Modality and Evidentiality in Lamaholot, with reference to Muna

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1. Word order restriction of auxiliaries in Lamaholot (east Flores, CMP)
2. Can morphological devices contribute to the expression of TAM?
    <u>Resumptive pronouns</u> illuminate the bi-clausal structure of evidential sentences ('seem') in Lamaholot. The bi-clausal structure is also manifested in Muna (off southeast Sulawesi, WMP) by <u>agreement</u>.

1. Word order of auxiliaries in Lamaholot

-vwan- 'can', *-oiro* 'know, can', *-vwa hala* 'cannot', *-vwa rehi-* 'cannot', *gehi'-* 'not want', *mvse* 'must', *bisa* 'can', *mesti* 'must' *hi'in* 'will, want', *-odi* 'will' (v = schwa, ' = a glottal stop.)

    Word Order Hierarchy
        A.   Subj (Aux) Predicate (Aux) SerialV/Adjunct (Aux)
        B.   Subj (Aux) Predicate (Aux)
             Subj (Aux) Predicate SerialV/Adjunct
        C.   Subj (Aux) Predicate (SerialV)

Type A
(1) a.   go **bisa** [biho wata]   'I can cook rice.'
          I   can   cook rice

    b.   go [biho wata] **bisa**

(2) a.   go **bisa** [lerin] [pe kota ka'i] 'I can walk to town.'
          I   can   walk   to town go

    b.   go [lerin] [pe kota ka'i] **bisa**
    c.   go [lerin] **bisa** [pe kota ka'i]

(3) a.   go **bisa** [nange pe tahi]   'I can swim in the sea.'
          I   can   swim in sea

    b.   go [nange pe tahi] **bisa**
    c.   ??go nange **bisa** pe tahi

Type B

(4) a.　　go **k-oiro**　　[biho　wata]　　　　'I know how to cook rice.'
　　　　　I　　1-sg-know　cook　rice

　　 b.　　go [biho wata] **k-oiro**[1]

(5) a.　　go **k-oiro**　　[lerin　pe kota]　ka'i　　'I know the walking way to the town.'
　　　　　I　　1sg-know　walk　to town　go

　　 b.　　*go [lerin pe kota] **k-oiro**
　　 c.　　*go lerin **k-oiro** pe kota

Type C

(6) a.　　go **mvse** [biho wata]　　　　　'I must cook rice.'
　　　　　*go [biho wata] **mvse**

　　 b.　　go **mvse** lerin pe kota ka'i　　　'I must walk to the town.'
　　 c.　　*go lerin pe kota ka'i **mvse**
　　 d.　　*go lerin **mvse** pe kota ka'i

(7) a.　　go **mvse** [nange pe tahi]　　　　'I must swim in the sea.'
　　 b.　　*go [nange pe tahi] **mvse**

(8)　　　kia　go　**k-odi**　　[gahin　svru]　'Later I will ask you to burn them.'
　　　　　later　I　1.sg-will　ask　　burn

(9)　　　go　**hi'in** [hope　labu　wu'un]　'I will/want to buy a new shirt.'
　　　　　I　　will　buy　shirt　new

When *hi'in* is negated, one word *gehi'* is used.[2] It is of Type B.

(10) a.　　go **gehi'-kvn**　[hope　labu　wu'un]　'I will not/don't want to buy a new shirt.'
　　　　　 I　　will.not-1sg　buy　shirt　new

　　 b.　　go **gehi'-kvn**　　bvlola　　　　'I don't want to be tall.'
　　　　　 I　　not.want-1sg　tall

　　 c.　　go bvlola **gehi'-kvn**

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[1] *-oiro* comes from *-oi* 'know' and the object clitic *ro*. But the clitic is now grammaticalized: *-oiro* is used in a sentence which seems to contain no object, or in a sentence where the object is expressed separately. *ro* is droppable and *-oi* can be used by itself.
[2] *gehi'* is a portmanteau and blocks *hi'in* plus ordinary negation: **hi'in hala'* is ungrammatical. Since *hi'in* also means 'angry', *hi'in hala'* would mean 'not angry.'

