

Chapter 17

Reflexive constructions in Nungon

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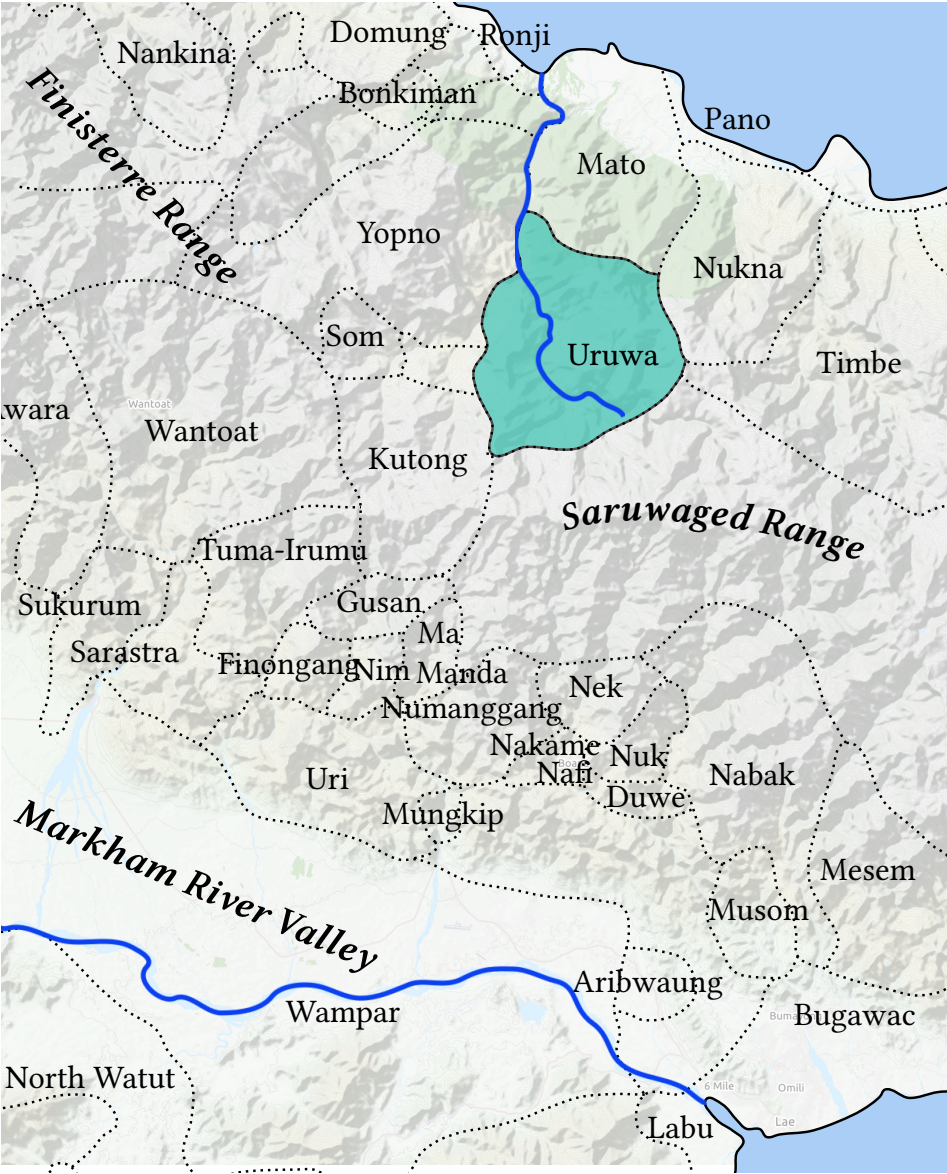
This chapter gives an overview of reflexive constructions in the Papuan language Nungon of Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea. Nungon has two types of free personal pronouns: a “basic” set and an “emphatic” set. The emphatic set includes more formal person/number distinctions than the basic set, and is used for various pragmatic effects relating to contrast and focus, as well as for the reflexive relationship between a transitive subject and object, when they are obligatory. Nungon has no formal marking for reflexive relationships beyond transitive subject/object coreference, however, with interpretation of reflexivity largely context-dependent for subject/oblique coreference and other coreferential combinations.

1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of reflexive constructions in the Papuan language Nungon. Nungon has no reflexive pronoun or another marker of reflexivity. Instead, reflexivity is one function of an “emphatic” set of personal pronouns. Discussion of Nungon reflexivity here was inspired and guided by the questionnaire by Janic & Haspelmath (2023 [this volume]).

