Expressing possibility in Saliba-Logea and Daakaka

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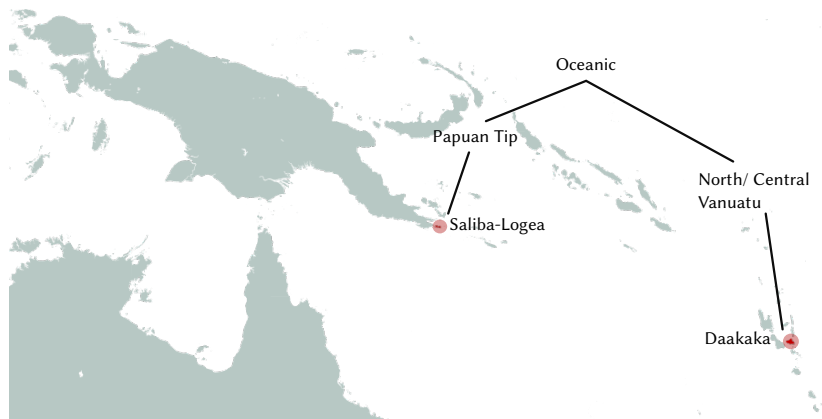
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Structure of the talk

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    General
    Gononwa-, „possibility"

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    Kuowilye, „know"
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Background

Subject languages

Background

Data

- We primarily work with corpus data.

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- For Saliba-Logea, we use Margetts *et al.* (2017).
- For Daakaka, we use von Prince (2013).
- In the context of the MelaTAMP project (with Manfred Krifka, Ana Krajinović, Stephan Druskat, Lena Weißmann and Annika Tjuka), we enrich the corpus data with TAM-specific tags and import them onto the ANNIS platform developed at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin.

Expressing possibilities cross-linguistically

Typological studies of modal expressions focus primarily on monoclausal structures. For example, Hengeveld (2004) gives the following list of expressions that can have modal meanings:

- Particles
- Inflection
- Auxiliaries
- Periphrastic constructions („There is no living in this house")
- Derivation („I am in want of eating meat")

Also see Bybee *et al.* (1994); de Haan (2006).

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Main claims

Main objectives

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2. Some assumptions about correlations between form and function are not substantiated by our findings.

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Main claims

Multiclausal expressions of possibility

However, in Daakaka and Saliba-Logea, the main expressions of non-epistemic possibilities can be analyzed as multiclausal:

(1) Daakaka:

> *Mwe meu* **mo kuowilye** *[ka wa sikya dom ves]?*
> REAL live REAL know COMP POT touch year how.much
> „How long can it live?" (0117)

(2) Saliba-Logea:

> **gonowa-m** *[meta kabo ku dobi ku*
> ability-2SG.POSS PART then 2SG.SBJ go.down 2SG.SBJ
> *unui-he-mate]*
> catch-CAUS-die
> „you are able to go down, to catch it and kill it (lit. ‚Your
> ability exists to...‘)" (BudoiNualele_01CY_0496)

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Main claims

Form and Function

In the literature on embedding structures (cf. Noonan, 1985; Cristofaro, 2003; Schmidtke-Bode, 2014), the following correlation is widely assumed:

1. Structures with clausal subjects should express epistemic or deontic modality, not ability;

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2. Structures with personal subjects such that the subject of the modal predicate is coreferential with the subject of the embedded clause should express ability and maybe participant-oriented deontic modality.

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   modal predicate is coreferential with the subject of the
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   (4)   I can go there/ I am able to go there.

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Main claims

Form and Function: tendency rather than absolute

In Saliba-Logea and Daakaka we find structures that contradict this generalization:

(5) Daakaka, clausal subject, participant-internal possibility:

ma **wese** *[na* **bwee-tye** *mwe lyoo], ma sengep*
REAL enough COMP container-of.it REAL break REAL be.open
milye an
on.top 3s.POSS
„its cocoon can break, it opens at the top" (6004)

(6) Saliba-Logea, clausal possessor, participant-internal possibility:

i wane eeeh teina ya kasiyebwa ina nige
3SG.SBJ say (protest) near.SP 1SG.SBJ sick near.SP NEG
*gonowa-***na*** [ya lao]*
ability-3SG.POSS 1SG.SBJ go
„she said ,eeeh, I am this sick, I am not able to go'"
(Gesila_01BC_0227)

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Form and Function: tendency rather than absolute

In sum, the unexpected correspondences we find are:

- Participant-internal modalities with clausal possessors/ subjects (for *gonowa-* and *wese*)

- Participant-external modalities with personal subject expression (for *kuowilye*).

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General

Nuwana, „maybe"

Epistemic possibilities and hypothetical scenarios can be expressed with the term *nuwana*, which can be analyzed in most environments as a modal particle meaning *maybe*.

