

Empirical methods for describing aspect: a case study of perfect in Nafsan

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Introduction

- it is often hard to distinguish different aspectual categories and label them accordingly in a given language
- I focus on proposals for **identifying perfect, iamitives and ‘already’** in Austronesian languages and on **empirical methods** used in distinguishing these categories
 - corpus work
 - fieldwork elicitation: questionnaires and storyboards

Perfect aspect (based on English)

- (1)
 - a. resultative (perfect of result)
 - b. experiential (existential)
 - c. universal (perfect of persistent situation)
 - d. 'hot news' (perfect of recent past)
 - e. anteriority readings: past/future perfect

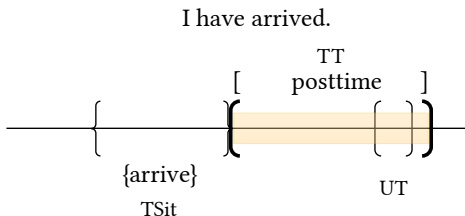


Figure 1: Representation of the present perfect (Klein, 1994)

Iamitives

- lack of experiential, universal, and anteriority functions
- presence of an additional change-of-state meaning and expectedness (Olsson, 2013)

(2) [Jakarta Indonesian]

Kamu tidak bisa memakan-nya. Itu sudah busuk.

2SG NEG can eat-3 it IAM rotten

‘You can’t eat this one. It is rotten.’ (Olsson, 2013:18)

(3) [Thai]

*chûay hǎa kràpǎoŋən nòy? raw tham kràpǎoŋən hǎay (*lǎew).*

help find wallet little 1SG make wallet disappear IAM

‘I (have) lost my wallet! Can you help me look for it?’ (Olsson,

2013:24)

Duality with negation

(4) [Indonesian]

Karena asap menara pengendali sudah tidak terlihat lagi.

because smoke tower controller IAM NEG be.seen again

‘Because of the smoke the control tower could **no longer** be seen.’

(Sneddon et al. 2010:210, glossing from Olsson 2013:36)

Iamitive functions

Table 1: Iamitive functions, based on Olsson (2013)

'Already'-like meanings	Perfect-like meanings	Other
change of state	resultative	telicity ambiguity
expectedness	?	imm. future
duality with negation		

‘Already’

Vander Klok and Matthewson (2015) argue that, in contrast to the perfect, ‘already’ can be identified through:

- change-of-state meaning
- presence of duality with negation
- co-occurrence with past temporal adverbs
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(5) *Mbok wes jam setengah wolu ndakan engko kari*
 grandmother already hour half eight to later left.behind
reng pasar.

at market

'Grandmother, it's **already** 7:30 a.m. so there won't be anything at the market soon.' (Vander Klok and Matthewson, 2015:187)

Nafsan: Previous work

- grammatical description by (Thieberger, 2006) and other published work
- corpus (Thieberger, 2018)



Figure 2: Location of Vanuatu and the island of Efate

Nafsan: Fieldwork

- storyboards (von Prince, 2017a; Krajinović, 2018b)
- questionnaires (Dahl, 2000; Olsson, 2013; Veselinova, 2018) and elicitation
- archived in PARADISEC (Krajinović, 2017)



Figure 3: Efate with locations where Nafsan is spoken

Structure of Nafsan

Table 2: Exemplified verbal complex in Nafsan

SBJ=	TMA	AUX	NEG1	BEN	V	PFV	NEG2
<i>rui=</i> (3PL.PRF)	<i>pe</i> (PRF)	<i>mer</i> ('again')	<i>ta(p)</i>	<i>ga</i> (3SG)		<i>su</i>	<i>mau</i>

Corpus work

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- meaning of change of state (iamitive/‘already’)

- (6) *Me “famle” neu rui=pe tar taos ag. Ga*
 but family:BI 1SG.POSS 3PL.PRF=PRF white like 2SG 3SG
i=mer ta slat nask-o-k mau, rui=pe
 3SG.REAL=in.turn NEG take skin-V-1SG.DP NEG2 3PL.PRF=PRF
tar~tar.
 white~RED
 ‘But my family became white like you. He didn’t get my skin, they are really white.’ (Thieberger, 2006:168)

Corpus work

- co-occurrence with temporal adverbs ('already'?)

