

A Grammar of Daakaka

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Inhaltsverzeichnis

Abbreviations	xv
Glossary	xvii
1. Background	1
1.1. The Language and Its Speakers	1
1.1.1. Geographic distribution and genetic affiliations	1
Within Melanesia	1
On Ambrym	2
1.1.2. Demographic background	4
1.1.3. Range of usage	6
In official contexts	6
In families	7
1.1.4. Variation	8
Dialects	8
Language change and endangerment	8
1.2. Previous Studies	9
1.3. The Fieldwork	9
1.4. The Data	10
1.5. The Structure of the Thesis	13
1.5.1. Preliminary considerations	13
1.5.2. Typographic conventions	13
2. Phonology and Orthography	17
2.1. Segments	17
2.1.1. Consonants	17
2.1.2. Vowels	19
2.2. Phonotactics	21
2.2.1. Consonant and vowel clusters	21
2.2.2. Word shapes	22
2.3. Morpho-phonological Processes	23
2.3.1. Vowel harmony	23
2.3.2. Reduplication	25
2.3.3. Epenthetic /p/	27
2.4. Prosody	28
2.4.1. In words	28
2.4.2. In phrases	28

Inhaltsverzeichnis

2.5. The Orthography	33
2.5.1. Methodology	33
2.5.2. Choices made	34
Letters and diacritics	34
Phonemes vs. morphemes	36
Orthographic word length	37
3. Major Word Classes	39
3.1. Word Class Distinctions	39
3.1.1. Major vs. minor classes	39
3.1.2. Defining features of major classes	39
3.2. Verbs	42
3.2.1. Overview	42
3.2.2. Verbal subgroups	44
Transitivity	44
Lexical number	48
3.2.3. Transitivity with <i>(a)ne</i>	49
3.2.4. Verbal suffixes	54
3.2.5. Reduplication	57
In predicates	57
In attributes	60
3.2.6. Auxiliaries	62
Overview	62
<i>Wet</i> : ‘only then’	63
<i>Dyunga</i> : ‘finally’	63
<i>Dakap</i> : ‘just’, change of state	64
<i>Belik</i> : ‘commit an offence’	64
<i>Pwe</i> and <i>du</i> : continuous aspect	65
<i>Mas</i> : necessity	66
3.2.7. Verbal possession and existence	68
3.3. Nouns	70
3.3.1. Overview	70
3.3.2. Inflected nouns	74
3.3.3. Transitive nouns	78
3.3.4. Nominalization	83
Nominalization of verbs and adjectives	83
Instrumental derivations	86
Nominalized adverbs of location	88
3.3.5. Complex lexicalized nouns	88
3.3.6. Kinship terminology	92
3.4. Adjectives	97
3.4.1. Overview	97
3.4.2. Class one adjectives	101
3.4.3. Class two adjectives	103

3.4.4.	Derived attributes	105
3.5.	Adverbs	108
3.5.1.	Overview	108
3.5.2.	Adverbs of location	110
3.5.3.	Adverbs of time	116
3.5.4.	Other adverbs	119
	Intensification	119
	Suw- <i>x</i> : ‘by <i>x</i> -self’	121
	<i>Tóór</i> : ‘like a bushman’	121
	<i>Wisewe</i> and <i>vyen</i> : ‘probably’	122
	<i>Mwes</i> : ‘for nothing’	122
4.	Minor Word Classes	125
4.1.	Pronouns and Articles	125
4.1.1.	Personal pronouns	125
4.1.2.	Reflexive and reciprocal meanings	128
4.1.3.	Possessive pronouns and linkers	129
	Overview	129
	Possessive classifiers	131
	Linkers and alienable possessive pronouns	133
	Transitivization and definiteness	136
4.1.4.	Demonstratives	140
4.1.5.	Interrogatives	142
4.1.6.	<i>Syan</i> : ‘the other one’	144
4.2.	Quantifiers	146
4.2.1.	Introduction	146
4.2.2.	Universal quantifiers	148
4.2.3.	Existential quantifiers	152
4.3.	Prepositions	156
4.3.1.	Overview	156
4.3.2.	Uninflected prepositions	157
	<i>Myane</i> : ‘with, to’	157
	<i>Metone</i> : ‘from’	159
	<i>(A)ne</i> : ‘with (an instrument)’	160
	<i>Ye</i> : calling so. by a name	161
	<i>Yen</i> : ‘in’	161
	<i>Pyan</i> : ‘under’	163
	<i>Kuane</i> : ‘at the home of’	164
	<i>Teve</i> , <i>tevesye</i> , <i>bun</i> and <i>visyaa</i> : ‘at, close to’	164
	<i>Ten</i> : ‘for’	165
	<i>Vya x</i> : ‘ <i>x</i> times’	166
	<i>Sikya</i> : ‘until, to’	167
	<i>Te</i> : ‘from’	168
4.3.3.	Inflected prepositions	169

Inhaltsverzeichnis

4.4.	Particles	171
4.4.1.	Overview	171
4.4.2.	Contrast-sensitive particles	172
	<i>Kyun</i> : ‘just’	172
	<i>Kemyas</i> : ‘only’	174
	<i>Wuk</i> : ‘already, first’	175
	<i>Mon, puon</i> : ‘also, another’	176
4.4.3.	Adverbial particles	177
	<i>Tetes</i> : ‘again’	177
	<i>Ngabak</i> : ‘still, first’	178
	<i>We</i> : ‘first’	179
4.4.4.	Answer particles	180
4.4.5.	Interjections	181
4.5.	Numerals	183
5.	TAM Markers	187
5.1.	Overview	187
5.2.	Realis	189
5.3.	Potential	191
5.3.1.	Positive potential	191
5.3.2.	Negative potential	195
5.4.	Necessity	199
5.5.	Distal	202
5.6.	Open polarity: <i>doo</i> (‘whether’)	206
5.7.	Change of state: <i>bwet</i>	207
6.	Main Clauses	209
6.1.	Overview	209
6.2.	Clause Types	210
6.2.1.	Copular clauses	210
6.2.2.	Subject types	212
	Ambient subjects	212
	Event subjects	214
	Subjects of perceptions and emotions	215
	Impersonal subjects	218
6.2.3.	Topics	219
6.2.4.	Focus marking constructions	221
	Overview	221
	Constituent focus	222
	Thetic clauses	224
	Copular use of <i>sa</i>	227
6.2.5.	Coordination	228
	Overview	228
	<i>Te</i> : ‘then, and’	228

A: ‘and, but’	230
<i>Mwede</i> and <i>o</i> : ‘or’	231
Coreference	233
6.2.6. Number marking and agreement	235
6.2.7. Distributivity and contrastive topic-comment structures	238
6.2.8. Comparatives with <i>an</i>	239
6.3. Questions	240
6.3.1. Overview	240
6.3.2. Polarity questions	240
6.3.3. Constituent questions	242
6.4. Directives	244
7. Serial Predicate Constructions	247
7.1. Overview	247
7.1.1. Single marking, multiple marking and switched marking	247
7.1.2. Argument sharing	249
7.1.3. TAM and polarity agreement	254
7.2. Single Marking Serial Predicates	259
7.2.1. Directional constructions	259
7.2.2. Transitivity constructions	261
7.2.3. Single marking serial adjectives	264
7.2.4. Idiomatic constructions	266
7.3. Multiple Marking Serial Predicates	267
7.3.1. Event argument serializations	267
Comparison	267
Order of events	270
Manner	271
Completion	273
Location	273
Sufficiency	274
Duration	274
Possibility	275
7.3.2. Quantification	275
7.3.3. Depictive constructions	278
7.4. Switched Marking Predicates	279
7.4.1. Intransitive	279
<i>Pwer</i> and <i>du</i> : ‘stay’	279
<i>Sukuo</i> : ‘be together’	280
<i>Myor</i> : ‘be straight’	281
<i>Bup</i> : ‘tumble’	281
<i>Kop</i> : ‘be full’	282
<i>Mesaa</i> : ‘clear’	282
<i>Medó</i> : ‘be slow’	283

Inhaltsverzeichnis

7.4.2. Transitives	283
<i>Save</i> : comparisons	283
<i>Syone</i> : ‘reach’	284
<i>Syute</i> : ‘hit’	284
7.4.3. Copular	285
8. Subordinate Clauses	289
8.1. Complement Clauses	289
8.1.1. Overview	289
8.1.2. Complementizers: <i>na</i> vs. <i>ka</i>	289
8.1.3. Subordinating verbs	292
Perception	292
Mental states	294
Abilities and possibilities	296
Intentions and attempts	297
Demonstrations and representations	299
Causation: <i>gene</i> ‘do, make’	300
8.1.4. Subordinating prepositions	300
8.2. Embedded Questions	302
8.2.1. Embedded polarity questions	302
8.2.2. Embedded constituent questions	303
8.3. Conditional Clauses	305
8.3.1. Overview	305
8.3.2. The subordinating conjunctions <i>ka</i> and <i>saka</i>	306
8.3.3. Conditional clause types	307
Past, present and generic reference	307
Future conditionals	308
Counterfactual conditionals	309
Adverbial clauses with interrogative elements	310
8.4. Relative Clauses	310
8.4.1. Overview	310
8.4.2. Relative clauses headed by nouns	311
8.4.3. Relative clauses headed by adverbs	314
Space	314
Time	315
8.4.4. Headless relative clauses	318
8.5. Intensifying Clauses	319
9. Discourse	321
9.1. Conversational Conventions	321
9.1.1. Greetings	321
9.1.2. Address and reference	322
9.1.3. Non-verbal communication	323

9.2.	Narratives	324
9.2.1.	Genres	324
	Overview	324
	Childrens' stories	324
	Myths	325
	Historical and anecdotal accounts	326
9.2.2.	Structural features	327
	Overview	327
	Framing	327
	Repetition of verbs	328
	Durative <i>vyan</i> 'go'	330
	<i>Pwer</i> and <i>du</i> : topicalization and passage of time	331
	Moving from one event to the next: <i>ge</i> and <i>nok</i>	332
9.2.3.	Reported speech	335
	Overview	335
	Indirect speech	335
	Direct speech	336
	Lisepsep speech	338
9.3.	Extra-linguistic Content	339
9.3.1.	Songs	339
9.3.2.	Sand drawings	340
Appendix		343
A.	Example Texts	343
A.1.	Sivi ten Gee	343
A.2.	Levyak	344
B.	Statistics	349
B.1.	Text corpus	349
B.2.	Speakers	353
B.3.	Fieldtrips	354

Abbildungsverzeichnis

1.1. Map of Ambrym language regions	1
2.1. Vowels	20
2.2. Prosody of a two-syllable word	29
2.3. Prosody of a three-syllable word	29
2.4. Boundary tones	30
2.5. Intensifying intonation	31
2.6. Intonation of polarity questions	32
3.1. Verbal subgroups	42
3.2. Nominal subclasses	72
3.3. The system of Daakaka kinship terminology	95
3.4. Kinship relations from a male perspective	96
3.5. Kinship relations from a female perspective	96
4.1. The typical intonation counter of <i>ee</i> ‘no’	181
6.1. Basic structure of assertive clauses	211
6.2. Prosodic pause before conjunction	230
6.3. Intonation contour of a question with positive bias	241
9.1. Intonation of verb repetition	329
9.2. Two sand drawings	341

Tabellenverzeichnis

1.1. Cognate rates between Ambrym vernaculars	4
1.2. Field trips (condensed)	15
1.3. Corpus composition (condensed)	15
1.4. Speakers (condensed)	16
2.1. Consonants	17
2.2. Vowel sequences	22
2.3. Reduplication patterns	26
3.1. Defining word class features	41
3.2. Verbal root alternation	43
3.3. Semitransitive and transitive verbs	46
3.4. Inflected verbs	47
3.5. Plural and singular verbs	49
3.6. Verbal suffixes	54
3.7. Nouns from different classes referring to the same concept	73
3.8. Nominal declension classes	77
3.9. Idiomatic transitive noun phrases	82
3.10. Instrumental derivation	87
3.11. Lexicalized animal terms	90
3.12. Complex terms for feelings and health conditions	92
3.13. List of kinship terms	94
3.14. Idiomatically restricted adjectives	98
3.15. Basic color terms	101
4.1. The pronominal system	126
4.2. Nominal and pronominal possession	132
4.3. Possessive classifiers	132
4.4. Prenominal possessive pronouns	134
4.5. Demonstrative expressions with distal clitics	142
4.6. Universal quantifiers	147
4.7. Existential quantifiers	147
4.8. Numeral expressions and principles of counting	184
5.1. The system of TAM markers	189
6.1. Subjects of emotion verbs	216

Tabellenverzeichnis

7.1. Argument sharing in serial constructions	254
B.1. The text corpus	349

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ALT	alternate (demonstrative)
ATT	attributive linker
CL1	class one (noun class)
CL2	class two (noun class)
CL3	class three (noun class)
CM	comment (focus) marker
COMP	complementizer
COMPARE	comparative marker
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuous aspect
COP	copula
COS	change of state
D	dual (number)
DEF	definite
DIST	distal (mood)
DOO	whether-or-not (mood)
EMT	emotive (subject of some emotion verbs)
EP	epenthetic /p/
EX	exclusive (person)
FAR	remote (demonstratives)
HUM	human
IN	inclusive (person)

ABBREVIATIONS

INSTR	instrumental (derivation)
INTJ	interjection
ITR	intransitive
LOC	locative
LYR	lyrical vowel insertion (in songs)
MED	medial (demonstratives)
MOD.COMP	complementizer (non-realis)
MOD.NEG	negative modal relator
MOD.REL	positive modal relator
NAME	name
NEC	necessity (mood)
NEG	negation
NGE	intensification
NHUM	non-human
NM	nominalizer
NPSUP	non-presuppositional (quantifiers)
NS	non-specific (possessive linkers)
NSUB	non-subject (pronouns)
P	plural (number)
PC	paucal (number)
POSS	possessive (linkers, pronouns, inflections)
POT	potential (mood)
PROX	proximal (demonstratives)
PSUP	presuppositional (quantifiers)
REAL	realis (mood)
REDUP	reduplication
S	singular (number)
SDLC	far from speaker, close to listener (demonstrative)
SEMTR	semitransitive (verbs)
SP	specific (possessive linkers)
SUB	subject (pronouns)
SUBCONJ	subordinating conjunction
TAM	tense, aspect, mood
TR	transitive
TRANS	transitivizer

Glossary

<i>Big man</i>	Bislama for ‘important, powerful person’ and also for ‘God’.
<i>Bush</i>	The jungle, uncultivated land.
<i>Bweebwi</i>	A magical submarine-like device which looks like a sharkskin and which allows its owner to travel between islands very fast and to abduct people unnoticed.
<i>Elephantiasis</i>	A disease caused by parasitic worms, which causes swelling and thickening in the extremities, especially the legs, and can lead to permanent disfigurement if left untreated.
<i>Garden</i>	Also <i>field</i> : cultivated land, which is typically located at some distance from the village; a family usually has several patches of land for agricultural use.
<i>Kastom</i>	A collective label for traditional practices and objects.
<i>Kava</i>	The national sedative drink. It is prepared from the roots of a pepper plant, which are ground up or pounded to pulp with water.
<i>Laplal</i>	A national dish based on starchy foods such as taro or banana, which are grated, spread out on a large sheet of leaves, topped with greens and sometimes meat, fish or shellfish and baked on a stone oven until done.
<i>Liliwi</i>	A certain type of the masks which are used in ritual dances.
<i>Lisepsep</i>	Dwarf-like creatures who live by themselves in the bush, have magical powers and like to annoy, and sometimes eat, people.
<i>Lu</i>	Another type of mask used in ritual dances.
<i>Mal</i>	The seventh and highest rank in the ranking system (see below).
<i>Meo</i>	The incubator bird—a black, wild bird, whose eggs are a prized source of protein.
<i>Myage</i>	A statue carved out of the stem of a treefern. These black, big-eyed figures are characteristic for Ambrym and can be found in museums all over the world.
<i>Nakamal</i>	A large house within the village for important meetings and congregations.
<i>Nalnal</i>	A special, often skillfully carved wooden club for ritual killings of pigs.
<i>Rank</i>	Traditionally, the Ambrym society was structured by a hierarchy of ranks: People could obtain ranks, and corresponding privileges, by meeting certain conditions, which involved diverse religious rituals, periods of isolation and the killing of pigs.
<i>Sakran</i>	The second rank in the ranking system.
<i>Sand drawing</i>	Abstract geometrical figures which are typically drawn into the black volcanic ash which covers the ground on Ambrym.
<i>Stone oven</i>	An arrangement of heated stones on the floor, which are used to bake food.
<i>Tamadu</i>	A caterpillar-like insect which lives in the ground.

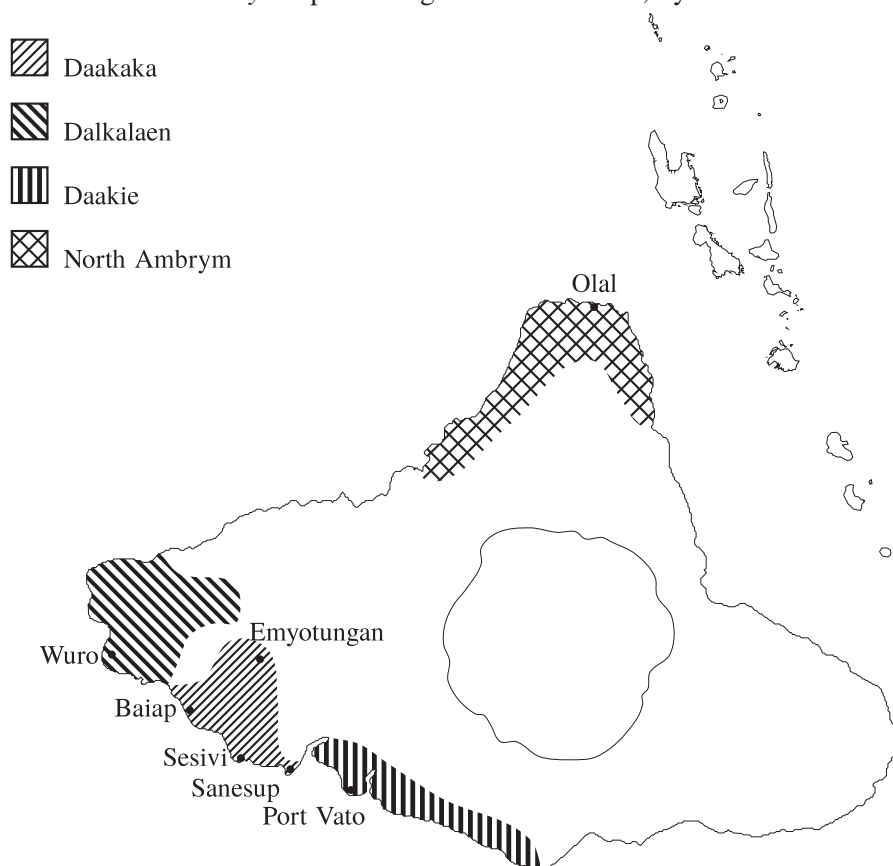
1. Background

1.1. The Language and Its Speakers

1.1.1. Geographic distribution and genetic affiliations

Within Melanesia

Abbildung 1.1.: A map of Ambrym, Vanuatu, with the major vernaculars of the West and the North; the upper right corner shows Vanuatu, with Ambrym near the fork of the y-shaped configuration of islands; by the author.



Daakaka is one of the three major language varieties spoken in West Ambrym. It belongs to the Oceanic family of languages, which comprises most of the languages spoken in the area

1. Background

ranging from the Marianas in the North-West, over New Zealand in the South, to Easter Island in the East. This area is further divided along geographic, socio-cultural and linguistic criteria into Melanesia in the West, Micronesia in the North and Polynesia in the East. Melanesia differs from the two other regions in that it is linguistically far more diverse and in that there is a stronger influence of Papuan languages, especially in the Western part of Melanesia [cf. Lynch et al., 2002, 4f.].

The country Vanuatu is quite characteristic of this region—it is the nation with the highest density of languages in the world. Estimates of the total number of languages vary between 105 and 115, with the best recent estimate being the number 106, of which eight are extinct [Lynch and Crowley, 2001]. These languages are spoken by only about 234,000 people, living on sixty-five islands [Census]. This means that on average, there are about 2200 speakers per language and 1.6 languages per island, although the actual figures range from languages like Lenakel with as many as 11,500 speakers to moribund languages with only a few speakers left; and from big, diverse islands such as Malekula with about two dozen non-moribund languages, to small islands with only one language, and some languages are spoken on more than one island [Lynch and Crowley, 2001].

The island of Ambrym is one of the larger islands of the country. It has a roughly triangular shape and is dominated by the central volcanic desert and its two active craters. The population is concentrated at the coast, with small, dispersed settlements further inland in the bush. The three corners of the island—referred to by locals as ‘the North’, ‘the South-East’, and ‘the West’—constitute distinct linguistic and socio-cultural areas.¹ While it is possible, in principle, to walk from one corner to the next along the coast or across the central desert, no roads connect the corners to each other and people travel between them almost exclusively by canoe or ship.

In some respects, each of the corners is actually more closely connected to the closest part of a neighboring island than to another corner of the same island. Thus, South-East Ambrym is closely linked with Paama, the North with Pentecost, and the West with Malekula, by marriage relations and other exchange. According to the legends of West Ambrym, even the volcano was imported from the neighboring island of Malekula, or one of its small offshore islands.

On Ambrym

Ambrym has about seven thousand inhabitants. In the North and the South-East of Ambrym, there appears to be only one major language each, with two major dialectal varieties between villages. In the North, there still seems to be some knowledge among a few old speakers of the language Orkon, but it seems to be doomed to extinction (Franjeh, p.c.).

The situation in the West is slightly more involved: There are three major vernacular varieties, Dalkalaen [ralkalaɛn], Daakaka and Daakie (see figure 1.1). In addition, there is the tiny vernacular Ralcaca [raltʃatʃa] of Polipetakever and Tou and the almost extinct Ralcako [raltʃako] (Lonwolwol) of Dip point.

¹In Daakaka, there is a name for North Ambrym, ‘Tasa’, but for the South-East there seems to be no vernacular term, it is always referred to by the Bislama term ‘Saot-Ist’; the same goes for the West itself, although some locals like to think of their home as ‘Lon Marum’ which means ‘at the volcano’ in the language of North Ambrym.

1.1. The Language and Its Speakers

Each name means ‘the spoken language’ in the respective vernacular. Speakers give clear boundaries for the regions in which each vernacular is spoken; along the coast, the Daakaka region extends from Baiap in the West to Sanesup in the East and covers most of the villages further inland from this region. My colleagues and I estimate each of the three vernaculars to have about one thousand speakers.

There is a pronounced linguistic contrast between Baiap and the neighboring Malver, where Dalkalaen is spoken; and the Daakaka spoken in Baiap cannot be said to be more similar to Dalkalaen than the Daakaka spoken elsewhere. Towards the East, there appears to be more of a continuum: already in Sesivi, people use a few words from Daakie instead of their Daakaka counterparts and in Sanesup, this tendency is said to be far more conspicuous, although I have not had the opportunity to verify this information.

On the one hand, speakers are therefore able to point out distinct vernaculars which are more consistent with themselves than with the other vernaculars. On the other hand, speakers will often affirm that they share essentially one language with the rest of West Ambrym—sometimes also including the North of the island—which is just twisted slightly from one village to the next.

As for mutual intelligibility, inhabitants of neighboring villages can usually communicate by using each their respective vernacular. At the same time, there are indications that this mutual intelligibility might be the result of frequent contact rather than a sign of the identity of the languages: For one thing, communication in the vernacular with speakers of other vernaculars is usually only practicable as long as the content of the conversation is reasonably predictable. I have found that when I play recordings of unfamiliar stories from speakers of Dalkalaen to speakers of Daakaka and vice versa, speakers professed that they could not understand clearly what was being said.

Another indication comes from Ralcaca, which is spoken only among the small communities of Polipetakever and Tou. Its speakers are fluent in all the surrounding vernaculars and use those to communicate with outsiders. When they talk in Ralcaca among each other, bystanders from other regions declare that they cannot understand the language. Although I do not have systematic data on Ralcaca, I did get a few recordings and believe that it is not significantly more different from the surrounding varieties than they are from each other. This suggests that mutual intelligibility is more a measure of exposure to a given vernacular than of its proximity to one’s native tongue.

Based on my own data on Dalkalaen and on Daakaka, together with data collected by Manfred Krifka on Daakie and by Michael Franjeh on North Ambrym, I have counted cognates between the four vernaculars, from a list of 153 items. I have chosen only those items for which I was certain about the correspondence in lexical meanings. The results are shown in table 1.1.

This data might be biased in several directions, so it should not be taken as an account of the absolute distance between two varieties, but rather as a measure of how the distances compare to each other; as might be expected, neighboring varieties are closer to one another than geographically more distant ones. In practice, even the closely related vernaculars Dalkalaen and Daakaka sound quite different when spoken—mostly because of significant differences between sound systems and because some very frequent words are not cognates. Structurally however they are very much alike. Both observations are illustrated by (1), which would be

1. Background

Tabelle 1.1.: Cognate rates between the four major language varieties of North and West Ambrym

	Daakie	Daakaka	Dalkalaen	North Ambrym
Daakie		87%	76%	63%
Daakaka			83%	65%
Dalkalaen				67%
North Ambrym				

a frequent way of addressing someone while passing by, where the first sentence is from Dalkalaen and the second one from Daakaka:

- (1) a. *qo=m do mae sa?*
2S=REAL CONT do what
b. *ko bwe gene sewe?*
2S REAL.CONT do what
'what are you doing?'

1.1.2. Demographic background

The country's linguistic diversity corresponds closely to its socio-cultural diversity. In comparison to the neighboring regions of Micronesia and Polynesia, people in Melanesia tend to identify strongly only with their immediate communities and to stress differences to other communities and family lines. Even today, there are remarkable differences between close villages, often even within the same settlement, with regards to denomination, whether the main language of education is English or French, and where preferred marriage partners come from.

To name one extreme example, the people of Wuro, a small village close to the airstrip of West Ambrym, have a Catholic church, a Presbyterian church, Seven-Day Adventists, a splinter group of Seven-Day Adventists, the Neil Thomas Ministry of Inner Light, Baha'i, Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses to choose from. This appears to be an indication of the enterprising spirit of missionaries as much as of a cultural predilection for social differentiation.

There are only rural settlements on Ambrym, which range from larger, more or less continuously settled areas like Sesivi with a few hundred inhabitants to small hamlets housing only one nuclear family.

The local economy is based on subsistence farming. Each family has patrilineal hereditary ownership of certain patches of land and uses them to grow crops, mainly for their own consumption. Social organization is patrilocal, which means that men usually stay in their native village, whereas women come from other places and move in with their husband's family. The main crops in West Ambrym are starchy foods such as taro, sweet potato, cassava and various types of banana. This diet is complemented by green leaves from a variety of plants, ranging from ferns to the young leaves of breadfruit trees. Edible leaves are collectively known as *kabis* in Bislama and as *ivy*o in Daakaka.

1.1. The Language and Its Speakers

Vegetables such as pumpkin, cucumber and tomato are also grown, but less successfully. Although the ground consists of mineral-rich tephra (volcanic ash), many plants suffer from the fumes and acidic rain of the volcano. Even yam is a very marginal food source because of this—which is rather ironic as, according to popular etymology, the island has been named for this plant: Legend has it that an early Western sea farer, upon disembarking on Ambrym, was presented with some yam tubers and the North Ambrym words *am rem* ‘yam for you’.

Fruit such as mango, breadfruit and soursop are abundant during their respective seasons. Some are available year-round such as pawpaw and coconut. The coconut palm is by far the most important plant economically: All of its parts are used, especially the leaves, which are woven into mats, walls of houses, baskets and fans; and the fruit, which provides drink, food and the raw material for copra, which is the major source of income for most households.

Coastal communities regularly complement their diet with seafood, especially shells, crabs and small fish from the reefs. Larger fish are usually caught only with harpoons out in the open sea, which makes them a much rarer food source.

Most people keep chickens, many keep a few pigs, and a few people also have a cow. Domestic animals are only slaughtered for special occasions—especially pigs and cows are mostly kept as ceremonial gifts or for ceremonial feasts.

Sometimes wild pigs are hunted and wild birds are caught by slingshot or trap. Also, if someone finds the eggs of a chicken or of the wild incubator bird, they are a welcome food source. However, on average, fresh meat or eggs are on the menu only every few weeks and people buy canned fish and, to a lesser extent, canned meat to add protein to their diet instead.

Money also is needed to pay for school fees and to buy consumables like sugar, matches, soap and rice. Only few people have a job like teacher or nurse which provides them with a regular income. There are several small stores in the villages, the biggest being the co-op store in Baiap. Outside the Daakaka region, in Wuro, there is an airstrip, a bank and a post office, all with their respective staff. Some of the young men go to New Zealand for a few months to pick apples and use the money to support their families and build a hut for themselves. Less than ten families in the region have been able to afford one of the pick-up trucks which are used to transport passengers, copra and other heavy cargo across the region. The few truck drivers have to take care of all the heavy transport of their neighbors and make a business of charging for their services. Everyone else relies on occasional copra production for income.

Villagers also sometimes trade among themselves: Some bake bread or fried dough foods referred to as *gateau*, others weave baskets or make brooms for their neighbors to purchase. Sometimes, there are small markets where women sell some of their produce.

Households generally consist of at least two huts, one to sleep in and one to cook and eat in. In addition, a family might have a latrine and a booth for taking showers, usually at some distance from the other huts, and there may be wooden platforms and roofed spaces for sitting together and chatting in the evening.

The rural life on the island is perceived as harsh, and many people hope for their children to find work in Port Vila, Vanuatu’s capital, or other more affluent places like Luganville on Santo or Norsup on Malekula. While Vanuatu’s population as a whole is growing, the population of Ambrym is in decline: Between 1999 and 2009, the population of Vanuatu increased from about 187,000 to about 234,000 people. In the same period of time, Ambrym’s population shrank slightly, from 7369 to 7275 inhabitants [Census].

1. Background

1.1.3. Range of usage

In official contexts

Daakaka and its neighbors did not have a standardized orthography before the documentation project, although speakers have in some contexts spontaneously noted down small messages and individual words in their native tongue. In most public and educational contexts, only the three official languages Bislama, French and English are used.

Thus, the vernacular has so far not been used at school and some of the teachers do not speak the mother tongue of their pupils, being from different regions. This can be considered the main reason why certain parts of the lexicon, such as terms for numbers higher than five and color terms, have been almost entirely replaced by Bislama and English in younger speakers.

The government of Vanuatu has now decided that vernacular languages should be used at least in preschool education. However, the policy provides for only one vernacular language per region, which would mean for West Ambrym that many children would receive education in the vernacular of their neighbors. In the long run, this might level out the differences between the vernaculars in the region. Moreover, at present there are no educational resources for any of the vernaculars of West Ambrym.

Access to national and global media is relatively restricted. The most important medium is the radio which is switched on by anyone who has a receiver during the evenings, when the national station is broadcasting. Broadcasts are typically in Bislama. Newspapers sometimes make their way from the airport to the villages. The news is in English, French and Bislama.

Other public contexts associated with the official languages rather than the vernacular are church services and court cases. I have participated in Presbyterian, Evangelical and Catholic services, and in services of the Neil Thomas Ministry of Inner Life (NTM). In Presbyterian, Evangelical and NTM services, hymns are sung by everyone present and are mostly in Bislama, with a few hymns being in English. In Catholic communities, the hymns are in French and sung by an impressive youth choir, backed up by the rest of the community.

The services in small communities are mostly lead by an *elder*, a lay person who has earned the respect of their community and has shown commitment to the mission of their church. They will give short sermons and read from the Bible. Other community members of all age groups may sign up to read and discuss short passages from the Bible and hold an improvised prayer.

In most of the services I witnessed across denominations, most of the sermons were in Bislama. Quotes from the Bible are read in Bislama, English or French, depending on the preacher's edition of the bible and the denomination. A few of the hymns, most of which are sung by everyone present, are in Daakaka, but most of them are in one of the three official languages. Improvised prayers are mostly in Daakaka. Church service is also an opportunity to make general announcements and these are mostly in Daakaka.

Finally, court cases are also a context in which Bislama rather than the vernacular might be used, depending on the circumstances. As in other Melanesian countries, the legal system of the state is complemented by a customary system in which legal matters are discussed and settled among the parties involved, mediated by such chiefs as are considered neutral in the matter [cf. Forsyth, 2006]. In West Ambrym, a court house opened in 2009 in Craig Cove,

1.1. The Language and Its Speakers

where legal matters are negotiated by state officials. These officials have so far come from other islands and are not able to speak the local vernaculars, so they rely on Bislama as the language of communication instead.

In customary court cases, the language of the procedure depends on who is involved. Negotiations are often open to the entire communities of the parties involved and in some cases, everyone has the right to express their opinion and has to be heard. If all the attendants come from a variety of areas and do not share one language, the case is held in Bislama. This was the case in a hearing my colleagues and I witnessed in 2009: The claimants had come from the neighboring island Malekula to lay claims on a piece of land they said had belonged to their family before they had fled to Malekula to escape a volcanic eruption. They had grown up without the knowledge of the language of their parents. Some of the local attendants in this case gave their opinion in the local vernacular instead of Bislama—possibly with the objective to mark the claimants as outsiders.

In cases in which all the parties concerned are fluent in the same local language, this language will be used for the hearing.

In families

In the Daakaka region, the vernacular is still the first language for the large majority of children and often the only language they speak up to the age of four to six. When they enter school, at the latest, they soon become fluent in Bislama and might sometimes talk to each other in Bislama rather than their mother tongue. Mothers are typically from other areas. Depending on the village, they will tend to come from one of the neighboring regions, from the North or the South-East of the island, or from one of the closest islands. These women acquire Daakaka to varying degrees. During the process of language documentation, my local mentors advised me not to work with women who had learned Daakaka only after their marriage; although many of them had acquired the language very well, the men said, they might not always be certain or correct when asked about the individual sounds of words or their wider meaning.

It appears that women with closely related mother tongues have few difficulties in mastering the language. Depending on the homogeneity of the population of married women in one village, they will retain their own mother tongues as a means of communication among each other.

The different origins of the mothers might be an important contribution to the variation of languages between individual families as well as areas.

For example, there are quite a number of women from North Ambrym in Baiap, who use the language of the North among each other. Even greater is the role of the language Port Sandwich in Sesivi, where a major portion of the women come from Lamap on Malekula.

From what I could observe, as long as a mother speaks any kind of vernacular language, the children will learn the vernacular of their fathers and sometimes the language of their mothers as well. But I have seen a few cases in which a woman only speaks Bislama as her first language, and in these cases, the children also only spoke Bislama and had hardly any grasp of their fathers' tongue.

1. Background

1.1.4. Variation

Dialects

Speakers profess that there are dialectal differences between different areas of the language, but I could only observe minor differences, mostly pertaining to individual lexemes. For example, speakers of Sesivi use the Daakie verb *edi* ‘to take’ instead of *liye*, in contrast to Daakaka speakers from other places.

More strikingly, many speakers in Sesivi, especially from the generations of around forty and younger, replace the native [r] sound by [ʁ]. This is probably due to the influence of French, which is the language of education and church service in the region. The divide into Catholic, French-educated regions and Protestant, English-educated regions also has an impact on which loanwords are used and on some of the vernacular vocabulary used in connection with religious practices.

For example, in Sesivi people will use French-based words like *lasup* ‘soup’ whereas elsewhere in the Daakaka region, speakers will choose *sup* instead; and in Presbyterian Emyotungan and Baiap, people refer to the act of saying grace as *bwii* (lit. ‘to close the eyes’) and use *temyap* ‘to worship’ more for the participation in church service, while speakers in Catholic Sesivi will use only *temyap* for both meanings.

I had the impression that more educated and more widely-traveled speakers stick to the boundaries between the vernaculars less rigidly than most speakers. For example, one elderly speaker from Sesivi, who had spent parts of his life on different islands, used quite a number of words and constructions which were not known to other Daakaka speakers, but which I later also found in Dalkalaen. Conversely, one very erudite elderly speaker from Wuro would sometimes use Daakaka words like *bili* ‘when’ instead of its Dalkalaen counterpart *bone*.

Language change and endangerment

Daakaka speakers perceive their language to be in dramatic decline, partly because of the way young people speak, partly because of the decrease in population and migration to other islands.

Some of the alarming symptoms of language change, in the perception of speakers, is the loss of number words higher than three or five in younger people and the loss of color terms. Both phenomena probably result from the Bislama-based primary education: The environment in which especially number words are most likely to be used often is school, and there, children are educated in Bislama, English and French rather than the vernaculars.

Other than a proliferation of Bislama loanwords, speakers have also pointed out to me several other indicators of language change. Younger speakers are said to replace word-initial [ŋ] by [m] as in *ngabak* ‘still’, which becomes *mabak*.

They use the word *polo* ‘to climb’ instead of the older *poo*. The reason for that is that *poo* is also an impolite expression for ‘having intercourse’ and a request for someone to ‘go climb’ is thus easily mistaken for a rude insult. This lexical replacement is not restricted to adolescents either, some speakers over the age of forty will also implement it.

Interestingly, the replacement of *poo* by *polo* can itself be seen as a process of historical regression rather than innovation: /l/ in the surrounding vernaculars often corresponds to a long

vowel or is simply lost in Daakaka as in the word for ‘wind’, which is *leng* in Dalkalaen and Daakie, but *eng* in Daakaka or the word for ‘flying fox’, which is *gere* ([ɠɛɾɛ]) in Dalkalaen and *gele* in Daakie, but *gee* in Daakaka. Correspondingly, the word for ‘climb’ is *folo* in Dalkalaen and *pulo* [pulø] in Daakie.

Finally, some expressions popular among younger speakers were said to be calques from Bislama such as *mwe meor* ‘it’s fine’, which corresponds literally to the Bislama expression *i stret*.

In my view, most of these phenomena can be seen as natural processes in the development of a language and do not threaten its vitality. Moreover, most of the Bislama loanwords have apparently been in the language for more than a generation, even though speakers of all ages are still aware of their foreign origin.

On the other hand, the absence of vernacular education, migration to other islands and increasing intermarriage with women who are monolingual in Bislama do pose serious long-term threats to the vernaculars. My colleagues and I are developing teaching materials in the vernaculars and hope that they will help to strengthen the status of the languages among young speakers.

1.2. Previous Studies

Lynch and Crowley [2001, 92] write in their survey about the languages of Vanuatu about Ambrym in general:

“None of the languages of Ambrym have been comprehensively described by a trained linguist, nor has the extent of linguistic diversity on the island been definitively documented.”

This situation had not changed much before we started the documentation project in the summer of 2009. Until then, the probably most pertinent resource for the languages of Ambrym was the description of the now almost extinct Lonwolwol in Paton [1971] and Paton [1973], which also contain some references to Daakaka and the neighboring vernaculars. The linguistic variation on Ambrym has been discussed in two surveys, Ray [1926] and Tryon [1976].

Other than that, a few written texts from the late 19th century and early 20th century have been reported to be in the vernaculars of Baiap and Sesivi—apparently produced by missionaries—which I could however not obtain.

As a result of the documentation project, there is now a substantial collection of annotated data on all three major vernaculars of West Ambrym. During the same period of time, Michael Franjeh, then a PhD student at SOAS, has been working on the language of North Ambrym.

1.3. The Fieldwork

The fieldwork has been conducted as part of a DoBeS (documentation of endangered languages) project led by Manfred Krifka and funded by the Volkswagen foundation. The project was approved late in June 2009 and my first field trip took place from August 5 to November 23

1. Background

2009. I spent the first two weeks in Port Vila, the capital of Vanuatu, to get paperwork done and practice Bislama with the kind help of Robert Early of USP (University of the South Pacific), who put me in touch with informants and let me work in his office.

Foreign researchers need a license to work in Vanuatu and have to get in touch with the Cultural Centre in Port Vila, which also serves as the National Library and the National Museum. The Cultural Centre has a remarkable collection of materials on Vanuatu's nature, culture and languages, as researchers are required to provide copies of their results and notes, published as well as unpublished.

In Vila, I was joined by my two team members Manfred Krifka and Soraya Hosni just before we left for Ambrym together. We first set up camp together in Emyotungan, where Hosni had been working for her PhD before the start of the project, but after an initial phase we mostly went our separate ways; so I spent most of this and the other field trips to Ambrym without my colleagues.

In Emyotungan, I mostly stayed in the guest house run by the village women, which had the comfort of a kitchen hut equipped with a gas stove, a table and a bench.

I also spent much time in Sesivi, where I shared a house with an elderly couple, and one week in Baiap. As my responsibilities in the project also included the documentation of Dalkalaen, I spent part of my time on Ambrym in Wuro. During my first trip in 2009, I only worked on Daakaka, mostly in Emyotungan, Sesivi and Baiap. In 2010, I again dedicated most of my time to the documentation of Daakaka in Emyotungan and Sesivi, but also went to Wuro for two weeks to start collecting data on Dalkalaen. By then, my most important informant TM had already moved to Vila, so I spent some more time there to work with him.

During the third trip in 2011, I stayed in Wuro to complete the documentation of Dalkalaen, but also spent much time in Vila, where I focused on doing elicitations and checking my database with TM.

Table 1.2 gives an overview over the composition of my field trips. A more detailed table is in the appendix (table B.3).

1.4. The Data

After a short phase of accommodating to life on Ambrym, I rapidly became very busy. In all the villages I stayed, people spread the word that I was looking for anyone willing to tell a story and many answered to the call. People would usually come to where I was living and tell me whatever stories they wanted to share. Fortunately for the project, traditional stories, both fairy tales for children and more sinister legends about the mythical past are still very much alive among speakers.

To get a wider variety of genres, I encouraged people to tell me not only children's stories and legends, but also less canonical narratives, as for example reports about events they had witnessed. To elicit explanations about natural and cultural objects and practices, I found it particularly useful to compile lists of semantically related items, for example, words for birds or insects, and give these words as prompts to a speaker who would then say everything that came to their mind about the corresponding animals or plants. Other explanations, for example about

how to make a garden, were given without further prompts and are also valuable resources of words and structures.

Conversations have been hard to record for obvious reasons. I did record two of them, with the permission of the speakers, and they have turned out quite beautifully and provided me with recorded examples of words and practices that I would hear during my everyday interactions with people but that would otherwise not show up in my recordings. In order to get an insight into the orthographic intuitions of speakers, my colleagues and I also organized a writing competition in the region, which produced however only a small number of texts. Even so, among these texts is the only cooking recipe of the corpus (for fruit salad), a linguistically very good description of how to make a mat, a small ‘random idea’ by a child which was crucial for my initial understanding of counterfactual expressions and which is the only example of an essay in my corpus, as well as a number of very clear texts by a gifted and enthusiastic female speaker who later also proved of great help in editing the textbooks for local schools.

I would also like to mention that, when I later initiated a writing competition in Wuro for Dalkalaen, the results were quite overwhelming, with more than sixty texts, of which several were of very high literary quality.

In addition to these recordings and texts, I have several recordings which have not made it into the corpus for a variety of reasons: Some of them are songs, and one of them is a poem, so they do not necessarily represent the natural, everyday use of the language; some of them have gaps in the transcription or could not be transcribed with a lot of confidence. For example, I have recorded more than an hour of a court case, but this involved about thirty people sitting around on an area about the size of half a football field and throwing in comments on a very windy day, so much of the recording is more or less unintelligible. Finally, some recordings were entirely elicited word lists or paradigms, and thus of little use for the text corpus.

For Daakaka, I recorded a total of thirty-four speakers from Emyotungan, Sesivi, Baiap, Yelevyak and Yaoutilie, and also two from Leelee and Malver in the Dalkalaen region, who were also fluent in Daakaka. Speakers were predominantly male for several reasons: Married women usually come from other places and do not speak the language natively, although many acquire a very high degree of competence; the younger, unmarried women were not considered very good informants by senior speakers because of their young age; and women are generally more busy than men on Ambrym and had less time to spare to work with me.

The ages of the recorded speakers range from about twelve for the youngest to over sixty for the older ones. Many people do not know exactly their age, so I often had to guess. The entire corpus is very much biased because of 119 recordings, forty-one have been produced by a single speaker from Emyotungan. Only few other speakers have produced more than ten recordings, and many have produced only a single text. A condensed overview over speakers is given in table 1.4, a full list of speakers can be found in table B.2 in the appendix.

In each village, there were one or two gifted young men who could spare the time to sit down with me every day and do one or two hours of transcriptions and translations, which I usually did in Praat or ELAN. I then exported the transcriptions and translations from ELAN to Toolbox, where I built a lexical database with glosses and part of speech information, often enriched by examples, notes, inflectional paradigms and so on. The glosses and word class information were then again retrieved semi-automatically from the lexicon into the emerging text database.

1. Background

Based on nearly ten hours of completely transcribed recordings and ten written texts I have built a text database of more than six thousand sentence units and over sixty thousand words, each of which has been glossed, tagged for part of speech, and translated. The lexicon comprises a little more than two thousand entries, not counting subentries. I used Toolbox as a concordance program to search for occurrences of specific lexemes and structures, and also supplemented my search by perl scripts to have wider access to regular expressions.

Especially in the beginning of the process, I made quite a few errors, especially in the transcription itself. But I have since been working heavily with the corpus and meticulously checked any apparent irregularities both with the original recording and with native speaker informants. I am currently in the process of transforming the Toolbox corpus into a human-readable XML format and removing any remaining inconsistencies in the annotations. By the end of 2012, I hope to have the corpus in publishable shape.

The text collection was heavily supplemented by elicitations of various kinds. Throughout the compilation of the lexicon, I asked for more examples for most lexical items to determine their word class and to get a better grasp of their usage. Most of these example sentences and phrases are now in the lexicon but have not been counted as part of the text corpus.

Another important type of elicitation involved permutations of sentences taken from the corpus. I would ask whether it was possible to replace individual elements by paradigmatically related elements or to change the word order, and if so, how that would affect the meaning of a sentence. These exercises have provided me with negative evidence and minimal pairs.

During my life on Ambrym, I usually carried around a note book and wrote down interesting sentences and words from everyday conversations. I later checked them with informants and I counted these data also among the elicitations.

Finally, I also did function-based elicitations, in which I gave a stimulus to an informant—the description of a situation, a short movie clip, or a sentence in Bislama—and asked them how they would express the given meaning in Daakaka. These elicitations were often informed by standard questionnaires, and they centered around semantic domains such as comparisons or expressions of disintegration. Unfortunately, I cannot quantify the data I obtained by elicitation, since most of them were recorded only in two volumes of handwritten notes. Only during my last field trip, where I did most of my elicitations in Vila and therefore with unlimited supplies of electricity, did I note down my results on the computer. The elicited sentences from that period of time run to about sixteen thousand words.

Throughout the grammar, I have used a total of 1428 example sentences, some of which I used (and counted) more than once. More than two thirds of them come directly from the corpus, while the others come from elicitations. With examples taken from the corpus, I sometimes adjusted them in length to make them more easily readable: I sometimes shortened very long stretches or joined the beginning of a very long sentence to a later section, cutting out stretches in between. I was careful not to distort the original structure of a clause and checked with informants whenever in doubt.

Table 1.3 on page 15, and in full detail table B.2 in the appendix, give an overview over the composition of the corpus.

1.5. The Structure of the Thesis

1.5.1. Preliminary considerations

Much has been said about the unique challenges of writing a grammar [compare for example Ameka et al., 2006].

In writing this grammar, I mostly had other linguists in mind who want to compare Daakaka to other languages with respect to certain properties. It should also be useful as a starting point for anyone who wants to conduct more detailed research on a particular phenomenon of the language.

Roughly speaking the macro-structure corresponds most closely to conventions of grammar writing; the more fine-grained it gets, the more the structure depends on the particular properties of Daakaka. Simultaneously, I have based the division into larger units primarily on structural features, while several subordinate sections are dedicated to certain functional domains, such as expressions of verbal possession in section 3.2.7 or kinship terminology in section 3.3.6.

In some cases, I decided to treat certain paradigmatically homogenous systems of the language in one unit, even though these units or their place in the grammar is hardly orthodox. This is for example the case for possessive noun phrases, which are all treated in the section on possessive pronouns, in the chapter on minor word classes (4.1.3), because the morphemes which derive syntactically complex possessive noun phrases are apparently part of the paradigm formed by possessive pronouns.

In other cases, I sacrificed the unity of a system of morphemes in favor of a more orthodox and accessible structure. I have tried to mitigate any bias in the structure by a rich system of cross-references and an index, although the latter is so far only preliminary.

I would like to note that all figures in this book have been created by myself. Except for the EPS files created from Praat, all figures are coded in L^AT_EX, including the map in figure 1.1 and the sand drawings in figure 9.2 and I will be happy to share the code as long as I am cited as its author.

1.5.2. Typographic conventions

In the running text, italics indicate that a word is used meta-linguistically, for example when I talk about the properties of an expression like *house*. In order to refer to the meaning of an expression rather than the expression itself, I use single quotes as in, for example: The meaning of *house* is ‘house’. When giving examples from Daakaka in the running text, I will sometimes provide glosses as well as a translation, in which case the glosses will be in round brackets as in *houses* (house-P) ‘houses’.

Literal quotes from other texts are in double quotes. I will sometimes describe the abstract pattern of certain constructions in square brackets; in this context, capital letters indicate the word class of the variables in the pattern as in [NOUN VERB]. Abstract functional meanings like ‘plural’ or ‘transitive’ are printed as abbreviations in small caps as in P and TRANS.

The other function of square brackets in the running text is to give the phonetic transcription of a term. Letters and letter sequences referring to phonemes are between slashes as in /s/.

Important terminology is introduced in bold print when mentioned for the first time.

1. Background

In the linguistic examples, the first line is always in italics, with highlighted words in bold print. Parts of examples are sometimes in square brackets to highlight larger units or to clarify the structure. The star ‘*’ is used to indicate that an expression is ungrammatical. The hash mark ‘#’ indicates that an expression is infelicitous in the given environment or for the intended interpretation.

Throughout the grammar, the first line of examples corresponds to the orthographic principles developed during the project, even though this means that certain word units are orthographically broken up into smaller units: sequences of subject pronouns, TAM markers and verbs form word units, but are represented as separate units, with the TAM marker often cliticizing to either the preceding pronoun or the subsequent verb.

The typographic conventions for the examples follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. In particular, affixes are attached by a dash ‘-’, clitics are attached by an equal sign ‘=’ and reduplicated syllables are attached by a tilde ‘~’. Infixes are given in angled brackets ‘⟨⟩’.

Glosses for abstract, functional elements are in small caps. If I need more than one word in the English gloss to express the meaning of a Daakaka word, I use the dot ‘.’ to separate the words in the gloss as in ‘red.ant’. When a morpheme cannot be segmented but combines two discrete meanings or functions, both meanings are given and separated by a semicolon as in ‘REAL;CONT’.

In the third line of each example, the translation is given in single quotation marks. Direct speech is given in additional double quotation marks. In the translation, italics indicate that part of an utterance is contrastively focused as in ‘*we* didn’t do it, *they* did’. For many examples, a more literal translation is given in round brackets behind the free translation. Examples from the corpus come with a reference in round brackets and printed in monospace font which indicates the text from which the sentence was taken and the number of this sentence within the text.

Examples which come directly from the corpus often do not start with capital letters and do not end with a punctuation mark. This reflects the fact that most speakers produce long stretches of coordinated sentences, from which I extract single sentences for the examples. Unless indicated by dots ‘...’, these sentences do represent well-formed units which would also be grammatical if uttered in isolation.

Tabelle 1.2.: The places where I worked and the duration of my stays in days

Place	Duration
2009/08/07—2009/11/23	
Emyotungan	55
Sesivi	14
Baiap	7
Vila	31
subtotal	107
2010/05/09—2010/08/31	
Emyotungan	49
Sesivi	18
(Wuro	14)
Vila	34
subtotal	115
2011/07/31—2011/15/10	
(Wuro	30)
Vila	51
subtotal	81
total	303

Tabelle 1.3.: The table shows the number of words in the text corpus and their distribution across genres, and how many example sentences were taken from which genre and from elicitations.

Genre	Words	Examples
conversation	3515	62
essay	56	2
explanation	21628	299
report	6496	142
story	28884	532
subtotal	60579	1037
elicitation		391
total		1428

1. Background

Tabelle 1.4.: The numbers of speakers and of the texts they produced, sorted according to gender, age and place of origin

Characteristics	Values	Speakers	Texts
Gender	Male	27	113
	Female	7	11
Age	< 15	2	2
	15-25	9	13
	25-35	4	6
	35-45	5	22
	45-60	6	57
	>60	8	24
Place	Baiap	6	11
	Emyotungan	10	73
	Sesivi	14	31
	Other	4	9

2. Phonology and Orthography

2.1. Segments

2.1.1. Consonants

The consonant inventory of Daakaka is quite typical for languages of the region, with eighteen distinct phonemes. As in a number of Oceanic languages there is a contrast between the simple bilabial stops and nasals /p/, /b/ and /m/, and the labio-velar /pw/, /bw/ and /mw/ [compare Lynch et al., 2002]; this contrast is however only relevant before the front vowels /i/ and /e/.

Voiced stops are prenasalized. The phoneme /v/ can be pronounced both as a labiodental [v] and as bilabial [β], the latter mostly before round vowels. Table 2.1 gives an overview of the consonantal phonemes and their orthographic representation.

The following list gives the orthographic representation of the phonemes in slashes and a short explanation of their phonetic values. Minimal pairs are only provided for the usual suspects. Note also that in addition to the graphemes below, I also use the letter **j** for some loanwords from Bislama. A discussion of these orthographic choices can be found in section 2.5.

/k/: This is a dorso-velar voiceless stop with a tendency towards uvular articulation. Between vowels, it is often reduced to the fricative [ɸ].

/g/: The place of articulation is identical with /k/, but this sound is voiced and is not usually realized as a fricative. A minimal pair to show the distinction between /g/ and /k/ would be *gyes* [ʔgʲɛs] ‘(to) work’ vs. *kyes* [kʲɛs] ‘sweet’.

/ng/: A regular dorso-velar nasal. This sound can also occur in the onset of a syllable as in *ngapngap* ‘(to) rest’. It contrasts with the other two nasals /n/ and /m/ as can be seen

Tabelle 2.1.: The orthographic representations of consonantal phonemes in Daakaka. Lat.: lateral

	Labio-velar	Labial	Alveolar	Velar
Nasal	mw	m	n	ng [ŋ]
Stop	pw, bw	p, b	t, d	k, g
Fricative	v		s	
Approximant	w			y [j]
Trill			r	
Lateral approximant			l	

2. Phonology and Orthography

from the words *ngok* ‘you’, *nok* ‘be finished’ and *mok* ‘my’. Younger speakers have a tendency to replace word-initial [ŋ] by [m].

/t/: This voiceless stop is usually articulated in the dental to alveolar range, but may shift to a (laminal) post-alveolar articulation if followed by the approximant /y/ [j], as in *tyu* [t_ɰ^ju] ‘chicken’.

/d/: This stop is the voiced counterpart to /t/; as all voiced stops, it is prenasalized and therefore articulated as [ᵀd]. A relevant minimal pair to /t/ would be *tomo* [tɔmɔ] ‘rat’ and *domo* [ᵀdɔmɔ] ‘to lead, to head’.

/n/: This nasal behaves very similar to the two corresponding stops regarding its place of articulation. When followed by /y/ [j], it is palatalized, as in *nye* [ɲ^jɛ], the first person singular pronoun. For minimal pairs with the other two nasals, see /ŋ/. It contrasts with /l/ in pairs such as /nii/ ‘hide’ and /lii/ ‘owl’. In contrast to the neighboring Dalkalaen, I have not seen any alternation between /l/ and /n/ in Daakaka.

/p/: This is a voiceless bilabial stop. Word-finally and before [s], /p/ can also be realized as [f] or, in the neighborhood of round vowels, [ɸ]; thus, *wip* ‘imperial pigeon’ can be pronounced as either [wip] or [wif] and *milipsyes* ‘six’ is usually pronounced as [milifsjes].

/b/: A voiced bilabial stop. A minimal pair to show the distinction to its voiceless counterpart would be *buo* [ᵐbuɔ] ‘boar’ and *puo* [puɔ] ‘be full, be a lot’.

/m/: A bilabial nasal, as in *maa* [ma:] ‘emerald dove’.

/pw/: This stop is one of three sounds with a labio-velar approximant release. The suggestion that they really constitute a separate class of consonants rather than a combination of a bilabial consonant plus approximant originated in native speaker intuition and is supported by the observation that they can only occur before front vowels, while /w/ can be followed by any vowel. The phonemic difference between /p/ and /pw/ is attested by the pair *pwis* ‘be many’ and *pis* ‘tie, fasten’.

/bw/: This is the voiced counterpart to the previous stop. A minimal pair to distinguish the two would be *bwis* [ᵐb^wis] ‘pass under, go inside’ vs. *pwis* [p^wis], ‘be numerous’. A minimal pair to illustrate the difference between /bw/ and /b/ would be *bwili* [ᵐb^wili] ‘hole’ vs. *bili* [ᵐbili] ‘time’.

