

Das Realis / Irrealis-System im Daakie (Austronesisch, Vanuatu)

Universität Bremen
Linguistisches Kolloquium:
Die Sprachen des ozeanischen Raumes
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Z A S

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Overview of Presentation:

- ▶ Part I: DoBeS Project *Languages of Southwest Ambrym*
- ▶ Part II: A few facts about Daakie
 - ▷ Sound System
 - ▷ Basic clause pattern
 - ▷ Agreement system
 - ▷ Nominal constructions:
Possession, relational and transitive nouns
 - ▷ Transitivity with verbs
 - ▷ Verb serialization
- ▶ Part III: The modal markers



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PART I: DoBeS Project: Languages of Southwest Ambrym



About the project:

- ▶ July 2009 – September 2013, funded by Volkswagen Foundation, site housed at Max Planck for Psycholinguistics, <http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES>
- ▶ Kilu von Prince (Linguistics) – special thanks for in-depth discussion, dissertation
Soraya Hosni (Anthropology) – upcoming dissertation, kinship.
Susanne Fuchs (Phonetics), Lena Karvovskaya (Technical support).
- ▶ Three languages: **Daakaka, Daakie, Dalkalaen**;
also, there was a project on North Ambrym (Michael Franjeh, SOAS, Rausig Found.)
- ▶ Each language ~ 1000 speakers, actively spoken, learned by children, but potential threats (among others, Bislama loans, volcanoes, mobile phones...).
- ▶ Tasks, among others:
 - ▷ Documentation of communication (~ 20 hours of transcribed materials):
The Language Archive: <http://tla.mpi.nl/>
 - ▷ Grammar, dictionaries: von Prince, A grammar of Daakaka:
<http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/docviews/abstract.php?id=39625>
 - ▷ Text collections in Daakaka, Dalkalaen, Daakie (via Amazon):



Projects of the DoBeS program

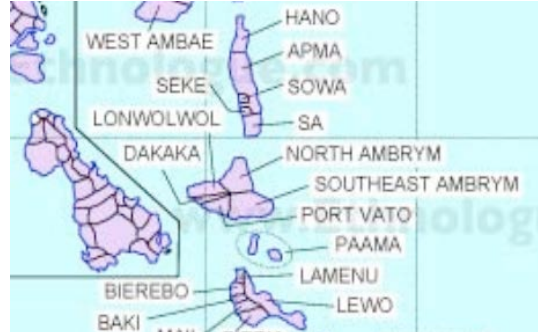




Vanuatu / Ambrym: Geography and languages



- population: 290,000
- about 100 languages (Austronesian)
- Melanesian Pidgin English (Bislama)
- English, French



- Ethnologue on Ambrym:
- Southeast Ambrym
 - North Ambrym
 - Lonwolwol (now nearly extinct)
 - Dakaka (Daakaka)
 - **Port Vato (Daakie)**



Ambrym: Geography and languages



Ambrym: Sand Drawing by Sam Tasso



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Tangible results: Daakie Dictionary (>2000 lemmata)



aawe interj. aawe. *interjection expressing pain.*

abaon [abaon] n. wing, han blong pijin. *wing.* **abaone maa** han blong sotleg wing of the emerald pigeon

abáp n. swiftlet. *swiftlet. Collocalia vanikorensis.*

abare n. 1) mun. *moon.* **abare me van lon tavo** mun i go stap long medel bus (ful mun) full moon, lit. 'the moon goes up in the middle bush', i.e. can be seen in the center of the island at evening, seen from its southern shore 2) manis. *month.* **kolom du tyenem van tangale abare soo** tufala i stap long haos i go kasem wan manis the two stayed home for two months **abare ke monok** last manis last month **abare sen** neks manis next month

abu n. 1) pikinini blong anti. *cross cousin, child of father's sister. The daughter of the female cross-cousin is the preferred marriage partner of a male ego; the son of the female cross-cousin is called "poopoo" or "tavean". The son of the female cross-cousin is the preferred marriage partner of a female ego. For male ego, there is a taboo relationship to female cross cousins, as potential mother-in-laws, and there is a joking relationship to male cross cousins.* **abu vaven** female cross-cousin **abu man** male cross-cousin 2) mama o papa blong waef o man. *mother-in-law, father-in-law. For male ego, there is a taboo relationship*

me puló lan amataluh i klaem long leg blong rop he climbed using a rope

andyee pron.poss. blong yutrifala. *your, referring to a small group, for food and animals.*

amem pron.poss. blong yufala. *your, referring to a larger group, for food and animals.*

amoo pron.poss. yutufala. *your, referring to two persons, for food and animals.*

an pron.poss. blong hem. *his/her, for food items or animals.* **an masólo** fis blong hem his/her fish

-an poss.suf. blong hem. *of him/her, with relational nouns.*

ane v.tr. 1) kakae. *eat (transitive); see "en" for intransitive.* **lam ane lisepsep kiye oli kakae lisepsep** ya they ate that lisepsep 2) mekem hot, kuk. *cook, make hot, said of oven or hot cooking stones.* **vot ke ret ma ane munyop kiye** hot ston i kukum wael yam ya the hot stones cooked this wild yam

animol n. animol. *animal; there is no vernacular word referring to all animals.*

anvu [anvu] adj. blong waetman. *used for introduced objects, typically by Europeans and their descendants. Contrasts with "ten" 'true, real' for local objects.* **vih anvu** masket rifle **obwet anvu** taro fiji taro introduced from Fiji

