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# Switch Reference and Control in Apali

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## 0. Introduction

Apali is a typical Papuan language<sup>1</sup> in which switch reference is indicated by suffixation on the medial verb. The switch reference markers generally monitor the grammatical subject with the normal exceptions for partitioning of referents and other less common phenomena. The one unusual feature of the Apali switch reference system is that medial verbs may be marked for both different subject and same subject at the same time. In these cases, the different subject marker generally monitors the grammatical subject while the same subject marker functions on a higher level monitoring such notions as topic and control. In this paper I will begin by giving a brief overview of the Apali switch reference system and in the following sections I will describe the normal exceptions to the switch reference system and give examples of the use of DS + SS.

## 1. An overview of the switch reference system

Medial verbs in Apali are marked to indicate either same or different subject following in either sequential or simultaneous activities. Simultaneous or overlapping activities being performed by the same subjects are indicated by reduplication of the verb root as in (1). Simultaneous or overlapping activities being performed by different subjects are indicated by the addition of the suffix *-da* 'SIM' to the medial verb marked for different subject as in (2).

- 1) *Ha-mey aba aba mig-u-i.*  
MD-like speak speak move.down-go-3  
"She spoke like that (SS) while she went down."

---

<sup>1</sup> The Apali language is spoken by 500-600 people living in the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea. The language is sometimes referred to in the literature as the Emerum language and has been classified as a member of the Emuan Family, Wanang Stock, Adelbert Range Super-Stock, Trans-New Guinea Phylum. This paper would not have been possible without the assistance of the people from the Angguna village area.

- 2) *Vi-da-liŋ iamigali ligu-av-i.*  
 get-SIM-1s.DS woman wash-3p-3  
 "I was getting it (DS) while the women washed it."

Two types of sequential activities may be indicated in the same subject sequential verbs. The simple verb root is used to indicate immediate sequential activities as in (3) and the suffix *-vila* 'SS' is added to indicate all other sequential activities by the same subject as in (4). In different subject medial verbs, sequential activities are marked with a special set of person/number suffixes that agree with the subject of the verb as in (5).

- 3) *Li-ci Timo aga-ŋ lali aga-di iga ab-i.*  
 do-3.DS Timo DEF-NOM tree DEF-O see speak-3  
 "He did it (DS) and Timo saw the tree (SS) and spoke."
- 4) *Hilana-vila vaŋ viasa-vila cihu ala u-ah-ilu, uley.*  
 cook-SS string.bag hang.from.head-SS again FOC go-FP-1p village  
 "We cooked (SS) and put our string bags on our heads (SS) and again we went, to the village that is."
- 5) *Ve-havi-ci igi-liŋ tane aga-di hav-ali.*  
 come-3p-3.DS see-1s.DS pumpkin DEF-O carry-3.FP  
 "They came (DS) and I saw (him) (DS) and he carried the pumpkin."

Tenses are not indicated in medial verbs with the exception of the use of the future tense *-ba* in same subject medial verbs as in (6) and (7). A verb phrase with *li-* 'do' as in (8) is the functional equivalent of this use of the future tense for different subject medial verbs.

- 6) *Huniga magili-ba ua-v-ali.*  
 canoe pull-FUT go-3p-3.FP  
 "In order to pull the canoe (SS), they went."
- 7) *Aviŋ mahila-vila siji hugili-ba-vila avili saŋ mig-u-ah-ilu.*  
 fire blow-SS pot cook-FUT-SS water BEN move.down-go-FP-1p  
 "We started a fire (SS) and in order to cook a pot (of soup) (SS), we went down for water."
- 8) *Ve-ba li-liŋ simiŋ hihi igu-ali.*  
 come-FUT do-1s.DS food new give-3.FP  
 "I got ready to come (DS) and he gave (me) new (uncooked) food."

Below is a chart that summarizes the Apali switch reference system.

		ISEQ = Ø
if SS:	(FUT = <i>-ba</i> ) +	SEQ = <i>-vila</i>
	SIM = reduplicated	
	root	
Verb		
Root +		
if DS:		SG PL
	(SIM = <i>-da</i> ) +	1 <i>-liŋ</i> <i>-mili</i>
		2 <i>-naŋ</i> <i>-laŋ</i>
		3 <i>-ci</i> <i>-avi-ci</i> <sup>2</sup>

Chart 1: Apali Switch Reference System

## 2. Exceptions to monitoring grammatical subject

The Apali switch reference system generally monitors the grammatical subject. In one body of texts<sup>3</sup> that I collected and studied, switch referencing was found to monitor the grammatical subject in all but about 5% of the occurrences. The most frequent exceptions to the monitoring of the grammatical subject are due to partitioning of referents, repetition to indicate duration, meteorological or physiological events, series of alternative events, and embedded quotes.

