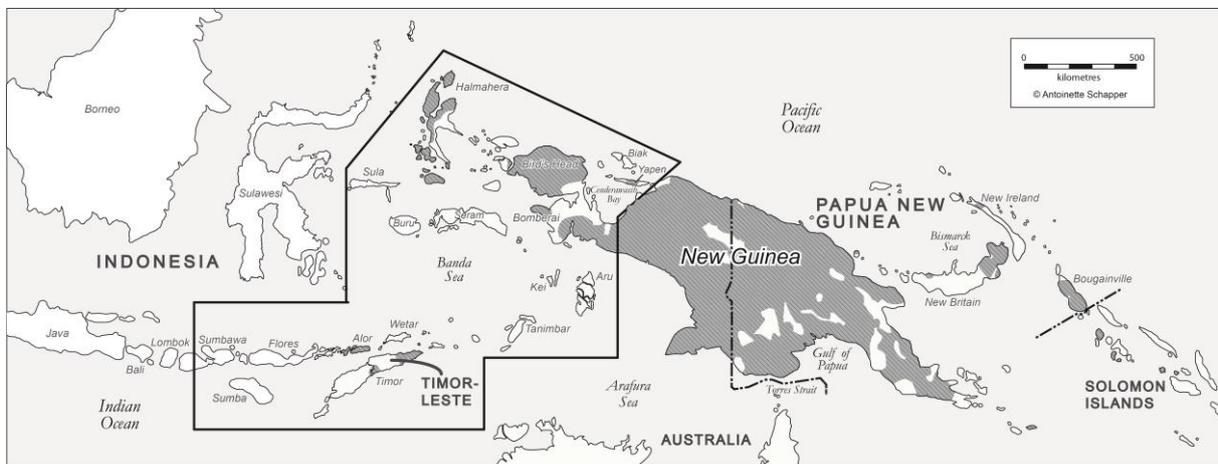


## Workshop. Contact and substrate in the languages of Wallacea

### Rationale

Language contact in New Guinea and the adjacent islands is important from several perspectives. Contact between languages, particularly between languages of different lineages, is pervasive in the region. There are many small languages, quite densely distributed, belonging to a large number of different families. Contact linguistics is crucial for understanding the linguistic diversity of the region. Furthermore, observations of contact phenomena in New Guinea and the surrounding area have been important in the development of linguistic theory, and a number of the canonical contact situations described in the literature originate from here, consider Takia and Waskia (Ross 1996a, 2001), or Lusi and Anêm (Thurston 1982, 1987).

Map: Wallacea at the crossroads of Austronesia and Melanesia



The speakers of Austronesian languages settled only the fringes of the Papuan expanse, mainly offshore islands and some pockets along the coast of the New Guinea mainland. The largest subgroup of the Austronesian family consists of the Oceanic family, which branched out from its most likely homeland New Britain and colonized the islands of the Pacific. In his introduction to *Studies in languages of New Britain and New Ireland* Malcolm Ross remarks: “It is reasonable to infer that the newly arrived Austronesian speakers interacted with Papuan inhabitants, and it seems very likely that it was contact with Papuan speakers that led to innovations in this Austronesian speech which turned it into what we label ‘Proto Oceanic’” (1996b:2). The same scenario has been suggested for Proto Oceanic’s sister clade SHWNG and the contested subgroup Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) in eastern Indonesia (Klamer, Reesink, and Van Staden 2008:135-139), accounting for what Himmelmann (2005) identified as a typological subgroup of Austronesian, the *preposed possessor languages*.

The workshop will focus on bringing together early career researchers. The lack of study of Papuan-Austronesian contact in the Wallacea is due to a dearth of basic research in the form of documentation of the many languages in the region. A new generation of scholars conducting field-intensive research, however, means that careful consideration of the different Papuan-Austronesian contact and its outcomes is increasingly possible.