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Tangible results: Custom Story collection



Punen ngyee ke lam pwet:

1. Punen usili animol.....	2
Maa son Batomo.....	2
Batomo son Syeboloo.....	3
Yovo mo kukuo mane óó ne teh.....	5
Kulu son Tengtang.....	6
Manki son Yovo.....	7
2. Punen usili vanten.....	9
Waawaa ke mwe pwet lon tavo.....	9
Biibilen koloo son bot piipili.....	9
Vaven mwe kiiguu vanten.....	12
Yaapuo kege mo sosogee ne talin byen.....	13
Kulu mwe tee byen timaleh.....	15
Vanten soo me van lon Taaliteh.....	16
Vaven naren son kiikyee niri.....	17
Punen ne óó.....	19
Vanten mo gone teh me mee.....	21
Vanten worolim ke gogone abwelip.....	22
3. Punen usili temát mane lisepsep.....	23
Niri vanten son niri lisepsep.....	23
Yaapuo ke mwe utiline sok vanmoro mwe soaa lan bolongli temát.....	25
Temát lam baa mane yaapuo byen an basee.....	26
Yaapuo ke mu gungare temát.....	28
Vanten mwe topbini naren lisepsep.....	30
Timaleh mwe gerehe lisepsep.....	32
Lisepsep ma ane waawaa soo.....	34
Vanmoro mane timaleh ngyee lam en lisepsep.....	36
4. Punen usili meerin.....	38
Mo benge lam sokorine óó.....	38
Gie baalen.....	39
Malop ka te pwet towa.....	39
Malop mo oró vanten ngyee lam van Taaliteh.....	40
5. Punen usili myuulen.....	42
Popat mo tótóve mane vanten.....	42
Vanten soo ne ot Ambrym me van Jemani.....	43
Fasion blong raetem Daakie.....	47

Biibilen koloo son bot piipili

Andri Taso, Palimee

Yaapuo soo son san vanmoro, kolom du van. San vanmoro mwi lingi saloo timaleh woróló. Timaleh koloo ye koloo kevene kolom e man. Kolom du van van, timaleh koloo ye kolom mee kolom bubo.

Kolom wisi saloo taata, kolom kie: «Taata, komom longbini kop gone vihyee be woróló be somoo, byen ka komop pwet komop pyen ne.» Ngale saloo taata mwe kie ka: «Mu wuo gon, ló domat, anap gone.» Ngale mo gone saloo vihyee woróló, mwe sengane sen mane tamo, sen mane tato. Kolom idi kolom du kolom pyen, kolom vini golotlot, kolom vini mayop, kolom vini batomo.

“The two brothers and the redhead bird”



Punen ngyee lan dolot: Stories in Daakie

\$4.97 **\$4.72** Paperback

Boo!

Order in the next **18 hours** and get it by Friday, Aug 9.

Daakie texts: Fables, Fairy Tales, History, Customs, Personal History

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Tangible results: Children's book



Nam lehe basee songavi:
Lela werivyet,
maa werisyee,
wip woróló, a sivii soo.
Sivii mwe gelan ten:
Mi piipili, me ese, me eh,
a mu ngunguo.

Timaleh!
Timaleh!
Akop lehe sówe?



Daakie (Bislama Edition)

\$6.09 **\$5.79** Paperback

Order in the next **18 hours** and get it by Friday, Aug 9.

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Tangible results: Bible stories for children



Jekob me van saane teman.
Aesak tere wese ka ne léhe Jekob.
Mwe wisi: «Ngyak sye ngyiye?»
Mwe tanglehe vele Jekob.
Jekob mwe kie:
«Ngyo ngele, narem Isao.»
Aesak mwe kie:
«Delóm me Jekob, a velam me Esau.»
Aesak ma ane meleh kege
Jekob me vehe van saane.



Aesak mwe sengane yahen me van lan Jekob.
Mwi lingi velan lan baren, mwe kie
«Sok yahen abo pwet lan ngyak!
Vele kele abe e sam,
vele ke Yaapuo mwe sengane mane sok taata, Ebrahim.
Yaapuo abwe sengane we mane meleh abwe pwee!
Ngyak akop mee Yaapuo soo tobo, taselam abu duusilii ngyak gon.»

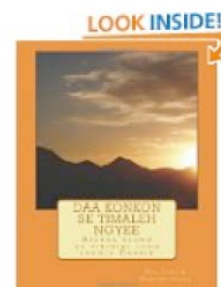


Jekob mo loko mwe sevele me van vevele.
Lonla kele Isao me mee mo gone meleh soo mu wuo.
Me vehe me mee saane teman.
mwe kie mane teman: «Kop sengane yahen mane ngyo!»
Aesak mo longsóro delon Isao.
Mo non. Mwe kie: «Ngyak Isao ngyiye!
Nam sengane yahen mane taselam monok!»



In preparation:

- Translation of Fables by Aesop,
European fairytales
- School books for first alphabetization



Daa Konkon
Taho (Jun 11, 20

\$19.15 **\$18.19 F**

Prime

Order in the next **18 h**
Friday, Aug 9.

