
'And I have brought my children to live with you/for you all to live together.'

In turn, the choice between the transitive and intransitive constructions seems to hinge on whether the participants are in the same person or in distinct persons; in (21), the accompanee and companion are both third person, and the intransitive inclusory construction is used, whereas in (20), the accompanee is third person and the companion is second person, and this is encoded in a formally transitive construction with the companion marked by a suffix on the verb. More targeted data are, however, required to confirm this hypothesis.

The transitive construction with *mäi* differs from the construction with *-i* described in section 4.2 on two counts. First, while the *-i* construction appears mostly to encode depictive relations, the *mäi* construction encodes a genuine comitative relation. Second, they appear structurally to be the reverse of each other, in that the *-i* construction takes the companion as its VSA while the *mäi* construction takes the accompanee. Given the semantically symmetrical nature of the comitative as involving two participants involved in the event in the same way, it is difficult to definitely confirm whether an introduced participant should be taken to be the accompanee or the companion. Example (23), however, strongly suggests that it is the accompanee that is the VSA of the *mäi* construction:

(23) Ngaa lamaa kä-mi=ä päko go
so MOD say-2AUG.A=CV be.good CONJ
ilâ mi-ku-mo-no=**mäi**=lâ nä-li-da
DIST one-IPFV-stay-1MIN.A=WITH=DIST IRR-3AUG.S/A-fast
oo de li-giââ=eo?
CONJ APPR 3AUG.S/A-be.happy=PROH
'So do you think it good for those who stay with me to fast (Luke 5:34)
and not rejoice?'

In this example, from the Äiwoo Bible translation currently in preparation, *mikumonomäilâ* 'those who stay with me' refers to Jesus' followers. It seems reasonable to understand the followers, rather than Jesus, as the accompanee in this context, that is, 'those who stay with me' rather than 'those with whom I stay'.

5. COMITATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ENGDEWU.

5.1. ENGDEWU CONSTRUCTIONS WITH ma- 'WITH'. Engdewu has a comitative morpheme *ma*, which is used in constructions with inclusory person marking on the verb; that is, in a clause involving a constituent A *ma* B, the verb takes inclusory person marking jointly referring to A and B. Comitative *ma* can either take an NP complement or a bound marker indicating the person/number of the complement; it is only attested with *-e* '3MIN'. Example (24) shows both options: an NP complement in the first clause, and person marking on *ma* in the second:

(24) I-va-gâ **ma** myei pedâ,
PFV.N3AUG-go-1AUG.S/A with brother.1MIN bush
i-va-gâ **ma-e** pedâ.
PFV.N3AUG-go-1AUG.S/A with-3MIN bush
'I went with my brother to the bush, the two of us went to the bush.'

Note the 1AUG marking on the verb in both instances; that is, the verb takes inclusory marking for both accompanee and companion. Unlike Äiwoo *mo*, discussed in section 4.1 above, inclusory marking appears to be the only option for *ma*, and this might be taken as an indication that *ma* should be analyzed as a conjunction, cf. Bril (2011:268) who considers

number agreement with the conjuncts to be "the most reliable criterion" for identifying conjunctions in Austronesian languages. It is nevertheless unusual for the second conjunct of a conjunction construction to be represented by a bound pronoun, as conjunctions are usually defined as constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit (Haspelmath 2007:1). Vaa (2013:211) labels *ma-e* a preposition, but at the same time links it to the conjunction *ma* 'with, but' (2013:146); compare (24) with the inclusory construction (25), where the inclusory marking seems to suggest a function of *ma* as a conjunction,[13] but where *nigâ ma-e* 'he and I' is a straightforward alternative to *nigâ ma Pita* 'Peter and I':

(25) **Nigâ ma Pita** i-yave-gâ telinë.
1AUG CONJ Pita PFV.N3AUG-play-1AUG.S/A two
'Peter and I played with each other.'

The issue of categorizing comitative morphemes will be returned to in section 8.1 below.

The Engdewu *ma* construction indicates a "co-actor" (Vaa 2013:210); that is, it is used for comitative situations in the strict sense. A further example is seen in (26); note the parallel to Äiwoo *mäi* in (19) in that this example allows for the English translation 'together', although a more literal translation is probably 'they stayed, including him':

(26) Lâ-mno **ma-e.**
PFV.3AUG.S/A-stay with-3MIN
'They (two) stayed together.'

5.2. THE ENGDEWU APPLICATIVE -mi. Engdewu has a suffix *-mi* which directly follows the verb root in what seems to be a fixed position in the verb complex. It adds an O argument which is typically an entity brought along by the actor. The suffix is valency-increasing, as can be seen by the presence of the suffix *-e* '3MIN.A' on the otherwise intransitive verb *oplö* 'run' in (27a), since 3MIN actors of intransitive verbs are unmarked (Vaa 2013:202).

(27) a. Mwe tu-oplö-**mi-e** bolo.
man IPFV.N3AUG-run-COM-3MIN.A ball
'A man runs with a ball.'
b. Ya-**mi-mü** nöpubwi la-möp[u] nübu.
paddle-COM-PDIR.hither-1MIN.S/A coconut PFV.3AUG.S/A-five yesterday
'I paddled here with five coconuts yesterday.'

13. Lichtenberk (2000) notes that the analysis of the marker of the relation between the inclusory pronoun and the included NP in inclusory constructions, if such a marker is present, tends to depend on the historical relationship of that marker with either a coordinating conjunction or a comitative marker; but as noted in section 2.2, these tend to share the same historical origins in Oceanic languages.

This suffix is relatively infrequent in the available data. It is used mostly for depictive relations, as illustrated in (27). It can introduce a cause or stimulus argument of at least one verb, *yöni* 'cry':

(28) Ä nö-bwa-bwâpwe kââ, la-yöni-**mi**.
CONJ NMLZ-be.dead-NMLZ.3MIN DEM.DIST PFV.3AUG.S/A-cry-COM
'And his death, they cried over it.'

6. COMITATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN NALÖGO.

6.1. NALÖGO CONSTRUCTIONS WITH ba PREP AND ba CONJ.

Nalögo has a preposition *ba* which can have a comitative function, introducing companion participants, in addition to other types of peripheral participants including locative, instrument, and recipient/beneficiary/addressee. The preposition can occur with nouns or pronominal bound forms as objects (Alfarano 2021:395). An example of *ba* introducing a companion participant[14] is shown in (29).

(29) NALÖGO (Alfarano 2021:451)
Julia, tü-lâ=bwa **ba** mëlue=nu.
Julia IPFV.N3AUG-talk=1MIN.S/A.thither PREP brother=1MIN.POSS
'Julia, I am talking with my brother now.'

In general, nouns and object bound forms cannot co-occur after the preposition; the exception is when the noun encodes a plural human referent, as in (30).

(30) NALÖGO (Alfarano 2021:451)
Olë te=lë-mno=lü ba=**gö** **nünge.**
girl NEG=PFV.3AUG-live=NEG PREP=3AUG.O boy
'Girls do not live with boys.'

However, the co-occurrence of a pronominal bound form expressing a 3AUG human referent and the noun to which it refers is not compulsory, and it is not clear whether this is an optional alternation or triggered by specific conditions.

There is a formally identical morpheme analyzed by Alfarano (2021) as a comitative conjunction *ba* 'with, and', which coordinates related human referents (e.g., mother/child, mother/father) and animate referents. As discussed for Äiwoo and Engdewu in sections 4.1 and 5.1 above, the conjunction differs from the preposition in that it shows inclusory marking; compare (31), where the verb is marked for 3AUG, that is, the accompanee and the companion (father and mother) with the prepositional construction in (29) where the verb is marked for the accompanee only.

14. There are two other forms occurring in elicited word lists, *mwagö* and *nigömwa*, both translated by English 'with'. The former may be a preposition involving the form *mwa* 'with' plus the 3AUG object form *=gö* (lit. 'with them'); whereas the latter involves the 3AUG free form *nigö* 'they' plus *mwa* 'with', which is apparently attached to it. However, these forms are never attested in texts, where *ba* is the only preposition found with companion participants.

(31) NALÖGO (Alfarano 2021: 600)
Mweli kâ nünge
time DEM.DIST boy
tü-pwë-tu-lë=ngö=pe=m=de
IPFV.N3AUG-be.big-INTS-up=APPL=COS=PDIR.hither=3MIN.S/A
e-pi=e=le=nge t(ü)-yelë=ngö=pe=le,
PREF-say=QUOT=3MIN.s/A=COMP IPFV.N3AUG-get.married=APPL=COS=3MIN.s/A
jâ ibu=de **ba=gö** ilaule=je â
SEQ father=3MIN.POSS CONJ=3AUG.POSS mother=3MIN.POSS PRAG
të-tagö=pe=bwe nalë=de olë.
IPFV.3AUG-find=COS=PDIR.thither spouse=3MIN.POSS girl
'When the boy grows up (and) says that he wants to get married, then his father and his mother find a girl for him to marry.'

Note also that the conjunction itself is person-marked in (31); differently from Engdewu *ma-e* (section 5.1), however, the person marking on the conjunction here is 3AUG and appears to refer jointly to both conjuncts.

The form *ba* also occurs in split inclusory constructions parallel to that shown for Äiwoo in (13) above. An example is shown in (32), where the 1AUG subject =*kom* includes the 1MIN referent and the 3MIN referent introduced by *ba*, but the two conjoined participants do not form a contiguous phrase.

(32) (Ni) tü-(v)a-ku=kom no ba ile=nu.
1MIN IPFV.N3AUG-CAUS-cook=1AUG.S/A fish CONJ sister=1MIN.POSS
'I am cooking fish with my sister.'

6.2. THE NALÖGO APPLICATIVE -mi. Like Engdewu (and Natügu; cf. section 7.3 below), Nalögo has an applicative suffix *-mi* which promotes a companion argument to core function (Alfarano 2021:449–54). This applicative is used with intransitive verbs, making them bivalent. In terms of position inside the verb complex, *-mi* is analyzed as part of the verbal nucleus, as it always occurs right after the verb root as shown in (33), and does not appear to have possible alternative positions; this parallels what was described for Engdewu in section 5.2 above.

(33) NALÖGO (Alfarano 2021:450)
Obwe kâ i-tâ
child DEM.DIST PFV.N3AUG-be.small
i-mno-**mi**=pe**=le** kâ leplë kä
PFV.N3AUG-live-APPL=COS=3MIN.S/A QNT person SUBR
i-pwö jâ tü-(y)agla-tö=pe=käli=Ø
PFV.N3AUG-be.big CONT IPFV.N3AUG-look-GDIR.in=COS=next=3MIN.S/A
bä da kâ.
PREP thing DEM.DIST
'The small child stays now with an adult. He is now looking through something.'

In (33), the suffix *-mi* attaches to the intransitive verb *mno* 'stay, live', making it bivalent. The applied argument expressing the companion participant follows the verb. In (33), the applied object is simply added to the clause without displaying any "special" status. However, the applicative *-mi* is generally used

to allow companion participants to undergo syntactic processes as core arguments, such as coordination and extraction in relativization or wh-questions. This parallels to some extent the use of *-mäi* in Äiwoo, as discussed in section 4.3 above, though also note that *-mäi* allows the accompanee rather than the companion to be relativized on. An example from Nalögo is shown in (34), where *-mi* promotes the companion argument, the interrogative form *nelö* 'who?', to object status and so to be extracted in preverbal position.

(34) NALÖGO (Alfarano 2021:450)
Nelö â tü-lâ-**mi=le**?
who PRAG IPFV.N3AUG-talk-APPL=3MIN.S/A
'Who is he talking with?'

In (33) and (34), the *-mi* construction displays a genuine comitative function. However, the applicative *-mi* can also introduce depictive arguments, as in (35).[15]

(35) NALÖGO (Alfarano 2021:450)
Obwe kâ jâ t(ü)-(y)aplö=le
Child DEM.DIST CONT IPFV.N3AUG-push=3MIN.A
wil kâ jâ tü-gwa-**mi**=le.
wheel DEM.DIST CONT IPFV.N3AUG-run-APPL=3MIN.A
'The child is pushing the wheel and running with (it).'