Nungon is a Papuan language of the Finisterre group within the Finisterre-Huon language family, spoken in northeastern Papua New Guinea. Nungon is an umbrella term applied to the southern four village dialects of an oval-shaped dialect continuum in the Uruwa River valley (see Figure 1), in which each village community historically had a distinct dialect. The northernmost dialects are known collectively as Yau, source of the ISO code <yuw> that applies to the entire dialect continuum. Nungon is spoken by approximately 1,000 people, but





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Figure 1: Linguistic context of the Uruwa River valley (shaded), Morobe Province, Papua New Guinea, based on Sarvasy (2017a: 7)

these are divided among the distinct dialects, with no more than about 350 speakers of each dialect. All data and discussion in this chapter are based on the Towet village dialect.

A full overview of Nungon grammar can be found in (Sarvasy 2017a).¹ Some additional phonetic and phonological details are in Sarvasy et al. (2019a,b, 2020). Nungon is an agglutinating language with some fusion. Constituent order is verb-final. Grammatical relations are indicated through indexation on the verb and through postpositions. There is no grammatical gender (Sarvasy 2016b has more on covert gender marking in Nungon). Nungon number marking includes multiple “splits” (Sarvasy 2018), with different areas of the grammar using different number systems.

Like many Papuan languages, Nungon is a clause chaining language (Sarvasy 2015, 2020a), with several non-finite verb inflections which lack tense, mood, and, sometimes, subject person/number information. These typically serve as non-final members of clause chains or multi-verb predicates (Sarvasy 2020b). Finite verb inflections obligatorily mark subject person/number, distinguishing seven forms (second person dual always has an identical form to third person dual, and the same goes for second person plural and third person plural). A sub-class of 15 transitive verbs, most which take prototypically human object arguments, also obligatorily mark object person and/or number through a verbal prefix.

This chapter primarily draws on the author’s monolingual (Nungon-only; see Sarvasy 2016a) immersion fieldwork on Nungon grammatical structures over a total of nine months (between 2011 and 2013), during which a 140,700-word corpus of Nungon natural speech was created.² The corpus contains transcribed audio- and video-recorded texts: mostly narratives, but also including some dialogues, procedural texts, and songs, as well as the author’s transcriptions of unrecorded natural speech from observation and elicitation in the field. Over 40 adult Nungon speakers feature in the recordings. This chapter is also informed by the author’s continued involvement since 2015 with the Towet village community to document child acquisition of the Nungon language (Sarvasy 2019b, 2020a,b). The two much-larger corpora of child-adult conversational interactions

¹Nungon quantification is discussed in full in Sarvasy (2017c); imperatives and commands are covered in Sarvasy (2017b); linguistic history and comparative structures is in Sarvasy (2013, 2014); more anthropological linguistic detail on covert expression of gender and secret language are in Sarvasy (2016b, 2019a).

²The Nungon adult corpus is archived in full with the Firebird Foundation. Individual components of the corpus may be obtained through written correspondence with the author. Open-access samples of Nungon natural speech are archived with CHILDES, at: <https://childes.talkbank.org/access/Other/Nungon/Sarvasy.html>.

are not used in the present chapter. Nungon examples here are followed by the title of the source text, where applicable, or labeled as constructed or drawn from the author’s field notes.

2 Nungon personal pronouns overview

Like many other Finisterre-Huon languages (McElhanon 1973: 21), Nungon has two personal pronoun paradigms, forming a “basic” pronoun set and an “emphatic” set (full discussion in Sarvasy 2017a: 351–359). The term “emphatic” is used in deference to the tradition in Finisterre-Huon linguistics (e.g. McElhanon 1973), though “self-intensifier” could be applicable Haspelmath 2023 [this volume]. Both sets combine with grammatical relation-marking postpositions to express agency, instrument, possession, location, and accompaniment. Third person pronouns from both sets can refer to inanimate objects.

Formally, the Nungon basic set includes reduced person/number distinctions compared to the emphatic set, as seen in Table 1. While the emphatic paradigm distinguishes each of the nine person/number categories, the basic paradigm includes only five distinct forms, conflating dual and plural number in the 1st and second person, and including a single form for 3rd person. Comparison with related Finisterre languages Nukna and Nek suggests that Nungon first and second person basic pronouns could have originally included distinct forms for dual number, **not* (1DU) and **hot* (2DU). These were eventually replaced, with the original plural (≥ 3) forms *non* and *hon* generalizing to encompass dual number as well (Sarvasy 2017a, 2018).

