

Negation in Nafsan (South Efate)

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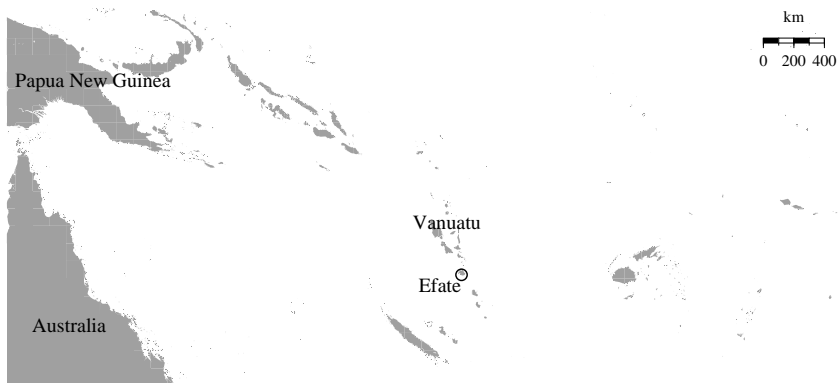
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 - syntactic restrictions
 - imitative-like functions

Nafsan: location I



Nafsan: location II



Methodology

- grammar of Nafsan (Thieberger, 2006)
- corpus of Nafsan archived in PARADISEC (Thieberger 1995-2018)

My fieldwork in 2017/18 (Krajinović, 2017):

- Perfect and Future questionnaire (Dahl, 2000)
- storyboards developed in the MelaTAMP project by Kilu von Prince, myself, and Totem Field Storyboards
- Iamitive and nondum questionnaire by Ljuba Veselinova, Olsson (2013)
- Negation questionnaire by Matti Miestamo

Preverbal complex in Nafsan

Table 1: The verbal complex in Nafsan adapted from Thieberger (2006:243)

SBJ.AGR	TMA	NEG1	AUX	BEN	V	NEG2
REAL <i>a=, ku=, i=,...</i>	<i>po</i> PSP.REAL <i>f/fla</i> COND	<i>ta(p)</i>	<i>to</i> PROG	<i>ga</i> 3SG		<i>mau</i>
IRR <i>ka=, p̄a=, ke=,...</i>	<i>fo</i> PSP.IRR					
PRF.AGR <i>kai=, kui=, ki=,...</i>	<i>pe</i> PRF					

Negation in Nafsan

- standard negation with the discontinuous marker *ta...mau*
- no dedicated negative quantifiers and indefinites

(1) *Naat i=ta mai mau.*
 person 3SG.REAL=NEG1 come NEG2
 No one arrived.

- negative verbs
- negative TMA marker *kano* 'cannot'
- duality effects with perfect

Negative verbs

Table 2: Positive and negative counterparts with frequencies

Verb	Meaning	Corpus occurrences
<i>piatlak</i>	have	233
NEG1 <i>piatlak</i> NEG2	NEG have	4
<i>tik</i>	not_have	118
<i>tae</i>	know/can	281
NEG1 <i>tae</i> NEG2	NEG know/can	31
<i>mak</i>	not_know	2
<i>suḗneki</i>	not_know	11
<i>kano</i>	cannot	144

Kano 'cannot' and *tae* 'can'

- (2) *i=tae* *sef* *pelpel* *me* *katom* *i=kano*
 3SG.REAL=know escape quickly and H.crab 3SG.REAL=unable
 He can run away quickly, but the hermit crab can't. (036.007)
- (3) *ta=tae* *kus* *eñrom* *kes* *nen* *to*
 1DU.INCL.REAL=can hide inside box DET stay
 We can hide in that box (AK1-147-12, 00:01:45.746-00:01:49.520)
- (4) *ta=kano* *kus* *eñrom* *kes*, *i=sespal* *toop*
 1DU.INCL.REAL=cannot hide inside box 3SG.REAL=small big
 We can't hide in the box, it's too small. (AK1-147-12, 00:02:02.493 -
 00:02:08.771)

Semantic asymmetry: *kano* vs. *tae*

Past counterfactuals

- (5) *ka=f* *mer pei* *fi* “*bol*” *nanom*, *ka=fo* *lom*
 1SG.IRR=COND CF first kick ball:BI yesterday 1SG.IRR=PSP.IRR wet
usrek.”

completely

If I had played football yesterday I would have gotten wet.