Nalögo *-mi* is also attested promoting arguments with other functions. One such is the cause or stimulus argument of the verb *yöni* 'cry' as in (36)[16] as described for the same verb in Engdewu in example (28) of section 5.2.

(36) NALÖGO (Alfarano 2021:452)
Jâ t(ü)-yöni-**mi**=pe=le.
SEQ IPFV.N3AUG-cry-APPL=COS=3MIN.A
'. . . then, she cried over (her).'

Another function of *-mi* is to introduce the content of what may loosely be called a speech verb, *mwapu* 'whistle' (37):

(37) Nabwe kâ i-pi=le
song DEM.DIST PFV.N3AUG-say=3MIN.A
jâ tü-mwapu-**mi**=le.
CONT IPFV.N3AUG-whistle-APPL=3MIN.A
'As for the song he sang, now he is whistling it.'

Nalögo *-mi* is also used to introduce the second, "similative" argument of *vökikiö* 'be similar, resemble', that is, the entity that the subject is compared to:

(38) . . . aki te=i-vökikiö-**mi**=lü=Ø ka.
because NEG=PFV.N3AUG-be.same-APPL=NEG=3MIN.A DEM.PROX
'. . . because it is not the same as this one.'

The applicative *-mi* can also function as a clause-linking device, though this function is rare in the available data. In this construction, the second

15. Alfarano (2021:451) refers to this function as 'associative'.
16. Alfarano (2021:449) calls this an 'aboutness' role.

clause is nominalized and functions as the object of the applicativized verb; the construction denotes that the events of the two clauses take place simultaneously. This is plausibly an extension of the comitative function: 'event X with event Y' is reinterpreted as 'event X at the same time as event Y'.

(39) (Alfarano 2021:453)
Jâ t(ü)-yebü-**mi**=le lë-(y)epwale-ngö mö meitnö.
CONT IPFV.N3AUG-lie-APPL=3MIN.A NMLZ-laugh-NMLZ PREP ground
'He is lying on the ground while laughing (lit. he lies with laughing on the ground).'

7. COMITATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN NATÜGU.

7.1. NATÜGU CONSTRUCTIONS WITH nâdö/badö 'with'. Natügu exhibits a genuine comitative, which marks a noun phrase as denoting a companion, using one of two forms. The form *nâdö* is used where the accompanee and companion are both singular (40a). But in cases where at least one is plural, the form used is *badö* (40b). The augmented-number person marking in examples like (40) might suggest that these forms function as conjunctions. Note, however, that *badö* in (40b) is followed by the conjunction *ä*, and the whole construction *badö ä Barnabas* means 'with me and Barnabas' rather than 'with us/them and (in addition) Barnabas'. That is, the 1AUG forms include the singular speaker and Barnabas, who is only mentioned at the very end of the sentence.

(40) a. Ä kë-dü käbü=gö kë dötü=de Meamupa
and INDF-QNT.SG cousin=1AUG.S/A.II also name=3MIN.POSS Meamupa
ya-ne-ëvë=kö **nâdö** më në-a-lvâ-kö=gö
paddle-DIST-always=1AUG.S/A.I COM PREP NMLZ-CAUS-fly-NMLZ.POSS=1AUG.II
lika më në-mwa-kö=gö nâboi.
kite PREP NMLZ-catch-NMLZ.POSS=1AUG.II needlefish
'And another of our cousins, named Meamupa, we (he and I) always paddled around together in our flying kites for catching needlefish.'

b. Nâblo kâ-ng në-tü-ng male=kö
man DEM.DIST-PL 3AUG-three-PL hold=1AUG.S/A.I
mü=gö **badö** ä Barnabas.
hand=1AUG.POSS COM and Barnabas
'Those three men, we shook our hands with (them), Barnabas and me.'

The final /*dö*/ appearing in both *nadö* (40a) and *badö* (40b) is phonemically identical to the 3AUG marker *=dö*. However, in most varieties of Natügu *nâdö* and *badö* are synchronically fixed forms, which are not necessarily marking the third person augmented in any relevant way. It is interesting to note, however, that the Malo dialect does make a distinction, by contrasting the form *nâmu*, 'with you-AUG' with *nâdö* 'with them'. In (41), then, *nâmu* indicates a singular accompanee and a singular companion, but here the two together are the addressee:

(41) Gât ö=gö, nimu **nâ=mu** Nei-Sip,
god GEN=1AUG.II 2AUG COM=2AUG.II young-sheep,
köka'-bë=kö ba=mu kä, . . .
pray-PDIR.THITHER=1AUG.I DAT=2AUG.II SUBR . . .
'Our God, you and the Lamb, we pray to you that . . .' (*Buk ngö Nëangiongö*/Book of Worship).

There is an obvious formal parallel between Natügu *badö* and the Nalögo preposition/conjunction *ba* discussed in section 6.1 above. Natügu does in fact have a form *ba-* which, like Nalögo *ba*, indicates roles such as recipient, benefactive, goal, or addressee. Natügu *ba-* is, however, not a canonical preposition, in that it cannot take a lexical NP as its complement, but requires a bound pronominal marker. When a full NP is the object, the preposition *më* is used instead, as illustrated in (42) below.

From a historical perspective, then, it seems reasonable to assume a link between the different *ba* forms across Nalögo and Natügu. The Nalögo preposition and the Natügu bound form differ only in their ability to take an NP complement: Nalögo *ba* allows either NP or bound-pronominal complements (and sometimes both in combination), whereas Natügu *ba-* only allows bound pronouns and does not act as a comitative. The form analyzed as a conjunction in Nalögo also shows parallels to Natügu *badö* if we assume the *-dö* in the latter originates in a 3AUG marker *=dö*, in that the Nalögo conjunction can take the 3AUG form *=gö*. However, Natügu *badö* and Nalögo *ba=gö* have somewhat different constraints on their use; Natügu *badö* requires either the accompanee or the companion to be plural, whereas Nalögo *ba=gö* apparently indexes the number of accompanee and companion jointly. The link between prepositions and conjunctions in the comitative domain is discussed further in section 8.1 below.