Throughout the rest of this paper I will generally refer to the clause which has the SS or DS marker on the medial verb as the "marked" clause. The clause which normally follows the marked clause will be referred to as the "controlling" clause. These terms have been used in recent literature on the topic<sup>4</sup> and will help the reader follow the discussion of the use of switch referencing in Apali.

<sup>2</sup>The third person plural marker is actually a suffix *-avi* which always occurs immediately following the verb root and the third person different subject suffix *-ci* which occurs after the simultaneous suffix *-da* when activities are simultaneous. This same general pattern is also followed in final verbs, i.e., the third person plural suffix follows the verb root and the third person suffix follows the tense, aspect, or mode suffixes.

<sup>3</sup>Over 100 pages of double-spaced texts were used as the basis for this analysis. Over 90% of the texts were from transcribed recordings. The remainder were written texts.

<sup>4</sup>See Comrie (1983) and Roberts (1988a).

## 2.1 Partitioning of referents

A frequent exception to switch referencing in Papuan languages is due to the partitioning of referents (Longacre 1972:14). These exceptions have been described as “refinements of what are to be considered to be same and different referents” (Reesink 1987:171). In Apali texts, when part of the referents for the subject of the marked clause are included in the referents for the subject of the controlling clause, the same subject marker must be used in some cases as in (9) and is allowable with other referents as in (10).

9) *Viaŋ ua-vila sibila vi-h-ilu.*  
 1s.NOM go-SS work get-FP-1p  
 “I went (SS) and we worked.”

10) *...ima-nu say ma igu-na-vila hini-avi-ci mahi-ci...*  
 younger.sibling-3s BEN NEG give-eat-SS stay-3p-3.DS break-3.DS...  
 “...he did not feed his younger brother (SS) and they (he and his younger brother) stayed (DS) and (dawn) broke and...”

In elicitation, the following sentences were used to investigate all the possibilities for partitioning of referents “\_\_\_ went to the jungle and shot a \_\_\_ pig.” and “cooked and \_\_\_ ate.” The following matrix presents the results of the elicitation. In the Apali system, if both participants are first person or both participants are second person, then it is ungrammatical to use any other marker than same subject when there is an overlap of referents. If both participants are third person then the speaker may choose to use DS or SS, but DS is preferred especially with the change from 3p to 3s.

	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
1s	X	X	X	SS	X	X
2s	X	X	X	DS	SS	X
3s	X	X	X	DS	DS	SS/DS
1p	SS	DS	DS	X	DS	DS
2p	X	SS	DS	DS	X	DS
3p	X	X	SS/DS	DS	X	X

Chart 2: Partitioning of referents

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 "d to be same and different referents" (Reesink  
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 ct of the controlling clause, the same subject  
 (9) and is allowable with other referents as in

*i-h-ilu.*  
 et-FP-1p

*igu-na-vila hini-avi-ci mahi-ci...*  
 give-eat-SS stay-3p-3.DS break-3.DS...  
 er (SS) and they (he and his younger brother)

were used to investigate all the possibilities for  
 jungle and shot a \_\_\_ pig." and "cooked and  
 the results of the elicitation. In the Apali  
 or both participants are second person, then it  
 than same subject when there is an overlap of  
 on then the speaker may choose to use DS or  
 e change from 3p to 3s.

1p	2p	3p
SS	X	X
DS	SS	X
DS	DS	SS/DS
X	DS	DS
DS	X	DS
DS	DS	X

ioning of referents

## 2.2 Repetition

Another fairly common exception in switch referencing is the repetition of medial verbs marked for different subject to indicate a longer duration of the activity as in (11).

- 11) *Suhil-avi-ci*                      *suhil-avi-ci*                      *suhil-avi-ci*                      *hima*  
 search.for-3p-3.DS                      search.for-3p-3.DS                      search.for-3p-3.DS                      no  
 ... *Nibu*                      *laci*                      *vi-m-i*  
 .... 3s.NOM                      only                      get-HP-3

"They searched (DS) and searched (DS) and searched (DS) and no....  
 He alone got it."

