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Aspect in Vamale (South Oceanic) - The example of *balan*

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What's on the Menu ?

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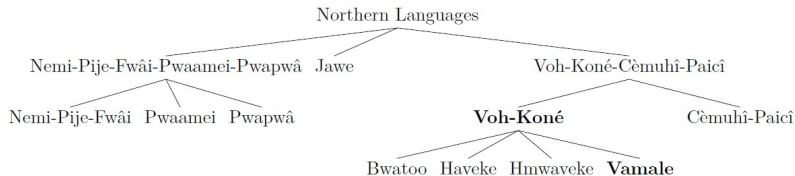Order
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Summary

[tã], a ground oven

New Caledonia in indigenous languages

Between 27 and 36
Southern Oceanic
languages ($+$ 1
Polynesian), many
endangered

5 groups, 2 Oceanic
sub-families

> Loyalty,
> **North**, South

Classification

Figure 1: Language Tree of the North New Caledonian languages(Ozanne-Rivierre, 1995: 63)

Forms

Form	Gloss	Durative example		Punctual example[2]	
balan	CONT	a b. majit	'he keeps sleeping'	a b. hma	'he will immediately arrive / he has just arrived'
bo	IRR / FUT	a b. majit	'he will sleep'	a b. hma	'he will arrive'
bwa	IPFV	a b. majit	'he still sleeps'	a b. hma	'he will arrive (certain)'
ja	ACCOMP	a j. majit	'he finally sleeps'	a j. hma	'he has finally arrived'
kon	PROG	a k. majit	'he is sleeping'	*	
mu	FREQ	a m. majit	'he sleeps regularly / little by little[3]'	a m. hma	'he arrives (every time)'
pa	PFV	a p. majit	'he has already slept'	a p. hma	'he has already arrived'

Table 1: Overview of aspectual markers and their meanings

$\mathcal{D} \mathcal{Q} \mathcal{Q}$

Aktionsart

(1)   a.   e   bwa   pala_DUR
           1SG   IPFV   talk

           'I am still talking'

      b.   e   bwa   thapoke_PUNC
           1SG   IPFV   begin

           'I will certainly begin'

Links to other words

ja ACCOMP	: *jake* 'measure, weigh' ; *jaa* 'very many'
kon PROG	: *ko-n* 'on-NSPEC'
mu FREQ	: *mu* 'very little (countable), hardly any'
balan CONT	: *balan* 'piece of length'

No idea yet for *bo*, *bwa*, *pa*

Combinations

Crucially, aspect markers can be combined :

(2) a. a   bo   ja   koin i   vaaya
       3SG.A IRR ACCOMP finish ART work

   'S/he will finally finish work.'

   b. e   bwa mu   xalo kon   tele
      1SG.A IPFV FREQ gaze on.NSPEC TV

   'I still watch TV from time to time.'

Things that don't work : PFV + IPFV, PROG + IRR, ACCOMP + FREQ. . .

Combinations

Form	Gloss	bo	bwa	kon	balan	pa	ja	mu
bo	FUT		*	*	about to happen	*	will finally	will from time to time
bwa	IPFV	*		still X-ing since before	depends	*	finally X-ing (in general, not necessarily right now)	still X-ing from time to time
kon	PROG	*	still X-ing right now		has just happened	*	X-ing at last	X-ing little by little
balan	CONT	*	*	*		*	*	*
pa	PFV	*	*	*	*		finally completed after a known period	*
ja	ACCOMP	*	*	finally X-ing	finally completed after a known period	*		finally from time to time
mu	FREQ	*	*	*	*	*	*	

Nêlemwa

Nêlêmwa	Gloss		Vamale	Gloss
baa	DUR		**bwa**	IPFV
na	PROG		kon	PROG
gaa	PERS		**balan**	CONT
gat	ASS		**balan**, tha	CONT, ASS
fwâ kio	not yet		**bwa** ciea	IPFV absent
fwââm	fail to		bwaan ?	if only
taa	STAT		da	anterior
mwa	SEQ		**mu**	SEQ
kua	FREQ		**mu**	FREQ
aa	ITER			
bara	ADVS		**balan**	ADVS
ku	IMMINENCE, ACCOMP		ja	ACCOMP

(BRIL 2002 : 204, 213-221)

Combinations

Tableau 25 - Combinaison des morphèmes d'aspect

	aa	baa	gaa	gat	kua	koni	fwââm	kio fwâ	na	hââ
aa			+/+		+/+		+/+	+/+	/+	+/+
baa				+/				+/	/+	
gaa	+/+						+/+	+/	/+	
kua	+/+						+/+			
koni								koni fwâ		
fwââm	+/+		+/+		+/+					+/+
kio fwâ	+/+	/+	/+						+/	
na	+/	+/	+/	+/+				/+		
hââ	+/+									

+/+ indique un ordre d'apparition possible dans les deux sens ;
+/ ordonne l'apparition des morphèmes de l'ordonnée vers l'abscisse et
/+ de l'abcisse vers l'ordonnée.