7.2. NATÜGU PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES WITH më 'WITH'. The Natügu preposition *më* performs a general prepositional function, as well as having a comitative sense, as noted above. In this it shows functional parallels to the Nalögo preposition *ba* discussed in section 6.1 above. Both functions are illustrated in (42) below. This sentence and many others cited here are from *The Autobiography of Simon G. Meabr* (Boerger 2022b). The two examples of *më* in the first and second lines show its general prepositional function, while *më* in the last line illustrates its comitative use in marking a coequal companion. His being coequal is signaled by the use of the first-person augmented pronoun *nigö* in line three.

(42) NATÜGU
Ëbë **më** yië 1946 Kä-etu ngö skul sâ
then PREP year 1946, SUBR-big GEN school PFV
tü-yölü=pe=le ninge **më** në-ngini-kö=nge
RL-put=COS=3MIN.S/A.I 1MIN PREP NMLZ-become-NMLZ.POSS=1MIN.II
këuboe nigö **më** kë-dü doa lö Isabel dötü=de Devet Leguono.
cowboy 1AUG PREP INDF-QNT.SG guy TPNYM Isabel name=3MIN.II David Leguono
'Then in the year 1946, the Head of the school assigned me to become a cowboy, me along with an Isabelian guy, named David Leguono.'

Note that cognate prepositions are found in both Nalögo and Engdewu, but neither Nalögo *mö* nor Engdewu *më* appear to have a comitative function; they are therefore not included in our discussion.

7.3. THE NATÜGU SUFFIX -mi.

7.3.1. Distributional properties. Like the other SC languages, Natügu has a suffix *-mi* with comitative-like functions. However, Natügu *-mi* differs from the corresponding forms in Engdewu and Nalögo in a number of respects.

In terms of distribution, while *-mi* in Engdewu and Nalögo can only occur directly after the verb stem, Natügu *-mi* allows for two different positions. The first is immediately following the verb stem, parallel to the position of the cognate suffixes in Engdewu and Nalögo, but unlike in the latter languages, there is a second possible position following a number of further postverbal morphemes such as manner adverbs, reciprocal, and reflexive markers, geocentric directionals, and degree adverbs. The variation in position is shown in (43), where *-mi* precedes *kato* 'forcefully' in (43a), but follows it in (43b), with both sentences translated by the same speaker.

(43) a. A' sâ të-ne-**mi-kato**-bë=lö kä,
but PFV 3AUG.RL-yell-COM-forcefully-PDIR.thither=3AUG.A.I SUBR
Na-tülvëtö më kros!
PASS.IRR-nail PREP cross
'They yelled together loudly, "He should be nailed to a cross!"' (Matthew 27:23)

b. Sâ të-kabo-**kato-mi**=pe=lö kä, "Hosana!"
PFV 3AUG.RL-shout-forcefully-COM=cos=3AUG.A.I SUBR Hosanna
'They shouted loudly together, "Hosanna!"' (Matthew 21:9)

A second distributional difference is that Natügu *-mi* can co-occur with certain valency-changing morphemes, which does not appear to be the case in Engdewu or Nalögo. Example (44) shows that *-mi* can combine with the detransitivizing prefix *ö-*, while (45) shows that the same is the case for the applicative *-ngö*:

(44) Ëvë më Sade kâ-ng tü-vë-ngö-mü Dâkta Fox
always PREP Sunday DEM:DIST-PL RL-go-APPL-PDIR.hither Dr. Fox
mö-ka më në-a-mu-kä-tö-kö=de,
place-DEM.PROX PREP NMLZ-CAUS-eat-SUBR-holy-NMLZ.POSS=3MIN.II
tü-**ö**-vë-**mi**-pwë-mü=**Ø** doa kä-esë'
RL-DETR-go-COM-only-PDIR.hither=3MIN.S.I person SUBR-one
'Always on Sunday when Doctor Fox comes here to celebrate Holy Communion, he comes along with (brings) one student.'

(45) Na-ela-**mi-ngö**=gu leu ngö në-aoväio-ngö
IRR-dance-COM-APPL=1AUG.S/A.II leaf GEN NMLZ-triumph-NMLZ
'Let's dance together with leaves of triumphing.' (Psalm 118:27)

7.3.2. Functions. In addition to the distributional differences betweeen *-mi* in Natügu as opposed to Engdewu/Nalögo, there are also differences in function. While Engdewu/Nalögo *-mi* appears to have only an applicative function,

Natügu *-mi* parallels Äiwoo *mä(i)*, described in section 4.3, in that it has two core functions: one reflecting the meaning 'together' and showing no valency-increasing function, and another involving valency increase.

Example (43) above illustrates the 'together' function. Since *ne* 'yell, scream' and *kabo* 'shout' are speech verbs, one might assume that the role of *-mi* here is to introduce the content of the shouting. However, *-mi* is not obligatory when a speech verb is followed by a phrase or clause indicating the content of speech, as shown in (46):

(46) Ö-pi-bë=le kä, "Melömü=nge."
DETR-say-PDIR.thither=3MIN.A SUBR ancestor/grandparent =1MIN.II
'He said, "Hey, my Granddad!"

As (46) also shows, the standard way of introducing a complement clause in Natügu is with the subordinator *kä*, which also occurs in the *-mi*-marked example in (44). Rather, what distinguishes (44) from (46) is that (44) involves several participants carrying out the action in unison, and this is the meaning contributed by *-mi*.

The fact that *-mi* can combine with the applicative suffix *-ngö* is another indication that *-mi* does not necessarily have a valency-increasing function. In example (45), the applied argument 'leaves of triumphing' is added to the argument structure by *-ngö*. *-mi*, by contrast, does not introduce an additional argument, but rather contributes the meaning 'together'. This closely parallels the function of Äiwoo *mäi* illustrated in (19).