Table 1: Nungon personal pronouns

	singular		dual		plural	
	basic	emphatic	basic	emphatic	basic	emphatic
1	<i>nok</i>	<i>naga</i>	<i>non</i>	<i>nori</i>	<i>non</i>	<i>noni</i>
2	<i>gok</i>	<i>gaga</i>	<i>hon</i>	<i>hori</i>	<i>hon</i>	<i>honi</i>
3	<i>yu</i>	<i>ino</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>yori</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>yoni</i>

The basic personal pronouns are functionally unmarked, compared with the emphatic personal pronouns. But use of even the basic personal pronouns is more functionally marked than the absence of any explicit personal pronoun, which is the norm in Nungon discourse. In example (1), there is no personal pronoun or

other noun phrase explicitly encoding the subject argument of the verb, which is indicated through verbal inflection; here, no focus or contrast is entailed. But in (2), the presence of the basic personal pronoun with reference to the subject argument entails special focus with contrastive effect on the subject argument. Example (3) shows a third option with maximal contrast, achieved through an explicit emphatic pronoun. Since Nungon has no grammatical gender, in this chapter the unwieldy “s/he” will be avoided by arbitrarily choosing male or female gender for each English free translation of third person singular pronouns and actors.

- (1) *Ongo-go-k.*
go-RP-3SG
'She went.'
- (2) *Yu ongo-go-k.*
3.PRO go-RP-3SG
'She went.' (contrastive; this particular actor, not one or more others, went)
- (3) *Ino ongo-go-k.*
3SG.PRO.EMPH go-RP-3SG
'She herself went.' (maximally contrastive; this actor, not one or more others, possibly with special reason or purpose, went)

Emphatic pronouns always occur in focused, contrastive, or reflexive contexts. Because they are inherently focused, they rarely co-occur with the focusing postposition =*ho*, but are attested with almost all other postpositions. The only exception is the genitive postposition =*hon*, since the emphatic personal pronouns can take a special “emphatic genitive” suffix *-in* (homophonous with one of the Nungon locative markers), yielding genitive emphatic pronoun forms, used in contexts of focused, contrastive, or reflexive possession. Use of a genitive emphatic pronoun for contrast is exemplified in (4).

- (4) *Nan-na maa-no X, naga-in maa-na Y.*
father-1SG.POSS name-3SG.POSS X 1SG.PRO.EMPH-GEN name-1SG.POSS Y
'My father's name was X, my own name is Y.' [Waasiöng inoin hatno]

Examples (5–6) show use of the emphatic pronouns to highlight the similarity in attributes of two sets of actors, as a special type of contrast. Example (5) includes two personal pronouns. The first actor mentioned is referred to with a basic personal pronoun; the second set of actors are referred to with an emphatic

personal pronoun. Here, the basic pronoun occurs in a relatively neutral context, but the use of the emphatic pronoun highlights a relationship between the action by the first actor and that of a second set of actors (they all went in the same direction).

- (5) ... *nok e-ng ngi-yo=gon, yoni ongo-gu-ng-an...*
 1SG.PRO come-DEP PROX-DEM=RESTR 3PL.PRO.EMPH go-RP-2/3PL-LOC
 ‘... I coming along on this side, where they had gone...’ [Waasiöng inoin hatno]

There is flexibility in the type of pronoun used to refer to the first actor presented in such contexts. For instance, in (6), the first set of actors in a similar relational context is referred to with an emphatic pronoun, not a basic pronoun (as in 5).

- (6) *Noni ino bom-mo.*
 1PL.PRO.EMPH 3SG.PRO.EMPH semblance-3SG.POSS
 ‘We are like Him.’ [Context: church sermon, field notes]

Note that (6) is a verbless clause; example (7) is another verbless clause. In (7), the emphatic pronoun is used anaphorically, to refer back to a previously-mentioned tree species.

- (7) *Ino wo-rok=gon.*
 3SG.PRO.EMPH DIST-SEMBL=RESTR
 ‘It is that same one.’ [Geisch nanno orugo yup]

Emphatic pronouns, but not basic pronouns, can also occur as nominal modifiers after a name or pronoun, similar to English *he himself*. This is shown in (8).