## Programme

Talks will be 45min, with 15min discussion

KITLV, Reuvenplaats 2, 2311 BE Leiden

<https://www.google.nl/maps/place/Reuvenplaats+2,+2311+BE+Leiden/@52.1584111,4.4822359,20z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x47c5c6f1efaa61a3:0x20c988a55f18d382!8m2!3d52.1585567!4d4.482557>

**8**

1<sup>st</sup> floor meeting room

### Thursday, December 1.

- 10.00. Welcome and Introduction – Antoinette Schapper
- 11.00. *Tone and language contact in southern Cenderawasih Bay* – David Kamholz
- 12.00. *An archaeology of tone in Raja Ampat* – Laura Arnold
- 13.00. Lunch
- 14.30. *Papuan influences on Ternate Malay* – Betty Litamahuputty
- 15.30. *First impressions of language contact in Kalamang* – Eline Visser
- 16.30. *Substrate visibility and Irarutu: Some indices of lexical replacement* – Jason Jackson
- 17.30. Discussion led by David Gil

### Friday, December 2.

- 10.00. *Parallel sound correspondences in Rote-Uab Meto* – Owen Edwards
- 11.00. *Blurring the boundaries: Identifying foreign etyma in the Papuan and Austronesian languages of eastern Timor* – Juliette Huber
- 12.00. *Language convergence on Kisar Island* – Nazarudin
- 13.00. Lunch
- 14.30. *Orange You Glad I Didn't Say Banana?: Borrowed Color, Flora, and Fauna Terminology in West Papuan Languages* – Emily Gasser
- 15.30. *'do' and 'give': Macrofunctionality in the Cenderawasih Bay Area* – David Gil
- 16.30. *Negation circum-New Guinea* – Frens Vossen
- 17.30. Discussion led by David Gil

## Abstracts

### Tone and language contact in southern Cenderawasih Bay

David Kamholz

The South Halmahera–West New Guinea subgroup of Austronesian contains three tonal languages spoken in southern Cenderawasih Bay (Papua province, Indonesia): Moor, Yaur, and Yerisiam. Moor has a word-tone system with four tonal patterns; Yaur and Yerisiam have a high-low contrast with themora as the tone-bearing unit.

The historical origins of these tone systems are only partially understood. However, as Kamholz (2014) shows, there is no evidence of common tonogenetic innovations among the three languages. The following table shows the divergent outcomes of various Proto-Malayo-Polynesian words:

<u>PMP</u>	<u>Moor</u>	<u>Yaur</u>	<u>Yerisiam</u>
* <i>banua</i> 'inhabited land'	<i>manù</i> 'forest'	<i>nùù-ré</i> 'village'	<i>nú</i> 'village'
* <i>kutu</i> 'louse'	<i>kú'-a</i>	<i>óò-jé</i>	<i>úukú</i>
* <i>manuk</i> 'bird'	<i>mànu</i>	<i>mà'-ré</i>	<i>máan-àà</i>
* <i>nusa</i> 'island'	<i>nút-a</i>	<i>nùh-ré</i>	<i>núhà</i>
* <i>punti</i> 'banana'	<i>hút-a</i>	<i>ìdí-e</i>	<i>píití</i>
* <i>susu</i> 'breast'	<i>tút-a</i>	<i>húhì-e</i>	<i>húuhú-gùà</i>
* <i>tanis</i> 'to cry'	<i>'ànit-a</i>	<i>'àáh-rè</i>	<i>káh-é</i>
* <i>tabuh</i> 'sugarcane'	<i>kóh-a</i>	<i>òò-jé</i>	<i>kóou</i>
* <i>tunu</i> 'to roast'	<i>'un-î</i>	<i>'ún-dè</i>	<i>kúun-á</i>

Why would three closely neighboring languages each undergo tonogenesis, apparently independently? I will argue that this tonogenesis must have been contact-induced. Several non-Austronesian languages spoken in their vicinity are tonal: Saweru (Price and Donohue 2008), Mee (Hyman and Kobepa 2013), and possibly Yamor Lakes Kamoro. A comparison of these tone systems (so far as they are known) does not reveal any precise analogues with Austronesian languages. Nonetheless, it is likely that when Austronesian speakers settled in southern Cenderawasih Bay, they came into contact with speakers of tonal languages (some or all of which may no longer exist).