However, Natügu *-mi* also has valency-increasing functions. Examples (47)–(48) show that it functions to introduce a companion argument:

(47) Oti-mü töte=nge nigö më Lölvë vë-**mi**-o=le
take-PDIR.hither father-1MIN.II 1AUG PREP Lölvë go-COM-GDIR.down=3MIN.A.I
nigö më rum kâ ...
1AUG PREP room DEM.DIST
'My father got me and Lölvë, he took (lit. went with) us into the room ...'

(48) Alex kâ të-abuti-**mi** Meya.
Alex DEM.DIST RL.PASS-reared-COM Meya
'That Alex was brought up with Meya.'

By Arkhipov's (2009) definition, cited in section 2.1, these examples qualify as semantically comitative, in the sense that the participants participate in the event in the same way: in (47), both the father and "me and Lölvë" go into the room, and in (48), both Alex and Meya are being brought up. However, there is a contrast between this construction and the one using *nadö/badö*, described in section 7.2 above, in that *-mi* in (47) and (48) implies a ranking where the participants differ in responsibility or initiative vis-à-vis the action. In (47), the accompanee is a parent and the companions are children; children are generally subject to their parents' authority, and it is clear from the context that they are not coequal participants in the event: though everyone enters the room, the parent is responsible for taking the children there. Similarly, (48) implies a ranking in which Meya is the more important person and Alex is brought up alongside

him; if they were brought up together as equals, the construction with *nâdö* would be used.

This asymmetry between the two 'with' constructions is further reflected in that the *nadö/badö* construction involves inclusory marking on the verb, whereas the *-mi* construction does not. This is not evident from (48), which is a passive and hence lacks person marking, but is clearly seen in (47). In this sense, too, the *nadö/badö* construction treats the two participants as being on an equal level, whereas the *-mi* construction does not.[17]

Compare (47) and (48) with (49), which shows a straightforward depictive function, where the angel is flying, while the man is being carried:

(49) Ä kë-dü enjöl
and INDF-QNT.SG angel
lvâ-**mi**-o-ani-mü=le nide.
fly-COM-GDIR.down-quickly-PDIR.hither=3MIN.A.I 3MIN
'And an angel quickly flew down with him. (Psalm 18:10)

This matches the examples in (47) and (48) in that the angel is responsible for carrying out the action, the man is not; the difference is that here the actions carried out also differ between participants.

Thus, the distinction drawn in Natügu between the comitative *nadö/badö* construction on the one hand and the *-mi* depictive construction on the other does not match Arkhipov's comitative versus depictive definition. Instead, it distinguishes between cases where both participants take part on an equal level and are equally responsible for the event, and cases where one participant is ranked above and/or has responsibility or authority over the other, including both the prototypical depictives (49) and cases like (47) and (48). A similar asymmetry in responsibility appears to hold for example (33) above from Nalögo as well, though it is less clear that this is the case for (34), the other Nalögo example with apparent comitative semantics. We lack sufficiently detailed data to explore the relationship between the Nalögo and Natügu *-mi* constructions further, but note this as an interesting area for future study.

Another difference between Natügu and Engdewu/Nalögo is that, while it is not the most common strategy, Natügu *-mi* may also introduce an instrument argument:

(50) Nöla nâ bia kâ tü-male=ä,
branch tree breadfruit which RL-hold=1MIN.S/A.I
male-**mi**=ä=le kâ dëbö legou kä-lu esë'.
hold-COM=1MIN.A.I=3MIN.O.II DEM.DIST root creeper SUBR-live one
'The breadfruit branch which I was holding, I held it by the root of a single living creeper vine.'

Furthermore, with some verbs, the suffix introduces a cause or stimulus argument, as seen in (51). In (51a), his stalking people to kill them is what caused him to be proud. Similarly, in (51b), what Rachel was crying about

17. A similar distinction seems to be attested for Kairiru (Western Oceanic, Papua New Guinea), where the use of a comitative adjunct indicates «unequal control» (Bril 2011:272).

is the death of her children.[18] For at least this one particular verb, *yöni* 'to cry', Engdewu (28) and Nalögo (36) show the same function, with *yöni* and *–mi* being identical cognates in all three SC languages.

(51) a. Glü-pä-lëbü-**mi**=le në-ayo-ti-kö=de
lift-out-REFL-COM=3MIN.A.I NMLZ-stalk-TR-NMLZ.POSS=3MIN.II
kä-në-käpu-ng.
SUBR-3AUG-burden=3AUG.S.I
'He is proud of himself for his stalking the afflicted.' (Psalm 10:2)

b. Resel tü-yöni-**mi**=le doa ne=de-ngü
Rachel RL-cry-COM=3MINIA child PCFL.RSBL=3MINII-PL
'Rachel cried for her children.' (Matthew 2:18)

Example (52) also arguably introduces a stimulus or cause-type argument, in that it is the crying that is so intense that it leads to yelling. However, this construction also has parallels to the clause-linking function of *-mi* shown for Nalögo in that the *-mi*-marked verb takes a nominalized clause as its argument, and the crying and the yelling are in a sense seen as simultaneous events. On the other hand, it is perhaps more accurate in this case to say that they are different descriptions of the same event: The intensity of the crying is such that it amounts to yelling. While the semantic parallels to the Nalögo clause-linking construction are thus debatable, the formal parallels are nevertheless clear.