- (8) *Dono oe-no=rot Yupna ongo-go-mok. Op-no,*
 Dono woman-3SG.POSS=COMIT Yupna go-RP-1DU husband-3SG.POSS
wo-ma-i, Dono ino, Lae ong-un-a.
 DIST-SPEC-TOP Dono 3SG.PRO.EMPH Lae go-DS.3SG-MV
 ‘Dono’s wife and I went to Yupna. Her husband, that is, Dono himself, having gone to Lae.’ [Rosarin Yupna hain]

Here, the emphatic pronoun in *Dono ino* ‘Dono himself’ follows the name *Dono* without any intervening pause, very similarly to English ‘Dono himself’.

3 Expression of reflexivity in Nungon

Demarcation of reflexivity is a specific sub-function of Nungon emphatic pronouns. The emphatic pronouns are obligatory for reflexive reading when the transitive subject argument and object argument or oblique argument are coreferential. All person/number combinations are eligible for reflexive readings. Coreference between transitive subjects and objects is discussed in §3.1, coreference between transitive subjects and oblique arguments is in §3.2, and other coreference contexts are covered in §3.4. Related expressions are in §4.

3.1 Coreference between subject and object

As noted above, all Nungon finite verbs index subject argument person/number through verbal suffixes. A closed sub-set of 15 transitive verbs also obligatorily index object person/number through prefixes that are often fused with the verb root. No other verbs index object person/number. In Nungon transitive clauses, the object argument itself may be: a) omitted and understood from context (9); b) referred to with an explicit noun phrase (10); c) referred to with a demonstrative or personal pronoun, and/or an object prefix on the verb; note that an explicit object noun phrase or pronoun can co-occur with a coreferential object prefix, as in (11).

- (9) *Honggit-ti!*
grab-IMP.2SG
'Grab it!' [Field notes]
- (10) *Inowak na-go-mong.*
cassava eat-RP-1PL
'We ate cassava.' [Rosarin Yupna hain]
- (11) *Nok na-no-ng n-u-ng=ir-a-ng.*
1SG.PRO 1SG.O-tell-DEP 1SG.O-roll.side.to.side-DEP=be-PRS.NSG-2/3PL
'They lie to me.' (literally: 'They address me and roll me from side to side') [Field notes]

When a transitive subject and object are exactly coreferential (see footnote 3), the object is referred to by an emphatic pronoun, as in (12–13).

- (12) *Ino wet-do-k.*
3SG.PRO.EMPH 3SG.O.kill-RP-3SG
'He killed himself.' [Field notes]

- (13) *Amna inggouk dogu-hi-k=ko ino aa-ng-a*
 man one ghost-put-NMLZ=FOC 3SG.PRO.EMPH 3SG.O.see-DEP-MV
it-ta-k.
 be-PRS.SG-3SG
 ‘One man is looking at himself in a mirror’, lit. ‘One man, (using) an
 image-placer, is looking at himself.’ [Picture description task 4]

Use of an emphatic pronoun is necessary for a reading in which subject and object arguments are coreferential in (12–13). As noted in Sarvasy (2017a: 355), representation of the object argument of a transitive verb with an emphatic pronoun does not necessarily entail coreference with the subject argument. An example from Sarvasy (2017a: 355) is reproduced in (14).

- (14) *Yoiwet=ton bök obö-ng-a, hara ino we-k.*
 Yoiwet=GEN house break-DEP-MV almost 3SG.PRO.EMPH 3SG.O.kill-NP.3SG
 ‘Yoiwet_i’s house_j breaking, it_j almost killed her_i.’ [Field notes]

Here, the house (intransitive subject of the first clause, and transitive subject of the second clause) belonged to the person it nearly killed, that is, the second clause cannot be interpreted as ‘she killed herself’.

In contrast to antagonistic, “extroverted” actions (König & Siemund 2000: 61), as in (9), typical “introverted” actions that are expressed using reflexives in some languages take other forms in Nungon. For instance, Nungon *guo*- ‘bathe’ is an intransitive verb, which requires a further transitivizing expansion to express bathing someone else (Sarvasy 2017a: 513–516). In Nungon, “introverted” actions like ‘dress,’ ‘shave,’ and ‘apply make-up’ are expressed with the acted-upon element (a skirt or loincloth, or a possessed body part, see 21–23 below) as the transitive object, never exactly coreferential³ with the transitive subject, as in (15).

