

Reciprocal Strategies in Daakaka

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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*
 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) *koi fai vaa ssuaa maaloo ki ssuaa*
 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”

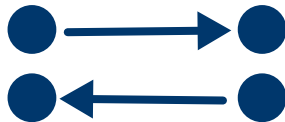
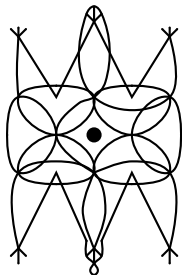
- (9) *vyanten nya lo ye=m bangbang sukuo mu vu*
 person 3D two 3PC=REAL play be.together REAL good
ten

very

“Two men enjoyed spending time with each other.” (0811)

- (10) *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 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 gerasē syān an*
 other 3SG.POSS REAL cheat other 3SG.POSS
 “one had lied to the other” (2456)

The role of duals

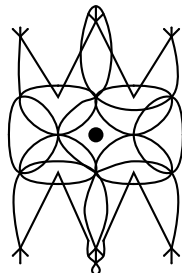
In several Oceanic languages, there is one marker for sociative/collective situations, which is also used for reciprocals involving only two participants.

(13) *e fe-tuli a lāua*

NSPC RECP-chase ABS 3DU

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

Duals in reciprocal contexts



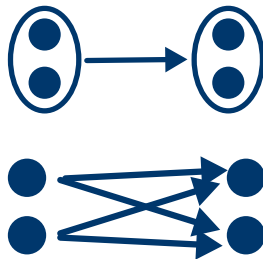
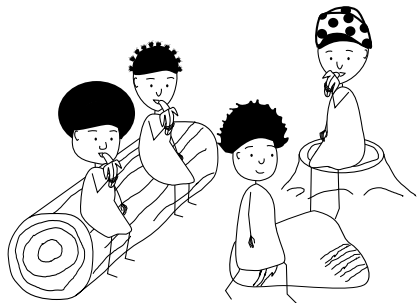
- (14) *nya ye=m me pyen-veni nya*
 3DU 3DU=REAL come shoot-RES.dead 3DU
 “they shot each other dead”

Duals in non-reciprocal contexts: reflexives



- (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 sóró te kevene ya=m puo*
 honeyeater SUBCONJ DIST talk CONJ every 3P=REAL be.plentiful
ya=m só~sóró 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~marvitu.*
 stem-CONS tree here LIG two 3PL-DL-stand.up RED~close
 “These two trunks are close to each other.”

Reduplication in reciprocals in Daakaka

(23) *yu-yaa bwet pyan-pyane nya tevy-an na*
 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*).

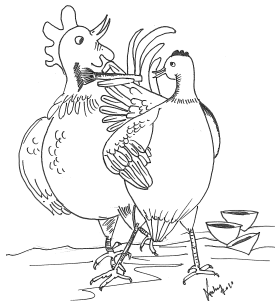
Adverbial modification: (Eckardt, 1998: 19)

Two events e_1 and e_2 are distinct if a modifier 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 .

- (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) *I-suv-sup* *e.*

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.

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