(52) Leplë kâ-ng amölä mö-kâ të-ne-**mi**=pe=lö
people DEM.DIST-PL all place-DEM.DIST 3AUG.RL-yell-COM=COS=3AUG.A.I
në-yöni-kö=dö.
NMLZ-cry-NMLZ.POSS=3AUG.II
'All those people there, they yelled with their crying.' (Luke 8:52)

8. COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION.

8.1. SOURCES AND COGNATES. Table 5 summarizes the data discussed in the previous sections (m stands for 'marginal').

The function and distribution of comitative forms across RSC paints an interesting picture. To begin with, we note that the link between comitative prepositions and NP conjunctions is well known (Stassen 2000), and that POC *ma is reconstructed both as a conjunction and a prepositional verb (Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004:449). This close conceptual link is reflected in the formal properties of a number of RSC comitative forms which appear to sit at the boundary between prepositions and conjunctions. Äiwoo and Engdewu both have comitative forms which presumably reflect POC *ma, but Äiwoo fairly uncontroversially distinguishes a comitative preposition *mo* from a homophonous conjunction (although the existence of split inclusory constructions blurs the picture somewhat), whereas Engdewu *ma(e)* has both preposition-like and conjunction-like properties. Functionally, while Äiwoo *mo* has both comitative and depictive uses, Engdewu *ma(e)* appears to be

18. The gloss PCFL.RSBL marks the form *ne* as being the possessive classifier indicating animate and created inanimate things for which one is responsible.

TABLE 5. COMITATIVE MORPHEMES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS ACROSS FOUR RSC LANGUAGES.

	Äiwoo			Engdewu		Nalögo		Natügu		
	mo	-i	-mä(i)	ma(e)	-mi	ba	-mi	më	nâdö/badö	-mi
Comitative	√	m	√	√	-	√	√	√	√	√
Depictive	√	√	-	-	√	√	√	-	-	√
'Together'	-	-	√	√	-	-	-	-	-	√
Instrument	m	-	-	-	-	√	-	√	-	√
Complement of 'be like'	√	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-
Stimulus (of 'cry')	-	-	-	-	√	-	√	-	-	√
Content of speech	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	-
Clause linking	-	-	-	-	-	-	√	-	-	√

restricted to comitatives proper. Reflexes of POC *ma/*ma-i as a person-marked preposition, reminiscent of the situation in Engdewu where *ma* may take a 3MIN person marker, are known from a number of Oceanic languages (Ross 1988:110).

The comitative prepositions/conjunctions in Natügu and Nalögo appear less likely to be reflexes of *ma. For the form *ba*, which occurs in both languages, we note that Moyse-Faurie and Lynch (2004:488) propose a POC form *b^{w}a which "may have had similar or identical function to *ma-ni (i.e., a loose or sequential NP coordinator, possibly also an additive coordinator)," and that they suggest a possible source in *be 'subordinating or irrealis conjunction' for the Ajië (New Caledonia) comitative marker *vèri*. Again, *ba* in both Natügu and Nalögo has both preposition-like and conjunction-like functions, and in some cases may be difficult to categorize, as with Natügu *badö* discussed in section 7.1. For comitative applicatives, Äiwoo distinguishes comitative *-mäi* from depictive *-i*, while all the SC languages have a suffix *-mi* for which the depictive function clearly predominates. In section 7.3.2, we noted that the comitative/depictive distinction drawn by Arkhipov (2009) cannot account adequately for the distinctions drawn in Natügu, where participating in the activity at an equal level of responsibility overrides the criterion of participating in the same manner; we lack sufficient data to decide whether this generalizes across SC. We do note, however, that in both Engdewu and Natügu, the strict comitative function—however this is defined—is associated with a preposition/conjunction-type construction, *ma(e)* in Engdewu and *badö/nadö* in Natügu, and that the function of *-mi* is restricted by the contrast with this construction.

In all the SC languages, *-mi* shows some additional functions beyond comitative/depictive. This includes cause/stimulus of at least one verb, 'cry', seemingly restricted in all the languages to the specific meaning 'mourn (a death)';[19] instrument in Natügu; and the content of what might loosely be understood as a speech verb, *mwapu* 'whistle' in Nalögo.

19. Äiwoo here has a distinct lexicalized form *ki* 'cry over, mourn', which bears no apparent relationship to *engi* 'cry'.

The dual status of Äiwoo *mäi* as both an adverb and a valency-increasing morpheme shows that an originally independent form may have grammaticalized into a comitative applicative; note also that Natügu *-mi* shares the non-valency-increasing 'together' function with Äiwoo *mäi*. Moreover, *mäi* is the only valency-increasing morpheme in Äiwoo which follows the suffixed person markers; other applicative-type morphemes such as *-i*, *-ive*, and *-eâ* (Næss 2021) all occur closer to the stem, preceding the person suffixes. This is a further indication that *mäi* has grammaticalized from some independent postverbal morpheme. Although in Natügu, the position of *-mi* in the verb complex does not appear to correlate with a difference in function or meaning, the fact that two different positions are possible also points to a process of grammaticalization from a relatively peripheral form. A similar process is attested in Teop [tio], where the comitative preposition *me* is "usually incorporated into the verb complex and changes its valence" (Mosel and Thiesen, ms.).

8.2. COMITATIVES VERSUS OTHER APPLICATIVES. It is important to note that all the RSC languages have other applicative-type constructions beyond the comitative applicatives, and that functions are distributed among these applicatives in different ways in different languages.[20] The Äiwoo circumstantial voice marker =C*ä*, mentioned in section 3.2.1 above, has key properties in common with applicatives, in that it adds a nonactor argument to the clause, although because of the nature of the Äiwoo voice system this argument is made the VSA of the clause. =C*ä* is assumed to reflect the POc applicative *akin[i], the reconstructed functions of which include, among others, cause/stimulus of psychological and emotion verbs, content of speech and cognition, and instrument of process-action verbs, as well as concomitants of motion verbs (Evans 2003; Næss 2021).

All the SC languages have a transitivizing suffix *-ti*, which typically adds a patient or theme-like argument to an intransitive or semi-transitive verb. The most likely source of this suffix would appear to be the POc transitive suffix *-i (Alfarano 2021:449), although the source of the initial *t* remains unaccounted for.

Natügu and Nalögo both have an applicative *-ngö*, which adds arguments with a range of peripheral functions such as stimulus, cause, content, goal, location, instrument, and time. This form has a tendency to be followed by the 'Set II' (van den Berg and Boerger 2011; Alfarano 2021) person markers which reflect POc possessive forms, though that is not the full picture. We interpret this tendency as an indication that *-ngö* reflects an original voice marker, since actor arguments of nonactor voices were marked by possessives in PMP. For example, compare the Äiwoo person suffixes appearing in nonactor voices, which also largely reflect POc possessive forms (Ross and Næss 2007:476).

