## Associated motion in Sibidiri Idi (Pahoturi River family, Southern PNG) Volker Gast (Jena)

Sibidiri Idi has a verbal category of 'associated motion' (cf. Wilkins 1991, Guillaume 2016), with the values 'ventive' (movement towards the deictic centre) and 'itive' (movement away from the deictic centre). The following example from a narrative contains a minimal pair ('take away' vs. 'bring here', formed from the same root, -tram-; '^' indicates raising/fronting of all vowels within a certain domain, with the pairs <a, &>, <e,i>, <o,u>; Idi exhibits vowel harmony, cf. Gast 2015):

(1) [mla usiæ jʌtrameo tætu bigæju jɪtræmiu mayawa]

mla ^ose-a y-tram-e-o ^tato be-^ga-o

woman old-Gnr 3SgP.RmPast-take-RmPast-3nSg wash 3SgP.RmPast-Aux-3nSg

y-^-tram-e-o may-awa 3sgP.Pst.RmPast-Vent-take-RmPast-3nSg house-All

`They took the old woman away to wash her, they brought her back.'

In its first occurrence, the verb /ytrameo/ is realized in the 'neutral' form (with 'dark' vowels), as [jʌtrameo], indicating (by default) motion away from the deictic centre. In the second occurrence, it is realized as [jɪtræmiu], with the 'light' versions of all vowels. I assume an abstract 'lightness' feature, represented as '^' in the gloss, as the phonological correlate of the morphological category 'ventive'.

Example (1) illustrates the contrast between neutral/itive and ventive forms in the Remote (or Prehodiernal) Past. In the Recent (Hodiernal) Past, the contrast is marked differently, with a specific set of suffixes, and sometimes a change of inflectional class. In the singular, the relevant forms are often indistinguishable from dual forms, cf. (3) (example (2) is the neutral/itive form).

(2) [waptnan]

w-a-ptn-a-n

RcPast.Itr-Thm-arrive-RcPast-1/3Sg.S

'I/He arrived (there).'

(3) [waptnalo]

w-a-ptn-a-lo

RcPast.Itr-Thm-arrive-RcPast-{3Du.S,1/3Sg.Vent.S}

'They two arrived there' or 'I/She/He arrived here.'

There are additional complications, some of them seemingly verb specific, in the morphology of the category of associated motion. In my talk I will provide an overview of the most important morphological devices for the marking of associated motion and address some questions pertaining to their semantics. Most importantly, there are metaphorical extensions into the temporal domain. For instance, in the Family Problems Picture Task (San Roque et al. 2012), ventive forms where used for (some) remembrances, and consultants pointed out that the memories were coming towards the protagonist. Perhaps related to such metaphorical uses are rare instances of an epic past, which seems to exhibit ventive morphology, though examples of this type are very scarce in my corpus.

The data on which my analyses are based were gathered in fieldwork in 2013 and 2014.

## References

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