(7) *natu-gu   te   **nuwana** tamowai se*
child-1SG.POSS near.SP maybe   person 3PL.SBJ
unui-ya-ko   se   koi he-mwaloi   e se
catch-3SG.OBJ-already 3PL.SBJ hit CAUS-dead/die or 3PL.SBJ
unui se   le-ya-ko   ye-di   magai
catch 3PL.SBJ get-3SG.OBJ-already POSS1-3PL.OBJ place
„this my child, maybe people have caught her already and
killed her, or they caught her and have taken her already to
their place" (SineluguDamaya_01DG_0105)

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General

Kabi-, „way, knowledge"

Learned abilities can be expressed by *kabi-*, „way, knowledge, custom, magic":

(8) *ena [bosa kabi-na   ye   kata] kabo*
    if   basket knowledge-3sg.poss 3sg.sbj know will/then
    sina-mai   ye   he-kata-gai
    mother-1excl.poss 3sg.sbj caus-know-1excl.obj
    „if she knows how to weave a basket she will teach us"
    (BasketWeaving_05AA_0098)

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Gononwa-, „possibility"

Gonowa-: similarity

(9) **gono-gonowa-na** *doha teina kaiwa yo pasa ta*
    REDUP-same-3SG.POSS like near.SP tree and flower 1INCL.SBJ
    kuma-i tenem kalita luwa-na ne
    plant-TR that.DIST sea.water inside-3SG.POSS ART
    ka-di kao **gono-gonowa-di**
    POSS2-3PL.POSS face DUP-same-3PL.POSS
    „They are the same as these trees and flowers we have planted,
    those ones underwater look the same." (Diving_02DP_0099)

This polysemy is not unlike some other Oceanic languages
(Lichtenberk, 2016).

Gononwa-, „possibility"

Nominal predicates

Nominal predicates in Saliba-Logea can express existence and possession (and identity):

(10) *hewali   hesau hesa-na   Gidu*
     young.man a   name-3sg.poss Gidu
     „There was a young man called Gidu" (Boneyawa_01AI_0002/3)

(11) *nige ka-di   kai*
     neg poss2-3pl.obj/poss food
     „they had no food" (BwalaDoini_01CO_0153)

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Gononwa-, „possibility"

Gonowa- with subject possessor

Gonowa- can be inflected to agree with the subject of the subsequent clause, which usually expresses inherent possibility/ ability:

(12) *Gonowa-**gu***
      Ability-1sg.poss
      „I can do it/ I'm fine."

(13) ... *gonowa-**m**ᵢ*   *meta kabo **ku**ᵢ*   *dobi*   *ku*
         ability-2sg.poss part then 2sg.sbj go.down 2sg.sbj
      unui-he-mate
      catch-caus-die
      „[but you have strength] you are able to go down, to catch it
      and kill it" (BudoiNualele_01CY_0497-9)

Gononwa-, „possibility"

Gonowa- with clausal possessor

More often, *gonowa-* is inflected for a third person singular which co-refers with the subsequent clause:

(14) *gonowa-**na**ᵢ [kabo **kowa ku** gelu]ᵢ*
ability-3sg.poss will 2sg 2sg.sbj board
„Thus it would be alright for you to board"
(CanoeBuilding_01BC_0091)

(15) *... nigele kabo ya boita nige gonowa-**na**ᵢ [ya wose*
neg will 1sg.sbj die neg ability-3sg.poss 1sg.sbj paddle
sagu-i-go]ᵢ
help-tr-2sg.obj
„[The exhausted one said: ‚Help me paddling!' and he said:]
‚No, I am dying, I can't help you peddling.'"
(Boneyawa_11BG_0096/7)

Gononwa-, „possibility"

Gonowa-: form and function

(6)   *i   wane eeeh   teina   ya   kasiyebwa ina   nige*
      3SG.SBJ say   (protest) near.SP 1SG.SBJ sick   near.SP NEG

      *gonowa-**na**   [**ya**   lao]*
      ability-3SG.POSS 1SG.SBJ go
      „she said ‚eeeh, I am this sick, I am not able to go'"
      (Gesila_01BC_0227)

(15)   *... nigele kabo ya   boita nige gonowa-**na**ᵢ   [ya   wose*
       NEG   will 1SG.SBJ die   NEG ability-3SG.POSS 1SG.SBJ paddle

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       help-TR-2SG.OBJ
       „[The exhausted one said: ‚Help me paddling!' and he said:] ‚No, I
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General

Possibility in Daakaka: Potential mood

(16) *me yan bat-en,   bat-en   **ka wa** pe-pyo*
come on head-3s.poss head-3s.poss asr pot redup-white
(vyen)
probably
„and its head, its head is white I think" (6113)

Kuowilye, „know"

Kuowilye, personal subject

(17) Expressing internal? possibility

> ... **ko**=m **kuowilye** ka **ko**=p mer.
> 2s=REAL know COMP 2s=POT dead
> „[The stonefish hurts people on the inside and you get sick
> and go to the hospital], you might die." (1847)