(AK1-004-01, 00:01:57.691-00:02:13.145)

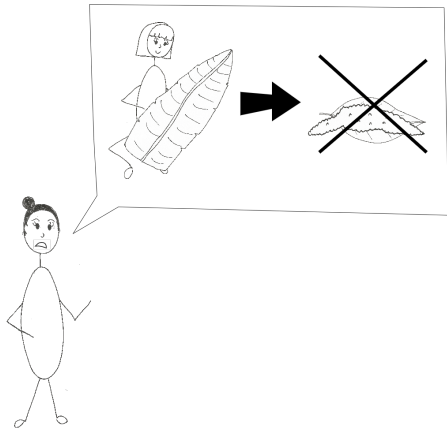
- (6) *Ku=f* *mer pei ta* *tai nkas ne mau ka=fo* *kano*
 2SG=COND CF first NEG1 cut wood that NEG2 1SG.IRR=PSP.IRR cannot
mel pak nauñ ale *ka=fo* *kano lom.*

fall to river then:BI 1SG.IRR=PSP.IRR cannot wet

If you hadn't chopped that wood, I wouldn't have fallen in the water,
 and I wouldn't have gotten wet. (AK1-035-01,

00:02:41.616-00:02:50.190)

- (7) *Meri, p̄a=f mer sat nrau p̄ur, ntal ke=fo*
 Mary 2SG.IRR=COND CF take leaf big taro 3SG.IRR=PSP.IRR
kano malig pak ektem.
 cannot spilled to outside
 Mary, if you had taken a big leaf, the taro would not have spilled over. (AK1-151-02, 00:06:45.178 - 00:06:54.035)



Semantic asymmetry: *kano* vs. *tae*

Present counterfactuals

- (8) *Ag ku=f-mer to talĩmat ka=fo lek-a-k.*
 2SG 2SG=COND-CF stay garden 1SG.IRR=PSP.IRR look-TS-2SG
 If you were in the garden, I would be looking at you. (AK1-147-01)
- (9) *i=f-wel ku=to talĩmat malfane, ka=fo kano*
 3SG=COND-like 2SG=stay garden now 1SG.IRR=PSP.IRR cannot
skei to talĩmat to malfane.
 alone stay garden stay now
 If you were in the garden right now, I wouldn't be alone in garden.
 (AK1-146-08, 00:00:09.076 - 00:00:18.320)

Conditionals: *kano* vs. *tae*

Table 3: Negation of the apodosis

Conditional type	Total	<i>Kano</i>	<i>Ta(p)...mau</i>	Negative verb
Past counterfactual	18	14	0	4
Present counterfactual	6	4	2	0
Future counterfactual	4	0	4	0
Possible future	3	0	3	0

Perfect in Nafsan

Perfect

Already

Resultative Change of state/ Earliness implication

Experiential inchoative state Duality

Universal

'Hot news'

Adverb restrictions

Anteriority

Based on: Vander Klok and Matthewson (2015) on functions of 'already', Krifka (2000) on earliness implication, Löbner (1989) on duality, Matthewson et al. (2015) on inchoativity, Koontz-Garboden (2007) on change of state, and Comrie (1976); Klein (1994); Iatridou et al. (2003) among others on perfect

Iamitives and nondums

- Olsson (2013): iamitives as: resultative perfect + 'already' (earliness implication)
- Veselinova (2017): *nondum* 'not yet' markers (usually related to iamitives)
- both iamitives (or iamitive-like perfects) and *nondums* are found in Oceanic languages

Iamitive and *nondum* questionnaire

(Q7) (Imagine some fruit that is common in your area) You can eat this one.
It BE RIPE.

(10) *ku=tae paam tene, ki=pe mam.*
2SG.REAL=can eat that 3SG.PRF=PRF ripe (AK1-156)

(Q45) (Imagine some fruit that is common in your area). You can't eat this one. It NOT RIPE.

(11) *(*ki=pe) i=ta ta mam mau.*
(*3SG.PRF=PRF) 3SG.REAL=still NEG1 ripe NEG2 (AK1-156)

Is Nafsan perfect a iamitive?

Nafsan perfect is a perfect whose iamitive-like functions arise pragmatically.

NOT iamitive-like:

(Q34) How strange, my uncle COME. (He wasn't invited/I thought he wouldn't come.)

- (12) *Kau, ga ki=pe mai!*
 Oh 3SG 3SG.PRF=PRF come
 Oh, he came! (AK1-156)

Is Nafsan perfect a iamitive?

Perfect in Nafsan has a reading of being in posttime of the situation (event) time (Klein, 1994).

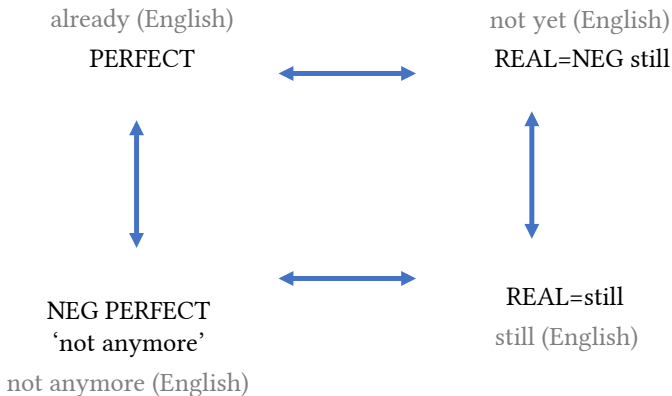
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{--pretime--} \text{-----} \text{TSit} \text{-----} \text{[TT=posttime]} \text{--} \\ \text{--}\neg\text{P--} \text{--} \text{[change-of-state]} \text{[P]} \text{--} \end{array}$$

'Not yet' in Nafsan

Nafsan does not have a dedicated *nondum* marker: it uses the construction REAL=STILL NEG, but not perfect!