I will argue that tonogenesis would have occurred in a context of multilingualism and relative equality among social groups. In such a setting, it is difficult to distinguish contact mechanisms such as shift, borrowing, and metatypy. The direction of change (from non-Austronesian to Austronesian) is clear. More detailed linguistic description and understanding of social networks is required for a deeper understanding of why and how tonogenesis occurred.

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## An archaeology of tone in Raja Ampat

Laura Arnold

There are several South Halmahera-West New Guinea (Austronesian) languages spoken on the Raja Ampat archipelago (West Papua, Indonesia). At least three of these languages have lexical tone: Ma"ya, Matbat, and Ambel. Ambel has one toneme in a privative system (Arnold forthcoming); Ma"ya has two tonemes and contrastive stress (Remijsen 2001); and Matbat has six tonemes (Remijsen 2007). In this talk, I will consider how these suprasegmental systems have developed, with the objective of shedding some light the timescale and nature of contact between speakers of Austronesian and Papuan languages in Raja Ampat.

There are no extant Papuan languages spoken on Raja Ampat. However, the complex suprasegmental systems of Ma"ya and Matbat suggest that there once were. As more complex suprasegmental systems tend to develop through contact, rather than spontaneously, it has been hypothesised that tonogenesis in the Austronesian Raja Ampat languages occurred as the result of interaction with a now-extinct tonal Papuan substrate (Remijsen 2001:102-104). In this presentation, I will introduce comparative data that suggest that genetic inheritance may also have played a role in the development of the present-day systems. Based on the tonal specification of monosyllabic words judged to be cognate by Kamholz (2014), regular suprasegmental correspondences between Ma"ya, Matbat, and Ambel can be (tentatively) identified. These correspondences are exemplified in (1)–(3):

- |     | Ma"ya                             | Matbat            | Ambel            |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| (1) | High, open vowel                  | High, open vowel  | High             |
|     | e.g. "fe3n fe3n f'in 'sea turtle' |                   |                  |
| (2) | Rise, open vowel                  | High, open vowel  | High, open vowel |
|     | e.g. "la12p ya3p l'ap 'fire'      |                   |                  |
| (3) | High, close vowel                 | High, close vowel | Toneless         |
|     | e.g. "lu3 lu3 low 'two'           |                   |                  |

In order to account for both the correspondences, and the complexities of the suprasegmental phonologies, I will conclude that the most likely scenario is that tone developed in a common ancestor to Ma"ya, Matbat, and Ambel, as a result of interaction with a tonal Papuan language. Tone was then inherited into the present-day languages. Two implications arise from this conclusion. First, this scenario suggests that contact between the populations was long-term and stable, as a new feature (i.e. tone) was introduced (see Trudgill 2010). Second, this conclusion allows us to identify the relative timescale of this interaction: in order to account for all the data, contact between Austronesian and Papuan languages in Raja Ampat could not have happened later than the break-up of the most recent common ancestor of Ma"ya, Matbat, and Ambel.

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Trudgill, Peter (2010). 'Contact and sociolinguistic typology', in: Handbook of Language Contact, Raymond Hickey (ed.), Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

## **Papuan influences on Ternate Malay**

*Betty Litamahuputty*

Ternate Malay, a local variety of Malay, has developed in Ternate, a town on a small island with the same name, which is situated west of Halmahera (North Maluku). Nowadays this variety of Malay is a mother tongue of more than hundred thousand people as well as it serves as a language of communication for those with different linguistic backgrounds. The indigenous Ternate language is considered a Papuan language based on a few features it shares with Papuan languages of the Bird's Head.