/mw/: This is the labio-velar counterpart to /m/. The following pair illustrates the difference between /m/ and /mw/: *mvermwɛr* [m^wɛrm^wɛr] ‘short’ vs. *mermer* [mɛrmɛr] ‘unconscious, half dead’.

/s/: A fricative which can be realized either with the tip or the blade of the tongue as an articulator against the alveolar ridge. The palatalized variety occurs primarily in the neighborhood of /i/ and /j/. The level of voicing varies, with inter-vowel articulation favoring a voiced realization. Examples include *sungavi* [sʊŋavi] ‘ten’ and *mesyu* [mɛʃ^ju] ‘fish’.

- /r/:** This trill is often rather long, with several repetitions of the tongue flapping against the alveolar ridge. There are only few words with /r/ as the initial consonants, such as *ruuruu* ‘(to) thunder’ and *riprip* ‘fan’. The replacement of [r] by [l] is considered a feature of children’s speech. For adult registers, /r/ and /l/ contrast in pairs like *riprip* ‘fan’ and *liplip* ‘soft coconut’ and, word-medially, *giri* ‘brazen, bold’ and *gili* ‘end of’.
- /l/:** This phoneme is realized as a regular lateral approximant. For contrasts with /n/ and /r/, see their respective paragraphs.
- /v/:** A voiced labio-dental or bilabial fricative as in *vyan* [v^ɛan] ‘go’, which contrasts with *pyan* ‘underneath, down’. A minimal pair with /b/ would be *vyan* ‘I think’ and *byen* ‘her/his body’.
- /w/:** A bilabial approximant as in *wotop* [wɔtɔp] ‘breadfruit’. Minimal pairs between /w/ and /v/ are not frequent, but they do exist, as for example *wes* ‘poisonwood’ and *ves* ‘how many, how much’.
- /y/:** This approximant with the phonetic value [j] is a glide which occurs at the boundary of syllables rather than in the nucleus, in contrast to vowels. Its interactions with its environment are quite strong, affecting both its own realization and those of its surrounding phonemes. Its distribution and behavior is discussed in more detail in section 2.2.

2.1.2. Vowels

There are fourteen vowel phonemes in Daakaka. This might seem to be a rather large inventory of vowel phonemes, but it is mainly due to the fact that there is a contrast between long and short vowels. Similar inventories can be found in the related languages Oirat and Lakon on Gaua [François, 2005, 445]. I represent vowel length by number of vowel graphemes, so long vowels are written with two letters instead of one as in *lee*, ‘wood’. See figure 2.1 for an overview of phonemic differences in tongue position.

Mid vowels can be distinguished into tense and lax vowels, giving the pairs /é/ [e] and /e/ [ɛ] for front vowels, and /ó/ [o] versus /o/ [ɔ] for back vowels. This distinction is however only relevant after alveolar consonants such as /t/, /d/, /l/, /n/ or /s/; the contrast between /o/ and /ó/ is also phonemic in syllable-initial position.

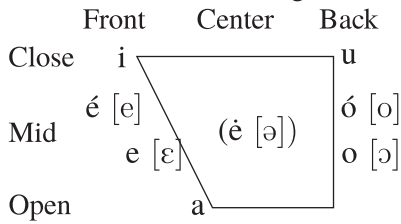
There is also a very short central schwa vowel. It contrasts with /a/, but not with /e/, so I write it as /e/; it is probably not an allophone of /e/, since its distribution does not differ noticeably from /e/. But there are no minimal pairs to prove the contrast between schwa and /e/ either, which is why I represent the two sounds by the same letter in the orthography. Throughout the grammar, I will use the character /ê/ to indicate vowels which have consistently been produced with this short, central vowel throughout recordings and elicitations, although it is possible that in rarer words it might have escaped me, given the natural variability of vowels.

Its contrast with /a/ can be seen in pairs like *séngane* [sɛŋane] ‘give’ and *sangane* [saŋane] ‘harm, spoil’. There is no long version of schwa, it is usually even shorter than the average short vowel.

Another sound which adds complexity to the vowel system is [y]. In Daakaka, this sound is only attested in two to three lexemes, depending on the dialect: *kueli* ‘return’ and *kyun* ‘only,

2. Phonology and Orthography

Abbildung 2.1.: Foci of phonemically distinct vowel articulation



then' are everywhere pronounced as [ky^əli] and [k^jyn]. The word *kuone* 'help' is pronounced as [ku^əne] in Emyotungan and as [ky^əne] in Sesivi.¹

Coronal consonants are known to have a fronting effect on preceding vowels in a number of languages [see Flemming, 2003 and references therein], so the /n/ which follows the vowels in each case could be in part responsible for the effect.

In addition, the [y] vowel is in all three cases preceded by /k/ and accompanied by vocalic or half-vocalic satellites from the central to frontal spectrum of articulation. It appears therefore that [y] is an allophone of /u/ in special environments.

In the neighboring languages Daakie and Dalkalaen, [y] also plays a role, but in different ways—in Daakie it is an allophone of [u] after alveolar consonants, in Dalkalaen it is a marginal, but independent, phoneme restricted to a position following a bilabial consonant. An overview of the vowel phonemes and schwa is given in figure 2.1.

A minimal tuple for five of the seven short vowel phonemes consists in the words *is* 'name', *es* 'black ant', *as* 'garfish' and *ós* 'rain', and possibly *os*, a loanword from Bislama meaning 'horse'. For /i/ and /u/, contrasting examples are relatively abundant, one of them being *lingi* 'put' and *lungu* 'wrap sth. up'. For short /u/ and /o/ on the other hand, it is possible that they are not contrastive in all environments, but there are minimal pairs at least for word-initial position, such as *ur* 'louse' and *or* 'place'.

Contrasts between lax and tense vowels are only phonemic in the onset of a syllable and after alveolar consonants. The contrast between short /ó/ and /o/ is also shown by the two terms *óp* and *op*; *op* means 'firewood', while *óp* denotes the complicated notion of the effect of a visitor's departure on the host family: If someone visits and stays for at least one night, their departure will leave their hosts with a feeling of emptiness and fatigue for the entire day and possibly longer. It is because of the effects of *óp* that it is considered taboo to visit a sick person overnight. These two vowels also contrast after alveolar consonants, as shown by the pair *to* 'bivalve shell' and *tó* 'coconut grater'. Similarly, the difference between /é/ and /e/ is manifested in the pair *té* 'giant clam' and *te* 'cut'.

For some vowel qualities, length is less important than for others in terms of distinguishing word meanings. Thus, for /i/ and /ii/, there are no morphologically perfect minimal pairs: In pairs like *ni* (NEC) and *nii* 'hide' or *w-i* (POT-COP) and *wii* 'rib of a palm leaf', the short

¹Generalizations over regional differences have to be taken with a grain of salt; In this particular case, I have only one speaker from each of the two places on record to illustrate the difference, which hardly allows for the conclusion that this difference is due to the speakers' places of origin. I also heard several other speakers from both places conform to the same pattern, which gives me a certain degree of confidence in the generalization, but does of course not constitute definite proof thereof.

versions are functional elements and can be morphologically complex, while the long versions are simple verbs and nouns. Similarly, long /uu/ is quite rare and there are few minimal pairs with short /u/. One candidate is *buu* ‘be broken’ and *bu*, a transitive noun meaning ‘backside of’, another one would be *kuku* ‘grate’ and *kuu-kuu* (REDUP-move) ‘move back and forth’. For /é/ and /éé/, the only minimal pair I found is *té* ‘giant clam’ and *téé* ‘look’.

For /a/ and /aa/, on the other hand, there are a number of candidates for minimal pairs where both words come from one of the major classes, as with *bya* ‘(to) plant’ and *byaa* ‘swamp harrier’. The mid vowels /e/ and /ee/ can be distinguished by pairs like *te* ‘cut’ and *tee* ‘axe’ as well as *le* ‘marry’ and *lee* ‘tree’. Long /oo/ contrasts with short /o/ in examples such as *to* ‘bivalve shell’ and *too* ‘garden, field’. And *tó* ‘coconut grater’ forms a minimal pair with *tóó* ‘cane’ to show the contrast between the long and short varieties of tense /ó/.

Most if not all of the vowel sequences described in the following section and listed in table 2.2 might be diphthongs; the relevant difference between a diphthong and a non-diphthong vowel sequence is that diphthongs are monosyllabic while other vowel sequences can spread over more than one syllable. There are no clear prosodic clues to syllable structure, which makes it hard to determine whether two subsequent vowels belong to the same syllable (see also section 2.4.1). Reduplication patterns provide some evidence that at least some vowel pairs are disyllabic rather than diphthongs, but then again the rules of reduplication do not appear to be the most reliable indicator of syllabic units—compare section 2.3.2.

2.2. Phonotactics

2.2.1. Consonant and vowel clusters

The range of combinations of vowels and consonants in Daakaka is quite restricted. Consonant clusters are strictly dispreferred. The only bona fide native terms with a word-initial pair of consonants are *grip*, which is reported to be an archaic term for ‘rib’—the modern term is *guo*; and *brongis* ‘hurricane’. There is a handful of loanwords with word-initial consonant clusters such as *plen* ‘plane’, *skul* ‘school’ and *smok* ‘smoke’.

Likewise, word-final consonant clusters occur exclusively in loanwords and names such as *cent* or *Queensland*. The only position within a word where a sequence of two consonants can be found more regularly is a word-medial position as in *vyanten* ‘person, man’ or *sakvi* ‘meeting’. Most of these words however look as if they are at least diachronically composed of more than one morpheme, even though synchronically, the single units might no longer be available as lexemes. For example, the terms *liplip* ‘young coconut’ or *kyenkyen* ‘be sore’ appear to be reduplicated forms of now no longer available monosyllabic roots. In fact, as many as seventy-six out of about two thousand words conform to the pattern of reduplication, which makes this type of words shape quite a distinctive feature of Daakaka vocabulary.

Vowels can be long or short and can form clusters of two short vowels as in *meor* ‘right’, or one short and one long vowel as in *seaa* ‘all, entirely’. There is one word consisting of a sequence of three vowels, *aua*, and there are a few morphologically complex phrases like *ye ae* ‘leaf of the victory plant’, which are phonological words and contain a sequence of three vowels. Apart from that, however, no more than two vowels form a sequence.

2. Phonology and Orthography

Tabelle 2.2.: Attested vowel sequences, with examples and frequencies; the head row gives the initial vowel of each pair, while the first column gives the second one.

	a	e	o	u
a		<i>meas</i> ‘cold’/ 20	<i>boa</i> ‘whimbrel’/ 4	<i>kuane</i> ‘home of’/ 4
e	<i>gae</i> ‘(to) dry’/ 32			<i>kueli</i> [kyɛli] ‘return’/ 3
o	<i>pyaos</i> ‘row’/ 19	<i>veop</i> ‘long’/ 9		<i>puo</i> ‘be full’/ 74
u	<i>aup</i> ‘ghost crab’/ 4	<i>meu</i> ‘live’/ 5	<i>woul</i> 3	
i	<i>mais</i> ‘louse egg’/ 5	<i>kekei</i> ‘small’/ 3		

Words can contain a sequence of two identical vowels separated by a morphemic boundary. These constellations differ from long vowels in that the two vowels can be separated by the glottal fricative [h] as in *ló-ó* [lo(h)o] ‘coconut palm’.

Not all vowel combinations are equally possible or frequent. The combinations recorded in the lexical database are given in table 2.2.

The semivowel /y/ occurs quite freely between consonants and vowels and it interacts considerably with its phonetic environment: If /y/ is preceded by a bilabial consonant such as /m/, /p/ or /b/, it is pronounced like a very short open mid vowel, [ɛ], instead of [j]. In these environments, the main feature which distinguishes the glide /y/ from the vowel /e/ appears to be the length of the vocalic sequence: there are pairs like *myap* [m^ɛap] ‘heavy’ and *meap* [mɛap] ‘twin’, where the sequence /ya/ lasts between 90 and 110 ms, while the sequence /ea/ lasts between 160 and 180 ms.

Moreover, /y/ palatalizes preceding coronal consonants, so that *syuksyuk* ‘rubbish’ is pronounced as [ʃ^jukʃ^juk] and *tyotyó* ‘snake’ is pronounced approximately as [tʃ^jɔtʃ^jɔ].

The combination of /y/ with subsequent vowel clusters makes for richly vocalic words such as *myaek* [m^ɛaɛk] or *myaop* [m^ɛaɔp].

The second semivowel, /w/ does not combine with other consonants to form a complex onset as freely as /y/. In fact, the only consonant which can precede /w/ in the onset of a syllable is /s/, as in *swa* ‘one’ and *swave* ‘throw’.

2.2.2. Word shapes

In this section, I will concentrate on word-level restrictions rather than syllables, because a number of restrictions only apply on the word level. A word consists minimally of a short vowel, there are no syllabic consonants. An example of a word consisting of only one vowel is *ó* ‘coconut’.

Generally, all consonants can occur at the beginning of a word, with the exception of /r/ which is only rarely found in that position. The only non-loan lexemes with word-initial /r/ are *ruuruu* ‘(to) thunder’, *riprip* ‘fan’ and *ra* (1P.IN) ‘we’. From other words and from reduplication patterns it seems clear that diachronically, word-initial /r/ has been replaced by /d/ in most words. Thus, simplex words like *dereli* ‘millipede’ and *diprip* ‘edible fern’ might represent frozen reduplicated forms. Synchronically, this relation between /r/ and /d/ can be seen in the

reduplication patterns of some words starting with /d/ like *du* ‘exist’, which reduplicates as *du-ru*. For more on reduplication, see section 2.3.2.

The most frequent onset consonants are voiceless stops, followed by voiced stops, but all consonant classes are attested at the onset fairly frequently. Words can also start with a vowel, although phonetically, vocalic onsets are often preceded by the glottal fricative [h].

In word-final position, voiced stops do not occur, but voiceless stops are quite frequent. All other consonants can also occur word-finally, with the nasal consonants and /r/ being especially prominent (at the point of writing, out of 876 lexemes ending in a consonant, 297 end in a nasal and 150 end in /r/).

The single most frequent word pattern is CVCV, where both vowels can be either long or short—it makes up for about twelve percent of the vocabulary. More generally, disyllabic words of the pattern (C)(y)VC(Cy)V(C) are the most frequent type, closely followed by monosyllabic words of the pattern (C)(y)V(C)—V here stands for one or more long or short vowels.

There are also a fair number of trisyllabic words, although only few of them are clearly morphologically simple, such as *kevene* ‘every’. Some of them might have onomatopoeic or ideophonic origins, as for example *tataraa* ‘to slide down a hill on a coconut leaf’, *songolom* ‘to splash around in water’, *tokoraa* ‘(of a hen that just laid an egg) to cackle’, *kikisi*, which only occurs with *myan* ‘laugh’, to form the expression *myan kikisi* ‘to laugh helplessly’—an apparently related expression is *kikilipse* ‘tickle’; and *domesi* ‘to suck (on a teat)’.

Other tri-syllabic nouns mostly refer to animals such as *tamadu* (an insect that lives in the ground), *tabalir* ‘woodboring beetle’ and *telelel* ‘long-tailed triller’.

All words with more than three syllables appear to be morphologically complex, involving reduplication, compounding, morphological derivation, or a combination thereof. An example would be the term *vyaevyaewotop*, which refers to a certain bird, the fantail, but originally consists of the reduplicated verb *vyaē* ‘(to) tear’ and *wotop* ‘breadfruit’—the term thus defines the bird by a behavioral characteristic, the tearing of breadfruits. For more on complex lexical nouns, see section 3.3.5.

As consonant clusters are largely restricted and most words contain only one or two syllables, the number of homophones is quite high—there is a total of 192 homonymous forms. Most of them form pairs like *tes* ‘sea’ and *tes* ‘to peel (a fruit)’, but some forms are used for as many as four or five different lexemes. Examples are *yaa*, which can mean ‘sun’, ‘be taboo’, ‘wild yam’, ‘hurt’ and ‘be incomplete’, or *myar*, which has the meanings ‘eye’, ‘watch’, ‘be selfish’, ‘be raw’, ‘aimlessly’.

2.3. Morpho-phonological Processes

2.3.1. Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony plays a role in a number of morphological constellations. Of the TAM markers, the realis marker *mw*, the potential marker *p*, the distal marker *t* and the necessity marker *n* can occur as monoconsonantal clitics if they are either preceded by a subject pronoun (which all end in vowels) or followed by a verb which starts with a front vowel; both cases are illustrated in the following example:

2. Phonology and Orthography

- (1) a. *na=m* vyan Baiap
 1S=REAL GO Baiap
 ‘I went to Baiap.’
 b. *ya mw=esi temeli en=te*
 3P REAL=see child LOC=MED
 ‘They saw this child.’ (rep06:9)

If these markers cannot cliticize to an adjacent word, they will instead form a monosyllabic term with a short vowel that is mostly determined by, and usually identical with, the first vowel of the subsequent verb. Two examples with the distal marker *t* are given below:

- (2) a. *bili na ka lee tu kuu t=i towo, ...*
 time COMP MOD.COMP tree DIST move DIST=COP big
 ‘when the tree moves a lot, ...’ (exp11:23)
 b. *ka ye=t me to nok, ...*
 SUBCONJ 3PC=DIST come DIST finish
 ‘when they came, ...’ (exp05:118)

There are however several exceptions to this rule. For one thing, in most cases, it is possible to realize the TAM markers with the vowel /e/ instead of the first vowel of the subsequent verb. Thus, in the examples above, it would also be possible to say *te kuu* and *te nok* respectively. A few lexical expressions force the vowel of the TAM marker to agree, presumably because they are so frequent, such as *vu* ‘be good’: It is not possible to say *mwe vu* instead of *mu vu* (REAL be.good) or *te vu* instead of *tu vu* (DIST be.good).

With the equally frequent verb *ge* ‘be like’, there are more complex, idiosyncratic, codependencies between the shape of the TAM marker, a final demonstrative clitic and the shape of the verb itself: with the realis marker and the PROXIMAL demonstrative marker, the form is *ma ge=tak* (REAL be.like=PROX) ‘it’s like this’, with the distal marker, the corresponding phrase is *ti ki=tak*, with the potential marker it is *wa ke=tak* and with the necessity marker it would be *ni gi=tak*; if the ALTERNATIVE demonstrative clitic *e* is used instead of *tak*, the verb *ge* changes to *giy-* as in *ma giy=e* ‘it’s like that’. Thus, the vowel of the TAM marker, both the vowel and the voicing of the initial vowel of the verb, and the shape of the demonstrative clitic all depend on one another.

Moreover, the realis marker *mw* never takes an /i/ as its vowel—possibly because such an /i/ could be taken to be the copula *i*; if the first vowel following *mw* is an /i/, it usually takes the form *ma*. The same is true if the following verb starts with a back vowel and in several other constellations.

The other markers generally conform more strictly to the requirement to agree with the first vowel of the following verb.

Another morpheme for which vowel harmony plays a role is the noun-prefix with the meaning ‘plant of, stem of’: this prefix starts with an /l/ and then takes a short vowel with the same quality as the first vowel of its host noun as in *lo-wotop* ‘breadfruit tree’, *li-vis* ‘banana plant’, *lu-tuwu* ‘bushnut tree’, or *ló-ó* ‘coconut palm’. The only vowel it does not agree with is /a/, instead, /e/ is used in such cases, as for example in *le-daa* ‘coral tree’. See also section 3.3.3 for more on the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of this morpheme.

Finally, there is one inflected noun with three syllables, and in each syllable the vowel depends on the person-number inflection: The first person singular form of this noun is *mun*_{<uk>}*uli* (brother_{<1S.POSS>}) ‘my brother’, while the other person-number forms conform to the pattern in *miny*_{}*eli* ‘your brother’, *miny*_{<en>}*eli* ‘her brother’ and so forth.

2.3.2. Reduplication

The process of reduplication applies to a variety of word classes, especially verbs and adjectives, but also numerals and quantifiers. The semantic and morpho-syntactic effects of this process are described in the corresponding word class sections.

The phonological properties of reduplication appear to be the same across word classes: In general, a copy of the first syllable of a word is prefixed to the word, as in *só~sóró* (REDUP~talk), *sa~sayung* (REDUP~be.quiet) or *pe~pesis* (REDUP~lay.eggs).

Syllables with a long vowel are fully copied as in *yaa~yaa* (REDUP~hurt) or *kuu~kuu* (REDUP~move). By contrast, in words of the shape CVV, where VV represents a sequence of two different vowels, only the first vowel is copied to the reduplicated syllable as in *ku~kuo* (REDUP~run), *lu~lua* (REDUP~fasten), *ve~veop* (REDUP~be.long) and *ga~gaó* (REDUP~dry).

Words of the shape CVVCVV, where both syllables are identical, only exist as lexicalized forms such as *kuokuo* ‘shut’ or *meomeo*, the name of a fruit. This might indicate that most sequences of two different vowels are disyllabic rather than diphthongs. On the other hand, the reduplicated form of a word with the structure CVVC will be CVVC~CVVC as in *wuon~wuon* (REDUP~stop.crying), but this pattern is much rarer and does not exist for most vowel clusters.

An overview of the attested patterns of regular reduplication is given in table 2.3. A closer look at the table reveals that for some words, two of the rules listed there might apply: Words of the form CVC* match both rule (5) and rule (1). And indeed, there is a certain degree of variation in words of that form. In general, words of the form CVC* have to be at least disyllabic in order to be reduplicated according to rule (1)— words like *dum* ‘make noise’ or *kop* ‘be full’ can only be reduplicated as *dum~dum* and *kop~kop* respectively.

For disyllabic words, the preferred pattern appears to be the CV~CV* pattern as with *só~sóró* (REDUP~speak), *ti~tisi* (REDUP~write) or *ke~kevene* (REDUP~every). Exceptions are words of the form CVN*, where N stands for the nasals /n/ and /ŋ/, thus *sang~sanga* (REDUP~be.bad) and *sen~sene* (REDUP~catch). For some of these words, both patterns are available to speakers, as for example with *punguo* ‘ascend’, which can be reduplicated both as *pu~punguo* and as *pung~punguo*. Likewise, the example with *tinyo* ‘stand up’ given in table 2.3, can be reduplicated both as *ti~tinyo* and as *tin~tinyo*.

Then again, if the first consonant of the word is also a nasal consonant (NVN*), the CV~CV* pattern will be the preferred reduplication form, as can be seen in *mi~minyes* (REDUP~be.different) and *me~mena* (REDUP~be.funny).

With prenasalized stops in word-medial position, the nasal articulation is sometimes copied to the coda of the reduplicated syllable as in *me(n)~medir* [mɛnɛndir] (REDUP~cold). In the case of *ubii* ‘(to) blister’, the only option is in fact to copy the nasal: *um~ubii*, possibly to avoid the clash between the two vowels.

Most, but not all words of the form CyV(C) follow the special pattern summarized in (3):

2. Phonology and Orthography

Tabelle 2.3.: This table shows the regular reduplication patterns, numbered as rules. The star ‘*’ indicates either the ending of a word or an arbitrary continuation.

Rule	Root	Reduplicated	Example
(1)	CV*	CV~CV*	<i>pe~pepis</i> (REDUP~lay.eggs), <i>tii~tii</i> (REDUP~sting)
(2)	CVV*	CV~CVV*	<i>ku~kuo</i> (REDUP~run)
(3)	CVVC	CVVC~CVVC	<i>kuon~kuon</i> (REDUP~be.bitter)
(4)	VC*	VC~VC*	<i>an~ane</i> (REDUP~eat), <i>is~is</i> (REDUP~call)
(5)	C(y)VC*	C(y)VC~C(y)VC*	<i>tin~tinyo</i> (REDUP~stand.up), <i>gyes~gyes</i> (REDUP~work)

(3) CyV(C) → Ce/i~CyV(C)

This means that the reduplicated syllable will receive /e/ as a vowel if /y/ follows a bilabial consonant as in *ve~vyung* (REDUP~bleach) or *pe~pyen* (REDUP~shoot); otherwise the vowel of the reduplicated syllable will be /i/, as in *ki~kye* (REDUP~ call); words like *kyu* ‘surround’, where the main vowel is a /u/, can be reduplicated both as in *ki~kyu* and as in *ku~kyu*.

With pairs like *pe~pyaos* (REDUP~row) and *pyos~pyos* (REDUP~joke), it seems hard to find a clear-cut generalization about which rule has to be applied in each case. Moreover, some words can follow both patterns; for example, *vyo* ‘grate’ can be reduplicated both as *ve~vyo* and as *vyo~vyo*.

Another idiosyncrasy of the system concerns words which start with /b/ and /bw/: The corresponding processes can be represented as in (4):

(4) b(w)V(V)(C) → bVwV(V)(C)

Thus, *bwii* is reduplicated as *bii~wii*, *bweak* as *be~weak* and *baa* as *baa~waa*.

The reduplicated form of *bya* is *be~vya-p*, which apparently results from a combination of the rule described in the running text in (3) and a variation of the rule described in (4): first, the rule $CyV \rightarrow Ce\sim CyV$, yields *be~* as the reduplicated syllable; then, the rule in (4) would mean that the initial /b/ of the original syllable is replaced by a /w/, but in this case, it is replaced by a /v/, presumably due to the /y/ in *bya*. The epenthetic /p/ which completes the reduplicated form is described in section 2.3.3 below.

As mentioned in section 2.2.2, word-initial /d/ is sometimes replaced by /t/ in the reduplication process. Examples are *du* ‘stay’, *dimye* ‘think’ and *doko* ‘pull’, which reduplicate as *du~ru*, *di~rimye* and *do~roko*. Synchronically, the rule seems to be that the copied syllable retains the /d/ in its onset, while the original syllable changes its onset from /d/ to /t/. An alternative, more likely, account would of course be to say that word-initial /t/ is pronounced as /d/, so in fact, *du* is underlyingly /ru/, but the /t/ is only pronounced as such when it is no longer at the beginning of the word. Diachronically, this is probably the process that has led to these patterns, but synchronically, there are a number of words for which the rule does not apply, such as *deng* ‘cry’, which reduplicates as *deng~deng* and *riprip* ‘fan’, which has a word-initial /t/.

Finally, when a word that starts with /g/ is reduplicated, the original /g/ can be devoiced.

Thus, *gèrase* ‘(to) lie’ is usually reduplicated as *ge~kerase*, *ger* ‘cover’ as *ge~ker*, and *guone* ‘(to) clean’ as *gu~kuone*. In most cases, the devoicing is optional, and in words where the reduplicated syllable is closed by a consonant, it is not an option, as in *gyes~gyes/*kyes* (REDUP~work).

The following section describes another morpho-phonological process which affects reduplications, but also other derivational processes.

2.3.3. Epenthetic /p/

For a small number of verbs, the final open syllable will be closed by a /p/ under certain morphological conditions. The verbs for which this phenomenon has been attested are *sye* ‘cut’, *liye* ‘take’, *bya* ‘plant’, *sulu* ‘catch’ and *wu* ‘blow’. One of the conditions that trigger /p/-excrescence is reduplication: for *sye*, both the reduplicated and the non-reduplicated syllable are augmented by /p/—yielding *sye-p~sye-p*—while for *wu*, only the second syllable gets closed off—yielding *wu~wu-p*. The reduplicated form of *bya* ‘(to) plant’ is *be~vya-p*, as explained in section 2.3.2 above.

In *liye* and *sulu*, reduplication does not involve epenthetic /p/, presumably because the process only applies to the first syllable of a word.

The second major process of this type is suffixation. Section 3.2.4 lists a number of morphemes which can be suffixed to verbs to modify their meanings. For the five verbs under consideration, a /p/ will be inserted between the verb root and the suffix: *liye-p-kuwu* (take-EP-out) ‘remove’, *sye-p-kote* (cut-EP-in.two) ‘cut sth. in two’, *sulu-p-kilye* (catch-EP-miss) ‘fail to catch sth.’, *wu-p-tase* (blow-EP-redo) ‘blow again’, and *bya-p-tase* (plant-EP-redo) ‘replant’.

Apart from these two derivation processes, there is also a syntactic constellation which requires epenthetic /p/, namely certain serial predicate constructions as in (5) (see also sections 7.1.2, 7.2.3 and 7.4.1):

- (5) *Sye wotop ∅-an vi myane vis myen te sye-p*
 slice breadfruit CL2-3S.POSS white.man with banana ripe CONJ slice-EP
mwelili=ane vyan yen pol.
 be.small=TRANS go in bowl
 ‘Cut the papaya (lit. ‘breadfruit of the white man’) and the banana and shred them into the bowl.’ (lit. ‘cut them small into the bowl’) (exp22:11)

The epenthetic /p/ is not a purely phonological process: it also transforms the transitive verbs *sye* ‘cut’ and *liye* ‘take’ into semitransitive verbs, thereby allowing them to enter into transitivized serial predicates as in (5). For reduplication and suffixing, semitransitive verbs are also more readily available than transitive verbs, so this morphological effect of epenthetic /p/ might play a role here as well (see sections 3.2.5 and 3.2.4). For more on the structure in (5) and similar constructions, see sections 7.1 and 7.2.3.

2. Phonology and Orthography

2.4. Prosody

2.4.1. In words

There appears to be no lexical word stress in Daakaka, in the sense that no syllable of a word is lexically singled out for the realization of boundary tones or phrasal accent. Similar findings have been claimed for a variety of languages—examples from within the Austronesian family are Indonesian [van Zanten et al., 2003] and Betawi Malay [van Heuven et al., 2008].

The most important correlates of stress cross-linguistically are duration, fundamental frequency and, to a lesser extent, intensity. I have not yet been able to conduct a large quantitative study to find out exactly which factors determine these three categories in a given syllable in a given context, but a preliminary survey of the data suggests that lexical word stress is not one of them.

Duration is primarily determined lexically and by the position of a syllable within a phrase: Some syllables are lexically short such as *a* ‘and, but’, while others are long such as *kuon*. It is not the case that a word always contains one syllable which is longer than the others; by contrast, there is quite a number of words which consist of exactly two syllables with exactly the same shape, which are produced with exactly the same length as long as they do not occur phrase-finally.

Syllables at the right edge of an intonation phrase are generally lengthened, and boundary tones are generally performed on the syllable closest to the boundary. This means that, at the beginning of a phonological phrase, the first syllable of the first word in that phrase will be prosodically prominent, because this is where the phrase-initial tone will be performed. In phrase-final position, by contrast, the last syllable of a word will be the location of the boundary tone. This means that the prosodic prominence in terms of fundamental frequency is determined by phrasal units rather than word units.

Intensity too does not seem to provide any evidence for word level stress. In recordings of single lexemes, both pitch and intensity stay remarkably constant for the duration of the word. Figures 2.2 and 2.3, which have been recorded as part of a word list, in isolation, illustrate this phenomenon.

2.4.2. In phrases

Daakaka has a rich variety of boundary tones and more complex intonation contours, of which I can only describe the most fundamental ones. The main two functions of intonation in Daakaka are to mark phrase boundaries and to distinguish between speech acts. Furthermore, intonation can be used to emphasize the degree to which a gradable predicate or quantifier holds. Focus, on the other hand, does not appear to be expressed by intonation, nor by any other prosodic means.

The typical intonation contour of a phrase forms a hat-shaped line: It begins with a short rise, ends with a short, steep decline and stays more or less flat in between. To signal that a sentence or larger piece of discourse continues after one phonological phrase, the fundamental frequency rises towards the end of the phrase instead of falling. This rise can start several words before the end of the phrase and usually persists to the last syllable.

Abbildung 2.2.: Prosody of the verb *kolir* ‘sing’ uttered in isolation. The upper line shows the fundamental frequency, the lower line shows intensity.

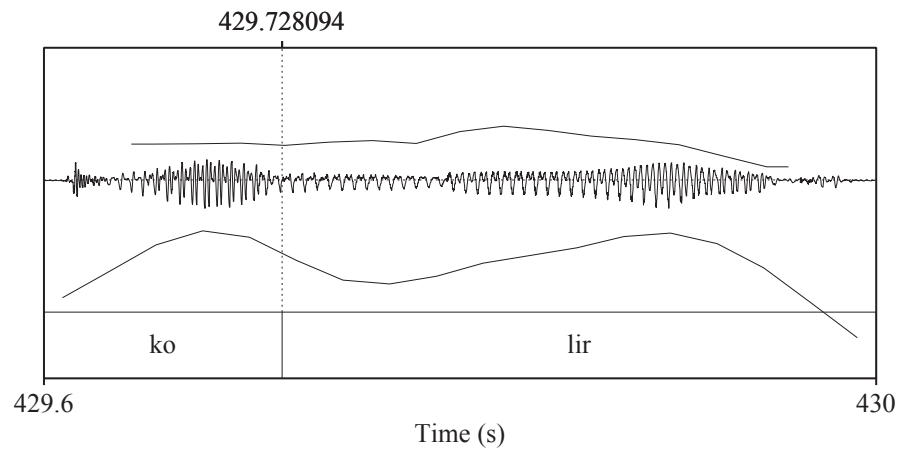
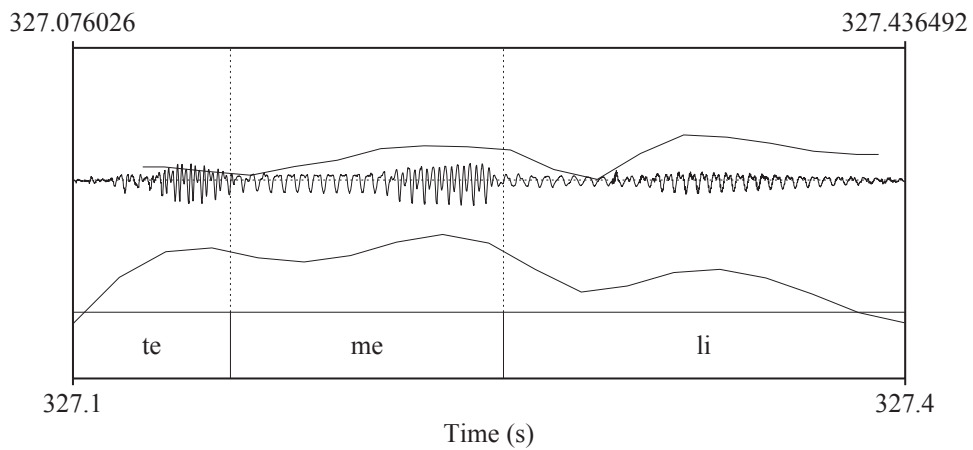
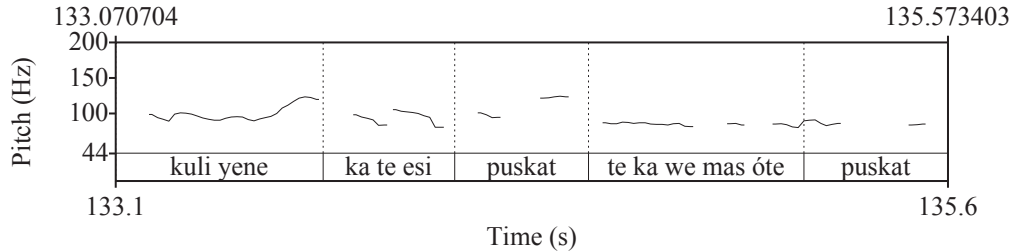


Abbildung 2.3.: Prosody of the noun *temeli* ‘child’ uttered in isolation



2. Phonology and Orthography

Abbildung 2.4.: A typical intonation contour with two non-final boundary tones (on *yene* and *puskat*) and one final boundary tone (on the second *puskat*). The gloss and translation are given in (6).



The next phrase will then start at a similar, low, frequency as the preceding one. Within longer sentences, such phrasing will typically take place between the topic and the subsequent comment, or between a temporal or conditional clause and the following main clause. These non-final boundary tones can however also connect sequences of complete sentences. The general pattern is illustrated in figure 2.4. The sentence depicted in the figure is glossed and translated in (6); prosodic boundaries are indicated by square brackets.

- (6) [kuli yene] [ka te esi puskat] [te ka we mas óte puskat]
 dog now SUBCONJ DIST see cat CONJ MOD.REL POT must hunt cat
 ‘now, whenever the dog sees the cat, it will hunt the cat’ (sto06:33)

Here, the first non-finite boundary tone comes at the end of the two topic expressions *kuli* ‘dog’ and *yene* ‘now’. The second non-finite boundary tone comes at the end of the subordinate clause *ka te esi puskat* ‘when it sees the cat’; the last phrase ends with a finite boundary tone, with the last syllable being the lowest of the entire clause. This sentence also illustrates that two boundary tones are most prominently expressed on the same (repeated) lexeme *puskat*; this means that *puskat* is prosodically the most prominent element twice in a row. In a language which uses prosodic stress to mark focus, one might expect literally given material—such as the repeated *puskat*—to be prosodically inconspicuous, and to have a prosodic signal of focus on a different constituent.

Thus, in the English translation of the clause, the most natural reading would be to have prosodic stress on the verb of the last part of the clause—*it will HUNT the cat*—to signal that the verb in this part of the clause is different, even though its object is the same as in the preceding clause.

But in Daakaka, contrastive focus in general does not seem to be expressed prosodically. Thus, in clauses containing contrast-sensitive particles such as *kyun* ‘only’ or *mon* ‘also’, answers to constituent questions, and parallel structures which differ only by one constituent, contrastive focus is not expressed by fundamental frequency, syllable length or intensity. Instead, morpho-syntactic clues are the only means to determine the focused constituent—see section 6.2.4 for more on information structure.

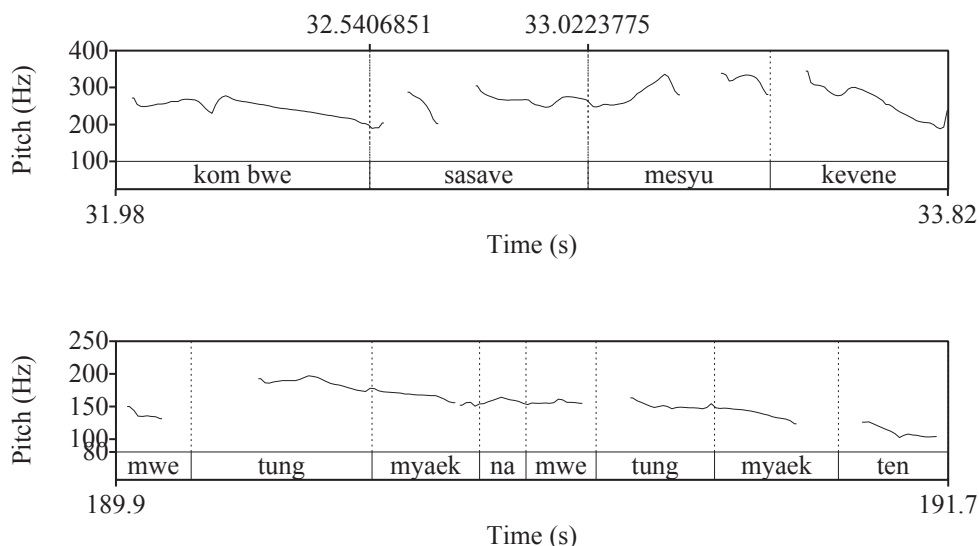
Intonation can however be used to emphasize quantifying or intensifying expressions such

as *kevene* ‘every’ or *ten* ‘very’ in the following two examples:

- (7) a. *ko=m bwe sa~save mesyu kevene*
 2S=REAL REAL;CONT REDUP~surpass fish every
 ‘you beat every fish’ (sto11:4)
- b. *mwe tung myaek na mwe tung myaek ten*
 REAL be.dark be.night COMP REAL be.dark be.night very
 ‘it was very very black’ (sto07:29)

As shown in figure 2.5, there is a sharp rise in the fundamental frequency at the left edge of the emphasized constituent. Note that in both cases the perceptually most prominent word is not the quantifier or intensifier itself, but the first word of the phrase it contains: In (7-a), the rise in frequency is performed on *mesyu* ‘fish’, in (7-b), it is the verb *tung* ‘to be dark’. This again indicates that intonation in Daakaka does not target specific words, let alone syllables, but operates on larger units.

Abbildung 2.5.: Two examples showing how the fundamental frequency can be raised on the left edge of a constituent to express intensification. Glosses and translations are given in (7).

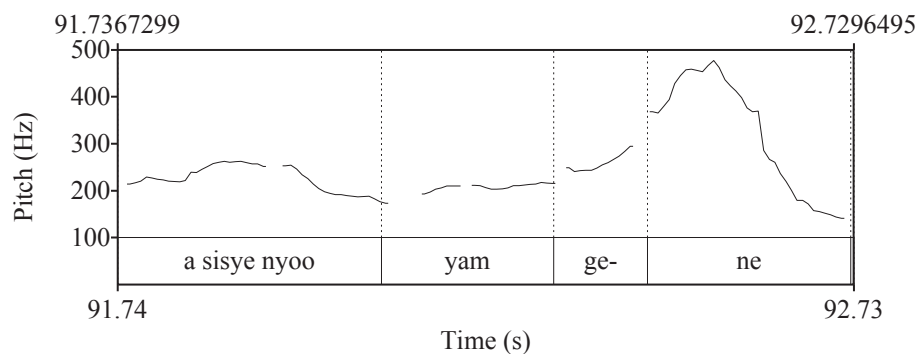
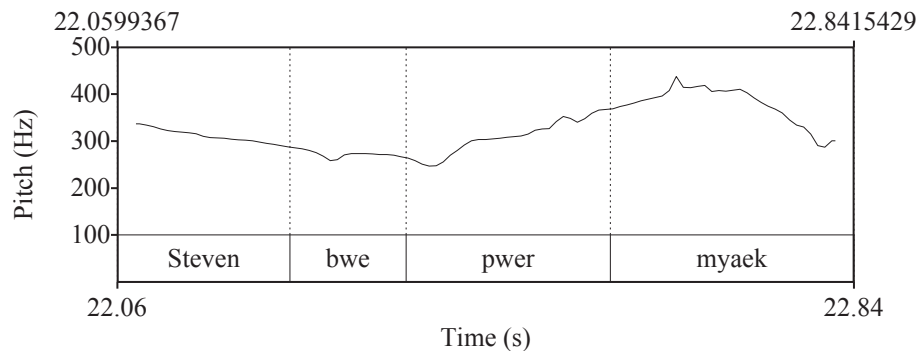


The second major linguistic function of intonation in Daakaka is to indicate speech act distinctions, especially concerning polarity questions. We have already seen that for neutral assertions, the intonation contour is relatively flat, with a slight downward tendency and can either have a rise at the very end, to signal continuation, or a decline. Neutral polarity questions likewise start off with a rather flat contour, but end in a sharp rise followed by a steep decline, both of which are typically performed on the very last syllable of the question, thereby forming a sharp peak. Figure 2.6 on the following page illustrates this contour with the following two examples:

2. Phonology and Orthography

- (8) a. *Steven bwe pwer myaek?*
 NAME REAL;CONT stay be.night
 'Is Steven sleeping?'
- b. *Si~sye nyoo ya=m gene?*
 REDUP~thing 3P 3P=REAL do
 'Did they do these things?'²

Abbildung 2.6.: Two examples of information-seeking polarity questions. The sharp rise and fall is performed mostly on the final syllable, independent of its weight.



Another very distinct intonation contour exclusively associated with a specific speech act is the calling contour. It is typically performed by adult women looking for a child; the child's name will then be articulated at high intensity and with very high pitch, which will rise even further towards the end. At its highest point, the fundamental frequency will be close to the maximum of the speaker's capacity. Names ending in vowels can be extended by an /o/ to carry the final rise as in *Anja-o*, which is also reminiscent of some of the processes used in songs (compare section 9.3.1).

Constituent questions are not performed with the sharp final peak which characterizes polarity questions. Instead, they can receive the same intonation contour as assertions. Similarly, there is no specific intonation contour associated with directives. They can be performed with

²These examples come from a recording not indexed in the corpus, because it is not fully transcribed.

a neutral assertion contour or with a variety of different contours, depending on the relation between speaker and listener, the speaker's intentions etc.

The same is true for most other kinds of speech acts as well. So far, I have tried to identify some of the most basic patterns, but there is a much wider range of intonation contours for all types of speech acts, each of which implies a certain social setting and certain intentions by the speaker. To give just one more example, a polarity question which is meant as a casual inquiry and expects a positive answer will not feature the sharp final peak of a neutral polarity question; instead, the overall level of the fundamental frequency will be rather high and constant, with a mild peak on the penultimate syllable and a very moderate decline on the last syllable, which is typically filled by the word *kyun* 'just'. This type of intonation contour is used, for example, for questions about someone's well-being, which are the conventional greeting for persons one has not seen in a while such as *kom yas kyun?* 'are you strong?' or *kom meu kyun?* 'are you well?' (see also section 9.1.1 about greeting conventions).

Far more research is needed to describe the entire inventory of intonation contours with distinct meanings. In particular, far more recordings of spontaneous conversations would be needed.

Before concluding this section, let me point out that there is one class of expressions in Daakaka which have lexically defined intonation contours: They are one-word answers to polarity questions and related expressions such as *ee* 'no', *ao* 'yes' and *dingyen* 'I don't know'. The term for 'no' is especially interesting, because its specific intonation contour is indeed the only obligatory phonological feature it has. This contour can be realized on a long [e:] vowel, but it can also be hummed with a closed mouth.

A detailed description of these lexemes is given in section 4.4.4.

2.5. The Orthography

2.5.1. Methodology

Developing an orthography was one of the first tasks I had to tackle in the documentation project in the context of which I wrote this grammar. Part of this task is of course the linguistic analysis of the sound system, the determination of the basic phonemes of the language. This task can be slightly messy as certain sounds only contrast in very specific environments, and it can take a great amount of data collection before the first minimal pair for a certain phonemic distinction crops up. But apart from that, the process is fairly objective.

By contrast, the choices of how to represent any given linguistic unit by a written symbol is far less straightforward and much more arbitrary. Different cultures have come up with different systems to represent single phonemes, syllables, phonemic features or morphemes, and they have found vastly different shapes of how to represent those units. At the same time, it is vital for any effort to preserve and revitalize a language that the orthography be accepted by and useful to the speakers.

For the Daakaka speakers, it was clear that we would use the Latin alphabet to write the language. There was no indigenous system of writing the language before, and speakers are already familiar with the Latin letters from their education in European languages. What made

2. Phonology and Orthography

things more complicated was that due to the split education system, some speakers are French-educated, while others were literate only in English. In addition, most people are able to read and write in Bislama. This means that different speakers have different intuitions about mappings from letters to sounds. What is more, both the French and the English orthographies are considerably opaque. And each speaker has been to some extent exposed to more than one system.

Accordingly, not only do speakers differ in their associations between letters and sounds, but every single speaker will have slightly vague and contradicting associations. Given this difficult situation, the development of an orthography required careful consideration and close cooperation with speakers.

There are almost no written texts available in the language. There is a handful of church songs in Daakaka and people have reported seeing them written down in a hymn book, but I have not been able to find any of them. Some younger people also said that they sometimes wrote text messages on their cell phones in the language, but I've never seen one of those either. The only written representation of the language I saw before I started to work on it was the inscription on the local church house in Emyotungan which reads *mok hem ka wi or ane temtemap an* 'my house shall be a place of prayer'. I could see this inscription from the kitchen hut where I used to work at the time and daily looked forward to the gradual process of fully understanding its meaning and linguistic composition. Following the rules of the orthography I developed, this inscription would now have to be spelled as *mok **em** ka wi or ane temtemyap an*.

An important pillar in developing the orthography was the meetings with the Language Committee. In each round, I presented the members with first versions of texts and dictionaries, explained the choices I had made so far for writing their language and pointed out some of the aspects that I thought might be problematic. The ensuing discussions were very constructive and fruitful and gave me clear guidelines throughout the process.

In addition, I always had a number of printouts of the latest text collection and dictionary with me and showed them to anyone interested. They were generally received with much enthusiasm and at several occasions, speakers would even start to read through the materials and not stop until they were finished. They would typically read the texts slowly out aloud, which gave me an opportunity to assess how hard individual words were to read and where the greatest potential for misreadings was. They would also give their opinions on both the spelling and the wording of the stories and suggest corrections where they found them necessary. These processes were extremely instructive for me and gave me many ideas about how to improve the writing system.

2.5.2. Choices made

Letters and diacritics

The choice of letters was mostly based on the Bislama orthography, which in turn uses Latin letters in close correspondence to their IPA counterparts, that is the sound [a] is represented by the letter **a**, the sound [t] is represented by **t** and so on. One difficulty is that the sound system of Daakaka contains more marked sounds than some standard versions of Bislama, like for

example the prenasalized voiced stops. Some speakers will represent the prenasalization by an extra letter, especially if the prenasalized stop is contained within an orthographic word, not at its beginning. Thus, in text exp20, the author writes the same phoneme /g/ [ʔg] as **g** or as **ng** or **ngk**, depending on whether it appears within an orthographic word or at the beginning. In the following examples, the first line always gives the written representation as in the original text, with the second line giving the standardized orthographic representation.

- (9) a. *vianten mi gene sisie mi pis sea ten ne Ding.*
 vyanten mwe gene si~sye mwe pwis seaaten ne ding.
 person REAL do REDUP~thing REAL be.many extremely TRANS mat
 ‘People do many things with mats.’ (exp20:2)
- b. *Sorro husian husili Mangivi sa yam Gene Ding.*
 sóróusi=an ma usili **ma ge=vi** sa ya=m **gene ding.**
 tell=NM REAL follow REAL be.like=what CM 3P=REAL do mat
 ‘The story is about how people make mats.’ (exp20:3)
- c. *...teviañ ka we Gaho wa mengka*
 tevy-an ka we gaó wa maga
 side.of-3S MOD.REL POT be.dry POT fast
 ‘... so that it will dry fast.’ (exp20:6)

I have chosen not to represent the prenasalization because the phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless stops is sufficiently clear by the difference between the letters **g**, **d** and **b** as opposed to **k**, **t** and **p**. As all the letters of the first triple always represent prenasalized sounds, it would be redundant to write the nasals.

There are however some phonemes which I do represent by a combination of letters. For the consonants they are **ng** [ŋ] and the set of labio-velar phonemes **pw**, **bw** and **mw**. Both cases might be slightly opaque to speakers, if their own choices of graphemes is any indication: in the written texts, /ng/ has been written as **ng**, but also as **g** and **h**. The letter sequences used for the labio-velars were not produced by speakers in the small Daakaka writing competition, who used the simple labial consonant graphemes instead; they did however crop up in the larger Dalkalaen corpus, especially **mw**.

I also have represented long vowels by sequences of two vowel letters as in **daa**. Such sequences can be found occasionally in the writing competition texts both from Daakaka and Dalkalaen, but not in systematic correspondence to vowel length. It remains to be seen whether speakers will adopt this feature of the system.

The alternative to letter sequences would have been to use diacritics instead, but I found in general that diacritics are even less transparent to speakers. Also, they are less distinctive visually and therefore do not make it much easier to distinguish between two written words, in contrast to letter sequences, which look very characteristic; English-educated speakers do not have meaningful associations to diacritics; and finally, I reduced the number of diacritics to a minimum not least because they are hard to input by keyboard and cell phone devices, in contrast to letters.

The one diacritic I did use is the acute accent ‘´’ on **e** and **o** to differentiate tense from lax mid vowels—the version with the accent represents the tense vowels. For many French-

2. Phonology and Orthography

educated speakers, the association between the accent on **éé** and vowel tensity was immediately obvious and met with approval. The reaction by English-educated speakers was more cautious. It would not surprise me if this feature of the writing would only be used sporadically by speakers; since the number of minimal pairs is very manageable, this should not result in any reading difficulties. In fact, part of the rationale behind choosing a diacritic for this phonemic difference was that there should be a way to represent this difference, but it should be possible to leave it unexpressed without changing the appearance of individual words too much.

Another choice that needed to be made was about the use of the letter **h**. As described in section 2.2.2, words that start with a vowel are sometimes pronounced with an initial [h] sound as in *em* [(h)ɛm] ‘house’. When speakers spontaneously spelled such words, they would often give the letter **h** as the first letter of the word (as in the inscription on the church). Despite this, I decided not to write it. For one thing, it is neither phonemic, nor an obligatory phonetic feature of vowel-initial words. Moreover, using it would mean that every word which starts phonemically with a vowel would be represented by a written word starting with the letter **h**, so it would be **hem**, **hóp**, **hap** instead of **em**, **óp**, **ap**. This would mean that more words would look orthographically similar instead of more distinct, while at the same time increasing the complexity of the system. Finally, in looking up words from the dictionary, a lot of words would be listed under **h**, but none under **a**, **e** etc., which would make the use of a dictionary more cumbersome.

Concerning loanwords, I do not have a uniform approach to all of them. Every decision about the orthography of loanwords has to negotiate the conflicting goals of a homogenous orthography on the one hand and recognizable representations of the loaned words, which are familiar from other orthographies, on the other hand. In Daakaka, there are very many different kinds of loanwords; some of them have been in the language for so long that many people no longer perceive them as external to the language. Others may have been used only once in the entire history of the language. Some are from Bislama, some from English, some from French. I have always tried to correlate the degree of integration into the language with the degree of integration into the orthography. For example *byaek*, which stands for the kind of big sacks used for transporting copra and comes ultimately from English *bag*, has a distinctly Daakaka pronunciation and is very much entrenched in the language. Accordingly, its orthographic representation looks like a typical Daakaka word. At the other end of the spectrum, there are words like English *medical*, which are not used regularly, but only in very specific contexts, in which case I have retained the original orthography.

Phonemes vs. morphemes

As described in section 2.3.1, some morphemes can take a variety of different shapes, depending on the morpho-phonological environment. In these cases, I had to choose between two options: The first option is to represent these morphemes based on their meaning, so that all allomorphic varieties of one morpheme would be written the same, regardless of their actual pronunciation in a particular environment; the second option is to represent them based on their pronunciation, and thus write allomorphic varieties differently.

In most cases, it was clear that the second option would be preferable, because the morphemes in question have been highly lexicalized in their various combinations. For example, the

prefix *IV-* ‘stem of’ in *ló-ó* ‘coconut palm’ or *le-wovya* ‘cottonwood tree’ is hardly perceived as a meaningful unit anymore.

The one case where the decision was less trivial concerns the TAM markers. Their frequency, the potential variety of environments they might occur in, and, most of all, the fact that their pronunciation is not fully determined by their environment made me consider the option of writing all their allomorphic variants in the same way, especially for the realis marker. Except for some quasi-lexicalized phrases such as *mu vu* (REAL be.good) ‘it’s fine’, this marker can almost always be pronounced as *mwe*. I discussed the matter in various situations with a range of different speakers, some of whom preferred a universal writing of the realis marker as *mwe*, and some of whom strongly favored a sound-based spelling. In the end, I decided for the latter, since it is probably the easier one to learn.

Orthographic word length

Three factors have played a role in the decisions about which linguistic units are represented as one word, without intervening spaces—morpho-syntactic wordhood, phonological wordhood, and visually optimal length of the orthographic word. In most cases, all three factors convene to suggest the same orthographic representation, but in some cases, they lead to contradicting conclusions.

The wordhood definition I have used for this thesis is as follows: A word is a unit which is not morphologically bound in that it can occur in the direct vicinity of various morphemic categories with different syntactic distributions. For example, in the phrase *ma ge=tak* (REAL be.like=PROX) ‘it’s like this’, there are three morphemes and, according to the above definition, two of them are words, but not *ma* and *getak*, as the orthographic representation suggests, but *ge* and *tak*: The TAM markers, including the realis marker, always have to be followed by a lexeme that can serve as predicate, that is a verb, a verb-like adjective or the copula, and nothing can intervene between the TAM marker and the predicational lexeme. If there is a subject pronoun, it has to precede the TAM marker, and nothing can intervene between the two.

According to the definition above, this means that the TAM markers are not morphological words. As they cliticize to preceding subject pronouns and to subsequent verbs starting with a vowel, they form not only morphological, but also phonological units with surrounding lexemes in many environments. In the beginning of the project, I used to write TAM markers and subsequent verbs (and, if present, preceding subject pronouns) as orthographic words, but speakers had firm opinions against this and asked me to write TAM markers separate from subsequent verbs, unless they cliticize to them.

Otherwise, the combination with morphologically complex verbs would lead to very long orthographic words—consider for example the verb *tée~tée-pyakilye* (REDUP~look-search), which is by itself very long, even without a TAM marker.

By contrast, *ge* ‘be like’ can not only be followed by morphemes indicating proximity such as *tak* (proximal), *te* (medial) and *yuk* (distal), but also by prepositional phrases introduced by *myane* ‘with’, as shown in (10):

2. Phonology and Orthography

- (10) *tevy-an* *na* *s-an* *pisya ma* *ge* [*myane yesukuo*]
side.of-CL3-3S.POSS COMP 3S.POSS paint REAL be.like with leaves
'because its color is like the leaves' (exp02:99)

Likewise, the proximity morphemes can not only combine with the verb *ge* 'be like', but also with demonstrative pronouns as in *en=tak* 'this one' or *a=tak* 'here'.

