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A functional approach to differential indexing: combining perspectives from typology and corpus linguistics

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Appendices

Appendix A

Ruuli coding scheme

A.1 Annotated texts

All annotated texts are part of the corpus of spoken Ruuli (Witzlack-Makarevich et al. 2019); they are all transcripts from conversations recorded in February 2017, in the villages of Kayunga, Nakasongola, and Kibbale. The following table lists the text IDs with some meta information on the speakers (sex and year of birth) and the topics of the conversations:

The texts and their translations are copied into a spreadsheet for annotation, each variable is coded in a devoted column.

A.2 Step 1: Identifying P

Manually tag transitive predicates. The following instances are excluded:

- a) clauses where P is a headless relative clause or a complement clause
- b) cases of light verb constructions/fixed expressions without individuated participants
- c) passives, reflexives, reciprocals
- d) unclear ditransitives (e.g. 'to note')

With these predicates, we identify the less agent-like argument as P.

ID	Speakers	Topics
II-R-NAKASONGOLA-170225-FS-1	M 1967 F 1980	expectations towards family members; gender roles; traditional medicines; working abroad
II-N-BBALE-170220-FS-4	M 1950 F 1955 F unknown	childhood; taboos; marriage
II-N-BBALE-170220-FS-2	M 1968 F 1958	Banyala historical accounts; expectations for the future
II-N-WSKAYUNGA-170218-FS-1A	M 1964 M 1939	culture in general; traditional religion among the Banyala; political history; names and naming strategies
II-M-KIBBALE-170221-FS-4B	M 1974 M 1960	types and uses of trees; wild and domestic animals
II-R-NAKASONGOLA-170224-FS-1A	M 1962 M 1962 M 1951	political structure, blacksmithing, pottery, beer making

Table A.1: Metadata on annotated Ruuli texts

A.3 Step 2: Determine the head of P

If P is represented by a complex expression, such as the ones below, we annotate the head of the phrase. The following scheme will be used:

- NP1 + conjunction + NP2 → NP1
- determiner/adjective/numeral + noun → noun
- noun1 + preposition + noun2 → noun1 (e.g. *abasaiza ba irai* ‘men of the past’)
- pronoun + NP → pronoun (e.g. *owa Kangulumira* ‘one of the Kangulumira’)
- noun + possessive pronoun → noun (e.g. *engeso zaalyo* ‘its norms’)

There can also be a zero head e.g. *owamu aliayi* ‘where is yours [i.e. your child]?’. In that case, code only the properties that can be inferred from the context. Code “NA” for the rest. In this example, there will be a “NA” for part of speech and subcategory of the head, whereas 3SG, noun class 1, human, definite, and given can be inferred.

A.4 Step 3: Code for semantic and formal variables of P, the overtness of the A referent and word order

1. Index
 - 0 (no index)
 - 1 (index)
2. Presence of referential NP
 - 0 (no NP)
 - 1 (NP present)
3. POS of the head
 - noun
 - pronoun
 - NA (in case there's no head)
4. Subcategory of the head
 - a) For nouns: “proper” vs. “common”, the following are instances of “proper”
 - personal names
 - place names
 - institutionsThe rest are coded as common nouns.
 - b) Pronouns: personal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, other
 - c) Other parts of speech or zero head: NA
5. Noun class of the head (for Ruuli noun classes see Namyalo et al. 2021: 43-49)
6. Modification of head noun
 - NA (if there is no head)
 - none
 - possessive pronoun
 - adjective
 - relative clause
 - prepositional phrase

- quantifier
 - numeral
 - demonstrative
 - interrogative
 - other
 - multiple (if there is more than one modifier)
7. Referent person and number
- 1SG
 - 1PL
 - 2SG
 - 2PL
 - 3SG
 - 3PL
8. Semantic class of the referent: we always code the referent, not the noun (e.g. *kanisa* 'church' could be a physical object or an institution, depending on context)
- human
 - kinship term
 - environment (field, river etc.)
 - animal
 - physical object (can be touched)
 - abstract entity (cannot be touched), but not an event
 - event (involves the time dimension)
 - organization
 - anthropomorphic (god, angels, demons, etc.)
9. Identifiability: Covers both definiteness and specificity.
- definite: the referent can be identified by both the speaker and the hearer, e.g. *My father has bought the car I told you about.*
 - specific: identifiable by the speaker only, e.g. *I've just bought a car.*
 - non-specific: not identifiable by neither the speaker nor the hearer, e.g. *I want to buy a car [any car].* Also used in impersonal contexts (e.g. *They are going to build a plant*) and in generic statements when

the focus is on any arbitrary member of the class (e.g. *A computer is a useful device*).

10. Discourse accessibility of the referent (givenness):

- given: textually given (i.e. mentioned previously + inferable from previous mentioning).
- new: first mention of a referent.
- NA: impersonal uses of pronouns, interrogative and relative pronouns.

We do not include a status such as “accessible” (cf. Chafe 1976), meaning not previously mentioned, but inferable using background knowledge. Speakers’ background knowledge is very hard to know, so we end up with textual givenness in terms of previously mentioned vs. not mentioned.