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Distribution of books in Port Vato, July 2013



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DoBeS Project on Southwest Ambrym Public Appearances

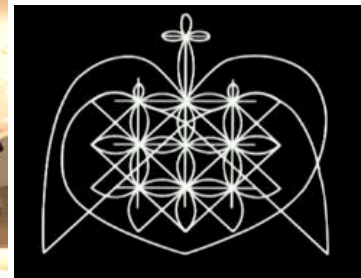


VIDEOBLOG:

07 Wer spricht noch Daakaka?



www.sciencemovies.de



Exhibition Sanddrawing,
Humboldtbox Berlin

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Part II: A few facts about Daakie

- ▶ Previously known as “Port Vato” (Tryon 1976; Ethnologue).
- ▶ About 1000 speakers;
larger villages: Lonmei, Port Vato (Langievot), Lalinda.
- ▶ Contact with Daakaka and Dalkalaen to the west;
fewer contacts to North Ambrym or Southeast Ambrym.
- ▶ Previous literature:
 - ▷ Some information in William Paton, *Ambrym (Lonwolwol) grammar*,
Dissertation Australian National University 1952, published 1971
 - ▷ Word list in Tryon (1976)



Sound System of Daakie



	Labial	Labiovelar (before i/e)	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless stop	p	p ^w ⟨pw⟩	t		k	
Voiced prenasalized stop	^m b	^m b ^w ⟨bw⟩	ⁿ d		^ŋ g	
Nasal	m	m ^w ⟨mw⟩	n		ŋ ⟨ng⟩	
Fricative	v		s			h
Trill			r			
Lateral			l			
Approximant	ʋ ⟨w⟩			j ⟨y⟩		

Short vowels				Long vowels		
i ⟨i⟩	[y] ⟨u⟩		u ⟨u⟩	i: ⟨ii⟩		u: ⟨uu⟩
e ⟨é⟩	[ø] ⟨ó⟩		o ⟨ó⟩	e: ⟨éé⟩		o: ⟨óó⟩
ɛ ⟨e⟩	[œ] ⟨o⟩		ɔ ⟨o⟩	ɛ: ⟨ee⟩		ɔ: ⟨oo⟩
^① æ ⟨á⟩		a ⟨a⟩		(^①)æ: ⟨áá⟩		a: ⟨aa⟩

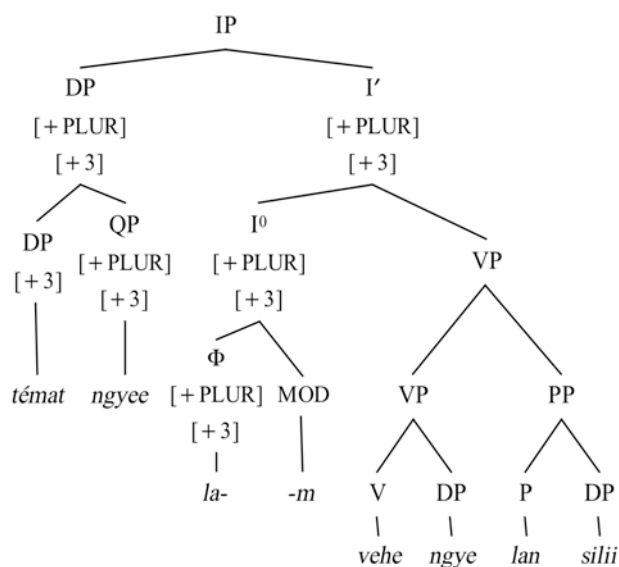
fronting of back vowels u, o, ɔ to y, ø, œ triggered by alveolar (and, restricted, labial) consonants, in open syllables and in syllables with alveolar coda.

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Basic clause pattern, Paradigm of pronouns and subject markers

- (18) (Subject) SM Verb (Object) (Adjuncts), where SM: Subject+Modality marker.
 (19) *temát ngyee la-m vehe ngye lan sili*
 demon PL 3PL-RE caty PR.3SG LOC path
 ‘The demons carried him on the path.’

Boa3.28



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Paradigm of subject markers, pronouns, and modal markers.



Person	Singular	Plural	Dual	Paucal	
1	<i>ngyo</i> <i>na-m</i>	<i>kemee</i> <i>keme-m</i>	<i>komoo</i> <i>komo-m</i>	<i>kememdyee</i> <i>kidyee-m</i>	Pronoun SM
1+2		<i>et</i> <i>da-m</i>	<i>adoo</i> <i>do-m</i>	<i>adyee</i> <i>dye-m</i>	Pronoun SM
2	<i>ngyak</i> <i>ko-m</i>	<i>kimim</i> <i>ki-m</i>	<i>kamoo</i> <i>ka-m</i>	<i>kamdyee</i> <i>kamdyee-m</i>	Pronoun SM
3	<i>ngye</i> <i>mwe, me, mwi, mi, mo, mu, ma</i>	<i>ngyee</i> <i>la-m</i>	<i>koloo</i> <i>kolo-m</i>	<i>ki(l)yee</i> <i>kiye-m</i>	Pronoun SM

Modality	3 rd Plural	3 rd Singular
Realis	<i>la-m</i>	<i>mwe, me, mwi, mu, ma, mo</i>
Potential / Irrealis	<i>la-p</i>	<i>bwe, be, bwi, bu, ba, bo</i>
Distal	<i>la-t</i>	<i>te, ti, to</i>
Negation	<i>la-re</i>	<i>tere</i>
N	<i>la-m</i>	<i>ne, ni, no</i>

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Number marking

Elaborate number marking with pronouns and possessives:

- ▶ Singular, Dual, Paucal, Plural – see above
- ▶ Uses of dual:
 - ▷ When referring to two entities: *kolo-m loko kolom van*
3.DU-RE walk 3.DU-RE go
'the two of them walked on'
 - ▷ When referring to a respected person, e.g. brother of mother, child of sister:

<i>motlo</i>	<i>Joemae,</i>	<i>kamee</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>idi</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>selen</i>	<i>mur</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>kekeli</i>	
nephew	Joemae	pron.2d	2d-ir	take	one	shilling	little	rel.re	small	

'Nephew Joemae, you you take one small little shilling (= some money)

- ▶ Use of paucal: Referring to a group that one identifies with, regardless of size.