- (15) *Högök oe inggouk yangam-o uhok wo=hon wo=hon*
 white woman one face-3SG.POSS color DIST=GEN DIST=GEN
ta-a-k.
 do-PRS-3SG
 ‘One Caucasian woman_i applies make-up here and there to her_{i/j} face.’
 [Picture description task 6]

³ Exact coreferentiality here means that two linguistic constituents refer to exactly the same referent. This is important in Nungon because such coreferentiality governs the distribution of switch-reference markers (Sarvasy 2015). In Nungon switch-reference, body parts are not exactly coreferential with their possessors (the beings to which they belong).

In such expressions, the body part is usually marked as possessed in the usual way, without additional marking to show coreference between subject argument and the possessor of the body part. Removed from any particular discourse context, the most natural interpretation of (15) is one of coreferentiality. But if a non-coreferential context had already been introduced (one woman applies make-up to another person's face), (15) would be acceptable in describing that situation as well. Introduction of the genitive emphatic pronoun to specify that only coreference is an acceptable interpretation would also introduce contrast, as seen in (16).

- (16) *Högök oe inggouk ino-in yangam-o uhok wo=hon*
 white woman one 3SG.PRO.EMPH-GEN face-3SG.POSS color DIST=GEN
wo=hon ta-a-k.
 DIST=GEN do-PRS-3SG
 'One Caucasian woman_i applies make-up here and there to her_i own face.'
 (Constructed)

The addition of the genitive emphatic pronoun implies that there are other potential faces to which the woman could be applying make-up, but that the woman is applying it only to her own. In the absence of such a context, (16) is less natural than (15).

It should further be noted that there are no clear examples in the Nungon adult corpus of "inclusive" co-referentiality between transitive subject and object argument, where coreference holds between one individual and a larger group which includes that individual. In Nungon, it is hypothetically possible, but not very natural, to explicitly break down complex groups into a pronoun conjoined with a noun phrase (*?naga orin amna torop* 'I myself and a group of men'). Thus cases of inclusive reference likely involve use of a single pronoun or a noun phrase (such as *noni* 'we' or *amna torop ambarak* 'the whole group of men') to describe the larger group. It seems likely that, if a pronoun is used, it would be the emphatic pronoun, but this remains to be tested.

3.2 Coreference between subject and oblique

As with coreference between transitive subject and object arguments, emphatic pronouns can be used to indicate coreference between a subject argument and oblique argument. However, unlike with subject/object coreference, it is unclear whether the emphatic pronouns are obligatory for obliques; it is likely that here basic pronouns can be substituted for emphatic pronouns with coreference still understood, in the right pragmatic and discourse-contextual circumstances.

Where used, the emphatic pronouns can be marked with postpositions and preserve the reflexive reading. Example (17) shows coreference between a subject argument and oblique beneficiary, and (18) shows coreference between a subject argument and oblique accompanier.

- (17) *Hu-ng* *ino=ha=gon* *ho-ng* *na-ng*
 NSG.O.take.away-DEP 3SG.PRO.EMPH=BEN=RESTR cook-DEP eat-DEP
to-ng *it-do-k*.
 do-DEP be-RP-3SG
 ‘Taking them away, he used to cook and eat them (just) for himself.’
 [Fooyu ketket dogu]
- (18) *Ni-ingat* *h-e-ng-a* *ino=rot*
 1NSG.O-escort NSG.O-come-DEP-MV 3SG.PRO.EMPH=COMIT
n-öö-go-k.
 1.O-ascend-RP-3SG
 ‘Bringing us, he took us up along with him.’ [Nusek Finsch hat]

Example (17) contrasts with (19), where there is no coreference between the subject and beneficiary.

- (19) *Tanak non=ta* *h-i-ng*.
 food 1NSG.PRO=BEN cook-NP-2/3PL
 ‘They cooked food for us.’ (Constructed)

As the benefactive postposition can be used to mark recipients as well as beneficiaries, the same forms apply in such cases.

3.3 Coreference between subject and location

In actual discourse, subjects are rarely coreferential with spatial referents. (English *beside her* would be expressed with the comitative postposition =*rot*; *near her* would likely be expressed through the adjective *ambek* ‘near’ alone, without *her*; and *behind him* would be expressed as *mee-no-n* ‘at his back’.) In one example from the Nungon adult corpus, a speaker uses the locative postposition =*dek* to describe location in discourse. Here, coreferentiality with the subject argument is expressed through use of the 1SG emphatic pronoun *naga* (marked with the locative postposition).