To negate a sentence with *bisa, hala'* is used. *bisa* and *hala'* jointly appear either before or after the predicate (i.e., of Type B):

(11) a. mo **bisa hala'** [biho wata]   'You can't cook rice.'
     b. mo [biho wata] **bisa hala'**

-oiro can replace *bisa* in (11). *bisa* and *hala'* can be replaced by *-vwa rehi'-* 'cannot':[3]

(12) a. mo **m-vwa rehi'-ko** [biho wata]   'You can't cook rice.'
         you 2sg-can not-2sg   cook rice

     b. mo [biho wata] **m-vwa rehi'-ko**

Complications with *-vwa rehi'-* 'cannot'

-vwa rehi'- seems to consist of two words 'can' and 'not'. Thus, *rehi'-* can be replaced by *hala'* 'not':

(13) a. na nange **n-vwa**   **hala'**   'He cannot swim.'
         he swim   3sg-can   not

     b. ?na **n-vwa hala'** nange

But *-vwa* cannot be used independently:

(14) a. *na **n-vwa** nange   'He can swim.'
     b. *na nange **n-vwa**

Moreover, *rehi'-* must be used with *-vwa* and thus cannot be used with *bisa*:

(15)   mo **bisa** hala'/*rehi' biho wata   'You can't cook rice.'
         you can   not   cook rice

Only in a limited case, nasalized *-vwan-* can be used to mean 'can':[4]

(16) a. go lerin **k-vwan-kvn** k-a'ik-vn   pe kota   'I can walk to the town.'
         I   walk   1sg-can-1sg   1sg-go-1sg   to town

     b. ?go **k-vwan-kvn** lerin k-a'i-kvn pe kota

It is not clear whether the possibility of using *-vwan-* as an independent word is related to verb serialization. The negation of *-vwan-* is as follows.

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[3] For some speakers, *-vwa rehi'-* is limited to the inability to carry something (on one's shoulder) and such sperkers prefer *-oi(ro) hala'* for the ianbility of general actions.
[4] The suffix *-kvn* is dropped or replaced by *-ro* for some speakers.

(17) a. ra   lerin **r-vwan-ka**   hala' r-a'i-ka   pe kota 'They cannot walk to the town.'

they walk 3pl-can-3pl not   3pl-go-3pl to town

   b. *ra **r-vwan-ka hala'** lerin r-a'i-ka pe kota
   c. ra **r-vwa rehi'-ka** lerin r-a'i-ka pe kota

When *-vwan-* is negated by *hala'*, they must follow the first verb. But with *-vwa rehi-,* they appear before the first verb, as in (17c). When *bisa* is used, the order is:

(18)   ra **bisa hala'** lerin r-a'i-ka pe kota

2. Evidentiality in Lamaholot and Muna

Lamaholot uses *tvngv hama* 'see same' to express circumstantial evidentiality:

(19)   Bala pe'en **tvngv-na   hama**   gvmbira   'Bala seems to be happy.'
        B.   that   see-3sg   same   happy

The suffix on the verb is optional. Although *tvngv* originally means 'see', its meaning in this construction is bleached, for the subject can be inanimate.

(20) a. dos pe'en **tvngv-na   hama** ba'a   'The box seems to be heavy.'
      box the   see-3sg   same   heavy

   b. **tvngv-na hama** dos pe'en ba'a
   c. dos pe'en **tvngv-na hama** <u>na</u> ba'a

Na is a third person singular pronoun, but it usually cannot be used for inanimates. Therefor, its existence in (20c) indicates that it is a resumptive pronoun. (*-na* on *tvngv* is an agreement marker.)

(21)   displacement

(subject) seem [(subject) predicate]

resumptive pronoun as *na*

Muna (van den Berg (1989: 236[240]f))

There are three types of modal expressions (in a broad sense) in terms of whether it agrees with the subject or not: (i) obligatory agreement, (ii) optional agreement, (iii) no agreement.