But in phrases like *ma getak*, the last two words, *ge* and *tak* are usually produced as one phonological unit, speakers perceive them to belong together, and ultimately, a visual separation of the proximity markers from the preceding word would often give a chopped up visual image, with many small and orthographically non-salient units such as *ge* and *te*.

3. Major Word Classes

3.1. Word Class Distinctions

3.1.1. Major vs. minor classes

Daakaka has a range of different word classes, some very small and specialized, some very big and general. Some are open and can be extended by derivational processes, neologisms and loan words; some others are less open for such expansion.

These two aspects, inventory size and openness, have been the crucial criteria for the division into major and minor word classes, even though these two terms mark two extremes of a continuum rather than two clearly separated domains.

Verbs and nouns are straightforward in their classification as major classes. They make up the bulk of the dictionary I compiled from my database: Of about two thousand entries, 877 are nouns and 704 are verbs, together representing seventy-nine percent of the documented vocabulary. The class of nouns can be productively extended by a number of morphological processes and most loan words are also nouns.

The class of verbs is supplemented by a number of productive suffixes and also contains many loan words such as *ringim* ‘call so. on a mobile phone’.

The adjective class is only about a tenth as big as the noun or verb class and they are also much less frequent in the text. Even so, it is still significantly bigger than most of the minor classes and there is a small number of loan words, which suggests that it is an open class.

The fourth class in to be discussed in this chapter are adverbs. There are only about two dozen lexical adverbs, but this class is perhaps the most open of all because place names are always treated as adverbs.

Lexical items such as the copula *i* or the complementizer *na* are not discussed in either this or the following chapter since they are essentially the only ones of their kind. They are treated in the later sections on larger structural units instead.

3.1.2. Defining features of major classes

The four classes discussed in this chapter—nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs—can be defined in terms of three features: the ability to serve as predicates without the presence of a copula, the ability to serve as attributes to nouns without further morphology, and the ability to occur in argument or non-argument positions.

In this system, nouns are lexemes which cannot serve as predicates without the copula; outside of predicates, they are restricted to argument positions—as the objects of verbs, prepositions or transitive nouns; and they cannot be attributes to another (intransitive) noun without the interference of special morphemes.

3. Major Word Classes

The following example comes from a story in which several plants ask the kava plant to be their friend. It illustrates how the noun *bivian* ‘friend’ is used together with the copula when serving as a predicate:

- (1) *lewewedrame ko=p tavya, te, da=p vyan teenem, te da w=i*
 kava 2S=POT get.up CONJ 1D.IN=POT go home CONJ 1D.IN POT=COP
bivian
 friend(N)
 ‘kava plant, get up, then we will go to the village and we will be friends’ (sto16:37)

In (2), the noun *vyanten* ‘person, man’ is used as a possessive attribute to the noun *too* ‘garden’, with the obligatory interference of the linker *e* and the general class prefix *s*:

- (2) *ya=m vyan=ane ka ye=p yas yen too s-e vyanten swa*
 3P=REAL GO=TRANS MOD.COMP 3D=POT steal in garden CL3-ATT person(N) one
 ‘they went to steal in the garden of a man’ (sto29:3)

Verbs differ from nouns in that they are used as predicates without the copula as can be seen with *myan* ‘laugh’ in the following sentence:

- (3) *puskat mwe myan tetes mon*
 cat REAL laugh(V) again also
 ‘the cat laughed again’ (sto06:16)

Another difference between verbs and nouns is that verbs cannot be in argument position unless they are nominalized by the morpheme *an* (see section 3.3.4).

Verbs, nouns and adverbs cannot directly be attributes to a noun phrase; they can only be attributes as part of a relative clause or when reduplicated—for more on relative clauses, see section 8.4; for more on reduplicated verbs, see section 3.2.5. Adverbs can be transformed into attributes by the morpheme *na*, as shown in the third example in (4). This process is described in section 3.4.4.

- (4) a. *yen dom na mo nok*
 in year COMP REAL finish(V)
 ‘last year’ (lit. in the year which has ended) (sto24:138)
 b. *mesyu ka-ka*
 fish REDUP~fly(V)
 ‘flying fish’
 c. *seli na meerin*
 way ATT long.ago(ADV)
 ‘the old way’ (lit. ‘the way of long ago’) (exp27:25)

By contrast, adjectives can directly modify a noun phrase without any morphological or syntactic processes as shown in the following example—this is the defining feature of adjectives as opposed to verbs and nouns.

Tabelle 3.1.: The major word classes and their defining features, depending on whether they can serve as predicates, attributes or arguments without further morphology

	Verbs	Nouns	Adjectives ₁	Adjectives ₂	Adverbs
Predicate	+	–	+	–	–
Attribute	–	–	+	+	–
Argument	–	+	–	–	–

- (5) *vilye kekei swa*
 island small(ADJ) one
 ‘a small island’ (sto34:77)

Most of the adjectives behave like verbs in that they can function as predicates without the copula. Some adjectives, however, do need the copula to serve as predicates—and at least one adjective cannot be used as a predicate at all. These latter adjectives do not form a homogenous group and their synchronic and diachronic paradigms are often more involved. The contrast between the two types is illustrated in (6):

- (6) a. *vilye en=tak ma kekei kyun*
 place DEF=PROX REAL small(ADJ1) only
 ‘this place is just small’
 b. *mesyu en=te mw=i abwilyep*
 fish DEF=MED REAL=COP poisonous(ADJ2)
 ‘this fish is poisonous’

The fourth open class is adverbs. Adverbs are like nouns in that neither can serve as predicates without the copula, nor can they directly modify a noun phrase. In contrast to nouns, they can occur in non-argument positions and are in fact largely restricted to those positions—see section 3.5.1 below for discussion. Table 3.1 shows an overview over the word classes and their defining features.

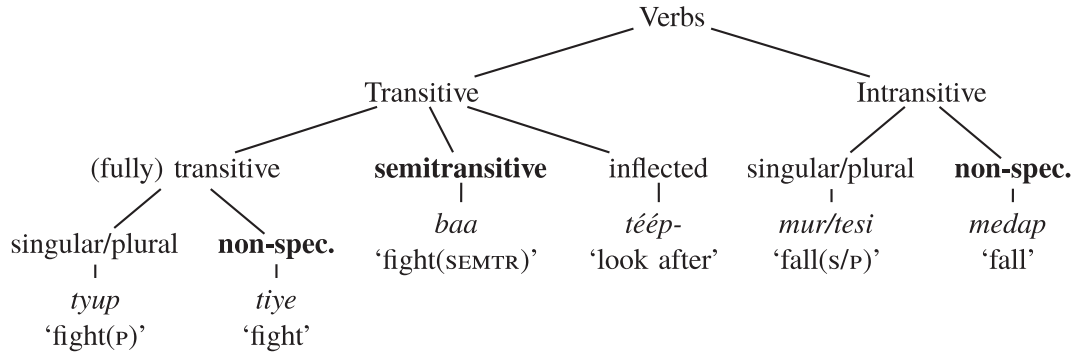
All four major word classes can be subdivided into subclasses: In nouns, the main factor for more fine-grained classification is their transitivity—nouns can be inflected, transitive or intransitive. For verbs, transitivity is only one of two criteria for sub-classification: verbs can be intransitive, semitransitive, transitive and some also inflecting, but in addition, they can also specify the number of their internal argument as singular or plural.

Some adjectives can be used as predicates like verbs, while others cannot, as already mentioned above. And for adverbs, the main distinction is between adverbs of time, adverbs of location and adverbs of intensification.

There are some lexical items which rather blur the boundaries between the classes, in particular between adjectives and verbs and between adverbs and nouns. I will comment on these items in the course of the discussion.

3. Major Word Classes

Abbildung 3.1.: Subgroups within the verb class; non-spec: the verb’s internal argument is not specified for number; s: the internal argument has to be singular. p: the internal argument has to be plural. The biggest groups are printed in bold letters.



3.2. Verbs

3.2.1. Overview

Apart from the defining features discussed above, which all verbs have in common, the class of verbs is quite heterogeneous.

One dimension along which verbs differ is their transitivity. There are intransitive verbs such as *punguo* ‘go up’; secondly, there are simple, fully transitive verbs such as *esi* ‘see’; and there is also a group of verbs which are not fully transitive in that they can only take non-specific noun phrases as objects. Following Sugita [1973], who has described a very similar situation for Micronesian languages, I will refer to them as *semitransitive* verbs. Margetts [2008] also describes a similar phenomenon in some Oceanic languages.

All semitransitive verbs have fully transitive counterparts some of which are simple lexemes and some involve the transitivizing morpheme (*ane*).

Furthermore, there is a small number of verbs which indicate the person and number of their object by inflection. These four groups—fully transitive, semitransitive, inflected and intransitive—are going to be discussed in more detail in the section about transitivity below.

The second major dimension along which verbs can be classified concerns the number of their *internal argument*—by this term I refer to the only argument of intransitive verbs and the object of a transitive verb. While most verbs do not restrict the number of their internal argument, some specify it as either singular or plural. For example, the transitive verb *gilye* ‘buy’ implies that the object of the purchase is only one or two individual items, whereas its counterpart *puos*, which also means ‘buy’, can only be used for the acquisition of many items. This property is described in more detail in the section on *lexical number* below.

An overview over these subclasses of verbs is given in figure 3.1. The two dimensions of transitivity and lexical number are not entirely independent from each other. Although there are both transitive verbs and intransitive verbs with a lexical specification for the number of their internal argument, for semitransitive verbs, the distinction does not play a role.

Tabelle 3.2.: Examples of alternative verb roots in combination with verbal suffixes

Full	Meaning	Reduced	Example
<i>gomu</i>	‘grab’	<i>gum</i>	<i>gum-kate</i> (grab-tight) ‘hold sth. tight’
<i>usi</i>	‘ask’	<i>us</i>	<i>us-tase</i> (ask-again) ‘ask again’
<i>yaase</i>	‘turn around’	<i>yes</i>	<i>yes-lili</i> (turn-back) ‘turn back’
<i>vyaase</i>	‘kick’	<i>ves</i>	<i>ves-kuwu</i> (kick-out) ‘kick sth. out/off of sth.’
<i>vyose</i>	‘take, bring’	<i>vyo</i>	<i>vyo-kuwu</i> (take-out) ‘take sth. out of sth.’
<i>ka</i>	‘say’	<i>war</i>	<i>war-tase</i> (say-again) ‘repeat, say again’
<i>sivya</i>	‘expel’	<i>syap</i>	<i>e-syap-syap wetii</i> ‘rain gutter’

Within the transitive verb class, the three-way difference between transitive verbs specified for plural arguments, transitive verbs without a number specification, and semitransitive verbs can be demonstrated with the triple of *baa*, *tyup* and *tiye*: all three mean ‘fight’, but *baa* is semitransitive while the other two are transitive, *tyup* can only take plural objects and *tiye* is open to any kind of object, regardless of its specificity and number. The difference is illustrated below:

- (7) a. *kuli en=tak mwe baa/ tyup/ tiye vyanten nyoo*
 dog DEF=PROX REAL fight(SEMTR)/ fight(P;TR)/ fight(TR) person 3P
 ‘This dog attacks people.’
- b. *kuli en=tak mwe *baa/ tyup/ tiye vyanten nyoo en=te*
 dog DEF=PROX REAL fight(SEMTR)/ fight(P;TR)/ fight(TR) person 3P DEF=MED
 ‘This dog attacked those people.’
- c. *kuli en=tak mwe *baa/ *tyup/ tiye vyanten en=te*
 dog DEF=PROX REAL fight(SEMTR)/ fight(P;TR)/ fight(TR) person DEF=MED
 ‘This dog attacked this man.’

For differences in lexical number specification within intransitive verbs, see the section about lexical number below.

The two major morphological processes applying to verbs are suffixation and reduplication. I have come across nineteen frequent verbal suffixes which modify the meaning of a verb as in *doko-kuwu* (pull-out) ‘pull sth. out’. They are a very productive feature of the language.

Reduplication applies both to verbs and to verbal suffixes. It can express pluractionality and can also turn semitransitive and intransitive verbs into attributes.

For several verbs, a variant has to be used in combination with a suffix and with serial verbs. In most cases, this bound root is a reduced version of the free verb. For example, it is not grammatical to say **usi-tase* (ask-again); instead, the shortened form *us-tase* must be used. In terms of their shapes and distribution, they strongly resemble semitransitive variants of transitive verbs, but they differ in that they do not occur outside of more complex structures involving suffixes or serial verbs.

Table 3.2 gives an overview over these verbs and their reduced variants.

For yet another set of verbs, it is not possible to use the verb root by itself: it either has to be reduplicated, be augmented by a suffix, or to be followed by a (single marking) serial

3. Major Word Classes

verb. The most frequent examples for this are **kyes* ‘wash’ as in *kyes~kyes* or *kyes-tase* ‘wash again’, **un* ‘clear’ as in *un~un* and *un-te* (clear-cut) ‘cut clear (an area of land)’, and **nyur* ‘think’ as in *nyur~nyur=ane* ‘think about’ and *nyur syone* (think arrive) ‘remember sth., to come up with (an idea)’.

Both the suffixes and the process of reduplication are described in more detail below. For serial verb constructions, see section 7.2.

3.2.2. Verbal subgroups

Transitivity

As mentioned above, transitive verbs in Daakaka can be further distinguished into two major groups—semitransitive verbs, which can only take generic or non-specific noun phrases as objects, and fully transitive verbs, which apply to any kind of noun phrase.

Semitransitive verbs do not necessarily have an object. When for example the verb *en* ‘eat’ occurs without an object noun phrase, it refers to the generic activity of eating, without implying a specific food:

- (8) *barar mwe vyan en myane*
pig REAL GO eat(SEMTR) with
‘the pig went to eat with him’ (sto03:60)

By contrast, when the transitive verb *ane* ‘eat’ is used without an object noun phrase, it implies a definite object which can be inferred from the context:

- (9) *ye=m me téé=ane [aa mees]_i ar=an te ane —_i*
3PC=REAL COME look=TRANS 3P.POSS food place=DEF CONJ eat(TR)
‘they look for their food there and eat it’ (exp01:69)

Both types of verbs can be accompanied by object noun phrases, but semitransitive verbs can only take non-specific objects. In that, they are similar to incorporating structures of other languages, but they differ from prototypical incorporating constructions in that the object noun phrase can contain quite elaborate attributes, as long as they can still be interpreted as non-specific. Pronouns and noun phrases accompanied by definite articles or demonstratives cannot be objects of a semitransitive verb:

- (10) a. *Mwe en [webir ∅-e Byongkon].*
REAL eat(SEMTR) taro CL2-ATT Byongkon
‘He/she eats/ate Byongkon’s taro.’ (either: as a general rule; or: some taro that belonged to Byongkon)
- b. *Mwe en [webir pe~pyo].*
REAL eat(SEMTR) taro REDUP~white
‘He/she eats/ate white taro.’
- c. **Mwe en [webir en=te]*
REAL eat(SEMTR) taro LOC=MED
intended: ‘He/she eats/ate this taro.’

Noun phrases containing quantifiers, number markers and the indefinite article *swa* are also usually rejected as objects of a semitransitive verb. For transitive verbs, no such restrictions apply.

While transitive verbs are thus more flexible in terms of their potential objects, semitransitive verbs are more easily available for certain morpho-syntactic processes, in particular suffixation, nominalization and some kinds of serial verb constructions. The respective conditions are described in sections 3.2.4, 3.3.4 and 7.1.2.

Another difference between the two arises in connection with the quantifier *kevene* ‘every, all’: in connection with transitive verbs, this quantifier is interpreted as usual, but together with semitransitive verbs, it takes on the meaning of ‘only’ (see also section 4.2.2):

- (11) a. *Mwe pyane wotop kevene.*
 REAL roast(TR) breadfruit every
 ‘She roasted all the breadfruits.’
 b. *Ma penin wotop kevene.*
 REAL roast(SEMTR) breadfruit every
 ‘She roasted only breadfruits.’

For each semitransitive verb there is also a fully transitive counterpart. In a small number of cases, the transitive verb will be simply an augmented form of the semitransitive verb: The semitransitive verb then has the form CVC and the transitive verb has the form CV₁CV₁. One such example is the pair of *min* and *mini*, both ‘drink’, where *min* is the semitransitive form and *mini* is fully transitive:

- (12) a. *ma min/ mini kava*
 REAL drink(SEMTR)/ drink(TR) kava
 ‘he drank kava’
 b. *ma *min/ mini kava en=te*
 REAL drink(SEMTR)/ drink(TR) kava DEF=MED
 ‘he drank this kava’

Some semitransitive verbs have a simple, lexical, transitive counterpart, as in the pair *veve* and *vyate* ‘weave’. These are formally reminiscent of the pairs of verbs inherently specified for number, as explained in the following section. The two transitive verbs *syē* ‘cut’ and *liye* ‘take’ are augmented by epenthetic /p/ when entering into suffixing constructions and certain types of serial verb constructions which are typically restricted to semitransitive verbs (compare also section 2.3.3).

The other semitransitive verbs can combine with the transitivity morpheme (*ane*) to become fully transitive, as in the pair *kolir/kolir=ane* ‘sing’—see also section 3.2.3 below.

Some borrowed verbs are integrated into this system, forming pairs of a semitransitive verb and a transitive verb such as *kuk* and *kuk=ane* ‘cook’.

Table 3.3 illustrates the different kinds of correspondences between semitransitive verbs and their fully transitive counterparts.

There are no ditransitive verbs—additional arguments have to be introduced by prepositions. For example, the recipient of the verb *səngane* ‘give’ is introduced by the preposition *myane*:

3. Major Word Classes

Tabelle 3.3.: Pairs of semitransitive verbs and their fully transitive counterparts

Semitransitive	Transitive	Meaning
<i>baa</i>	<i>tyup, tiye</i>	'fight'
<i>bweak</i>	<i>bweak=ane</i>	'swear (at)'
<i>dis</i>	<i>disi</i>	'withdraw'
<i>doko</i>	<i>doko=ne</i>	'pull'
<i>eli</i>	<i>kii</i>	'dig'
<i>en</i>	<i>ane</i>	'eat'
<i>gères</i>	<i>gèrase</i>	'lie (to)'
<i>gi</i>	<i>gene</i>	'do, make'
<i>kolir</i>	<i>kolir=ane</i>	'sing'
<i>kuk</i>	<i>kuk=ane</i>	'cook'
<i>ling</i>	<i>lingi</i>	'put'
<i>lung</i>	<i>lungu</i>	'wrap'
<i>min</i>	<i>mini</i>	'drink'
<i>molis</i>	<i>molisi</i>	'bake'
<i>penin</i>	<i>pyane</i>	'roast'
<i>pis</i>	<i>pisi</i>	'fasten'
<i>se</i>	<i>sene</i>	'catch, hook'
<i>tée</i>	<i>esi</i>	'see'
<i>tis</i>	<i>tisi</i>	'draw'
<i>veve</i>	<i>vyate</i>	'weave'
<i>vyo</i>	<i>vyose</i>	'carry, take'
<i>yas</i>	<i>yas=ane</i>	'steal'
<i>yos</i>	<i>yos=ane</i>	'love'

Tabelle 3.4.: Three verbs which can be analyzed as inflected

Verb	Meaning	Root	Inflection
<i>téépu-</i>	take care of, guard	<i>téé</i> ‘see’	<i>téépu-k</i> (-1s) ‘guard me’, <i>téépu-on</i> (-3s) ‘guard him’
<i>koopu-</i>	take care of	care for	<i>koopu-ok</i> (-1s) ‘take care of me’, <i>koopu-on</i> (-3s) ‘take care of him’
<i>sórópu-</i>	speak in favour of, support the view of	<i>sóró</i> ‘speak’	<i>sórópy-ok</i> ‘support my view’, <i>sórópu-on</i> ‘support his/her view’

- (13) *na=m sèngane vyor myane temeli nyoo*
 1S=REAL give money to child 3P
 ‘I gave money to the children.’

Simplex transitive verbs are comparatively rare. They include *esi* ‘see’ and *liye* ‘take’. Many of the transitive verbs end in *-ne*—they have probably evolved from intransitive roots in combination with the transitivizer (*a*)*ne*.

Synchronically, however, for some of the transitive verbs ending in *-ne*, there is no intransitive counterpart. Examples of such transitive verbs include *yurmiline* ‘forget sth.’, *wunane* ‘provoke so.’ and *ongane* ‘smell, hear, feel sth.’ In some other cases, both an intransitive and a transitive version of apparently the same verb exist, but the transitivized version has become lexicalized. The most prominent such case is the pair of *dimye* ‘think’ and *dimyane* ‘want’; although the relation is still transparent to most speakers, the frequency of *dimyane* and its relative independence from context suggest that it is a fully lexicalized item.

Several of the resultative suffixes discussed in section 3.2.4 and some serial verb constructions (see section 7) also have a transitivizing effect.

In addition to the regular semitransitive and transitive verbs, there is a small group of verbs which indicate their object by a person-number inflection. These words have apparently evolved from a combination of a regular, uninflected verb such as *sóró* ‘speak’ and an inflected noun **pu-*. But the noun has since ceased to exist as an independent lexeme. Table 3.4 gives an overview of these verbs.

These verb forms are a marginal feature of the language and might not be retained for much longer: Especially for younger speakers, the inflections are not actively used; instead, the third person singular ending is used invariably, independent of the number and person properties of the object. The example in (14) shows both the inflected and the uninflected version, both of which can be found in current language use:

- (14) a. *Ma téépu-k.*
 REAL guard-1S
 b. *Ma téépuon nye.*
 REAL guard 1S
 ‘He/she looked after me.’

Similar relics of nominal inflection can also be found in some prepositions—see section 4.3.3.

3. Major Word Classes

Lexical number

While the majority of verbs in Daakaka do not determine the number of their internal argument, a small group of verbs imply that their internal argument refers either to just one single entity or to a multitude of entities. For example, the intransitive verbs *pwer* ‘stay, exist’ and *mur* ‘fall’ can only be used with singular subjects, while their otherwise synonymous counterparts *du* and *tesu* imply the plurality of their subjects:

- (15) a. *Ó mu mur me pyan.*
coconut REAL fall(s) come down
‘A coconut fell down.’
b. *Ó ma tesu me pyan.*
coconut REAL fall(P) come down
‘Some coconuts fell down.’
- (16) a. *Na=m pwer/ *du Vila.*
1S=REAL stay(s)/ stay(P) Vila
‘I am in Vila.’
b. *Ra-m *pwer/ du Vila.*
1P.IN=REAL stay(s)/ stay(P) Vila
‘We are in Vila.’

The fullest paradigm of differences in number specifications between intransitive verbs is given by the triple *mur*, *tesu* and *medap*, which all mean ‘fall’. *Mur* is specified for singular, *tesu* for plural, and *medap* can take both:

- (17) a. *Ó swa mu mur/ *tesu/ medap.*
coconut one REAL fall(s)/ fall(P)/ fall
‘A coconut fell down.’
b. *Ó mwe pwis mu *mur/ tesu/ medap.*
coconut one REAL be.plentiful fall(s)/ fall(P)/ fall
‘Many coconuts fell down.’

For transitive verbs, it is the object’s number which can be specified by the verb: The verbs *puos* ‘buy’ and *pyen* ‘shoot’ can only be used if several items are to be bought or shot, respectively. When speakers want to talk about buying one individual item or shooting an individual animal, they have to use *gilye* and *vinye* instead. In many environments, both varieties are grammatical, but the interpretations are different:

- (18) a. *ma gilye vis myen swa*
REAL buy(s) banana ripe one
‘She bought one sweet banana.’
b. *mu puos vis myen swa*
REAL buy(P) banana ripe one
‘She bought one kind of sweet banana.’

Table 3.5.: Pairs of verbs specified for plural arguments and their counterparts, which are either specified for singular arguments or can take arguments of any number

Singular	Plural	Meaning
<i>bya</i>	<i>bevyap</i>	‘plant’
<i>gilye</i>	<i>puos</i>	‘buy’
<i>liye</i>	<i>tilya, syo</i>	‘take, carry, bring’
<i>molis</i>	<i>pveli</i>	‘bake’
<i>mur</i>	<i>tesu</i>	‘fall down’
<i>pwer</i>	<i>du</i>	‘be present’
<i>tilya</i>	<i>sukuo</i>	‘be together’
<i>vili</i>	<i>vivi</i>	‘twist (a rope)’
Non-spec.	Plural	Meaning
<i>ate</i>	<i>kyer</i>	‘bite’
<i>kyaate</i>	<i>kikyer</i>	‘scoop out (coconuts)’
<i>tiye</i>	<i>tyup</i>	‘attack, hit’
<i>vinye</i>	<i>pyen</i>	‘shoot’

Table 3.5 lists all the verbs which have so far been attested as lexically specifying the number of their internal arguments.

In verbs which do not lexically specify their internal argument to be plural, this semantic effect can be achieved productively by reduplication. This process is described in section 3.2.5.

The same phenomenon can also be found with at least two pairs of adjectives—see section 3.4.1, page 98. In nouns, number appears to be only rarely part of the lexical meaning; a bona fide exception is the transitive noun *suku* ‘things of’, which always refers to several objects of a certain type.

Compare section 3.3.1 and also section 6.2.6 for more on number marking.

3.2.3. Transitivity with *(a)ne*

There are several ways to introduce new arguments to a clause in Daakaka: they involve verbal suffixes as described in section 3.2.4, prepositions (see section 4.3), serial predicate constructions (section 7), or the transitivizing clitic *(a)ne* described here.

In specific cases, the transitivizer *(a)ne* can be synonymous with one of the other transitivizing structures: In the first of the following two examples, the verb *sedaeng* ‘listen’ is transitivized by *ane* to introduce the object *dulu kye=an* ‘the sound of [his] call’; in the second example, the transitive verb *usili* ‘follow’ is used as a non-initial predicate in a serial verb construction with *sedaeng* to allow for the object *kolir=an* ‘singing’. The resulting interpretation is very much the same in both cases:

- (19) a. *vyap myato na bwe yen san too te bwe sedaeng=ane*
 old.woman old COMP REAL;CONT in 3S.POSS garden DIST stay listen=TRANS

3. Major Word Classes

dulu kye=an en=te

SOUND.OF CALL=NM DEF=MED

‘the old woman who was in her garden was listening to the sound of this calling’
(rep12:28)

b. *ye=m du sedaeng usili kolir=an na en=te*

3D=REAL stay listen follow sing=NM ATT DEF=MED

‘they were listening to this singing’ (sto25:79)

(A)ne differs from prepositions, serial verbs and verbal suffixes however in that the latter assign a fixed role to their arguments, while with (a)ne, the role depends mostly on the transitivized verb and the context. (A)ne is quite interesting in that it transitivizes intransitive and semitransitive verbs, but also increases the valency of nouns and adverbs (see sections 4.1.3 and 3.5.1). It is this behavior of (a)ne which has inspired me to treat transitivity in Daakaka as a category which transcends word classes (compare section 3.3.1).

There is also a homophonous lexeme which is used in connection with transitive verbs, but since it inevitably assigns the role of an instrument to its argument, I treat it as a preposition rather than a transitivizer (see page 160).

If a semitransitive verb is transitivized, it assigns the same role to its argument that it would without the transitivizer, as illustrated in (20) (see also section 3.2.2 above for the difference between semitransitive and transitive verbs):

(20) a. *mwe yas webir*

REAL steal breadfruit

‘he/she steals breadfruits, he/she is a breadfruit thief’

b. *mwe yas=ane webir*

REAL steal=TRANS breadfruit

‘he/she stole the breadfruit’

In these cases, it is safe to assume that the role of the argument is given by the lexical definition of the semitransitive verb. For intransitive verbs however, this is not necessarily the case. In part, the role of the argument can be predicted from general semantic properties of the verb, but at least in some cases, the role assigned by a transitivized verb can be shown to depend on the context and on the semantics of the object as well.

Below, I will give an overview over the variety of roles the argument of a transitivized verb can have, without any claim to completeness.

With some stative verbs, the transitivizing construction might best be described as a causative construction, where the meaning of a verb ‘do sth.’ shifts to ‘cause sth./so. to do sth.’ Two cases in point are the following examples: The first one is with the verb *naknak* ‘be ready’, which is transitivized as *naknak=ane* ‘prepare sth.’, or ‘cause sth. to be ready’. The other one involves the verb *ngapngap* ‘rest’, which is transitivized as *ngapngap=ane* ‘stop sth. (an activity), to make sth. rest’:

(21) a. *ka te me t=i pelyen te ya=m naknak=ane mees mo*

SUBCONJ DIST COME DIST=COP TOMORROW CONJ 3P=REAL ready=TRANS food REAL

- nok te tilya te vyan*
 finish CONJ take CONJ go
 ‘in the morning they prepared the food and went’ (sto25:132)
- b. *mwe ngapngap=ane kolir=an*
 REAL rest=TRANS sing=NM
 ‘he stopped singing’ (sto25:83)

If a verb or adjective of emotion is transitivized, the newly introduced object is interpreted as the cause of the feeling, or as the target or addressee of an emotion:

- (22) a. *ya=m me te óó mwe nek=ane lisepsep*
 3P=REAL come CONJ 3P.EMT REAL fear=TRANS lisepsep
 ‘they came and they were afraid of the lisepsep’¹ (sto21:77)
- b. *yu-om mwe kyes~kyes=ane s-ok temeli man*
 feeling-2S.POSS REAL REDUP~sweet=TRANS CL3-1S.POSS child male
 ‘you are in love with my son’ (sto25:125)
- c. *na=m yungpan=ne wye ten*
 1S=REAL thirsty=TRANS water very
 ‘I am very thirsty’ (sto15:33)

Verbs of movement can be transitivized as well, but different motion verbs assign different arguments to their object. The goal and starting point of the movements referred to by *me* ‘come’ and *vyan* ‘go’ are usually given by adverbs, in which case no transitivization is necessary; but they can also be given by nouns or pronouns, and then the two verbs are transitivized. Transitivized *vyan* ‘go’ often takes a deverbal noun-phrase as its argument, which denotes an activity; the resulting construction can be translated as ‘go to do something’.

- (23) a. *∅-an livis mwe vyan=ane misy-an nyosi*
 CL2-3S.POSS banana.plant REAL go=TRANS uncle-3S.POSS 3PC
 ‘Her banana plant goes to her uncles,’ (exp06:25)
- b. *ya=m vyan=ane [punguor teweli=an]_{NP}*
 3P=REAL go=TRANS look.for.shellfish turban.shell=NM
 ‘they went to look for turban shells’ (sto02:10)
- c. *nyur~nyur-an swa mwe me=ne _____/ nge*
 REDUP~think-NM one REAL come=TRANS 3S
 ‘he had an idea’ (lit. ‘an idea came to him’) (rep04:20)

If verbs like *punguo* ‘ascend, go up’ and *seling* ‘descend, go down’ are transitivized, their argument denotes the slope along which the movement takes place:

- (24) *ye=m vyan vyan ma ge=tak kyun te punguo=ne butantan swa*
 3D=REAL go go REAL be.like=PROX just CONJ go.up=TRANS hill one
 ‘they kept going and then they went up a hill’ (sto06:11)

By contrast, the transitivized form of *oko* ‘walk, travel’ assigns the role of instrument to its

¹Lisepseps are magical, dwarf-like creatures who often feature as the villain in children’s stories.

3. Major Word Classes

argument:

- (25) *ma oko=ne trak*
 REAL walk=TRANS truck
 ‘She/he went by car.’

Verbs of existence are rarely transitivized, but when they are, their object is a noun phrase denoting the subject’s location:

- (26) a. *myanok mu du=ne bwity-en*
 SORE REAL stay=TRANS ASS-3S.POSS
 ‘he had sores on his ass’ (sto21:44)
 b. *webwes mwe pwer=ne kos-on*
 wart REAL stay=TRANS NOSE-3S.POSS
 ‘It has a wart on its nose.’ (lit. ‘a wart is on its nose’) (exp02:186)

With transitivized verbs of excretion, the argument denotes the excreted substance:

- (27) a. *ka te mini vyan kyun te yu=ne basée en=te*
 SUBCONJ DIST drink go just CONJ vomit=TRANS bird DEF=MED
 ‘After he drank [the liquid], he threw up the bird.’ (sto14:29)
 b. *ka ye=t kyep=ane uti levyak...*
 SUBCONJ 3PC=DIST defacate=TRANS seed banyan
 ‘when they excrete the seeds of the banyan tree...’ (exp13:6)

The interpretation of the semantic role of an object does not only depend on the meaning of the transitivized verb, but also on the context and the meaning of the object itself.

For example, the transitivized verb in both of the following two sentences is *nyur~nyur* ‘think’. In the first sentence, the transitivized verb *nyur~nyur=ane* can well be translated as ‘think of’ or ‘remember’, where the first person object is the (already existing) addressee of the subject’s thoughts. By contrast, in the second example, the object of the transitivized verb has come into existence as a result of the thinking, so in this case, *nyur~nyur=ane* would better be translated as ‘invent’, ‘design’, ‘come up with’ or similar.

- (28) a. *te pyaavep kevene ngok a vyanten ke~kevene ma ka ki=p du*
 CONJ afternoon every 2S and person REDUP~every REAL say 2P=POT stay
nyur~nyur=ane nye bili na ka yaa te vyan
 REDUP~think=TRANS 1S time COMP SUBCONJ SUN DIST go
 ‘every afternoon you and every man will think of me when the sun goes down’
 (sto17:38)
 b. *nye suw-uk kyun na=m nyur~nyur=ane tis=an en=tak te*
 1S self-1S.POSS just 1S=REAL REDUP~think=TRANS write=NM DEF=PROX CONJ
na=m dimyane ka na=p tisi
 1S=REAL want MOD.COMP 1S=POT write
 ‘I myself have designed this drawing and wanted to draw it’ (sto48:3)

A similar contrast exists between the following two sentences. The transitivized verb is in

both cases *gyes* ‘work’. But in the first example, the object’s existence is independent from the working process, while in the second example the canoe which is being worked on is only coming into existence as a result of the working process.

- (29) a. *pwesane, pwesane mo nok te gyes=ane yesukuo nyoo en=te*
 fix fix REAL finish CONJ work=TRANS leaves 3P DEF=MED
 ‘she made [the coconuts] stand on the ground one by one, then processed these leaves’ (sto33:127)
- b. *Bili na bwe gyes=ane apyaló ten limyaek bwe esi*
 time COMP REAL;CONT work=TRANS ship native night REAL;CONT see
apyang.
 fire
 ‘While he was working on the canoe, in the night he saw the fire.’ (sto24:15)

The transitivizer (*a*)ne sometimes forms a phonological unit with the transitivized verb. Moreover, it not only transitivizes simple verbs, but also more complex predicates, which may consist of a serial verb construction or might contain an adverb such as *ten* ‘very’.

In the first of the following two examples, the two verbs involved are *tower* ‘throw’ and *mwelili* ‘be small’; the entire sentence translates more literally as ‘the sea threw the foods, thereby causing them to be small (to be in small units)’. In the second sentence, the verb sequence consists of *en* ‘eat’ and *kop-kop* ‘be whole’, and the transitivizer expresses that the object of the entire phrase is a previously mentioned referent. Both *tower* and *en* are semitransitive verbs.

- (30) a. *tes mwe tower mwelili=ane mees nyoo en=te ta nge=te*
 sea REAL throw small=TRANS food 3P LOC=MED CM NGE=MED
 ‘the sea was scattering these foods around’ (sto25:175)
- b. *ma ane te to kyer-veni mwe en kop-kop=ane kyun*
 REAL eat CONJ REAL;NEG bite-dead REAL eat REDUP~be.full=TRANS just
 ‘he ate him but he did not bite him dead, he just swallowed him entirely’
 (sto13:32)

The adverb *ten* ‘very’ apparently combines quite closely with the constituent it modifies: it can be incorporated both into transitivized verb phrases and nominalizations (see also sections 3.5.4 and 3.3.4, page 84). The same is not true for other adverbs.

- (31) *mwe vyan mwe myor ten=ane bwilinpwe lisepsep*
 REAL go REAL exact very=TRANS buccal.cavity.of lisepsep
 ‘it went directly into the mouth of the lisepsep’ (sto02:93)

The transitivizer (*a*)ne is also used to increase valency in intransitive and semitransitive nouns as well as some adverbs, as described in sections 4.1.3 and 3.5 respectively.

3. Major Word Classes

3.2.4. Verbal suffixes

The inventory of verbs in Daakaka is enriched by a number of suffixes which express the result or manner of an action.

Most suffixes form transitive constructions together with the verb that hosts them. These suffixes can generally attach to both intransitive and semitransitive verbs. Transitive verbs can also host these suffixes, but usually only if there is no corresponding semitransitive verb. This holds especially for pairs where the transitive verb is an augmented version of the semitransitive verb, as with *dis* and *disi* ‘draw back, pull out’: only the semitransitive *dis* can take a suffix such as *-kuwu* (out) to form the transitive verb *dis-kuwu* ‘pull sth. out’, while *disi* cannot.

An intransitive suffix such as *-lili* (back) can only attach to a transitive or semitransitive verb if the entire construction is then followed by the transitivizing morpheme (*a*)*ne*. Thus, it is possible to say *ling-lili=ne* (put(SEMTR)-back=TRANS) ‘put sth. back’ or *tu-lili=ne* (hit(TR)-back=TRANS), but not **ling-lili* or **tu-lili*.

In general, verbal suffixes are a very frequent and productive feature of Daakaka speech. The individual elements of this class do differ from each other in frequency, but apparently not much in productivity: For such suffixes with a low type-to-token ratio and a low number of hapax legomena in the text corpus, it was usually easy to elicit more types of verb-root and suffix combinations. A list of the verbal suffixes occurring in the corpus, each with several examples, is given in table 3.6.

Tabelle 3.6.: Verbal suffixes

Suffix	Meaning	Examples
		Transitivizing
<i>doon</i>	‘expand’	<i>unun-doon too</i> (clear-expand garden) ‘expand a garden (by clearing it), <i>be~vyap-doon webir</i> (REDUP~plant-expand taro) ‘expand a taro field’,
<i>esi</i>	‘try’	<i>penin-esi dom en=tak</i> (roast-try yam DEF=PROX) ‘try to roast that yam’, <i>kyer esi sy-en tomo</i> (bite-try shit-3S.POSS rat) ‘try to eat the rat’s shit’
<i>kate</i>	‘tight, fast’	<i>gum-kate</i> (hold-tight) ‘hold tight’, <i>nyur-kate</i> (think-tight) ‘believe’, <i>lis-kate</i> (tie-tight) ‘(to) knot, tie sth.’
<i>kilye</i>	‘miss’	<i>tis-kilye</i> (write-miss) ‘write sth wrong’, <i>sulu-p-kilye</i> (catch-EP-miss) ‘fail to catch’
<i>kote</i>	‘in two pieces’	<i>ta-kote</i> (cut-in.two) ‘cut sth. in two’, <i>kyer-kote</i> (bite-in.two) ‘bite sth. in two’, <i>akuor-kote seli</i> (cross-in.two road) ‘cross the road (thereby figuratively dissecting it)’
<i>kukuone</i>	‘successfully, well’	<i>gyes-kukuone</i> (work-well) ‘work with good results’, <i>gum-kukuone</i> (hold-well) ‘hold tight’, <i>kyes-kukuone</i> (wash-well) ‘clean sth. well’, <i>war-kukuone</i> (argue-well) ‘persuade so.’

Tabelle 3.6.: Verbal suffixes (continued)

Suffix	Meaning	Examples
<i>kuwu</i>	‘out’	<i>kyer-kuwu</i> (bite-out) ‘bite a piece out of something’, <i>liye-p-kuwu</i> (take-EP-out) ‘carry sth. outside, remove’, <i>yu-kuwu</i> (vomit-out) ‘throw sth. up’
<i>pyakilye/</i> <i>-pyak</i>	‘look for’	<i>tée-pyakilye</i> (look-look.for) ‘look for’, <i>nyur~nyur-pyakilye</i> (REDUP~think-look.for) ‘try to remember or think of sth.’, <i>kye-pyakilye</i> (call-look.for) ‘call so.’s name to find them’, <i>bungus-pyak</i> (smell-look.for) ‘smell the air in search for a scent’
<i>siline</i>	‘finish, exhaust’	<i>en-siline mees</i> (eat-finish food) ‘eat all the food’, <i>kikyer-siline ó</i> (scoop.out-finish copra) ‘scoop out all the copra’, <i>penin-siline vis</i> (roast-finish banana) ‘roast all the bananas’
<i>tae</i>	‘through’	<i>ta-tae</i> (cut-through) ‘pierce’, <i>bwis-tae</i> (pass.under-through) ‘enter’, <i>sikye-tae em milye</i> (scratch-through house on.top) ‘scratch through the roof’
<i>tase</i>	‘again, redo sth.’	<i>gyes-tase</i> (work-redo) ‘re-work’, <i>us-tase</i> (ask-redo) ‘ask the same question again’, <i>bya-p-tase</i> (plant-EP-redo) ‘replant’
<i>titye</i>	‘carefully’	<i>ling-titye pelet</i> (put-carefully plate) ‘put a plate down carefully’; <i>war-titye</i> (argue-carefully) ‘speak carefully’ (so as not to give oneself away); <i>vyo-titye</i> (carry-carefully) ‘carry sth. carefully’
<i>tiwiye</i>	‘break’	<i>saa-tiwiye</i> (hang-break) ‘break e.g. a branch by hanging onto it’, <i>tas-tiwiye</i> (sit-break) ‘break sth. by sitting down on it’, <i>ves-tiwiye</i> (kick-break) ‘break sth. by kicking it’
<i>tupuosane</i>	‘do sth. for the first time’	<i>tée-tupuosane</i> (look-first.time) ‘see sth. for the first time’, <i>en-tupuosane</i> (eat-first.time) ‘eat sth. for the first time’
<i>veni</i>	‘to death’	<i>kyer-veni</i> (bite-to.death) ‘bite to death’; <i>tyu-veni</i> (fight-to.death) ‘kill (several persons)’; <i>towoo-veni</i> (kick-to.death), <i>penin-veni</i> (roast-to.death) ‘burn to death’, <i>wu-veni apyang</i> (blow-to.death fire) ‘blow out a fire’, <i>tang-veni laet</i> (touch-to.death light) ‘turn out the light’
<i>wesa</i>	‘clean’	<i>sye-p-wesa li-vis</i> (cut-EP-clean plant-banana) ‘shave dead leaves off a banana plant’, <i>kyes-wesa</i> (wash-clean) ‘rinse’, <i>ta-wesa lo-wotop</i> (cut-clean plant-breadfruit) ‘clear the space around a breadfruit tree’, <i>tung-wesa</i> (shine-clean) ‘shine a light onto sth.’
Non-transitivizing		
<i>lili</i>	‘back’	<i>sóró-lili</i> (speak-back) ‘talk back, reply’ <i>bwis-lili</i> (go.inside-back) ‘go back inside’, <i>kuo-lili</i> (run-back) ‘run back’, <i>tu-lili=ne</i> (hit-back=TRANS) ‘fight back’

3. Major Word Classes

Tabelle 3.6.: Verbal suffixes (continued)

Suffix	Meaning	Examples
<i>marmar</i>	‘cautiously, secretly’	<i>yung-marmar</i> (be.quiet-cautious) ‘be quiet as to not alert so. to one’s presence’, <i>oko-marmar</i> (walk-cautious) ‘creep, to walk slowly and quietly’
<i>myar</i>	‘randomly, leisurely’	<i>oko-myar</i> (walk-randomly) ‘walk around without a specific goal’, <i>tinyo-myar</i> (stand-randomly) ‘stand around’, <i>pyos-myar</i> (joke-randomly) ‘joke with so. leisurely’

Certain resultative suffixes have apparently been lexicalized as parts of larger structures: Some suffixes can be found attached to what must be former verb roots which do not exist as independent lexemes and for which it is hard to define an independent meaning. An example would be **kaa-*, which has been recorded in the following cases: *kaakilye* ‘miss’, where the suffix *-kilye* itself means ‘miss, fail’; *kaatevyase* ‘miss’—the only other attested collocate of *-tevyase* is *tangtevyase* ‘fail’, where *tang* is ‘touch’; the third word which contains *kaa* is *kaakuwu* ‘take off (clothes)’, where *-kuwu* means ‘out, off’.

At the other side of the spectrum there is a close relation to serial predicate constructions. Single marking serial verb constructions have very similar properties to verbal suffixes—see section 7.2. The main difference is that the suffixes cannot occur independently from a preceding verb. Even so, there are some items which are not trivial to classify as one or the other.

A case in point is the suffix *-esi*: There is a full verb *esi* with the meaning ‘see’ and one could well argue that structures as in (32) are serial verb constructions, instead of a suffixing structure (compare section 7.1.2):

- (32) a. *na=p téé-esi=ane s-ok taata t-en s-ok*
 1S=POT look(SEMTR)-try=TRANS CL3-1S.POSS dad and-CL3-3S.POSS 1S.POSS
mama kuane nye
 mother home.of 1S
 ‘I will try to find my father and my mother at home’ (sto33:151)
- b. ‘*Mo, nye mon na=p yes-esi nye.*’
 ok 1S also 1S=POT turn-try 1S
 ‘Ok, let me also try to turn round.’ (sto40:9)

The main reason why I still treat *esi* as a suffix here rather than a serial verb is that its meaning ‘try’ is apparently lexicalized and not entirely predictable from the meaning of the full verb *esi* ‘see’, even though similar relations can be found in other languages.²

Other suffixes have close relatives in yet other word classes. The suffix *myar* ‘aimlessly’ for example has a homophonous correspondent with a probably related meaning in the class of adjectives—the adjective *myar* means ‘various, random’, but also ‘bad, evil’:

²For example, a similar process can be observed in Mandarin Chinese, where a reduplicated verb plus the verb *kàn* ‘see’ also expresses tentativity as in *shuō~shuō kàn* (REDUP~speak see) ‘try to say sth.’

- (33) a. *vyap myato nyoo ya=m du sēka ivyo myar*
 old.woman old 3P 3P=REAL stay harvest cabbage various
 ‘some women were gathering various edible leaves’ (rep10:9)
- b. *Sisyē myar nyoo ya=m du myane myaop.*
 thing various 3P 3P=REAL stay with volcano
 ‘Foul creatures were in the volcano.’ (rep04:34)

Finally, there are some morphemes which appear to be verbal suffixes but have so few collocates that they might as well be completely idiosyncratic parts of lexicalized phrases.

Among them are the morpheme *-kuor* which appears to belong to the class of verbal suffixes, but there are not enough occurrences to determine with certainty their exact functional status; furthermore, my most important informants did not have sufficient intuitions about this morpheme to produce more examples.

Kuor is semantically remindful of *-tupuosane* ‘for the first time’. Its only occurrence with a resultative function within the corpus involves the verb *en* ‘eat’ and the nominalizer *an*: the resulting phrase *en-kuor=an* (eat-for.the.last.time=NM) means ‘the last meal’:

- (34) *ma ka ya=p me te vyan ka ya=p gene en=an swa w=i*
 REAL say 3P=POT come CONJ go MOD.COMP 3P=POT make eat=NM one POT=COP
[en-kuor=an]=ane vyan ten na mwe mer
 eat-last.time=NM=TRANS person COMP REAL dead
 ‘then they come to have a final feast for the deceased’ (exp06:54)

Similarly, the morpheme *kikisi* only combines with *myan* ‘laugh’, yielding the expression *myan kikisi* ‘roll with laughter’.

Verbal suffixes, like verbs themselves, can be reduplicated. This process is described in more detail in the following section.

3.2.5. Reduplication

In predicates

Verbs and the verbal suffixes described in the previous section can undergo the process of reduplication. The phonological properties of this process are described in section 2.3.2.

In verbs and verbal suffixes, reduplication can have a variety of meanings and functions. One of its main meanings is pluractionality—it expresses that an action is carried out more than once. Pluractional readings can be further divided into two types: In one scenario, the same agent repeats an action (on the same object); in the second scenario, the verb’s internal argument refers to more than one individual.

Depending on the context and the meaning of the verb, the repetitive reading of a reduplicated verb can be interpreted more specifically as iterative, or as habitual or generic. The former case is illustrated by the example in (35): the flying fox watches as the lorikeet is repeatedly rotating around the branch it is sitting on:

- (35) *gee mwe esi na sa sivi mwe pwe yaa~yaase nge kyu nge*
 flying.fox REAL see COMP CM lorikeet REAL CONT REDUP~turn 3S surround 3S

3. Major Word Classes

‘the flying fox saw the lorikeet rotating around himself’ (sto40:7)

Compare this with the following two cases: in (36), the reduplicated verb stresses that the crying takes place habitually every day. The reduplicated verb *tii-tii* in (37) rather refers to the generic potential of the spikes of a certain fish to pierce the skin of anyone trying to touch it—independent of how often this potential is in fact realized:

(36) *nate-yaa nyoo ya=m du deng~deng webung ke~kevene*
 child-3D.POSS 3P 3P=REAL stay REDUP~cry day REDUP~every
 ‘their children cried every day’ (exp16:3)

(37) *sini-sye nyoo mwe tii~tii*
 thorn.of-3S.POSS 3P REAL REDUP~sting
 ‘its spikes (can) sting’ (exp07:212)

The second kind of pluractional meaning is slightly different in that it does not indicate so much the repetition of an action by the same participants, but rather the plurality of the verb’s internal argument—for intransitive verbs, this means that the subject will refer to more than one individual, for transitive or semitransitive verbs, the object will be taken to be plural. This interpretation of reduplication is completely analogous to verbs that lexically specify their internal argument to be plural as described in section 3.2.2, page 48.

Of course the plurality of objects usually implies the plurality of events—if an action is carried out by more than one subject or on more than one object, it is usually carried out more than once, which makes it hard to distinguish between the two cases. Even so, in some cases the plurality of subjects or objects appears to be a more dominant aspect of reduplication than the repetition of an action.

The following two examples illustrate this meaning of reduplication with intransitive verbs: In the first of the two sentences, the reduplication of the verb ‘talk’ indicates the plurality of its subject, the honey-eater birds; in the second sentence, the tears which are running are many.

- (38) a. *ep ka te sóró te kevene ya=m puo ya=m*
 honeyeater SUBCONJ DIST talk CONJ every 3P=REAL be.plentiful 3P=REAL
só~sóró kyun
 REDUP~talk just
 ‘when the honey-eater talks, all of the many birds just talk’ (exp02:13)
- b. *kyun te wye=ne met-an bwe ku~kuo*
 after CONJ water=TRANS eye-3S.POSS REAL;CONT REDUP~run
 ‘And its tears were running.’ (exp02:28)

Note that there is no restriction in Daakaka on pluralizing mass denoting nouns like *wye* ‘water’: an expression like *wye nyoo*, literally ‘waters’ will automatically be understood to refer to contextually salient units of the substance—in the example in (38-b), these units are droplets of tears.

With transitive or semitransitive verbs and transitivity verbal suffixes, reduplication can express that an action is repeated with a plurality of objects. For reduplicated verbal suffixes, this is in fact the most frequent meaning.

- (39) a. *Ka=m du yas~yasane ok wotop!*
 2D=REAL stay REDUP~steal 1S.POSS breadfruit
 ‘You’re stealing my breadfruits (several of them)!’ (sto32:28)
- b. *mwe mur me pyan te ye=m tawa te syo-ku~kuwu*
 REAL fall come under CONJ 3D=REAL cut.open CONJ take-REDUP~out
uti-sye
 seed-3S.POSS
 ‘[the pawpaw] fell down and they cut it open and removed the seeds’ (sto35:9)
- c. *ya=m te nya vyan, ta-ven~veni nya ye=m mer~mer*
 3P=REAL cut 3D go cut-REDUP~dead 3D 3D=REAL REDUP~dead
 ‘they hacked at them and cut them to death so that the two died’ (sto34:79)
- d. *ra=m ta-ko~kote gili le-wewo*
 1P.IN=REAL cut-REDUP~in.two end stem.of-bamboo
 ‘we cut off the ends of the bamboo sticks’ (exp31:1)

As with verbs which lexically specify that their object refers to a multitude of items, objects of reduplicated verbs can still be accompanied by the numeral and indefinite article *swa* ‘one’, but the interpretation will then differ from their non-reduplicated counterparts (compare also (18) on page 48):

- (40) a. *Mwe bya webir swa.*
 REAL plant(s) taro one
 ‘She planted one taro.’
- b. *mwe be~vya-p webir swa*
 REAL REDUP~plant(P)-EP taro one
 ‘she planted (many plants of) one kind of taro.’

Another meaning of verbal reduplication is reciprocity. Clauses like the following would get a different, non-reciprocal interpretation if the verbs were not reduplicated: The first clause, for example, would mean ‘they_i were mad at them_j’ or possibly ‘they were mad at themselves’ instead of ‘they were mad at each other’ if the verb was *pyane*, instead of the reduplicated version *pyan-pyane*.

- (41) a. *yu-yaa_{i,j} bwet pyan~pyane nya_{j,i} tevy-an na puskat bwet myan*
 feeling-3D.POSS COS REDUP~roast 3D side.of-3S.POSS COMP cat just laugh
silye kuli
 pluck dog
 ‘they only then got mad at each other because the cat laughed at the dog’
 (sto06:32)
- b. *Sikya yene pus myane tomo ye_{i,j}=m sang~sanga=ne nya_{j,i}*
 until now cat with rat 3D=REAL REDUP~bad=TRANS 3D
 ‘Until now, the cat and the rat don’t like each other.’ (sto27:55)

Lastly, a more marginal function of reduplication appears to be attenuation of a verb meaning: Although I went through most of the verbs recorded in the dictionary, this effect only occurred with the verbs *mer* ‘die’ and *yas* ‘be strong’ as in the following example:

3. Major Word Classes

- (42) *uli wee en=te mwe yas~yas murswa*
 skin.of fruit DEF=MED REAL REDUP~be.strong a.little
 ‘the skin of this fruit is a little tough’

The reduplicated form of *mer* ‘die’, *mer~mer* means ‘be very exhausted/ half dead’, showing a similar, relativizing or attenuating function of reduplication.

Reduplicated verbs do not appear to be restricted to specific TAM environments. We have already seen reduplications in positive realis clauses with and without progressive markers and with the change-of-state marker *bwet* (see example (41-a) above). An example for a reduplicated verb in a negative potential environment is given in (43). See also chapter 5 for more on the TAM markers.

- (43) *Ma ka: “Éé, saka ko=n pa~pakuon nyur~nyur=an.”*
 REAL say no MOD.NEG 2S=NEC REDUP~work.hard REDUP~think=NM
 ‘He said: “No, don’t rack your brains.”’ (sto31:41)

In attributes

In all the cases discussed so far, the reduplicated verbs were used as clausal predicates. However, reduplicating a verb can not only have purely semantic effects on a verb, it can also alter its syntactic distribution: intransitive and semitransitive reduplicated verbs can be used like adjectives, as attributes to a noun phrase. This phenomenon is illustrated by the following examples:

- (44) a. *wye pyang~pyang*
 water REDUP~be.hot
 ‘hot water’ (exp21:5)
- b. *ma mea=ne [or sang~sanga], ma mea vyan syu yen tes*
 REAL jump=TRANS place REDUP~bad REAL jump go land in sea
 ‘He jumped and landed on a bad spot and jumped into the sea.’ (sto48:17)

In most cases, these deverbal adjectives refer to a generic property of the head noun, not an accidental or temporary attribute. Thus, the term *vyanten gyes~gyes* in the following example can only refer to someone who is characterized by their outstanding diligence, not to someone who happens to be working at the moment. The expression used in the second example, *mesyu ka~ka*, is a generic term referring to the species of flying fish:

- (45) a. *vyanten gyes~gyes swa*
 person REDUP~work one
 ‘a hard-working person’
- b. *mesyu ka~ka*
 fish REDUP~fly
 ‘flying fish’

As mentioned above, these structures are in general only available for intransitive verbs. If the same notion can be expressed both by a transitive and a semitransitive verb, it is ungrammatical

to choose the transitive one—with or without an object noun accompanying it:

- (46) a. *vyanten ge~keres/* **[ge~kerase (vyanten)] swa*
 person REDUP~lie(ITR)/ REDUP~lie(TR) person one
 ‘a liar’
- b. *kuli baa~waa/* **[tyup~tyup (vyanten)] swa*
 dog REDUP~fight(ITR)/ REDUP~fight(TR) person one
 ‘a belligerent dog’
- c. *kuli kyer~kyer/* **[at~ate (vyanten)] swa*
 dog REDUP~bite(ITR)/ REDUP~bite(TR) person one
 ‘a dog that bites’

In all the examples shown so far, the role of the head noun corresponds to the role the verb would usually assign to its subject. This is however not necessarily the case. During elicitations I came across several cases in which the head noun was assigned a different role. Two such examples are given in (47):

- (47) a. *mesyu en~en nyoo*
 fish REDUP~eat(ITR) 3P
 ‘edible fish’ (not: ‘eating fish’)
- b. *yes do~roko*
 smoke REDUP~pull(ITR)
 ‘pipe, something to (pull) smoke with’

This phenomenon apparently also plays a role in the term which gives the language its name *Daakaka*: *daa* means ‘language, speech’, and *ka* means ‘say’—the whole phrase can thus be translated as ‘the spoken language’; since *daa* is the only collocate of attributive reduplicated *ka* ‘say’, I can however not assess the productivity of this configuration. The verb *ka* is itself exceptional: it is arguably transitive, but its arguments are usually not noun phrases but entire clauses representing direct or indirect speech. It is the only element in the language with that property (see also section 7.2, page 263).