(18) Expressing external possibility (unexpected)

> mw=i s-am laki te **ko**=m **kuowilye ko**=p
> REAL=COP CL3-2s.POSS luck DISC 2s=REAL know 2s=POT
> syokilyene sewe sa ko=m vyan ane
> find what TOP 2s=REAL go TRANS
> „it means you're lucky and you may find what you're after."
> (4968/9)

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Kuowilye, „know"

Kuowilye, clausal/ event subject

(19) *mwe **kuowilye** ka wa tilya vyanten milipsyes sikya sungavi*
     REAL know   say POT take man   six   touch ten
     „It can take six to ten men" (2698)

(20) *... mo **kuowilye** ka we save sungavi*
      REAL know   COMP POT pass ten
     „[The other village will bring their men. They can be around
     ten, it goes up to ten], or it can be more than ten." (5166-8)

Wese, „suffice"

Wese, „be sufficient"

(21) *barar w=i   ló   te   ka   wa* **wese** *ka   na=p   gene*
     pig   POT=COP two DISC MOD POT enough COMP 1S=POT make
     sok   nyur-nyur-an
     1S.POSS REDUP-think-NM
     „two pigs will be enough for me to realize my plan." (5476)

Wese, „suffice"

Wese: personal subject

(22) Expressing internal possibility

> ... ***ra***   *to*   *wese*   ***ra**=n*   *ka*
>   1P.IN NEG.REAL enough 1P.IN=NEG.POT say
> „[when you go to the hole here, you hear its whistling is so
> convoluted], we can't imitate it" (6118)

(23) Expressing external possibility (unexpected)

a. ***ko**=m*   *kuowilye* *ka*   ***ko**=p* *kuo a-te*
   2S=REAL know   COMP 2S=POT run LOC.DEM-MEDIAL
   „You can go there" (you have permission to) (0111)

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Wese, „suffice"

Wese: clausal/ event subject

(24) Expressing external possibility

> *to*   **wese**   *ka*   *ye=n*   *me*   *vyan*
> NEG.REAL enough COMP 3PC=NEG.POT come go
>
> *tevy-an*   *wuovyor toowe or*
> side.of-3S.POSS lava   cover place
> „They could not go because volcanic rock covered the place"
> (0996)

(5) Expressing internal possibility (unexpected)

> *ma* **wese** *na*   *bwee-tye*   *mwe lyoo, ma sengep*
> REAL enough COMP container-of.it REAL break REAL be.open
>
> *milye an*
> on.top 3S.POSS
> „Its cocoon can break, it opens at the top" (6004)

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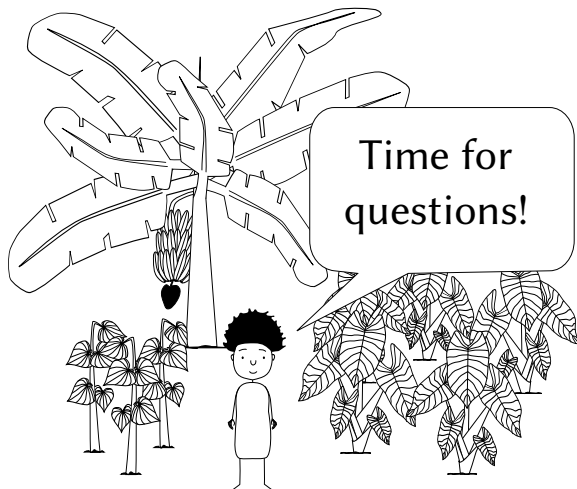0
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Conclusions

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We have seen that

- The main structures dedicated for the expression of abilities, deontic and circumstantial possibilities in Saliba-Logea and Daakaka can be analyzed as multi-clausal.

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- Structures with clausal subjects/possessors can express participant-internal possibilities.

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Conclusions

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We have seen that

- The main structures dedicated for the expression of abilities, deontic and circumstantial possibilities in Saliba-Logea and Daakaka can be analyzed as multi-clausal.
- Structures with clausal subjects/possessors can express participant-internal possibilities.
- Structures where the modal subject/ possessor corefers with the subject of the dependent clause can express participant-external possibilities.

(Find our adorable storyboards at
https://wikis.hu-berlin.de/melatamp/Elicitation_materials)

Wese: epistemic

(25) *ma* **wese** *webung w=i   sii,   w=i   vyer ma*
REAL enough day   POT=COP three POT=COP four REAL
ge=te,   mu ku-kyu
like=MED REAL REDUP-surround
„it might have been three or four days, [the lava] surrounded
him" (0978)

(26) *Mwe me, ma* **wese** *ka* **te** *me yan vilye s-an*
REAL come REAL enough COMP DIST come on place CL3-AL.P
vi
white.man
„It came, it may have come from the place of the white
men."(4104)

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