11. Presence of the A noun phrase

- 0 (no NP)
- 1 (NP present)

12. Word order (linear order of A NP, P NP and verb)

- AVP
- APV
- PAV
- PVA
- PV
- AV
- VP
- V

Appendix B

Maltese coding scheme

B.1 Texts

From the transcripts of parliamentary debates from the *bulbulistan* corpus¹, all (orthographic) sentences (cf. Čéplö 2018a: 63-64) containing the keyword *nagħmlu* (without index) and *nagħmluha* (with an index for 3SG.F) are extracted; the preceding and the following 1000 characters are extracted as well, in order to account for context. We conceive of these transcripts as “coming close to naturalistic speech” and not “naturalistic speech”, as a comparison of randomly selected transcripts with their audio recordings has made it clear that some editing was executed (Čéplö 2018a: 58).

B.2 Annotation

In a spreadsheet, the clauses containing the keywords are annotated, taking into consideration the left and right context. Instances with as well as without co-referential object NP are considered. If this NP is a complex one, we consider the features of the head of the object NP. EJ annotates all instances of *nagħmluha*, SČ takes on instances of *nagħmlu*.

The following formal and referential features are coded, in one dedicated column each:

1. Index

¹see Čéplö 2018a and <http://www.bulbul.sk/bonito2/>

- 0 (no index)
- 1 (index)
- 2. Presence of referential NP
 - 0 (np NP)
 - 1 (NP present)
- 3. POS of the head
 - noun
 - pronoun
 - NA (in case there's no head)
- 4. Subcategory of the head
 - proper noun
 - common noun
 - personal pronoun
 - impersonal use of personal pronoun
 - possessive pronoun
 - demonstrative pronoun
 - interrogative pronoun
- 5. Modification of head NP
 - NA (if there is no head)
 - none
 - adjective
 - relative clause
 - determiner
 - possessive
 - numeral
 - demonstrative
 - multiple
- 6. Semantic class of the referent
 - physical object (can be touched)
 - abstract entity (cannot be touched), but not an event
 - event (involves the time dimension)
 - organization

7. Identifiability: Covers both definiteness and specificity
 - definite: the referent can be identified by both the speaker and the hearer, e.g. *my father has bought the car I told you about*; can be overtly marked for definiteness, but does not have to be
 - specific: identifiable by the speaker only
 - non-specific: not identifiable by neither the speaker nor the hearer
8. Givenness
 - given: textually given, i.e. explicitly mentioned, within the previous 1000 characters
 - new: not mentioned within the previous 1000 characters
9. Clause type
 - main clause
 - relative clause
 - adverbial clause
 - complement clause
10. Polarity
 - positive
 - negative
11. Sentence type
 - declarative
 - imperative
 - interrogative
 - exhortative
12. Order of subject, object and verb
 - SVO
 - VO
 - OV
 - V

Appendix C

Gutob coding scheme

C.1 Annotated texts

ID	Speakers	Topics
Gutob-0444-20161125_3	Gurbari, ~70y	interview on traditions
Gutob-0444-20161205_9	Tulsa, Komu, Rotika, ~20-35y	fairy tale
Gutob-0444-20161220	Komla, ~45y	life experiences
Gutob-0444-20170105_1	Sukri, ~45y	life experiences
gutob-0444-20170116_3	Donnai, ~20y	fairy tale
Gutob-0444-20170119_4	Komla, ~45y	daily life experiences
Gutob-0444-20170130	Rotika, ~20y	fairy tale
Gutob-0444-20170131	Komla, ~45y	interview on traditions
Gutob-0444-20170209_1	Komla, ~45y	interview on traditions
Gutob-0444-20170210	Komla, ~45y	interview on traditions
Gutob-0444-20170215	Rotika, ~20y	fairy tale
Gutob-0444-20170327_2	Sukri, ~45y	life experiences

Table C.1: Metadata on annotated Gutob texts

Our study is based on a corpus collected during a recent language documentation project (Voß 2018) between 2016 and 2018. Our subcorpus for annotation contains 32669 words and is comprised of 12 narratives and stories from everyday life (approx. 360 min) by 7 speakers (see Table C.1). As only very few women in the parent generation, usually the eldest daughters in the family, can speak Gutob, and the youngest male speakers are in the grandparent generation or up, all of the speakers here are female.

C.2 Clauses coded

We only annotate finite clauses. Clauses with non-verbal predication are excluded, as well as conditional and sequential clauses. Conditional clauses entail then conditional verbal suffix *-na*, glossed as COND. Sequential clauses are recognized by the final clitic *=su*, glossed as =and.

C.3 Variables

In a spreadsheet, we code for every clause

- person and number of the S/A argument
 - 1SG
 - 1PL
 - 2SG
 - 2PL
 - 3SG
 - 3PL
- whether the referent is expressed by an NP (values 1 or 0)
- whether there is a non-verbal index (1 or 0)
- whether there is a verbal index (1 or 0)
- the host of the non-verbal index
 - adverbial phrase
 - adverb
 - demonstrative
 - interrogative pronoun

- numeral
- object NP
- other
- NA (in case of no non-verbal index)
- whether a preverbal index would have been syntactically possible (values 1 or 0)

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