This function of reduplication also plays a more general role in the derivation of noun phrases. One such case is the nominal expression for ‘dawn’: the only simplex expression referring to the concept of sunrise is the verb *yuop* ‘be dawn’. In order to derive a nominal expression, this verb has to be reduplicated and serve as an attribute to its dummy subject *or* ‘place’:

- (48) a. *or mwe yuop*
 place REAL be.dawn
 ‘it is dawn’ (sto42:23)
- b. *or yuop~yuop*
 place REDUP~be.dawn
 ‘dawn’ (see also section 3.2.7) (sto25:18)
- c. *or bwe towane or yuop~yuop*
 bush REAL;CONT throw place REDUP~dawn
 ‘it was getting dawn’ (lit. ‘the place was throwing dawn’) (sto25:56)

3. Major Word Classes

This kind of noun phrase formation is most productive in the semantic domain of bodily states and medical symptoms which is illustrated in (49) and discussed in more detail in section 3.3.5.

- (49) *kus lip~lip*
nose REDUP~drip
'nosebleed' (lit. 'a dripping nose')

3.2.6. Auxiliaries

Overview

The class of auxiliary verbs in Daakaka is small, it only consists of six elements, one of which is a loan word. A structure comprising an auxiliary verb and a main verb differs from a serial verb construction in that both verbs in the latter structure can also occur independently as main predicates. By contrast, auxiliaries always have to be followed by a main verb.

Furthermore, only a restricted set of verbs can occur as non-initial verbs in a (single marking) serial verb construction, whereas auxiliaries can be followed by a far greater range of verbs, which may not otherwise be used as non-initial predicates. This latter criterion has led me to also include the continuous aspect markers *pwe* and *du* in this section, even though they have main verb counterparts *pwer* and *du* 'stay'.

Most of the auxiliaries have aspectual meanings: *pwe* and *du* express imperfective aspects ranging from progressive to habitual. *Wet* and *dakap* both express that the event or state they refer to only started after a certain point in time. They differ in how they interact with negation: When *wet* is negated, the resulting meaning is 'not yet'; when *dakap* is negated, this expresses that a certain state of affairs has been the case all along and has not changed recently.

The auxiliary *belik* introduces the presupposition that the subject committed a crime or offense and *mas* expresses necessity or inevitability, and stresses the urgency of commands and wishes.

In contrast to simple verb phrases, phrases containing an auxiliary cannot be nominalized. At least for some combinations, it is possible to have a sequence of two auxiliaries as in (50):

- (50) a. *webung swa mwe dyunga pwe nyur~nyur=ane ka ka we vyan*
day one REAL just CONT REDUP~think=TRANS say MOD.REL POT go
Tasa
North.Ambrym
'one day finally he planned to go to North Ambrym' (sto24:100)
- b. *Doma ma wet belik yas=ane Ø-ok barar.*
today REAL only.then commit.offense steal=TRANS CL2-1S.POSS pig
'Only today did he commit the offense of stealing my pig.' (given his notoriety, I would have expected him to do so sooner.)

Below, I will discuss the properties of each auxiliary in more detail.

Wet: 'only then'

The auxiliary *wet* typically marks the final stage in a sequence of actions:

- (51) a. *ya=m tilya me te seeyaane ne tevy-an ka we gaó*
 3P=REAL take come CONJ dry TRANS side.of-3S.POSS MOD.COMP POT dry
te ka ya=p wet vyate
 CONJ MOD.REL 3P=POT only.then weave
 'they take [the pandanus leaves] and spread them in the sun so they will dry and then they weave them' (exp20:5)
- b. [*ye=m tyo-ku~kuwu bwee vini-sye nyoo*] [*te lingi pyan kulin*
 3PC=REAL rip-REDUP~out shell.of husk.of-3S.POSS 3P CONJ put under sole.of
ly-osi nyoo] [*te ye=m pis-kate*] [*te wet oko*]
 leg-3PC.POSS 3P CONJ 3PC=REAL tie-firm CONJ only.then walk
 'they tore the husks from [the coconut shell] and then put them under their soles and they fastened them and thus they walked'³ (rep04:82)

It also implies that the event associated with *wet* does not begin before a certain point in time. Thus, in (52), *wet* stresses that the eating will only begin when the day is over and the night has begun.

- (52) *A yen myaek, nyoo ka ya=p pwer seaa. Te taem en=te, ngok ko=p*
 and in be.night 3P MOD.REL 3P=POT stay every CONJ time DEF=MED 2S 2S=POT
wet pwe en wu vu
 only.then CONT eat POT be.good
 'And during the night, they will all sleep. Then, you will be eating well.' (sto04:45)

In negative contexts, *wet* means '(not) anymore':

- (53) a. *a na to wet kuowilye bwe an kyun*
 and 1S REAL;NEG only.then know song DET just
 'But I just don't know the song anymore.' (rep14:19)
- b. *nate-yaa nyoo saka y=-n wet du deng~deng*
 child-3D.POSS 3P MOD.NEG 3D=NEC only.then stay REDUP~cry
 'their children shouldn't cry any longer' (exp16:4)

Dyunga: 'finally'

The auxiliary *dyunga* can roughly be translated by adverbs like *finally*, *eventually*. Similar to *wet*, it expresses that several previous events have led up to the action it describes. It is not part of the vocabulary of younger people.

- (54) *te sivi mwe dyunga sóró myane eya*
 CONJ lorikeet REAL just talk with white-eye
 'so the lorikeet finally said to the white-eye' (sto04:12)

³Terms for extremities do generally not differentiate between 'arm' and 'hand' or between 'foot' and 'leg'.

3. Major Word Classes

Dakap: 'just', change of state

There are two canonical ways in Daakaka to express that an event constitutes a change in the state of things. One of them is the auxiliary *dakap*, the other one is the TAM marker *bwet*. *Dakap* is more specific than *bwet* because it also implies that the event it refers to happened recently, similar to certain uses of English *just*. The two lexemes can be used together as shown in (55):

- (55) *dereli, nge te dyanga teve-nyem, nge bwet dakap me kyun.*
millipede 3S DIST lack side-1P.EX.POSS 3S COS(TAM) COS(AUX) come just
'The millipede didn't use to be with us [here], it just came recently.' (exp08:96)

In some cases, the aspect of recency is dominant in the use of *dakap*, as in the following example:

- (56) *ka na=p sóró usili sye swa sa ma dakap me kyun yan Tyuste*
MOD.REL 1S=POT talk follow something one CM REAL COS come just on Tuesday
'I will talk about something which just occurred on Tuesday' (rep11:1-2)

In some other cases, its dominating function is to stress that something was not the case before. It can then also be translated by phrases like *for the first time*, as illustrated below:

- (57) *nye mon na=m dakap ongane is en=te*
1S also 1S=REAL COS hear name DEF=MED
'I also just hear this name for the first time [now]' (exp07:8)

To negate *dakap* is to assert that something has been the case all along and does not constitute a recent change in the state of affairs:

- (58) *Bong to dakap me, mwe pwer~pwer a=tak.*
NAME REAL;NEG COS come REAL REDUP~stay at.place=PROX
'Bong hasn't just arrived, he lives here (he's been here all along).'

Belik: 'commit an offence'

The auxiliary *belik* introduces the presupposition that the referent of its subject has committed an offense. The subsequent predicate then usually explicates which offense is meant:

- (59) *Vyanten en=te ma belik tiye s-an vyaven.*
person DEF=MED REAL commit.offence kill CL3-3S.POSS woman
'This man has committed the crime of killing his wife.'

However, a preceding negation only affects the main predicate, it does not cancel the presupposition introduced by *belik*:

- (60) a. *Bong to belik yas=ane ok barar.*
NAME REAL;NEG commit.offence steal=TRANS 1S.POSS pig
'Bong didn't steal my pig (but he did commit different crimes).'

- b. *Saka ko=n belik yas=ane ok barar!*
 MOD.NEG 2S=NEC commit.offence steal=TRANS 1S.POSS pig
 ‘Right, you didn’t steal my pig!’ (The addressee claims he didn’t steal the pig, but the speaker is sure he is guilty.)

***Pwe* and *du*: continuous aspect**

The auxiliaries *pwe* and *du* are used to mark an action as either ongoing or habitual. They both have full verbal counterparts, *pwer* and *du*, which mean ‘stay, to be at (a place), to live’. The semantic difference both between the verbs and the auxiliaries is that *pwe* and *pwer* apply to a singular subject, while *du* applies to a plural subject (see section 3.2.2, page 48). The difference in writing between *pwe* and *pwer* is more based on meaning than on phonology, as both the auxiliary and the full verb can be pronounced as either [p^wɛ] or [p^wɛr], although the reduced version is more frequent for the auxiliary. In the following two examples, the first one shows the use of *du* marking continuous aspect, while the second one instantiates its use as a habitual aspect marker:

- (61) a. *te webung swa ya=m vyan du kekyer ó*
 CONJ day one 3P=REAL go stay scoop.out coconut
 ‘then one day, they went to scoop out copra’ (sto01:4)
- b. *Ra=p tiye vyanten en=tak tevy-an na nyoo ya=m du tiye*
 1P.IN=POT kill person DEF=PROX side.of-3S.POSS COMP 3P 3P=REAL stay kill
er!
 1P.IN
 ‘Let us kill this man, because they kill us (our kind).’ (sto26:8)

In positive realis contexts, the sequence *mwe pwe* (REAL REAL;CONT) is usually shortened to *bwe* [m^wbwe]. The following examples illustrate *bwe* and *pwe* expressing progressive aspect:

- (62) a. *bura bwe lip~lip usili bung-un*
 blood REAL;CONT REDUP~drip follow mouth-3S.POSS
 ‘blood was running down his mouth’ (rep03:34)
- b. *ka we pwe bun te ka ko=p pakuon téé=ane ka*
 SUBCONJ POT CONT COO CONJ MOD.REL 2S=POT work.hard look=TRANS MOD.REL
ko w=esi
 2S POT=see
 ‘if it coos somewhere, you will have a hard time looking for it’ (exp02:98)

When the verb is punctual (semelfactive), the aspectual meaning of *bwe* can be interpreted as iterative, indicating that an action takes place repeatedly over a period of time:

- (63) *s-am sini ye wep kyun bwe syute ngok*
 CL3-2S.POSS thorn.of leaf.of pandanus just REAL;CONT hit 2S
 ‘Only the tips of your pandanus leaves are pricking you.’ (sto13:50)

Also compare section 7.2.3 for use of *pwer* and *du* as non-initial serial verbs.

3. Major Word Classes

Mas: necessity

The auxiliary *mas* is a loan from Bislama. According to speakers, this loan was not part of the language until about a generation ago. Today, it is part of everybody's vocabulary and grammar irrespective of age. Speakers still perceive it as a contaminant of their language. Language-conscious speakers try hard to avoid it when being recorded, but there does not seem to be any good equivalent in Daakaka to replace it and take over its role in all contexts.

In my sessions with the Daakaka Language Committee, *mas* always was one of the most important items for them to eliminate from the texts I had produced from my transcriptions. At the same time, it was one of the most difficult to replace. No single lexeme or structure of Daakaka appears to have the same range of meanings.

Some speakers appear to use *mas* not only as an auxiliary, but also as a TAM-marker (see section 5.1); this is however hard to verify since it only occurs after the potential marker and, in negative contexts, the necessity marker, and the potential marker has a tendency to be left unpronounced before bilabials. Moreover, some speakers have clear intuitions that it is always preceded by a potential marker, which is why I chose to treat *mas* as an auxiliary only.

The examples in (64-a) and (64-b) illustrate its most frequent meaning: It expresses a generic necessity or inevitability: When you crush a certain insect, its smell will *inevitably* stay on your hand, and a certain parasite will *always* find your wound and enter it. The example (64-c) might instead be taken to express deontic necessity: You ought to be afraid of the shark if you want to be safe.

- (64) a. *ka ko=t kin-veni te bu-on ka we mas pwer=ne*
SUBCONJ 2S=DIST pinch-dead CONJ smell-3S.POSS MOD.REL POT must stay=TRANS
vy-am
arm-2.POSS
'if you crush it between two fingers, its smell will inevitably stay on your hand'
(exp08:99)
- b. *a nge te go yan ly-em te we mas téé=ane myanok te*
and 3S DIST crawl on leg-2s.poss CONJ POT must look=TRANS SORE CONJ
bwis yen myanok
pass.under in sore
'when it crawls onto your leg, it always looks for wounds and then enters the wound' (exp08:104)
- c. *om ka we mas nek=ane*
2S.EMT MOD.REL POT must fear=TRANS
'you have to be afraid of it [the shark]' (exp07:54)

It is telling that Daakaka uses a loan word to express the notion of 'always': there is no adverb or other lexeme in the language which has this specialized meaning. The only originally Daakaka constructions to universally quantify over times are the quantifier *kevene* 'every', in connection with nouns referring to temporal intervals as in *webung kevene* 'every day'; and the serial verb *pini* 'cover' described in section 7.2, page 262, but they both have their restrictions. For more flexible ways of expressing 'always', speakers frequently turn to loan words like *mas* or *evritaem* 'always' or mixed expressions like *taem kevene*.

Another use of *mas* is to lend more urgency to an imperative headed by the potential marker:

- (65) a. *ko=p mas me*
 2S=POT must come
 ‘Come here!’
 b. *ko=p mas kueli wa maga*
 2S=POT must return POT fast
 ‘return quickly / you have to return quickly’ (sto23:11)

For imperatives such as (65-a), informants often have an impulse to insert the auxiliary *wet* in order to get rid of *mas* (see the section on *wet* above):

- (66) *ko=p wet me*
 2S=POT only.then come
 ‘Come here!’

In directives such as in (65), *mas* apparently expresses the urgency or absoluteness of a wish or intention. The same effect is possible in embedded contexts as in (67):

- (67) *naana, nye na=m dimyane ka na=p mas vyan etes*
 mom 1S 1S=REAL want MOD.COMP 1S=POT must go at.the.sea
 ‘mother, I absolutely want to go to the sea’ (sto23:9)

The members of the Language Committee suggested to eliminate *mas* from this sentence by rephrasing it as follows:

- (68) *nye na=m dimyane mw=i towo ten ka na=p vyan etes*
 1S 1S=REAL want REAL=COP big very MOD.COMP 1S=POT go at.the.sea
 ‘I very much want to go to the sea.’

For more on this type of serial verb construction, see section 7.3.

The auxiliary *mas* can also be used to express epistemic necessity. In the following clause, a congregation of birds is trying to find out who of them stole some food:

- (69) *kyun te basée swa mwe ka ka wo mas i maa kyun*
 just CONJ bird one REAL say MOD.REL POT must COP dove just
 ‘then one bird said, it must have been the dove’ (sto29:18)

In negative contexts, the interpretation is one of inner negation rather than outer negation: The configuration [NEGATION *mas p*] means ‘it is necessary that not *p*’ rather than ‘it is not necessary that *p*’:

- (70) *saka ko=n mas me*
 MOD;NEG 2S=NEC must come
 ‘You mustn’t come!’

3. Major Word Classes

3.2.7. Verbal possession and existence

Languages use a variety of different strategies to express verbal possession. In Daakaka, verbs expressing the existence (or absence) of their subjects are used in combination with possessive noun phrases to make assertions about possession.

- (71) a. *masta na suku-on nyoo mu du*
master COMP stuff-3S.POSS 3P REAL stay
'the master who was rich' (lit. 'the master whose things existed') (sto19:76)
- b. *tyu [s-an pisyā=an] mwe pwis ten*
chicken CL3-3S.POSS paint=NM REAL be.plentiful very
'the chicken has many colors' (lit. 'the chicken's colors are many') (sto08:12)
- c. *a s-enma temeli man sii kyun ye=m du*
and CL3-1D.EX child male three just 3PC=REAL stay
'And we have only three sons.' (lit. 'only three sons of ours exist') (rep01:27)

A similar meaning can be expressed by the copula in connection with a possessive noun phrase or pronoun. However, this construction does not exactly mean '*x has y*', but rather something like '*y is there for x*':

- (72) *yaapu kuon mw=i s-an*
big.man taboo REAL=COP CL3-3S.POSS
'the Holy Lord was with him' (rep04:57)

In the context of possession or existence, *pwer* and *du* are usually not negated.⁴ Instead, verbs expressing absence or a lack of something are used. The negative counterpart to *pwer* and *du* is *dyanga*. Note that the possessive pronouns do not specify the givenness of the possessed noun phrase—the example in (73-b) illustrates how this can lead to ambiguity.

- (73) a. *vyap myato an mwe dyanga, nat-en nyoo ya=m dyanga*
old.woman old DEF REAL lack child-3S.POSS 3P 3P=REAL lack
'he didn't have a wife, he didn't have children' (sto18:4)
- b. *∅-an mees mwe dyanga*
CL2-3S.POSS food REAL lack
(i) 'he did not have food' (sto19:12)
(ii) 'his food wasn't there' (sto29:14)

The second verb expressing a lack or absence of something or someone is *dyu* 'be devoid, be empty' as illustrated in (74):

- (74) a. *Or mwe dyu.*
place REAL be.devoid
'Nobody is there.' (sto01:17)
- b. *Or mwe dyu=ne nyoo.*
place REAL be.devoid=TRANS 3P

⁴They can be negated however when expressing a location as in *to pwer atak* (REAL;NEG stay here)'she's not here'.

‘They were not there.’ (sto01:20)

Predicates such as *have a headache*, which refer to a quality or perception rather than possession, are mostly expressed by the copula plus noun or class two adjective, as described in sections 3.3.5, 3.4.3 and 6.2.

3. Major Word Classes

3.3. Nouns

3.3.1. Overview

Nouns differ from other word classes in that they can be arguments of transitive and semitransitive verbs, of prepositions and of transitive nouns. Noun phrases can also be predicates in combination with the copula, as shown in (75):

- (75) *eya mw=i [basée mwelili wuoswa]_N kyun*
white-eye REAL=COP bird small some just
'the white-eyes are just a bunch of small birds' (exp01:59)

And unlike adjectives they cannot serve directly as attributes to other (intransitive) nouns—see also the introduction to this chapter in section 3.1.2 for defining differences between word classes.

There are three noun classes in Daakaka: inflected nouns, uninflected transitive nouns and intransitive nouns. Inflected nouns receive one of fifteen person-number endings to specify who they belong to as in *kus-uk* (nose-1s.POSS) 'my nose'. They mostly refer to concepts which are relational with respect to a person or an animal, such as body parts and kinship relations.

Uninflected transitive nouns often denote parts of plants, of artifacts or of abstract notions—as for example in *gili punan* 'end of the story'). They require a second noun phrase to follow them:

- (76) *ye=m tilya deli tyu nyoo me teenem*
3P=REAL take egg chicken 3P come house
'they took the chicken eggs and went home' (sto34:41)

I chose the term *transitive*, rather than for example *inalienable* or *relational*, because the classification is based on a morpho-syntactic criterion rather than a semantic one: The crucial factor is whether or not a noun syntactically requires a nominal argument. There is of course a close relation between relationality, inalienability and transitivity of nouns: I suggest that every transitive noun is also semantically relational and the relation between a transitive noun and its argument can always be said to be in some sense inalienable.

However, the reverse is not necessarily true; semantically relational notions can often be expressed by intransitive nouns as well as transitive or inflected ones, as for example in *naana*, an intransitive noun meaning 'mother' [compare also von Prince, to appear].

Moreover, transitive nouns resemble transitive verbs in that they also establish a relation between two individuals (compare *Peter sees Shawn* with *Peter is Shawn's father*).

But crucially, the notion that transitivity is a category which transcends word classes in Daakaka is suggested independently by a different phenomenon: the clitic (*a*)*ne* is used to increase valency in intransitive and semitransitive verbs as well as in nouns and adverbs (see sections 3.2.3, 3.5.1 and 4.1.3). I found that this interesting fact should be highlighted rather than obscured by the terminology.

Intransitive nouns are not inflected and cannot directly be followed by a second noun phrase, in contrast to uninflected transitive nouns. This difference between transitive and intransitive nouns is illustrated by the following example:

- (77) a. *neti baséé*
 child(TR) bird
 ‘the chicks’
 b. *temeli (*vyanten)*
 child(ITR) man
 intended: ‘a/the man’s child’

Inflected nouns with a third-person singular ending are unlike both transitive and intransitive nouns in that a subsequent possessor noun phrase is possible, but optional:

- (78) *lisepsep mwe gomu gily-en (tomo)*
 lisepsep REAL keep end-3S.POSS rat
 ‘the lisepsep grabbed its tail / the tail of the rat’ (sto31:94)

As can be seen in example (77), the same core concept can be expressed by nouns from different classes. Thus, one noun of each class corresponds to the notion ‘child’: *temeli* (intransitive), *neti* (transitive), and *nat-* (inflected). As might be expected, these three nouns do have certain semantic differences: *temeli* essentially means ‘child, young person’; it can refer to people of a certain age group irrespective of their parentage (although it can also refer to someone’s offspring).

By contrast, the transitive *neti* and the inflected *nat-* primarily express a kin relation between two individuals (see also section 3.3.6 for more on kinship terms). The difference between *neti* and *nat-* is less pronounced, however. In some contexts, one can be substituted for the other without any change in meaning. For example *nat-en Buwu* and *neti Buwu* both simply refer to Buwu’s children. However, the possessor of *nat-* is always definite, while the possessor of *neti* can be generic. For example, the expression *neti tyu* (child.of chicken) can refer to the young of one specific chicken, but it can also be used more generally to mean ‘chicks’.

Figure 3.2 illustrates the noun class system, while table 3.7 gives a list of examples for nouns from different noun classes which refer to closely related concepts.

There are at least two pairs of a transitive noun and a homophonous intransitive noun. The first one is *bwee₁* ‘shell of’ and *bwee₂* ‘bowl, cup, plate, container’. *Bwee₁* mostly refers to a shell of an organism, such as in *bwee ó* ‘coconut shell’ *bwee dangdang* ‘cocoon (of an insect)’ *bwee ómesyu* ‘shell of a crab’; it can also denote artifacts such as in *bwee matyes* ‘match box’ or *bwee tin* ‘can of tuna’.⁵

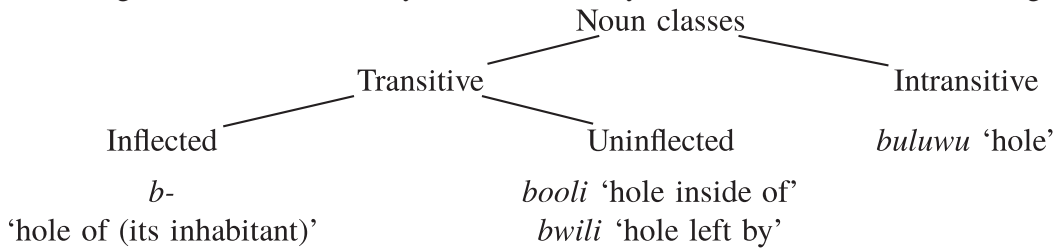
The second such pair is *yuk₁* ‘laplap’ (a national dish) and *yuk₂* ‘laplap of’. In the transitive version, the nominal argument of *yuk* denotes the vegetable or fruit it is made of, as in *yuk vis* ‘laplap made from banana’ or *yuk webir* ‘laplap made from taro’; the intransitive version

⁵I might mention that from a construction like *bwee tin* ‘can of tuna’, one might easily conclude that the argument of *bwee* does not necessarily refer to its content, but might as well denote the material it is made of. Note therefore that *tin* in Daakaka does itself refer to the (animal) food inside a can, not the material of the can, as can be seen in (i):

- (i) *na=m ane tin*
 1S-REAL eat canned.food
 ‘I eat canned food.’

3. Major Word Classes

Abbildung 3.2.: The noun class system, illustrated by different nouns with the meaning ‘hole’



only refers to the type of food in general.

A third and final item which has been used both as a transitive noun and as an intransitive noun is *uni* ‘nest’: Speakers find it acceptable both with a direct nominal argument as in *uni baséé* ‘bird’s nest’ and in a construction with a linker *uni s-an/s-e baséé* ‘bird’s nest’. As *uni* is far less frequent than *bwee*, however, this might not be a case of polysemy, but simply of uncertainty regarding its correct grammatical status (both uses were responses to an elicitation rather than spontaneously produced). Apart from these cases, I could not find any ambiguities concerning the transitivity of a noun.

Uninflected counterparts of inflected nouns are often very restricted in their distribution—some of them only occur in complex idiomatic nouns denoting bodily or psychological conditions (compare section 3.3.5).

Of the three noun classes, the intransitive nouns constitute the largest class: As of 2012, 699 out of about two thousand words in my lexical database are intransitive nouns. Uninflected transitive nouns are the second largest noun class, with 92 items. The class of inflected nouns consists of only 63 items.

The properties of inflected and transitive nouns are explored in more detail in the following two sections.

Intransitive nouns can be transitivized in a very similar way to verbs—this process is however not described in this chapter but in section 4.1.3.

Apart from the dimension of transitivity and inflection, nouns can also be classified according to their possessive gender: I discuss the three possessive classes of Daakaka in section 4.1.3.

There are a number of morpho-syntactic processes to derive nouns or noun phrases from other categories, which are described in section 3.3.4. A number of nouns referring to animal species on the one hand, and to medical and emotional conditions on the other hand, consist of complex, lexicalized phrases. I list examples and explain their composition in section 3.3.5.

As the kinship terminology of Daakaka constitutes a particularly interesting systematic part of its nominal inventory, I have devoted one section to its discussion—see section 3.3.6.

There does not appear to be a grammatical distinction between mass nouns and count nouns. All nouns are countable and can be marked as plural—if they notionally refer to masses, the interpretation will automatically imply a relevant unit of the substance. For example, a term like *apyang nyoo* (fire 3P) ‘the fires’ will be understood to refer to several, discontinuous burning places, just as in English; *wye san* ‘three waters’ will be interpreted as three contextually relevant units of water, such as cups or buckets; *mees nyoo* ‘foods’ refers to a number of different food items, and so on.

Tabelle 3.7.: Examples of nouns from different classes referring to roughly the same concept

Meaning	Inflected	Trans. uninfl.	Intransitive
‘child’	<i>nat-</i>	<i>neti</i>	<i>temeli</i>
‘father’	<i>timy-</i>	<i>timye</i>	<i>taata</i>
‘hole’	<i>b-</i>	<i>bwili, booli, bwilin, tung</i>	<i>buluwu</i>
‘place’	<i>mily-</i>	<i>mili</i>	<i>or</i>
‘sound’	<i>diy-</i>	<i>dulu, diyu</i>	
‘egg’	<i>dal-</i>	<i>deli</i>	
‘leg’	<i>ly-</i>	<i>lye</i>	
‘forehead’	<i>pan-</i>	<i>penyu</i>	
‘things’	<i>suk-</i>	<i>suku</i>	
‘eye’	<i>met-</i>		<i>myar</i>
‘feces’	<i>sy-</i>		<i>taten</i>
‘tooth’	<i>lu-</i>		<i>ép</i>
‘gut’	<i>tin-</i>		<i>tinya</i>
‘hand’	<i>vy(a)-^a</i>		<i>vyaa</i>
‘hair’	<i>vy(u)-</i>		<i>vevyu</i>
‘feeling’	<i>yu-</i>		<i>yuo</i>
‘leaf’		<i>ye</i>	<i>yesukuo</i>

^aThe vowels in parentheses indicate the inflectional paradigm. Thus, the third three person forms for *vy(a)-* ‘hand’ are *vyok*, *vyam* and *vyan*, while for *vy(u)-* ‘hair’ they are *vyuk*, *vyum* and *vyun*.

3. Major Word Classes

Noun phrases can get quite complex and there is considerable flexibility in the order of elements in the noun phrase. The nominal head is always in the left-most position of the phrase; the default order of modifiers is then [Attribute - Number marker - Numeral/Quantifier - Demonstrative], but this order is far from fixed; for example, relative clauses can also occur at the very end of the phrase, quantifiers can occur in different positions depending on their scope and so on. The details of nominal syntax are not discussed in a separate section in this grammar, but can be found in the sections on adjectives (3.4), pronouns (4.1), number marking (6.2.6), numerals (4.5), quantifiers (4.2) and relative clauses (8.4) respectively.

3.3.2. Inflected nouns

Inflected nouns obligatorily receive an ending specifying the person and number of their possessor.

The relation between them and their possessor is typically one of inalienable possession: most of them refer to body parts, while some others denote kinship relations. A number of inflected nouns refer to objects which are associated with the body, but which do not form a physical unit with it, such as excretions. For example, there are inflected nouns to refer to both ‘urine’ and ‘feces’, *mes-* and *sy-* respectively. For both nouns, there is an intransitive, uninflected counterpart, which is *mesus* for ‘urine’ and *taten* for ‘feces’. The fact that terms for excretions are inflected correlates with the cultural meaning of these substances: If a sorcerer obtains a sample of someone’s feces, he has power over them and can manipulate them from a distance.

Yet a few other inflected nouns are only relational in a more abstract sense and refer for example to locations. One of them has already featured in figure 3.2: the unassuming consonant stem *b-* means ‘hole/cave of’ and the obligatory person and number ending refers to the inhabitant of that hole or cave. Thus, *b-ok* is ‘the hole I live in’, *b-om* ‘the hole you live in’ and *b-on* is ‘the hole he/she/it lives in’. The referents of the inhabitants are typically animals in fairy tales and fables. For some younger speakers, the noun is no longer recognized as being inflected, so they will use the third person singular form *bon* as a simplex word meaning ‘hole’.

A similar case is the noun *mily-* ‘place of/ position of’, which is illustrated in example (79). The sentence comes from a story about the man Bekeli who lived all by himself in a banyan tree in the bush. His reclusive, self-contained way of life made people suspicious and some villagers schemed to kill him, but he outsmarted them and escaped. Here, *mily-en* refers to the tree where Bekeli used to live before the attempted ambush.

- (79) *Bekeli na en=tak, mily-en te pwer~pwer.*
NAME ATT DEF=PROX place-3S.POSS DIST REDUP~stay
‘This Bekeli, he had a home.’ (sto05:26)

Mily- and its transitive counterpart *mili* are also used metaphorically to refer to someone’s post within an organization, very much like the English term *position*:

- (80) *syan=an ka te vyan or tuswa, syan ka we liye mily-en*
other=DEF SUBCONJ DIST go place one other MOD.REL POT take place-3S.POSS

‘if one goes somewhere, another one has to take his position/ substitute for him’ (from an only partially transcribed recording about the organization of the presbytery)

Another inflected noun, which does not denote physical parts of something, but is nevertheless notionally inalienable is the noun *suku* ‘belongings of, possessions of’:

- (81) *tewes kuane ada te ling gu-kuone suku-daa nyoo*
 sweep home.of 1D.IN CONJ put REDUP~clean stuff-1D.IN.POSS 3P
 ‘sweep our house and put all our things into good order’ (sto27:17)

As with *mily-* ‘place.of’ and *b-* ‘hole/cave.of’, there is an uninflected transitive counterpart for *suku-* as well, which is *suku*. It is described in more detail in the following section on page 79.

Remarkably, terms for inner organs such as *ingyar* ‘liver’ are not among the transitive nouns, but have to be transitivized if their possessor is to be specified:

- (82) *ingyar (=ane nye)*
 liver (=TRANS 1S)
 ‘(my) liver’ (inside my body)

See section 4.1.3 for more on transitivization of nouns.

The referent of a third person possessor can be expressed by a full noun phrase following the inflected noun:

- (83) *ka te tang~tang yan bat-en te sikya sy-en tomo*
 SUBCONJ DIST REDUP~touch at head-3S.POSS DIST touch shit-3S.POSS rat
 ‘when he touched his head, he touched the rat’s shit’ (exp26:40)

It seems that for these cases, in which the possessor is referred to both by the inflection of the bound noun and by the subsequent noun phrase, only person is referenced by the inflection, but not number.

Thus, the inflected noun is marked for third person singular even if the subsequent noun phrase is a plural noun phrase. In the following example, the NP *vilye Tonga nyoo* means ‘those from Tonga, the people of Tonga’, it clearly refers to a large number of people; nevertheless, the preceding *by-en* (body-3s) is still inflected for singular. A third person plural ending would be ungrammatical:

- (84) a. *by-o mwe vyan minyes, by-o ma ge myane*
 body-3p.POSS REAL go different body-3p.POSS REAL like with
by-en/-o [vilye Tonga nyoo]*
 body-3s.POSS/-3p.POSS place NAME 3P
 ‘their bodies are different, their bodies are like the bodies of those from Tonga’
 (sto44:49)
- b. *na=m esi bat-en vyanten nyoo kyun*
 1S-REAL see head-3s.POSS person 3P only
 ‘I only see people’s heads’

3. Major Word Classes

Otherwise, nouns referring to body parts, when they have a non-singular inflection, are automatically interpreted to refer to at least as many objects as there are possessors, without the need for a plural marker.

- (85) *te mwe gene ye=m pisi vini ó nyoo kyu ly-osi kyun*
 CONJ REAL make 3PC=REAL fasten husk coconut 3P surround leg-3PC.POSS just
te
 CONJ
 ‘so they fastened the coconut husks around their feet’ (not: their one shared foot)
 (rep04:87)

If the inflected noun denotes a kinship relation instead, its referent may well be a single person, independent of the number of its inflection:

- (86) *te nat-eya bwe deng*
 CONJ child-3D.POSS REAL;CONT cry
 ‘their child was crying’ (sto20:5)

Likewise for the inanimate noun *suku-*, the number of the referent is independent from the number of its possessor—if it refers to several objects, it is marked by the plural marker *nyoo* (see also example (81)).

- (87) ... *a to syokilyene suku-omaa nyoo*
 and REAL;NEG find stuff-2D.POSS 3P
 ‘...but I haven’t found your things’ (sto41:61)

Inflected nouns in Daakaka mostly follow one of five major declension patterns. Because the most prominent difference between them is the first vowel of their ending, I name them the *u-declension*, the *e-declension*, the *i-declension*, the *a-declension* and the *o-declension* respectively.

There is one full paradigm for each declension class given in table 3.8. While all inflected nouns adhere to one of the four declension patterns more or less closely, there is a fair degree of irregularity. In particular the three singular forms are rather idiosyncratic across lexemes. For one thing, not only the ending, but also the stem of the noun may differ depending on the person features: Thus, the stem vowel of the word for ‘neck’ is /e/ in its first person singular form, *pentuk*, but becomes *ya* for all other forms, as in *pyantyum* ‘your neck’. In a similar fashion, the word for ‘my child’ is *netuk*, again with an /e/ as the stem vowel, but the second person singular form is *natom* ‘your child’, with an /a/.

Some other irregular paradigms apparently go back to a diachronic sound change which has led to the deletion of intervocalic /l/. For example, the first two person singular forms of the inflected noun for *voice* are *dul-uk* ‘my voice’ and *diy-um* ‘your voice’. The stem retains the form *diy-* for the other forms of the paradigm. The same goes for *vy-* ‘hair of’ with the form *viluk* ‘my hair’ and *vy-um* ‘your hair’ as well as for the pair *luk* and *yu-on*, which are the first and second person singular for the emotion-subject roughly meaning ‘one’s inside, one’s feelings’.

It is not always the first person singular form which shows a different word stem. For *timy-*

Tabelle 3.8.: The major declension classes in Daakaka, named for the defining vowel

	u 'neck'	e 'child'	i 'leg'	a 'ear'	o 'wing'
1S	<i>pentuk</i>	<i>netuk</i>	<i>lik</i>	<i>gelinyok</i>	<i>ebyauk</i>
2S	<i>pyantyum</i>	<i>natom</i>	<i>lyem</i>	<i>gelinyam</i>	<i>ebyaom</i>
3S	<i>pyantyun</i>	<i>naten</i>	<i>lyen</i>	<i>gelinyam</i>	<i>ebyaon</i>
1P.EX	<i>pyantyunyem</i>	<i>netinyem</i>	<i>lyenyem</i>	<i>gelinyenyem</i>	<i>ebyaonyem</i>
1P.IN	<i>pyantyr</i>	<i>nater</i>	<i>lyer</i>	<i>gelinyar</i>	<i>ebyaur</i>
2P	<i>pyantyumim</i>	<i>natomim</i>	<i>lyemim</i>	<i>gelinyemim</i>	<i>ebyaomim</i>
3P	<i>pyantyo</i>	<i>nate</i>	<i>lyo</i>	<i>gelinya</i>	<i>ebyao</i>
1D.EX	<i>pyantyunmaa</i>	<i>natenmaa</i>	<i>lyenmaa</i>	<i>gelinyenmaa</i>	<i>ebyaomaa</i>
1D.IN	<i>pyantyudaa</i>	<i>natedaa</i>	<i>lyedaa</i>	<i>gelinyadaa</i>	<i>ebyaodaa</i>
2D	<i>pyantyuma</i>	<i>natoma</i>	<i>lyema</i>	<i>gelinyama</i>	<i>ebyaoma</i>
3D	<i>pyantyoyaa</i>	<i>nateyaa</i>	<i>lyeyaa</i>	<i>gelinyayaa</i>	<i>ebyaoyaa</i>
1PC.EX	<i>pyantyunyemsi</i>	<i>natemsi</i>	<i>lyenyemsi</i>	<i>gelinyenyemsi</i>	<i>ebyaonyemsi</i>
1PC.IN	<i>pyantyunsi</i>	<i>natensi</i>	<i>lyensi</i>	<i>gelinyansi</i>	<i>ebyaonsi</i>
2PC	<i>pyantyumsi</i>	<i>natomsi</i>	<i>lyemsi</i>	<i>gelinyamsi</i>	<i>ebyaomsi</i>
3PC	<i>pyantyosi</i>	<i>natesi</i>	<i>lyosi</i>	<i>gelinyasi</i>	<i>ebyaosi</i>

‘father of’, it is the second person singular and plural forms which deviate from the rest of the paradigm: the three singular forms are *timy-ok* ‘my father’, *tum-am* ‘your father’ and *timyan* ‘her/his father’. The second person plural form is *tumemim*, while for the rest of the paradigm, the stem form is *timy-*. Apart from such word stem alterations, nouns mostly conform to one of the five paradigms.

Finally in this section, I want to discuss the noun *miny-x-Vli*, where *x* stands for the person-number inflection and *V* stands for either /i/ or /u/. It refers to brothers and equivalent relatives of a woman (see section 3.3.6 for kinship terminology). The three singular forms are *mun⟨uk⟩uli* (my_{female} brother), *miny⟨em⟩eli* (your_{female} brother) and *miny⟨en⟩eli* (her brother). Since there is no corresponding word **miny-en* without the ending *-eli*, the inflection is here an infix rather than a suffix—see also section 2.3.1 for more about vowel harmony. The diachronic source for this form appears to involve a diminutive suffix *-eli/-uli*. It is not used productively, but often shows up on forms of the noun *meby-* ‘grandchild’ as in *meby-uk-uli* ‘my little grandchild’ and *meby-un-eli* ‘her/his little grandchild’ respectively. Here, however, the diminutive ending can as well be omitted—the forms *meby-uk* and *meby-un* are fully acceptable.

Possibly the same ending also appears on uninflected words like *temeli* ‘child’ (cf. *teme* ‘man’), *meteseli* ‘a man’s sister, or equivalent’⁶, and *teskuli*, an archaic term for ‘grandchild’.

Note that there is a small number of verbs and prepositions which are also inflected according to the nominal paradigm. For discussions of their possible origins and their lexical

⁶This lexeme, however, might have a different etymological origin: In the neighboring language Dalkalaen, the term *meteslap* is perceived to consist of *mete* ‘end of, tip of’ and *selap* ‘road’; the explanation speakers give for this expression is that a man’s sisters are the ones he can always turn to, they are always there for him at ‘the end of the road’ of his endeavours. In Daakaka, there is no word **mete*, but *seli* also means ‘road’.

3. Major Word Classes

classification, see sections 3.2.2 and 4.3 respectively.

3.3.3. Transitive nouns

Uninflected transitive nouns are nouns which take a second noun phrase as an argument, but stay morphologically unaltered. The semantic relation between the transitive noun and its argument is not predictable by a general rule, but is apparently part of the lexical definition of the relational noun.

The clearest evidence for this comes from the two nouns *booli* and *bwili*: They both mean ‘hole’, the difference between them consists in the relation to their nominal argument: With *booli*, the second noun specifies the location of the hole, while with *bwili*, it specifies the content (or inhabitant) of the hole:

- (88) a. *booli vyor*
hole.of stone
‘a hole inside a stone, a stone cave’
b. *bwili vyor*
hole.of stone
‘a hole left (eg. in the ground) by a stone (that has been dug out or similar)’

The majority of unbound transitive nouns refer to parts of plants. Thus, words like *we* ‘fruit’, *bweti* ‘stem’ or *uti* ‘seed’ cannot stand by themselves but must be completed by a specification of the plant they belong to as in *we vis* ‘fruit of the banana’ or *uti tamat* ‘seeds of the tomato’.

For most plants, the term for referring to the plant itself is prefixed by the morpheme *l[vowel]-* ‘wood, tree, plant’—its vowel usually corresponds to the vowel of the first syllable of the plant name. Thus, the coconut palm is called *ló-ó* ‘plant-coconut’, the kava plant is referred to as *le-wedrame* ‘plant-kava’ etc. This morpheme bears strong similarities to the transitive nouns, but because it depends on the subsequent noun for a vowel and because I have not found a case where it can be separated from the subsequent noun, I rather treat it as a prefix, albeit the only specimen of its kind.

In turn, the noun *bweti* ‘stem’ can only combine with the *l[vowel]-* version of a plant term:

- (89) *bweti li-vis* / **vis*
stem.of plant-banana / *banana
‘stem of the banana plant’

Some other nouns can combine both with the base version of a plant term and with the *l[vowel]-* version, yielding different meanings:

- (90) a. *uli tuwu*
skin.of bush.nut
‘skin of the bush nut’
b. *uli lu-tuwu*
skin.of plant-bush.nut
‘bark of the bush nut tree’

There are uninflected transitive nouns which express part-whole relations, but are not restricted to body or plant parts, such as *gili* ‘tail of, end of’ and *yeli* ‘inside of’. Another group of transitive nouns expresses quantifying notions, such as *di* ‘part of’, *gur* ‘piece of’, *ye* ‘row of’, *buu* ‘heap of’, *eveli* (*vyos*) ‘bundle of (coconuts)’ and *wuo* ‘bunch of, heap of’. Especially *di* and *wuo* are also used in quite abstract ways to refer to certain quantities as shown in (91); *wuo* together with *swa* ‘one’ is also the diachronic source for the quantifier *wuoswa* ‘some’ (see section 4.2).

- (91) a. *ó nyoo en=te di-sye mu du*
 coconut 3P DEF=MED part-3S.POSS REAL stay
 ‘some of these coconuts are still there’
- b. *wuo vyanten nyoo ya=m tas du or mo bor*
 heap.of person 3P 3P=REAL sit stay place REAL quiet
 ‘many people were sitting there in silence’ (sto36:60)

On the other hand, *eveli* (*vyos*) ‘bundle of (coconuts)’ is a highly specialized measure word which only applies to young, drinkable coconuts.

Two transitive nouns neither express part-whole relations nor quantification—they are *mili* ‘place of’ and *suku* ‘things of’: *mili* refers to the place that in some sense belongs to or is characterized by its argument. This relation can for example be established by a mark or trace that the object left or by a habit of putting the object in a particular place. Naturally occurring examples are *mili en=an* (place.of eat=NM) ‘dining place, dining table’, *mili plen* (place.of plane) ‘airport’ or *mili ó* (place.of coconut) ‘coconut plantation’. There also is an inflected counterpart to *mili*, which is explained in more detail in the previous section on page 74.

Suku on the other hand refers to a multitude of rather small, scattered objects to be specified by the subsequent noun. Examples for this include the following:

- (92) a. *suku kumaala*
 things.of sweet.potato
 ‘scattered sweet potatoes’
- b. *suku gyes=an*
 things.of work=NM
 ‘tools’

A bound variety of this word also exists, *suku-*, typically referring to someone’s possessions, see also section 3.2.7. In contrast to *suku*, however, this inflected noun can also refer to individual objects.

The argument of an unbound relational noun can also be a complex noun phrase or, if the possessor is human, a pronoun:

- (93) a. *gili [s-ar punan]*
 end.of CL3-1P.IN story
 ‘the end of our story’ (sto10:28)
- b. *bwee nge*
 shell.of 3S
 ‘his/her shell’ (sto25:15)

3. Major Word Classes

If the possessor of a transitive noun is given and non-human, it is typically referred to by the possessive suffix *-sye* or its allomorph *-tye* (see also section 4.1.3 for a comparison to possessive pronouns):

- (94) *te tyu ka te pesis te deli-sye nyoo mwe pwis*
 CONJ chicken SUBCONJ DIST lay.egg CONJ egg-3S.POSS 3P REAL be.numerous
 ‘now, when the chicken lays eggs, its eggs are many’ (sto08:23)

The following sentence comes after *kava* has been introduced as the plant whose roots are the basis for the national drink:

- (95) ... *bweti li-sye swa towo mwe pwese pwer yan tan kekei*
 ... stem.of plant-3S.POSS one big REAL stand.upright stay on ground small
en=te
 DEF=MED
 ‘one big plant of it [kava] stood on that small island’ (sto08:23)

Nouns are generally quite close to adverbs, and transitive nouns are close to some prepositions. In particular, *teve* ‘side of’ is mostly used as a preposition meaning ‘at’. But it is also sometimes used like a noun in argument position as shown in (96), where it occurs as the object of a verb respectively (compare section 4.3.2, page 164).

- (96) a. *Ya=m vyate teve-sye mon vyan ka te nok te ya=m sisi.*
 3P=REAL weave side-3S.POSS also go SUBCONJ DIST finish CONJ 3P=REAL burn
 ‘They weave another half and then they singe (its ends).’ (exp20:11)
- b. *ya=m vyae teve-sye mw=i ló ma gi=ye*
 3P=REAL tear side-3S.POSS REAL=COP two REAL be.like=ALT
 ‘they tear it into two halves’ (exp09:72)

Even when used as a preposition, *teve* can also take the inanimate third person possessive suffix *-sye*, which is not generally possible for prepositions. A similar traveler between word classes is *bili* ‘time, when’, which is mostly used as an adverb, but which can also be used like a transitive noun in that it can take nominal arguments and be suffixed by *-sye* and then occur in argument position—see section 3.5.3.

Some uninflected transitive nouns only occur in a very limited number of lexicalized constructions; most of the lexemes in this subclass look like inflected nouns with a third person singular ending, but they usually no longer exist as independent inflected nouns and cannot take a different inflection.

One such noun is *sun myar* ‘tear’; *myar* means ‘eye’ and so the meaning of *sun* could be reconstructed as something like ‘droplet’ or ‘fluid’, but since it is only ever used in connection with ‘eye’, it cannot be assigned an independent meaning of its own.

Some of these nouns have transitive or inflected counterparts which can occur outside of these idiomatic expressions. Thus, for *ebyalun sy-en* ‘its tail feather’, there is a corresponding inflected noun *ebya-* ‘wing, feather’ whose inflectional paradigm however no longer includes the form *ebyalun*. Instead the third person singular ending of *ebya-* is *ebyaon*. The loss of /l/, or its replacement by the half vowel /y/ seems to be part of a general sound change that also

separates the neighboring language Dalkalaen from Daakaka.

Another item for which we can reconstruct part of its history is *tawilin*. It is obligatorily followed by an inflected form of *by-* ‘body’ and the resulting meaning of, for example *tawilin by-en* also means ‘his/her body’. The semantic contribution of *tawilin* seems to be the specification that all the body parts of a person are referred to simultaneously, and the phrase most frequently occurs with a plural marker as in (97); following this intuition, it would seem that *tawilin* might mean something like ‘body part’.

However, the diachronic source of the word is apparently **tawili* ‘middle’: this word is still present in the lexeme *tawili-yaa* (middle-time/sun) ‘noon, lunch’, even though the compositional nature of the word is no longer transparent to speakers and the actual word for ‘middle’ in Daakaka is *bistuwo*. But in the neighboring language Dalkalaen, the transitive cognate *tapwili* is still productive in its meaning of *middle of* as in *tapwili tee* ‘middle of the sea’.

The following sentence shows *tawilin* with its collocate *by-*:

- (97) *un by-en nyoo, tawilin by-en nyoo mwe umbii nyoo*
 skin body-3S.POSS 3P body.of body-3S.POSS 3P REAL blister 3P
 ‘her skin, her entire body was full of blisters’ (rep12:45)

Generally speaking, as most of the idiomatic transitive nouns end in *-n*, it appears likely that they used to be inflected nouns which got frozen with a third person singular possessor ending and the canonical subsequent possessor noun. Table 3.9 gives an overview over these transitive nouns restricted to lexicalized phrases.

Among the transitive nouns not restricted to lexicalized phrases, many end with *-i*, such as *booli* ‘hole in’, *mili* ‘place of’ (see below), *neti* ‘offspring of’ or *sini* ‘thorn of’. This *-i* ending looks like the construct suffix used in Aneityum as shown in the following example:

- (98) *risi-i di?*
 mother-CONSTR who?
 ‘whose mother?’ [Lynch, 2000, 58, see also Lichtenberk, 2009b, 256]

It seems therefore plausible to assume that a former construct suffix gave rise historically to the class of uninflected transitive nouns that we find in Daakaka today. It is however not the case that synchronically the *-i* ending constitutes such a construct suffix for the following reasons: First, many of the transitive nouns ending in *-i* cannot receive any alternative ending—they are apparently lexicalized forms; second, many of the transitive nouns do not end in *-i*, such as *yas* ‘mother of’, *nena* ‘face of’, *see* ‘size of’; and third, most of today’s inflected nouns do not exist in a version that ends in *-i*, that is, *-i* is not a productive suffix for inflected nouns in Daakaka today.

Another likely diachronic connection is with a class of nouns in the neighboring language of South-East Ambrym, which exist in two forms: an independent form with the ending *-e* and a dependent form without ending, which has to be followed by a second noun or pronoun. The examples are taken from Lynch et al. [2002, 664]

- (99) a. (i) *vatit eal*
 casuarina.tree tree

3. Major Word Classes

Tabelle 3.9.: Transitive nouns restricted to lexicalized phrases. Inflected collocate nouns allow of course for different person and number inflections as well.

Noun	Collocation	Phrase Meaning	Related Nouns
<i>bar</i>	<i>vyaa</i> ‘hand, arm’	‘shoulder’	
<i>bokosin</i>	<i>vyaa</i> ‘hand’	‘finger’	–
	<i>lye</i> ‘leg, foot’	‘toe’	
<i>bwengin</i>	<i>vyaa</i> ‘hand’	‘finger nail’	<i>bwengi</i> ‘nail of a digit’
	<i>lye</i> ‘leg, foot’	‘toe nail’	
<i>bwilin</i>	<i>p-am</i> ‘mouth-2s.POSS’	‘your mouth’	<i>bwili</i> ‘hole’ (trans.)
	<i>sy-en</i> ‘shit-3s.POSS’	‘his/her anus’	
<i>ebyalun</i>	<i>sy-em</i> (shit-2s.POSS)	‘your tail feather’	<i>ebya-on</i> ‘wing-3s.POSS’
<i>eveli</i>	<i>vyos</i> ‘drinkable coconut’	‘a bundle of drinkable coconuts’	–
<i>golin</i>	<i>vyaa</i> ‘arm, hand’	‘claw, talon’	–
<i>kodin</i>	<i>bat-en</i> (head-3s.POSS)	‘his/her skull’	–
<i>kulin</i>	<i>lye</i> ‘leg’	‘sole’	–
<i>nin</i>	<i>meu=an</i> (live=NM) ‘life’	‘soul’	–
<i>sun</i>	<i>myar</i> ‘eye’	‘tear’	–
<i>tawilin</i>	<i>by-en</i> (body-3s.POSS)	‘his/her entire body’	<i>tawili</i> ‘body of’, e.g. <i>tawili tyu</i> (body chicken) ‘the chicken’s body’
<i>ulin</i>	<i>by-en</i> (body-3s.POSS)	‘her/his skin’	<i>uli</i> ‘skin of, bark of’, e.g. <i>uli lee</i> ‘bark of a tree’
<i>ulun</i>	<i>bung-um</i> (mouth-2s.POSS)	‘your lips’	<i>uli, ulin</i> (see above)
<i>un</i>	<i>by-en</i> (body-3s.POSS)	‘her/his skin’	<i>un</i> intransitive, e.g. <i>un=ane lóó</i> (skin=TRANS coconut) ‘skin of the coconut’; see section 4.1.3
	<i>besy-uk</i> (navel-1s.POSS)	‘my navel’	

- (ii) *vatite*
'tree'
- b. (i) *husut nou*
ashes 1S
'my (cremated) ashes'
- (ii) *husute*
'ashes'

There is one lexeme in Daakaka which, at least for some speakers, has the same properties: The noun for flower *ung* is transitive and has to be followed by a second noun as in *ung baa* (flower hibiscus) 'hibiscus flower'; but there is an intransitive variety of the form *unge*. Again, however, this cannot be generalized over other transitive uninflected nouns: for most of them, there is no intransitive version ending in *-e*.

3.3.4. Nominalization

Nominalization of verbs and adjectives

The morpheme *an* can be used to derive noun phrases from single lexemes as well as from complex phrases of a range of different categories. It cliticizes to the last element of the nominalized phrase. The simplest cases involve only a single intransitive or semitransitive verb or an adjective. Some of these cases constitute canonical, probably lexicalized, nouns such as *gyes=an* (work(V)=NM) 'work', *nyur~nyur=an* (REDUP~think(V)=NM) 'idea, mind' or *peten=an* (be.true(V)=NM) 'truth'.

Examples of nominalized adjectives are given in (100):

- (100) a. *yen s-aya mwelili=an*
in CL3-3D.POSS.1 small(ADJ)=NM
'in their childhood' (sto04:7)
- b. *mw=i seli=ane na vyanten mo koo wuor=an*
REAL=COP road=TRANS COMP person REAL take.care taboo(ADJ)=NM
'this is the way people observe the taboo' (exp28:26)

Sequences consisting of a verb and its object can also be nominalized by *an*. As long as the object is generic, only semitransitive versions of verbs are accepted in nominalizations. The following examples also show that the agent of the nominalized verb phrase can be expressed by a possessive article prefixed by the general (class three) classifier.

- (101) *s-an gères/ *gèrase temeli=an*
CL3-3S.POSS lie(SEMTR)/ lie.to(TR) child=NM
'his/ her (habitual) lying to children'
- (102) *temeli s-an bweak=an/ *bweak=ane vyanten=an*
child CL3-3S.POSS swear(SEMTR)=NM/ swear=TR person=NM
'the child's (habit of) swearing at people' (lit. 'the child, its swearing at people')

3. Major Word Classes

If the object is definite, semitransitive verbs cannot be used, and in these cases using a transitive verb instead is fine.

- (103) a. *s-an* **gères/* *gèrase* *Baeluk=an*
 CL3-3S.POSS lie(SEMTR)/ lie.to(TR) Baeluk=NM
 ‘her/ his lying to Baeluk’
- b. *s-an* *bweak=ane* *ngok=an*
 CL3-3S.POSS swear(SEMTR)=TRANS 2S=NM
 ‘his/ her cursing you’

Nominalizations involving a semitransitive verb and its object usually have only a generic interpretation and do not refer to specific events. By contrast, if a transitive verb and its object are nominalized, the resulting noun can refer to a specific event and can be modified by a temporal attribute, as shown in (104):

- (104) a. *s-an* *bweak* *temeli=an* (**na nenyu*)
 CL3-3S.POSS swear(SEMTR) child=NM ATT yesterday
 ‘his/ her habitual swearing at children (*yesterday)’
- b. *s-an* *bweak=ane* *Byongkon=an na nenyu*
 CL3-3S.POSS swear=TRANS NAME=NM ATT yesterday
 ‘his/ her swearing at Byongkon yesterday’

Instead of a possessive pronoun as in the previous example, a noun phrase with a possessive linker can also denote the agent of a nominalized verb or adjective.