## 2.3 Meteorological or physiological events

Meteorological events (temporal events), which are frequently exceptions to the switch reference system in other Papuan languages (Longacre 1972:10), generally follow the regular system of monitoring the grammatical subject in Apali as in (12).

- 12) *Ve-mili*                      *Huŋaviŋ*                      *hifili li-ci*                      *hifili ve-malam-ilu.*  
 come-1p.DS                      *Huŋaviŋ*                      night do-3.DS                      night come-YP-1p

"We came (DS) and it became dark at *Huŋaviŋ* (DS) and we came yesterday at night."

The monitoring of the grammatical subject generally holds true for even the experiential verbs, as may be seen in (13). The grammatical subject of the experiential verb is always 3s and the experiencer (if stated) is marked with the oblique marker.

- 13) *Hilana-vila hini-mili miŋa-lahi-ci ihilu li-ci*  
 cook-SS                      stay-1p.DS                      hold-tear-3.DS                      tired do-3.DS  
*h-ey*                      *isabilay hibi u-la-lu.*  
 MD-LOC                      greens                      trail go-HB-1p

"We cooked (SS) and stayed (DS) and (dawn) broke (hold-tear) (DS) and tiredness did it (we were tired) (DS) and then we habitually go on the greens trail (i.e., to get greens)."

Exceptions to the monitoring of grammatical subject may occasionally be found with both of these kinds of events as may be seen in (14) and (15). These kinds of exceptions are, however, very rare.

- 14) *Fihala ila ve-vila uaiay viku-ci h-eŋ ve-la-lu.*  
 finish move.upstream come-SS sun burst-3.DS MD-LOC come-HB-1p  
 "We finished (SS) and came upstream (SS) and the sun burst (through the clouds) (DS) and then we habitually come."
- 15) *Viaŋ huali sibila saŋ ua-vila ihilu li-ci hini-emi-n.*  
 1s.NOM garden work BEN go-SS tired do-3.DS stay-TP-1s  
 "I was going for (to do) garden work (SS) and tiredness did it (I was tired) (DS) and I stayed."

## 2.4 Series of alternative events

Another exception is seen in series of alternative events. In this kind of a series, the final clause is the controlling clause for each marked clause in the series, as may be seen in (16). The first three clauses in (16) are three different ways that the people (first person plural) can earn the wrath of a leader. The first two verbs could have been marked as SS simultaneous activities, but this would have indicated that all three activities were required to earn the wrath of the leader. By using DS markers on the first two verbs, the speaker is indicating that this is a series of alternatives, any one of which could earn the wrath of the leader.

- 16) *Ifi-nikili-da-mili alay ciaŋ ma igahili-da-mili uava*  
 hit-push-SIM-1p.DS 1p.NOM talk NEG hear-SIM-1p.DS crazy  
*ciaŋ uava ciaŋ sul-i-da-mili ab-i, nibu.*  
 talk crazy talk tell-SIM-1p.DS speak-3 3s.NOM

"While we are pushing (him) aside (DS) or while we are not hearing the talk (DS) or while we are telling crazy talk (DS), he speaks." OR "(If) we reject him (DS), or (if) we don't obey his talk (DS), or (if) we say irresponsible things (DS), he speaks."

## 2.5 Quotations

Most quotations involve two complete sentences in which the final verb in the first sentence is the pre-quote verb *ab-* "speak" and the final verb in the second sentence is the post-quote verb *u-* "say". These two final verbs always agree in person, number and tense. When the quotation is packed into one sentence, the pre- and post-quote verbs are both marked for either same or different subject depending on the subject of the controlling clause after the post-quote verb. Quotations are embedded clauses in Apali



*aiay viku-ci h-ey ve-la-lu.*  
 burst-3.DS MD-LOC come-HB-1p  
 (SS) and the sun burst (through the clouds)

*ila ihilu li-ci hini-emi-n.*  
 tired do-3.DS stay-TP-1s  
 (SS) and tiredness did it (I was tired)

Alternative events. In this kind of a series, the  
 marked clause in the series, as may be seen  
 three different ways that the people (first person  
 first two verbs could have been marked as SS  
 have indicated that all three activities were  
 using DS markers on the first two verbs, the  
 alternatives, any one of which could earn the

*ma igahili-da-mili uava*  
 NEG hear-SIM-1p.DS crazy  
*-i, nibu.*  
 speak-3 3s.NOM

