



# Honorific and Affiliative Uses of Dual and Paucal Number in Daakie (Ambrym, Vanuatu; [ptv])

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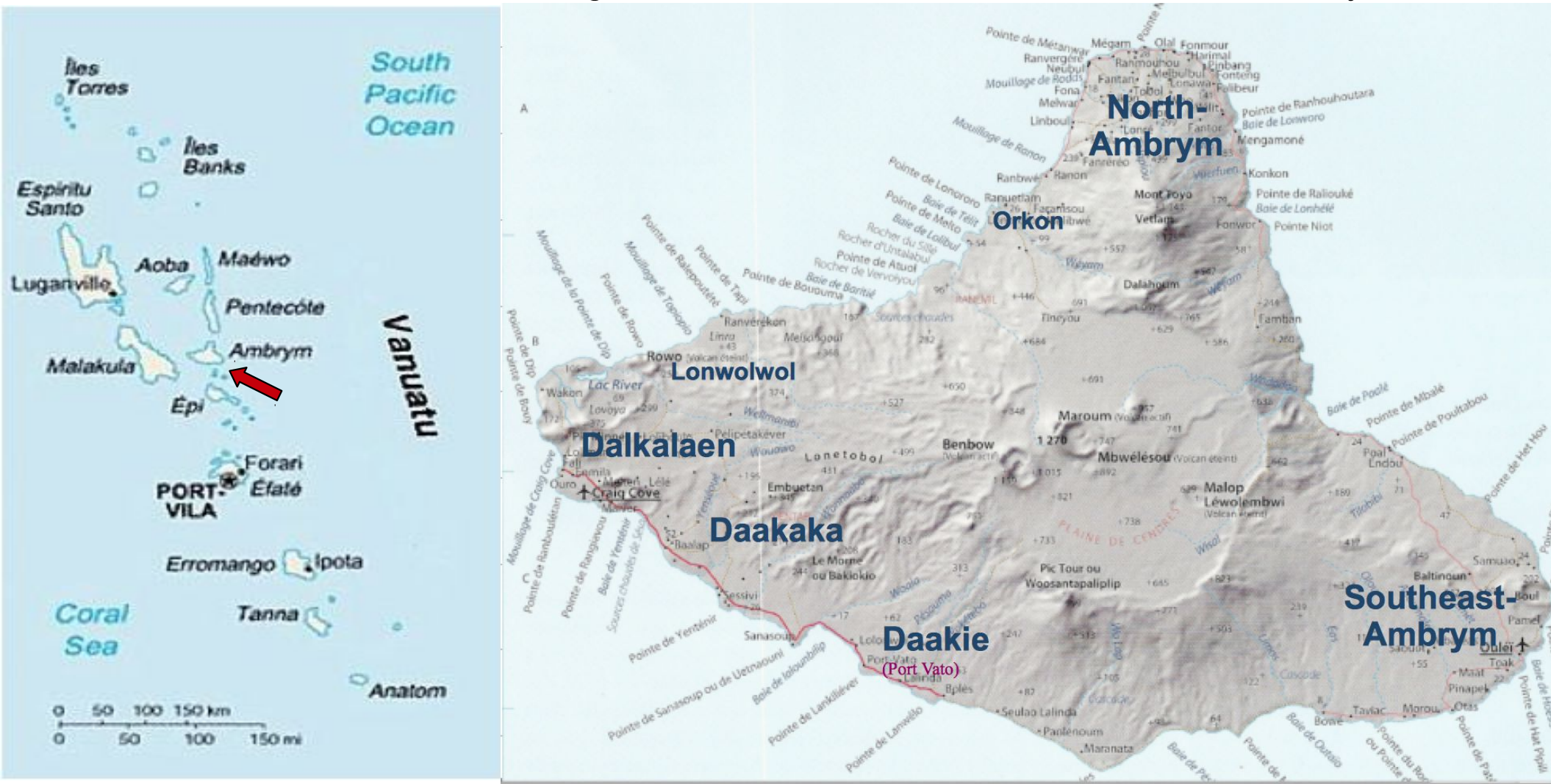
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# The language



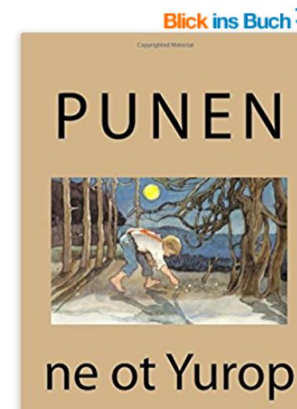
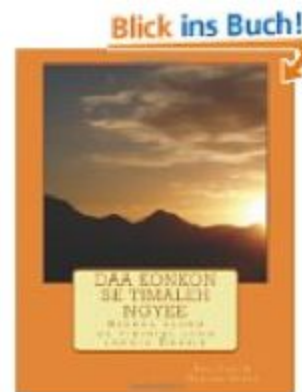
- ◆ Daakie (better known as Port Vato) one of five major languages spoken in Ambrym, Vanuatu
- ◆ About 1000 speakers, a West Ambrym language, closely related to Daakaka
  - von Prince, Kilu. 2015. *A grammar of Daakaka*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.