In this paper I want to look at some Papuan features in Ternate Malay, which could have been influenced by contact between speakers of Malay and of the Ternate language (or other languages in the region). These features include the seaward-landward deixis, cross-reference, and a human-nonhuman distinction in prepositions. It would be interesting to investigate whether similar influences occur in other Malay varieties in the east Indonesian region, the socio-historical background of the communities, and to get a better understanding of how languages develop in an environment of typologically distinctive languages.

## **First impressions of language contact in Kalamang, a Papuan language of Indonesia**

*Eline Visser*

Kalamang (previously known as Karas) is a Papuan language spoken on an island just off the coast of West Bomberai in the province of West Papua. All speakers are bilingual in Indonesian. Besides the daily mixing of Indonesian and Kalamang, the speakers of Kalamang are surrounded by speakers of other Papuan and Austronesian language. Their island neighbours speak Uruangnirin (Austronesian), and on the main land they meet speakers of Iha and Mbaham (Kalamang's closest relatives) and possibly Onin and Iraratu (Austronesian). Although the lingua franca is Indonesian nowadays, contact between the speakers of these languages must have happened in a different way in the past.

Information on language contact in Kalamang is scarce because of three reasons. First, Kalamang is understudied. Second, the surrounding languages are understudied. No reference grammar for any of the languages mentioned above has been published. Third, during the little field work I have done on Kalamang there was no focus on language contact or gathering data to identify typically Papuan or Austronesian traits in the language. Nevertheless, we can identify some characteristics in Kalamang that point at influence from Austronesian languages. The following features of Kalamang might point at language contact followed by change.

Verbs: Verbs carry relatively little inflection, which is quite uncommon for a Papuan language. Kalamang verbs are not inflected for person, number or tense. One aspect marker (completive) has been found, and a handful of other suffixes or clitics might be aspectual markers or (de)transitivisers

but have not been studied thoroughly enough to conclude anything. Related Iha is much more richly inflected (Donohue 2015), suggesting that Kalamang lost a lot of its inflection, perhaps due to contact with Austronesian languages.

Pronouns: Kalamang has two forms for first person dual and plural, the function of which has not been clarified. The entire pronoun system looks as follows:

	SG	DU	PL
1	an	inier/pier	in/pi
2	ka	kier	ki
3	ma	mier	mu

It is tempting to analyse these forms as inclusive and exclusive, but attempts at eliciting this difference failed. If we find an inclusive/exclusive distinction, this is likely to come from contact with Austronesian. It would in that case be interesting to trace the origin of pi, which is clearly the deviant form. All the other plural forms are the same as the singular form, with /i/ instead of /a/. A proto-Alor-Pantar form for 1st person non-singular pi- has been suggested by Robinson and Holton (2012). Mbaham and Iha do not have multiple forms for the first person dual and plural (Cottet 2015).

Lexicon: Unsurprisingly, there is a lot of Austronesian lexicon in Kalamang. A few items that also occur in Uruangnirin are listed below. The direction of borrowing is unsure for the items that do not have a Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) or Proto-West-Bomberai (PWB) form.

Uruangnirin	Kalamang	PMP/PWB
manik 'bird'	maniktapuri 'crowned pigeon'	*manuk (PMP)
sira 'salt'	sira 'salt'	*qasira (PMP)
tʃaptʃeran 'sweet potato'	jap seran 'sweet potato'	
fasa 'rice'	pasa 'rice'	
seir 'fish'	sor 'fish'	
wat 'coconut'	wat 'coconut'	*wata (PWB)

On top of that, Kalamang speakers seem to have little or no reservations against borrowing from Indonesian. Hence, all industrial or generally “new” items or concepts are loans from Indonesian: jendela for window, ofin for oven, and all days of the week (all of which are loans in Indonesian as well, from respectively Portuguese, Dutch and Arabic). Kalamang kurera ‘octopus’ has a striking resemblance to Indonesian gurita ‘octopus’ and seems to be an older loan, judging the devoicing of /g/ to /k/ and lenition of /r/ to /t/, which we know to be common processes in West Bomberai (Usher p.c.).