(SS) or while we are not hearing the talk (DS)  
 ), he speaks." OR "(If) we reject him (DS),  
 (if) we say irresponsible things (DS), he

sentences in which the final verb in the first  
 and the final verb in the second sentence is  
 al verbs always agree in person, number and  
 e sentence, the pre- and post-quote verbs are  
 subject depending on the subject of the  
 . Quotations are embedded clauses in Apali

and the switch reference system generally ignores embedded clauses. The use of the DS  
 marker on *ab-avi-ci* "speak-3p-3.DS" in (17) must be explained as either an exception  
 to the rule about ignoring embedded clauses or more likely as an exception due to the  
 fact that the pre- and post-quote verbs must be marked identically. The use of a SS  
 marker on the verb *ab-* "speak" would be grammatically unacceptable in this example.

- 17) *Ua nanadi-nu aga-ŋ ab-avi-ci [isaŋ hali*  
 go daughter.p-3s DEF-NOM speak-3p-3.DS [older.sibling head(pl)  
*namilaŋ ma huli-ba-laŋ] u-avi-ci cihu*  
 2p.NO NEG shoot-FUT-2p] say-3p-3.DS again  
*iagiveŋ aga-ŋ ve-m-i*  
 second.born.son DEF-NOM come-HP-3

"They went (SS) and his sisters (daughters) spoke (3p.DS), ['Older brothers, you  
 will not shoot it,'] they said (3p.DS) and again the second born son came."

### 3. The use of DS + SS

In the 100 pages of texts used for this study, exceptions to the monitoring of the  
 grammatical subject by the switch referencing system were rare (5% of the marked  
 clauses), but the combining of the different subject and same subject markers was a fairly  
 frequent phenomenon (12% of the marked clauses). This type of medial verb with both  
 DS and SS markers is formed by simply adding the same subject marker *-vila* to the end  
 of the medial verb marked for different subject.<sup>5</sup> In this section I would like to discuss  
 some of the functions of the same subject marker when it is attached to a verb marked for  
 different subject. These functions include the usage of different subject plus same subject  
 in repetition to add more information, partitioning of referents, topic monitoring and  
 control.

This phenomenon of using different subject plus same subject markers on the medial  
 verb in the marked clause is seemingly a rare phenomenon, but it has been found in  
 other Papuan languages as noted by Roberts. In Irumu<sup>6</sup> the combination of different  
 subject plus same subject is used for referential overlap (partitioning of referents) (Roberts

<sup>5</sup>If the different subject medial verb ends in *ŋ*, as it does in the 1s, 2s, and 2p forms, then a  
 morphophonemic rule applies in which *ŋ* and *v* coalesce to become a prenasalized *b*.

<sup>6</sup> Irumu is a part of the Finisterre Group, Wantoat Family and is spoken in the Morobe  
 Province of Papua New Guinea. It is only distantly related to Apali in that both are members  
 of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum.

1988b:90) and to “bracket off a section of text as background material or a subordinate theme” (Roberts 1988b:114).

### 3.1 Repetition

As discussed in section 2.2, repetition of verbs is a frequent exception to switch referencing. Of the examples of different subject plus same subject markers in texts, two examples seem to be due to repetition of the verb marked for different subject. In both of these the same subject marker is attached to the first occurrence of the verb marked for different subject and the second occurrence of the verb is simply marked for different subject. In this case the different subject marker is the accurate one in light of the overall sentence (i.e., if you overlook the repetition) and the same subject marker is added since the grammatical subject (and topic) is actually the same in the repetition of the verb marked for different subject. This kind of repetition seems to add extra information not included in the first occurrence of the verb. Example (18) is grammatically acceptable, but is not considered to be very good stylistically.

- 18) *Migil-avi-ci-vila hutesimigil-avi-ci vi-lu.*  
 cut.into.pieces-3p-3.DS-SS long cut.into.pieces-3p-3.DS get-1p  
 “They cut it into pieces (DS + SS), they cut it into long pieces  
 (DS) and we got it.”

### 3.2 Partitioning of referents

Another frequent usage of the combination of different subject and same subject markers is in the partitioning of referents. Exceptions to the switch referencing system involving participant referencing were discussed in section 2.1. An alternate option that is available to the speaker is to use DS + SS to show that there is a sharing of the referents between the subject of the marked clause and the subject of the controlling clause as may be seen in (19) and (20). The choice of using DS + SS is probably influenced by the monitoring of topic continuity and control.