# Background of research

- ◆ 2009 – 2013, DOBES Project *Languages of Southwest Ambrym*, funded by Volkswagen Foundation, with Kilu von Prince, Soraya Hosni, Susanne Fuchs, Abel Taho, Zentrum Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft Berlin (ZAS)
- ◆ 2016 – 2019, DFG Project Tense, Aspect, Modality and Negation in Languages of Melanesia (MelaTAMP), with Kilu von Prince, Ana Krajinović Rodrigues, Stefan Druskat, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
- ◆ Research on Daakie 2010 – present,
  - about 8 hours of transcribed audiovisual recordings
  - Book with local stories, dictionary
  - translated texts (European tales and fables, childrens' bible, childrens' primer)



# Grammatical Number in Daakie



- ◆ Number distinctions
  - singular
  - dual
  - paucal           with 1st person dual/paucal/plural: exclusive / inclusive
  - plural
- ◆ distinguished with
  - personal pronouns
  - nominal number markers by postposed personal pronouns
  - subject agreement markers (with modality)
  - possessive markers and relational nouns
  - some verbs

# Number and person: pronouns, agreement



| Person | singular                   | dual                         | paucal                           | plural                       | Forms                |
|--------|----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1      | <i>ngyo</i><br><i>na-</i>  | <i>komoo</i><br><i>komo-</i> | <i>kidyee-</i><br><i>kidy-</i>   | <i>kemem</i><br><i>keme-</i> | pronoun<br>agreement |
| 1+2    |                            | <i>adoo</i><br><i>ado-</i>   | <i>adyee</i><br><i>adye-</i>     | <i>et</i><br><i>da-</i>      | pronoun<br>agreement |
| 2      | <i>ngyak</i><br><i>ko-</i> | <i>kamoo</i><br><i>ka-</i>   | <i>kamdyee</i><br><i>kamdye-</i> | <i>kimim</i><br><i>ki-</i>   | pronoun<br>agreement |
| 3      | <i>ngye</i><br><i>--</i>   | <i>koloo</i><br><i>kolo-</i> | <i>ki(l)yee</i><br><i>kiye-</i>  | <i>ngyee</i><br><i>la-</i>   | pronoun<br>agreement |

- ◆ Forms are given in the orthography developed for Daakie by the project
- ◆ Agreement forms combine with modal marker



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- ◆ Agreement forms combine with modal marker
- ◆ No agreement form 3.SG, possibly a number/person neutral form

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- ◆ Inclusive *d-*, pronoun *et* with epenthetic *e* + final devoicing: *ed* → *et*



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- ◆ Cognates dual *lo-* [lɔ] ‘two’ *lo* [lœ], paucal *(d)yee* [dʒe:] ‘three’ *syee* [ʃe:]

# Combination with modal forms



## ◆ Modal markers:

- *-m* RE realis
- *-re* RNG realis negation
- *-p* POT potentialis *b*, final devoicing
- *-t* DST distal
- *-n* DNG dependent negation

cf. Krifka, Manfred. 2016. Realis and non-realis modalities in Daakie (Ambrym, Vanuatu). *Semantics and Linguistic Theory SALT 26*. 566-583.

## ◆ Examples of agreement forms

- 1SG: *na-m na-re na-p na-t na-n*
- 3PL: *la-m la-re la-p la-t la-n*
- 3SG: *m(w)e te-re b(w)e te ne*  
*m(w)i b(w)i ti ni*  
*ma ba ta na*  
*mu bu tu nu*

dependent on CV- of following verb:  
– labiovelar *mw-/bw-* basic  
– *m-/b-* before C(labial) V(e/i)  
– *a* before V(a), *u* before V(u)

# Possessive markers and relational nouns



- ◆ Daakie has 3 possessive classifiers that inflect for possessor
  - *o-* class: edible objects, animals, knife
  - *m-* class: objects related to the house, drinking, containers
  - *so-* class: general class
- ◆ > 50 relational nouns that inflect for possessor in the same way
  - kinship, external body parts & excretions, plant parts, topological notions

| Person | singular                   | dual                           | paucal                                 | plural                         | Forms                 |
|--------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1      | <i>sok</i><br><i>nuruk</i> | <i>sumoo</i><br><i>nurumoo</i> | <i>sememdyee</i><br><i>naremimdyee</i> | <i>semem</i><br><i>naremem</i> | possessive<br>'child' |
| 1+2    |                            | <i>sadoo</i><br><i>naredoo</i> | <i>sadyee</i><br><i>naredyee</i>       | <i>sat</i><br><i>naret</i>     | possessive<br>'child' |
| 2      | <i>sam</i><br><i>narem</i> | <i>samoo</i><br><i>naremoo</i> | <i>samdyee</i><br><i>naremdyee</i>     | <i>samim</i><br><i>naremim</i> | possessive<br>'child' |
| 3      | <i>san</i><br><i>naren</i> | <i>saloo</i><br><i>nareloo</i> | <i>sayee</i><br><i>nareyee</i>         | <i>saa</i><br><i>naree</i>     | possessive<br>'child' |