20. We discuss here only those applicatives which are relevant to the semantic domain under discussion in this paper. For additional applicatives in Nalögo, see Alfarano (2021:454–60); for Äiwoo, see Næss (2021); and for Natügu, see Boerger (2022a).

Alfarano (2021:474) discusses proposals that original circumstantial voice marker *-ani is a possible source for Natügu *-ngö* and Nalögo *=ngö*; but concludes that further studies are needed.

Engdewu has an applicative *-(n)ö/-lö*, relatively infrequent in the available data, for which one possible hypothesis is that it is cognate with Natügu/Nalögo *-ngö*. It does, however, show some intriguing differences in distribution. The bound person markers in Engdewu show a complex pattern of variation (Vaa 2013:201–06), but where a distinction can be drawn with reasonable confidence between forms that reflect POc possessives versus forms that do not, *-(n)ö/-lö* seems to select the forms which are **not** possessive reflexes. Moreover, *-(n)ö/-lö* appears to be obligatory with the speech verb *pi* 'say', as in (53a), which is not the case for Natügu/Nalögo *-ngö*. Nalögo, however, has a suffix *-ö* which is similarly frequent, but not obligatory, on *pi* 'say'; Alfarano (2021:261–62) analyzes it as a quotative marker, as in (53b). An identical suffixal form *-ö* also occurs in Natügu, but is here analyzed as a reduced variant of the applicative *-ngö*, shown in (53c). Which form is used in Natügu is determined primarily by preference for CV sequences, though *-ngö* can also be reduced to *-ö* in fast speech irrespective of the environment. It is not obligatory with the identical cognate verb *pi* 'say', as shown in (46) above, and does not function as a quotative marker in the narrow sense of introducing quoted direct speech; rather it can have a broader range of applicative functions when used with *pi*, such as introducing the content of the thinking in (53c) and the cause of the speech event in (53d).

(53) a. ENGDEWU (Vaa 2013:306)
Ö-pi-**ö**-bë kä-la-kiso
DETR-say-APPL-PDIR.thither individual-IPFV.3AUG.S/A-small
'Eh toko, tü-kâla-lü.'
eh no IPFV.N3AUG-be.afraid-1MIN.S/A
'The child says, "Eh no, I'm afraid".'

b. NALÖGO (Alfarano 2021:261)
E-pi-**ö**=de eu man
PREF-say-QUOT=3MIN.S/A yes man
'He said: "Yes, man."

c. NATÜGU
"Da kâ nëwö=de tü tü-öpwa'-ngö-bë=me
thing DEM:DIST iteration=3MINII three RL-forbid-APPL-PDIR.thither=2MIN.I
ba=dö doa kâ-ng, nide la tü-ötöngö-ti-bë=me
DAT=3AUGII child DEM.DIST-PL 3MINI DEM.PROX RL-do-TR-PDIR.thither=2MIN.I
kä tü-ö-pi-**ö**=nü na-öla-pä=ü."
SUBR RL-DETR-say-APPL=2MIN.I IRR-escape-GDIR.out=2MIN.I
"The very thing you forbade three times to those guys, that is what you are doing since you think you'll get away with it."

d. NATÜGU
"Nike tü-ö-pi-**ngö**-nü 'eke'?"
what RL-MIDD-say-APP=2MIN.I oh.no
"Why (for what) did you say 'yikes'?"

In short, the relationships between forms and functions within and across languages are complex, and more research is needed to establish whether Engdewu *-(n)ö/-lö*, Engdewu/Nalögo *-ö*, and Nalögo/Natügu *-ngö* all derive from a single historical source or whether they may have different origins.[21]

8.3. GRAMMATICALIZATION AND FUNCTIONAL EXPANSION. We interpret the facts discussed above in the following way. Based on the studies referred to in section 2.2, it is a reasonable assumption that POc largely used *ma/*ma-i for comitatives proper, and *akin[i] for depictives. As noted in section 8.2 above, in addition to introducing a concomitant-type argument with motion verbs, *akin[i] is reconstructed with a number of other functions, notably cause/stimulus of psychological or emotional states, content of speech and cognition verbs, and instrument of process-action verbs. All of these functions are sporadically found with *-mi* in the SC languages.

We propose that the POc comitative verb *ma-i has grammaticalized into *mä(i)* in Äiwoo and into *-mi* in the SC languages. In the latter case, its function has been extended from comitatives proper to depictives, a function originally covered by *akin[i], and this process of extension has led to *-mi* gradually taking over some of the other functions of *akin[i] as well. A clear example of this is seen in the addition of *-mi* to *yöni* 'cry' to mean 'mourn' in all the SC languages. This function is specifically reconstructed for POc *akin[i] by Evans (2003:231), who notes that, "the form **taŋis-akin[i]*, derived from **taŋis* 'to cry', did not simply mean 'cry' plus a participant denoting the reason or cause of the crying. Rather the specialized meaning of 'to mourn' is also reconstructable." SC *yöni* is presumably a reflex of POc *taŋis (cf. Äiwoo *engi*, where the velar nasal has been retained but the initial *t has been lost, like in SC), but *-mi* is an implausible reflex of *akin[i], leading us to conclude that *akin[i] has been replaced by *-mi* in this function. The instrument function of *-mi* in Natügu and the content-of-speech function sporadically attested in Nalögo are similarly cases where *-mi* seems to have taken over what were originally *akin[i] functions. On the other hand, *ma-i will also have coexisted with comitative prepositions/conjunctions *ma and/or *ba, and in SC this seems to have become the default expression of comitative proper.