- 19) ... *ilo u-mili-vila hadali vi-ci ...*  
 ... move.upstream.go go-1p.DS-SS shadow get-3.DS ...  
 “...we went upstream (SS) and went (DS + SS) and she took a picture...”  
 (NOTE: The third person singular was a part of the group “we” who went  
 upstream.)
- 20) *Li-ci-vila hiji igahil-avi-m-i.*  
 do-3.DS-SS ear hear-3p-HP-3  
 “She did it (DS + SS) and they thought (heard an ear).”

text as background material or a subordinate

of verbs is a frequent exception to switch subject plus same subject markers in texts, two verbs marked for different subject. In both of the first occurrence of the verb marked for the first occurrence of the verb marked for the second occurrence of the verb is simply marked for different subject marker is the accurate one in light of the overall context and the same subject marker is added since usually the same in the repetition of the verb repetition seems to add extra information not needed. Example (18) is grammatically acceptable, especially.

*igil-avi-ci vi-lu.*  
 cut.into.pieces-3p-3.DS get-1p  
 they cut it into long pieces

of different subject and same subject markers. Exceptions to the switch referencing system are discussed in section 2.1. An alternate option that uses DS + SS to show that there is a sharing of the subject between the marked clause and the subject of the controlling clause. The choice of using DS + SS is probably due to topic continuity and control.

*adali vi-ci ...*  
 shadow get-3.DS ...  
 (DS + SS) and she took a picture..."  
 is a part of the group "we" who went

... (heard an ear)."

(NOTE: The third person singular is one of the two people referred to by third person plural in the controlling clause.)

In texts, the only examples of this usage of partitioning of referents involves 1p ---> 3s and 3s ---> 3p. In elicitation, the usage of DS + SS was found to be acceptable in the following combinations.

	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
1s	X	X	X	X	X	X
2s	X	X	X	DS+SS	X	X
3s	X	X	X	DS+SS*	DS+SS*	DS+SS*
1p	X	DS+SS	DS+SS	X	DS+SS	DS+SS
2p	X	X	DS+SS	DS+SS	X	DS+SS
3p	X	X	DS+SS	DS+SS*	X	X

Chart 3: Use of DS + SS in partitioning of referents (\* Marks data only acceptable in one of the elicited sentences)

The choice of DS + SS is acceptable in most situations where DS marking is required between clauses with shared participants. With the 3s in the marked clause, however, the use of DS + SS was only acceptable in the second sentence used in elicitation, i.e., "He cooked and \_\_\_ ate." This choice is probably due to the element of control which will be discussed in section 3.4. In addition, the use of DS + SS was only acceptable in the change from 3p to 1p when the eating of food was involved in the controlling clause. This elicited data, however, must still be confirmed in actual texts.

### 3.3 Topic monitoring

The most frequent usage of DS + SS in texts is for topic monitoring. It is frequently used to show that even though there is a switch of grammatical subject, the topic is remaining the same. This marking of topic continuity may be used on both sides of the "interruption" of the topic by another grammatical subject as in (21). This sentence is taken from a sermon in which a village leader was speaking about their own spiritual state. The bracketed material is marked as non-topic by the same subject marker, i.e.,

same topic marker, which is used on the verbs on either side of this “interruption” of the people (1p) as subject.

- 21) *Hini-da-mili-vila [cihu misin mu n-aga-ŋ misin mu*  
 stay-SIM-1p.DS-SS [again mission another ND-DEF-NOM mission another  
*ciaŋ na sivi ve-malam-i aga-ŋ ve-vila*  
 talk ND.TOP behind come-YP-3 DEF-NOM come-SS  
*man-asiŋ aga-di abi-ci-vila] malaciŋ na-niŋ igahil-ada-lu.*  
 banana-leaf DEF-O speak-3.DS-SS] now ND-LOC hear-CONT-1p

“We were staying (DS + SS) and [again this other mission, this other mission that came (yesterday) afterwards, it came (SS) and spoke the talk from the book (DS + SS) and now we are listening.”

A second example of this bracketing phenomenon may be seen in (22). This example is complicated by the presence of several embedded sentences (relative clauses and a quote). To aid the reader curly brackets have been added around the embedded material.