<i>kiyee</i>	<i>Lonbelaa</i>	<i>kiye-m</i>	<i>van</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>lon</i>	<i>s-ayee</i>	<i>emee</i>		
pron.3pc	place	3pc-re	go	stay	in	poss-3pc	meeting.house		

'the men from Lonbelaa went and stayed in their meeting house' (Andri.031)

- ▶ Use of plural includes impersonal reference, cf. Engl. *they*, German *man*, French *on*

<i>siti</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>tobo</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>Jemani</i>	<i>la-m</i>	<i>kie</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>Berlin</i>
city	comp.RE	big	TR	place	Germany	3P-RE	say	3S.RE	COP	Berlin

'the big city in Germany is called Berlin', lit. '... they call Berlin' (Abel3.398)

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Number requirements of verbs

Some verbs have number requirements on their arguments, typically singular/dual vs. paucal/plural.

- ▶ Number requirement on subject argument:
pwet / du ‘be there’ *muet / tisi* ‘fall down’ *soaa / pisyah* ‘arrive’
- ▶ Number requirement on object argument:
idi / sógo ‘take, hold’ *koselaane / koseleene* ‘chase away’

<i>soo</i>	<i>mwi</i>	<i>idi</i>	<i>soo</i>																
one	3s.re	take	one																
'one (child) took one (apple)' (ChAes2.014)																			

<i>soo</i>	<i>mwi</i>	<i>idi</i>	<i>woroló</i>																
one	3s.re	take	one																
'one (child) took two (apples)' (ChAes2.014)																			

<i>soo</i>	<i>mwi</i>	<i>sogó</i>	<i>werisyee</i>																
one	3s.re	take	three																
'one (child) took three (apples)' (ChAes2.026)																			

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Possessive markers



Possessive markers: Three classes (a reduced system compared to other languages)

- ▶ *mok* class: related to the house, to drinks,
e.g. *mok dyung* ‘my mat’ *mok we* ‘my water’ *mok vyoh* ‘my coconut (for drinking)’
- ▶ *ok* class: related to food, animals, food-related implements
e.g. *ok meleh* ‘my food’ *ok kulu* ‘my dog’ *ok yo* ‘my knife’ *ok dom* ‘my yam / year’
- ▶ *sok* class: the general class for the rest,
e.g. *sok timaleh* ‘my child’, *sok too* ‘my garden’, *sok tyenem* ‘my village’

Paradigm
(*sok* class):

Person	Singular	Plural	Dual	Paucal
1	<i>sok</i>	<i>semem</i>	<i>sumoo</i>	<i>sememdyee</i>
1+2	--	<i>sat</i>	<i>sadoo</i>	<i>sadyee</i>
2	<i>sam</i>	<i>samim</i>	<i>samoo</i>	<i>samdyee</i>
3	<i>san</i>	<i>saa</i>	<i>saloo</i>	<i>sayee</i>

Possessive markers as possessive linkers:

- ▶ *dyung me Meri* ‘Mary’s mat’
- ▶ *meleh e Meri* ‘Mary’s food’
- ▶ *timaleh se Meri* ‘Mary’s child’

Possessive marker as “conjunction”:

- ▶ *Meri son John* ‘Mary with John’

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Relational constructions: relational nouns



Relational nouns are inflected for “possessor”

Example: *nur/nar-* ‘child’

Person	Singular	Plural	Dual	Paucal
1	<i>nuruk</i>	<i>naremem</i>	<i>naremo</i>	<i>naremimdyee</i>
1+2	--	<i>naremet</i>	<i>naredoo</i>	<i>naredyee</i>
2	<i>narem</i>	<i>naremim</i>	<i>nurumoo</i>	<i>naremdyee</i>
3	<i>naren</i>	<i>naree</i>	<i>nareloo</i>	<i>nareyee</i>

Observe:

- ▶ Inflection similar to possessive marker; hence: possessive markers are general relational nouns;
- ▶ this explains why they precede their noun (*sok too* ‘my garden’, not **too sok*), contrary to other modifiers.
- ▶ and it explains the absolute use of possessive markers, e.g. *nam idi ok* ‘I took mine’, ‘I took my food’

Semantic domains of relational nouns:

- ▶ Kinship terms (with exceptions; *naana* ‘mama’ replaces 1st person singular in *laas-*)
- ▶ Body parts (with the exception of most inner organs)
- ▶ Bodily excretions

There are about 50 relational nouns in the current dictionary.