- (105) *seli ane* [*sukuo=an* [*s-an* *bwet* *lewewedrame myane lóó*]]
 road TRANS be.together=NM CL3-POSS stem kava.plant with coconut
 ‘the friendship of the kava plant and the coconut palm’ (lit. ‘the way of being together
 of the kava plant with the coconut palm’)

Auxiliaries are banned from nominalizations, but some simple serial predicates can be nominalized, as in (106):

- (106) *s-aya* [*bangbang sukuo*]=*an*
 CL3-3D.POSS play be.together=NM
 ‘their playing together’

Another layer of syntactic complexity can be added to a nominalization by the adverb *ten*, as in (107):

- (107) *sóróusi=an en=te mw=i* [*peten ten*]=*an*
 talk=NM DEF=MED REAL=COP true very=NM
 ‘this story is absolutely true’ (rep10:2)

Finally, I have also come across one instance in which a verb containing a TAM phrase as its argument has been nominalized (see also section 8.1). The phrase came from a text submitted to the writing competition and is a direct translation from the English phrase ‘well-being’. I

have confirmed the grammaticality of this phrase with several speakers at different occasions. One careful rephrasing of the original sentence by speaker TM reads as follows:

- (108) *Nyur~nyur=an na towo=ne webung en=te mw=i tevy-an*
 REDUP~think=NM ATT big=TRANS day DEF=MED REAL=COP side-3S.POSS
s-an right=ne [[ongane mu vu]=an]_N.
 CL3-2S.POSS right TRANS feel REAL be.good=NM
 ‘The big idea (theme) of this day was about your right to well-being.’ (rep16:9)

Deverbal nouns are often used like infinitive forms after certain verbs. One quite frequent pattern involves the verb *vyan* ‘go’, the transitivizer (*a*)*ne* and a nominalized verb phrase; the resulting construction means ‘go to do sth.’:

- (109) a. *ye=m vyan=ane kyeskyes=an yen pukuo, etes*
 3PC=REAL go=TRANS wash=NM in hot.springs at.the.sea
 ‘they went to wash in the hot springs, at the sea’ (sto20:3)
 b. *ya=m vyan=ane [punguor teweli]=an*
 3P=REAL go=TRANS look.for.shellfish turban.shell=NM
 ‘they went to look for turban shells’ (sto02:10)

A similar meaning is conveyed by a sequence of the verb *ka* ‘say, think, want’ followed by a deverbal noun, which expresses an intention to do something:

- (110) a. *ye=m ka lyung~lyung=an te ye=m tilya ebya-osi nyoo te*
 3PC=REAL say REDUP~bathe=NM CONJ 3PC=REAL take wing-3PC.POSS 3P CONJ
pwesane te ka
 fix CONJ fly
 ‘they wanted to go bathing so they took their wings and fastened them [on their backs] and flew’ (sto43:8)
 b. *ka vyanten ta ka [tii~tii tako=an] o te gene ka*
 SUBCONJ person DIST say REDUP~sting sago.palm=NM OR DIST make MOD.REL
w=i gyap tisyu...
 POT=COP arrow some
 ‘when someone wants to bind tako leaves to a thatch or when he makes it into some arrows...’ (exp12:39)

The transitive verb *tebweti* ‘begin sth’ and its loaned counterpart *stat* likewise take nominalized verb phrases as arguments:

- (111) *ar=an na ya=m tebweti [kekyer ó=an] ar=an*
 place=DEF COMP 3P=REAL start SCOOP.out coconut=NM place=DEF
 ‘the place where they had started to scoop out copra’ (sto01:30)

Finally, deverbal noun phrases are often complements of the verb *kuowilye* ‘know’, to denote one of the subject’s abilities:

3. Major Word Classes

- (112) *na to dimyane ka na=p ku~kuo myane ngok tevy-an na ko*
 1S REAL;NEG want MOD 1S=POT REDUP~run with 2S side-3S.POSS COMP 2S
to kuowilye ku~kuo=an
 REAL;NEG know REDUP~run=NM
 ‘I don’t want to race with you, because you can’t swim fast’ (sto11:17)

In this structure, the deverbal noun could as well be replaced by a complement clause in potential mood:

- (113) a. *mo kuowilye sap=an*
 REAL know dance=NM
 b. *mo kuowilye ka we sap*
 REAL know MOD.COMP POT dance
 ‘she/ he can dance’

Instrumental derivations

In a second type of deverbal derivation of nouns, the verb undergoes regular reduplication and is then prefixed with the instrumental prefix *e-*. Typically, if the verb is *to do x*, then the noun derived by this process means *the thing we use in order to do x*. For example, *tas* means ‘sit’ and *etastas* means ‘bench, chair’ (‘the thing we use to sit down’).

At least in some older speakers, this process is quite productive and generates neologisms which are also used to replace loan words. For example, speaker DM suggested *eyungyungta* ‘the thing we use to listen’ as a term for modern objects such as radios and mobile phones.

Some other such nouns have become lexicalized; sometimes, the relation to their original subconstituents has become obscured as with *eguokuo* ‘towel’, which speakers still feel is clearly related to *gae* ‘rub sth. dry’. With some other lexicalized nouns, the instrumental component of the derivation is no longer transparent—most clearly, perhaps, in the case of *elingling* ‘generation, offspring’, which would otherwise have to be translated as ‘what we reproduce with’.

Remarkably, the derived noun can include the object of a semitransitive verb as shown by *esyapsyap wetii* ‘rain gutter’ (‘the thing we use to push away rain drops’). In the neighboring language Dalkalaen, where this kind of derivation is even more productive, the expression *e-te-tebwel melee* (INSTR-REDUP~kick food), literally ‘the thing we use to kick (back) food’, refers to the uvula.

A related derivation might have led diachronically to the formation of a number of nouns which are now perceived as simplex lexemes: A significant number of nouns with instrument-like denotations begin with /a/, schwa (/è/) or /e/, such as *apyaló* ‘canoe’, *atuwo* ‘basket’, *abwilyep* ‘black magic’ *étyo* ‘rope’, *apas* ‘post to tie pigs to’, *eye* ‘knife’, *esyé* ‘spoon’ (traditionally made of bamboo) and *ekyen* ‘sharpened picket to remove the husk of a coconut’. At least for some of these nouns, related verbs still exist in Daakaka and neighboring languages; thus, the verbal counterpart to *apyaló* ‘canoe’ is *pyaos* ‘row’, which corresponds to *fyalo* in Dalkalaen.

Table 3.10 gives an overview over some derived nouns.

Tabelle 3.10.: Examples of instrumental derivations from nouns

<i>Noun</i>	Meaning	Origin
<i>elingling</i>	generation	<i>lingi</i> ‘give birth to’
<i>ekaakaa</i>	clothes	<i>kaa</i> , or rather <i>kaakuwu</i> , ‘take off’ (clothes)
<i>etatakee</i>	bolt, lock	probably from a verb <i>*takee</i> , of which the transitive form <i>takeene</i> still is in active use and means ‘hang sth. somewhere’
<i>egiikii</i>	key	<i>kii</i> ‘grind with a pestle, to hollow out a carving, to turn a key in a lock’
<i>eguokuo</i>	towel	from <i>gae</i> ‘(to) towel’
<i>ekukuo</i>	vehicle	<i>kuo</i> ‘run’
<i>emyarmyar</i>	keepsake, token of memory ^a	<i>myar</i> ‘watch’
<i>eriprip</i>	fan	<i>riprip</i> ‘(to) fan’
<i>etastas</i>	bank, chair	<i>tas</i> ‘sit down’
<i>esyapsyap wetii</i>	rain gutter, roof rail	<i>sivya</i> (combination form <i>syap</i>) ‘push away, to expel’, <i>wetii</i> ‘raindrop’
<i>esisilyap ver</i>	a length of wood with which a woven bamboo wall is fixed onto the posts of a house	<i>silya</i> ‘prop up, fix’; <i>ver</i> ‘wall’
<i>eyungyungta</i>	radio	This is a neologism, which derives from the verb <i>yungta</i> ‘listen’

^aWhen I asked the meaning of *emyarmyar* out of context to someone not familiar with the word, his guess was that it meant ‘glasses’.

3. Major Word Classes

Nominalized adverbs of location

By definition, adverbs in Daakaka are items which cannot occur in argument positions. If a speaker still wants to use a locative adverb as an argument in a clause, they can add the word *vilye* ‘place’ in front of it to form a noun phrase.

In one frequent scenario, places become the objects of transitivized noun phrases to indicate the origin of the noun phrase: the structure [NP=TRANS *vilye* ADV] means ‘NP from ADV’. The following two examples each show *vilye* with a complex adverbial phrase, the first one involving the preposition *kuane* ‘at the home of’, the second one the preposition *yen* ‘in’.

- (114) a. *temeli swa=ne vilye [kuane er Ambrym] t=i vyaven mwe vyan*
child one=TRANS place home.of 1P.IN NAME DIST=COP woman REAL GO
‘a girl from our place here in Ambrym went’ (exp04:15)
- b. *mees=ane vilye [yen too] na mwe kyenkyen tevy-an gyes=an*
food=TRANS place in garden COMP REAL sore side-3S.POSS work=NM
‘the food from the garden, which takes a lot of work’ (exp19:26)

Other transitive or transitivized expressions also sometimes take a nominalized adverb as their argument. The following two examples show a transitivized adverb and a transitivized verb in such a position:

- (115) a. *ka ya=t du kolir me me me pesili=ne vilye teenem te ...*
MOD 3P=DIST stay sing come come come near=TRANS place home CONJ
‘as they approached the house, ...’ (sto34:56)
- b. *kuane nge bwe tumtum=ane vilye Teveltes*
home.of 3S REAL;CONT right=TRANS place Malekula
‘his home was right across from Malekula’ (sto24:9)

Less frequently, a nominalized adverb will be the subject of a clause:

- (116) a. *[vilye kuane nge] mwe pwer yen or*
place home.of 3S REAL stay in bush
‘his home was in the bush’ (rep04:3)
- b. *[Vilye [ar=an na mwe pwe gene s-an too ar=an]]*
place place=3S.POSS COMP REAL stay make 3S.POSS garden place=3S.POSS
mw=i ‘yen letako’.
REAL=COP in plant-sago
‘The [name of] the place where her garden was is ‘in the sago palms.’ (rep12:5)

3.3.5. Complex lexicalized nouns

Part of the inventory of lexical nouns consists of complex idioms. These idiomatic nouns mostly denote animal species and medical conditions.

Among the terms for animal species, many complex idioms have the form [REDUP~VERB NOUN] as in *bwis~bwis myanok* (REDUP~enter wound), which refers to a parasitic worm which enters the body through the skin.

Some other terms are of the form [NOUN ADJECTIVE], where the noun denotes a part of the animal's body and the adjective describes its characterizing property. Thus *mer wowo*, literally 'big eyes', refers to certain kinds of snappers. This strategy has also been used to create a new word for 'cow', which is mostly referred to by the Bislama loan *puluk*; instead, language conscious speakers advocate the term *waawaa wowo*, literally 'big limbs'.

A considerable number of animal terms are based on similarities to other animals. In some cases, a species is described as a subspecies of a similar or related animal—then, the term for the superordinate species is followed by a descriptive noun phrase as in *myaer sema ó* (moray crumbs.of coconut) 'spotted moray', where the term *sema ó* evokes the white flakes of grated coconut flesh on the black ground of volcanic ash.⁷

Some other terms evoke supposed kinship relations. For example, the harvestman is called *yas bankyen* 'the mosquito's mother', and the sea cucumber is referred to as *yas teweli* 'mother of the turban shell'. According to folk etymology, a similar mechanism has led to the term for 'shark', *bimesyu*: It is said to be an abbreviation of *bivian se mesyu* 'brother of the fish'. On the other hand, the similar term *ómesyu* 'crab' is not transparent to most speakers but has apparently developed as a combination of **ó* 'crab' and *mesyu* 'fish': In the neighboring language Dalkalaen, the term for 'crab' is still simply *o*; In Daakaka, however, *ó* also means 'coconut' (by contrast, in Dalkalaen, 'coconut' is *ol*). It is probably because of this homonymy that most speakers today use the Bislama word *krap* instead of **ó*, while language conscious speakers use *ómesyu*.

Also, in North Ambrym the term for 'shark' is simply *be*, so Daakaka speakers might have given this word the same treatment as the word for crab and added *mesyu* to make it longer and more distinct.

Sea creatures are often named after similar organisms on land: the ray is called *gee=ne tes* 'flying fox of the sea', the jelly fish is *aa=ne tes* 'nettle of the sea' etc.

A similar tactic is used to name objects which only became known to the Ni-Vanuatu⁸ after contact with Westerners: innovations such as papaya and guns are named after similar, native items and then specified to be 'western' or 'of the white man'; thus the term for papaya is *wotop an vi*, literally 'breadfruit of the white man', the term for gun is *vis an vi* 'bow and arrow of the white man'.

A list of complex terms for animal species is given in table 3.11.

Bodily, emotional and mental states and medical conditions are also frequently expressed by complex idiomatic noun phrases. These expressions either have the form [NOUN REDUP~VERB] or [NOUN ADJECTIVE]. In the former case, the reduplication transforms the verb into an attribute (cf section 3.2.5). An example for the first structure is *kus lip~lip* (nose REDUP~drip), literally 'dripping nose', which actually means 'nosebleed'. The second structure is illustrated by *bip erér* (body hot), which literally translates as 'the hot body' but in its use and extension corresponds more precisely to the English term 'fever'.

Compared to terms for animal species, this derivational process is much more productive, there is no finite list of terms for bodily conditions and emotional states. A list of examples is

⁷The firm flesh of a mature coconut is processed to extract coconut milk, but usually considered too tough for humans to eat. Instead, the dry flakes are fed to chickens and dogs.

⁸*Ni-Vanuatu* is the demonym for the citizens of Vanuatu.

3. Major Word Classes

Tabelle 3.11.: Examples of complex terms for animal species

Term	Gloss	Meaning
<i>syoo~syoo-ki~kye</i>	from <i>siyoo</i> 'set (of the sun)': REDUP~set REDUP~call	cricket
<i>bwis~bwis-myanok</i>	REDUP~enter-wound	parasitic worm
<i>kyer~kyer-myanok</i>	REDUP~bite-wound	crescent grunter (a fish)
<i>vyae~vyae-wotop</i>	REDUP~tear-breadfruit	fantail: a bird which is said to tear the leaves of breadfruit trees.
<i>mer~mer-yaa</i>	from <i>myar</i> 'watch': REDUP~watch-sun	barracuda
<i>myanmyantung</i>	probably like above: REDUP~watch-sky	swordfish
<i>dum~dum-leevyo</i>	REDUP~make.noise-treefern	whalefish
<i>wuo~wuo-tevya</i>	<i>wuo</i> could be 'unfold'; <i>tevya</i> is 'wave'	banded sea snake
<i>mer-wowo</i>	from <i>myar</i> 'eye': 'eyes big'	snapper
<i>waawaa-wowo</i>	limbs-big	cow, cattle
<i>siswowo</i>	breasts-big	heron
<i>bowop-sini-wemu</i>	boxfish-thorn-grapefruit	porcupinefish
<i>myaer-sema-ó</i>	moray-crumbs-coconut	black-and-white spotted moray
<i>yas bankyen</i>	mother.of mosquito	harvestman
<i>yas teweli</i>	mother.of turban.shell	sea cucumber
<i>gee=ne tes</i>	flying.fox=TRANS sea	ray
<i>buoo=ne tes</i>	mushroom=TRANS sea	sponge
<i>nip=ane tes</i>	lizard=TRANS sea	reef lizardfish
<i>aa=ne tes</i>	nettle=TRANS sea	jelly fish

given in table 3.12.

The nouns in these structures are always intransitive, uninflected nouns which refer to the body or emotional state of a sentient being. They all have inflected counterparts and these complex idiomatic expressions are usually the only environment in which such relational but intransitive nouns can be used at all. Inflected nouns, on the other hand, cannot enter into these constructions as illustrated in the following example:

- (117) a. *gyes=an en=te mwe gene *bet-uk/ kor pweng~pwenges*
 WORK=NM DEF=MED REAL make head-1S.POSS/ head REDUP~hurt
 ‘This work causes headaches.’
- b. *gyes=an en=te mwe gene bet-uk/ *kor ma pwenges*
 WORK=NM DEF=MED REAL make head-1S/ head REAL hurt
 ‘This work makes my head ache.’

To express that a person has a certain condition, the complex nouns are used as a predicate in combination with the copula. They can however also feature as subjects. Both cases are illustrated below:

- (118) a. *Temeli en=te mw=i kus lip~lip.*
 child DEF=MED REAL=COP nose REDUP~drip
 ‘This child has a nosebleed.’
- b. *Temeli en=te mu mur te kus lip~lip mu puo yen*
 child DEF=MED REAL fall CONJ nose REDUP~drip REAL be.plentiful in
kus-un.
 nose-3S.POSS
 ‘This child fell, he has a big nosebleed.’ (lit. ‘there is a lot of nosebleed in his nose’)

The use of *kus liplip* as a predicate in (118-a) might seem counterintuitive to English speakers, but this type of construction is not restricted to complex nouns or the semantic domain of medical or emotional conditions—see section 6.2 for more on similar copular clauses.

Concerning most emotions, this kind of derivation is the only way at all to express the corresponding notion by a noun phrase. All nominal emotion terms are formed by the noun *yuo* ‘feeling’ plus a reduplicated verb or adjective specifying the feeling. For example, *yuo yaa~yaa*, literally ‘the painful feeling’, means ‘anger’; *yuo maru*, ‘the glad feeling’, means ‘gladness’; and *yuo kyes~kyes*, ‘the sweet feeling’, refers to ‘infatuation’—the feeling of love on the other hand is expressed differently: here, the verb *yos* ‘(to) love’ is nominalized by the morpheme *an*, yielding *yosan* ‘love’. The verb *yos* is exceptional in that it denotes a feeling all by itself and takes a person as its subject. In most cases, emotions are not directly predicated of a person, but use the inflected counterpart to *yuo* instead as in *yu-on mwe yaa* (feeling-3S.POSS REAL hurt) ‘she/ he is angry’—see section 6.2.2 for more on subjects of emotional states.

Permanent medical conditions are most commonly referred to by a group of class two adjectives (these adjectives are noun-like in that they can only serve as predicates in combination with the copula). Among them are *boo* ‘deformed by elephantiasis’, *bwii* ‘blind’ and *bur* ‘dumb’ and *biyo* ‘deaf’. They are described in more detail in section 3.4.3.

3. Major Word Classes

Tabelle 3.12.: Examples for complex terms denoting bodily or emotional states

Term	Gloss	Meaning
<i>bip mer~mer</i>	body REDUP~dead	‘exhaustion’
<i>bip erér</i>	body hot	‘fever’
<i>kus lip~lip</i>	nose REDUP~drip	‘nosebleed’
<i>myar nyup~nyup</i>	eye REDUP~doze	‘drowsiness’
<i>kor yas~yas</i>	head REDUP~strong	‘obstinacy’
<i>yuo yaa~yaa</i>	feeling REDUP~hurt	‘anger’
<i>yuo maru</i>	feeling glad	‘gladness’
<i>vyaa boo</i>	arm deformed.by.elephantiasis	‘elephantiasis affecting the arms’
<i>myar bwii</i>	eye blind	‘blindness’

3.3.6. Kinship terminology

Among anthropologists, the kinship system of North Ambrym has caused great controversies over the decades [eg Radcliffe-Brown, 1927, Lane and Lane, 1956, Patterson, 1976, Héran, 2009].

The kinship terminology of Daakaka is different from what has been described in Héran [2009] for North Ambrym, but the underlying system appears to be the same.

Same-sex siblings, and to a lesser extent also siblings of different sexes, use the same kinship terms to refer to a given person: As in most languages, siblings use the same term to refer to their shared parents (*father*, *mother*), but in Daakaka, one can also refer to the children of a sibling in the same way as to one’s own children, to a sibling’s spouse as to one’s own spouse etc. A same-sex sibling is called *bivian* and for kinship purposes, every *bivian* of an ego is identical to that ego, that is, they will call relatives by the same terms, are allowed to marry the same individuals and so on. A man’s sister is his *meteseli* and a woman’s brother is called *mun<uk>uli* (brother<1s.poss>). This principle also applies across generations, so that the term for my father is the same as for his brothers; the term for my mother is the same as for her sisters.

Accordingly, my mother’s sister’s daughters have the same relation to me as my own sisters. Thus, in each generation, there are many people whose kinship relation to a given person is the same. But the same kinship term not only applies to many individuals of the same generation, but also to persons belonging to different generations.

The principle of cross-generational correspondence has been explained to me from the perspective of a male ego looking for a daughter-in-law. The term for ‘mother’ is *naana*, and the same term applies to all female relatives who are eligible as a man’s daughter-in-law—in the latter case, the more specific expression *naana kekei* (‘small *naana*’) can also be used to avoid confusion.

They cannot be too closely related to him, so the closest female relative to be a man’s *naana kekei* is the granddaughter of one of his sisters.

This leads to a system in which male kinship terms repeat every two generations, while female terms repeat every three generations [this is the same for North Ambrym terminology,

Héran, 2009, 483].

Several terms can apply simultaneously to the same person. For example, the woman a man is supposed to marry is his *tawi*, but after the marriage, he can also call her his *vyaven* ‘wife, woman’. He can use the same two terms to refer to his brothers’ wives. A grandchild can be referred to as *waawu* (or the synonymous term *tuutu*), but also by the terms *teskuli*, *meby-* and *tavy-*. In addition to these terms, the children of a male ego’s son or of a female ego’s brother’s son can also be called *bivian* and *meteseli/ munukuli* depending on the gender.

Moreover, for many relations there are both uninflected, intransitive nouns such as *naana* ‘mother’ and an inflected counterpart, in this case *yas-en* (mother-3s.POSS). The extensions of corresponding intransitive and inflected kinship terms are identical.

Table 3.13 gives an overview of all the kinship terms I have been able to elicit. For some of them, it would be most cumbersome to describe their meanings in terms of English terminology, so I refer the reader to figure 3.3. Figures 3.4 and 3.5 further illustrate the system with examples for legitimate patterns of marriage.

Ingrained in the kinship terminology is a prescriptive system regulating how people are supposed to behave towards one another. I have already mentioned that if someone wants to marry, they are supposed to choose their partner from among their *tawi*. This is not an absolute rule, however: As long as two spouses are not too closely related, they can have a different relation as well.

The kinship terminology also informs speakers about taboo relations: For example, all *metoo* are potential in-laws and more or less taboo, while a *syuk* or *nó* never is.

For the term *tuutu* or *waawu*, the degree of taboo depends on more specific relations: a highly taboo *tuutu*, such as a woman’s mother-in-law will be referred to more specifically as *tuutu/ waawu wur/ kuon*, where both of the latter terms are synonymous, meaning *taboo*.

There is a set of different rules applying to different types of taboo relations. In the most restrictive cases, a person is not allowed to even stay in the same house as their taboo relative. In some others, they can talk to them, but only respectfully, without joking and teasing. These taboos also affect the use of language, as for example with choice of pronouns: a taboo relative can only be referred to by dual pronouns instead of singular—compare sections 4.1.1 and 9.1.2.

When someone marries someone other than a *tawi* of theirs, this can cause confusion in the system. As indicated in table 3.13, definitions of kinship relations are very much interdependent and there is no obviously primitive relation which unambiguously serves as a starting point for working out other relations. Even so, I found that in most cases, people did not have trouble deciding how to call a relative and largely adhered to the social conventions which come with kinship relations.

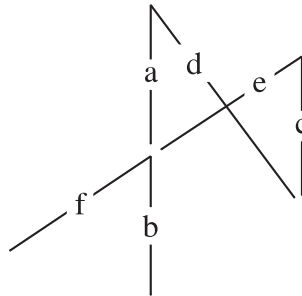
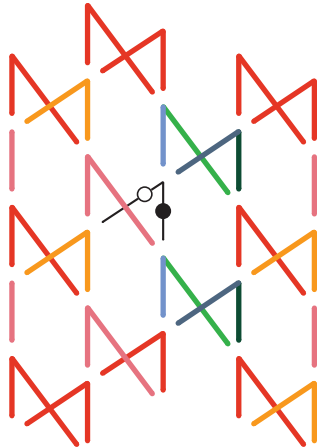
3. Major Word Classes

Tabelle 3.13.: List of kinship terms

<i>Intr.</i>	<i>Trans.</i>	Meaning
<i>taata</i>	<i>timy-an</i>	see figure 3.3
<i>naana</i>	<i>yas-en</i>	see figure 3.3
<i>nó</i>	<i>ny-an</i>	see figure 3.3
<i>syuk</i>	<i>misy-an</i>	see figure 3.3
<i>bivian</i>		for a male ego: sons of any of his <i>taatas</i> '; husbands of his wife's <i>bivian</i> ; for a female ego: daughters of any of her <i>naanas</i> '; the wives of her husband's <i>bivian</i> .
<i>meteseli</i>		only for male ego: the daughter of a <i>taata</i> of his; wife of a <i>tawi</i> of his
	<i>miny-en-eli</i>	only for female ego: son of a <i>taata</i> of hers; husband of a <i>tawi</i> of hers
<i>temeli</i>	<i>nat-en</i>	children; own children and children of any <i>bivian</i>
<i>netkaven</i>		daughter
<i>teskuli</i>	<i>meby-un(-eli), tavy-un</i>	grandchildren; all individuals referred to as <i>waawu</i> or <i>tuutu</i> and of a younger generation than the ego. The term <i>tavy-</i> is never used in first person, but only to refer to other people's grandchildren and similar.
<i>waawu, tuutu</i>		see figure 3.3
<i>tawi (an)</i>		see figure 3.3
<i>metoo</i>		see figure 3.3
	<i>ud-un</i>	for males only: father's sisters son
	<i>evy-an</i>	only for female egos: a sister of her husband's

Abbildung 3.3.: The basic pattern of Daakaka kinship terminology, with an explanation of the structure on the right—the underlying structure has been developed by Héran [2009] for North Ambrym kinship terms.

— : *waawu*; — : *metoo* (for male ego), *waawu* (for female ego); — : *tawi*; — : *taata*;
 — : *naana*; — : *syuk*; — : *nó*; ● : male ego; ○ : female ego



Vertical lines (Abel, Bart and Chris) are male. Diagonal lines (Daisy, Eva and Fiona) are female. Abel and Daisy are siblings, as are Eva and Chris, and Fiona and Bart. Daisy is married to Chris. Eva is married to Abel—they are the parents of Fiona and Bart.

3. Major Word Classes

Abbildung 3.4.: An example of three cycles of marriage relations within a family, from the perspective of a male ego. Triangles represent males, circles represent females; A horizontal line between two symbols represents a bond of marriage; vertical lines represent parental relations.

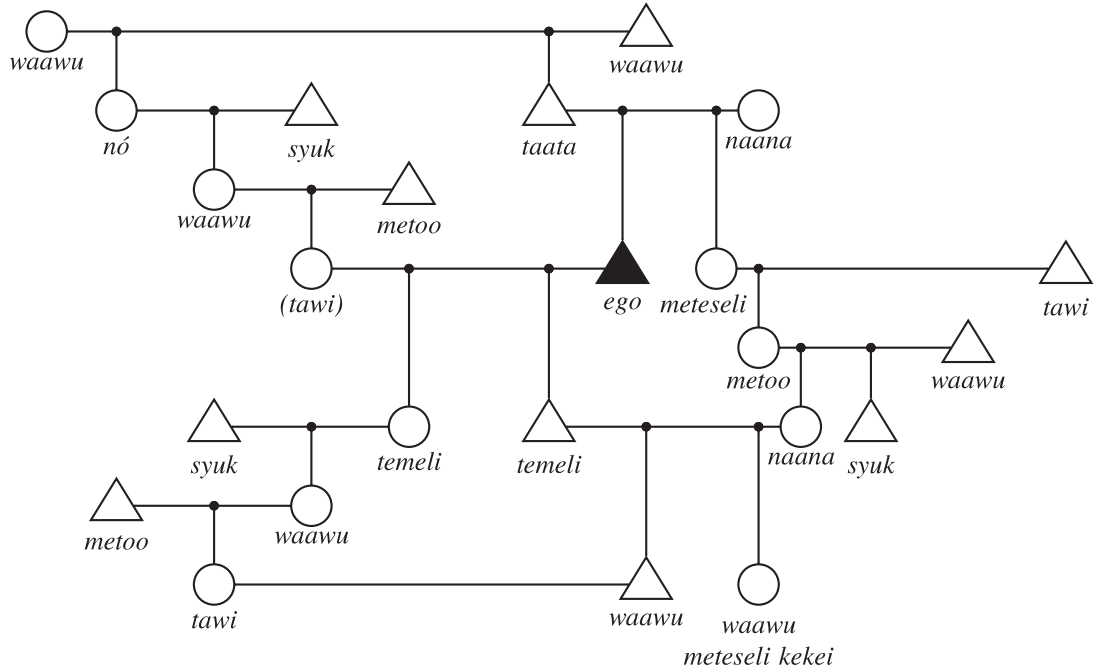
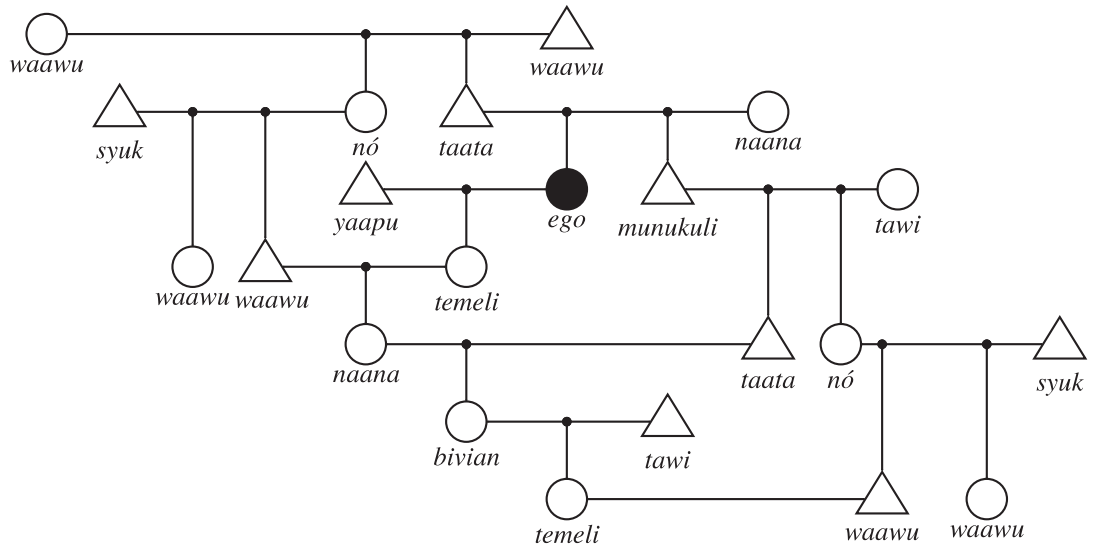


Abbildung 3.5.: Three cycles of marriage relations within one family, from a female ego's perspective



3.4. Adjectives

3.4.1. Overview

I take the ability to modify a noun directly as the defining property of adjectives. The class of adjectives in Daakaka is small compared to the verb and noun classes, but is not on the extreme end of small adjective classes, compared to languages like Igbo [cf. Dixon, 2004]: In my lexical database of 2012, containing a total of a little over 2000 lexemes, 69 entries are adjectives.

As a word class, it is also less open than verbs or nouns: There are only three attested loan adjectives, the color terms *blu* and *braon* and the ordinal adjective *fes* ‘first’. One reason for this reluctance to borrowing is probably that adjectives in Bislama precede the noun, whereas in Daakaka, they follow it. Thus, in Bislama the notion of a ‘brown bird’ would be expressed by the phrase *braon pijin*, while in Daakaka, the corresponding phrase is *basée braon*.

By contrast, the expression *fes* ‘first’ has carried over its word-order properties from Bislama to Daakaka: Except for alienable possessive pronouns, it is thus the only element in the language which can be used as the left-most element of a noun phrase, without being a noun itself:

- (119) *fes tyu na te ling~ling*
 first chicken COMP DIST REDUP~give.birth
 ‘the first chicken who had children’

To avoid the loan word, one would have to use the more complex structure in (120):

- (120) *tyu na mw=i mo na te ling~ling*
 chicken COMP REAL=COP first COMP DIST REDUP~give.birth
 ‘the first chicken who had children’ (sto45:17)

This small adjective class can further be divided into more verb-like adjectives, which can serve as predicates without a copula, and a second class of adjectives, which are more noun-like in that they need a copula in order to function as predicates. I will refer to the bigger, verb-like class as **class one adjectives** and to the other one as **class two adjectives**.

Not all adjective-like items fit neatly into either of the two classes. Thus, there is a small number number of lexemes in Daakaka which appear to be adjectives in that they modify intransitive nouns, but they are only found in idioms with one specific noun and they are not used as predicates as illustrated in (121). They are listed in table 3.14.

- (121) *apyang en=te mw=i apyang evin/ *mw=i evin*
 fire DEF=MED REAL=COP fire bush.fire REAL=COP bush.fire
 ‘this fire is a bush fire’

Furthermore, there is at least one adjective which cannot be used as a predicate at all, which is *ten* ‘native, proper’:

- (122) a. *webir ten*
 taro native
 ‘water taro’

3. Major Word Classes

Tabelle 3.14.: The table shows adjective-like components of idiomatic expressions. The adjective is given first, then its unique collocater, the meaning of the collocater, and the meaning of the entire idiomatic collocation.

Lexeme	Collocater	Trans. Col.	Trans. Idiom
<i>evin</i>	<i>apyang</i> ~	‘fire’	‘bush fire’
<i>dear</i>	<i>temeli vyaven</i> ~	‘girl’	‘a nubile young woman’
<i>maakuo</i>	<i>temeli</i> ~	‘young person’	‘a young man of marriagable age’
<i>lisyu</i>	<i>buo</i> ~	‘male pig’	‘uncastrated pig’
<i>téér</i>	<i>barar</i> ~	‘pig’	‘a pair of a male and a female pig’
<i>dawo</i>	<i>yang</i> ~	‘fly’	‘blowfly’
<i>wuonwuon</i>	<i>yang</i> ~	‘fly’	‘fruitfly’
<i>virvir</i>	<i>gee</i> ~	‘flying fox’	‘a species of flying fox’

- b. **webir en=te mwe/ mw=i ten*
 taro DEF=MED REAL/ REAL=COP native
 intended: ‘this taro is water taro’

A few adjectives specify whether they describe one individual or a group of referents. This phenomenon, which I refer to as *lexical number*, is found more widely in verbs, as described in section 3.2.2.

One such adjective pair is *kekei* and *mwelili*, both meaning ‘small’: *kekei* refers to singular referents, while *mwelili* describes a group of things.

- (123) a. *ye=m du toto=ane tan kekei en=te*
 3D=REAL stay quarrel=TRANS ground small DEF=MED
 ‘the two were arguing about this small island’ (sto16:5)
- b. *yang wuonwuon nyoo ya=m mwelili kyun*
 fly fruitfly 3P 3P=REAL be.small just
 ‘the fruit flies are only small’ (exp08:152)

As with ‘small’, there are also two adjectives for ‘big’, but only one of them is a class one adjective. The other one is strictly speaking not an adjective at all, but since it does not fit into any other class either, I will treat it here. These two words for ‘big’ are *towo* and *wowo*. The semantic differences between them is the same as for the two words for ‘small’, *kekei* and *mwelili*: *towo* is used for single big individuals, whereas *wowo* is used for groups of big referents.

The analogy between *mwelili* and *wowo* is illustrated in the following example, in which the speaker is starting to describe the red ant:

- (124) *goyor, goyor na ya=m mwelili, goyor na ya=m wowo*
 red.ant red.ant COMP 3P=REAL small red.ant COMP 3P=REAL big
 ‘red ants, small red ants, big red ants’ (exp08:1)

In contrast to its singular counterpart *towo*, *wowo* is an exemplary class two adjective. Its

ability to serve directly as an attribute is illustrated below:

- (125) *buluwu wowo nyoo en=te mu du vyan a=te*
 hole big 3P DEF=MED REAL stay go LOC=MED
 ‘the big holes stayed there’ (sto24:99)

Towo, however, doesn’t even pass the test for adjectivehood: It cannot simply follow a noun to modify it. Either the complementizer *na* or the indefinite article *swa* ‘one’ have to intervene:

- (126) *lisepsep mwe vyan kye te mwe kye yan daa na towo ngabak*
 lisepsep REAL go call CONJ REAL call at voice COMP big still
 ‘the lisepsep went and called, she still called in a booming voice’ (sto13:26)
- (127) *mwe pwer~pwer pyan vyor swa towo*
 REAL REDUP~stay under stone one big
 ‘she lived under a big stone’ (sto25:3)

By contrast, an actual adjective cannot be preceded by the complementizer *na* without an intervening TAM marker and the indefinite article *swa* ‘one, a’ would have to follow it, instead of preceding it:

- (128) a. *atuwo na te kekei/ *na kekei*
 basket COMP DIST small COMP small
 ‘a/the small basket’
- b. *atuwo (*swa) kekei (swa)*
 basket one small one
 ‘a small basket’

If used as a predicate, *towo* must be preceded by the copula:

- (129) *damo na tów-an mw=i towo*
 spider COMP belly-3S.POSS REAL=COP big
 ‘a spider with a big belly’ (exp08:81)

No other lexeme of Daakaka shows the same morpho-syntactic behavior as *towo*. Taking its distribution and its relation to *wowo*, the following diachronic narrative suggests itself: There must once have been a verb **wo* ‘be big’. It would often have been preceded by the distal marker *to* (see section 5.5). If used as an attribute, its reduplicated form *wowo* would have been used (see section 3.2.5). At some point, *wowo* was reanalyzed as a simplex adjective meaning *big*—this is compatible with the fact that today, *wowo* behaves like any other adjective. Its lexical plurality might have originated from its form: it still looks like the result of a reduplication, a process which is also associated with plurality (see section 3.2.5).

The sequence of the distal marker and the verb, *to *wo*, might then have been analyzed as a simplex lexeme. The fact that the *to-* in *towo* today is not interpreted as a distal marker is clearly shown by the word’s function as a predicate, where it is preceded by a TAM marker plus copula, as shown in (129). But it obviously has not been fully reanalyzed as an adjective: The intervening complementizer or indefinite article as shown in (126) and (127) is exactly

3. Major Word Classes

what one would expect if the *to-* was still understood to be a TAM marker: (126) has the form of a relative clause, (127) of a serial predicate construction. A similar process appears to have taken place in several other cases, such as *tuswa* ‘one’ and with the nouns *tomo* ‘firstborn’ and several adjectives (see also sections 4.2.3 and 7.2).

Moreover, the above mentioned *mwelili* ‘small’ might also have originated from a sequence of the realis marker plus verb: This is suggested by its ability to serve as a serial predicate, a potential it shares with only two other adjectives—*melumlum* ‘calm’ and *melipro* ‘lax’; all three adjectives also share an unusual word shape in that they all start with *mwe* or *me* and are trisyllabic. See section 7.2, page 264 for their function as serial predicates and section 2.2.2 for more on word shape patterns.

As might be expected from a language with a rather small class of adjectives, many properties of nominal referents are expressed by verbs instead. Among the verbs referring to property concepts are *gekean* ‘be colorful’, *yas* ‘be hard, be strong’, *peten* ‘be true’ and *vu* ‘be good’.

One group of words which qualify as adjectives but can also be argued to be verbs refers to color concepts. The range of simple color words is comparatively rich, although it is also one of the domains in which native words are rapidly being replaced by Bislama loans, especially by children. Table 3.15 gives an overview over the color terms in Daakaka.

The reason why it is hard to determine their word class affiliation is that they almost exclusively occur in a reduplicated form. Reduplicated verbs, however, can regularly serve as attributes, just like simplex adjectives (cf. section 3.2.5). Examples of this attributive function of color terms are given below:

- (130) a. *yesukuo yesyes*
 leaves green
 ‘green leaves’
- b. *maa nge mwe kuk=ane dom pi~pili*
 dove 3S REAL COOK=TRANS yam REDUP~red
 ‘the *dove* cooked red yam’ (‘dove’ is contrastive here) (sto29:7)

On the one hand, words like *pi-pili* ‘red’ and *pe-pyó* ‘white’ can also occur in a non-reduplicated form when used as predicates.

- (131) a. *ma pili ne bura*
 REAL red with blood
 ‘it was red with blood’ (exp04:27)
- b. *bosi kyun mwe pyo pwer*
 bone just REAL white stay
 ‘only the white bone [of a horse’s skull] remained’ (lit. ‘only the bone was white and stayed’) (con02:161)

On the other hand, both words appear far more frequently in their reduplicated form, even when serving as predicates. Some other color terms can only be used in a form which conforms to the pattern of reduplication, like *yesyes* ‘green’ and *ngunguo* ‘yellow’. As reduplication is possible both for verbs and for class one adjectives (see also next section), *pili* and *pyo* could in principle belong to either category. For *yesyes* and *ngunguo*, a classification as adjectives

Tabelle 3.15.: Basic color terms

Daakaka	English
<i>mirmir</i>	‘black’
<i>pepyo</i>	‘white’
<i>pipili</i>	‘red’
<i>yesyes</i>	‘green’
<i>ngunguo</i>	‘yellow’
<i>sisiya</i>	‘purple’
<i>nep</i>	‘blue’

would be slightly more plausible than a classification as verbs: Since they never occur in a non-reduplicated form, it seems more likely that they are simplex adjectives than reduplicated verbs.

In addition to these adjectives, there is also a verb expressing a color-related concept, which is *tung* ‘be dark, be dirty’. This verb can be followed by a second verb *myaek* ‘be night’ in a serial verb construction (cf. section 7), yielding the meaning ‘pitch black’:

- (132) *mad-un mwe tung~tung myaek, mirmir*
 back-3S.POSS REAL REDUP~be.dark be.night black
 ‘its back is pitch dark, black’ (exp50:134)

Apart from lexical adjectives, attributes can also be derived from other adverbs and number verbs by processes described in 3.4.4.

For yet other types of attributes, see section 3.2.5 on reduplicated verbs and section 8 on relative clauses.

3.4.2. Class one adjectives

The defining property of class one adjectives as opposed to class two adjectives is that they can serve as predicates without the copula, just as verbs. When used as predicates, they are only preceded by a TAM marker, just as a verb would be. The following two examples illustrate the class one adjective *myató* ‘old’ both in its use as an attribute and as a predicate.

- (133) a. *ka wee nyoo te myató te gee ma tiline wee me yan*
 SUBCONJ fruit 3P DIST old CONJ flying.fox REAL shake fruit come on
tan
 ground
 ‘when the fruit were ripe, the flying fox shook the fruit so they fell down to the ground’ (sto30:28)
- b. *s-ar du=an myató*
 CL3-1P.IN stay=NM old
 ‘our traditions’ (lit. ‘our old (way of) being’) (exp25:29)

3. Major Word Classes

The three class one adjectives *mwelili* ‘small’, *melipro* ‘lax’ and *melumlum* ‘calm’ can also be used as secondary predicates after a verb phrase, forming a serial predicate construction (see also section 7.2):

- (134) *bili na ko=p tawa lewewo mwelili mwelili tu vu*
time COMP 2S=POT cut.open bamboo be.small be.small past good
‘when you break the bamboo into very fine stripes’ (exp32:17)

Here, the adjective *mwelili* describes the result of the process of breaking the bamboo. For more on serial predicate constructions, see section 7.

Class one adjectives can be reduplicated, in contrast to class two adjectives. The meaning of reduplication in adjectives appears to be the same as for verbs: it mostly expresses plurality, as for example in (135):

- (135) *Webung en=te ya=m me yen gyes=an mi~minyes nyoo.*
day DEF=MED 3P=REAL come in work=NM REDUP~different 3P
‘On this day, they worked on many different issues.’ (lit. ‘they came into various tasks’)
(rep16:10)

Reduplication can also express reciprocity:

- (136) *nya en=te ye=m mw=i bivian yaa~yaa*
3D DEF=MED 3D=REAL REAL=COP brother REDUP~taboo
‘these two are taboo brothers’ (i.e. they are taboo to each other) (exp28:7)

See section 3.2.5 for verbal reduplication and section 2.3.2 for phonological properties of reduplication processes.

Most adjectives in class one refer to typical property concepts, in particular physical properties such as *myap* ‘heavy’, *meya* ‘light’, *veop* ‘long’, *misii* ‘thick’, *nip* ‘flat’, *kyen* ‘sharp’ and *mesaa* ‘smooth, clear’.

The vocabulary to describe taste is rather restricted. Most important is the, apparently binary, contrast between *kyes* ‘sweet’, which also means ‘tasty’, and *kuonkuon*, which comprises all bitter, spicy, salty and sour tastes and implies the unpleasantness of the taste.

The two adjectives *maga* ‘quick’ and *medó* ‘slow’ express properties which are typical of events or actions rather than of objects. Accordingly, they are often used as non-initial, adverbial, predicates in serial constructions—see sections 7.4.1 and 7.3.1.

One more semantic domain which is prominently represented among adjectives in general and class two adjectives in particular is the realm of ‘taboo’ or ‘sacred’ concepts. They are *tesa*, *yaa*, *kuon*, *wuor* and *yo*. Not all of them are class one adjectives: *tesa* and *yo* cannot be used as predicates. They also differ semantically: *yaa*, *kuon* and *wuor* are almost exclusively used in connection with kinship terms to express that the behaviour of the corresponding ego is restricted in certain ways (see also section 3.3.6 about kinship terminology); *kuon* is however also extended to describe the holiness of God in *yaapu kuon* ‘the holy lord’. The two adjectives *tesa* and *yo* both apply to sacred places to which access is restricted. They can both also be used to refer to the special spiritual status of church buildings.

3.4.3. Class two adjectives

This class comprises a small and by no means homogenous subgroup of adjectives. Like class one adjectives, class two adjectives are defined by their ability to serve directly as attributes to nouns; they differ from class one adjectives in that they need the copula in order to serve as predicates. Both properties are illustrated below with the example *mena* ‘funny’:

- (137) a. *vyanten mena swa sa nge=tak*
 man funny one CM NGE=PROX
 ‘this is a funny man’
- b. *vyanten en=te ma ka pun=an swa mw=i/ *mwe mena*
 man DEF=MED REAL say tell=NM one REAL=COP REAL funny
 ‘This man has told a funny story’ (lit. ‘this man has told a story it was funny’;
 see serial verb constructions in section 7.3)

Other straightforward adjectives of this class are *vyaakyen* ‘lazy’, and *giri* ‘cocky, vain’. For many adjectives in this group, there is a corresponding noun, as illustrated with the word *abwilyep* ‘poisonous, black magic, sorcerer’ below:

- (138) a. *mesyu abwilyep swa sa nge=tak*
 fish poisonous(ADJ) one CM 3S=PROX
 ‘this is a poisonous fish’
- b. *ya=m liye vyap myató nya en=te yan abwilyep*
 3P=REAL take venerable.woman old 3D DEF=MED on sorcerer(N)
 ‘they took these two women to the sorcerer’ (exp16:17)
- c. *vyanten en=te mw=i abwilyep*
 person DEF=MED REAL=COP poisonous/sorcerer(ADJ/N)
 ‘this man is a sorcerer’

Other such cases are *tamyés* ‘fat, fatso’—which also refers to some animals characterized by a swollen belly such as spiders or certain fish; *balip*, which means ‘strong’, but also refers to a noun to someone who is strong, and by extension also means ‘policeman’; and *vyaven*, which means both ‘woman, wife’ and ‘female’:

- (139) a. *s-ok vyaven ma seaa*
 CL3-1S.POSS woman(N) REAL disappear
 ‘my wife has died’ (sto33:163)
- b. *[tyu vyaven] ka te pesis te téépuon nat-en nyoo mu*
 chicken female(ADJ) MOD DIST lay.egg CONJ guard child-3S.POSS 3P REAL
vu na mu vu
 good COMP REAL good
 ‘the hen when she lays eggs, she looks over her children very well’ (exp02:164)

In particular, there is a small group of adjectives describing permanent medical conditions such as blindness, where the corresponding noun refers to a person who has such a condition. They are *bwii* ‘blind’, *bur* ‘deaf’, *biyo* ‘dumb’ and *boo* ‘deformed by elephantiasis’.

3. Major Word Classes

The following example illustrates their use as a noun in argument position, as an attributive adjective and as a predicate:

- (140) a. (Vyanten) **bur** swa sa nge=tak.
 person deaf one CM NGE=DEM.CLOSE
 ‘This is a deaf person.’ (sto44:29)
- b. Vyanten en=te mw=i **bur**.
 person DEF=MED REAL=COP deaf
 ‘This person is deaf.’

Bwii ‘blind’ and *boo* ‘deformed by elephantiasis’, which are understood to apply to specific parts of someone’s body, can be used as predicates in the way indicated in (141):

- (141) a. Vyanten en=te **myar** mw=i **bwii**.
 person DEF=MED eye REAL=COP blind
 ‘This person is blind.’ (lit. ‘this person, the eyes are blind’)
- b. Vyanten en=te mw=i **myar bwii**
 person DEF=MED REAL=COP eye blind
 ‘This person is blind.’ (lit. ‘This person is blindness’)
- (142) a. Vyanten en=te **vy-an** mw=i **boo**.
 person DEF=MED hand.of-3S.POSS REAL=COP deformed.by.elephantiasis
 ‘This person has elephantiasis affecting the arms.’ (lit. ‘this person, his/her arms are deformed by elephantiasis’)
- b. Vyanten en=te mw=i **vyaa boo**.
 person DEF=MED REAL=COP hand deformed.by.elephantiasis
 ‘This person has elephantiasis.’

See also section 3.3.5 for more on complex terms for medical conditions.

Concluding the description of class two adjectives, there are three loan words which might be class two adjectives considering their meaning, but they might also be nouns. They are *holi*, *braon* and *blu*. The only naturally occurring examples in the corpus show these loan words as predicates with the copula as in (143), which leaves the word order affiliation open. When I asked speakers whether *blu* and *braon* could be used as adjectives as in (144), they answered positively. Note that, in Daakaka, adjectives follow the noun, while in Bislama they precede it.

- (143) a. ya to dimye na em en=te mw=i **holi**
 3P NEG think COMP house DEF=MED REAL=COP holy
 ‘they don’t consider that this house is holy’ (con02:62)
- b. to vyan ka ne pi~pili ten, yan Bislama ya=m ka ka
 NEG go MOD.REL NEC REDUP~red very at Bislama 3P=REAL say MOD
 mw=i **“braon”**
 REAL=COP brown
 ‘it’s not too red, in Bislama they call it “braon”’ (sto04:20)

- (144) basée braon/ blu swa
 bird brown/ blue one

‘a brown/ blue bird’

3.4.4. Derived attributes

Attributes can be derived from lexemes and simple phrases by the morpheme *na*, which is homophonous with and possibly related to a complementizer (compare chapter 8).

This derivation mostly applies to simple adverbs as in *webung na pelyen* (day ATT tomorrow) ‘the next day’, *seli na meerin* (way ATT long.ago) ‘the way of before, the old way’ or *vyanten vivi na doma* (person new ATT today) ‘the young people of today’. The phrase *tan na pyan* (ground ATT down) is used as an idiomatic expression to refer to ‘earth’ as opposed to ‘heaven’.

Two more examples are given below—note that in (145-b), the adverbs *pyan* ‘down’ and *milye* ‘up’ mean in this context ‘in clockwise direction along the coast from here’ and ‘in counterclockwise direction along the coast from here’ (see also 3.5.2).

- (145) a. *nye na bwe esi [s-ansi meu=an na meerin] ma minyes*
 1S 1S REAL;CONT see CL3-1PC.IN live=NM ATT long.time REAL different
 ‘I find that our life of before was different’ (con02:1)
- b. *nyoo na milye, nyoo na pyan, nyoo na teve-sye tes ma ka ya=p*
 3P ATT on.top 3P ATT under 3P ATT side.of-3S.POSS sea REAL say 3P=POT
me a=tak
 come LOC=PROX
 ‘those from the East, those from the West, those who live at the sea, they shall come’ (sto16:18)

Syntactically more complex adverbial phrases can also be transformed into attributes by *na*, for example when they are headed by a preposition. One such preposition is *ten* ‘for’, which is only used as a predicate with the copula, or as an attribute phrase with *na*, as in (146). Note that (146-b) contains a discontinuous noun phrase: the phrase *lee mwelili na ten byar* ‘small boards for a platform’ is disrupted by the preposition *ane* ‘with’.

- (146) a. *te ya=m gene gyes=an yan [luu-sye na ten eye]*
 CONJ 3P=REAL make work=NM on root-3S.POSS ATT for knife
 ‘so they work with the [roots for the knife]’ (exp13:49)
- b. *ya=m gene mw=i [lee mwelili] ane [na ten byar]*
 3S=REAL make REAL=COP tree small with ATT for platform
 ‘they make small boards with it for a platform’ (exp15:44)

Other prepositions that can form attributive phrases with *na* are *yen* ‘in’ and *yan* ‘on’, as in (147):

- (147) a. *Yen dom na yen 1990...*
 in year ATT in 1990
 ‘In the year of 1990...’ (rep09:50)
- b. *Ma liye [toj en=te na yan bat-en],...*
 REAL take torch DEF=MED ATT on head.of-3S.POSS

3. Major Word Classes

‘He took the flashlight for the head,...’ (lit. ‘the flashlight of on the head’)
(rep15:60)

Years can be given as in (147), with the preposition *yen*, but also simply as numbers as in (148):

- (148) *Yen dom na 1873...*
in year ATT 1873
‘In the year of 1873...’ (rep09:5)

Na also derives attributes from number words more generally: With indefinite noun phrases, number words can simply be added to the noun phrase like quantifiers as in (149):

- (149) *baséé nyosi sii*
bird 3PC three
‘three birds’ (sto04:2)

However, if the noun phrase is definite and marked by a demonstrative clitic like *=te* ‘there’ or *=tak* ‘here’, the number word has to be preceded by *na*:

- (150) *baséé nyosi na sii=te*
bird 3PC ATT three=MED
‘the/ these three birds’ (sto04:4)

Also, if the numeral is not supposed to quantify the noun phrase as much as describe it, *na* precedes it. Usually, ordinal numbers are additionally followed by the definite article *an*. The adverb *mo* ‘in front, first’ is used in a very similar way to the ordinal numbers.

- (151) a. *yaa mw=i yaa na vyer*
time REAL=COP time ATT four
‘the time was four o’clock’ (lit. ‘the hour was the hour of four’) (rep15:94)
b. *[mesyu na sungavi=an] sa nge*
fish ATT ten=NM CM NGE
‘this is the tenth fish’ (exp24:17)
c. *[apas na mo=an] mw=i timy-an*
pig.post ATT first=NM REAL=COP father.of-3s
‘the first post is his father’s’ (exp06:42)

Cases such as in (150) are very similar to another frequent structure, where *na* is in between a noun phrase and a demonstrative article. While demonstrative articles can also follow a noun phrase directly, *na* is sometimes inserted in between, apparently without a major change in meaning. If the demonstrative clitic is the interrogative *be* ‘what’, *na* appears to be obligatory (see section 4.1.4).

- (152) *Lee (na) en=te mw=i lu-tuwu.*
tree ATT DEF=MED REAL=COP plant-bush.nut
‘This tree is the tuwu tree [native almond].’ (exp17:2)

In probably related functions, *na* is also used as a complementizer (sections 8.1 and 8.4) and before demonstrative articles (section 4.1.4).

Thus *na* is very versatile in deriving attributes and does not itself make a major semantic contribution. By contrast, the morpheme *ta* derives attributes only from place names and always means ‘from PLACE’:

- (153) *Temeli vyaven swa ta Australia...*
 child woman one from NAME
 ‘A girl from Australia...’ (rep16:3)

3. Major Word Classes

3.5. Adverbs

3.5.1. Overview

Adverbs earn their place among the major word classes mainly because all place names are adverbs, which makes this class both large and open. In addition, the loanwords *taem* ‘when’ and *oltaem* or *evritaem* ‘always’ from Bislama also indicate that this word class is not immune to expansion. Even so, apart from place names, the Daakaka inventory of adverbs is rather small and restricted. Most of them express either the location of an event or the time at which it takes place. The manner of an action and other typically adverbial notions are instead expressed by serial predicate constructions or subordinate clauses (see in particular sections 7.3.1 and 8.4.3).

Adverbs are most closely related to nouns in Daakaka, and there are many obvious diachronic and synchronic correspondences. They differ from nouns in that nouns are banned from non-argument positions, while adverbs are apparently banned from argument positions: Adverbs of location only occur in argument position after being transformed into noun phrases by the noun *vilye* ‘place’, which is described in section 3.3.4 on page 88.

But there are a number of items which occur both in argument and in non-argument positions such as *webung* ‘day’ and *bistuwo* ‘middle’. These might represent pairs of homophonous nouns and adverbs, or it might be possible for at least some nouns to convert to adverbs.⁹

Adverbs in general are also similar to nouns in that they can be modified by definite and demonstrative articles, relative clauses and some other attributes (see section 8.4.3). Finally, there is one adverb which is inflected for person and number, just as inflected nouns: *suw-x* can be translated as ‘by *x*-self’—its function thus corresponds to reflexive pronouns of other languages, its morphology links it to inflected nouns, but its distribution is that of an adverb; *suw-* is described in sections 3.5.4 and 4.1.2.