(i) obligatory agreement

(22) a. **do**-wolo   **do**-ere   'They have all left.'
          3pR-finish   3pR-leave

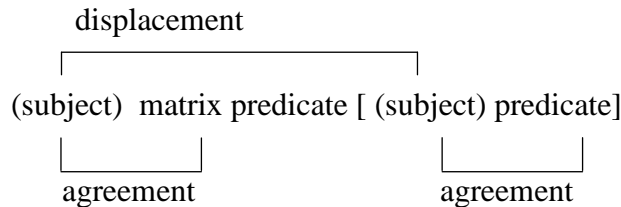   b. **a**-ghindulu **a**-fumaa   'I eat first.'
          1sR-first   1sR-eat

(ii) optional agreement

(23) a. **ao**-nea   **a**-leni   'I usually swim.'
          1sR-usual   1sR-swim

      b. **no**-nea   **a**-leni   'I usually swim.'
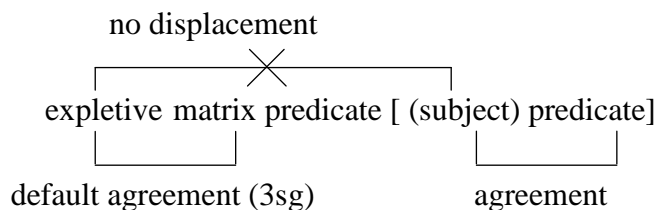   3sR-usual   1sR-swim

(iii) no agreement

(24) a. **ne**-taa-mo   **a**-s[um]uli-mo   'I had better go home.'
         3sR-good-PF 1sI-return-PF

     b. **no**-hali   **do**-pesua   we kamali   'It is hard to enter the palace.'
         3sR-hard 3pR-enter loc palace

(25)   Double agreement

              displacement
          ┌─────────────────────┐
          │   │
       (subject) matrix predicate [(subject) predicate]
          └──────────┘   └──────────┘
          agreement   agreement

(26)   Single agreement

              no displacement
          ┌──────────×──────────┐
          │   │
       expletive matrix predicate [(subject) predicate]
          └──────────┘   └──────────┘
       default agreement (3sg)   agreement

In type (i), the main predicate also agrees with the subject, resulting in multiple agreement. This is because the subject is active in both embedded position and the matrix position, inducing agreement twice. In type (iii), in contrast, the subject is stuck in the embedded position, and thus it can only agree with the predicate. (ii) is a hybrid of (i) and (iii).

(27) The semantics of each type

(i) are aspectual like 'begin', 'go first', 'stop', 'finish'. (control)

(iii) are insensitive to animacy: 'happen to', 'good', 'hard', 'rare'. (raising)

(ii) seems various: 'usually', 'tired', 'fast', 'finish', 'ready', 'can', may', 'serious', 'more'.

Appendix: Negation

The basic word for negation is *hala'*, and it usually follows the predicate.

(28) a. na   guru   **hala'**   'He is not a teacher.'
         he   teacher not

b. go   bvrin   na   **hala'**   'I don't hit him.'
    I   hit   him   not

c. nolo pe tite   pi'in tvkan   wata t-enun   wai' **hala'**
    past that 1pl.in this 1.pl.in.eat rice 1pl.in-drink water not
    'In the past time we didn't eat rice and drink water.'

To negate only a part of the sentence, *hala'* can come immediately after the intended negated part.

(29) a. go **hala'** bvrin na   'It's not me who hit him.'
         I   not   hit   him

b. go bvrin **hala'** na   'I didn't *hit* him. (I just touched him.)'

c. go bvrin na   pe lango-nvn **hala'**   'I hit him, but not in his house.'
    I   hit   him in house-his   not

d. go tvngv   Bala,   Lado **hala'**   'I saw Bala, not Lado.'
    I   see   B.   L.   not

When a serial verb sentence is negated, *hala'* comes after the first verb.

(30)   go lerin **hala'** k-a'i-kvn   pe kota   'I didn't walk to the town.'
         I   walk   not   1sg-go-1sg   to town

If *hala'* comes at the end, the above sentence would mean 'I walked to somewhere, but not to the town.'

Another word for negation is *take'*. It is not used to negate (a part of) a sentence but functions more independently, as in '… or not' and 'No!'

(31) a.   na   hope a to'u   le   **take'/hala'**   'Did he buy anything or not?'
           he   buy something or   not

    b.   go k-o'i   **hala'** na bu'a-na le **take'/hala'** 'I don't know whether he ate or not.'
         I   1sg-know not   he ate-3sg or not

As shown above, *take'* is often interchangeable with *hala'*. But when a verb is negated, as the first *hala'* in (31b), *take'* cannot be used.

References

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