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Relational constructions: Transitive nouns



Transitive nouns require a DP that satisfy their argument position:

- ▶ *biri popat biri popat kele*
head.of pig head.of pig that
‘pig’s head’ ‘that pig’s head’

Examples (there are about 70 transitive nouns in the current dictionary):

- ▶ Parts:
 - ▷ head, hand, leg, eye, elbow, face, tail, body, belly
 - ▷ stem, leaf, root, shoot, branch, fruit, juice, thorn, seed
 - ▷ top, core, piece, front, middle, remains
 - ▷ one, the other (of two)
- ▶ Collections: bundle, bunch, drop, hole, group, heap
- ▶ Entity coming from origin: voice, offspring, egg, heat (of sun), person (from)
- ▶ Function: rope (e.g. for pigs), place (e.g. for soccer)
- ▶ ‘mother’, also ‘big’: *laasi vanten* ‘mother of the man’, ‘very big man’

Example for relational, transitive, absolute noun:

- ▶ *biry-on* ‘his head’ *mer-an* ‘his eye’ *vel-an* ‘his hand’
biri ‘head of’ *mere* ‘eye, core of’ *vele* ‘hand of’
birikot ‘head’ *mát* ‘eye’ *vyaa* ‘hand’
- ▶ *biri popat kele* *biryon popat kele*
‘that pig’s head’ ‘the head of that pig’

Transitivization with preposition *ne*, similar for verbs:

- ▶ *da ne ngyo* *yaapuo soo ne ot yurop*
blood TR 1.sg man one TR place Europe
‘my blood’ ‘a man from Europe’

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Verbs: intransitive, transitive

Intransitive / transitive verb pairs:

- ▶ Irregular verb pairs, e.g.
en / ane ‘eat’ *min / mini* ‘drink’ *pinin / páne* ‘roast’ *pyen / vini* ‘shoot’
peap / pepa ‘carry (a child)’ *kii / ili* ‘dig’
gerehe ‘be a liar’ / *gerehe* ‘deceive’, *tee* ‘look’ / *lehe* ‘see’
- ▶ Regular verb pairs, derived with suffix (preposition) *ne*
e.g. *lip* ‘drip’ / *lipne* ‘pour’
- ▶ Derived verbs with verb suffixes
e.g. *kii* ‘dig’ *kii-kuu* ‘dig out’

Examples:

<i>sen-en</i>	<i>mwi</i>	<i>pinin</i>	<i>taali</i>	<i>ot</i>	<i>oke-lé</i>		
one.of-REF	3s.RE	roast	other.TR	place	LOC-PROX		
'one of them roasted at the place here' (Ilson3.004)							

<i>la-m</i>	<i>páne</i>	<i>basee</i>	<i>kingyee</i>	<i>ye</i>			
3s-RE	roast	bird	DEM.PL	PROX			
'they roasted those birds' (Jemis4.013)							

<i>daa</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ngyo</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>lip</i>			
blood	tr	pron.1sg	3s.ir	drip			
'when my blood dripped' (Boa2.140)							

<i>mu</i>	<i>uut</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>mwe</i>	<i>lip-ne</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>van</i>	<i>lon</i>	<i>ketel</i>	<i>soo</i>
3s.RE	scoop	water	3s.RE	drip-TR	3s.RE	go	in	kettle	SG.IDF
'she scooped water and poured it into a kettle' (HG.189)									

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Semitransitive verbs and ditransitive verbs

But intransitive verbs sometimes occur with an object:

<i>vaven</i>	<i>woro-ló</i>	<i>kolo-m</i>	<i>pinin</i>	<i>kon</i>	<i>pán</i>	<i>botbaa</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>liibyak</i>	<i>soo</i>
women	number-two	3s.du-re	roast	corn	under	trunk	tr	tree-nambanga	indef
'two women roasted corn under a nambanga tree' (Ilson3.001)									

Here, *kon* does not refer to specific corn, rather: ‘they were corn-roasting’.

Interpretations:

- ▶ *páne*: $\lambda y \lambda x [x \text{ roasts } y]$ == transitive reading, objects of type *e*
- ▶ *pinin*: a. $\lambda P \lambda x \exists y [x \text{ roasts } y \wedge P(y)]$ – semi-transitive reading, objects of type $\langle e, t \rangle$
b. $\lambda x \exists y [x \text{ roasts } y]$ – intransitive reading, no object
equivalent to leaving *P* unspecified

Not every intransitive verb can be used as semitransitive, e.g. *baa* ‘fight’, but arguments can sometimes be extended, e.g. with preposition *mane*:

<i>la-m</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>la-m</i>	<i>baa</i>	<i>mane</i>	<i>ngyee</i>		
3p-RE	PROG	3p-RE	fight	with	PRON.3P		
'they fight with them' (OT.165)							

Ditransitive verbs: Second object provided with *mane*

<i>ngale</i>	<i>na-p</i>	<i>sengane</i>	<i>suburu</i>	<i>mane</i>	<i>s-ok</i>	<i>tuutuu</i>	<i>man</i>
then	1s-ir	give	mat	to	poss-1s	grandparent	male
'then I will give the mat to my grandfather' (Aiben7.023)							

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Experiencer verbs

Experiencer subjects:

- ▶ Realized as regular subjects:

<i>na-m</i>	<i>longane</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>wuo</i>	<i>byen</i>	<i>tayóó</i>	<i>kingyee</i>	<i>lé</i>
1s-re	hear/feal	3s.re	good	because	maniok	dem.3p	dem.prox

'I feel good because of this maniok' (Jemis2.203)

- ▶ Realized with dummy subjects referring to body parts:

<i>byen</i>	<i>sówe</i>	<i>lo-m</i>	<i>mwe</i>	<i>laa</i>	<i>ngyak</i>
because	what	heart-2s	3s.re	angry	pron.2s