Other features: A few typical Austronesian features that we also find in Kalamang are:

- Reduplication
- Auxiliary – verb word order
- Head noun – quantifier word order
- Demonstratives at the end of NP
- Nominative-accusative alignment

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## Substrate visibility and Irarutu: Some indices of lexical replacement

*Jason A. J. Jackson*

Irarutu, a language spoken by <10k speakers on the Bomberai peninsula in West Papua, Indonesia, has been hard to classify in terms of genetic affiliation (Anceaux 1961, Grace 1955–6, Blust 1978, Voorhoeve 1989, Ross 1995, van den Berg and Matusmura 2008). There is some agreement that Irarutu is relatively close to the South Halmahera-West New Guinea node of the Austronesian (An) language family, but data shows only a vague resemblance (Jackson 2014). Due to such things as lexical strata within the known An cognates in Irarutu, its exact location within that language family is susceptible to additional scrutiny. Several linguistic, paralinguistic, and extra-linguistic facts conspire to suggest that contact with groups of speakers representing diverse linguistic practices played a significant role in the history of Irarutu. Relevant socio-historical information (Andaya 1993, Goodman 1998) and a survey of neighboring, and nearby, Austronesian and Trans-New Guinean languages is provided as a means to explore the likelihood that contact-induced linguistic change is responsible for the presence of particular linguistic features, such as the segments p and k. The effort to articulate a suitable genetic description, one that accounts for the complex, but relatively unexamined, history of Irarutu based on contemporary data reveals an opportunity to fill a gap in knowledge of the spectrum and wealth of the outcomes of contact between groups of speakers in West Papua.

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## **Parallel Sound Correspondences in Rote-Uab Meto**

*Owen Edwards*

The historical phonology of the languages of Rote and Uab Meto in western Timor attests two sets of regular sound correspondences. One set of regular correspondences occurs in Austronesian etyma and includes sound changes linking Uab Meto with the languages of western Rote. Another set of correspondences occurs in etyma which do not appear to be Austronesian and includes sound changes linking Uab Meto with the languages of eastern Rote. The need to treat these sound changes independently points to an extended period of contact involving slow language shift from the pre-Austronesian language(s) of this region to the incoming Austronesian language(s).

## **Blurring the boundaries: Identifying foreign etyma in the Papuan and Austronesian languages of eastern Timor.**

*Juliette Huber*

The long history of contact between speakers of Austronesian and Papuan languages on Timor is reflected in the abundance of vocabulary shared among languages of both families. In many cases, the direction of borrowing remains to be established.

In this talk, we compare our reconstruction of proto-Eastern Timor (pET), the ancestor of the four Papuan languages spoken today in East Timor's eastern tip and the southern half of the Indonesian island of Kisar, with existing reconstructions of various historical stages and subgroups of Austronesian to determine the origin of shared vocabulary items. We start by identifying which of the reconstructed pET etyma are also found in Austronesian languages and determine whether they are reconstructed to Austronesian, and, if so, to which Austronesian subgroup. PET forms which are reconstructable for early stages of Austronesian and whose reflexes are attested over a wide geographic area are clearly Austronesian loans. Forms which are not reconstructed for Austronesian, or only to the putative Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup, require more attention. It is likely that many such 'local Austronesian' forms originate from contact with Papuan languages; this is also thought to account for the distinct typological characteristics of CMP (cf. Klamer, Reesink van Staden 2008). In this research, we use two kinds of evidence to determine the direction of borrowing in these cases. Firstly, we take irregular correspondences in either ET or CMP reflexes to indicate that the form in question has been borrowed. Secondly, we examine the geographic distribution of a given cognate set in the Austronesian languages of the area. If it is clearly centred on the Timor-Alor-Pantar area, we take this as evidence for the form's Papuan origin.

Determining the origin of such shared vocabulary – especially etyma reconstructable only to pCMP – makes an important contribution to historical linguistics in the Timor area. Having established the origin of these shared roots, we will use their semantics to draw inferences on the nature of the contact scenario prevalent on Timor in the time prior to the split of pET into its daughter languages.