- 22) *{Ninaŋ nu-di aga-di abi-ci miga-m-i} aga-ŋ igi-ci-vila*  
 {son 3s-O DEF-O speak-3.DS move.down-HP-3} DEF-NOM see-3.DS-SS  
*[{hulaŋ sibili h-aga-ŋ miga-m-i} aga-ŋ unib sibili*  
 [{man bad MD-DEF-NOM move.down-HP-3} DEF-NOM 3s.NOM bad  
*vi-ci sibila sibili vi-ci-vila] ha-meŋ*  
 get-3.DS work bad get-3.DS-SS] MD-like  
*la-vila {hulaŋ sibila iamigali {hulaŋ iamigali mig-ua na-n*  
 do-SS work {man woman {man woman move.down-go ND-ILOC  
*ihinigu-adi-aga-ŋ} sibili li-havi-midi} ua-vila li-m-i.*  
 stay-CONT-3 DEF-NOM} bad do-3p-3.PROH} say-SS do-HP-3

“{His son that he spoke to (DS) and he (the son) came down}, he saw (DS + SS) [and {that bad man who went down}, he did bad work (DS) and he did bad work (DS + SS)] and he (the son) did like that (SS) and, “{The men and women {the men and women staying down here} should not become bad},” he (the son) said (SS) and did it.”

... on either side of this "interruption" of the

*nu n-aga-ŋ misin mu*  
 another ND-DEF-NOM mission another  
*aga-ŋ ve-vila*  
 DEF-NOM come-SS

*malaciŋ na-niŋ igahil-ada-lu.*  
 now ND-LOC hear-CONT-1p

... in this other mission, this other mission that  
 (SS) and spoke the talk from the book

... phenomenon may be seen in (22). This example  
 embedded sentences (relative clauses and a  
 e been added around the embedded material.

*iga-m-i} aga-ŋ igi-ci-vila*  
 move.down-HP-3} DEF-NOM see-3.DS-SS

*-m-i} aga-ŋ unib sibili*  
 e.down-HP-3} DEF-NOM 3s.NOM bad

*ha-meŋ*  
 MD-like

*ulaŋ iamigali mig-ua na-n*  
 an woman move.down-go ND-ILOC

*-havi-midi} ua-vila li-m-i.*  
 o-3p-3.PROH} say-SS do-HP-3

... (the son) came down}, he saw (DS + SS)  
 he did bad work (DS) and he did bad work  
 that (SS) and, "{The men and women {the  
 should not become bad}," he (the son) said

This kind of bracketing of non-topic material by medial verbs with DS + SS is rare and seems to be especially used in complex sentences as has been seen in (21) and (22). A more frequent usage of DS + SS is for only one DS + SS to be used in a sentence even when there has been a switch from the topic as grammatical subject to a different grammatical subject and then back to the topic as grammatical subject. This pattern may be seen in (23) in which the topic of the text is the bird and the text is a description of the bird's habits.

23) ... *fihci-iah-u-ci-vila nibu h-eŋ vihi-la-li.*  
 ... pull.out-3.DS move.up-go-3.DS-SS 3s.NOM MD-LOC cut.up-HB-3.FP  
 "He (the bird) pulls it (feathers) out (DS) and it (feathers) comes up (DS + SS) and he (the bird) then tears it up."

Example (24) is from another descriptive text about a different bird, but the structure and usage of DS + SS is very similar.

24) ... *iga-vila ha sugi hutay miŋi-ci iahi-ci-vila li-la-li.*  
 ... see-SS MD.TOP throat long hold-3.DS move.up-3.DS-SS do-HB-3.FP  
 "...he (the bird) sees (SS) and then the long neck (bird type) catches it (fish) (SS) and it (the bird's neck) goes up (DS + SS) and he (the bird) habitually does it."

In (25) the clause with the topic as subject receives the DS + SS before a clause with a non-topic subject. This is the opposite pattern from (23) and (24).

25) ... *idu u-mili-vila hehilaŋma iavi-maŋ li-ci vala ve-lu.*  
 ... swamp go-1p.DS-SS fish NEG bite-NEG do-3.DS leave come-1p  
 "...we went to the swamp (DS + SS) and the fish did not bite (DS) and we left (SS) and came."