# Number distinction with verbs



- ◆ Number distinction with reduplication, can mark multiple events, including multiple agents
- ◆ There are some verb doublettes that select for number of participants (subjects or objects)
  - Subjects:
    - *pwet / du* 'stay', progressive marker
    - *muet / tisii* 'fall'
  - Objects:
    - *idi, sógó*: 'take'
    - *vivili, viivii* 'twist, braid'

# Examples



## ◆ Examples from translation of „Hansel & Gretel“

- (1) **timaleh koloo a-ka-p du oke-lé gon, komoo a-komo-p van**  
child 3DU FUT-2DU-POT stay.NS place-PRX FOC 1DU.EX FUT-1DU.EX-POT go  
Father and Mother to their two children: „Children, you will stay here, we two will go“

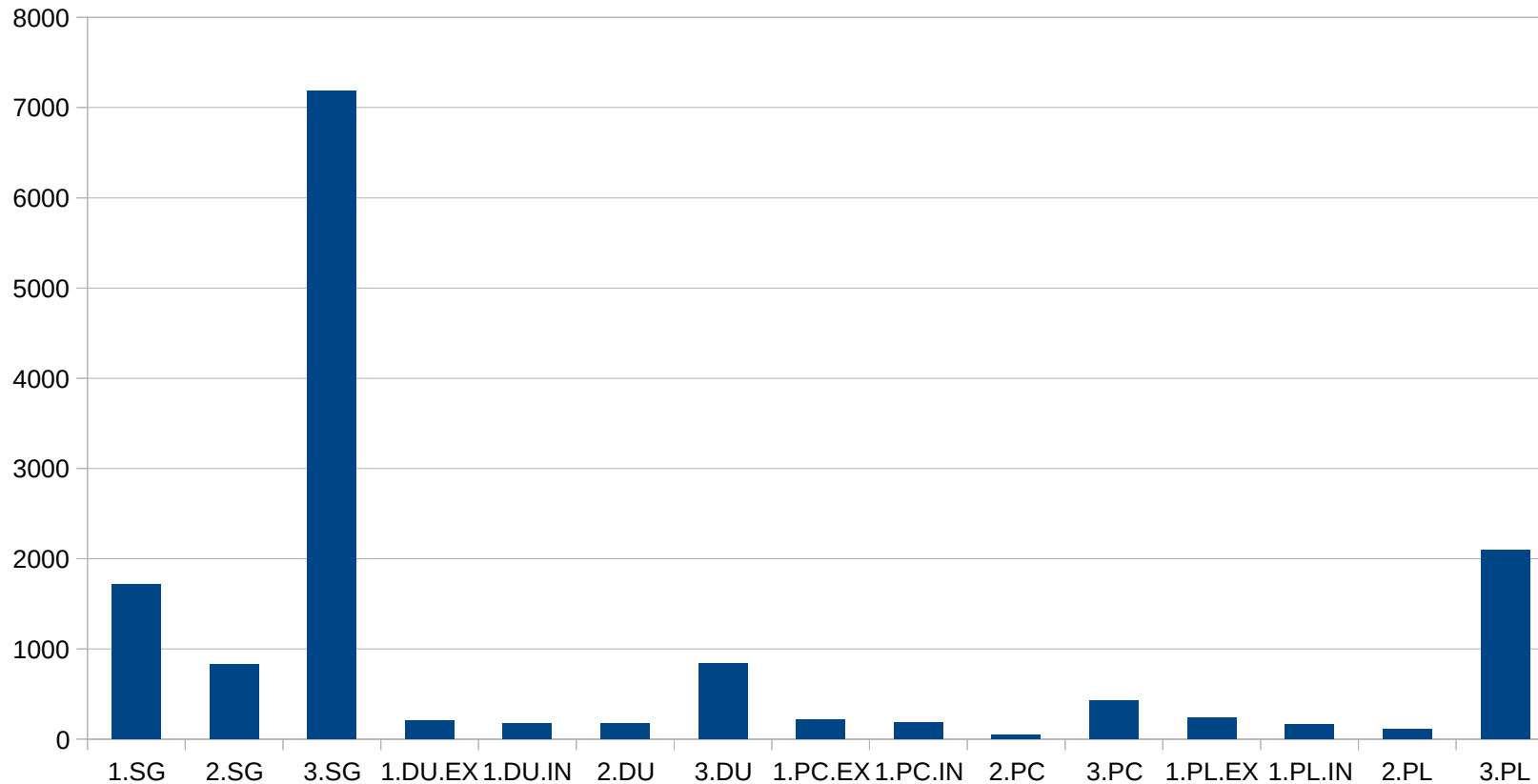
## ◆ Example for number feature of verbs:

- (1) **soo mwi idi soo**      **soo mwi idi woro-ló**      **soo mwi sógó woro-syee**  
one 3SG.RE take.NP one      oneRE take.NP two      oneRE take.NS three  
Cb.Aes.014      Ch.Aes.024      Ch.Aes.026  
‘one (child) took one (fruit)’      ‘one took two’      ‘one took three’

# Overall occurrences



Total occurrence of person/number forms in spoken corpus of Daakie



◆ High number of 3.SG to be expected in a corpus of mostly narratives

◆ Also reflects use of 3.SG in event-related serial verb constructions:

(1) na-m longane mu wuo

1SG-RE feel

3SG.RE good

EJosis.048

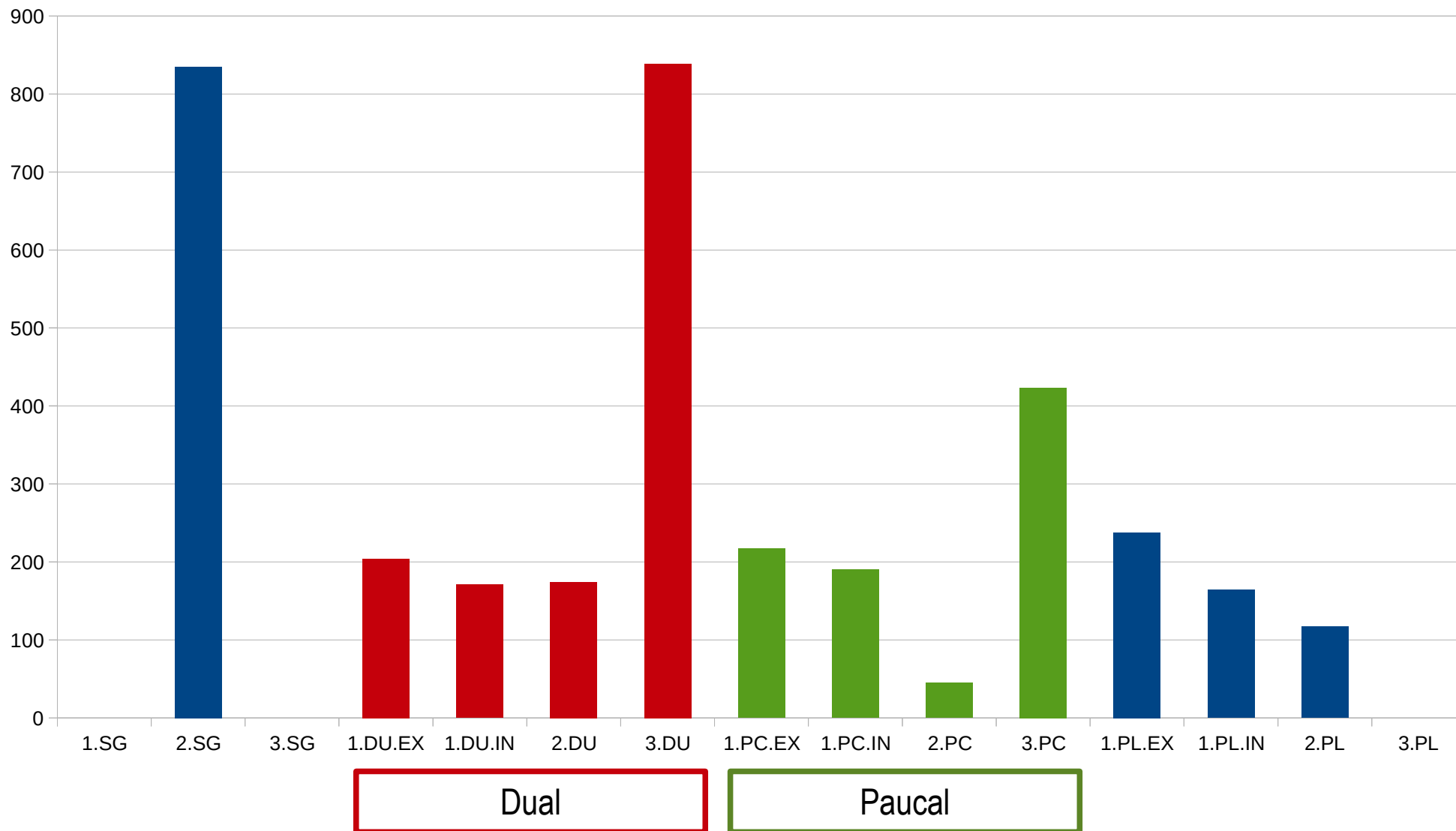
'I felt good'



# Overall occurrences, less frequent cases



Total occurrences of person/number forms, 1SG, 3SG, 3PL removed



# Elicited agreement: animates



- (1) **timaleh soo mwe pwet pán em**  
child one 3SG.RE stay under house  
'A / one child is/was in the house'
- (2) **timaleh woro-ló kolo-m pwet/du pán em**  
child number-two 3DU-RE stay under house  
'Two children were in the house' Dual is strictly used when referring to two animates
- (3) **timaleh woro-syee kiye-m du pán em**  
child number-three 3PC-RE stay under house  
'Three children were in the house' Paucal is strictly used when referring to 3 or 4 animates
- (4) **timaleh woro-viet kiye-m du pán em**  
child number-four 3PC-RE stay under house  
'Four children were in the house'
- (5) **timaleh weri-lim kiye-m / la-m du pán em**  
child number-five 3PC-RE / 3PL-RE stay under house  
'Five children were in the house' Paucal or plural is used when referring 5 or 6 animates
- (6) **timaleh molop-syeh la-m /?kiye-m du pán em**  
child number-six 3PL-RE 3PC-RE stay under house  
'Six children were in the house'
- (7) **timaleh songavi la-m du pán em**  
child ten 3PL-RE stay under house  
'Ten children were in the house' Plural is used when referring 10 animates