- (20) *Amna maa-no yo-wang-ka-t, naga=dek*
 man name-3SG.POSS say-PROB.SG-NF-1SG 1SG.PRO.EMPH=LOC
hi-ng-a, oruk-na-i=dek.
 put-DEP-MV brother.of.male-1SG.POSS-PL=LOC
 ‘I will say the men’s names, starting from myself, on to my brothers.’
 [Böas babiya bök]

When the locative-marked referent is not coreferential with the subject argument and no contrast or focus is desired, either a basic pronoun or noun phrase can be used in place of the emphatic pronoun *naga* in (20).

3.4 Coreference in further domains

Reflexive interpretation is further possible in a range of other contexts, either with or without the emphatic pronouns. In these contexts, use of the emphatic pronouns usually entails a combination of reflexivity and contrast.

3.4.1 Coreference between subject and possessor

Coreference between the subject argument and possessor referent is not obligatorily indicated through use of the genitive emphatic pronouns, though this is a possibility. A coreferential interpretation is possible with no pronoun (21) or with a basic pronoun (22). It can also be specified with an emphatic pronoun (23).

- (21) *Babiya-no indar-a it-ta-k.*
 book-3SG.POSS read-MV be-PRS.SG-3SG
 ‘She_i is reading her_{i/j} book.’ (Constructed)
- (22) *Yu=hon babiya-no indar-a it-ta-k.*
 3.PRO=GEN book-3SG.POSS read-MV be-PRS.SG-3SG
 ‘She_i is reading her_{i/j} book.’ (Constructed)
- (23) *Ino-in babiya-no indar-a it-ta-k.*
 3.PRO.EMPH-GEN book-3SG.POSS read-MV be-PRS.SG-3SG
 ‘She_i is reading her_i book.’ (Constructed)

All of the three options in (21–23) allow for reflexive interpretation; (21) is the most functionally unmarked and natural. In (21–22), choice of a reflexive interpretation would depend on contextual knowledge. While the reflexive interpretation is the only possibility for (23), use of the genitive emphatic pronoun there necessarily entails contrast along with reflexivity: either, a) that there are other

potential books with different owners available to the reading person, or b) that the reader actually wrote the book herself.

The same options are available when the possessed object is animate/human, as in the Nungon translations of *She killed her friend*, *He saw his boss*, etc. With these, as with (21–23), the use of a genitive-marked pronoun introduces mild (with the basic pronoun) or strong (with the emphatic pronoun) contrast, as well as, if the emphatic pronoun is used, reflexivity.

3.4.2 Coreference of non-subject arguments

Coreference between two non-subject arguments is rare-to-nonexistent in the Nungon adult corpus. It may be assumed that this is dispreferred in discourse more generally. But if it were to occur, there would likely be three ways of expressing such coreference, as with coreference of subject argument and possessor. Example (24) shows the absence of any pronoun referring to the recipient argument of ‘show’ (who is also the possessor of ‘her picture’), (25) shows the use of a basic pronoun for the possessor, and (26) shows the use of an emphatic pronoun (in Nungon, the word *dogu* ‘ghost’ is used for ‘image/picture/photo-graph’).

- (24) *Dogu-no* *y-ande-ha-k*.
ghost-3SG.POSS 3.O-show-PRS.SG-3SG
‘She_i shows her_j her_{i/j} picture.’ (Constructed)
- (25) *Yu=hon* *dogu-no* *y-ande-ha-k*.
3.PRO=GEN ghost-3SG.POSS 3.O-show-PRS.SG-3SG
‘She_i shows her_j her_{i/j} picture.’ (Constructed)
- (26) *Ino-in* *dogu-no* *y-ande-ha-k*.
3.PRO.EMPH-GEN ghost-3SG.POSS 3.O-show-PRS.SG-3SG
‘She_i shows her_j her own_{i/j} picture.’ (Constructed)

Here, even (26) is still ambiguous, in that the picture could belong to the showing person or the viewing person. Such ambiguity would be reduced if one of the parties were first or second person, as in (27).

- (27) *Ino-in* *dogu-no* *y-ande-ha-t*.
3.PRO.EMPH-GEN ghost-3SG.POSS 3.O-show-PRS.SG-1SG
‘I show her_i her own_{i/j} picture.’ (Constructed)

Here, the picture could still belong to a third party, distinct from the showing and viewing people, but it could not belong to the showing person, who is specified to be (1SG).