DS + SS is also used to monitor topic continuity in connection with meteorological events. This is especially true since Apali, unlike other Papuan languages, normally carefully marks the grammatical subject in most meteorological events. With the additional possibility of DS + SS, the speaker has a choice of either indicating topic continuity or of simply monitoring the grammatical subject. The factors that influence this choice are not known at this point, but examples in which the speaker has chosen to mark topic continuity may be seen below. The speaker may mark topic continuity on the clause with the meteorological event if it is a medial clause as in (26) or on the last

medial clause with the topic as grammatical subject if the meteorological event is a final clause in (27).

- 26) *Hifilidaŋ li-ci-vila li-havi-la-li.*  
 afternoon do-3.DS-SS do-3p-HB-3.FP  
 "It became afternoon (DS + SS) and they habitually do it."
- 27) *La hini-da-mili-vila amiŋ uaiŋ lagu-lami-la-li.*  
 do stay-SIM-1p.DS-SS true sun stand.on-put-HB-3.FP  
 "We did that (SS) and stayed (DS + SS) while the sun truly stands  
 (i.e., is high in the sky)."

Finally, when afterthought clauses have non-topic subjects they often are marked with DS + SS. This may be seen in (28) where the topic is the way the Apali speaking people used to be and the afterthought clause is simply placing the topic within a time frame.

- 28) *Alaŋ vaka hini-avi-hada-m-i, hadimila aga-ŋ*  
 1p.NOM long.ago stay-3p-CONT-HP-3 skin white DEF-NOM  
  
*hinigu-da-ci-vila*  
 stay-SIM-3.DS-SS

"As for us, they were staying like that a long time ago, while the white people were staying (DS + SS), that is."

### 3.4 Control

The use of DS + SS is a relatively rare phenomenon in most texts in Apali. In the body of texts studied, normally less than 12% of the medial verbs in a text had DS + SS and many texts contained no examples of DS + SS. Most of the examples of DS + SS in these texts can be explained by the factors discussed in the preceding sections, i.e., repetition, partitioning of referents and topic continuity.

Three texts, however, used DS + SS much more frequently. In these texts, 30% to 50% of the medial verbs were marked with DS + SS. These texts were by three different speakers and were of three different genres. One was a sermon discussing God's and Satan's influence in the world, the second was a descriptive procedural about the discernment of a *laguŋ* "paid killer" through the influence of a dead man's spirit, and the third text, a legend, revolved around a bush spirit and how he tricked two sisters and

... subject if the meteorological event is a final

...  
 ...FP  
 ... they habitually do it."

...  
 ...*lagu-lami-la-li*.  
 ... stand.on-put-HB-3.FP  
 ... (SS) while the sun truly stands

... non-topic subjects they often are marked with  
 ... where the topic is the way the Apali speaking  
 ... use is simply placing the topic within a time

...  
 ...*-m-i, hadimila aga-ŋ*  
 ... HP-3 skin white DEF-NOM

... at a long time ago, while the white people were

... phenomenon in most texts in Apali. In the  
 ... 2% of the medial verbs in a text had DS + SS  
 ... DS + SS. Most of the examples of DS + SS  
 ... factors discussed in the preceding sections, i.e.,  
 ... topic continuity.

... much more frequently. In these texts, 30% to  
 ... h DS + SS. These texts were by three different  
 ... s. One was a sermon discussing God's and  
 ... ond was a descriptive procedural about the  
 ... ough the influence of a dead man's spirit, and  
 ... bush spirit and how he tricked two sisters and

... then is eventually killed by the women's brothers. These texts have little in common  
 except that they all involve spiritual beings which have an acknowledged control over  
 humans. Below in (29) is a fairly clear example in which there is a change of  
 grammatical subject from the bamboo to the people and seemingly a change of the topic  
 since the following nine clauses revolve around the people (3p) and do not even mention  
 the bamboo. This should be a clear case in which there would be no DS + SS. An  
 understanding of the culture, however, dictates otherwise. The bamboo in this case is  
 empowered by the spirit of the dead man and it is probably this same spirit that is in  
 control of or influencing the people as they speak identifying the person that killed the  
 man.

29) ... *amiŋ hivi ifi-ci amiŋ hivi ifi-ci-vila h-eŋ ab-avi-la-li.*  
 ... true LI hit-3.DStrue LI hit-3.DS-SS MD-LOC speak-3p-HB-3.FP  
*Alu-di sudi na-n hini-d-i u-avi-la-li.*  
 1p-O ghost ND-ILOC stay-CONT-3 say-3p-HB-3.FP

"...it hits the true one (DS) and it hits the true one (DS + SS) and then they  
 habitually speak. "Our ghost is staying here," they habitually say."

