Reciprocal Strategies in Daakaka

Kilu von Prince
Leibniz Center for General Linguistics, Berlin

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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.*

Daakaka and other Oceanic languages of Vanuatu are exceptions to that hypothesised rule.
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.
Moyse-Faurie (2008): Reciprocal affixes

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

(1) *kola i-xeleuth la lue tremehnayin*
    PROG PREF-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

(2) \(pa \ xûûchî \ chëi \ mûgé \ na \ ri \ ngê \ kwââ\)
\textit{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

(3)  $\text{koi fai vaa ssuuaa maaloo ki ssuuaa}$
INC have poor.relation INDEF.other state to INDEF.other
maaloo 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.
Unmarked reciprocals

(4) \( te \ ya=m \ sye \ te \ pipine \ myane \ nyoo \)
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)

(5) \( kinye=m \ maawane \ kinyem \)
1PL.EX=REAL spoil 1PL.EX
“We treat each other badly.” (lit. “we treat us badly”) (3998)

(6) \( seli \ ane \ vyanten \ ma \ memeo \ myane \ vyanten \)
road TRANS person REAL taboo with person
“the way in which people are taboo to each other” (5106)
Serial verb constructions: *kyu*, “surround”

(7)  
*Ya=m du kyu nyaa.*  
3PC=REAL stay surround 3PC  
“They were with each other / together.”  
(SB_Daakaka_FortuneTeller_SB.28)

(8)  
*te ye=m ling daa kyu nya*  
DISC 3D -REAL put language surround 3D  
“and they devised a plan” (lit. “they put words around each other”) (4391)
Serial verb constructions: *sukuo*, “be together”

(9) \(\text{vyanten nya lo ye=m bangbang sukuo mu vu}\)  
person 3D two 3PC-REAL play be.together REAL good very  
“Two men enjoyed spending time with each other.” (0811)

(10) \(\text{ya=m du kuo-kuo sukuo kyun}\)  
3P -REAL stay REDUP-move.fast be.together just  
“they chase each other/ race against each other” (0440)
Spelling it out

(11) $ye=m \ vinye \ nya \ te \ syan \ ma \ vinye \ syan, \ syan \ ma$

3D=REAL shoot 3D   DISC other REAL shoot other other other REAL

$vinye \ syan$

shoot other

“they shot each other, one shot the other one, and the other one shot him”
About *syān* “the other”

(12) *syān*  an  *mwe gerase* *syān*  an  
other 3SG.POSS REAL cheat other 3SG.POSS  
“one had lied to the other” (2456)
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.

(13) 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

\[(14) \text{nya ye}=m \quad m \quad \text{pyen-veni} \quad \text{nya} \]
\[3\text{DU} \quad 3\text{DU}=\text{REAL come shoot-RES.dead} \quad 3\text{DU} \]

“they shot each other dead”
Duals in non-reciprocal contexts: reflexives

(15) 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: #Name?

(16) 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 Oceanic: Iterativity and Genericity

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

(18) sini-sye nyoo mwe tii~tii thorn.of-3S.POSS 3P REAL REDUP~sting
‘its spikes (can) sting’ (exp07:212)
Reduplication in Oceanic: Plurality of participants

(19) ep ka te sórò te kevene ya=m puo
honeyeater SUBCONJ DIST talk CONJ every 3P=REAL be.plentiful
ya=m só~sórò kyun
3P=REAL REDUP~talk just
‘when the honey-eater talks, all of the many birds just talk’
(exp02:13)

(20) Ka=m du yas~yasane ok wotop!
2D=REAL stay REDUP~steal 1S.POSS breadfruit
‘You’re stealing my breadfruits (several of them)!’ (sto32:28)
Reduplication in reciprocals in Oceanic

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

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

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

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

### Reduplication in reciprocals in Daakaka

(23) **yu-yaa**  
*feeling-3DU.POSS COS REDUP-roast 3DU side.of-3SG.POSS COMP puskat bwet myan silye kuli*  
*cat cos laugh pluck dog*  
“They only got mad at each other because the cat laughed at the dog” (0915)

(24) **Sikya yene, pus myane tomo ye=m sang-sanga-ne nya**  
*touch now cat with rat 3D=REAL REDUP-bad-TRANS 3D sikya yene*  
*touch now*  
“Until now, the cat and the rat are bad to each other until now.”
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 $\alpha$ is true for one but not the other, and if this difference with respect to $\alpha$ is due to different parameters being specified by $\alpha$ for event $e_1$ and $e_2$.

(25) 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)
How many events?

(26) $ye=m$ $ka$ $na$ $ka$ $ye=p$ $pisyane$ $nya$

3D=REAL say COMP MOD 3D=POT paint 3D

“[the chicken and the megapode] wanted to paint each other”
Interim

- It seems plausible that 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.
- Reduplication has also been said to be used for reflexive expressions:

(27) \textit{l-su\textsubscript{v-sup} e.}  
\texttt{3SG:REAL-REDUP-scratch 3SG}  
“(S)he scratched himself/herself” (Crowley, 2006: 88)

But here, too, reduplication may express iterativity instead of reflexivity.
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.
References I