# Elicited patterns: SG agreement for inanimates



- (1) vyoh soo mwe pwet lon aróówóó  
coconut one 3SG.RE be in basket  
'A / one coconut is/was in the basket'
- (2) vyoh woro-ló %kolo-m / mwe pwet/du lon aróówóó  
coconut number-two 3DU-RE 3SG.RE be in basket  
'Two coconuts were in the basket'
- (3) vyoh woro-syee %kye-m / mwe du lon aróówóó  
coconut number-three 3PC-RE §SG.RE be in basket  
'Three coconuts were in the basket'
- (4) vyoh woro-viet %kye-m / mwe du lon aróówóó  
coconut number-four 3PC-RE 3SG.RE be in basket  
'Four coconuts were in the basket'
- (5) vyoh weri-lim %kye-m / la-m / mwe du lon aróówóó  
coconut number-five 3PC-RE 3PL-RE 3SG.RE be in basket  
'Five coconuts were in the basket'
- (6) vyoh molop-syeh %la-m / ?kye-m / mwe du lon aróówóó  
coconut number-six 3PL-RE 3PC-RE 3SG.RE be in basket  
'Six coconuts were in the basket'
- (7) vyoh songavi %la-m / mwe du lon aróówóó  
coconut ten 3PL-RE 3SG.RE be in basket  
'Ten coconuts were in the basket'

Some speakers, possibly older ones, only singular agreement with inanimates

Other speakers allow for dual, paucal and plural for inanimate subjects.

# Blocking effects



## Dual blocks plural agreement

- ◆ No evidence of reference to 2 entities with paucal or plural with pronominal reference
- ◆ no blocking with nominal reference

(1) a ye-n ngyee / (koloo) tere wese ka ne lóko  
but leg-3SG PL DU RE.NEG able C.IR 3SG.DNEG walk Apia.009  
'His legs could not walk', ngyee: given, koloo: elicited as being better

(2) kevene wobuong kolo-m kahe nare-loo ngyee / koloo mo-nok  
every day DU-RE wash child-3DU PL / DU RE-finish Apia.017  
'every day the two washed their children' (contextually: two children)

## Paucal does not block plural

- ◆ Evidence for change paucal / plural in texts

(1) kiye-m téé-van lehe timalehsoo (...) la-m seseat-góló timalehkiye  
3PC-RE look-go find child IDEF 3PL-RE adorn-surround child DEM.3SG  
'They looked for and found a child (...) They adorned that child all over' Andri1.036, 038

# Uses of 3rd person plural



- ◆ Plural subjects used for impersonal reference

(1) Siti ke tobo ne ot Jemani lam kie Berlin

city C.RE big TR place Germany 3PL-RE say Berlin

Abel3.398

'the big city in Germany they call Berlin', 'the big city is called Berlin'

- ◆ No nominal plural marking with non-referential uses

(1) ko-m van Lalinda vanten la-m dyanga

2SG-REgo Lalinda man 3PL-RE lack

Jack1.047

'You went to Lalinda, there were no people there'

# Social meanings of person / number



Well-known effects in other languages:

- ◆ Plural of 2nd person for honorification, e.g. French, older German

(1) **Avez- vous une cigarette?**

have.PRES-2PL 2PL IDEF cigarette

'Do you have a cigarette?'

(2) **Hab-t Ihr gut geruht, Vater?**

AUX-2PL 2PL good rested father

'Did you sleep well, Father?'

- ◆ Plural of 1st person for self-honorification (pluralis maiestatis)

(1) **We, the queen of England...**

- ◆ 3rd person for social distance, e.g. modern German, older German

(1) **Haben Sie eine Zigarette?**

have.PL 3PL a cigarette

'Do you have a cigarette?'

(2) **Er putze meine Stiefel!**

3SG clean.KONJ1.3SG my boots

'Clean my boots!'



# Social meaning of person



## ◆ Affiliative use of inclusive:

(1) Nurse: How are we doing this morning?

## ◆ Honorific uses of inclusive

- Cysouw, Michael. 2005. A typology of honorific uses of clusivity.
- Negative politeness (Brown & Levinson 1987), reducing face threat by including the addressee

(1) pipi na-na-hike Geldan (West Papuan; Shelden 1991:166)  
money 2PL-INC.OBJ-give

**'Please give me (lit. us) some money.'**

- Cf. also Hafford 2014, Wuvulu, Admiralty Islands.