Another word class with close affinities to the adverbs is the prepositions, which can be thought of as transitive adverbs in the Daakaka word class system.

The syntactic distribution of local and temporal adverbs is roughly the same: they often follow the verb phrase, but can also precede the sentence. In addition, temporal adverbs can also follow a topic as in (155):

(154) *pelyen ka si=p kueli vyan ka si=p vyan téé-esi*
tomorrow MOD.REL 1PC.IN=POT return go MOD.REL 1PC.IN=POT go look-try
‘tomorrow we will go back and have another look’ (sto42:22)

(155) *kinyem meerin kinye=m gyes kyun*
1P.EX long.time 1P.EX=REAL work just
‘we, in the old days, we only worked’ (con02:7)

At least some adverbs can be used as predicates in combination with the copula. In the first of the following two examples, we are dealing with a serial predicate construction, where the adverb *syoten* ‘far away’ is a non-initial predicate (section 7). The second one shows an

⁹For the time being, I would exclude the possibility that adverbs might be converted to nouns, since there are other, more explicit and obligatory processes to transform at least place adverbs to nouns, as mentioned above.

interesting, but not untypical use of *doma* ‘today’ to refer not to the day of utterance, but to provide more abstract temporal orientation.

- (156) *ye=m vyan vyan saa vyan mw=i syoten murswa*
 3D=REAL go go float go REAL=COP far.away a.bit
 ‘they kept floating and went to a certain distance’ (sto35:12)
- (157) *bili na webung mw=i doma te ny-an temeli man [...] ye=m*
 time COMP day REAL=COP today CONJ aunt.of-3S child male 3PC=REAL
naknak=ane yuk
 be.ready=TRANS laplap
 ‘on the day in question the aunts of the boys [...] prepare the laplap’ (‘when the day is today, ...’) (exp05:68)

Two items from the lexical class of quantifiers can also be used adverbially, *murswa* and *mursi*, both ‘a little’. They are described in more detail in section 4.2.

Lexical adverbs can be transformed into other categories by various processes: They can be used as attributes if preceded by the morpheme *na* as in *tan na pyan* (ground NA down) ‘the earth/ground below, the lower ground’. This process is discussed in more detail in section 3.4.4.

The process required to turn an adverb of location into a noun phrase involves the morpheme *vilye* (as mentioned above), which is described in section 3.3.4, page 88.

Some adverbs can be transitivized by the morpheme *(a)ne*, which in fact turns them into prepositions; examples are *mo* ‘first, in front’ which becomes *mo=ne* ‘in front of, before sth., at the front of sth.’ and *pesili* ‘close’, which yields *pesili=ne* ‘close to’, as illustrated in (158):

- (158) a. *bili na ko=m tinyo pesili=ne [lee swa na luu yoo mu du*
 time COMP 2S=REAL stand near=TRANS tree one COMP root vine REAL stay
yan], ...
 on
 ‘when you stand close to a tree which has the roots of the yoo vine on it, ...’
 (exp41:2)
- b. *Te nge ma tinyo mo=ne nye*
 CONJ 3S REAL stand first=TRANS 1S
 ‘and he was before me’ (rep15:62)

The same morpheme also increases valency in intransitive and semitransitive verbs (see section 3.2.3) and in nouns (see section 4.1.3).

Note that I treat certain lexemes such as *tetes* ‘again’ in the section on particles (4.4), rather than here, even though their distribution closely resembles that of adverbs: They differ from adverbs in that their semantic contribution mostly consists in the introduction of presuppositions rather than new information.

3. Major Word Classes

3.5.2. Adverbs of location

Adverbs of location are expressions which stand in a non-argument position and specify the location of an event, or the origin or destination of a movement. As mentioned above, the class of adverbs of location is in fact an open class because it includes all place names. Although adverbs of location occur most frequently with the verbs *pwer* and *du* ‘exist, to stay’ and the motion verbs *me* ‘come’ and *vyan* ‘go’, they are not in any way restricted to these verbs. In the following three examples, we can see place names adverbially modifying the verbs *gyes* ‘work’, *le* ‘get married’ and *luk* ‘grow’; none of these verbs lexically selects for a location.

- (159) a. *vyanten nyoo na ya=m gyes Queensland*
man 3P COMP 3P=REAL WORK NAME
‘the men who worked at Queensland’ (rep02:1)
- b. *na=m le Lamap*
1S=REAL marry NAME
‘I married in Lamap’ (rep01:10)
- c. *Sye swa mon mwe me yene, to luk Vanuatu mw=i mo.*
thing one also REAL COME NOW REAL;NEG GROW NAME REAL=COP first
‘One more thing has come now, it didn’t grow in Vanuatu at first.’ (con02:101)

With the movement verbs *me* ‘come’ and *vyan* ‘go’, whether an adverb of location refers to the origin of the movement or the destination can only be understood from the context. For example, if I say *na=m me Sesivi* (1S=REAL come Sesivi), this can mean either ‘I come/came from Sesivi’ or ‘I have come/came to Sesivi’, mostly depending on whether I am in Sesivi at the time of utterance or not, that is, depending on whether ‘here’ is Sesivi or not. Similarly, in the following example, the place *Aneityum* is where this part of a journey starts and *Tonga* is where it ends, which is however only clear from the background of the story and the verb *saor* ‘arrive’:

- (160) *ka te pyaos mwe pyaos Aneityum, a pyaos vyan, saor Tonga*
SUBCONJ DIST ROW REAL ROW NAME and row go arrive NAME
‘when he rowed, he rowed from Aneityum and rowed until he arrived at Tonga’
(sto43:51)

Place names are not the only adverbs of location. One of the most frequent such adverbs is *teenem* ‘at/to/from the village’. The expression ‘village’ does not correspond precisely to the concept referred to by *teenem*: On Ambrym, each nuclear family lives in a collection of huts. For each married couple and grown-up son, there is a sleeping hut, sometimes with more than one room to accommodate children and unmarried daughters. In addition, there is one kitchen hut, *bwinyap*, where the food is cooked over open fire and people sit down to eat on a low platform covered with woven mats. Depending on the perceived need for privacy, there might also be a small cabin for washing and one for going to the toilet, further away from the sleeping and living huts. It is this complex of several huts of a family, which is most commonly referred to by *teenem*. The corresponding word in Ambrym Bislama is *stesen*.

Moreover, *teenem* is mostly used relationally: it then has a definite reading and refers to someone’s home village. Thus, in many cases, *teenem* can simply be translated as ‘(at) home’,

as in *ya=m kueli me teenem* (3S=REAL return come village) ‘they came back home/ to the village’.

In the following example, *teenem* is used three times. Note that in the last instance, *teenem* is not in argument position despite the fact that it directly follows a transitive verb, *esi* ‘see’: the direct object of *esi* is not expressed here explicitly, but it refers to *tyu*, the ‘chicken’, which is the subject of the sentence.

- (161) *tyu mwe kueli me teenem, me pwer teenem, te vyanten ya=m du*
 chicken REAL return come home come stay home CONJ man 3P=REAL stay
es~esi teenem
 REDUP~see home
 ‘the chicken went back to the village, it came to stay in the village and people see it in the village’ (sto07:47)

Although *teenem* is clearly an adverb in that it cannot be the argument of a verb, it also has some noun-like properties which are not shared by other adverbs. For example, *teenem* can be possessed like a noun, even without the morpheme *vilye* which transforms adverbs to nouns:

- (162) *s-aya (vilye) teenem mw=i towo*
 CL3-3D.POSS place village REAL=COP big
 ‘their home village is big’

There is also a preposition, *kuane* ‘(at) the home of’, which is very close in meaning to *teenem*, see page 164.

Two other adverbs which are noun-like in that the places they refer to are characterized by a concrete (geographical) object are *etes* ‘at the sea’ and *or* ‘shore’. The adverb *etes* is obviously related to the noun *tes* ‘the sea’. In fact, the two expressions *etes* and *or* both point to the same space, which is the boundary between land and sea. The difference is that *etes* is only used if the point of reference is on land, and *or* is only used to mean ‘shore’ if the point of reference is on the sea. Both adverbs are illustrated below:

- (163) *ye=m vyan du kyeskyes etes*
 3D=REAL go stay wash at.the.sea
 ‘they went to wash at the sea’ (sto20:4)
- (164) *Ko=p vyan lingi nye or!*
 2S=POT go put 1S shore
 ‘Go and put me on the shore!’ (said by the rat to the turtle in the middle of the sea)
 (sto35:30)

Or is quite polysemous: it is also used as an ambient subject for verbs describing weather conditions and similar—see section 6.2.2. And there is a noun *or*, which means ‘bush’; this one typically features as the argument of the preposition *yen* ‘in’:

- (165) *Masisipe mwe me yen or.*
 NAME REAL come in bush
 ‘Masisipe came back from the bush.’ (sto44:38)

3. Major Word Classes

Apparently related to *or* is the adverb *syor* ‘at/ to the other place’, which occurs in parallel contrastive structures like (166):

- (166) *ma mea vyan [syor swa], mea vyan [syor swa]*
 REAL jump go other.place one jump go other.place one
 ‘jumps from one place to the next’ (exp08:31)

For more on this type of parallel structure, see section 6.2.7.

Another polysemous lexeme which occurs both as a noun with the preposition *yen* ‘in’ and as an adverb is *bistuwo* ‘middle’. Both uses are illustrated below:

- (167) a. *S-an evevyo sa mwe pwer bistuwo a=tak.*
 CL3-3S.POSS carrying.stick CM REAL stay middle(ADV) LOC=PROX
 ‘His carrying stick is here in the middle.’ (exp14:15)
 b. *lee byavya na mwe kuo-kote or yen bistuwo*
 tree perpendicular COMP REAL run-in.two place in middle
 ‘and the central, uppermost beam which runs through the middle [of the roof]’
 (exp13:43)

The pair of *pesili* ‘close-by, nearby’ and *syoten* ‘far away’ is used to refer to places in terms of their vicinity to the point of reference. The following example illustrates the use of *pesili* in its literal, spatial meaning:

- (168) *na=m lingi dal-uk nyoo pesili*
 1S=REAL put egg-1S.POSS 3P near
 ‘I layed my eggs nearby’ (sto34:76)

This adverb can also be transitivized, effectively functioning like a preposition as in *pesili=ne or* (nearby=TRANS shore) ‘close to the shore’.

The meaning of *pesili* is often extended to express temporal closeness (‘soon’) or notional closeness (‘almost’) in connection with potential clauses. I suggest that with this function, *pesili* modifies the entire sentence rather than just its predicate.

- (169) a. *Yaapu pesili ka we me.*
 big.man near MOD.REL POT come
 ‘God will come soon.’ (from a song)
 b. *na=p tisi menbuo; pesili ka wa ge myane tiyu*
 1S=POT write imp.pigeon near MOD.REL POT be.like with wt.pigeon
 ‘I will draw the imperial pigeon; it is similar to / almost like the white-throated pigeon.’ (exp23:2)
 c. *te pesili ka ya=p kaa-kilye, vyap myató en=te we mer*
 CONJ near MOD.REL 3P=POT bend-miss old.woman old DEF=MED POT dead
 ‘they almost blew it, the woman almost died’ (rep11:36)

The sentence-modifying version of *pesili* differs however from the predicate-modifying version in that it cannot occur with the copula when used as (part of) a predicate, as shown in (170). Together with *wisewe* and *vyen* described below in section 3.5.4, this modal *pesili* is

one of the few candidates for a sentence adverb.

- (170) a. *Ambrym mw=i pesili*
 Ambrym REAL=COP close
 ‘Ambrym is close’
- b. *menbuo (*mw=i) pesili ka wa ge myane tiyu*
 imp.pigeon REAL=COP near MOD.REL POT be.like with wt.pigeon
 ‘the imperial pigeon is almost like the white-throated pigeon’

Although *syoten* can appear in non-argument positions like other adverbs, it is also often used as a non-initial predicate in combination with the copula. Of the following two examples, the first one illustrates the use of *syoten* as a regular adverb, while the second shows its use in a serial predicate construction with the copula (compare section 7.3, page 273):

- (171) a. *Ka ye=t kuo me du syoten ye=m ongane wip mo*
 SUBCONJ 3PC=DIST run come stay far.away 3PC=REAL hear nawimba ok
kolir.
 sing
 ‘When they had run far away, they heard the pigeon sing.’ (sto42:17)
- b. *ye=m oko vyan mw=i syoten te ma ka...*
 2D=REAL walk go REAL=COP far.away CONJ REAL say
 ‘they walked a certain distance then he said...’ (sto12:10)

Syoten has further unusual word class properties, since it can also be used like a direct attribute to a noun phrase:

- (172) *vyanten en=te mwe me=ne vilye syoten swa*
 man DEF=MED REAL COME=TRANS place far.away one
 ‘this person comes from far away/ from a distant place’

In contrast to *pesili*, *syoten* has no canonical non-spatial meanings, although it can of course be used metaphorically as in (173):

- (173) *te Bekeli s-an kuowilye=an mwe vyan syoten ten*
 CONJ NAME CL3-3S.POSS KNOW=NM REAL go far.away very
 ‘but Bekeli’s wisdom reached far’ (sto05:8)

The two end points of a vertical axis are denoted by the adverbs *milye* ‘above, up’ and *pyan* ‘down, below’. They can denote either the location of an event or the destination of a movement. The latter case is illustrated below:

- (174) *Wotop ma tesi me pyan.*
 breadfruit REAL fall.down come under
 ‘The breadfruits fell down.’

3. Major Word Classes

- (175) *meerin, taem na tyu te pwer min~min te to pwer téé*
 long.time time COMP chicken DIST stay REDUP~drink CONJ REAL;NEG stay look
vyan milye
 go on.top
 ‘long ago, when the chicken was drinking, it did not look up’ (sto45:2)

Milye is often used after a more specific adverbial phrase referring to the vertical structure—mostly hills or trees—which provide the location high up above the place of reference:

- (176) *lisepsep mwe me tinyo te téé vyan esi na tomo mwe pwer [yan*
 lisepsep REAL come stand CONJ look go see COMP rat REAL stay at
lowotop] milye
 breadfruit.tree on.top
 ‘the lisepsep stood still and looked and saw that the rat was up on the breadfruit tree’

At the same time, *milye* and *pyan* also denote directions along the coast of Ambrym: a place located in a clockwise direction from the point of reference is referred to as *pyan* ‘down’, while places in a counterclockwise direction are referred to as *milye* ‘up’.

For *pyan*, there is a homophonous preposition meaning ‘under’, see page 163.

In the horizontal dimension, there are generally more prepositions than adverbs, which might be expected given that vertical orientation is always relative to the earth we stand on, but horizontal orientation often relies on the objects and landmarks we find in space. There is however one pair of adverbs, *to* ‘at the back’ and *mo* ‘in front’, which do not specify relative to what they are oriented:

- (177) a. *nye na=m oko mo*
 1S 1S=REAL walk first
 ‘I was walking at the front’ (rep15:80)
 b. *te ma liye barar me te lingi bwer to*
 CONJ REAL take pig come CONJ put stay behind
 ‘so he put the pig at the rear end [of the canoe]’ (sto24:76)

More typically, *mo* and *to* are used in serial predicate constructions where they specify the temporal order of events rather than spatial orientation (see section 7.3, page 270). *To* also plays a role in a more complex adverbial construction described in section 8.4.3.

The adverb *ar*, which simply means ‘(at a) place’, has to be further specified, for example by one of the deictic clitics described in section 4.1.4. Thus *a(r)=tak* means ‘here’, *a(r)=te* ‘there’ and so on:

- (178) *nye na=m pwer a=tak meerin wuk*
 1S 1S=REAL stay LOC=PROX long.time already
 ‘me, I’ve been here for a long time already’ (sto11:37)

The demonstrative suffixes can only refer to places which the speaker can literally point to. In order to refer to a place which has previously been mentioned in the discourse instead, the definite article *an* has to be used instead.

- (179) *ka ko w=esi booli lee swa te mwe pesis pwer ar=an*
 MOD.REL 2S POT=see hole tree one CONJ REAL lay.egg stay LOC=DEF
 ‘if you see a hole in a tree, it lays [its eggs] there’ (exp01:40)

For more on the definite marker *an*, see section 4.1.3.

The interrogative clitic *ve* ‘which’ patterns with the deictic morphemes in its distribution; like them, it can also attach to *ar*:

- (180) *E, ko=m edi wotop en=tak ar=ve?*
 INTJ 2S=REAL take breadfruit DEF=PROX LOC=which
 ‘Hey, where did you get that breadfruit?’ (sto32:14)

While the demonstrative and interrogative clitics are the most frequent collocates of *ar*, it can also be modified by a relative clause instead. This is illustrated in (181):

- (181) *ya=m vyan tas yen belapyang kyun ar [na mees mwe pyang ar=an]*
 3P=REAL go sit in fireplace just LOC COMP food REAL hot LOC=DEF
 ‘they just sit at the fireplace where the food is cooked’ (exp03:16)

For more on relative clauses of locative adverbs, see section 8.4.3.

Finally, *ar* can be modified by a plural marker and a full demonstrative pronoun, just like a noun. Even then, however, it only occupies non-argument positions, such as in the following example:

- (182) *nyoo ya=m go yan un by-em, ar nyoo en=tak te ko=m*
 3P 3P=REAL crawl on skin.of body-2s.poss LOC 3P DEF=PROX CONJ 2S=REAL
ongane mwe sóó~sóó kyun
 hear REAL REDUP~itch just
 ‘they crawl on your skin, you feel a burning sensation in these places’ (exp08:26)

One rather special adverb of location is *taur*, which denotes a place unknown to the speaker. It is mostly used by adults to express their worry or anger when they do not know where a child is. It is always expected of everyone to tell everyone else about where they are going (also compare section 9.1.1); if a person does not know where one of their core relatives is, this means that they have not been told, and this very fact is a reason to be upset. So imagine the following phrases uttered with an appropriate degree of indignation:

- (183) a. *Anja mwe vyan taur.*
 NAME REAL go somewhere
 ‘Anja has gone somewhere (without telling me and I don’t know where she is).’
 b. *Steven mwe pwer taur.*
 NAME REAL stay somewhere
 ‘Steven is somewhere, I don’t know where.’

Adverbs of place can be combined to give a more specific reference to a place:

3. Major Word Classes

- (184) *vyaven swa t-en s-an yaapu ye=m du Ambrym a=tak*
woman one and-3S.POSS CL3-3S.POSS big.man 3D=REAL stay NAME LOC=PROX
'a woman and her husband lived here on Ambrym' (sto33:9)
- (185) *mo kueli me New Hebrides, me [kuane nge] Sesivi*
REAL return come NAME NAME come home.of 3S NAME
'he returned to the New Hebrides, to his home in Sesivi' (rep09:9)

3.5.3. Adverbs of time

Of the lexical adverbs of time, several refer to the different times of day. They are *pepelyen* 'in the morning', *tawiliyaa* 'at noon', *pyaavep* 'in the afternoon/evening', *naarop* 'during the day' and *limyaek* 'in the night'.

The word *pepelyen* looks like a reduplicated form of *pelyen* 'tomorrow, the next day'. Etymological links between the expressions for 'morning' and 'tomorrow' are apparently rather widespread cross-linguistically, although it seems less usual to have the word for *morning* derived from the word for *tomorrow*, instead of the other way round. Since reduplication of adverbs or nouns is not a productive process in Daakaka, it is not possible to establish a clear semantic pathway along which this development might have taken place.

The expression *tawiliyaa* can be traced back historically to a transitive noun **tawili* 'middle' (see also page 81) and the noun *yaa* 'sun', which would give the literal meaning of 'middle of the sun'. This diachronic origin is no longer transparent to speakers of Daakaka—the only synchronic word for 'middle' is *bistuwo*. But in the neighboring language variety Dalkalaen, the expression *tapwili* 'middle' is still a fully independent word, and the corresponding expression *tapwili yal* is still understood by its literal meaning as 'middle of the sun/day'.

The term *pyaavep* 'afternoon' can refer to the time after lunch, but more frequently denotes the time between sunset and time of sleep: In Vanuatu, the sun sets between 5:30 p.m. and 6:30 p.m. Dinner is at around 6 p.m. and people usually stay up for several hours after that, chatting by the light of a gas lamp or a solar light, before going to sleep.

In describing the behavior of animals, the terms *naarop* 'during the day' and *limyaek* 'in the night' are used to differentiate between diurnal and nocturnal rhythms. However, the term *limyaek* might be going out of use, as younger speakers more often use the term *yen myaek*; this latter expression is grammatically rather marked, because the lexeme *myaek* is originally a verb meaning 'be night' as can be seen in the following example:

- (186) *or mwe myaek*
place REAL be.night
'it was night' (exp52:2)

A preposition like *yen* 'in' can however only take a noun as an argument, which indicates that *myaek* has been partially reanalyzed to provide a noun meaning 'night' in addition to the verb 'be night'. At the same time, the construction *yen myaek* is the only environment where the noun *myaek* ever occurs. The expression might be a calque from the Bislama expression *long naet* 'in the night'. For more on verbs denoting cosmic and meteorologic conditions, see section 6.2.2.

While these adverbs refer to recurring intervals of time, some others denote one particular interval or moment. Among the latter are *doma* ‘today, this day’, *nenyu* ‘yesterday, the day before’, *pelyen* ‘tomorrow, the next day’, *wis* ‘the day after tomorrow’, *yene* ‘now’ and *meerin* ‘long ago, for a long time’.

The terms *doma*, *nenyu* and *pelyen* are mostly relative to the time of utterance, like their English counterparts *today*, *yesterday* and *tomorrow*, but they can also be used relative to a different point in time. Thus, in the next example, the expression *pelyen=an* means ‘the next day’; *an* indicates that *pelyen* is used relative to the preceding discourse (see also section 4.1.3).

- (187) *ya=m vyan teenem; pelyen=an ka ya=t mwe vyan téé-esi too,*
 3P=REAL go home tomorrow=DEF SUBCONJ 3P=DIST REAL go look-try garden
te esi or mwe luk tetes
 CONJ see bush REAL grow again
 ‘they went home; the next day when they went to see the garden, they saw that the plants had regrown’ (sto21:17)

The expression *pelyen* is also the conventional word of farewell when people don’t expect to see each other again the same day (see also section 9.1.1).

In order to refer to a specific time characterized by a certain event or action within a course of events, the adverb *bili* is used. In the vast majority of cases, it is modified by a relative clause, but it can also be followed by a demonstrative article instead:

- (188) a. *bili na myaop mwe me yaapu kuon mw=i s-an*
 time COMP volcano REAL come big.man taboo REAL=COP CL3-3S.POSS
 ‘when the Volcano came, the Holy Lord was with him’ (rep04:57)
 b. *a bili en=te t=i vyanten swa sa bat-en mo tóp*
 and time DEF=MED DIST=COP man one CM head-3S.POSS REAL leak(V)
 ‘and at that time he was a man whose head was overflowing with knowledge’
 (rep09:11)

Bili appears to lead a double life as a transitive noun: Thus, it can be followed by a noun phrase or by the possessive suffix *-sye*, which only refers to third person possessors of transitive nouns. These instances of *bili* then occur in argument positions rather than adverbial positions:

- (189) a. *bili tung=an*
 time.of fight=NM
 ‘time of fighting’
 b. *bili-sye mwe dyanga ka na=n me*
 time.of-3.POSS REAL lack MOD.REL 1S=NEC come
 ‘I didn’t have time to come’ (lit. ‘its time was lacking for me to come’)

For more on its function as head of adverbial temporal clauses, see section 8.1.4, page 315.

Instead of *bili*, the Bislama loan *taem* is sometimes used. It is more flexible than *bili*: Like *bili*, it can be modified by a relative clause or a demonstrative article, but in contrast to *bili* it can also be quantified with expressions like *swa* ‘one’, *wuoswa* ‘some’ and *kevene* ‘all, every’:

3. Major Word Classes

- (190) a. *taem*/**bili* *wuoswa* *ko=m* *maawane* *mit=ane* *tyu* *kyun*
time some 2S=REAL spoil meat=TRANS chicken just
‘sometimes you spoil the chicken meat like this’ (exp21:12)
- b. *ep* *ra=m* *ongane* *taem*/**bili* *kevene* *ra=m* *kuowilye*
honeyeater 1P.IN=REAL hear time every 1P.IN=REAL know
‘the honey-eater (a bird), we always recognize it when we hear it’ (exp50:144)

As a shorter expression for ‘always’, the Bislama loan *oltaem* is sometimes used. There is no way to literally translate *always* into Daakaka without resorting to loanwords (see also section 3.2.6, page 66).

Self-conscious speakers who seek to replace the loanword *taem* by a native word, will use *webung* ‘day’. For this lexeme, there appears to be both a nominal and an adverbial version. Both versions are used in the following clause, where the first occurrence of *webung* is in a non-argument position and therefore an adverb, while the second occurrence is in an object-position, and therefore a noun.

- (191) *webung* *swa* *ye=m* *ling* *webung*=*ane* *en=an* *swa*
day(ADV) one 3PC=REAL put day(N)=TRANS eat=NM one
‘one day they agreed on a day for a feast’ (sto27:5)

It is also possible to replace the phrase *webung swa* ‘one day’ by *yan webung swa* (on day one). As other adverbs cannot be complements of a preposition like *yan* ‘on’, we can conclude that the *webung* in the second, prepositional phrase is a noun.

Generally, speakers find it hard to avoid the loanword *taem* in a variety of cases, presumably because indigenous expressions from within the semantic domain of time are more specific and less flexible. To give one more example, in order to talk about the time of day in terms of hours, the noun *yaa* ‘sun’ has to be used, as in the following cases:

- (192) a. *S-am* *yaa* *mw=i* *sewe?*
CL3-2S.POSS SUN REAL=COP what
‘What’s the time (on your watch)?’
- b. *Yaa* *mw=i* *yaa* *na* *lim.*
SUN REAL=COP SUN ATT five
‘It’s five o’clock.’ (lit. ‘the hour is the hour of five’)
- c. *S-ok* *yaa* *mwe* *myor=ane* *ka* *na=p* *min* *kava.*
CL3-1S.POSS SUN REAL right=TRANS MOD.COMP 1S-POT drink kava
‘It’s time for me to drink kava.’ (lit. ‘my time is right for me to drink kava’)

So while in Bislama, most time-related notions can be expressed simply by *taem*, in Daakaka a range of different specific terms from different word classes have to be used—*bili* ‘when’, *webung* ‘day’, *yaa* ‘sun, time of day’ and others, such as *vya x* ‘*x* times’, which is described in section 4.3.2, page 166.

Temporal adverbs referring to recurring intervals such as *pyaavep* ‘afternoon’ can be quantified—like the expression *taem* discussed above—while other temporal adverbs cannot:

- (193) a. *Pe-peleyen swa nyoo na Wakon ya=m tavya...*
 REDUP-tomorrow one 3P ATT NAME 3P=REAL get.up
 ‘One morning, the people of Wakon got up...’ (rep06:2)
- b. *pyaavep kevene ka ya=p du dimye nye*
 afternoon every MOD.REL 3P=POT stay remember 1S
 ‘every evening they shall remember me’ (sto17:34)

This makes them more noun-like than most other adverbs. Furthermore, this type of temporal adverbs can also be a predicate in combination with the copula, which is another feature they share with nouns but not with most other adverbs:

- (194) *or mw=i pepelyen*
 place REAL=COP morning
 ‘it was morning’ (exp02:9)

Another temporal adverb which can be used as a predicate with the copula is *meerin* in its meaning ‘for a long time’. The subject of such a predicate however is usually not a noun phrase: Rather, the phrase *to i meerin* (REAL.NEG COP long.time) ‘shortly after/ it wasn’t long before...’ is used adverbially itself—compare the section about serial predicate constructions on page 214.

Finally, there is one more pair of lexemes which could also be described as temporal adverbs: they are *mo* ‘first’ and *to* ‘after’ and have briefly been discussed in the previous section about adverbs of location. With their temporal interpretation, they are mostly used as predicates as in (195):

- (195) *sye [na mw=i mo]*
 thing COMP REAL=COP first
 ‘the first thing’ (exp18:3)

Their behavior as serial predicates is described in section 7.3.

3.5.4. Other adverbs

Intensification

In order to express that something is the case to a greater degree than one might normally expect, the adverbs *ten* ‘very’ and *seaaten* ‘extremely’ are used.

- (196) a. *ma sóró usili myane nye bili na mwe myató ten*
 REAL talk follow with 1S time COMP REAL old very
 ‘she told it to me when she was very old’ (rep10:23)
- b. *Tyomavyor mu vu seaaten.*
 topsail REAL good extremely
 ‘The topsail (fish) is very good.’ (exp07:173)

Of the two intensifiers, *ten* is by far more frequent. It can not only modify bare verbs, but also verb phrases as in (197):

3. Major Word Classes

- (197) *na=m [yungpan=ne wye] ten*
 1S=REAL thirsty=TRANS water very
 ‘I am very thirsty for water’ (sto02:69)

Ten ‘very’ appears to form a closely-knit unit with the phrase it modifies, as it can be incorporated both into nominalizations and into transitivized phrases (see also section 3.3.4):

- (198) a. *ma sóró mw=i mo ten=ane sye kevene*
 REAL talk REAL=COP first very=TRANS something every
 ‘it is the very first to talk, before all other things’ (exp02:4)
- b. *sóróusi=an en=te mw=i peten ten=an*
 talk=NM DEF=MED REAL=COP be.true very=NM
 ‘this story is the absolute truth’ (rep10:2)

There is no separate lexeme to express the notion that something is ‘too (much)’; in cases which are meant to convey this notion, only *ten* is used:

- (199) *En=te mon te kinye=m esi na mw=i towo ten.*
 DEF=MED also CONJ 1P.EX=REAL see COMP REAL=COP big very
 ‘This too, we found that it was too big.’ (con02:66)

However, *ten* cannot always be translated as either *very* or *too*, as can be seen in the following case:

- (200) *Yen dom na mo nok ten...*
 in year COMP REAL finish very
 ‘In the year before last year...’ (lit. ‘the year which is very over’) (sto24:138)

Also, although *ten* mostly modifies verbs or verb phrases, it can also modify other parts of speech. The following three examples show *ten* modifying an adverb and an interjection respectively:

- (201) a. *te lingi baséé en=te mwe pwer bistuwo ten=ne ivyo nyoo*
 CONJ put bird DEF=MED REAL stay middle(N) very=TRANS cabbage 3P
en=te
 DEF=MED
 ‘then they put the bird into the middle of these greens’ (sto15:10)
- b. *sipa ten*
 thank.you(INTJ) very
 ‘thank you very much’

Alternatively to using *ten* or *seaaten*, meanings of verbal and adverbial phrases can also be intensified by structures involving the complementizer *na* or serial predicates—see sections 8.5 and 7.3 respectively.

***Suw-x*: ‘by *x*-self’**

As mentioned above, *suw-* is the only inflected adverb in Daakaka. Its inflectional paradigm is an impoverished version of the *u*-declension pattern of inflected nouns (see section 3.3.2): There are only three forms—first person singular (*-uk*), second person singular (*-um*), and an inflection that looks like third person singular (*-un*) for all other persons.

Thus in (202), the first person dual inclusive pronoun *ada* is accompanied by *suw-* with the inflection *-un*. In inflected nouns, the corresponding first person dual inclusive inflection is *-udaa* instead.

- (202) *Tyu, ko mw=esi mw=i ada suw-un sa da=m du tak, a*
 chicken 2S REAL=SEE REAL=COP 1D.IN SELF-3S.POSS CM 1D.IN=REAL stay PROX and
myaa mwe kyer-veni ada.
 hunger REAL bite-dead 1D.IN
 ‘Chicken, you see it’s only the two of us here, and we are starving.’ (sto18:32)

Suw- qualifies as an adverb by its distribution: like other adverbs, it is restricted to non-argument positions. In (203), it occurs after the intransitive verb *lyoo*, which translates as ‘break out of one’s shell/cocoon’; in (204), *suw-* comes after the transitive verb *tiye* ‘beat, kill’, but it cannot be interpreted as the object of this verb—instead, the object of *tiye* has to be a definite third person singular referent. To express any suicidal intent, *tiye* would have to be followed by the first person pronoun *nye* instead.

- (203) *Ka te pwe i ne-sye te mwe lyoo suw-un.*
 SUBCONJ DIST CONT COP child-3S.POSS CONJ REAL break(ITR) self-3S.POSS
 ‘When they become chicks, they break [their eggs] themselves.’
 (exp02:115)
- (204) *nye na=m kuowilye ka na=p vyan tiye — suw-uk kyun*
 1S 1S=REAL know MOD.COMP 1S=POT go kill(TR) self-1S.POSS just
 ‘but I can beat him by myself’ (sto21:46)

The distribution of *suw-* differs however from other adverbs in that it can immediately follow and modify not only verb phrases, but also personal pronouns, as can be seen in (202) above and in (205).

- (205) *S-an meteseli to kueli, te nge suw-un kyun mwe pwer.*
 CL3-3S.POSS sister REAL;NEG return CONJ 3S self-3S.POSS just REAL stay
 ‘His sister did not return, and he was on his own.’ (lit. ‘he by himself only remained’)
 (sto37:24)

For more on the relation between *suw-* and pronouns, see section 4.1.2.

***Tóór*: ‘like a bushman’**

The expression *tóór* is mostly used as a noun to refer to people living up in the bush as opposed to those down at the sea, or to uncivilized people. There is however also an adverbial

3. Major Word Classes

version of this word, although it might be restricted to one lexicalized phrase, which is given in (206) and refers to the practice of washing only face, hands and feet instead of taking a full shower.

- (206) *lyung~lyung tóór*
 REDUP~wash bushman
 ‘wash like a bushman’

Wisewe and vyen: ‘probably’

There are two modal adverbs in Daakaka, *wisewe* and *vyen*, which both mean ‘probably’. *Wisewe* occurs at the beginning of a clause or after a topic or subject noun phrase:

- (207) a. **Wisewe** *trak mwe vyan wuk.*
 probably truck REAL go already
 ‘The truck has probably left already.’
 b. *Wye wisewe mu puo.*
 water probably REAL be.plentiful
 ‘There is probably a lot of water.’

By contrast, *vyen* cannot occur at the beginning of a sentence. Instead, it can occur after a topic and after the verb phrase, either at the very end of the clause or before some other adjuncts:

- (208) a. *baséé kyun vyen bwe bun*
 bird just probably REAL;CONT COO
 ‘it’s probably just a bird singing’ (rep04:72)
 b. *tomo di-sye mon ka ya=m du vyen a=tak ngabak*
 rat half-3S.POSS also MOD.REL 3P=REAL stay probably LOC=PROX still
 ‘I think there are still some rats here’ (sto18:28)
 c. *bat-en ka wa pe~pyó vyen*
 head-3S.POSS MOD.REL POT REDUP~white probably
 ‘the head is white I think’ (exp50:138)

Both *wisewe* and *vyen* can be described as modifying a proposition rather than just a predicate. Another sentential adverb is *pesili* ‘close’ in connection with potential clauses—see section 3.5.2, page 112 above.

Mwes: ‘for nothing’

To conclude this section, I will briefly describe the adverb *mwes* ‘for nothing, for free’, which is illustrated by the following two examples:

- (209) a. *vyan ka wa liye vyan min kava ane, saka ne kuone nye*
 go MOD.REL POT take go drink kava with MOD.NEG NEC help 1S
mwes
 for.nothing
 ‘he will drink kava from it [the money], he won’t help me for free’ (con02:44)

- b. *Saka ne dam tevy-an ka si=p ka we gyes*
 MOD.NEG NEC agree side.of-3S.POSS MOD.COMP 1PC.IN=POT say POT work
mwes.
 for.nothing
 ‘He won’t agree because we would want him to work for free.’ (con02:26)

The combination with *oko* ‘walk’ as in *oko mwes* means ‘walk barefoot’.

4. Minor Word Classes

4.1. Pronouns and Articles

4.1.1. Personal pronouns

The pronominal system of Daakaka is typically Austronesian in its richness. It distinguishes between four different numbers and four different persons. The four numbers are singular, dual, paucal and plural. The paucal forms of the pronouns are apparently derived from a trial, since most of them can be analyzed as the plural form plus *-si*, which is very close phonologically to the numeral *sii* ‘three’. Today, however, speakers consider the pronouns to be simplex morphemes and their use is not restricted to exactly three referents: The paucal can be used to refer to groups of arbitrary size as long as they are homogenous enough, for example, if they represent the members of one family, household or village.

The pronouns are further distinguished into first person exclusive (‘we’, excluding the addressee), first person inclusive (‘we’, including the addressee), second person and third person.

Each pronoun in Daakaka exists in two varieties: The first one invariably expresses the subject of a sentence. These subject pronouns all end in a vowel and can form monosyllabic units with some of the TAM markers. No element can separate a subject pronoun from a subsequent TAM marker, or between a TAM marker and a subsequent verb—in this sense, a sequence of a subject pronoun, a TAM marker and a verb constitutes a word rather than a syntactic phrase.

For the third person singular, no subject pronoun exists. If the subject of a clause is a third person singular referent, the modal marker heading the sentence appears in its full, monosyllabic, form instead of a one-consonant clitic (see sections 6.1 and 5.1).

The other kind of pronoun is used for non-subject participants of a clause, such as objects of verbs, of transitive nouns, of prepositions, or as topics. Table 4.1 gives an overview of the pronominal system.

TAM markers always follow the subject pronoun directly. The example in (1) shows how the potential marker cliticizes to the first person dual inclusive subject pronoun *da*:

- (1) *vyan kyun te ma ka: “Da=p saa-kuwu ada ivyo.”*
go just CONJ REAL say 1D.IN(SUB)=POT lift-out 1D.IN cabbage
‘then she said: “Let us take out our cabbage.”’ (sto14:13)

A third person subject pronoun does not always have to get the same number marking as a subject noun phrase. Thus, in (2), the plural noun phrase *deli-sye nyoo* ‘its eggs’ is accompanied by the third person singular form of the realis marker, *mwe*, while the second sentence, the noun *vyanten* ‘person’ is not marked for plural, but is coreferential with the plural subject pronoun *ya*:

4. Minor Word Classes

Tabelle 4.1.: The pronominal system. For each person row, the first line shows the non-subject pronoun, while the second line shows the subject pronoun. (t): topic; (o): object

Person	Singular	Plural	Dual	Paucal
1ex	<i>nye</i>	<i>kinyem</i>	<i>kenma</i>	<i>kinyemsi</i>
	<i>na</i>	<i>kinye</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>kisi</i>
1in		<i>ar (t) / er (o)</i>	<i>ada</i>	<i>ansi</i>
		<i>ra</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>si</i>
2	<i>ngok</i>	<i>kimim</i>	<i>kama</i>	<i>kamsi</i>
	<i>ko</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kasi</i>
3	<i>nge</i>	<i>nyoo</i>	<i>nya</i>	<i>nyosi</i>
	∅	<i>ya</i>	_____	<i>ye</i> _____

- (2) a. *deli-sye nyoo mwe pwis*
 egg-3S.POSS 3P REAL be.numerous
 ‘it has many eggs’ (lit. ‘its eggs are many’) (sto07:23)
- b. *vyanten ya=m pwis*
 person 3P(SUB)=REAL be.numerous
 ‘there are many people’

For more on number marking and agreement, see sections 6.2.6 and 3.2.2, page 48.

Note also that custom requires us to address and refer to certain relatives by dual instead of singular pronouns. This means that, instead of the second person singular pronoun *ko*, one has to use the corresponding dual pronoun *ka* when addressing one’s male *metoo*—this kinship relation applies to a man’s father-in-law, his father’s sister’s son, and others:

- (3) *Ka=p min lewedrame mursi?*
 2D(SUB)=POT drink kava a.bit
 ‘Would you like to drink a little kava?’

When talking about those relatives, the third person dual pronouns have to be used, which can lead to apparent number mismatches like the following:

- (4) *ye mw=i yaapu melumlum swa*
 3D(SUB) REAL=COP big.man quiet one
 ‘he is a quiet man’ (lit. ‘they are a quiet man’) (con01:2)

The same is true for the female equivalent to the male *metoo*: a female *tuutu*, who might for example be a man’s mother-in-law, also has to be addressed and referred to by a dual pronoun.

Furthermore, the first person inclusive pronouns are often used even if logically the second person forms would be more adequate:

- (5) *na=m dimyane ka na=p sóró usili pun=an swa myane*
 1S(SUB)=REAL want MOD.COMP 1S(SUB)=POT talk follow tell.a.story=NM one with

er

1P.IN(NSUB)

‘I want to tell you a story’ (lit. ‘I want to tell us a story’) (sto44:1)

For more about conventions of address and reference, see section 9.1.2; for more on kinship relations see section 3.3.6.

Non-subject pronouns are used for contrastive topics and for non-subject participants. The latter case is illustrated by the following two examples: The first one shows the third person singular pronoun *nge* as the object of a verb, while in the second example, it is the object of a transitivized noun (for more on transitivity in noun phrases, see sections 3.3.3 and 4.1.3).

- (6) a. *ka lisepsep wa tiye nge*
 MOD.REL lisepsep POT hit 3S(NSUB)
 ‘the lisepsep would kill him’ (sto31:96)
- b. *bosi=ne nya kyun bwet tesi du pyan em*
 bone=TRANS 3D(NSUB) just COS fall.down stay under house
 ‘then only their bones fell down and stayed in the house’ (sto34:83)

The function of non-subject pronouns as contrastive topics is illustrated by the following two examples. In the first example, the dove is contrasted with the rat. Both topics are expressed by a full noun each and then followed by the third person singular non-subject pronoun, which marks them as contrastive.

In the second example, ‘you’ is contrasted with ‘I’. Note that the corresponding subject pronouns are also present:

- (7) a. *maa nge mwe kuk=ane dom pi~pili; tomo nge to liye*
 dove 3S(NSUB) REAL COOK=TRANS yam REDUP~red rat 3S(NSUB) REAL;NEG take
mees tuswa
 food one
 ‘the dove cooked red yam, the rat did not bring any food’ (sto29:8)
- b. *ngok ko=p pwe tas teve kekei a nye na=p vyan yen*
 2S(NSUB) 2S(SUB)=POT stay sit side.of baby and 1S(NSUB) 1S(SUB)=POT go in
or
 bush
 ‘you stay with the baby, and I shall go to the bush’ (sto43:31)

This function of contrastive topic marking can also be used to signal subject change. In the following example, if it weren’t for the non-subject pronoun *nge*, the swordfish would be interpreted as the subject of both subclauses (see also section 6.2.5, page 233):

- (8) *myanmyantung_i mwe siwir a nge_j mwe kueli vyan yen b-on*
 swordfish REAL dive and 3S(NSUB) REAL return go in hole-3S.POSS
 ‘the swordfish dived and he (the crab) went back into his hole’ (sto11:29)

Another case in which a non-subject pronoun is used to refer to the subject is when the referent of a non-third person subject needs to be elaborated on. In the following example, the

4. Minor Word Classes

speaker apparently does not expect the listener to know who he refers to by the first person dual exclusive pronoun (me and him/her), so the non-subject pronoun is expanded by the explanation ‘me and your nephew’:

- (9) *kenma t-ok tawy-um kana=m sisya usili seli*
 1D.EX(NSUB)) and-1S.POSS nephew-2s.POSS 1D.EX(SUB)=REAL meet follow road
 ‘the two of us, me and your nephew, we met him along the road’ (con01:58)

Definite objects of verbs and prepositions (but not of transitive nouns) can be dropped as illustrated in (10). For more on pronominal reference, see also sections 6.1 and 6.2.5.

- (10) a. *te s-an waawu ma gérase _____*
 CONJ CL3-3S.POSS grandparent REAL cheat(V.TR)
 ‘then his grandmother cheated him’ (sto14:12)
- b. *Temeli_i ka te vyan tas or swa, barar mwe vyan tas myane ______i.*
 child SUBCONJ DIST go sit place one pig REAL go sit with
 ‘When the child went to sit down somewhere, the pig went to sit down with him.’
 (sto02:58)

The third person non-singular non-subject pronouns *nyoo*, *nya* and *nyosi* are also used to mark number in nouns, as has already been seen in (2-a) above. The details of this number marking process are described in section 6.2.6.

4.1.2. Reflexive and reciprocal meanings

There are no special pronouns to express reflexivity or reciprocity. In general, reflexive meanings can be expressed by simple personal pronouns. For example, with the verb *yaase* ‘turn’, the same pronoun is used to express ‘he turned him around’ and ‘he turned himself around’:

- (11) a. *lisepsep mwe yaase nge kueli me kii usili tomo*
 lisepsep REAL turn 3S return come dig follow rat
 ‘the lisepsep turned (himself) around and dug after the rat’ (sto31:91)
- b. *bwe lyung~lyung te bwe gae nge ne ye wovya*
 REAL;CONT REDUP~bathe CONJ REAL;CONT rub 3S with leaf.of cottonwood
 ‘he was taking a shower and rubbing himself dry with the leaves of a cottonwood’
 (sto33:6)

To stress a reflexive meaning, the inflected adverb *suw-x* ‘by *x*-self’ can be used, as in the following example:

- (12) *ka te esi pisyane nge suw-un yen bwili wye, ma esi na mwe*
 SUBCONJ DIST see paint=TRANS 3S self-3S.POSS in hole water REAL see COMP REAL
pyas
 splendid
 ‘when he saw his (own) colours in the pond, he saw that they were splendid’
 (sto07:16)

This lexeme is also used to express the meaning ‘alone, by oneself’ in other contexts, as for example in (13). See section 3.5.4 for more on *suw-*.

- (13) a. *vyanten swa mwe pwer~pwer suw-un yen dóór*
 man one REAL REDUP~stay self-3S.POSS in dark.bush
 ‘a man lived in the bush by himself’ (sto31:6)
- b. *nye na=m kuowilye ka na=p vyan tiye suw-uk kyun*
 1S 1S=REAL KNOW MOD.COMP 1S=POT go kill self-1S.POSS just
 ‘but I can beat him by myself’ (sto21:46)

For reciprocal meanings, again the regular non-subject pronouns are used:

- (14) *tyu myane meo ye=m ka ye=p pisya nya*
 chicken with namalau 3D=REAL say 3D=POT paint 3D
 ‘the chicken and the incubator bird wanted to paint each other’

Verbs are often reduplicated to indicate a reciprocal meaning—see also section 3.2.5. In the following example, the subject is the bound noun meaning ‘feeling, inside’, inflected for third person dual, the object is expressed by the third person dual pronoun *nya* and the verb is *pyane* ‘burn, roast’ in its reduplicated form. So literally, the phrase can be translated as ‘the feelings of the two did not burn the two’, with the reduplication providing the reflexive component of the meaning (see also section 6.2.2 for more on expressions of emotions):

- (15) *yu-yaa to pyan~pyane nya*
 feeling-3D.POSS REAL;NEG REDUP~roast 3D
 ‘they weren’t mad at each other’ (sto06:31)

4.1.3. Possessive pronouns and linkers

Overview

In this section, I discuss all aspects of nominal possession in intransitive nouns. The superordinate section on pronouns and articles might not be the most likely place to discuss especially some of the more complex of these structures; but the possessive pronouns form one paradigm with the possessive linkers and the nominal transitivizer, and the resulting phrases share so many crucial semantic and morpho-syntactic properties that it would not be economical to discuss them separately.

Alienable possession is expressed by a linker, prefixed by a classifier, as in *atuwo s-e Baeluk* (basket CL3-POSS(SP) NAME) ‘Baeluk’s basket’; if the possessor is expressed by a pronoun, this possessive pronoun is inflected for person and number and prefixed by a classifier, and it precedes the possessed noun as in *s-an atuwo* (CL3-3S.POSS basket) ‘his basket’.

This possessive linker and the corresponding pronoun always express alienable possession, even with nouns that refer to parts of a body, such as internal organs (note that nouns referring to internal organs are intransitive). Thus *bosí Ø-e Baeluk* (bone CL2-POSS(SP) NAME) refers to a bone from an animal which is in the possession of Baeluk. Accordingly, the pronominal

4. Minor Word Classes

expression \emptyset -*an bosi* (CL2-3S.POSS bone) means ‘his/ her bone’, where the relation between possessor and possessed is accidental, the bone is not a physical part of its possessor.

To express that an intransitive noun is inalienably possessed, it has to be transitivized by the clitic (*a*)*ne* as in *bosi=ne Baeluk* (bone=TRANS NAME) ‘Baeluk’s (internal) bone’ (cf. section 3.2.3), which refers to a part of Baeluk’s body.

If an inalienable possessor is to be expressed by a pronoun, it is not possible to use one of the (alienable) possessive pronouns mentioned above. Instead, one option is to use the transitivizer in combination with a personal pronoun as in *bosi=ne nge* (bone=TRANS 3S) ‘his/her bone’. This strategy will be used for human possessors and possessors with other person and number properties than third person singular.

For non-human third person possessors—but not for others—there is a second option: the morpheme *an* can cliticize to the possessed noun, as in *bosi=an* to express ‘its bone’.

The same split into human and non-human pronominal possessors also applies to lexically transitive nouns: A definite third person possessor will be expressed by a personal pronoun if it refers to a human being. Otherwise, it will be expressed by the possessive suffix *-sye* or its allomorph *-tye*. Table 4.2 gives an overview of the differences between alienable and inalienable possession, both with nominal and pronominal possessors.

There are two other major differences between the linker constructions and transitivized noun phrases: One is that linker genitives are restricted to animate possessors, while transitivized noun phrases are not. The other difference is that linkers and pre-nominal possessive pronouns can also be used as predicates without the presence of a possessed noun as in (16). Such structures are frequently used in serial predicate constructions to introduce a beneficiary participant to an event—see section 7.4.3:

- (16) a. *Na=m dimyane ka na=p tisi te mwe gene na=m tuwuli=ne*
 1S=REAL want MOD.COMP 1S=POT write CONJ REAL make 1S=REAL try=TRANS
vyan vyan te wet tis syone tis en=tak. Mw=i s-ok.
 go go CONJ only.then draw reach writing DEF=PROX REAL=COP CL3-1S.POSS
 ‘I wanted to draw it so I worked hard on it for a long time and then I came up
 with this drawing. It is mine.’ (sto48:29)
- b. *barar en=te mw=i \emptyset -e Baeluk*
 pig DEF=MED REAL=COP CL2-POSS NAME
 ‘this pig is Baeluk’s’
- c. *em en=te mw=i m-e yaapu*
 house DEF=MED REAL=COP CL1-POSS big.man
 ‘this house is God’s’

The transitivizer (*a*)*ne* and the post-nominal possessive pronoun *an*, by contrast, always require the presence of the possessed noun. Thus, in (17), only the version with the linker is acceptable even though the subject of a story is usually introduced by a transitivizer as in *sóróusian=ne Buwu* (story=TRANS NAME) ‘the story of/ about Buwu’.

- (17) *sóróusi=an en=tak ma ka mw=i s-e/ *ane Reprepmalao*
 talk=NM DEF=PROX REAL say REAL=COP CL3-AL.E/ TRANS NAME
 ‘this story is about Reprepmalao’ (sto33:4)

Possessive classifiers

Pre-nominal possessive pronouns and the two linkers are always prefixed by one of three nominal classifiers. The three classifiers are *s-*, *m-* and the zero morpheme \emptyset -. They differ from typical possessive classifiers in Oceanic languages in that they are not relational classifiers, but rather agree with the lexical gender of the head noun: In contrast to other Oceanic languages [compare e.g. Lichtenberk, 1983, 2009b], the choice of classifier is independent of the possessor's intentions with regard to the possessum. In some cases, the choice of classifier depends on whether a noun fits into a certain semantic domain. For example, when talking about the possession of animals, everyone will use inevitably the same classifier (\emptyset -), independent of whether they intend to eat, breed, sell or play with the animal.

In other cases, diachronically related lexemes are used with the same classifier, even if their semantics differ dramatically. The most unambiguous example for this is the pair of 'yam' and 'year', both referred to by the noun *dom* as shown in (26). This is a clear example of lexical specification of a classifier. The two terms are homophonous in a number of Oceanic languages, emphasizing the importance of the life cycle of the yam as a food source in the region:

- (26) a. *mwe vyan bya \emptyset -an dom, te dom mwe luk mu vu ten*
 REAL go plant CL2-3S.POSS yam CONJ yam REAL grow REAL good very
 'he went to plant his yam, then the yam grew very well' (sto26:4)
- b. *\emptyset -ok dom mw=i twenti*
 CL2-1S.POSS year REAL=COP twenty
 'I am twenty years old' (sto29:3)

Even though the choice of the classifier is not completely predictable from the meaning of the possessed noun, both the *m-* class and the \emptyset - class are closely associated with several specific semantic domains. For the *m-* class, the most important two such domains are dwellings (of humans or animals) and liquids. Examples are *em* 'house', *beleem* 'door', and *bwee* 'vessel, shell' for dwellings; and *wye* 'fresh water' and *tes* 'seawater' for liquids. It also includes *sisis* 'teats' and *vyos* 'young (drinkable) coconut'.

The zero prefix \emptyset - goes with all animals, food items and edible plants, and some tools.

The third classifier, *s-* goes with everything that does not fit into the other two classes, including kinship terms and abstract nouns. Table 4.3 gives an overview over the three classifiers.

Pre-nominal possessive pronouns can be used with all nouns, including transitive and inflected nouns. Thus, one can indicate the alienable possessor of a bird wing or a coconut shell using pronouns, while the inalienable possessor is referred to by an inflection or a subsequent noun phrase respectively:

- (27) a. *\emptyset -ok ebya-on*
 CL2-1S.POSS wing-3S
 'my wing (of the bird)'
- b. *m-ok bwee ó*
 CL1-1S.POSS shell.of coconut
 'my coconut shell'

4. Minor Word Classes

Tabelle 4.2.: Nominal and pronominal possession

	Nominal Possessor	Pronominal Possessor (human/ non-human)
Linked	<p>NP CLASS.-LINKER NP</p> <p>(18) <i>atuwo s-e</i> basket CL3-POSS(SP) <i>Baeluk</i> NAME 'Baeluk's basket'</p>	<p>CLASS.-PERSON/NUMBER.POSS NP</p> <p>(19) <i>s-an atuwo</i> CL3-3S.POSS basket 'his basket'</p>
	<p>NP=TRANS NP</p> <p>(20) <i>mubuo=ane tyu</i> meat=TRANS chicken 'chicken meat'</p>	<p>NP=TRANS PRON(HUM)</p> <p>(21) <i>mubuo=ane nge</i> meat=TRANS 3S 'his/ her flesh'</p> <p>NP=TRANS.3POSS(NHUM)</p> <p>(22) <i>mubuo=an</i> meat=TRANS.3POSS 'its meat'</p>
Lexically transitive	<p>NP(TR) NP</p> <p>(23) <i>bwee tuwu</i> shell.of bushnut 'the shell of the bush- nut'</p>	<p>NP(TR) PRON(HUM)</p> <p>(24) <i>bwee nge</i> shell.of 3S.POSS 'his/her shell'</p> <p>NP(TR)-3POSS(NHUM)</p> <p>(25) <i>bwee-tye</i> shell.of-3POSS(NHUM) 'its shell'</p>

Tabelle 4.3.: Overview over the three classifiers with their major semantic associations

Class	Classifier	Meaning	Example
1	<i>m-</i>	houses and parts thereof, dwellings of animals, liquids	<i>m-aa em</i> 'their house'
2	∅-	everything edible, including all animals, some tools	∅- <i>an basée</i> 'her/his bird'
3	<i>s-</i>	all that does not fit into the previous two classes	<i>s-am ekaaka</i> 'your clothes'

More generally, a noun phrase can have two possessors at the same time as long as they are expressed in different places. The examples in (28) show how an intransitive noun can have an inalienable and an alienable possessor as well as two alienable possessors. But it is not possible for a noun phrase to have two inalienable possessors, probably for syntactic reasons as much as for semantic ones, since inalienable possessors are always expressed after the possessed noun and two possessors cannot be in the same position relative to the possessed noun. Thus it would not be possible to replace the second possessor in (28-b), *me yaapu* ‘of God’ by another possessive pronoun and use two pre-nominal possessive pronouns at the same time:

- (28) a. \emptyset -*ok* *bosi=ne* *barar*
 CL2-1S.POSS bone=TRANS pig
 ‘my pig bone’
- b. *m-ar* *em* [*m-e* *yaapu*]
 CL1-1P.IN.POSS house CL1-POSS(SP) big.man
 ‘our church’ (lit. ‘our house of God’)
- c. **m-ar* *m-an* *em*
 CL1-1P.IN.POSS CL1-3S.POSS house
 intended: ‘*our his house’

Possessive articles prefixed with the class two prefix can also be used as pronouns to refer to someone’s food, as shown in (29) and (30). Otherwise, however, possessive pronouns cannot stand in for the entire noun phrase, only for the possessor noun phrase.