(7) My brother SAY (yesterday) that the water BE COLD (the day before yesterday, but I think he was wrong) (Dahl, 1985:TMAQ113)

ʃal-u-k *i=tl-i-ø* *nanom* *na* *nai*
 brother-V-1SG.DP 3SG=say-TS-3SG.OBJ yesterday COMP water

ki=pe *mlanr nas*

3SG.PRF=PRF cold day.before.yesterday

'My brother said yesterday that the water was cold the day before yesterday.' (Thieberger, 2006)

Table 3: Occurrence of different functions of *pe* in the **corpus** (+ attested, ? unclear due to ambiguous context, perfect=blue, iimitive/perfect=purple, iimitive/*already*=red)

Method	Univ.	Exper.	Ant.	Result.	Adv.	CoS	Dual.	Expect.
Corpus	?	?	+	+	+	+	?	?

Questionnaires for perfect aspect

Table 4: Elicited questionnaires

Name of the questionnaire	Targeted categories	Source/reference
The perfect questionnaire	perfect	Dahl (2000:PQ)
The iamitive questionnaire	iamitive	Olsson (2013:IQ)
The <i>nondum</i> questionnaire	<i>nondum</i> ‘not yet’	Veselinova (2018:NQ)

Storyboards for perfect aspect

- “Making laplap” (Krajinović, 2018b): 6 speakers
- “Tomato and pumpkin” (von Prince, 2017b): 5 speakers
- “Haircuts” (Krajinović, 2018a): 5 speakers
- “Miss Smith’s bad day” (Matthewson, 2014): 5 speakers
- “Hawaii trip” (Underhill and Cable, 2015): 3 speakers

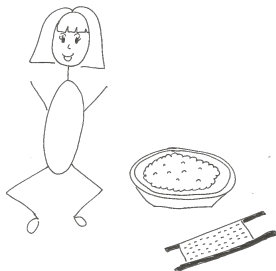


Figure 4: Frame from “Making laplap”

Targeting perfect readings

- (8) [Experiential] Question: You MEET my sister (at any time in your life up to now)? (Dahl, 2000:801, PQ4)

kui=pe paatlas kore-k te-mal?

2SG.PRF meet sister-1SG.POSS one-time

‘Have you met my sister?’ (AK1-115-01)

- (9) [Resultative]

Kineu kai=pe maa ntal su.

1SG 1SG.PRF=PRF grate taro COMPL

‘I have grated the taro.’ (AK1-146-02, 00:02:32.335-00:02:41.410)

Temporal adverbs: questionnaire

- (10) Context: A question asked at 9 o'clock a.m.: Why do you look so tired? Answer: I WAKE UP at 4 o'clock this morning (TT). (Dahl, 2000:TMAQ 16)

**kai=pe/ a=pilo 4 oklok p̃ulp̃og.*

*1SG.PRF=PRF 1SG=wake.up 4 o'clock morning

'I woke up at 4 o'clock this morning.' (AK1-119-01)

- (11) Context: If your alarm is set for 5 a.m. (TT), but by chance you woke up at 4 a.m. (TSit).

Kai=pe pilo 4 oklok p̃ulp̃og.

1SG.PRF=PRF wake.up 4 o'clock morning

'I had woken up at 4 o'clock in the morning.' (AK1-119-01)

Temporal adverbs: Storyboards

Matthewson et al. (2017) highlight this example as eliciting temporal adverb restrictions:

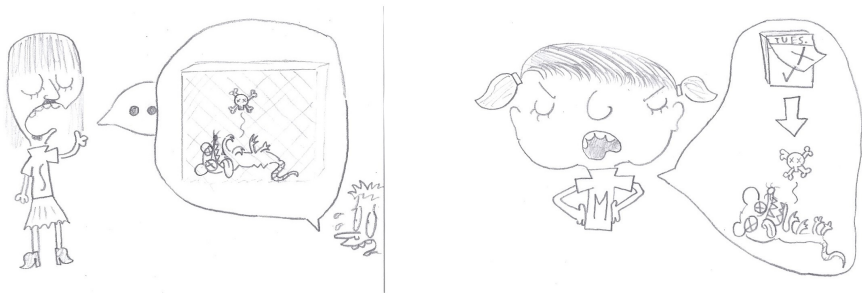


Figure 5: A: The pet rat has just died! B: He is lying, he died yesterday. (Matthewson, 2014)

Temporal adverbs: Storyboards

- (12) *i=to psir, ga ki=pe mat nanom su.*
 3SG=PROG lie 3SG 3SG.PRF=PRF die yesterday COMPL
 ‘He is lying, he had died yesterday.’ (AK1-146-04,
 00:04:03.626-00:04:10.640)

Ga ki=pe mat nanom su.