## ◆ Self-humbling uses of inclusive, cf. Cysouw 2005

- Toba-Batak
- Languages of Sulawesi

## ◆ No clear evidence for such cases in the Daakie corpus

# A social use of dual



- ◆ Funeral speech, addressing one person,  
*motlo*: father-in-law, from male perspective

(1) **motlo**      **Wili Santo ka-p**      **mee kidyep**      **tene s-amoo**      **tuutuu**      **mane kamoo**  
father.in.law W.S.      2DU-POT come 1PC.EX-POT pay CL1.POSS-2DU grandparent with 2.DU  
**'Father-in-law Wili Santo, you come and we pay out your grandfather to you'**  
**(i.e. we pay you a nominal fee for visiting the 5th-day-ceremony after death)**

# Honorific use of dual



# Honorific use of dual



## ◆ Honorific 3rd person address

(1) yaapuo soo mu du mwi pyen

man IDEF 3SG.RE PROG 3SG.RE shoot

'A man was shooting

mwi idi vihyee mwe pwet mwi pyen masóló

3SG.RE take bow-and-arrow 3SG.RE PROG 3SG shoot fish

'He took bow and arrow and was shooting for fish'

mwe pwet mwi pyen van, beropne wooLap

3SG.RE PROG 3SG.RE shoot CONTINUE close.TR creek Lap

'He went on shooting, close to the creek at Lap'

okege Maika koloo kolo-m du weren

LOC Maika 3DU 3DU-RE stay LOC

'at the place where Maika lives'

IB2.005-007

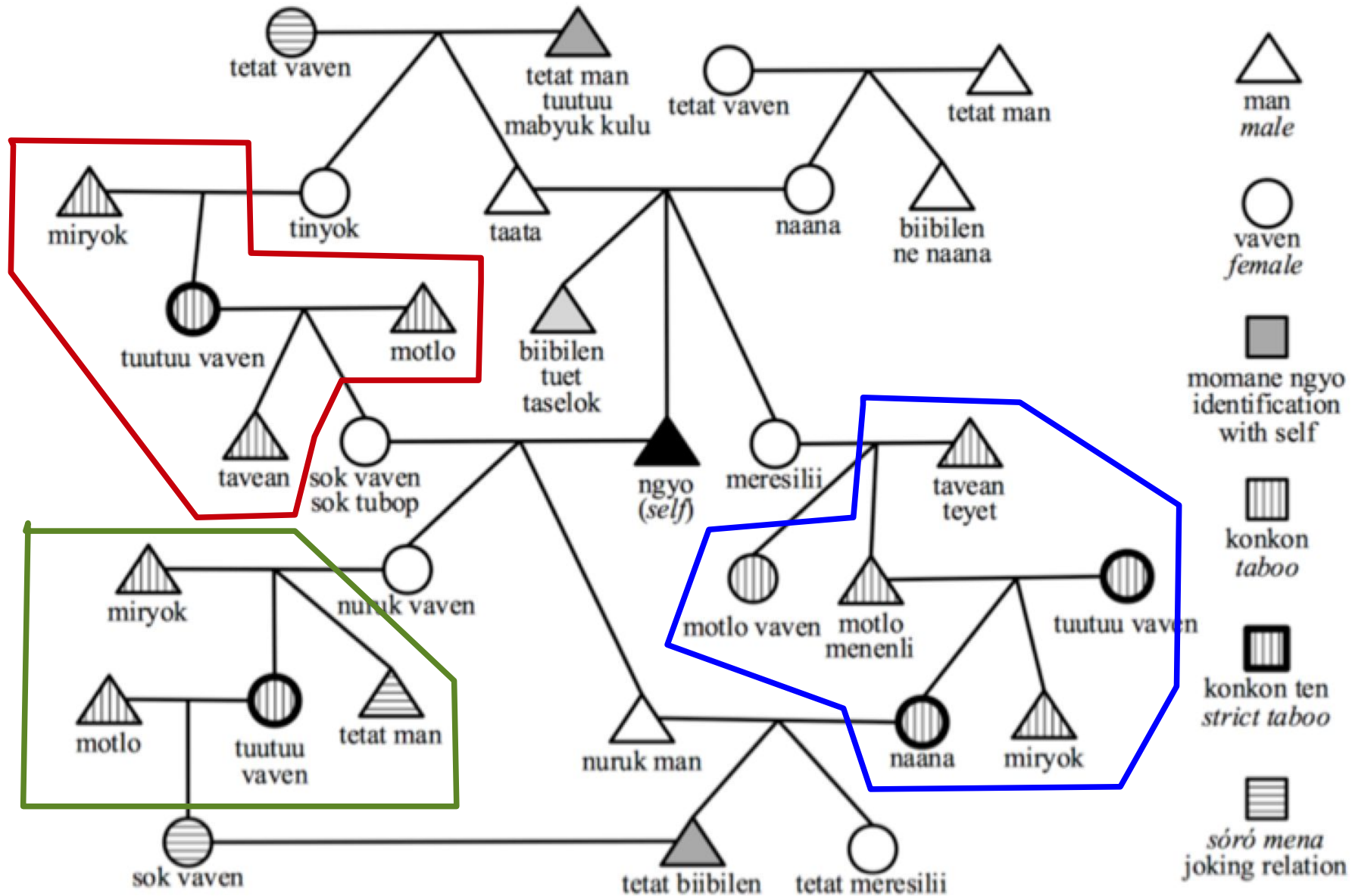
Maika is a single person that the speaker should honor.

