

Reciprocal Strategies in Daakaka

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Workshop on Cross-Linguistic Semantics of Reciprocals

Utrecht, October 2019

Expressing reciprocity without reciprocal markers

Heine & Miyashita (2008: 172):

We will assume that reflexivity and reciprocity are universal concepts insofar as all languages can be expected to have some grammaticalized expression for both.

WALS about reciprocals in Austronesian and beyond

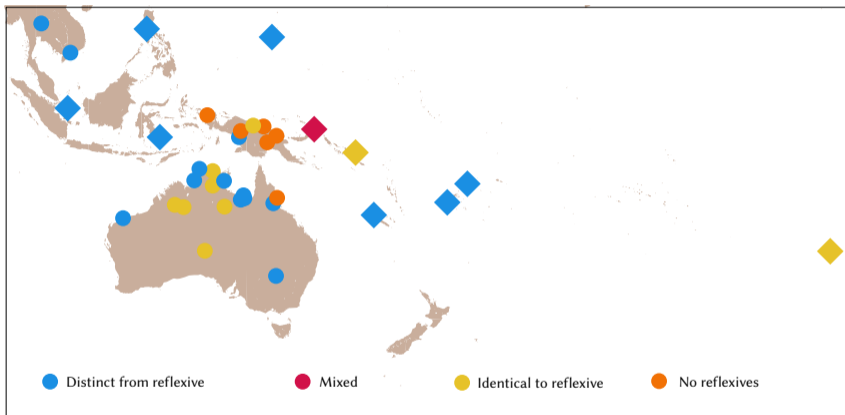


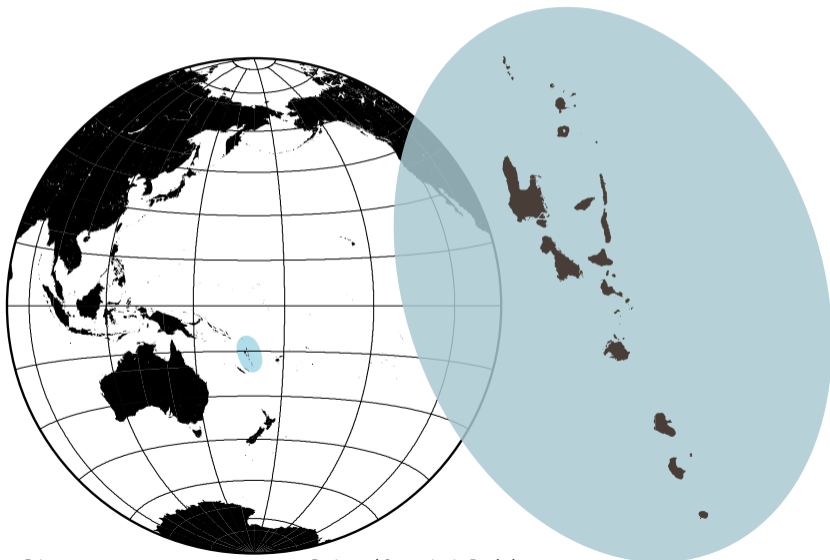
Figure: Austronesian languages are displayed as diamonds

Moyse-Faurie (2008) also describes Oceanic languages as generally having reciprocal/reflexive morphology.

Reciprocal strategies in Daakaka (and beyond)

- I will describe the **main strategies** that Daakaka speakers use to express reciprocity.
- These strategies include certain **serial verb constructions**, which have not previously been observed in this function.
- I will also discuss the role of **dual number** and **reduplication** in reciprocal expressions.

Daakaka



Methods

- The main basis for this study is a language-documentation **corpus** of 68k tokens.
- These are **transcriptions** of oral recordings, with morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, POS tags and translations into English.
- I looked for **translations** containing the sequence *each other* to investigate reciprocal contexts → yield: 29 hits.
- Further contexts come from **storyboard elicitation**s targeted to produce specific TAM contexts.