'why are you angry?' (OT.905)

<i>saka</i>	<i>wel-emoo</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>nek</i>		
COMP.NEG	body-2d	3.IR.NEG	AFRAID		

'you two should not be afraid' (HG.145)

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Serial verb constructions

Complex verbs, suffixes, sometimes used as separate verbs, no separate inflection

- ▶ *ta-bini* 'cut dead' *kyet-bini* 'bite dead' – resultative interpretation
- ▶ *gum-gare* 'hold tight' *yep-gare* 'pull-tight' – intensive interpretation
- ▶ *en-lehe* 'eat-see', 'try' *syep-lehe* 'cut-see' – conative interpretation
- ▶ *kuoli-mee* 'return come' *loko-van* 'walk go' – goal interpretation

Aspectual verb serialization, e.g. progressive:

- ▶ *du* progressive, *du* continuative, *buk* first

<i>kolo-m</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>kolo-m</i>	<i>pwet,</i>	<i>kolo-m</i>	<i>pwet</i>	<i>van</i>				
3D-RE	PROG	3D-RE	stay	3d-re	stay	CONT				

'the two were staying, the two were going on' (Jemis3.021)

- ▶ Event-related verb serialization (3rd sg., predication on event), cf. Davidsonian event argument

<i>la-m</i>	<i>ngepngap</i>	<i>mwe</i>	<i>kekeli</i>	<i>gon</i>
3P-RE	rest	3S.RE	small	FOC

'they rested a little bit' (OT.525)

<i>kiye-p</i>	<i>gyeh</i>	<i>bwi</i>	<i>yah</i>		
3pc-ir	work	3s-ir	strong		

'they should work hard' (OT.504)

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Part III: A closer look at modal markers



New project: Kilu von Prince, Manfred Krifka: The Expression of Tempus, Aspect, Modality and Polarity in Melanesian Languages MelaTAMP) (DFG, 2016-2019)

Table of Modal markers

Paradigm
of modal markers,
illustrated with
3rd plural, 3rd singular

	Suffix (with 3 rd Plural)	3 rd Person
Realis	<i>la-m</i>	<i>mwe, me, mwi, mi, mu, ma, mo</i>
Irrealis	<i>la-p</i>	<i>bwe, be, bwi, bi, bu, ba, bo</i>
Distal	<i>la-t</i>	<i>te, ti, to</i>
Negation	<i>la-re</i>	<i>tere</i>
N	<i>la-n</i>	<i>ne, ni, no</i>

At the root of this system:

- ▶ Distinction **Realis** / Irrealis (Actualis / **Potentialis**)
- ▶ Often: Nonfuture (Past / Nonpast) vs. Future distinction
- ▶ Better characterized as (cf. Lichtenberk 1983 on Manam, Roberts 1990 on Amele):
event/state taking place or having taken place vs. envisioned or imagined

For typological and semantic correlations of the realis / irrealis distinction cf.

- ▶ J.R. Elliott 2002, de Haan 2012
- ▶ Newly acquired project von Prince / Krifka, MelaTAMP

Purpose here:

- ▶ Overview of uses of modal markers in Daakie
- ▶ (Some ideas about modeling the semantics of these markers

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Use of modal markers: Realis in non-embedded sentences



Ongoing events:

- (26) *obwer anvu mi myuu mo do*¹⁶
taro introduced 3SG.RE grow 3SG.RE slow
'This Fiji taro is growing slow.'

Jemis2.054

Past events:

- (27) *meerin na-m mee o-ke-le na-m lehe*
long.time.ago 1SG.RE COME LOC-COMP-PROX 1SG.RE look
'long time ago, I came here, I looked.'

Bong2.027

Generic statements:

- (28) *ko-m ko=ot*¹⁷ *mo-nok*¹⁸ *ko-m ta=kuu~kuu*¹⁹ *yee mwi*²⁰ *ti-tisii*
2SG.RE clear=grounds RE-finish 2SG.RE cut.out tree 3SG.RE fall.down.DISTR
'after you clear the grounds, you cut out the trees, they fall down'

Jemis2.008

Fictional worlds:

- (29) *mwe pwet mwe sela wilin talin*²¹ *bye-n*
3.RE PROG 3S.RE put.on skin.TR body.TR body-3SG
'he was/is putting on the skin of his (= another man's) body'

Bong2.012

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Use of modal markers: Realis in embedded clauses



Complement of factive propositional attitude verbs, complementizer: *ke*

- (30) *mo longane ke timaleh kiye mwe pwet mo sóró mo-mele* Jemis3.029
 3SG.RE hear COMP.RE child DEM.SG 3SG.RE PROG 3SG.RE talk RE-this.way
 ‘He heard that the child was talking in this way.’
- (31) *mo-mele mwe kiibele ke vanten mu-syoo la-m du o-ki-ye* Jemis1.012
 RE-this.way 3SG.RE know COMP.RE man RE-SOME 3PL-RE stay LOC-COMP-DIST
 ‘This way, he knows that some men stay there.’

Reason clauses:

- (32) *na-m pwet [hospital] em ne²³ mese=en byen ke popat mwe te ye-k* Boa1
 1SG-RE stay house TR sick-NOM because COMP.RE pig 3SG.RE cut leg-1SG 0.79
 ‘I stayed in the hosp. because the pig bit my leg.’