(BRIL 2002 :226)

Nêlemwa

Difference :

>   How meanings are expressed (one morpheme vs many)
>
>   What meanings are expressed (no real iterative in Vamale)
>
>   Combinations

Bwatoo

Bwatoo	Vamale	Gloss
je	ja	ACCOMP
pa	pa	PFV
bwa	bwa	IPFV
?	mu	FREQ
!balan	balan	CONT

(RIVIERRE et EHRHARDT 2006 :26)

Difference :

What meanings are expressed (no *balan*, *mu* in Bwatoo)

Combinations ? Barely described

Order

Some markers can be swapped around to change the focus.

(3) a. a **bwa** kon majit.
        3SG IPFV PROG rest

    'S/he is still sleeping since before.'

   b. a **kon** bwa majit.
        3SG PROG IPFV rest

    'S/he is still resting right now.'

Order

Some markers can be swapped around to change the focus.

(4) a. a   balan **ja**   hân
         3SG   CONT   ACCOMP go

         'S/he still finally left.'

     b. a   ja   **balan** hân
         3SG   ACCOMP CONT   go

         'S/he is finally about to leave.'

balan

1. *balan* 'piece of length'

(5)　wâng **balan**　　　　　　　　　o
　　　boat **part.of.long.object** bamboo

　　　'bamboo raft'

2. continuative
3. adversative

Continuative *balan*

(6) a. a=balan pala
         3SG=bit speak

         'He continues to speak'

     b. e=kon   balan fine i=tii
         1.SG=PROG b.   read   DEF.SG=book

         (rare) : 'I continue reading the book (it has just begun)'

Continuative *balan*

(6) a. a=balan pala
        3SG=bit speak

        'He continues to speak'

    b. e=kon   balan fine i=tii
        1.SG=PROG b.   read DEF.SG=book

        (rare) : 'I continue reading the book (it has just begun)'

Seems most directly derived from *balan* 'piece of long object'

Adversative *balan*

(7)   a.

     e=balan hân
     1SG=b. go

     'I went on [despite the waving man, the destination reached]'

     b.

     balan xhali sau-ng   pwan yee
     alas   tear   dress-1SG.POSS   on   tree

     'Unfortunately, my dress tore on a tree.'

Adversative *balan*

(7) a.

e=balan hân
1SG=b. go

'I went on [despite the waving man, the destination reached]'

b.

balan xhali sau-ng   pwan yee
alas tear dress-1SG.POSS on   tree

'Unfortunately, my dress tore on a tree.'

Is 7a a link to between the continuative function and "true" adversative 7b ?

Immediate *balan*

(8) a. e=balan fine i=tii
   1SG=b. read DEF.SG=book

   'I just found a book and read it now'

   b. gase=ja   balan hmasan !
   1PL.INCL=ACCOMP bit   arrive

   'We are about to arrive, we have just arrived !'

Sensitive to *aktionsart* !

Immediate *balan*

(8) a. e=balan fine i=tii
        1SG=b. read DEF.SG=book

        'I just found a book and read it now'

    b. gase=ja   balan hmasan !
        1PL.INCL=ACCOMP bit   arrive

        'We are about to arrive, we have just arrived !'

Sensitive to *aktionsart* !
Where could this function come from ?

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Combinations : an example

(9) a. e=bwa   balan koin
       1SG=IPFV CONT finish

   'I have just finished'

   b. e=ja   balan koin
      1SG=ACCOMP CONT finish

   'I finished anyway'

   c. *e=kon balan koin

Combinations : an example

(9) a. e=bwa   balan koin
         1SG=IPFV   CONT finish

         'I have just finished'

     b. e=ja   balan koin
         1SG=ACCOMP CONT finish

         'I finished anyway'

     c. *e=kon balan koin

     d. e=bo   balan koin
         1SG=IRR   CONT finish

         'I have finally finished'

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balan combinations

subject marker= $b.$= verb				
balan	*ja b.*	*bwa b.*	*kon b.*	*bo b.*
just done / about to do, continue to do, do despite	finally do, do/achieve despite plan or other constraints	finally do (but not *despite*)	has just happened	about to do

balan summary

1. Sensitive to *aktionsart*
2. Three (?) distinct meanings, (cont, adv, immed), chosen by context
3. How old ?

Summary

1. There are seven aspect markers that can have several meanings depending on the verb's *aktionsart*.
2. *balan* and others are an example of morphemes that have an independent counterpart. **Young system** ?
3. Surrounding languages encode similar meanings, sometimes in related form. **How much was borrowed ?**
4. Can groups of shared morphemes point to a period of exchange in earlier times ?

Acknowledgements

References

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Questions ?

Mountains near Atéou