Pronouns in Daakaka

Person	Singular	Plural	Dual	Paucal
1ex	<i>nye</i>	<i>kinyem</i>	<i>kenma</i>	<i>kinyemsi</i>
	<i>na</i>	<i>kinye</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>kisi</i>
1in		<i>ar</i>	<i>ada</i>	<i>ansi</i>
		<i>ra</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>si</i>
2	<i>ngok</i>	<i>kimim</i>	<i>kama</i>	<i>kamsi</i>
	<i>ko</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kasi</i>
3	<i>nge</i>	<i>nyoo</i>	<i>nya</i>	<i>nyosi</i>
	∅	<i>ya</i>	_____	<i>ye</i> _____

Definite inanimate arguments are usually left unexpressed.

Unmarked reciprocals I

(1) *te ya=m sye te pipine myane nyoo*

then 3PL=REAL cut then share with 3PL

“then they cut it and shared it among each other.” (lit. “...and they shared it with them”)(0203)

(2) *kinye=m maawane kinyem*

1PL.EX=REAL spoil 1PL.EX

“We treat each other badly.” (lit. “we treat us badly”) (3998)

Unmarked reciprocals II

- (3) *seli ane vyanten ma memeo myane vyanten*
 road TRANS person REAL taboo with person
 “the way in which people are taboo to each other” (5106)
- (4) *ye=m du sanga ne nya, ye to vu ne nya*
 3DU=REAL stay bad TRANS 3DU 3DU NEG.REAL be.good TRANS 3DU
 “they treated each other badly, they were not good to each other” (1374)

Overlap with reflexives

- (5) *ye=m myan maawane nyosi ten kyun*
3PC=REAL laugh spoil 3PC very just
“they almost burst laughing” (lit. “they really harmed themselves by laughing”)

Overlap with transitives

(6) *Ya=m sen-sene nyoo yen myaek*
 3PL=REAL REDUP-hook 3PL in be.night
 “They catch them in the night” (1838)

(7) *ye=m saa-ne asi yuk, mwe lingi visyaa ne nyosi*
 3PC=REAL lift-TRANS 3PC.POSS laplap REAL put side TRANS 3PC
 “They_j take their_j laplap and put it next to them_j.” (1210)

Unambiguous transitives

Situations where subject and object are identical in terms of person, number, animacy and definiteness are relatively rare in the corpus.

- (8) *ya=m sene ne net*
 3PL=REAL hook TRANS net
 “they catch them with a net”
- (9) *ya=m yas-ane vyanten yan vilye syan an*
 3PL=REAL steal-TRANS man on place other DEF
 “they would steal people from other places” (1039)

Serial verbs: *kyu* “surround”

- (10) *ya=m tinyo kyu vyanten nyoo, na...*
 3PL=REAL stand surround person 3PL COMP
 “they stand around the men, who...” (2704)

- (11) *Ma liye yesukuo te mu lulu kyu bat-en*
 REAL take leaves DISC REAL cover surround head.of-3SG
 “he took some leaves and covered his head with them” (0717)

Reciprocal contexts with *kyu*, “surround”

(12) *Ya=m du kyu nyaa.*

3PC=REAL stay surround 3PC

“They were with each other / together.” (SB_Daakaka_FortuneTeller_SB.28)

(13) *te ye=m ling daa kyu nya*

DISC 3DU=REAL put language surround 3DU

“and they devised a plan” (lit. “they put words around each other”) (4391)

Serial verb constructions: *sukuo*, “be together”

(14) *t-en* *s-an* *bivian ye=m* *pwer sukuo*
 and-3SG.POSS CL3-3SG.POSS friend 3DU=REAL stay be.together
 “[the emerald dove] always sleeps together with its partner” (0516)

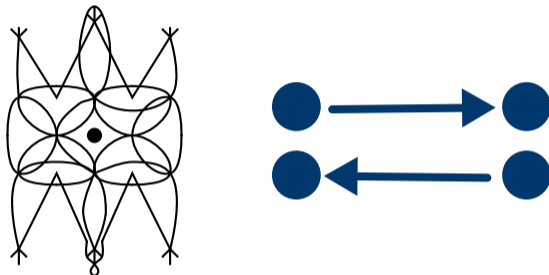
(15) *te ye=m gyes sukuo*
 DISC 3DU=REAL work be.together
 “then they worked together” (2413)