## ◆ But who deserves to be addressed by the dual?

# Honorific use of dual



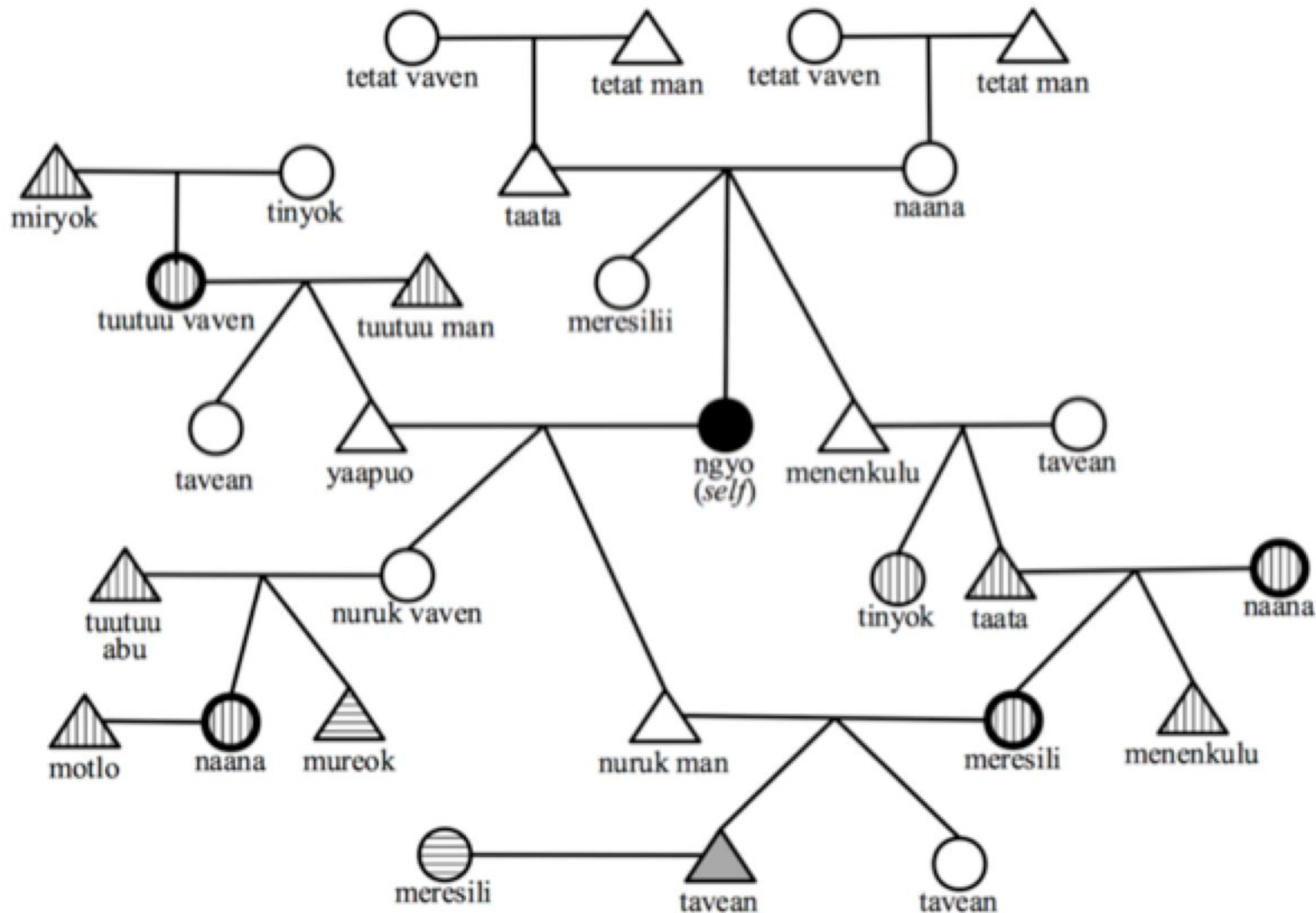
Kinship system, with taboo relationships, male perspective



# Honorific use of dual



Kinship system, with taboo relationships, female perspective





# Use of dual with plural reference



- ◆ A group (otherwise referred to by paucal) addressed by dual in direct speech the group presumably contained honored kin, as verified with speaker

(1) Tomo mwe kie ka, E-e, saka ka-n deng bwe  
Tomo RE say C.NR no C.NEG 2DU-DNEG cry first JPaul 060  
'Tomo said, No, you should not cry now'

(2) Mwe kie ka, A-ka-p téétéé wobuong a-be songavi  
RE say C.NR FUT-2DU-POT lookout day FUT-POT ten JPaul 071  
'You should (wait and) look for ten days'

- ◆ Funeral speech, reference to a group containing several respect persons

- use of 2nd Dual agreement marker with 2nd Paucal pronoun, 2nd Paucal (!) possessive

(1) s-ememdyee sipa-en me venok saane kamdyee  
CL1.POSS-1PC.EX thank-NOM 3SG.RE go to 2PC  
'our thanks go towards you'

byen ke ka-m mee ka-m ling-gongon-e s-amdyee tuutuu  
for C.RE 3DU-RE come 3DU-RE put-good.REDUP-TR CL1.POSS-2PC grandfather 5Days.004-5  
'because you came you put to rest your grandfather'

- ◆ Funeral speech, reference to own group that includes respect persons

(1) komoo sen mu muet lon taem ke da-m gone sakbiilen ...  
1DU.EX other 3SG.RE die in time C.RE 1PL.INC make meeting 5Days.062  
'one of us died at the tiem when we made a meeting'