3.4.3 Coreference across clauses

Coreference across clauses – whether subordinate clauses, coordinated independent clauses, or coordinated dependent clauses in chains – is most often not indicated through the use of an emphatic pronoun. Clause chains in particular involve another highly efficient means to track subject reference across clauses: switch-reference marking. With Nungon switch-reference, any change in subject reference from clause A to clause B within a chain requires that the verb in clause A bears switch-reference marking, even if the referent of clause A's subject is included within that of clause B, or vice versa. This means that a listener has a clear idea at any time of the co-referentiality of subjects across clauses. While there is no similar grammatical means for tracking object or other argument reference through a clause chain, it stands to reason that knowing the reference of the subject argument of each clause can help in whittling down options for object reference in cases of ambiguity. Nungon switch-reference marking is described in detail in Sarvasy (2015, 2017a).

In clause chains, as elsewhere in the language, arguments normally lack expressions such as explicit pronouns or noun phrases if they are deemed recoverable from context. If reflexive and/or contrastive effects are desired, pronouns can be introduced: basic pronouns, for weak contrast, and emphatic pronouns for strong contrast, as in (28), where a boy shoots at a ghost, but the arrows bounce back at him, instead of hitting the target.

- (28) *Dogu tem-un-a* *wo-rok,* *gun=to* *hata-ng*
ghost 3SG.O.shoot-DS.3SG-MV DIST-SEMBL arrow=FOC jump-DEP
ino *hai-ng=gon* *to-ng* *it-do-k.*
3SG.PRO.EMPH cut-DEP=RESTR do-DEP be-RP-3SG
‘He_i having shot at the ghost, then, the arrow would just jump and strike him_i (instead).’ [Fooyu ketket orin dogu]

In these cross-clausal coreference contexts Nungon emphatic pronouns indicating coreference frequently occur in grammatical subject function. Example (29) is reported speech from a woman observing that, while the person she sought to meet with was not at home, he had left his portable solar charger unattended on a mound beside his house, so he could not have gone very far.

- (29) *Maa-no* *maa-no-no* *imbange* *orogo hinom*
 name-3SG.POSS name-3SG.POSS-3SG.POSS wonderful good INTENS
wo-ma-i *ngo-rok* *it-ta-k,* *ino* *ma=ngo-k.*
 DIST-SPEC-TOP PROX-SEMBL be-PRS.SG-3SG 3SG.PRO.EMPH NEG=go-NP.3SG
 ‘His_i wonderful, very nice stuff (lit. ‘its name, its name’) is here like this,
 (so) he himself_i hasn’t gone.’ [Rosarin Yupna hain]

In (29), the initial reference to the absent man is as possessor, marked with the 3sg possessive suffix *-no*, which does not have the possibility to be marked as reflexive or non-reflexive. The second reference to him is then through the emphatic pronoun *ino*, which serves as intransitive subject of the second clause.

4 Expanded types of reflexivity in Nungon

The personal pronouns can further combine with three postpositions related to reflexivity. Two of these only co-occur with emphatic pronouns: *=nang*, which relates to physical isolation (‘alone’), and the “autoreflexive” *=wut*, indicating ‘of one’s own power.’ The durative/restrictive *=gon*, which means roughly ‘on one’s own’ when used with personal pronouns, indicates a more general type of aloneness than either *=nang* or *=wut*.

5 Conclusions

In sum, formal marking of reflexivity in Nungon is achieved through use of emphatic personal pronouns: a second set of personal pronouns with more person-/number distinctions than the “basic” set. The emphatic pronouns also function more generally to indicate contrast and focus; reflexivity can be understood to be a restricted sub-category of contrast.

That said, the Nungon emphatic personal pronouns are only obligatory for indication of reflexivity when the co-reference relation is between the transitive subject and object arguments. In all other contexts, the Nungon discourse style is highly permissive of formal ambiguity, apparently to be resolved by the listener based on discourse-contextual knowledge.

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Abbreviations

This chapter follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al. 2008). Additional abbreviations used are:

DS	different-subject	PRO	pronoun
EMPH	emphatic	PROB	probable
IMP	immediate imperative	RESTR	restrictive
INTENS	intensifier	RP	remote past
MV	medial verb	SEMBL	semblance
NF	near future	SPEC	specifier
NP	near past	TOP	topicalizer
NSG	non-singular		

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