Serial verb constructions: *sukuo*, “be together”

- (16) *ya=m sóró sukuo ka ya=p tas tene tevy-an ka ya=p tiye vyanten*
 3PL=REAL talk be.together MOD 3PL=POT so. sit wait side.of -3SG.POSS MOD 3PL=POT
en=te
 kill man DEF=MEDIAL
 “they talked to each other [and agreed] to wait in order to kill this man” (0712)

- (17) *ya=m du kuo-kuo sukuo kyun*
 3PL=REAL stay REDUP-move.fast be.together just
 “they race against each other/ fly fast together” (0440)

Spelling it out



- (18) *ye=m vinye nya te syan ma vinye syan, syan ma vinye syan*
 3DU=REAL shoot 3DU DISC other REAL shoot other other REAL shoot other
 “they shot each other, one shot the other one, and the other one shot him”

About *syán* “the other”

(19) *syán an mwe gerasé syán an*
 other 3SG.POSS REAL cheat other 3SG.POSS
 “one had lied to the other” (2456)

(20) *syán an pwer-pwer suw-un kuane nge, a s-an bivian syán mon*
 other DEF REDUP-stay REF.PRON-3SG.POSS home 3SG and CL3-3SG.POSS friend other also
pwer-pwer suw-un kuane nge
 REDUP-stay REF.PRON-3SG.POSS home 3SG
 “each lived alone in his own place”

Each and the other

- *Syan* means something like *the other*
- In order to express *each x did P*, a repetitive structure is used of the form *syán P, syán P*.
- In order to express *all x did R to each other*, one can use the form *syán R syán, syán R syán*.

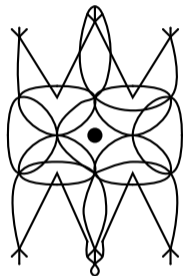
The role of duals

In several Oceanic languages, there is one marker for sociative/collective situations, which is also used for reciprocals involving only two participants.

- (21) *e fe-tuli a lāua*
NSPC RECP-chase ABS 3DU

“These two are chasing each other.” (East Futunan, Moyse-Faurie 2008: 119, (29b))

Duals in reciprocal contexts



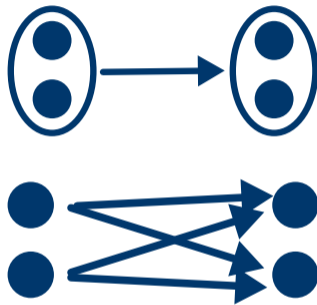
(22) *nya ye=m me pyen-veni nya*
 3DU 3DU=REAL come shoot-RES.dead 3DU
 “they shot each other dead”

Duals in non-reciprocal contexts: reflexives



(23) *ye=m mesu-sye s-aya kaleko nyoo*
 3DU=REAL urinate-3SG.POSS 3CL-3DU.POSS clothes 3PL
 “the two soiled their clothes”

Duals in non-reciprocal contexts: transitives



- (24) *ye=m* *kuo metone nya domo*
 3DU=REAL run from 3DU precede
 “the two left the [other] two behind”

Interim: duals and reciprocity

- In situations with only two participants, the difference between maximal and minimal reciprocal relations collapses:



- But without dedicated reciprocal marking, dual situations can still have a wide range of meanings, such as:



Reduplication in reciprocals in Oceanic

Avava (Oceanic, Vanuatu) (Crowley, 2006: 88):

- (25) *Ar-ter-ter* *ier.*
 DL:REAL-REDUP-chop 3PL
 “The two of them hacked each other.”

Mavea (Oceanic, Vanuatu) (Guérin, 2011: 116)

- (26) *Vu-n* *vuae ror i rua ra-r-tur* *mar~marvitu.*
 stem-CONS tree here LIG two 3PL-DL-stand.up RED~close
 “These two trunks are close to each other.”