- (29) *ye=m* *pipine* \emptyset -*aa* *mubuo nyoo myane nyoo te* *nya ye=m* *tilya*
 3PC=REAL share CL2-3P.POSS meat 3P with 3P CONJ 3D 3D=REAL take
 \emptyset -*aya*
 CL2-3D.POSS
 ‘at their feast, they shared their meat with each other and the two took their [share]’
 (sto27:11)
- (30) *maa mwe wuo* \emptyset -*an* *te* \emptyset -*an* *mees mwe dyanga*
 dove REAL open CL2-3S.POSS CONJ CL2-3S.POSS food REAL lack
 ‘the dove uncovered his [food], but his food was gone’¹ (sto29:14)

Linkers and alienable possessive pronouns

The forms of the possessive pronouns very much resemble the non-subject personal pronouns (see section 4.1.1). Table 4.4 shows the paradigm, which also contains the two linkers.

Possessive pronouns and linkers in Daakaka do not signal definiteness and do not presuppose the existence of the possessum (see also section 3.2.7, page 68):

- (31) a. *ka* *t=i* *s-am* *jenis* *te* *ko=m* *kuowilye ka* *ko*
 SUBCONJ DIST=COP CL3-2S.POSS chance CONJ 2S=REAL know MOD.COMP 2S

¹Food is often prepared and stored in banana leaves or leaves of the heliconia plant, which is why ‘uncover food’ is a common and regular expression.

4. Minor Word Classes

Tabelle 4.4.: The system of pronominal possessive pronouns and the linker *-e*

Person	Singular	Plural	Dual	Paucal
1ex	<i>-ok</i>	<i>-enyem</i>	<i>-enma</i>	<i>-enyemsi</i>
1in		<i>-ar</i>	<i>-ada</i>	<i>-ansi</i>
2	<i>-am</i>	<i>-emim</i>	<i>-ama</i>	<i>-amsi</i>
3	<i>-an</i>	<i>-aa</i>	<i>-aya</i>	<i>-asi</i>
linker	<i>-e</i>	_____	<i>-an</i>	_____

w=esi

POT=see

‘when you are lucky, you can see them’ (lit. ‘if it’s your luck, you can see them’)
(exp07:305)

- b. **S-ok** *vyor mwe dyanga.*
 CL3-1S.POSS stone REAL lack
 (i) ‘I don’t have money.’
 (ii) ‘My money is missing.’

The referent of a possessive pronoun will quite often be assigned a benefactive role instead of a possessor role:

- (32) *oi, tuutu, ∅-ok basée swa sa nge=tak*
 INTJ grandparent CL2-1S.POSS bird one CM NGE=PROX
 ‘grandfather, there is a bird for me’ (lit. ‘there is a bird of mine’, but the speaker has not encountered the bird before) (sto14:8)
- (33) *na=m nyur syone s-am yas=an swa ka na=p gene myane ngok*
 1S=REAL think reach CL3-2S.POSS strong=NM one MOD.REL 1S=POT make with 2S
 ‘I have thought up a (special) strength [gadget] for you, I am going to make it for you’
 (sto30:18)

This benefactive use of possessive pronouns also plays an important role in serial predicate constructions (see section 7.3).

The difference between the linkers and the possessive pronouns is of course that the possessor referred to by the pronouns is a given referent from the previous discourse whereas the linkers come with an explicit nominal argument to denote the possessor of a phrase. In subject position, however, linker genitives are often replaced by a topic noun phrase followed by a possessive pronoun. The following examples show this construction of topicalized possessor, possessive pronoun and possessed noun phrase as compared to the synonymous construction of possessed noun phrase, linker and possessor noun phrase:

- (34) a. [*sivi s-an ekaaka*] *t=i swa kyun*
 lorikeet CL3-3S.POSS clothes DIST=COP one just
 ‘the lorikeet used to have only one piece of clothing’ (lit. ‘the lorikeet, it had only one piece of clothing’) (sto04:18)

- b. [ekaakaa s-e sivi] t=i swa kyun
 clothes CL3-POSS(SP) lorikeet DIST=COP one just
 ‘the lorikeet used to have only one piece of clothing’

The difference between the two linkers *-e* and *-an* is similar to the difference between semitransitive and transitive verbs: With *-an*, the possessor noun phrases are typically generic, non-specific or indefinite, whereas *-e* is used for definite, mostly singular, possessed noun phrases. Even though in elicitations, there are cases in which both linkers are said to be fine without a significant difference in meaning, these different preferences for possessor nouns are quite consistent in the corpus.

The following examples show typical occurrences of the linker *-e*, with definite singular possessors:

- (35) a. *Em m-e Buwu mwe pwer kyun.*
 house CL1-POSS(SP) NAME REAL stay just
 ‘Buwu’s house was still there.’ (rep04:90)
- b. *ma ka na=m syokilyene myaek s-e [temeli en=tak] mo nok*
 REAL say 1S=REAL find secret CL3-POSS(SP) child DEF=PROX REAL finish
 ‘she said, I have found the secret of this boy’ (sto25:42)
- c. *ye=m du pun vyan te ma usi barar ∅-e [yap myató*
 3PC=REAL stay tell go CONJ REAL ask pig CL2-POSS(SP) old.man old
en=te]
 DEF=MED
 ‘they were sitting together, they were talking and then he asked for a pig of this venerable man’ (sto41:10)

Generic possessors go with the linker *-an*; a paradigmatic example of this use comes from names of certain sand drawings (see section 9.3.2) like the following:

- (36) a. *apyaló s-an longlong*
 boat CL3-POSS(NS) lizard
 ‘the lizard boat’ (exp34:1)
- b. *lilwi s-an eya*
 mask CL3-POSS(NS) white-eye
 ‘the lilwi mask of the white-eye (a bird species)’ (exp40:2)
- c. *seli s-an goyor*
 way CL3-POSS(NS) red.ant
 ‘the ant road’ (exp38:2)
- d. *tis s-an meap*
 drawing CL3-POSS(NS) twin
 ‘the twin drawing’ (exp42:26)

The following two examples show that the argument noun phrase of the non-specific linker can also be extended by an indefinite article like *swa* ‘one, a’ or a number marker like *nyoo* (plural):

4. Minor Word Classes

- (37) a. *du du du vyan te vyap myató s-an [jip swa] mwe mer*
 stay stay stay go CONJ old.woman old CL3-POSS(NS) chief one REAL dead
 ‘and after a while, the wife of a chief died’ (sto09:3)
- b. *na=m bangbang yan vilye s-an [vi nyoo]*
 1S=REAL play on place CL3-POSS(NS) white.man 3P
 ‘I was having fun in the place of the white men’ (rep02:26)

Transitivization and definiteness

As mentioned in the overview section above, inalienable possession of intransitive nouns, and possession by inanimate possessors is expressed by the transitivizer (*a*)*ne*. This morpheme is also used to transitivize other categories such as verbs (see 3.2.3), adverbs (see 3.5.1) and some serial predicate constructions (7.1.2). (*A*)*ne* cliticizes to nouns when they end in a consonant.

Animate possessors of transitivized noun phrases typically denote an inherent, identifying characteristic. For example, in (38), the identity of a grave is crucially defined by the person in the grave; and the ghost of one dead person cannot be identical to the ghost of another dead person and cannot become someone else’s ghost over time.

- (38) a. *te lee swa ka te meu yan syetantan=ane nye, ...*
 CONJ tree one SUBCONJ DIST live on grave=TRANS 1S
 ‘when a tree lives on my grave, ...’ (sto09:10)
- b. *temyar=ane s-ok bivian en=te*
 demon=TRANS CL3-1S.POSS friend DEF=MED
 ‘the ghost of my friend’ (rep02:54)

Inanimate possessors frequently denote a classifying property of the possessed noun as in (39):

- (39) a. *mesyu=ne wye*
 fish=TRANS water
 ‘fresh water fish’
- b. *tyotyoyo=ane tan*
 snake=TRANS ground
 ‘ground snake’ (exp50:126)

Part-whole relations between intransitive nouns are also expressed by transitivized noun phrases. The same applies when a container is used as a unit of measurement as in (40-c):

- (40) a. *A kana=m me a kana=m pwisyaa bun beleem=ane wap.*
 and 1D.EX=REAL come and 1D.EX=REAL come.out next.to door=TRANS cave
 ‘And we came and we came out at the entrance of the cave.’ (rep15:92)
- b. *ya=m takote, te ya=m liye me te ya=m lingi mw=i*
 3P=REAL cut.loose CONJ 3P=REAL take come CONJ 3P=REAL put REAL=COP
ewewe=ne em
 roof.beams=TRANS house

‘they cut them and they take them and use them as beams for the roof of a house’
(exp13:28)

- c. *atuwo=ne deli es swa*
basket=TRANS egg black.ant one
‘one bag of rice’ (lit. ‘a basket of eggs of the black ant’)

Frequently, the possessor noun phrase is a deverbal noun denoting an activity or an event. The deverbal possessor noun then typically denotes the purpose of the possessed noun:

- (41) a. *ka da=p lingi [webung=ne ko~ko=an] puon*
MOD.REL 1D.IN=POT put day=TRANS REDUP~race=NM also
‘we will then decide on a day for the race’ (sto11:11)
- b. *kinye=m vyan pyan [em=ane temyap=an]*
1P.EX go under house=TRANS pray=NM
‘and we, before, we went to church, we went, we didn’t talk’ (con02:56)
- c. *ye=m tilya [aua=ne pandó=an]*
3PC=REAL take rope=TRANS fish(V)=NM
‘they took their fishing lines’ (rep03:8)

Some transitivized nouns can also take a complement clause instead of a noun phrase as their object:

- (42) *seli=ane [na ma ge myane vyanten ka wa gene byakvi]*
road=TRANS COMP REAL like with man MOD.REL POT make circumcision
‘the way of how a man performs the circumcision’ (exp05:224)

If a non-human third person singular possessor of a transitivized noun phrase is already given by the discourse, it does not have to be made explicit by another noun phrase. Instead, it can be referred to by the postnominal possessive pronoun and article *an*.

Note that this morpheme is homophonous with the third-person singular possessive pronoun in agreement with the food class—but this pronoun needs to precede the noun, it expresses alienable instead of inalienable possession, and it can only be used with nouns of the second possessive class.

The following examples illustrate the function of *an*. In each case, *an* stands in for both transitivizer and the argument noun phrase of the transitivized noun. Thus, in the first of the examples, *wye=an* ‘its juice’ stands for *wye=ane lewewedrame* ‘the juice of the kava’; *mubuo=an* ‘its meat’ stands in for *mubuo=ane tyu* ‘chicken meat’; and *byar=an* ‘its bench’ stands for *byar=ane apyaló ten* ‘the bench of the canoe’.

- (43) a. *ra=m du gene lewewedrame, wye=an mwe vyan yen*
1P.IN=REAL CONT make kava.plant water=TRANS.3POSS REAL go in
bwee m-an vi
container CL1-3S.POSS white.man
‘we process the kava plant, its juice goes into a container of the white man [cup or similar]’ (sto16:80)

4. Minor Word Classes

- b. *ka ko=t kuk=ane te mubuo=an mwe yas*
 SUBCONJ 2S=DIST COOK=TRANS CONJ meat=TRANS.3POSS REAL strong
 ‘when you cook it, its meat is tough’ (exp21:6)
- c. *mwe te apyaló ten en=te mo nok kyun te towane*
 REAL cut ship native DEF=MED REAL finish just CONJ throw
byar=an
 platform=TRANS.3POSS
 ‘after he had hewn a canoe, he threw a bench on to it’ (sto43:49)

An can also be used to express that a referent has been mentioned before, in other words, to mark it as definite. For example, the bird which is the topic of the following clause has been mentioned before in the story, and is in fact mentioned at the beginning of the clause, before it is picked up again at the end of the clause, by the phrase *baséé an*. In this case, *an* does not stand in for a possessor noun, it only indicates that the bird is already known to the listener:

- (44) *ye=m esi na baséé en=te mwe pwer kyun te ye=m liye baséé=an*
 3D=REAL see COMP bird DEF=MED REAL stay just CONJ 3D=REAL take bird=DEF
 ‘they saw the bird there and they took the bird’ (sto15:7)

Note that it is not obligatory to mark a noun phrase as definite. Often, definite third person referents are not expressed explicitly at all (see sections 4.1.1 and 6.2.5, page 233); and in (44), it would also be possible to omit the phrase *baséé an* without any change in meaning. At the same time, definite referents can also be expressed by bare noun phrases.

As described in section 4.2.3, existential quantifiers are always interpreted as partitives when they modify a definite noun phrase. This is also true if the noun phrase is marked as definite by *an*. Note that this partitive reading is here the only one available for *swa* ‘one’, which might be interpreted as an indefinite article without the presence of *an*. The relative clause in the second example sentence is restrictive.

- (45) a. *te dom=an swa s-an is sa Tumas ma ka ka...*
 CONJ yam=DEF one CL3-3S.POSS name CM NAME REAL say say
 ‘then one yam, his name was Tumas, said...’ (sto26:11)
- b. *ale goyor=an wuoswa na ya=m mirmir=te ko=t oko vyan te*
 well red.ant=DEF some COMP 3P=REAL black=MED 2S=DIST walk go CONJ
nyoo ya=m ate ngok
 3P 3P=REAL bite 2S
 ‘so, some of these ants which are black/ some black ones, when you are walking
 around, they bite you’ (exp08:14)

In some contexts, a more appropriate translation of *an* into English is *such (a)*, as can be seen by the following example:

- (46) *vyar drowen, ya=m du yen lee swa ma gaó, to i lee kevene,*
 wood.borer maggot 3P=REAL stay in tree one REAL dry REAL;NEG COP tree every
ya=m téé=ane lee=an kyun
 3P=REAL look=TRANS tree=DEF just

‘the woodborer larvae, they live in a dead tree, not every tree, they only look for such (dead) trees’ (exp08:48)

The use of *an* extends to other functions as well: it can be used with adverbs like *peleyen* ‘tomorrow’, to relate it to the context—the meaning of the phrase *peleyen an*, literally ‘its tomorrow’ is simply ‘the next day’. Similarly, the adverbial particle *tetes* ‘again’ can be followed by *an* to mean ‘the next time’:

- (47) a. *ya=m vyan teenem, pelyen=an ka ya=t mwe vyan téé-esi*
 3P=REAL go home tomorrow=DEF SUBCONJ 3P=DIST REAL go look-try
too, te esi or mwe luk tetes
 garden CONJ see bush REAL grow again
 ‘they went home, the next day when they went to see the garden, they saw that the plants had regrown’ (sto21:17)
- b. *tetes=an na=p silya saka ne dam*
 again=DEF 1S=POT send MOD.NEG NEC agree
 ‘the next time I send him, he won’t agree’ (con02:52)

An also plays a role in connection with relative clauses. When it follows the initial head noun, it foreshadows the subsequent restrictive relative clause, in a similar way that *those* sometimes does in English, as in *those children who followed her* as opposed to *the children who followed her*. An example is given below:

- (48) *topkilye ó vyan vyan ka te topki seaa we lingi webung=an [na*
 heap.up coconut go go SUBCONJ DIST heap.up every POT put day=DEF COMP
ka ya=p kyaate]
 MOD.REL 3P=POT SCOOP.out
 ‘he keeps heaping them up, when he has heaped them all up, he chooses a day on which they will scoop them out’ (exp18:5)

Alternatively, or in addition, the head noun can be repeated at the end of the relative clause, again followed by *an*; translated literally, the example below would be roughly ‘the song that [they sing the song] goes like this’

- (49) *Bwye [na ka ya=p kolir=ane bwye=an] ma ge=tak:...*
 song COMP MOD.REL 3P=POT sing=TRANS song=DEF REAL be.like=PROX
 ‘The song they would sing goes like this: ...’ (exp11:8)

Both phenomena are most frequent in connection with locative relative clauses with the adverb *ar* ‘(at a) place’ as in (50) (also compare section 8.4):

- (50) *ar=an na vyanten kevene ya=m tas~tas ar=an*
 place=DEF COMP person every 3P=REAL REDUP~sit LOC=DEF
 ‘where everybody sits’ (lit. ‘at the place that everybody sits at the place’) (exp03:11)

Homophonous and probably related morphemes include a nominalizer (see section 3.3.4), a comparative marker (see section 6.2.8) and a morpheme for deriving ordinal numbers (see

4. Minor Word Classes

section 4.5). The demonstrative pronoun *en* described in the following section appears to be allomorph of *an*.

4.1.4. Demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns and articles are formed by the morpheme *en* plus one of the distal clitics listed in table 4.5 on page 142. As mentioned above, *en* is apparently an allomorph of the definite article *an* which combines with demonstrative clitics such as *te*, *tak* and *yuk*.

Among the demonstrative clitics, especially *te* and *tak* also play a role in two syntactically complex but highly canonical constructions: The first such construction is a noun phrase quantified by a definite numeral phrase; while indefinite noun phrases can simply be accompanied by a number word as in *wotop sii* ‘three breadfruits’, for a definite noun phrase the numeral has to be bracketed by the attributive marker *na* at the beginning and *te* or *tak* at the end as in *wotop na sii=te* ‘the three breadfruits’ and in (51-a) below. This structure is also described in section 3.4.4.

A similar structure starts off with the complementizer *na*, followed by a relative clause and ending in a demonstrative clitic.

Yet another environment which requires *te* or *tak* in the end isthetic or presentative clauses as described in section 6.2.4, page 224: If the subject noun phrase is followed by the comment-marking morpheme *sa* and the entire sentence is ended by *te* or *tak*, the resulting interpretation is that all the information in the sentence, including the subject, is new to the listener. All three structures are exemplified below:

- (51) a. *mwe pwer tevy-an bweti lee swa, a pwe seng~sengelis=ane*
REAL stay side.of-3S.POSS stem.of tree one and CONT REDUP~peek=TRANS
[vyaven nyosii na lim=te]
woman 3PC COMP five=MED
‘he stayed at a tree and was watching the five women secretly’ (sto43:12)
- b. *ma liye pepa, liye Ø-an pensil ma ge myane [na ko=m*
REAL take paper take CL2-3S.POSS pencil REAL be.like with COMP 2S=REAL
liye=te]
take=MED
‘he had paper and a pencil like the one that you have’ (rep08:35)
- c. *temeli ma ka: “Waawu, dulu sye swa sa bwe me=te!”*
child REAL say grandparent sound something one CM REAL;CONT come=MED
‘the boy said: “Grandmother, there is a sound coming!”’ (sto34:58)

At least *tak*, *te*, and *ve* (in its allomorphic form *vi*) can also cliticize to the verbal root *ge* ‘be like’, yielding *ge=tak* ‘like this’, *ge=te* ‘like that’ and *ge=vi* ‘how’—see also sections 8.2 and 7.3, page 267.

The system of distal markers is an intricate one. The three basic distinctions are *tak* ‘close to speaker and listener’, *te* ‘mid distance from speaker and listener’ and *yuk* ‘far away from both speaker and listener’. The last expression can point to far-away distances which are not visible to speaker and listener. The morpheme *ke* is used for objects far away from the speaker, but close to the listener. In contrast to the other distal morphemes, the clitic *e* does not specify

how far away something is, but rather implies that there is another, contrasting, contextually relevant referent:

- (52) a. *ma gilye usi=an s-an temeli en=e mon*
 REAL buy ask=NM CL3-POSS(NS) child DEF=ALT also
 ‘he paid for the education of that (other) child as well’ (sto18:62)
- b. *ka te is a=tak te ma ongane nyoo en=te ya=m is*
 SUBCONJ DIST call LOC=PROX CONJ REAL hear 3P DEF=MED 3P=REAL call
milye ar=e
 on.top LOC=ALT
 ‘when he called here, he heard them call from over there (a different place)’²
 (sto36:11)

The distal morphemes *te*, *e*, and to a lesser extent *tak*, are not only used deictically to point to objects and places in the physical space shared by the speaker and the listener; in addition, they can also denote previously mentioned, but not physically present, referents as for example in the following clause:

- (53) *te vyanten nyoo en=te ya=m téé vyan etes, te esi na tes mwe*
 CONJ person 3P DEF=MED 3P=REAL look go at.the.sea CONJ see COMP sea REAL
myas
 dry
 ‘then the men looked to the sea and they saw that the tide was low’ (sto02:8)

Here, the demonstrative *en=te* indicates that the referent of the noun phrase *vyanten nyoo* ‘the men’ has been previously mentioned, it does not point to physically visible persons.

Another morpheme which fits into the paradigm of the distal morphemes is the interrogative suffix *ve* (with its allomorphic forms *be* and *vi*). With *ar* it forms the interrogative adverb *ar=ve* ‘where’, although it is sometimes also taken to mean ‘where’ by itself—see also the following section for more on interrogative pronouns. Its combination with *en* leads to the slightly idiosyncratic interrogative *enbe?* or *enve?* ‘which (place)?’.

Table 4.5 lists the distal morphemes and their combinations with the demonstrative article *en* as well as the demonstrative locative adverb *ar*. For more on the latter, see section 3.5.2.

Demonstrative articles can also be used as personal pronouns, standing in as arguments of a sentence as shown in (54):

- (54) *en=te mwe doko=ne s-an vislee*
 DEF=MED REAL pull=TRANS CL3-3S.POSS bow
 ‘this one pulled his bow’ (sto34:64)

Sometimes, a demonstrative article will be preceded by *na*, a polysemous morpheme which derives attributes from clauses, adverbs and numerals (see sections 3.4.4, 8.1 and 8.4). In combination with demonstrative articles, its semantic contribution appears to be rather subtle;

²This story goes with a sand drawing and the speaker points to places in the drawing as he tells the story, so the demonstratives are here used as deictic expressions.

4. Minor Word Classes

Tabelle 4.5.: Demonstrative expressions with distal clitics

Suffix	Meaning	<i>en</i> agent pronoun	<i>a(r)</i> local pro-adverb
<i>tak</i>	close	<i>en=tak</i> ‘this one here’	<i>a(r)=tak</i> ‘right here’
<i>te</i>	mid distance	<i>en=te</i> ‘this one’	<i>a=te</i> ‘here’
<i>yuk</i>	far distance	<i>en=yuk</i> ‘that one over there’	<i>ar=yuk</i> ‘over there’
<i>e</i>	the other (place/ one)	<i>en=e</i> ‘the other one’	<i>ar=e</i> ‘at the other place’
<i>ke(r)</i>	far from the speaker, but close to the listener	<i>en=ke</i> ‘that one (close to you)’	
<i>ve/</i> <i>be/ vi</i>	which, where	<i>en=ve, en=be</i> ‘which (place)?’	<i>ar=ve</i> ‘where?’

in most cases, it could also be left out without an apparent change in meaning.

- (55) a. *saka ko=n save [point na en=yuk], mw=i tabu saka ko=n*
 MOD.NEG 2S=NEC pass harbour ATT DEF=FAR REAL=COP tabu MOD.NEG 2S=NEC
vyan
 go
 ‘don’t go further than that point over there, it’s forbidden for you to go’
- b. *to sengap=ane vyanten kevene ka ya=p vyan yen [bató*
 REAL;NEG be.open=TRANS man every MOD.REL 3P=POT go in taboo.place
na en=te]
 COMP DEF=MED
 ‘it isn’t open for everyone to go into this bato’

With the interrogative clitic *be* however, it seems that the use of *na* is obligatory:

- (56) *na to liye wa mesaa na teenem na en=be sa vyanten nya*
 1S REAL;NEG take POT smooth COMP home ATT DEM=which CM person 3D
en=te ye=m gene bivian
 DEM=MED 3PC=REAL make friend
 ‘I haven’t clarified in which village the two men were friends’ (rep03:74)

Like demonstrative expressions in general, a sequence of *na* and a demonstrative pronoun can also stand in for an entire noun phrase as in the following clause:

- (57) *en=tak mwe pyen-veni na en=yuk, en=yuk mwe pyen-veni na en=tak*
 DEF=PROX REAL shoot-dead ATT DEM=FAR DEM=FAR REAL shoot-dead ATT DEF=PROX
 ‘this one shot that one and that one shot this one’ (exp30:22)

4.1.5. Interrogatives

There is only a small number of simple interrogative pronouns in Daakaka. They are *si* ‘who’, *sewe* ‘what, which’, *nanges* ‘when’ and *ves* ‘how much’. The question words for ‘how’ and

‘where’ are formed with the verbal root *ge* ‘be like’ and the locality adverb *ar*, yielding *ge=vi* for ‘how’ and *ar=ve* for ‘where’ respectively (see also the previous section).

Other interrogatives are syntactically complex, typically consisting of bound nouns or prepositions in combination with *sewe* as in *tevyan sewe* ‘why’, *ten sewe* ‘what for’, *se sewe* ‘why’ (for certain verbs) or *metone sewe* ‘from what’.

Sewe can be used both pronominally as *what* and as an interrogative article *which* as illustrated in (58):

- (58) a. *‘Ko bwe myan silye sewe?’*
 2S REAL;CONT laugh pluck what
 “What are you laughing at?” (sto06:20)
- b. *na to kuowilye dom sewe sa myaop mwe top*
 1S REAL;NEG know year what CM volcano REAL break
 ‘I don’t know in which year the volcano erupted’ (rep04:6)

The other interrogatives are less flexible—*si* ‘who’ has the distribution of a noun phrase, *nanges* ‘when’ of a temporal adverb and *ves* ‘how many, how much’ of a numeral. *Nanges* is sometimes replaced by *bili sewe* ‘what time’, which might be a calque from Bislama *wanem taem*.

All three simplex interrogatives are illustrated below:

- (59) a. *“Ka=m du téé-pyakilye si?”*
 2D=REAL stay look-search who
 “Who are you looking for?” (sto25:94)
- b. *Ko=m kueli me nanges?*
 2S=REAL return come when
 ‘When did you come back?’
- c. *si=m ka tyotyó mw=i ves?*
 1PC.IN=REAL say snake REAL=COP how.many
 ‘how many [kinds of] snake do we say there are?’ (exp50:113)

Interrogatives can serve as place-holders if the speaker is looking for the right word or is giving a rough estimate, as shown in the following examples:

- (60) a. *pyan bweti le-... sewe=ke, pyan bweti le-vyao.*
 under stem plant-... what=SDLC under stem.of plant-tamanu
 ‘under a what-do-you-call-it tree, the tamanu tree’ (con01:66)
- b. *vyap myató tuswa o si mon ka te dimyane ka we*
 old.woman old one or who also SUBCONJ DIST want MOD.COMP POT
gene gyes=an yan beke-sye leevyo=an, ...
 make work=NM on twig-3S.POSS tree.fern=DEF
 ‘a woman or so, when they want to use the branches of the treefern, ...’
 (exp12:17)
- c. *ye=t esi to wese na ka sear w=i ves*
 3PC=DIST see DIST enough COMP MOD.REL ceremonial.food POT=COP how.much

4. Minor Word Classes

w=i lim o sear w=i milipsyes, w=i milivyo wa
 POT=COP five or ceremonial.food POT=COP six POT=COP seven POT
ke=te
 be.like=MED
 ‘when they see that it’s sufficient for a number of meals, for five or six or maybe seven’ (exp05:136)

In addition, *sewe* can also be used as an indefinite pronoun meaning ‘whatever’: In (61), the speaker describes ways to prepare the triggerfish; he says “*you remove the skin and then you cook it...*”

- (61) ...*mwede ko=p franem, te ko=m gene sewe, mwe kyes*
 or 2S=POT fry CONJ 2S=REAL make what REAL sweet
 ‘...or fry it, whatever you do, it’s tasty’ (exp07:249)

For more on constituent questions, see section 6.3.3, for more on embedded interrogatives, see section 8.2.

4.1.6. *Syan*: ‘the other one’

The lexeme *syan* is typically used in constructions of the form [one...the other...], where a specific number of referents is already given and *syan* picks out one after the other. *Syan* is often accompanied by the definite article *an* described in section 4.1.3, page 136; this can also be seen in the second of the following two examples:

- (62) a. *ye=m du toto=ane tan kekei en=te, syan ma ka Ø-an*
 3D=REAL stay quarrel=TRANS ground small DEF=MED other REAL say CL3-3S.POSS
tan syan ma ka mw=i Ø-an tan
 ground other REAL say REAL=COP CL3-3S.POSS ground
 ‘the two were arguing about this small island, one said it was *his* island, the other one said it was *his* island’ (sto16:5)
- b. *syan=an mw=i ta man syan=an mw=i ta vyaven*
 other=DEF REAL=COP chicken male other=DEF REAL=COP chicken woman
 ‘one was a rooster and the other one was a female chicken’ (sto45:4)

Like *swa*, it can also function like a partitive pronoun as shown in (63).

- (63) a. *vyanten nya en=te syan=an s-an is sa Mt., syan=an*
 person 3D DEF=MED other=DEF CL3-3S.POSS name CM NAME other=DEF
s-an is Ml.
 CL3-3S.POSS name NAME
 ‘of these two men, the name of the first one was Mt., the other one was called Ml’
 (sto12:52)
- b. *s-an nya syan*
 CL3-3S.POSS 3D other
 ‘his brother’ (lit. ‘his other one of the two’) (sto11:30)

4.1. Pronouns and Articles

Syan can also be used like an article to mean ‘the next’ as in *dom syan* ‘next year’. As an article, it can however not mean *the other x*, *another x*: instead, the demonstrative article *ene* or the adjective *minyēs* ‘different’ would have to be used in these cases.

4. Minor Word Classes

4.2. Quantifiers

4.2.1. Introduction

There is a small number of quantifying expressions in Daakaka which share a set of basic morpho-syntactic properties, although they also differ considerably in some respects. They are *kevene* ‘every, all’, *swa* and *tuswa* ‘one’, *wuoswa* and *tisyu* ‘some’, *murswa* and *mursi* ‘a little’, *nokis* ‘both’ and *seaa* ‘all’. Crucially, they can directly follow the constituent they quantify, at least within certain restrictions. This sets them apart from quantifying serial predicate constructions as described in sections 7.2, page 262 and 7.3, page 275.

The quantifiers can be distinguished, based on their meaning, into universal and existential or partitive quantifiers. The universal quantifiers *kevene*, *seaa* (both: ‘every, all’) and *nokis* ‘both’ express that a given predicate holds for every individual of one group. By contrast, *wuoswa* and *tisyu* specify that only some individuals of a group are concerned, while *murswa* and *mursi* express that a given predicate applies to a part of an object or mass, not necessarily all of it. Finally, *swa* and *tuswa* (both: ‘one’) have both a partitive meaning (i.e. ‘one of them’) as well as that of an indefinite article.

All these existential quantifiers come in pairs such that one expression introduces an existential presupposition while the other does not. Presuppositional quantifiers are used in positive, assertive realis contexts, non-presuppositional ones in negative assertions, questions and non-realis contexts. The three presuppositional quantifiers are *swa*, *wuoswa* and *murswa*. The three non-presuppositional ones are *tuswa*, *tisyu* and *mursi*.

The quantifiers also differ in whether they can be used pronominally, that is, whether they can stand in for a noun phrase in an argument position: all the existential quantifiers and *kevene* can, but *seaa* and *nokis* cannot. Furthermore, *kevene* and *seaa* can be used at the end of a clause to quantify a subject (see the examples in (77) on page 150), which is not possible for the other quantifiers.

Except for *nokis* ‘both’, all expressions in this class can also quantify adverbs, although there are differences in the types of adverbs for which this applies: Those quantifiers which quantify over individuals can apply to adverbs denoting discrete units, such as *pyaavep* ‘afternoon’, as in (64):

- (64) *pyaavep kevene ka ya=p du dimye nye*
afternoon every MOD.REL 3P=POT stay think 1S
‘every evening they shall remember me’ (st017:34)

The other two quantifiers *murswa* and *mursi* both mean ‘a bit’ and thus indicate an amount of a substance rather than a number of individuals; they can apply to gradable adverbs like *meerin* ‘for a long time, long ago’ or *pesili* ‘nearby’. These two quantifiers are also the only ones which can themselves be used as adverbs, to express that an action was only carried out for a short while or to a low degree. Both these functions will be explored in more detail in section 4.2.3.

- (65) *Ar wuoswa/ kevene ra=m vyan etes.*
2P.IN some/ every 2P.IN=REAL go at.the.sea

Tabelle 4.6.: Universal quantifiers and their properties; clause-final: the quantifier can occur at the end of a clause to quantify over its subject.

		Pronominal	clause-final
<i>kevene</i>	‘every’	+	+
<i>seaa</i>	‘every’	-	+
<i>nokis</i>	‘both’	-	-

Tabelle 4.7.: Existential quantifiers

		Presuppositional
<i>swa</i>	‘one’	+
<i>tuswa</i>	‘one, any’	-
<i>wuoswa</i>	‘some’	+
<i>tisyu</i>	‘some, any’	-
<i>murswa</i>	‘a bit’	+
<i>mursi</i>	‘a bit, any’	-

‘Some/ all of us went to the sea.’

In complex possessive noun phrases, the quantifier can stand either directly after the possessed head noun, or after the entire noun phrase. In cases where the latter position could lead to ambiguities in scope, the quantifier will immediately follow the head noun instead, as illustrated in (66-c):

- (66) a. *Ya=m yas=ane atuwo kevene/ wuoswa s-e Baeluk.*
 3P=REAL steal=TRANS basket every/ some CL3-POSS(SP) NAME
- b. *Ya=m yas=ane atuwo s-e Baeluk kevene/ wuoswa.*
 3P=REAL steal=TRANS basket CL3-POSS(SP) NAME every/ some
 ‘They stole all/some of Baeluk’s baskets.’
- c. *Ya=m yas=ane atuwo kevene/ wuoswa s-an vyanten nyoo*
 3P=REAL steal=TRANS basket some/ every CL3-POSS(NS) person 3P
en=te (#kevene/ #wuoswa).
 DEF=MED every/ some
 ‘They stole all of their bags.’

Tables 4.6 and 4.7 give an overview of the different quantifiers and their properties.

Other means of quantification include certain serial predicate constructions (see sections 7.2.2, page 262 and 7.3.2), some transitive nouns like *di* ‘part of’ (see section 3.3.3) and numerals (see section 4.5).

4. Minor Word Classes

4.2.2. Universal quantifiers

The three universal quantifiers are *kevene* ‘every’, *seaa* ‘every, all’ and *nokis* ‘both’. Among these, *kevene* is cross-linguistically the most prototypical representative of its word class. The first of the following two examples shows *kevene* following a pronoun and then a noun phrase, both in subject position. In the second example, *kevene* follows, and quantifies, an object noun phrase instead:

- (67) a. *er kevene, vyanten kevene ya=t warsyosi*
1P.IN every person every 3P=DIST revere
‘we all, everyone revered him’ (con01:9)
- b. *na=m ongane ya=m ka ngok ko bwe sa~save mesyu kevene*
1S=REAL hear 3P=REAL say 2S 2S REAL;CONT REDUP~surpass fish every
‘I heard that you surpass every other fish’ (sto11:4)

When quantifying a subject, *kevene* can occupy a position directly following the subject, as well as a position at the end of the verb phrase, as long as the verb is intransitive:

- (68) a. *Vyavyen ya=m vyan kevene.*
woman 3P=REAL go every
b. *Vyavyen kevene ya=m vyan.*
woman every 3P=REAL go
‘All the women went.’

When *kevene* follows a verb phrase containing an object *x*, its interpretation depends crucially on whether the verb is semitransitive or transitive: If it is transitive, *kevene* will simply express universal quantification over the object; if the verb is semitransitive, however, *kevene* will mean ‘only *x*’:³

- (69) a. *ma penin wotop kevene*
REAL roast(SEMTR) breadfruit every
‘she roasted only breadfruits’
- b. *mwe pyane wotop kevene*
REAL roast(TR) breadfruit every
‘she roasted all the breadfruits’
- (70) a. *ma veve ding kevene*
REAL weave(SEMTR) mat every
‘she wove only mats (she didn’t weave baskets)’
- b. *mwe vyate ding kevene*
REAL weave(TR) man every
‘she wove all the mats’

³The relation between these two interpretations can be analyzed formally as a reversal of scope: the ‘every’ interpretation in (69-a) has the form $\forall x : \mathbf{breadfruit}(x).\mathbf{roast}(\mathbf{she})(x)$; the ‘only’ interpretation in (69-b) has the form $\forall x : \mathbf{roast}(\mathbf{she})(x).\mathbf{breadfruit}(x)$

If the subject is only expressed by a subject pronoun, the verb-phrase-final position is the only possible option, because nothing can intervene between a subject pronoun, a TAM marker and a verb:

- (71) ‘he killed all his fellow ants, ...’
- a. ... *ya=m mer kevene*
3P=REAL dead every
- b. ... *ya-*kevene=m *kevene mer*
3P-every=REAL every dead
‘they all died’ (sto36:34)

In contrast to the other quantifiers in Daakaka, *kevene* can also be reduplicated as *ke~kevene*. The reduplicated form stresses that every single referent of the quantified noun phrase is concerned:

- (72) *S-an gyes=an mwe save lee ke~kevene na mu du*
CL3-3S.POSS work=NM REAL surpass tree REDUP~every COMP REAL stay
ku~kyu er or ke~kevene.
REDUP~surround 1P.IN place REDUP~every
‘Its [=the coconut’s] uses surpass *all* the plants which surround us everywhere.’
(exp09:82)

Like most quantifiers, *kevene* can stand in for a noun phrase:

- (73) *mwe sya ar=an na kevene ya=m du ar=an*
REAL meet LOC=DEF COMP every 3P=REAL stay LOC=DEF
‘he met them where they all where’ (sto36:33)

In negative clauses, the scope of the quantifier relative to the negation depends on its position. If *kevene* precedes the negative TAM marker, the default interpretation is for the quantifier to have scope over the negation, as in *all of them didn’t return*, which is equivalent to *none of them returned*; but the reverse reading is also available as in *not all of them returned*. A natural example where only the latter interpretation is felicitous for the given context is shown in (75).

- (74) *temeli nyoo kevene ya to me teenem*
child 3P every 3P REAL;NEG come home
a. ‘no child came home’ (default interpretation)
b. ‘not all the children came home’
- (75) *mw=i or yo swa na vyanten kevene ya to kuowilye ka*
REAL=COP place taboo one COMP person every 3P REAL;NEG know MOD.COMP
ya=n vyan
3P=NEC go
‘it’s a sacred place where not everybody can go’ (exp03:6)

4. Minor Word Classes

If the negative TAM marker comes first and *kevene* comes after the verb, the negation has wide scope, that means the only interpretation available is ‘not all of them. . .’:

- (76) *temeli nyoo ya to me kevene teenem*
 child 3P 3P REAL;NEG come every home
 ‘not all of the children came home’

Another way to express negative universal quantification involves the indefinite article *tuswa* ‘any’, as described in section 4.2.3 below.

Kevene is largely synonymous with the quantifier *seaa*, and in some cases, the two can be freely exchanged for one another. This is generally the case when they quantify a subject noun phrase, either in a position directly following it, or in a post-verbal position:

- (77) a. *vyaven nyoo seaa/ kevene ya=m vyan etes*
 woman 3P all/ every 3P=REAL go at.the.sea
 b. *vyaven nyoo ya=m vyan seaa/ kevene etes*
 woman 3P 3P=REAL go all/ every at.the.sea
 ‘all the women went to the sea’

When the verb is gradable, phrase-final *seaa* leads to a different interpretation from *kevene*:

- (78) a. *wotop ma sanga seaa*
 breadfruit REAL be.bad every
 ‘the breadfruit is completely bad’
 b. *wotop ma sanga kevene*
 breadfruit REAL be.bad every
 ‘all the breadfruits are bad’

As with *kevene*, it is possible for *seaa* to quantify an object noun phrase which precedes it in the clause (compare this to sentence (67-b) on page 148):

- (79) *mw=i mesyu swa sa mwe ku-kuo save mesyu seaa yen bwili tes*
 REAL=COP fish one CM REAL REDUP~run more fish every in hole sea
 ‘it’s a fish that is faster than all the other fish’ (sto11:2)

In most cases, however, if *seaa* quantifies an object, it precedes it instead, directly following the verb; the same is not possible for *kevene*, which has to come after the object. The two quantifiers can co-occur in their different positions:

- (80) *bili na ka te pa te mwe kye seaa basée ke~kevene*
 time COMP SUBCONJ DIST bear.fruit CONJ REAL call every bird REDUP~every
 ‘when it bears fruit, it invites all the birds’ (exp13:34)

For example, the most frequent collocate of *seaa* is the semitransitive verb *en* ‘to eat’; the resulting expression *en seaa* is fully transitive, roughly meaning ‘to eat all of’. The following examples illustrate the same process also with the semitransitive verb *tée* ‘look’. The second example also indicates that the same structure is not grammatical if *seaa* is replaced by *kevene*:

- (81) a. *Ko=m en/ *ane seaa Ø-ada mubuo mo nok?*
 2S=REAL eat(SEMTR)/ eat(TR) every CL2-1D.IN.POSS meat REAL finish
 ‘Have you eaten all our meat?’ (sto27:45)
- b. *di-sye saka ka-n téé seaa/ *kevene*
 part-3S.POSS MOD.NEG 2D-NEC look every/ every
 ‘they could not see the other half’ (sto25:115)

In contrast to *kevene*, there is only one possible position for *seaa* in negated clauses if it quantifies the subject. The negation is interpreted to scope over the quantifier, the resulting interpretation being ‘not all’ instead of ‘no one’.

- (82) a. *Temeli nyoo ya to me seaa teenem.*
 child 3P 3P REAL;NEG come every home
- b. *temeli nyoo *seaa ya to me teenem*
 child 3P every 3P come home
 ‘Not all children came home.’

A more specialized case of universal quantification is represented by the lexeme *nokis* ‘both’. Like its English counterpart, it can only quantify over two individuals. It is also more restricted in its syntactic distribution than the other two universal quantifiers. Crucially, it always requires the presence of the third person dual pronoun *nya*, or of the homophonous dual marker. This also means that *nokis*, in contrast to most of the other quantifiers, cannot be used pronominally:

- (83) a. *te nya nokis ye=m mer~mer*
 CONJ 3D both 3D=REAL REDUP~dead
 ‘hey both died’ (sto41:103)
- b. *vyaven nya nokis ye=m vyan etes*
 woman 3D both 3D=REAL go at.the.sea
 ‘the two women both went to the sea’
- c. *na=m kye temeli (nya en=te) nya nokis*
 1S=REAL call child 3D DEF=MED 3D both
 ‘I called both (these) children’

In contrast to the other two universal quantifiers, it is not possible for *nokis* to follow the predicate of the clause:

- (84) **[(vyanten (nya (ló)) ye=m vyan nokis]*
 person 3D two 3D=REAL go both
 intended: ‘Both men went’

Nokis cannot quantify adverbs. In negative clauses, the quantifier *nokis* has scope over the negation:

- (85) *Na to esi temeli nya en=te nya nokis.*
 1S REAL;NEG see child 3D DEF=MED 3D both
 ‘I didn’t see either of these two children.’

4. Minor Word Classes

4.2.3. Existential quantifiers

The existential quantifiers come in two varieties: *swa*, *wuoswa* and *murswa* introduce an existential presupposition, while *tuswa*, *tisyu* and *mursi* do not. The former are mostly restricted to positive, assertive realis environments, while the latter primarily occur in questions, and negative or non-realis contexts.

The three presuppositional quantifiers are transparently related: *swa* is also the numeral ‘one’, *wuoswa* is a lexicalized idiom composed of *wuo* ‘heap’ and *swa*, literally ‘one heap’. Similarly, the first part of *murswa* goes back to *mur* ‘piece’.

The diachronic source of *tuswa* might be the sequence of the distal marker *tV* plus *swa*. The combination of a TAM marker and a numeral is generally quite frequent, as numerals are often used as non-initial predicates in serial predicate constructions, in which case they are preceded by a TAM marker (see section 7.3.2, page 277). However, these cases also require the presence of the copula *i*. Furthermore, many environments which allow *tuswa* would also allow the sequence *w-i swa* (POT-COP one), involving the potential marker, but not the sequence *t-i swa* (DIST-COP one), with the distal marker:

- (86) *na=p min-tase [w=i swa]/ [*t=i swa]/ [tuswa] mon*
1S=POT drink-again POT=COP one(PSUP)/ DIST=COP one(PSUP)/ one(NPSUP) also
‘I will drink another one’ (sto02:71)

It is therefore clear that today, *tuswa* is one simple lexeme, not a combination of a TAM marker and a numeral anymore. There are several more cases in which TAM markers might have been absorbed into lexemes, thereby losing their initial function, but sometimes retaining some of their formal properties—see section 3.4.1, page 99 and section 7.2.3.

The etymology of *tisyu* and *mursi* is less clear. The *ti-* in *tisyu* might also have originated from the distal marker, but the second part is opaque; the *mur-* in *mursi* clearly goes back to *mur* ‘piece’ and the second part might be reconstructed as the numeral *sii* ‘three’, but this would not explain its non-presuppositional nature and speakers do not perceive it as a compound of any sort.

The differences in presuppositionality lead to differences in interpretation, depending on the environment. Generally, in positive realis clauses, the non-presuppositional quantifiers are only felicitous if the sentence is given the intonation and interpretation of a question:

- (87) a. *Wotop swa/ murswa mwe pwer.*
breadfruit one(PSUP)/ a.bit(PSUP) REAL stay
‘One breadfruit/a piece of breadfruit remains.’
b. *Wotop tuswa/ mursi mwe pwer?*
breadfruit one(NPSUP)/ a.bit(NPSUP) REAL stay
‘Is there [still] one breadfruit/a piece of breadfruit [left]?’
- (88) a. *Wotop wuoswa mu du.*
breadfruit some(PSUP) REAL stay
‘Some breadfruits remain.’
b. *Wotop tisyu mu du?*
breadfruit some(NPSUP) REAL stay

‘Are there any breadfruits [left]?’

In negative realis environments, the presuppositional quantifiers have scope over the negation, while non-presuppositional quantifiers have narrow scope. At the same time, for *tuswa* and *mursi*, there is a second interpretation available in which the quantifiers take narrow scope, in contrast to their presuppositional counterparts; for *tisyu* this interpretation is not available:

- (89) a. *Wotop swa/ ?murswa to pwer.*
breadfruit one(PSUP)/ a.bit(PSUP) REAL;NEG stay
‘One breadfruit/a piece of the breadfruit is missing.’
- b. *Wotop tuswa/ mursi to pwer./?*
breadfruit one(NPSUP)/ a.bit(NPSUP) REAL;NEG stay
(i) ‘There is no breadfruit/ not a bit of breadfruit.’
(ii) ‘Is there no breadfruit/ not a bit of breadfruit?’
- (90) a. *Temeli wuoswa ya to me teenem.*
child some(PSUP) 3P REAL;NEG come home
‘Some children didn’t come home.’
- b. *Temeli tisyu ya to me teenem?*
child some(PSUP) 3P REAL;NEG come home
‘Didn’t some children come home?’

In connection with non-realis modalities, the differences in interpretation are more subtle. In most cases, both presuppositional and non-presuppositional quantifiers can be used. If the presuppositional quantifiers are used, however, the speaker has a specific referent in mind, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (91) a. *ka vyanten tuswa te me te saka ko=n sóró myane*
SUBCONJ person one(PSUP) DIST come CONJ NEG.MOD 2S=NEC speak with
‘if anyone comes, don’t talk to them’
- b. *ka vyanten swa te me te saka ko=n sóró myane*
SUBCONJ person one(PSUP) DIST come CONJ NEG.MOD 2S=NEC speak with
‘if someone comes, don’t speak to him/her’ (I have someone specific in mind)
- (92) *webung tuswa/ ?swa yaapu ka we kueli me*
day one(PSUP)/ one(PSUP) big.man MOD.REL POT return come
‘one day, God will return’ (if the speaker uses *swa*, she presumes to know which specific day this will be)

Murswa and *mursi* are partitive by definition. While this is not necessarily the case for the other quantifiers, they too have clearly partitive readings whenever the noun phrase they follow is definite (see also section 4.1.3, page 136). The following two examples show *swa* (one(PSUP)) in a positive realis context and *tisyu* (some(NPSUP)) in a conditional context, both picking out only a subgroup of individuals from a larger group:

- (93) a. *nyoo swa mwe yurmiline Ø-an bosi*
3P one(PSUP) REAL forget CL2-3S.POSS copra.chisel
‘one of them had forgotten his copra chisel’ (sto01:8)

4. Minor Word Classes

- b. *ka nyoo tisyu ya=t me te saka ko=n sóró myane*
 SUBCONJ 3P some(PSUP) 3P=DIST come CONJ NEG.MOD 2S=NEC speak with
 ‘if any of them comes, don’t talk to them’

Both *swa* and *tuswa* could also be described as indefinite articles and pronouns instead of quantifiers. The reason I have grouped them with the quantifiers instead is that they share so many of their crucial properties. Both the article function and the pronominal function of *swa* are illustrated once again below:

- (94) a. *webung ke~kevene ye=m du~ru vyan te nyur~nyur=an*
 day REDUP~every 3D=REAL REDUP~stay go CONJ REDUP~think=NM
swa mwe me=ne nya
 one(PSUP) REAL COME=TRANS 3D
 ‘every day, the two were together, then they had an idea’ (lit. ‘an idea came to them’) (sto07:6)
- b. *vyan ka swa ka te mer te ya=m ka vyanten ti tiye,*
 go SUBCONJ one(PSUP) SUBCONJ DIST dead CONJ 3P=REAL say man DIST kill
t=i abwilyep
 DIST=COP black.magic
 ‘When someone dies, they say someone killed him, it was black magic.’
 (con02:118)

Swa in particular is also used several generic indefinite expressions such as *syé swa* (thing one) ‘something’, *vyanten swa* (person one) ‘someone’ and *yan swa* (on one) ‘sometimes, once’ as illustrated below:

- (95) *Yan swa ma liye s-an apyaló vyan Lamap te esi pere*
 on one(PSUP) REAL take CL3-3S.POSS ship go NAME CONJ see priest
 ‘Once, he took his ship to Lamap to see the priest.’
- (96) *Yan swa ko=p vinye ne vislee, yan swa ko=m gomu ma ge=te*
 on one(PSUP) 2S=POT shoot with bow on one 2S=REAL grab REAL be.like=MED
kyun
 just
 ‘sometimes you shoot it with a bow, sometimes you just grab it like that’ (exp07:147)

This idiomatic expression has apparently developed as an abbreviation from terms like ‘one day’ or ‘one time’ as in the following case:

- (97) *ale, yan webung swa, ómesyu mwe vyan te usi myane*
 well at day one(PSUP) crab REAL go CONJ ask with
 ‘one day, the crab came and asked him’ (sto11:3)

Murswa and *mursi* do not only quantify nominal expressions. They can also be used as adverbial quantifiers. In these cases, they usually express that an action is carried out only for a short while or to a low degree, as shown in the following two examples:

- (98) a. *ye=m oko murswa me tetes*
 3PC=REAL walk a.bit(PSUP) come again
 ‘They went a bit further’ (rep04:73)
- b. *a ka te meu pwer, ka ko=t kaa-kilye mursi te mo*
 and SUBCONJ DIST live stay SUBCONJ 2S=DIST bend-miss a.bit CONJ REAL
kuowilye ka we sye-veni ngok
 know MOD.COMP REAL cut-dead 2S
 ‘if it’s still alive, if you miss it [even] by a little, it can stab you to death’
 (exp07:220)

With stative predicates, however, one interpretation of adverbial *murswa* is just the opposite: in examples like (99), *murswa* corresponds to English expressions like *quite* or *considerably*.

- (99) *ko=t pyen myar=ane te mur me a me a kuo ngabak,*
 2S=DIST shoot aimlessly=TRANS CONJ fall come and come and run still
mw=i basée swa mwe yas murswa
 REAL=COP bird one REAL strong a.bit(PSUP)
 ‘if you shoot and miss it, it falls, but still it flies, it’s a pretty tough bird’ (exp02:106)

Given an appropriate context, another interpretation of *murswa* applied to a stative, gradable predicate is that this predicate now applies ‘a bit more’ than it did before:

- (100) *Ma ka te ma usi ka: “Tawi, ma ge=vi?” Te ma ka: “E, mu*
 REAL say CONJ REAL ask say tawi REAL be.like=what CONJ REAL say hey REAL
vu murswa.”
 good a.bit(PSUP)
 ‘He asked him: “Tawi, how are you?” Then he said: “Well, a bit better.”’ (con01:56)

Both of these interpretations are also available when *murswa* is used to quantify adverbs. Below is an example of the adverb *meerin* ‘a long time ago, for a long time’, here used as a non-initial predicate in a serial predicate construction, modified by *murswa*:

- (101) a. *mwe ngapngap mw=i meerin murswa*
 REAL rest REAL=COP long.time a.bit(PSUP)
 ‘It has been at rest for quite a while’ (exp29:57)
- b. *temeli mwe oko, oko, oko, mwe me pesili murswa*
 child REAL walk walk walk REAL come near a.bit(PSUP)
 ‘the boy walked on and on, came a bit closer’ (sto22:35)

4. Minor Word Classes

4.3. Prepositions

4.3.1. Overview

Most prepositions in Daakaka are morphologically simple, but three of them are inflected. Accordingly, I have divided this section into two parts, one about uninflected prepositions and one about their inflected relatives.

In terms of their function, there are three major semantic categories: The first category modifies verb phrases by introducing new participants, such as recipients or instruments; they typically follow the verb phrase.

The second category modifies a clause by specifying the time or location at which an event takes place or by indicating the destination of a movement; like other adverbs, prepositional phrases of location or destination mostly follow the verb phrase, while adverbs of time frequently precede the clause.

Finally, this section also includes two lexemes which can also serve as conjunctions and might therefore not be considered to be prepositions in the narrow sense.

The first of these two lexemes is the uninflected preposition *myane* ‘to, with’: one function of *myane* is to introduce the recipient of an action; the second function is to conjoin two noun phrases to form a single argument as in *tomo myane seebwiyo* ‘the rat and the kingfisher’. As the first of these two functions is clearly prepositional and because in some cases, the two functions can hardly be distinguished, I decided to treat both functions of *myane* in this section about prepositions. When introducing a recipient, the phrase headed by *myane* always follows the verb phrase. If used as a conjunction, it can occur both in object position, at the end of the verb phrase, and in subject (or, more precisely, topic) position, preceding the verb phrase.

The other conjunction, *t-* (and-*x y*) ‘*x* and *y*’, is too peculiar to fit neatly into any category, but appears to be closest to the other two inflected prepositions in terms of its morpho-syntactic behaviour. I therefore discuss it in detail in the section on inflected prepositions.

At least some of the prepositions can take a clause as argument instead of a noun phrase, such as *metone* ‘from’ in the example below:

- (102) *tes mwe myas, nyoo ya=m kulye metone [na tes mwe myas]*
sea REAL dry 3P 3P=REAL get.a.fright from COMP sea REAL dry
‘the tide was low, they got a fright because the tide was low’ (lit. ‘...from that the tide was low’) (sto02:31)

Subordinating prepositions and their complement clauses are discussed in more detail in section 8.1.4.

Prepositional phrases can function as predicates, but they need to be preceded by the copula *i* (see also section 6.2).

The class of prepositions is not particularly large in Daakaka. A reason for that is certainly that the typical functions of a preposition can also be executed by several other constructions in this language. In particular, two types of constructions stand in competition with the prepositions: the first are serial predicate constructions, of which several also introduce additional participants, locations or similar; secondly, some adverbs can be transitivized and in effect

function like prepositions. See section 7 for more on serial predicate constructions and section 3.5 for more on adverbs.