Temporal clauses:

- (33) *bili ke mwe saa=kuu wilin by-en me mee me timaleh man soo mu wuo* Bong2.
 time COMP.RE 3SG.RE take.off skin.TR body-3SG 3SG.RE come 3SG.RE child male SG.IND 3SG.RE good 022
 ‘When he took of his skin, he became a good-looking young man.’

Use in relative clauses

- (35) *em ke la-m du la-m mot-go~gone sili* Abel3.121
 house COMP 3PL-RE IMPERF 3pl-re straight-make~REDUP road
 ‘the house where they straighten roads’ (the embassy)

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Use of modal markers: Potentialis in non-embedded sentences.



In commissive clauses:

- (34) *na-p²⁵ idi ok²⁶ masólo* Aila2.024
 1SG-IR take POSS.FOOD.1SG fish
 ‘I will take my fish.’, ‘I promise to take my fish.’

In jussive clauses:

- (35) *la-m kie ka da-p van tyenem* Bong1.046
 3PL-RE say that 12PL-IR go home
 ‘They said, let’s go home.’

In directive clauses (imperatives /necessitives: *Give me / You must give me*)

- (36) *ko-p sengane de-re²⁷ mee na-p ane* Boa2.076
 2SG-IR give SOME-DETR come 1SG-IR eat.TR
 ‘Give me some of it and/so that I will eat it.’

Future reference with prefix *a-* to subject marker (in Daakie, not in Daakaka: complementizer *ka*)

- (37) *vanten desoo²⁸ a-be mee bwi idi pija en²⁹ dout* Jemis2.086
 man NSPEC-SOME FUT-3SG-IR come 3SG-IR take picture of.REF probably
 ‘Some man or other will come and/to take a picture of it (a palm tree with five branches)’

desoo: indefinite quantifier in non-realis contexts; in realis contexts: *soo* ‘one’;
 cf. Pearce 2010 for Unua

Use of modal markers: Potentialis in embedded clauses



Non-factive complement clauses; irrealis complementizer *ka*, contrast with realis *ke*.

- (38) *na-m longbini ka na-p pune punen soo*³⁰ Andri2.002
 1SG-RE want COMP.IR 1SG-IR tell story one
 ‘I want to tell a story.’
- (39) *mwe páne basee kingyee-ye mwe neknak ka bu du ba ane* Boa3.039
 3SG-RE roast bird DEM.PAUC-DIST 3SG-RE ready COMP 3SG-IR stay.PL 3SG-IR eat.TR
 ‘He roasted the birds and was ready to eat them.’
- (40) *ngale la-m kiibele ka la-p kuo soo~soo* Adam1.022
 then 3PL-RE know COMP.IR 3PL-IR run ONE-REDUP
 ‘Then they knew/were able to run away one by one.’

Non-factive temporal clauses, cf. German *als* / *wenn*

- (41) *a-na-p ane sówe bili ka ot bi mitmyet* JoAlvi.028
 FUT-1SG-IR eat.TR what time COMP.IR place 3SG-IR dark
 ‘What will I eat when it is dark?’

Content of thought often expressed as direct speech.

s-ok notnoten mwe kie ke keme-p en monok limalek a-na-p kuo tinyam
 POSS-1s thinking 3S.RE tell comp.re 1P.EX eat 3re.finish night fut-1s-ir run hide
 ‘I thought that when we finish eating, at night I will run away and hide.’ (Abel3.079)

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Use of modal markers: Distal modality



Indicating time at which an event happened:

- (23) *yaa te van te pwet¹¹ ti piipili mwe kuoli=mee¹² tyenem* Ilsong2.021
 SUN 3SG.DST go 3SG.DST PROG 3SG.DST red 3SG-RE return-come home
 ‘When the sun was getting red, he went back home.’

Temporal scene setters in discourse:

- (44) *meerin temát la-t pwee* Boa3.025
 before demon 3PL-DIST many
 ‘In times before, there were many demons.’

Adjectival predication, restricted to the stem *-bo* ‘big’

- (45) *ko-p bwengbang van tyenem ke to-bo* IIsong2.013
 2SG-IR play go village COMP DIST-big
 ‘You can play towards the big village.’

Content of false thoughts:

- (42) *temát ngyee³¹ mon la-m deme ka te met byen b-on mwe sek* Saelas.026
 demon PL too 3PL-RE think COMP.IR 3SG.DST dead because smell-3SG 3SG.RE stink
 ‘The demons, too, thought that he was dead, as he stank (lit. his smell was stinking)’

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Modality in conditional clauses



Abel2.010

Irrealis in protasis of “indicative” conditionals, future in apodosis.

- (43) *molo ka bo longane diliri gon monok,*
incubator:bird COMP 3SG.IR feel egg.3SG EMPH finish
‘The incubator bird, when it feels its egg(s) finished,

a-be mee mwe³² pisih pán weren kege mwe pwet mwi tivin weren³³
FUT-3S.IR come 3SG.RE lay.eggs under X.PLACE COMP.REL 3S.RE stay 3S.RE bury.TR X.PLACE
then it comes and lays eggs under the place where it stays and buries them.’

Distal in protasis of future-oriented conditional, future in apodosis:

- (46) *Ko-p pyak ne ti-ri koloo le, vih mane vyoh.*
2SG-IR choose TR IDEF.NHUM-DETR two PROX banana with ripe.coconut
‘You choose one of these two, the banana or the coconut.