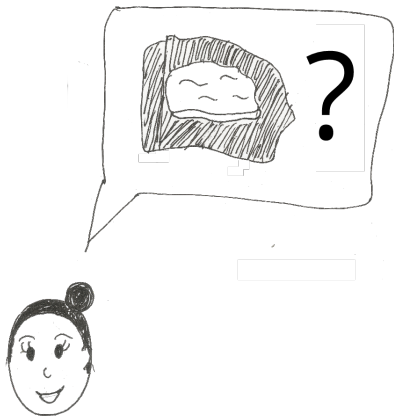
- (13) *Ale ki=pe ptu-ki nuan me tomat i=ta tap*
 then 3SG.PRF=PRF give-TR fruit but tomato 3SG.REAL=still NEG1
ptu-ki nuan mau.
 give-TR fruit NEG2
 It [pumpkin] gave fruit, but tomato hasn't given fruit yet.
 (20170807-AK-038, 00:01:28.459 - 00:01:39.486)

Negation: Duality



Note: Based on Krifka (2000)

'Not yet' in "Making laplap"



Have you tried laplap before?



No, I haven't tried it yet.

'Not yet' in "Making laplap"

- (14) *Ag kui=pe paam kapu?*
 2SG 2SG.PRF=PRF eat laplap
 Have you eaten laplap before? (AK1-151-02, 00:01:18.633 - 00:01:20.950)
- (15) *a=ta ta paam-i mau.*
 1SG.REAL=still NEG1 eat-3SG.OBJ NEG2
 I haven't eaten laplap yet. (AK1-151-02, 00:01:43.670 - 00:01:46.866)

Syntactic incompatibility with *ta* 'still'

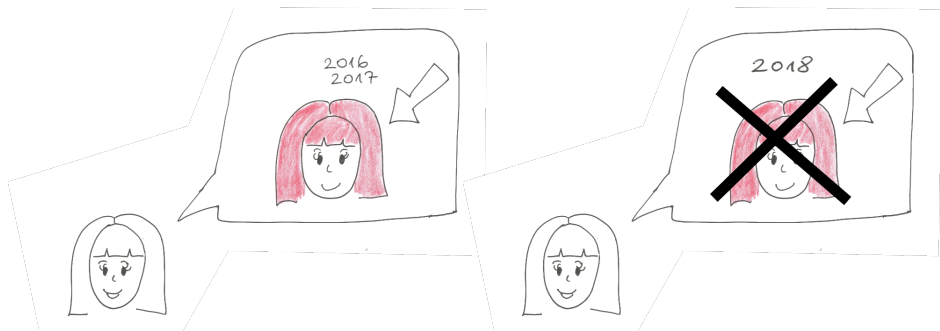
The perfect *pe* occupies the same slot as *ta* (Thieberger, 2006)

- no attested combinations of TMA markers and *ta* 'still'

Table 4: Slots in verbal complex in Nafsan, based on Thieberger (2006:243)

SBJ.AGR	TMA	NEG1	AUX	BEN	Verb=OBJ	NEG2
PRF.AGR/REAL	<i>pe</i> (PRF)	<i>ta(p)</i>	<i>to</i> (PROG)	<i>ga</i> (3SG)		<i>mau</i>
REAL/IRR	<i>po/fo</i> (PSP)					
REAL/IRR	<i>f</i> (COND)					
REAL/IRR	<i>fla</i> (POT)					
REAL/IRR	<i>ta</i> ('still')					

'Not anymore' in "Haircuts"



My hair was red for two years.

But it's not red anymore.

'Not anymore' in "Haircuts"

- (16) *totur ntau i=nru nalu-k ga i=miel me malfane*
 during year 3SG.REAL=two hair-1SG.DP 3SG 3SG.REAL=red but now
nalu-k ki=pe ta miel mau.
 hair-1SG.DP 3SG.PRF=PRF NEG1 red NEG2
 During these two years my hair was red, but it's not red anymore.
 (20180716-AK1-154-03, 00:03:36.645-00:03:52.483)

Negation with bounded predicates

- (17) *Malen f̃a=ler kai=pe ta mtir natus mau.*
 when 2SG.IRR=back 1SG.PRF=PRF NEG1 write letter NEG2
 When you come back I will not have written the letter. (by Lionel
 Emil, 19/06/2018)

'Not anymore': unbounded predicates

Positive perfect: $\neg P$ --[change-of-state][TT=P]--

- (18) *ki=pe mam.*
 3SG.PRF=PRF ripe
 It is ripe. (AK1-156)

Negation of perfect: P --[change-of-state][TT= $\neg P$]--

- (19) *Malen řa=ler kai=pe ta to mtir natus mau.*
 when 2SG.IRR=back 1SG.PRF=PRF NEG1 PROG write letter NEG2
 When you come back I will not be writing the letter anymore. (by
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 - as a result of interaction with other TMA meanings or processes
- asymmetries in interaction of negation and TMA can be subtle and easily missed in elicitation and description
- we should use targeted experimental materials such as storyboards (Krajinović 2017:AK1-166, von Prince 2017; TFS 2010)

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