# Use of dual with plural reference



- ◆ Narrative,  
a delegation of a village gives a young boy  
as a sacrifice to a neighbouring village

(1) timaleh ke-lé kidye-m idimee ka ka-p ta-bini  
child DEM-PROX 3PC-RE take-come C.NRE 3SG-POT hack-dead  
'This child, we brought so that you can hack him to death'

# Other cases of honorific dual in Oceanic lg.



- ◆ Daakaka (Ambrym)
  - von Prince, Kilu. 2015. A grammar of Daakaka. Mouton Grammar Library 67. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- ◆ Mwotlap (Vanua Lava, Vanuatu)
  - François, Alexandre. 2005. A typological overview of Mwotlap, an Oceanic language of Vanuatu. *Linguistic Typology* 9: 115-146.
- ◆ Tuvaluan (Tuvalu, Polynesian)
  - Besnier, Niko. 2000. Tuvaluan. London: Routledge.
- ◆ Wuvulu-Aula (Admiralty Islands)
  - Hafford, James A. 2014. Wuvulu grammar and vocabulary. Doctoral dissertation. University of Hawai'i at Manoa.
- ◆ Sursurunga (Meso-Melanesia)
  - Hutchisson, D. 1986. Sursurunga pronoun and the special uses of quadral number. In: Wiesemann, U, (ed), *Pronominal systems*. Tübingen: Narr, 217-255.

# Honorific dual in Munda languages



## ◆ Kharia

- Petersen, John. 2014. Figuratively speaking — Number in Kharia. In: Storch, Anne & Gerrit J. Dimmendaal, (eds), *Number - Constructions and semantics. Case studies from Africa, Amazonia, India and Oceania*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 77-110.

## ◆ Santali

- Choksi, Nishaant. 2010. Dual as honorific in Santali. *All India Conference of Linguistics*. 32.

# Why honorific dual?



- ◆ Hafford 2014:
  - „The second person dual reference expresses the idea that the listener is equal to two people“
- ◆ Underlying idea:
  - more is bigger
  - bigger is more important, has more power
  - importance and power is good
  - addressing the positive face of the referent
- ◆ Why not plural?
  - dual as the minimal extension of singular that still can be seen as a unit
  - in narratives, very frequently two characters act in a coherent way as a unit
  - plural (and also paucal) would indicate multiplicity, unlike dual
  - recall also verbs that select for one/two vs. more than two instances
- ◆ Recall that dual form for in-laws can also be used for groups of in-laws and for groups containing in-laws
  - semantic feature for marking in-law-relation to the speaker has a higher expressive need than semantic feature for marking plurality
  - Cf. higher expressive need for honorifics in French *vous*, German *Sie*

# Affiliative use of paucal



- ◆ Use of paucal in the Children's bible of Daakie
  - Jesus and the twelve apostles



Jisas mane san vanten **kiyee**, **kiyem** loko kiyem van.  
San vanten **kiyee**, **kiyem** lene sowe ke Jisas mo gone.  
**Kiyem** ongane daa kevene ke Jisas mwe kie,  
byen ka **kiyee** mon a **kiyep** kie mane vanten **ngyee**.

Jesus and **his people** went on walking.  
**His people** saw what Jesus did. **They**  
heard everything that Jesus said, as  
**they** too should tell so to the **people**.

# Affiliative use of paucal



- ◆ Funeral speech, >100 persons present, speaker on behalf of his family; use of 1PC.EX, 2PC

(1) **kidye-m kye kamdyee byen doma**

1PC.EX-RE call 2PC for today

'We called you for today

**a bu dumuo kidye-m longbini kidye-p kie sipa-en**

and POT first 1PC.EX.RE want 1PC.EX-POT say thank-NOM 5Days.001-2

'but at first we want to express our thanks'

- ◆ Wedding speech by father of bridegroom, use of 3PC to refer to a larger group

(1) **tavian kiye Tasa kiye-m mee**

in-law 3PC Tasa 3PC-RE come

'Our (extended) family from Tasa has come

Jemae.032

# Affiliative use of paucal



- ◆ Historic narrative of a war between Lonbelaa (village of the speaker) and Lalinda (enemy village) that happened before the first missionary arrived (1904).

(1) **kiyee Lonbelaa kiye-m van du lon sayee emee**

3P'C Lonbelaa 3PC-RE go stay in POSS-3PC meeting.house

'The people from Lonbelaa met in their meeting house'

**kiye-m kie ka adye-p mas seseatgóló timaleh desoo ke me mesaa**

3PC-RE say C.NRE 3PC-POT must adorn child IDEF.NRE C.RE 3SG.RE nice

'they said that they had to adorn a child that was good-looking'

In the narrative, the people of Lonbelaa are typically referenced by paucal, the people of Lalinda by plural



# Affiliative use of paucal



- ◆ How can paucal obtain this affiliative or bonding use?
  - Semantically, paucal refers to a small group
  - Smallness can indicate familiarity, cf. emotional uses of diminutives
  - In this way, paucal can come to signal familiarity with the referent
- ◆ Are there other instances of affiliative use of paucal
  - With great likelihood, yes.
  - But I am not aware of other reported cases – tell me please!

# Sipa ten mane kiyee!