## Language convergence on Kisar Island

*Nazarudin*

Kisar Island in Southwest Maluku is home to two languages: Meher, an Austronesian language tentatively assigned to the Central Malayo-Polanesian subgroup, and Oirata, a Papuan language of the Timor-Alor-Pantar family. Whilst the Meher language is that of the autochthonous people of Kisar, Oirata is the result of a recent migration from the island of Timor. The Oirata people arrived in Kisar in 1721 from the Loikera area, close to the eastern cape of Timor. Their language thus constitutes an offshoot of the north-eastern dialect of Fataluku.

In this paper, I examine how nearly three hundred years of contact with Meher have wrought changes on the Oirata language. By means of a three-way comparison of Fataluku, Oirata and Meher, I identify what changes have taken place in Oirata since the departure of its speakers' ancestors from Timor and which ones have come about under the influence of Meher.

## Orange You Glad I Didn't Say Banana?: Borrowed Color, Flora, and Fauna Terminology in W. Papuan Languages

*Emily Gasser*

The area of the Bird's Head, Raja Ampat islands, and Cenderawasih Bay in West Papua and Papua provinces, Indonesia, is the site of intense contact between a hugely diverse set of languages. Languages from at least nine Papuan families (plus several isolates) are spoken alongside Austronesian languages from the South Halmahera-West New Guinea (SHWNG) branch, which arrived in the region roughly 3000 years ago. Rich coastal trade networks, alongside other social interactions, have resulted in long-term contact, which has left a visible mark on the languages in question (see i.e. Klamer 2002 for some discussion of 'Papuan' grammatical features in eastern Indonesian languages, including Biak). This investigation looks particularly at color, fruit/vegetable, and fauna terms in SHWNG languages, and the effects of cross-family borrowing and possible substrate influences on this lexical domain. While reflexes of Proto Malayo-Polynesian forms persist in some languages – Matbat and Ma'ya nu from PMP \*niuR 'coconut'; Wamesa meta and Ambel amatem from PMP \*ma-qetəm 'black'; etc. (Kamholz n.d.) – other cognate sets appear alongside them, with reflexes scattered unevenly across the family in ways which do not reflect recognized subgroups. For example, reflexes of PMP \*bulan 'unnaturally white, albino' and ma-putiq 'white' appear in South Halmahera languages and Moor, but an unrelated set, represented by Ambai bua, Ambel ambu, and others, appears in two geographically diverse and non-monophyletic subgroups; this second set may represent a shared borrowing, possibly early in the history of SHWNG. A similar situation holds with the word for 'green', where reflexes of PMP \*mataq appear in Moor, Yaur, and

Yeresiam, but a second cognate set surfaces in the Yapen languages (Wamesa kake), Umar (mkat) and Waropen (kakesio).

## Macrofunctionality in the Cenderawasih Bay Area: 'do' and 'give'

*David Gil*

In several languages of the Cenderawasih Bay area, the same word means both 'do' and 'give'. This is evident in (at least) the following four unrelated etyma:

- (1) (a) ve Roon, Dusner, Waropen (Austronesian)
- (b) ong Wooi, Pom, Ansus, Wamesa (Austronesian)
- (c) eita Meyah, Moskona (East Bird's Head)
- (d) yai Hatam (isolate)

This paper addresses the following two questions: First, what is the most appropriate synchronic analysis of 'do'/'give' identity: accidental resemblance, polyfunctionality (i.e. a single form with distinct but related meanings), or macrofunctionality (i.e. a single form with a single broad and undifferentiated meaning)? Secondly: What is the diachronic source of 'do'/'give' identity; specifically, is it Austronesian or non-Austronesian?