Reduplication in Oceanic: Iterativity and Genericity

(27) *gee mwe esi na sa sivi mwe pwe yaa~yaase nge kyu nge*
 flying.fox REAL see COMP CM lorikeet REAL CONT REDUP~turn 3SG surround 3SG
 ‘the flying fox saw the lorikeet rotating around himself’ (sto40:7)

(28) *sini-sye nyoo mwe tii~tii*
 thorn.of-3S.POSS 3PL REAL REDUP~sting
 ‘its spikes (can) sting’ (exp07:212)

Reduplication in reciprocals in Daakaka

- (29) *yu-yaa bwet **pyan-pyane** nya tevy-an na puskat bwet myan silye kuli*
 feeling-3DU.POSS COS REDUP-roast 3DU side.of-3SG.POSS COMP cat COS laugh pluck dog
 “they only got mad at each other because the cat laughed at the dog” (0915)
- (30) *Sikya yene, pus myane tomo ye=m **sang-sanga-ne** nya sikya yene*
 touch now cat with rat 3DU=REAL REDUP-bad-TRANS 3DU touch now
 “Until now, the cat and the rat are bad to each other until now.”

Interim

- At least some reciprocal descriptions can refer to a plurality of events.
- Reduplication may therefore facilitate a reciprocal interpretation.
- However, in my corpus, reduplicated forms always have an independent motivation.

Conclusions

- Daakaka does not have any dedicated morphology to express reciprocity or reflexivity.
- In some cases, the reciprocal situation is spelled out in maximal detail.
- In other cases, the situation is not differentiated from non-reciprocal situations at all.
- There are several structures that seem to facilitate a reciprocal interpretation, in particular serial verb constructions and reduplication.
- The availability of dual (and paucal) number may further reduce the need for specialized reciprocal expressions by providing more information about the antecedents than languages with fewer number distinctions.

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Moyse-Faurie (2008): Reciprocal affixes

The languages in Moyse-Faurie (2008) typically have dedicated reciprocal/reflexive morphology.

(31) *kola i-xeleuth la lue tremehnayin*

PROG PEF-hug ART two fiancés

“The betrothed are hugging each other.” (Drehu, Moyse-Faurie 2008: 110)

This is however not the case for several languages of Melanesia, including Mavea, the West Ambrym languages, Saliba-Logea and others.

Moyse-Faurie (2008): Intensifier strategies

(32) *pa xûûchî chëi mûgé na ri ngê kwââ*

COLL child hit again PST 3PL with stick

“The children hit themselves/each other with a stick.” (Xârâcùù, Moyse-Faurie 2008: 144)

In Daakaka, this strategy does not appear to be available for reciprocals.

Moyse-Faurie (2008): Quantificational strategies

(33) *koi fai vaa ssuaa maaloo ki ssuaa maaloo*

INC have poor.relation INDEF.other state to INDEF.other state

“These states are still in conflict with one another” or “One state is still in conflict with the other state.” (Tuvaluan, Besnier 2000: 213, (1134))

This strategy is also used in Daakaka, as we’ll see below.

Diagnosing event identity

Languages can describe complex processes as single events (*election, birth, war*).

Adverbial modification: (Eckardt, 1998: 19)

Two events e_1 and e_2 are distinct if a modifier α is true for one but not the other, and if this difference with respect to α is due to different parameters being specified by α for event e_1 and e_2 .

- (34) a. The sphere rotated (e_1) and, at the very same time, got warmer. (e_2)
b. The sphere rotated quickly.
c. The sphere heated up slowly.

(Eckardt 1998: 19, from Davidson 1969: 306)

Partitive *syān*

(36) *kenma syān swa kemyas kyun, s-an is sa Emilien*

1DU.EX other one only just CL3-3SG.POSS name TOP E.

“I only have one brother, his name is Emilien” (lit. “the other one of the two of us is only one/there is only one other one of us”) (0765)

(37) *ada syān ka wa domo vyan*

1DU.IN other MOD POT precede go

“one of us two will go first” (3742)