These three texts probably use the DS + SS frequently because of the influence of  
 spiritual beings over humans. Apali speakers acknowledge that humans may act on their  
 own initiative, but when a spirit is actively involved they believe that the human is  
 often influenced or controlled by the spirit. Because of this, the spirit is seen as the  
 underlying topic. In many cases in these three texts and other texts which do not involve  
 spirits, usages of DS + SS could seemingly be accounted for by pointing to topic  
 continuity or to factors of control. In recent discussions with native speakers of the Apali  
 language the factors of control and responsibility for the results have been pointed to as  
 the main reasons for the use of DS + SS. For instance, if the speaker was convinced that  
 the addressee broke his radio through something he did to it and he was angry with the  
 addressee then he would use DS + SS as in (30). If however, the speaker knew that the  
 addressee had accidentally damaged the radio (i.e., if it was in a box and the addressee  
 had put something heavy on top of the box), then the speaker would be more likely to  
 use just the DS marker as in (31).

30) *Nama li-na-bila sibili l-iem-i.*  
 2s.NOM do-2s.DS-SS bad do-TP-3  
 "You did it (DS + SS) and it is bad."

- 31) *Nama li-naŋ sibili l-iem-i.*  
 2s.NOM do-2s.DS bad do-TP-3  
 "You did it (DS) and it is bad."

Two final examples that seem to involve both topic continuity and control may be seen in (32) and (33). In both cases, the sentences are towards the end of the text and the participant(s) in the final clause is only referred to in that one clause. This would seem to point to topic continuity as the explanation for the use of DS + SS, but in both cases the participant that is the subject of the medial clause can also be said to be the one controlling or causing the action of the participant in the final clause.

- 32) ... *ha-meŋli-mili-vila igu-i, iavaŋ, ninəŋ, alu-saŋ.*  
 ... MD-like do-1p.DS-SS give-3 father son 1p-BEN  
 "...we did like that (DS + SS) and he gave it, father that is, a son that is, to us that is." OR "...we did like that (DS + SS) and father (God) gave us a son."
- 33) ... *iamiga di abi-mili-vila nadi aga-saŋ ilih-av-ali.*  
 ... mother O speak-1p.DS-SS daughterDEF-BENcry-3p-3.FP  
 "...we told the women (DS + SS) and they cried about the daughter."

#### 4. Summary

Switch referencing in Apali tends to be very consistent and monitors the grammatical subject about 95% of the time. Most exceptions to the monitoring of grammatical subject are those commonly found in Papuan languages, i.e., repetition signaling duration of an activity, meteorological events, and partitioning of referents. In addition, Apali allows a few exceptions for series of alternative events and quotations. One unique feature of Apali is that the speaker may choose to monitor topic continuity and control in addition to the monitoring of the change of grammatical subject. This is done by the addition of the same subject marker *-vila* to a medial verb marked for different subject.



olve both topic continuity and control may be sentences are towards the end of the text and the referred to in that one clause. This would seem to be the case for the use of DS + SS, but in both cases the medial clause can also be said to be the one participant in the final clause.

*aga-say, ninay, alu-say.*

father son 1p-BEN

he gave it, father that is, a son that is, to us (DS + SS) and father (God) gave us a son."

*aga-say ilih-av-ali.*

daughter DEF-BEN cry-3p-3.FP

and they cried about the daughter."

is very consistent and monitors the grammatical subject. In addition to the monitoring of grammatical subject in Papuan languages, i.e., repetition signaling events, and partitioning of referents. In addition, the text also contains alternative events and quotations. One unique feature is the choice to monitor topic continuity and control in the medial clause of grammatical subject. This is done by the use of a medial verb marked for different subject.

### Abbreviations

BEN	Beneficiary	NEG	Negative
CONT	Continuous	NOM	Nominative
DEF	Definite	O	Oblique
DS	Different Subject	p/PL	plural
FOC	Focus	PROH	Prohibitive
FP	Far Past	s/SG	singular
FUT	Future	SEQ	Sequential
HB	Habitual	SIM	Simultaneous
HP	Historic Past	SS	Same Subject
ILOC	Item Location	TOP	Topic
ISEQ	Immediate Sequential	TP	Today Past
LI	Location/Instrument	YP	Yesterday Past
LOC	Locative	1	first person
MD	Mid Deictic	2	second person
ND	Near Deictic	3	third person

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