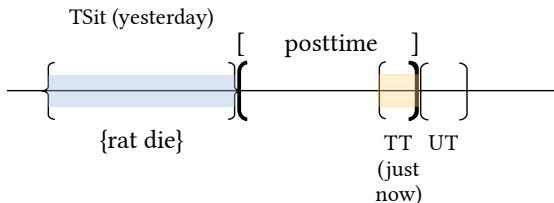


Figure 6: Representation of example (12)

Sequences

- perfect **not** accepted in sequences of events

(13) Context: Do you know what happened to me yesterday? Target: I WALK in the forest. Suddenly I STEP on a snake. It BITE me in the leg. I TAKE a stone and THROW (it) at the snake. It DIE.

A=to siwer namlas me a=kam-ø ñat i=skei.

1SG=PROG walk forest but 1SG=step-3SG.O snake 3SG=one

A=kam-ti go i=trau kat natu-o-k. A=wes faat

1SG=step-3SG.O and 3SG=really bite leg-v-1SG.POSS 1SG=take stone

i=skei trau ðkapun-i.

3SG=one really kill-3SG.O

‘I was walking in the forest. Suddenly I stepped on a snake and it bit me in the leg. I took a stone and killed it.’ (AK1-116-01, from Dahl (2000:801, PQ9))

Change of state

- generalizing over several storyboards: perfect appears in sequences only with the meaning of change of state

(14) *Ru=weswes panpan kai=pe tutan to marmar,*
 3PL.REAL=work go.go ES=PRF sit PROG rest
 ‘After working they are sitting and resting.’ (AK1-017-01, 00:14:36.000 -
 00:14:39.683)

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 ‘After working they are sitting and resting.’ (AK1-017-01, 00:14:36.000 - 00:14:39.683)
- (15) *teplaksok ki=pe maet.*
 teacher 3SG.PRF=PRF angry
 ‘The teacher got angry.’ (Lionel Emil, 28/11/2018)

Duality

- (16) *totur ntau i=nru nalu-k ga i=miel me malfane*
 during year 3SG=two hair-1SG.DP 3SG 3SG=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.’
 (AK1-154-03, 00:03:36.645-00:03:52.483)
- (17) *Malen p̄a=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)

Expectedness

- (18) How strange, my uncle COME. (He wasn't invited/I thought he wouldn't come.) (Olsson, 2013:48)

Kau, ga ki=pe mai!

Oh 3SG 3SG.PRF=PRF come

'Oh, he came!' (AK1-156-04)

Table 5: Occurrence of different functions of *pe* in 3 empirical methods (+ attested, ? unclear, - not attested, -/+ restricted to certain environments, perfect=blue, iamitive/perfect=purple, iamitive/*already*=red)

Method	Univ.	Exper.	Ant.	Result.	Adv.	CoS	Dual.	Expect.
Corpus	?	?	+	+	+	+	?	?
Storyb.	+	+	+	+	-/+	-/+	-/+	-/+
Quest.	+	+	+	+	-/+	-/+	-/+	-/+

Conclusion

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- 2 it is important to have meta-linguistic discussions, as well test the findings across different speakers
- 3 paying attention to possible ambiguities in experiments
- 4 restrictions based on the English structures might be realized in a different way, e.g. because of lack of tense, or different functions like change of state

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Corpus work: expectedness

- expectedness (iamitive/‘already’)

(19) [The speaker has just seen the king arrive (earlier than was expected):] The king ARRIVE already (Dahl, 1985:TMAQ153)

naot ki=pe mai su

chief 3SG.PRF=PRF come COMPL

‘The king has already arrived.’ (Thieberger, 2006)

Questionnaire: Expectedness

- (20) (Talking about a teenager who didn't come home on time) Max CALL (YET)? (Olsson, 2013:IQ 51)

Max ki=pe ring ko?/ Max i=po ring?

Max 3SG.PRF=PRF call or Max 3SG=PSP ring

'Did Max call yet?'