In order to address the first question, four criteria may be invoked:

- (2) A form may be appropriately analyzed as macrofunctional to the extent that
  - (a) the associated functions are plausibly related to each other;
  - (b) the form may occur in utterances in which speakers and hearers do not care which of the functions is being expressed (i.e. it is vague rather than ambiguous);
  - (c) a similar range of functions associated with a single form is attested in a wide range of genealogically and geographically unrelated languages;
  - (d) the form and its entire range of functions are subject, as a single unit, to historical processes such as replacement and borrowing;

While application of the first three criteria yields inconclusive results, suggesting that 'do'/'give' identity may constitute a case of polyfunctionality, application of the fourth criterion points strongly in the direction of a macrofunctional analysis. Specifically, the occurrence of 'do'/'give' identity in three unrelated but geographically proximate families, coupled with its scarcity outside the region in question, suggests that 'do'/'give' identity originated once in the region, with a single macrofunctional form subsequently undergoing replacement through contact and borrowing, while being treated as a single unitary entity.

The history of 'do'/'give' identity is difficult to determine for at least the following three reasons: first because it took place a long time ago, secondly because much of it involves a sprachbund of unrelated small families of non-Austronesian languages to which the standard method of historical-comparative reconstruction is not readily applicable, and thirdly because it presumably involves multiple events of language contact playing out over an extended period of time. Still, the following observations can be made. To begin with, the ve etymon in (1a) is a direct descendent of proto-Austronesian \*beRay 'give', while its meaning as 'do' represents a later expansion.

Secondly, the ong etymon in (1b) would seem to be an ancient borrowing from an unattested non-Austronesian language related to Proto-Timor-Alor-Pantar, for which \*ong 'do' has been reconstructed (by Schapper). These and other facts would seem to point towards a non-Austronesian origin for 'do'/'give' identity, suggesting that its occurrence in the Austronesian languages of the Cenderawasih Bay region is one of a number of features that reflect ancient pervasive contact with non-Austronesian languages.

## Negation circum-New Guinea

*Frens Vossen*

Several linguistic phenomena are documented as evidence for contact influence between Papuan and Austronesian languages, more particularly, in the argumentation for an East Nusantara linguistic area (eastern Indonesian archipelagoes and Western New Guinea) (Reesink 2002, Klamer, Reesink & van Staden 2008). Negation is one of them. Klamer, Reesink & Van Staden (2008) reconstructed for each group an original negation marker for clausal negation, which are the in origin preverbal Austronesian marker \*ta (and its cognates) is and the in origin postverbal Papuan marker \*ba (and its cognates). I collected reasonably representative data for 215 non-Austronesian and 219 Austronesian languages for both groups of languages in New Guinea and the smaller islands around it, see (1).

### (1) clausal negation in and around New Guinea

	PreV single	Double	PostV single	Triple	'Other'	Total
Austronesian	116	42	57	1	3	219
Papuan	87	35	72	1	20	215

The results of my research not only confirm the findings of Reesink, Klamer and van Staden but deliver additional clues for contact influence between unrelated languages in this area.

1. Reesink, Klamer and van Staden claim that both groups borrowed negation markers from one another. I can add some more languages in the East Nusantara area.
2. The above mentoned markers and their (possible) cognates spread over all New Guinea and are found as far east as the Solomon Islands (Vossen 2016).
3. There are many more negation markers with similar forms shared by Austronesian and Papuan languages in the area, though these are not proven cognates.
4. Single postverbal negation was found mostly in the area, with only two exceptions, one in South Vietnam and one in Vanuatu.
5. Double negation is found in Austronesian languages only in South Vietnam, and in the zone stretching from East Nusantara to Vanuatu.
6. There are clear signs and even proof for the existence of Jespersen Cycles in and around New Guinea, not only within languages families but also across language family borders, which is further support for contact influence.

A Jespersen Cycle is a type of language change in which the original negative, typically preverbal, is replaced by a new form, typically postverbal, following a stage in which both negatives are used (van der Auwera 2009; 2010). The new, postverbal, form can be an existing element in the language or a loan from a neighbouring language, and this neighbor does not have to be a language from the same

family. The data from New Guinea and surroundings show this borrowing across language borders clearly.

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