There is little evidence for any of the SC languages retaining a reflex of *akin[i], with the reservation given in section 8.2 above that the history of SC applicatives is very unclear. In Äiwoo, on the other hand, the hypothesized *akin[i] reflex has expanded its function into a marker of circumstantial voice. Although the circumstantial voice function is the most frequent one, =C*ä* shows a number of minor functions which are parallel to those reconstructed for *akin[i] (Næss 2021). Of most relevance for the current discussion, =C*ä* can in fact form a depictive construction, although one unambiguous example is

21. Given that one of the functions reconstructed for POc *akin[i] is that of introducing the content of speech verbs, it is tempting to hypothesize that Engdewu *-(n)ö/-lö* and Nalögo *-ö* are reflexes of *akin[i], but again, much more substantial evidence is needed.

attested; this function seems largely to have been taken over by *-i*, described in section 4.2. Example (54) shows =*Cä* with a depictive function; the verb *wo* 'go' is not attested with comitative *-i*, and it may be that the choice between the two is lexically determined.

(54) Äiwoo
I-wo-to-mä=kaa=**kä** lâ first catch.
PFV-go-go.in=FUT=CV DIST first catch
'He would come back in with the first catch.'

Several of the functions shown by *-mi* in SC are covered by =C*ä* in Äiwoo. This goes for the instrument function found in Natügu, as well as the content of speech function which appears to be marginally present in Nalögo—although note that, as described in section 8.2 above, the most common speech verb in the available Nalögo data, *pi* 'say' rather takes the suffix *-ö*.

One final function is worth mentioning, namely that of introducing the entity that something is compared to with a verb meaning 'be like, resemble, be the same as'. In Äiwoo, this is done with the preposition *mo*, which otherwise has a comitative/depictive function (15); whereas in Nalögo it can be done with *-mi* (38). A similar function is attested for reflexes of the POc comitative preposition *ma in other Oceanic languages: In the Vanuatu language Daakaka [bpa], the comitative preposition *myane* similarly occurs with the verb *ge* 'be like' (von Prince 2015:196); while in another Vanuatu language, Mwotlap [mlv], the comitative preposition *mi* can introduce various complements with the sense 'parallel to, in relation to, compared to' (Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004:479; François 2001:687–88). These parallel data, and the fact that this function is shared across Äiwoo *mo* and Nalögo *-mi*, we take as tentative evidence that both forms are historically related to POc *ma and its related verb *ma-i. We have no evidence of a similar function for any of the comitative morphemes or constructions described above for either Engdewu or Natügu.

In sum, the comitative constructions in RSC reflect a complex set of historical processes where reflexes of some forms have expanded into functions originally covered by other forms, which in turn have either been lost (as seems largely to be the case of *akin[i] reflexes signaling comitative/depictive in SC languages) or expanded into other functions (as with Äiwoo =C*ä*, assumed to reflect *akin[i], which has the main function of marking circumstantial voice). The diversity in the present-day languages, especially apparent when comparing the SC languages, on the one hand, to Äiwoo, on the other, in fact results to a great extent from a variety of processes applying to the same original forms, namely *ma(-i), *-i, and *akin[i]. While in SC, we have posited that it is largely reflexes of comitative *ma-i which have expanded into the depictive function, in Äiwoo the picture is more complex: A reflex of *-i has mostly taken over the depictive function attributed to POc *akin[i], while *ma-i has developed into an adverb meaning 'together', and further into a comitative applicative. The latter is distinct from *-i* on two counts: first, it indicates comitative proper rather than depictive function, and second, and more unusually,

it promotes the accompanee rather than the companion argument. Given that all forms which add an argument to a lexically intransitive verb in Äiwoo promote this argument to VSA status, it is possible to argue for "applicative" *mäi* as constituting in fact a comitative voice; it is mainly the highly restricted distribution of this construction, as discussed in section 4.3, which makes us hesitant to embrace such a conclusion.

A final point worth noting is that there seems to be a correlation across RSC between inclusory marking on the verb and comitative semantics in the strict sense discussed in section 7.3. This is seen with Engdewu *ma(-e)*, as well as with the Nalögo conjunction *ba* and Natügu *badö/nadö*; in all these cases, the occurrence of inclusory marking was discussed as a factor in deciding whether the forms in question should be analyzed as conjunctions or prepositions. However, it is also found with the Äiwoo applicative *-i* (section 4.2), as seen in example (17). This suggests that inclusory marking may be associated with comitative semantics rather than with construction type, since the *-i* applicative does not trigger inclusory marking when indicating depictive relations (16). If this is true across the RSC languages, the presence or absence of inclusory marking may not be a useful criterion for classifying comitative-type forms as prepositions versus conjunctions.

8.4. RESIDUAL ISSUES. There are still issues to be resolved with respect to the forms of the comitative applicatives in RSC. Neither SC *-mi* nor Äiwoo *mäi* are in themselves implausible reflexes of *ma-i; for *-mi*, compare, for example, the Mwotlap comitative preposition *mi* (François 2001:678). The Äiwoo form is somewhat more puzzling in the sense that the POC directional verb *mai 'come', homophonous with comitative *ma-i, is reflected in Äiwoo as the directional suffix *-mä*, where the dipthong *ai is reflected as Äiwoo /æ/. One possibility is that the morpheme boundary in *ma-i has led to the retention of final *-i.* Another is that *mäi* does not in fact reflect *ma-i but one of the related forms proposed by Moyse-Faurie and Lynch (2004): *me-i as a possible parallel to *ma-i from *me, thought to have been used with common as opposed to proper nouns, or *ma-ni as a verb meaning 'accompany' (Moyse-Faurie and Lynch 2004:486). A third option could be that Äiwoo has gone through a stage of reflecting *ma-i as a person-marked preposition, cf. Engdewu *ma-e*, and that the final *-i* originates in a marker of 3AUG; this might help account for the alternation between *mä* and *mäi* noted in section 4.3. It is worth noting here that Natügu *badö* also appears to show an accreted 3AUG marker, and that the meaning 'together' of Natügu *-mi* parallels that found with Äiwoo *mäi*; though we hypothesize the forms to have different sources, parallel developments influenced by contact might be plausible.

The current state of knowledge about the phonological history of RSC is not sufficiently advanced to resolve these issues at present. We believe, however, that comparative studies of functionally parallel forms, such as those we have

presented in this paper, contribute toward identifying relationships between forms, which may, in turn, help bring our understanding of this history forward.

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