Ko-t pyak soro ke tu wuo, a-ko-p idi popat desoo.
2SG.DIST choose reach COMP 3SG.DIST good FUT-2SG-IR take pig NRE.one
If you choose right, then you get take a pig.’

Distal in protasis and apodosis of counterfactual conditional:

- (47) *Ka ko-t pyak ne vyoh, a-ko-t idi popat.*
COMP 2SG-DIST choose TR coconut 2SG-DIST take pig
‘If you had chosen the coconut, you would have gotten the pig.’

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Realis Negation



Andri.005

Negation marker *-r* n negated root clauses:

- (24) *Lalinda mane Langievot, kolo-re wurwuo ne koloo¹³*
Lalinda with Langievot 3DU-RE.N peaceful TRANS PRON.3D
‘Lalinda and Langievot were not in peace with each other.’

Negation in embedded realis clause:

- (20) *Taata a-bwe kiibele ke ngyo nare Isao*
Father FUT-POT know CP.RE 1SG 1SG-NEG Esau
‘Father will know that I am not Esau’, translation (OT.353)

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Negation: *-n*



Abel3.154

Negation marker *-n* in main clauses headed by complementizer *sa ka*:

- (49) *sa ka wel-em³⁵ ne nek ne ti-ri kingyee ye*
COMP.NEG COMP.NR skin-2SG 3SG.N afraid TR IDEF-NHUM-DETR DEM.PL LOC.DIST
'Don't be afraid of those things.'

Negation marker *-n* in dependent clause, negative-implying embedding verb:

- (48) *na-m notselaane ka na-n govone ti-ri desoo*
1SG-RE think.wrongly that 1SG-N make IDEF.NHUM-DETR NSPEC-SOME
'I couldn't do anything', 'I wanted to do something but I couldn't.'

Boa1.47

Negation concord with marker *-n* in embedded clauses:

- (25) *lispsep tere longbini ka ne tah=tone*
lispsep 3SG.RE.N want COMP.NR 3SG.N sit.down=for
'The lispsep¹⁴ did not want to wait for it.'

HG.181

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But: *n* marker can also express deontic necessity!



Expression of deontic necessity:

- (50) a. (*ka*) *ko-n peten*
COMP.NR 2SG-N tell.truth
'You must tell the truth.'

Alternative construction, derived from Bislama *mas*, cf. English *must*

- b. *ko-p mas peten*
2SG-POT must tell.truth
'You must tell the truth.'

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The Semantics of the Modal Markers



- ▶ Cf. Krifka (to appear) 2016
A Presuppositional Analysis of Realis and Potentialis Modality in Daakie (Port Vato),
Ambrym, Vanuatu, Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory 26.

General setup:

- ▶ Modus-less proposition, e.g. $[_{VP} \text{Enet} - \text{koli}et]$ ‘Enet sing’, φ ,
true at world/time i iff φ sings at i .
- ▶ Finiteness by modal marker: $[_{TP} \text{Enet} [[mo] [t_{Enet} \text{koli}et]]]$ RE(φ)

Realis marker: $[_{TP} \text{Enet} [[mo] [t_{Enet} \text{koli}et]]]$

- ▶ RE(φ): proposition true at i iff φ is true at i or at a world/time i' before i .
- ▶ and defined only if φ is true at i or at a world/time i' before i . (presupposition).
- ▶ Explains the factive interpretation of realis embedded clauses.
- ▶ RE(φ) is still informative in root clauses.

Realis negation marker: $[_{TP} \text{Enet} [[tere] [t_{Enet} \text{koli}et]]]$

- ▶ RNEG(φ): proposition true at i iff φ is false at any i' before or equal to i
- ▶ and defined only if φ is in fact false at any i' before or equal to i .
- ▶ Explains the factive interpretation of irrealis negation embedded clauses.

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The Semantics of the Modal Markers



Potentialis marker: $[_{TP} \text{Enet} [[bo] [t_{Enet} \text{koli}et]]]$

- ▶ POT(φ): proposition true at i iff φ is true at at least one world/time i' after i .
- ▶ and defined only if φ is true at at least one world/time i' after i .
- ▶ Explains the potential interpretation of potential embedded clause
- ▶ Explains the futurate use of potential root clauses
- ▶ Future prefix $a-$, complementizer ka : Quantification over all future world/time pairs

Distal marker: $[_{TP} \text{Enet} [[te] [t_{Enet} \text{koli}et]]]$

- ▶ DST(φ): proposition true at i iff φ is true at some world/time i' , with $i' \neq i$
- ▶ Pragmatic principle of maximize presupposition: Use RE, RNEG, POT when possible
- ▶ Blocks the use of distal except in counterfactual cases
- ▶ Distal as temporal anchor: Introduces reference time different from speech time i .

N marker: $[_{TP} \text{Enet} [[ne] [t_{Enet} \text{koli}et]]]$

- ▶ N(φ) has the same truth conditions as φ : N(φ) is true at i iff φ is true at i .
- ▶ but with an anti-factive restriction; N(φ) defined for i only if φ is false at i .
- ▶ Hence N(φ) can only be used in negative contexts that involve \neg N(φ)
- ▶ N(φ) does not relate φ to the world/time of utterance,
hence it cannot be used as a standard negation – for this: RNEG(φ),
it can only occur embedded by a negative-entailing predicate and/or complementizer
that creates a relation to the world/time of utterance
- ▶ The rare deontic use of N(φ) is possible only if φ is in fact not true,
but if it is expressed that φ should be true.

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