4.3.2. Uninflected prepositions

Myane: ‘with, to’

Among those prepositions that introduce new participants to a verb phrase, *myane* is the most frequent. *Myane* has two fundamental meanings. The first one is a comitative meaning, where *myane* specifies who else, in addition to the subject, participates in an action; in this function, *myane* can be translated as ‘with’:

- (103) a. *sivi te pwe bangbang myane nya na en=e*
 lorikeet DIST CONT play with 3D ATT DEF=ALT
 ‘the lorikeet used to play with the two others’ (sto04:5)
- b. *te bweti lewewedrame ma ongane na mwe myor=ane na ka*
 CONJ stem.of kava.plant REAL hear COMP REAL right=TRANS COMP say
ka wa sukuo myane bweti ló-ó
 MOD.REL POT be.together with stem.of plant-coconut
 ‘then the kava plant felt that it was right that it would be together with the coconut palm’ (sto16:53)

This comitative or associative meaning also extends to inanimate objects, as in the following example, where the greens accompany a (dead) bird as part of a meal:

- (104) *s-an tuutu ma liye basée en=te me te mwe soluu=ne*
 CL3-3S.POSS grandparent REAL take bird DEF=MED COME CONJ REAL steam=TRANS
myane Ø-aya ivyo
 with CL2-3D.POSS cabbage
 ‘then his grandfather took this bird and steamed it with their greens’ (sto14:12)

Furthermore, comitative *myane* can also be used as a conjunction, coordinating two noun phrases. The resulting complex noun phrase can be both in object and subject position:

- (105) a. *Sóróusi=an ma usili tyu myane meo.*
 talk=NM REAL follow chicken with namalau
 ‘The story is about the chicken and the incubator bird.’ (sto07:3)
- b. [*vyap myató swa myane meby-un-eli*] *ye=m du vyan*
 old.woman old one with grandchild-3s.poss-dim 3D=REAL stay go
te~te vis
 REDUP~cut banana
 ‘an old woman and her grandson went to cut bananas’ (sto38:3)

The second role that the argument of *myane* can play is the recipient of an action. Two frequent types of collocates of *myane* are the verb *səngane* ‘give’, and verbs of speaking such as *sóro usili* (speak follow) ‘tell’ or *ka* ‘say’. The following two examples illustrate how the

4. Minor Word Classes

argument introduced by *myane* in such cases is interpreted as the recipient of what is given or told respectively:

- (106) a. *ko=p polo vyos en=ke te wesame tuswa te su*
 2S=POT climb coconut DEF=SDLC CONJ peel one CONJ pluck.with.stick
te [sèngane myane nye]
 CONJ give with 1S
 ‘you climb for these coconuts and peel one and pluck it and give it to me’
 (sto15:33)
- b. *Sóróusi=an=ne goyor na [na=m sóró usili myane kimim] mwe*
 talk=NМ=TRANS red.ant COMP 1S=REAL talk follow with 2P REAL
mwer~mwer ma ge=te kyun.
 REDUP~short REAL be.like=MED just
 ‘The story of the ants which I have told you is only as short as this.’ (sto01:34)

When an action of transmission (e.g. of giving or telling) is reciprocal, being a participant in that action means to be a recipient of what is being transmitted. Thus, the role of companion and the role of recipient are indistinguishable in these cases, as illustrated by the following two examples:

- (107) a. *te ya=m sye te pipine myane nyoo*
 CONJ 3P=REAL cut CONJ share with 3P
 ‘they cut him [into pieces] and shared him with each other’ (sto02:43)
- b. *kyun te ya=m ling daa myane nyoo*
 just CONJ 3P=REAL put language with 3P
 ‘then they had a discussion’ (lit. ‘they put talk to each other’) (sto02:21)

The most frequent collocate of *myane* is the verb *ge* ‘be like’. If the object of the comparison expressed by *ge* is not referred to by a deictic element as in *ma ge=tak* (REAL be.like=PROX) ‘it’s like this’, but by a full noun phrase, *myane* is needed to introduce that noun phrase (see also section 4.1.4):

- (108) *tevy-an na s-an pisya ma ge myane [yesukuo yesyes]_{NP}*
 side.of-3S.POSS COMP CL3-3S.POSS paint REAL be.like with leaves green
 ‘because its color is like the green leaves’ (exp02:100)

Instead of a noun phrase, the argument of *myane* can also be a clause, as illustrated in the following example. This option might however be restricted to the construction with *ge* ‘be like’.

- (109) *ma liye ∅-an pensil ma ge myane [na ko=m liye]=te*
 REAL take CL3-3S.POSS pencil REAL like with COMP 2S=REAL take=MED
 ‘he had a pencil like [the one] you have’ (rep08:35)

In event argument serializations, the argument of *myane* can also be a phrase consisting of a TAM-marker and a verb:

- (110) *bwe kuu~kuu ma ge myane [bwe pepyap]*
 CONT REDUP~MOVE REAL like with REAL;CONT shiver
 ‘it moves like it’s shivering’ (exp08:85)

For more on event argument serializations, see section 7.3, for more on prepositions with complement clauses, see section 8.1.4.

Metone: ‘from’

The preposition *metone* mostly occurs with intransitive verbs. The role of an argument introduced by *metone* might best be characterized as ‘origin of repulsion’, something the subject pushes away from; if the preceding verb denotes a motion verb which implies repulsion from an immobile object X as the cause of a movement such as *jump*, the argument of *metone* denotes this immobile object X:

- (111) a. *ka te mea metone dal-un...*
 SUBCONJ DIST jump from egg-3S.POSS
 ‘when she jumped up from her eggs, ...’ (sto34:29)
- b. *bwilya mu kuo vyan te vyan tavya metone tan te ka*
 rail REAL run go CONJ go get.up from ground CONJ fly
 ‘the rail ran away and then took off from the ground and flew’ (sto31:60)

With verbs of motion without repulsion, the argument of *metone* will denote the object away from which the motion is directed. It is then not necessary that physical contact between the subject and the argument of *metone* precede the movement. Mostly, these cases involve ‘manner of motion’ verbs such as *ka* ‘fly’, *kuo* ‘move fast, run’, and *saa* ‘float, swim’:

- (112) a. *kyun te ya=m ka metone lee*
 after CONJ 3P=REAL fly from tree
 ‘and then they flew away from the tree’ (exp08:53)
- b. *mwe ka ka we me gérase lisepsep, te lisepsep on we*
 REAL say MOD.REL POT come cheat lisepsep CONJ lisepsep CL3-3S.POSS POT
nek te we kuo metone s-an bivian
 fear CONJ POT run from 3S.POSS brother
 ‘he wanted to fool the lisepsep, so that the lisepsep would be frightened and run away from his friend’ (sto31:83)
- c. *ka ya=t du saa metone vilye or...*
 SUBCONJ 3P=DIST stay float from place shore
 ‘when they were floating off the shore...’ (sto25:171)

In other contexts, *metone* can express a disconnection, a loss of contact:

- (113) *na=m ongane mwe ka na=p seaa metone ngok*
 1S=REAL hear REAL say 1S=POT disappear from 2S
 ‘I feel that I will leave you’ (lit. ‘disappear from you’, uttered on a deathbed) (sto17:11)

4. Minor Word Classes

- (114) *mw=i em na ka we savip pyan na ka wo ko*
 REAL=COP house COMP MOD.REL POT seek.shelter under COMP MOD.REL POT look.for
moomoo metone yaa
 shelter from sun
 ‘it’s a house under which he can hide, where he can seek shelter from the sun’
 (exp12:11)

The most frequent collocate of *metone* is the verb *kulye* ‘be startled, to get a fright’, where *metone* introduces whatever causes the alarm. Here, the semantic notion of repulsion which we have seen in connection with verbs like ‘jump’ above appears to be more salient than the notion of putting a distance between the subject and the argument of *metone*.

The following example is taken from a report of a number of girls who came across the baby of a lisepep:

- (115) *ye=m me ma ge=tak te kulye metone kekei en=te*
 3PC=REAL come REAL be.like=PROX CONJ get.a.fright from baby DEF=MED
 ‘thus they came and were startled by this baby’ (rep10:10)

Like some other prepositions, *metone* can also take clauses as arguments instead of nouns (see also section 8.1.4):

- (116) *Ma ka we vyan ti ki=tak te vyan kulye metone [na vyap*
 REAL say POT go DIST like=PROX CONJ go get.a.fright from COMP old.woman
myató swa mwe dange bosine barar].
 old one REAL sprinkle bone=TRANS pig
 ‘Thus it went and then it was startled by an old woman throwing away pig bones.’ (lit.
 ‘...from that an old woman was throwing away pig bones...’) (sto18:13)

(A)ne: ‘with (an instrument)’

The preposition (*a*)ne is homophonous with the transitivizing morpheme described in sections 3.2.3 and 4.1.3. In contrast to the transitivizer, the preposition (*a*)ne is used only with transitive verbs and makes a more concrete semantic contribution to a sentence: While the role of an argument of a transitivized lexeme depends mostly on the lexeme itself and the context, the argument of (*a*)ne is always interpreted as some kind of instrument.

The following three sentences all come from a description about how to make mats and are a nice illustration of the instrumental meaning of (*a*)ne:

- (117) a. *Ding mw=i sye swa na vyanten nyoo meerin me sikya yene*
 mat REAL=COP something one COMP person 3P long.time come touch now
ya=m pwer yan, tas yan, puos sisye ne.
 3P=REAL stay on sit on buy thing with
 ‘The mat is something which people have been sleeping on, sitting on and trading
with from olden times until today.’ (exp20:1)
- b. *Vyanten mwe gene sisye mwe pwis seaaten ne ding.*
 man REAL make thing REAL be.numerous extremely with mat

- ‘People do many things with mats.’ (exp20:2)
 c. *Ya=m gene ding ne ye wep.*
 3P=REAL make mat with leaf pandanus
 ‘They make mats out of pandanus leaves.’ (exp20:4)

The last of these three examples also shows that sometimes, the argument of prepositional (*a*)*ne* denotes the material something is made of rather than an instrument something is made with, which can however be regarded as a very closely related meaning.

As might be expected, the arguments of (*a*)*ne* are not restricted to tools or instruments in a narrow sense, as shown in the following example, where the subject’s eyes take the role of an instrument:

- (118) *a bili sa mw=i temeli vyaven sa mwe esi sye en=te ne*
 and time CM REAL=COP child woman CM REAL see something DEF=MED with
met-an
 eye-3S.POSS
 ‘but when she was a girl she saw this thing with her own eyes’ (rep10:24)

Ye: calling so. by a name

This is a rather specialized preposition: *ye* ‘to’ is only used in connection with naming people, or referring to people by certain names. Accordingly, the following two examples exhaust the list of collocates in the corpus:

- (119) a. *ko=p lingi s-ok is [ye temeli en=te]*
 2S=POT put CL3-1S name to child DEF=MED
 ‘give my name to this child’ (exp28:19)
 b. *te nat-en ka we kye s-an tawièn [ye misya s-an*
 CONJ child-3S.POSS MOD.REL POT call CL3-3S.POSS tawi to uncle CL3-3S.POSS
taata]
 father
 ‘then the child would call the uncle of his father ‘his tawi’ ’ (see section 3.3.6 for definitions of kinship terms)(exp27:30)

Yen: ‘in’

Along with the inflected preposition *y-* ‘on’, *yen* ‘in’ is the most frequent spatial preposition in Daakaka. It can denote both the static location where an action or event takes place, and the destination of a movement. Both cases are illustrated in the following two examples:

- (120) a. *Barar en=te mwe pwer yen s-an biyep vyan...*
 pig DEF=MED REAL stay in CL3-3S.POSS fence go
 ‘this pig lived in its pen for a while...’ (sto46:3)
 b. *tomo mwe vyan te bwis yen b-on*
 rat REAL go CONJ pass.under in 3S.POSS-hole
 ‘the rat went and went into his hole’ (sto32:30)

4. Minor Word Classes

The location denoted by a phrase headed by *yen* is not necessarily a cavity of any sort. As in English, *yen* can also be used to express locations such as ‘in the woods’, ‘in the garden’ etc.:

- (121) *byar mwe pwer yen ló-ó nyoo*
 platform REAL stay in plant-coconut 3P
 ‘the copra oven is between the coconut palms’ (exp18:14)

Furthermore, the meaning of *yen* also extends to periods of time and durations as in the following examples:

- (122) a. *yen dom na mo nok*
 in year COMP REAL finish
 ‘(in the) last year’ (sto24:138)
- b. *Gyes=an na na=m gomu pyan church, na=m gomu yen [dom*
 work=NM COMP 1S=REAL grab under church 1S=REAL grab in year
ung lim a lim] doma.
 times.ten five and five today
 ‘As of today, I have been doing this work in the church for fifty-five years.’
 (lit. ‘The work which I hold in the church, I hold it for fifty-five years today.’)
 (rep01:23)

The notion ‘in the night’ can be expressed by the adverb *limyaek*, but younger speakers also resort to the phrase *yen myaek*. This is curious in that, in most environments, *myaek* behaves like a verb, not like a noun, and should therefore not be able to occur in a preposition phrase. It is likely that this phrase has developed from a transfer from Bislama *long naet* (in night) ‘at night’ to Daakaka. For more on this and similar expressions, see also section 3.5.3 on temporal adverbs and section 6.2.2.

The notion of ‘inside’ is not always expressed by this preposition. First of all, there are two nouns which refer to the inside of living things: the transitive noun *yeli* ‘the inside of’, which is restricted to plants; and the inflected noun *tiny-* ‘the inside of, guts of’, which selects mostly for animate referents, but can also go with plants:

- (123) *ta-ku-kuwu bwenges=an nyoo te liye na mwe looloo a ma*
 cut.loose-REDUP~out branch=DEF 3P CONJ take COMP REAL soft and REAL
pe~pyó, mwe pwer yeli-sye te ane
 REDUP~white REAL stay inside.of-3S.POSS CONJ eat
 ‘cut off the branches and take out the soft white stuff, it’s inside the wood, then eat it’
- (124) *ko=m se-ku~kuwu tiny-en le-wewo*
 2S=REAL remove-REDUP~out inside-3S.POSS plant-bamboo
 ‘you remove the innermost layer of the bamboo’

Secondly, when talking about the inside of habitable covered spaces such as caves or huts, the preposition *pyan* is used rather than *yen*, as described in the following section.

***Pyan*: ‘under’**

The preposition *pyan* means ‘under’. Like with *yen* in the previous section, the argument of *pyan* can denote either the location of an event or the destination of a movement. Both cases are illustrated by the following two examples:

- (125) a. *ma esi ebya-on mu du pyan borsyuk swa ma ge=te*
 REAL see wing-3S.POSS REAL stay under rubbish.heap one REAL be.like=MED
te wuk tilya
 CONJ already take
 ‘she saw her wings lie under a heap of rubbish and she took them’ (sto43:38)
- b. *mwe towane ∅-an suku mees pyan s-an silee*
 REAL throw CL3-3S.POSS stuff food under CL3-3S.POSS table
 ‘he threw the scraps of the food under the table’ (sto19:33)

In many cases, however, *pyan* would more felicitously be translated into English as ‘in’ rather than ‘under’. These cases generally concern enclosed spaces suitable as habitats for humans or animals, such as caves and huts:

- (126) a. *mwe bwis vyan pyan bwele na towo*
 REAL pass.under go under cave COMP big
 ‘he went into the big cave’ (sto25:105)
- b. *mwe syoo=ane ye ó pyan m-aya em*
 REAL go.through=TRANS leaf coconut under CL1-3D.POSS house
 ‘he pushed coconut leaves into their house’ (sto39:21)
- c. *ye=m naknak=ane mees ∅-e Buwu mu du pyan m-an*
 3PC=REAL be.ready=TRANS food CL2-POSS NAME REAL stay under CL1-3S.POSS
bwinyap
 kitchen
 ‘they prepared food for Buwu and left it in the kitchen hut’ (rep04:12)

The phrase *pyan em* (under house) is often used as an adverb simply meaning ‘inside’, regardless if any actual house or hut is involved as in the following utterance, which is routinely used as a command to sit inside a truck instead of its loading space:

- (127) *Ko=p tas pyan em!*
 2S=POT sit under house
 ‘Sit inside (a car)!’

In one example in the corpus, the adverb *pyan em* is even transitivized to become a preposition again. Note that the argument of the transitivized phrase is itself a nominalized verb, *kuokuo* ‘(to) close’, yielding the meaning ‘enclosure’. This deverbal noun refers to the cocoon of an insect:

- (128) [*pyan em=ane s-an kuokuo=an*] or *mwe pyang~pyang kyun pwer*
 under house=TRANS CL3-3S.POSS shut=NM place REAL REDUP~hot just stay
 ‘inside its enclosure, it’s warm’ (lit. ‘under the house of its enclosure’) (exp50:25)

4. Minor Word Classes

See section 4.1.3 for more on transitivized nouns. There is a closely related, homophonous adverbial counterpart to prepositional *pyan*, which means ‘down’ and is described in more detail in section 3.5.

***Kuane*: ‘at the home of’**

The preposition *kuane* has a rather specific meaning: it denotes someone’s home or house as the location of an event, and its argument specifies who this home belongs to, like a transitive noun. The argument of *kuane* is often a pronoun, but can also be a noun phrase:

- (129) *ye=m du koo~koo=ane tyu nya en=te kuane nya*
3D=REAL stay REDUP~take.care=TRANS chicken 3D DEF=MED home.of 3D
‘the two took care of the two chickens at their house’
- (130) *ye=m vyan kuane temyar tetes*
3D=REAL go home.of demon again
‘they went to the house of the demon again’ (sto34:9)

The word *kuane* could in principle be analyzed as consisting of a lexeme **ku* and the transitivizer *ane*—see chapter 4.1.3. However, speakers have very clear intuitions about *kuane* being one simplex word and the reconstructed lexeme **ku* does not exist. The intransitive counterpart to *kuane* is the lexical adverb *teenem*, which is described in more detail in section 3.5.2.

***Teve, tevesye, bun* and *visyaa*: ‘at, close to’**

If a noun is to denote the location at which an event takes place or the destination toward which a movement is directed, this noun is introduced by the preposition *teve* ‘at, to’, or, more frequently, by its inflected counterpart *tevy-* which is described in section 4.3.3. The example in (131) shows how *teve* takes a noun phrase as its argument:

- (131) *nye ka na=p kueli vyan teve [s-ok naana]*
1S MOD.REL 1S=POT return go side.of CL3-1S.POSS mother
‘I will go to my mother’ (sto25:71)

There is a nominal counterpart to adverbial *teve*, which only ever occurs in the form *tevesye*, where the suffix indicates a third person possessor as in ‘its side’ (see also 3.3.3). This situation is further complicated by the fact that a homophonous but synchronically simplex preposition *tevesye* also exists. In most contexts, it can be translated as ‘on the other side of *x*’, where *x* is its complement.

If its complement is the noun *or* ‘place’, the entire phrase *tevesye or* is to be translated as ‘from/to/at the other side’, like in the following example:

- (132) *yap myató en=te me vyan liye myaop me [tevesye or] Teveltes*
old.man old DEM=MED come go take volcano come on.other.side bush NAME
‘this man brought the volcano from the other side (of the place) at Malekula long ago’
(sto24:135)

The preposition *tevesye* is also often used to contrast two sides of one thing, as in (133) (see also section 4.1.6).

- (133) *ka na=p lingi syan wa tinyo tevesye buluwu, syan tevesye*
 MOD.REL 1S=POT put other POT stand on.other.side hole other on.other.side
buluwu,
 hole
 ‘I will put one to one side of the hole, the other one to the other side.’ (sto41:54)

- (134) *syon ka wa vinye tevesye nye, syon ka wa vinye tevesye*
 other MOD.REL POT shoot on.other.side 1S other MOD.REL POT shoot on.other.side
nye
 1S
 ‘each of them will shoot on either side of me’ (lit. ‘one will shoot at one side of me, one will shoot at one side of me’) (sto41:91)

Less common than *teve* but similar in meaning is the term *visyaa* ‘next to’:

- (135) a. *tyu mwe vyan tinyo visyaa bwili wye*
 chicken REAL go stand side hole.of water
 ‘the chicken went to stand next to the pond’ (sto07:14)
 b. *mwe yung-yung pwer visyaa vyor kyun*
 REAL REDUP~quiet stay side stone just
 ‘it rests silently next to a stone’ (exp52:3)

Concluding this section, the lexeme *bun* ‘at’ is rather rare and the only collocate found in the corpus is *beleem* ‘door’ in *bun beleem* ‘at the door’. Even so, speakers do perceive it as an independent word with an independent meaning.

Ten: ‘for’

Ten is mostly used as a predicate in combination with the copula. Examples such as in (136), where *ten* is the head of an adverbial phrase, are relatively rare:

- (136) *mwe naknak ten [na ka we gene gyes=an tetes yen byaek na*
 REAL ready for COMP MOD.REL POT make work=NM again in bag COMP
ya=m syokilye]
 3P=REAL exchange
 ‘he is ready to work again with the sacks which they have exchanged’ (exp18:40)

Instead, it is usually preceded by the copula, which can then serve as a main predicate as in (137), a serial predicate with adverbial meaning as in (138), or, embedded within a relative clause, as an attribute, as in (139):

4. Minor Word Classes

- (137) *Ka ya=p du es~esi ngok teenem a [nye ka na w=i ten*
 MOD.REL 3P=POT stay REDUP~see 2S home and 1S MOD.REL 1S POT=COP for
dóór kyun].
 dark.bush just
 ‘They shall see you in the village and I, I will stay in the bush.’ (lit. ‘I will be for the bush’) (sto07:39)
- (138) *ya=m gene mw=i ten vyanten ma oko*
 3P=REAL make REAL=COP for person REAL walk
 ‘they made for travelling’ (exp04:3)
- (139) *a na=m gomu gyes=an [na mw=i ten church] pwer sikya doma*
 and 1S=REAL grab work=NM COMP REAL=COP for church stay touch today
 ‘and I still keep the profession which is for the church until today’ (rep01:22)

Otherwise, a phrase headed by *ten* can also be transformed into an attribute by the morpheme *na* (see section 3.4.4):

- (140) *luu-sye na ten eye*
 root-3S.POSS ATT for knife
 ‘its roots which are used for the knife’ (lit. ‘its roots for the knife’) (exp13:49)

Ten is one of a small number of prepositions which can take complement clauses as arguments. This function is described in more detail in section 8.1.4. The role of *ten* in serial predicate constructions is described in section 7.4.3.

Vya *x*: ‘*x* times’

The lexeme *vya x* ‘*x* times’ can be classified as a preposition because it takes a complement, cannot head a predicate by itself and the phrase it heads occurs exclusively in non-argument positions. It is special, however, in that it only takes numerals as complements.

Its main function is to indicate how often an event takes place, so it can be classified as a quantifying morpheme, the phrase it heads is an adverb of quantification. This function is illustrated by (141):

- (141) *ye=m ku~kyu or vya sii*
 3PC=REAL REDUP~surround place times three
 ‘they went round three times’ (rep08:62)

However, the sequence *vya swa* (times one) means ‘at once’, indicating that several events take place at the same time or that an action applies to several subjects or objects at the same time:

- (142) a. *vyaa mw=i vyer vya swa na ma oko ne*
 hand REAL=COP four times one COMP REAL walk with
 ‘he walked on all four limbs at once’ (lit. ‘the limbs were four at once that he walked with’) (rep04:23)

- b. *mwe vyan vyose ó me te towane yan byar vya swa*
 REAL go carry coconut come CONJ throw on platform times one
 ‘he takes the [scooped out flesh of the] coconuts and throws them onto the oven
 all at once’ (exp18:15)

Sikya: ‘until, to’

The expression *sikya* is another quite idiosyncratic lexeme of the language. On the one hand, there is a regular, transitive verb *sikya*, meaning ‘touch’. In addition, there is also an item *sikya* ‘until, up to’ which can take adverbs such as *yene* ‘now’ as arguments, yielding ‘until now’; verbs can typically not do this, but some prepositions can. In addition, this prepositional *sikya* can also be the first element of a clause as in (143), which is also common for temporal adverbs, but generally not possible for verbs.

- (143) *sikya yene, pus myane tomo ye=m sang~sanga=ne nya (sikya yene)*
 until now cat with rat 3D=REAL REDUP~bad=TRANS 3D until now
 ‘until now, the cat and the rat are angry at each other’ (sto27:54)

So apparently, some instances of *sikya* are prepositions. However, in some contexts the boundaries between verbal and prepositional use of *sikya* are hard to determine. For example, in (144), *sikya* may or may not be preceded by a TAM-marker. Usually, the position behind a TAM-marker is exclusively restricted to verbs and the copula, but there is one other lexeme in the language which has probably evolved from a verb but is now clearly something different (see section 8.3), which can also take this position. So in (144), we are either dealing with the only verb in the language which can take an adverb as an argument, or with the only preposition which can be preceded by a TAM-marker:

- (144) *kyun te tomo am-un mu luk kyun (ma) sikya yene*
 just CONJ rat beard-3s.poss REAL grow just REAL until/touch now
 ‘and from then on rats have grown whiskers until now’ (sto29:22)

Instead of a bare adverb, *sikya* can also take a phrase of *na* plus adverb as an argument, as shown in (145). Again, this property is highly idiosyncratic, *sikya* is the only element in the language which behaves like this. Otherwise, a phrase consisting of *na* and an adverb can only serve as an attribute to a noun phrase, as in *meuan na yene* (life ATT now) ‘the life of today’.

- (145) *ka ko=t vyan siwir Malver, te ko w=esi soo lisepsep mwe pwer sikya*
 SUBCONJ 2S=DIST go dive NAME CONJ 2S POT=see reef lisepsep REAL stay touch
na doma
 ATT today
 ‘and now, until now, if you go diving at Malver, then you will see the ‘lisepsep reef’
 which is still there today’ (sto21:115)

The previous examples all involve temporal adverbs, but *sikya* can be used with local adverbs as well:

4. Minor Word Classes

- (146) *mwe sikya eria na mwe tebwesye Wakon vyan sikya Maranata wuk*
 REAL touch area COMP REAL start NAME go to NAME already
 ‘it reached the area which starts at Wakon and extends to Maranata’ (sto25:188)

The verb *sikya* can also take numerals as arguments, as shown in (147-a)—it is clear that in this case *sikya* is a verb because of the preceding subject pronoun *ya*. In the second clause, it is impossible to tell whether *sikya* is a preposition or a serial verb.

- (147) a. *vilye Sesivi ya=m sikya 580 mo nok*
 place NAME 3P=REAL touch 580 REAL finish
 ‘[the inhabitants] of Sesivi amount to 580 already.’ (rep09:59)
- b. *mo kuowilye ka wa tilya vyanten milipsyes sikya sungavi*
 REAL know say POT take man six to ten
 ‘it can take six to ten men’ (exp11:28)

Té: ‘from’

While the previous prepositions all modify predicates, there is one preposition which appears to only modify noun phrases: the lexeme *té* ‘from’ forms an attributive phrase with an adverb, as shown in (148):

- (148) *[Temeli vyaven swa té Australia], s-an is sa R., mwe me*
 child female one from NAME CL3-3S.POSS name CM NAME REAL come
a=tak, te s-an is mw=i M.,...
 LOC=PROX CONJ CL3-3S.POSS name REAL=COP NAME
 ‘A girl from Australia, her name is R., she came here and now her name is M.,...’
 (rep16:3)

While in (148), *té* is located after the indefinite article *swa*, in the first of the following example, the article follows the attribute with *té* instead. In the second example of (149), the article appears simultaneously before and after the attribute with *té*:

- (149) a. *[yap myató té meerin swa] mwe vyan gyes Queensland*
 old.man old from long.time one REAL go work NAME
 ‘a man of long ago went to work in Queensland’ (rep02:7)
- b. *ye te ongane na [olfala swa té Tasa swa] te gene*
 3PC DIST hear COMP old.man one from NAME one DIST make
 ‘they heard a venerable man from the North do it’ (exp09:63)

The sequence of *té* plus place name can also be a predicate as in (150) or a noun phrase as in *té Taya* ‘those from Pentecost’. Note however that it is also possible to refer to the inhabitants of a place by simply giving the place name and adding the plural marker, as in *Ambrym nyoo* (Ambrym 3P) ‘those from Ambrym’ (see also section 6.2.6).

- (150) *Masisipe [mw=i té Aneityum]*
 NAME REAL=COP from NAME
 ‘Masisipe was from Aneityum’ (sto43:4)

4.3.3. Inflected prepositions

Three lexemes stand out from all the other prepositions in that they are inflected for person just like inflected nouns (at least for singular number). They are *y-* ‘on’ and *t-* ‘and, with’, *tevy-* ‘at, beside’.

Let us first have a closer look at *y-* ‘on’. By far its most common form is the third person singular form, which is usually followed by the noun which specifies the third person singular referent of the nominal ending:

- (151) *wip mwe pwer~pwer y-an levyak swa*
 imp.pigeon REAL REDUP~stay on-3S.POSS banyan one
 ‘the imperial pigeon lived on a banyan tree’ (sto42:4)

At least the other singular forms are also actively available for speakers of all age groups, they are *y-ok* ‘on me’, *y-am* ‘on you’ and *y-an* ‘on her/him/it’

- (152) *ka w=i yen myaek ka swa te me saa y-am...*
 MOD.REL POT=COP in be.night SUBCONJ one DIST come hang on-2.POSS
 ‘in the night, when one comes and sits down on you...’ (exp08:37)

For non-singular inflections, forms like *y-ar* (ON-1P.IN.POSS) are still available, but they can also be replaced by a sequence of *yan* ‘on’ and the full personal pronoun as in *yan er* (ON 1P.IN) ‘on us’.

Y- is also used to express which language something is said in:

- (153) *Y-an Bislama ya=m ka mw=i ‘grin pijin.’*
 ON-3S Bislama 3P=REAL say REAL=COP green bird
 ‘In Bislama they call it the ‘grin pijin.’’ (exp23:4)

While similar to *y-* ‘on’, *t-* ‘with, and’ is even more unusual: It is the only element in the entire language which has both a person-number inflection and, in addition, takes an obligatory full noun phrase as an argument, which is not coreferential with the person indicated by the inflection. In this, it is slightly remindful of constructions of multiple possession in some other Oceanic languages as mentioned by Lichtenberk [2009a, 395]. Its behaviour is illustrated below:

- (154) a. *tomo t-en bwilya*
 rat with-3S rail
 ‘the rat and the rail’ (sto31:20)
 b. *A: T-om si? B: T-ok Mata.*
 with-2S who with-1S NAME
 A: ‘You and who?’ B: ‘I and Mata.’ (Such a dialogue would typically take place after a statement of B like ‘I went to Baiap yesterday.’)

If the phrase headed by *t-* refers to the subject of a clause, the subject pronoun will be in the dual number:

4. Minor Word Classes

- (155) *t-ok* *CL. kana=m* *ling~ling* *te* *lingi temeli milipsi*
 with-1S.POSS NAME 1D.EX=REAL REDUP~give.birth CONJ put child eight
 ‘CL. and I have borne children, we have borne eight children.’ (rep01:25)

For another example of *t-* as the head of a subject, see also example (9) on page 128.

The paradigm of *t-* ‘with, and’ is restricted to the three singular forms: *t-ok* ‘I and’, *t-om* ‘you and’, and *t-en* ‘he/she/it and’. As with *y-* above, the third person form is by far the most frequent and I have mostly glossed it as a simplex, instead of inflected, item in the corpus. *T-* is also restricted to animate possessors and arguments. All non-singular and inanimate noun phrases are coordinated by the preposition *myane* instead (see above).

The third inflected preposition, *tevy-* ‘at, beside’ is often used as a spatial preposition, indicating the location of an event or the destination of a movement. Both cases are illustrated by the following two examples:

- (156) a. *ya=m* *vyan du punguor,* *te* *mwe me* *vyan pwe sawur*
 3P=REAL go stay look.for.shellfish CONJ REAL come go CONT sit.on.heels
tevy-an *buluwu*
 side.of-3S.POSS stone.oven
 ‘they went to look for shellfish, then when they were squatting next to the stone oven’⁴ (sto02:33)
- b. *ye=m* *vyan tevy-an* *lispesep*
 3D=REAL go side.of-3S.POSS lispesep
 ‘they went to the lispesep’ (sto31:15)

But just as frequently, the argument of *tevy-* does not refer to the location or destination of an event, but rather to its cause, or goal in a more abstract sense. This holds especially for cases in which the argument of *tevy-* is expressed by a clause rather than a noun phrase, as in the second of the following two examples:

- (157) a. *ye=m* *du toto* *tevy-an* *tan* *kekei en=te* *ma meep*
 3D=REAL stay quarrel side.of-3S.POSS ground small DEF=MED REAL last.long
 ‘they kept arguing about this small island for a long time’ (sto16:7)
- b. *ka* *te* *kyu* *kyun yu-on* *mwe pyane eya*
 SUBCONJ DIST surround just feeling-3S.POSS REAL roast white-eye
tevy-an *na* *ma gérase*
 side.of-3S.POSS COMP REAL cheat
 ‘when he had just dressed himself, he was mad at the white-eye because he had cheated him’ (sto04:44)

Like *y-*, *tevy-* can also occur without a subsequent noun phrase and with other person endings:

⁴Food is baked between layers of stones, which are first heated in a fire and then arranged in a circle and covered with leaves of the heliconia plant or banana leaves. The food is wrapped in another layer of leaves, placed on the stones and covered by another layer of red-hot stones.

- (158) *sikya na yene=te sisye nyoo mu du tevy-ar yan vilye nyoo*
 touch ATT NOW=MED thing 3P REAL stay side.of-1P.IN.POSS at place 3P
 ‘until now, these things stay with us on the islands’ (sto25:195)

However, by far the most frequent form of *tevy-* is the third person singular form, followed by a full noun phrase coreferential with its argument. This third person singular form can be followed by any noun phrase, regardless of its number. Thus, in the following example, *tevy-an* is followed by the plural noun phrase *étyo nyoo* (compare also (84-a) on page 75).

- (159) *bili na nat-en mwe gene dy-un tevy-an étyo nyoo*
 time COMP child-3S.POSS REAL make word-3S.POSS side.of-3S.POSS rope 3p
en=te mo nok te ma ka...
 DEF=MED REAL finish CONJ REAL say
 ‘when her son had talked about these ropes, she said...’ (sto25:137)

None of the three lexemes discussed in this section are in fact prepositions in a trivial sense: I suggest that typically one would expect a preposition to a) introduce a noun phrase or subordinate clause into a sentence and b) to head a phrase which occupies a non-argument position. For the first part of the definition, *y-* ‘on’ and *tevy-* ‘at’ can take a noun phrase as an argument, but they do not have to: The argument they take is given by their inflection and does not always have to be made more explicit by a full noun phrase. In practice, however, by far the most frequent scenario is for both items to be in the third person singular form and be followed by a full noun phrase, or, in the case of *tevy-*, by a clause. Also, in contrast to adverbs, they do have to take an argument, even if it is only expressed by their inflection.

For part b) of the definition, both *y-* and *tevy-* occur exclusively in non-argument positions. This is what makes them different from inflected nouns, which, being nouns, are restricted to argument positions. In short, *y-* and *tevy-* are unlike nouns in that they occur in non-argument positions and they are unlike adverbs in that they are transitive. Furthermore, their dominant function is to introduce noun phrases or clauses into the sentence just like other prepositions.

As for *t-* the part a) of what is expected from a preposition is met, in that *t-* always has to be complemented by a full noun phrase, in addition to its inflection; the noun phrase and the inflection do not refer to the same individual. At the same time, it does not comply with the part b) of the definition since it only occurs in argument positions. Considering this and its meaning, *t-* is a conjunction rather than a preposition. I have still discussed it in this section because it shares some of its rather exceptional features with the prepositions *y-* and *tevy-* and because it does not fit neatly into any other word class either.

4.4. Particles

4.4.1. Overview

There are three sets of particles in Daakaka which primarily introduce presuppositions and enrich discourse structure. These three sets can be distinguished according to their syntactic behavior: The first type of particle is syntactically flexible. They typically follow directly after

4. Minor Word Classes

a constituent which is understood to be contrastive, as shown in the following example; here, the contrastive constituent is *saya tuutu* ‘their grandfather’ and *kyun* ‘only’ directly follows it:

- (160) [*S-aya tuutu*] *kyun mwe pwer.*
CL3-3D.POSS grandparent just REAL stay
‘Only their grandfather remained.’ (sto14:3)

This class of particles consists of the lexemes *kyun* ‘only’, *kemyas* ‘only’, *wuk* ‘already’ and *mon* ‘also’, which I have collectively labeled as *contrast sensitive particles*.

The second type of particle is restricted to a position after the verb phrase and they are treated in the section about *adverbial particles*. They can be followed by adverbial constituents, as shown in example (182) on page 178, but they cannot precede the verb phrase.

The members of this class consist of the lexemes *tetes* ‘again’, *ngabak* ‘still’, *ngabwe* ‘not yet’ and *we* ‘first’.

Note that especially for the latter class of particles, but also for *wuk* ‘already’, the meaning of each particle interacts with polarity in complex ways. This will be discussed in more detail in the respective paragraphs.

The third type of particles are lexemes which stand alone and cannot be integrated into a sentence. These can be further divided into answer particles, which are used as one-word answers to questions, like English *yes*; and, secondly, speech act particles which are used to express speaker attitudes such as disgust or gratefulness.

Although the class of particles is rather small, it is not immune to borrowings. In the following example, the first sentence gives the context in which the contrast-sensitive particle *even* from English is used. Compared to the native contrast-sensitive particles, it is striking that *even* here occupies a sentence-initial position, while the former are restricted to later positions in the sentence.

- (161) a. *Ma usi vyanten ya=m pwis ka ya=p vyan myane, ya*
REAL ask person 3P=REAL be.plentiful MOD.COMP 3P=POT go with 3P
to dimyane.
REAL;NEG want
‘He asked many men to go with him, they didn’t want to.’ (rep15:5)
- b. *Even ma usi polis ka we vyan myane pyan wap en=te,*
even REAL ask police.man MOD.COMP POT go with under cave DEM=MED
polis to dimyane.
police.man REAL;NEG want
‘He even asked the policeman to go with him into this cave, the policeman refused.’ (rep15:7)

4.4.2. Contrast-sensitive particles

***Kyun*: ‘just’**

The particle *kyun* ‘just, only’ is a very frequent item with a variety of functions. Like English *only*, it can pick out a contrastive constituent and assert that a proposition is not true for

relevant alternatives to this constituent. Thus, the first of the following two examples informs us that the habitat of a certain snake species are rotten trees. The contribution of *kyun* is to assert that no other kind of tree or different habitat is suitable for this species.

- (162) a. *mo kuowilye ka we pwer yan [lee tuswa wa medar] kyun*
 REAL KNOW MOD.COMP POT stay on tree one POT rot just
 ‘it can only live on a rotten tree (not on a young, sappy tree)’ (exp50:125)
- b. *ye=m esi [bat-en] kyun myane tawil-in by-en di-sye*
 3D=REAL see head-3s.POSS just with body-3s.POSS body-3s.POSS part-3s.POSS

‘they could only see the head and part of the body’ (sto25:114)

This function is rather frequent in configurations where a negated clause precedes the clause containing *kyun* (not *x*, only *y*):

- (163) *to pwer~pwer [yan lee milye], nyoo ya=m pwer [yan tan] kyun*
 REAL;NEG REDUP~stay on tree on.top 3P 3P=REAL stay on ground just
 ‘they don’t live up high, they just stay on the ground’ (exp50:125)

Typically, *kyun* directly follows the contrastive constituent, so different word orders lead to different interpretations:

- (164) a. *Bongmyal kyun ma ane vis myen.*
 NAME only REAL eat banana ripe
 ‘Only Bongmyal ate ripe bananas’
- b. *Bongmyal ma ane vis myen kyun.*
 NAME REAL eat banana ripe only
 ‘Bongmyal only ate ripe bananas’

In some cases, it seems that the function of *kyun* is simply to mark a preceding constituent explicitly as contrastive, rather than asserting its unique status. This usually happens in connection with the comment marker *sa*—see section 6.2.4

- (165) *eya ma ka maa kyun sa ma ane mees en=te*
 white-eye REAL say dove just CM REAL eat food DEF=MED
 ‘the white-eye said, it was the *dove* who ate this food’ (sto29:15)

Another function of *kyun* is to express that an amount or dimension denoted by the preceding constituent is relatively small, as illustrated by the following examples:

- (166) a. *s-an pisyaw mw=i lo kyun*
 CL3-3s.POSS paint REAL=COP two just
 ‘it has only two colors’ (sto08:26)
- b. *tomo ma ka: “E, na w=ane mursi kyun.”*
 rat REAL say hey 1s POT=eat a.bit just
 ‘the rat said: “I’ll only eat a little.”’ (sto35:18)

4. Minor Word Classes

- c. *yang wuonwuon nyoo ya=m mwelili kyun*
 fly fruitfly 3P 3P=REAL be.small just
 ‘the fruit fly is only small’ (exp08:152)
- d. *nye na=m kuowilye ka na vyan tiye suw-uk kyun*
 1S 1S=REAL KNOW MOD.COMP 1S go kill self-1S.POSS just
 ‘but I can beat him just by myself’ (sto21:46)

However, there are a number of cases for which neither of these two functions seems to apply. By far the most frequent phrase which collocates with *kyun* is *mu vu kyun* (REAL good just) ‘Fine/ it’s ok/ just fine’. Among other things, this is the standard answer to the conventional question *Ma gevi?* ‘How are you?’ In this and many other cases, *kyun* appears to be rather semantically bleached and to mostly mark the end of a clause. This is also my impression of (167):

- (167) *n-uk ka we pwer yen ó en=te kyun*
 face.of-1S.POSS MOD.REL POT stay in COCONUT DEM=MED just
 ‘my face will be on this coconut’⁵ (sto09:16)

The impression that *kyun* indicates that a unit of discourse is complete is substantiated by its use in connection with the clausal conjunction *té*, which is described in section 6.2.5.

In more negative contexts, *kyun* appears to stress the speaker’s adverse emotional reaction:

- (168) a. *Ya=m myan silye nye kyun, ka ka met-ok ma wowo*
 3P=REAL laugh pluck 1S just say say eye.of-1S.POSS REAL big
 ‘They laugh at me, they say my eyes are big.’ (exp02:40)
- b. *Ko bwe gérase nye kyun?*
 2S REAL;CONT cheat 1S just
 ‘Are you lying to me?’ (sto27:44)

Kemyas: ‘only’

Like *kyun*, the particle *kemyas* also means ‘only’. In contrast to the former, however, it applies exclusively to numerals. Its most frequent collocate is *swa* ‘one’, but it can also occur with higher numbers. Often, but not always, *kemyas* is followed by *kyun*:

- (169) a. *na=m ane vis myen ló kemyas kyun*
 1S=REAL eat banana ripe two only just
 ‘I have only eaten two bananas’
- b. *swa kemyas mwe pwer*
 one only REAL stay
 ‘only one was left’

As shown in (166-a), *kyun* can also apply to number words by itself, without *kemyas*.

⁵This sentence is about the origin of the coconut palm: A loving wife told her husband on her deathbed to bury her in a certain place and wait for a plant to grow which would provide him with everything he’d need.

Wuk: ‘already, first’

The particle *wuk* can in most cases be translated as *already*. Like its English counterpart, it can express that the moment at which an event has taken place is relatively early. This is usually the case if *wuk* occupies a clause-final position:

- (170) *ómesyu ma ka: “Nye na=m pwer a=tak meerin wuk.”*
 crab REAL say 1S 1S=REAL stay LOC=PROX long.time already
 ‘the crab said: “I have been here for a long time already.”’ (sto11:36)

When *wuk* follows a smaller phrase before the end of the verb phrase, this phrase is contrastive; *wuk* implies that the constituent marks a relatively high point on a scale. For example, in (171-a), the speaker has promised to give back the pigs he borrowed from the addressees on two different occasions—in this context, two times is many and a third time would mean losing credibility.

The second clause is taken from a story in which several plants try to convince the kava plant to be their friend. When the coconut palm comes to offer its friendship, the kava plant has already refused two other candidates, which demonstrates how picky it is. Again, these instances of *wuk* are well translated by English *already*:

- (171) a. *na=m ka webung mw=i [vya ló] wuk myane kama*
 1S=REAL say day REAL=COP times two already with 2D
 ‘I have already given you two deadlines’ (sto41:60)
- b. *[laaro nya] wuk ye=m vyan sóró myane, to tavya; te*
 nettle.tree 3D already 3D=REAL go talk with REAL;NEG get.up CONJ
bweti ló-ó me vyan te vyan tinyo
 stem.of plant-coconut come go CONJ go stand
 ‘the two nettles had already talked to it, it had not gotten up; then the coconut plant went there’ (sto16:42)

In some cases, however, neither of these two implications hold. Instead, *wuk* then structures a sequence of actions, indicating that a first action will be followed by a second one. Here, *wuk* is best translated as *first*. These cases also differ from the others in that they are not restricted to past contexts as can be seen by the second of the following two examples:

- (172) a. *[mwe me pisi nyoo en=te] wuk vyan te tuturane nyoo vyan*
 REAL come fasten 3P this already go CONJ bind 3P go
 ‘he bound them first and fastened them/ he had already bound them and then he fastened them’ (sto25:143)
- b. *tomo ma ka [nge] wuk ka we vyan nii*
 rat REAL say 3S already MOD.REL POT go hide
 ‘the rat said it wanted to hide first’ (sto10:9)

In negative contexts, *wuk* means ‘(not) anymore’, which is however more frequently expressed by the auxiliary *wet* (compare section 3.2.6):

4. Minor Word Classes

- (173) *saka vyanten nyoo ya=n ku~kuo a=te wuk*
 MOD.NEG person 3P 3P=NEC REDUP~run LOC=MED already
 ‘people must not go there anymore’ (con01:124)

***Mon, puon*: ‘also, another’**

Like the other contrast sensitive particles, *mon* can follow a variety of constituents. In most cases, the constituent preceding it is interpreted as contrastive and *mon* implies that a predicate is also true for alternatives to the contrastive constituent. If this constituent is a definite noun phrase, *mon* is best translated as *also*:

- (174) a. [*yap myató en=te*] ***mon*** *ma dam=ane buo swa*
 old.man old DEM=MED also REAL agree=TRANS boar one
 ‘this old man also agreed to give him a boar’ (sto41:23)
 b. [*nge*] ***mon*** *to kuowilye*
 3S also REAL;NEG know
 ‘he also does not know’

With indefinite noun phrases and adverbs, *mon* rather means ‘another’:

- (175) *Na=m dimyane ka na=p senga=ne pun=an tuswa mon.*
 1S=REAL want MOD.COMP 1S=POT give=TRANS tell=NM one also
 ‘I want to tell another story.’ (sto18:1)

Mon not only applies to noun phrases, but also to verbal and adverbial phrases. With verb phrases and temporal adverbs, *mon* is usually best translated as ‘again’:

- (176) a. *Mu kueli vyan te basée mwe yung mon pwer.*
 REAL return go CONJ bird REAL quiet also stay
 ‘He went back and the bird was silent again.’ (exp23:14)
 b. [*webung na te minyes*]_{ADV} ***mon*** *ya=m vyan min*
 day COMP DIST different also 3P=REAL go drink
 ‘on another day, they went to drink again’ (lit. on another day also they went to drink’) (sto13:8)

It is not uncommon for *mon* to co-occur with the particle *tetes* ‘redo’ and the resultative suffix *-tase* ‘again’. If *mon* precedes *tetes*, the combined meaning is ‘also’, otherwise it is ‘again’. When *mon* co-occurs with *-tase*, the combination means ‘also’. Example (177-a) is taken from an explanation of the different parts of a plant and their uses. Note that the speaker has not previously mentioned the fruit of the plant. He is not going to talk about the fruit *again*, but *in addition to* all the other plant parts.

- (177) a. *ka na=p war-tase mon we-tye*
 MOD.REL 1S=POT argue-again also fruit.of-3POSS
 ‘I’ll also talk about the fruits’ (exp17:44)
 b. *nat-en swa mon vyan usi tetes*
 child-3s.POSS one also go ask again

- ‘another child of his also went to study’ (sto18:67)
- c. *puskat mwe myan tetes mon*
 cat REAL laugh again also
 ‘the cat laughed again’ (sto06:16)

For more on *tetes*, see the following section.

In negative contexts, *mon* typically co-occurs with *wet*, which means ‘(not) anymore’ in negative contexts (cf. section 3.2.6). The combination of negation, *wet* and *mon* can be translated as ‘not again anymore’ or ‘not another *x* anymore’:

- (178) a. *ra to wet esi tuswa mon ne wet motase*
 1P.IN REAL;NEG only.then see one also NEC only.then repeat
 ‘we haven’t seen another one make it anymore’ (exp29:67)
- b. *ye to wet du nyur~nyur=ane ka ya=p wet*
 3D REAL;NEG only.then stay REDUP~think=TRANS MOD.COMP 3P=POT only.then
du téé ∅-aa mees mon
 stay look CL2-3P.POSS food also
 ‘they don’t think about looking for food again anymore’ (exp08:11)
- c. *Saka ko=n wet kueli tetes vyan ar=an.*
 MOD.NEG 2S=POT only.then return again go LOC=DEF
 ‘Do not go back to the place anymore.’ (rep12:60)

The particle *puon* appears to be largely synonymous with *mon*. It occurs far less frequently and in most contexts, speakers confirmed that *puon* could be replaced by *mon* without a major change in meaning. Intuitively, it might express an additional aspect of perfectivity. Its use is illustrated below:

- (179) a. *mw=i swa kemyas puon kyun sa bwet pwer ka ko=p wet*
 REAL=COP one only also just CM COS stay MOD.REL 2S=POT only.then
mini en=tak kyun te mo nok
 drink DEF=PROX just CONJ REAL finish
 ‘now here is only one more [coconut] and it’s there, when you drink this one, they’re gone’
- b. *vyar ten mwe me i drowen, ale mwe me i vyar*
 wood.borer native REAL come COP maggot then REAL come COP wood.borer
misis, ale vyan i vyar ka~ka puon te ka
 white.woman then go COP wood.borer REDUP~fly also CONJ fly
 ‘the original woodborer becomes a larva, and then a ‘bride’ woodborer and then it becomes a flying woodborer and flies’

4.4.3. Adverbial particles

***Tetes*: ‘again’**

The particle *tetes* is similar to the particle *mon* discussed in the preceding section: They can both imply that the event denoted by a proposition has occurred before. They differ, however,

4. Minor Word Classes

in that *mon* is both syntactically and semantically more flexible and can adjoin to noun phrases and adverbs as well as to clauses. The smallest constituent *tetes* can adjoin to, by contrast, appears to be a predicate phrase. Its meaning can be paraphrased by ‘again’ in the vast majority of cases, like the following example:

- (180) *yaa te vyan siyoo, te ya=m pwesane ebya-oo tetes te ka*
 sun DIST go set CONJ 3P=REAL fix wing-3P.POSS again CONJ fly
 ‘when the sun was setting, they put on their wings again and flew’ (sto44:9)

Even so, there are cases in which *tetes* does not mean that the entire preceding proposition is true for another time in the past. Instead, the interpretation is that the main predicate of the clause also applies to an alternative to the constituent directly preceding *tetes*. As with *mon*, these cases call for a translation as *another x* or *also*. In this sense, *tetes* is also a contrast-sensitive particle.

For example, the following sentence expresses that the speaker has been teaching before and then taught for five more years. It does *not* say that the speaker has been teaching for five years and has then been teaching again for five years:

- (181) *na=m usi [dom lim] tetes*
 1S=REAL ask year five again
 ‘I’ve been teaching for another five years’ (rep01:17)

The same goes for the next example: In the story, first the chicken goes to look at its reflection in the pool. Then, the incubator bird also goes to have a look at itself—it is the first time for the incubator bird, but the second time that *someone* uses the pool as a mirror.

- (182) *ka te esi [nge suw-un] tetes yen bwili wye te mw=esi na...*
 SUBCONJ DIST see 3S self-3S.POSS again in hole water CONJ REAL=see COMP
 ‘when [the incubator bird] also saw itself in the pond, it saw that...’ (sto07:28)

Tetes can cooccur with lexemes of similar meaning, such as *mon* or resultative suffixes such as *-lili* ‘back’ and *-tase* ‘redo’:

- (183) a. *yesukuo na mw=i ten ka we gene vyanten we meu-lili tetes*
 leaves COMP REAL=COP for MOD.COMP POT make person POT live-back again
 ‘that were to make the man come alive again’ (sto33:120)
 b. *mwe ves-tase beke-sye lemuo swa tetes*
 REAL step-redo twig-3S.POSS cycad one again
 ‘he kicked another branch of the cycad’ (sto25:151)

Ngabak: ‘still, first’

One function of the particle *ngabak* is to indicate that a certain event or state persists longer than expected. This is illustrated by the following example:

- (184) *ko=t kin-kote mursi a nge mwe kuowilye ka we go, vyan mer,*
 2S=DIST pinch-in.two a.bit and 3S REAL KNOW MOD.COMP POT crawl go dead
a ka we go ngabak
 and MOD.REL POT crawl still
 ‘if you pinch it a little, it can still crawl, it dies, but it still crawls’ (exp08:100)

Another function is to indicate that a state or event is about to change. The following example is taken from a story which closely resembles *The Wolf and the Seven Young Kids*. In this case, however, it is a lisepsep trying to fool a little dove. Her first attempt fails because her deep voice gives her away. Here, *ngabak* indicates that on the second attempt, she will disguise her voice:

- (185) *Lisepsep mwe vyan kye te mwe kye yan daa na towo ngabak, ma ka:* “*Mae*
 lisepsep REAL go call CONJ REAL call at voice ATT big still REAL say dove
mae, sesa me liye Ø-am lok.”
 dove reach.out come take 2S.POSS laplap
 ‘the lisepsep went and called, she called at first in a booming voice, she said: “Dove,
 dove, reach out and take your laplap.”’ (sto13:26)

Similarly, in the following account of the reproductive behaviour of spiders, *ngabak* emphasizes that the initial stages of newborn spiders are only transitory. As above, *ngabak* is here best translated as ‘first’:

- (186) *ye=m pyase ma ge myane deli-sye ngabak te deli-sye=te*
 3PC=REAL give.birth REAL like with egg-3S.POSS still CONJ egg-3S.POSS=MED
mwe gomu bwe pyan tow-an ngabak
 REAL grab CONT under belly.of-3S.POSS still
 ‘they lay them first as eggs, and they first keep their eggs under the belly’ (exp08:70)

In negative contexts, *ngabak* means ‘(not) yet’, implying that the negated proposition will become true later:

- (187) *te ye=m silya yang; ya=m me vyan syone lisepsep en=te, kueli me*
 CONJ 3D=REAL send fly 3P=REAL come go reach lisepsep LOC=DEF return come
ka: “Éé, to mer ngabak.”
 say no REAL;NEG dead still
 ‘then they sent flies; they sat down on the lisepsep, they came back and said: “No, he’s
 not dead yet”’ (sto32:48)

Ngabak is sometimes produced as /mabak/ by younger speakers (see also section 1.1.4).

Instead of a negated realis marker plus *ngabak*, the meaning ‘not yet’ can also be expressed by the answer particle *ngabwe*, see section 4.4.4.

We: ‘first’

The particle *we* indicates that one initial event or state is to be followed by a second one:

4. Minor Word Classes

- (188) *“Ngok ko=p seling vyan etes we edi apyang me, te na=p pyane
 2S 2S=POT descend go at.the.sea first take fire come CONJ 1S=POT roast(TR)
 webir en=tak te si w=ane.”*
 taro DEM=PROX CONJ 1PC.IN POT=eat
 ‘You, go to the sea and bring the fire here first, and then I will roast this taro and we
 will eat it.’ (sto18:21)

Often, the phrase containing *we* is followed by a second phrase containing the particle *wet* ‘only then’, which is described in the following section:

- (189) *ka na=p vyan liye Ø-ok bosi we wet kueli me te
 MOD.REL 1S=POT go take CL2-1S.POSS copra.chisel first only.then return come CONJ
 ar ra=p wet vyan
 1P.IN 1P.IN=POT only.then go*
 ‘I will go and get my chisel first, and then I will come back and we will go.’
 (sto01:11)

Like *ngabak* in the previous section, *we* means ‘(not) yet’ in negative contexts:

- (190) a. *Kyun te temyar ma ka: “Ka to pwer we?”*
 just CONJ demon REAL say 2D REAL;NEG stay first
 ‘Then the demon said: “Aren’t you two sleeping yet?”’ (sto12:51)
- b. *te na to en-esi we*
 CONJ 1S REAL;NEG eat-try first
 ‘I haven’t tasted it yet’

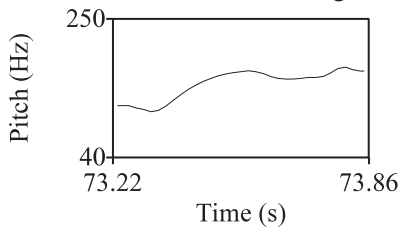
4.4.4. Answer particles

Answer particles are lexemes which can be used as one-word answers to a question, and which can typically not be integrated into larger phrases or full sentences. In Daakaka, there are four such elements: *ao* ‘yes’, *ee* ‘no’, *dingyen* ‘I don’t know’ and *ngabwe* ‘not yet’, which is illustrated in (191):

- (191) *Mwe vyan kii kii vyan, ma ka: “Ko=m tang pyan?” Te ma ka: “Ngabwe.”*
 REAL go dig dig go REAL say 2S=REAL touch under CONJ REAL say not.yet
 ‘He went to dig on and on, he said: “Do you reach it?” And he said: “Not yet.”’
 (sto47:22)

There is an adverbial counterpart to *ngabwe*, which is *ngabak*: it cannot be used as a one-word answer, but appears as part of full sentences instead, expression *still* in positive and *(not) yet* in negative contexts (see the preceding section). I have been told that speakers from Sanesup, at the eastern-most edge of the Daakaka region, use *ngabwe* just like *ngabak*.

The negative answer particle *ee* ‘no’ does not need to be fully vocalized. Its most significant phonological feature is its intonation contour, which can also simply be hummed through the nose. The characteristic intonation contour is displayed in figure 4.1

Abbildung 4.1.: The typical intonation contour of *ee* ‘no’

Similarly, if less strikingly, *ao* and *dingyen* also appear to come with a lexicalized information contour: Both particles are always performed with a high tone in the beginning followed by a sharp drop towards the end.

4.4.5. Interjections

In this section, I collect all those particles which are essentially one-word speech acts. One of them is *iyó*, an expression of surprised acknowledgment. In (192), the first speaker describes the effect of marijuana on young consumers:

- (192) A: *ka ye=t ane kyun te ma tiye nyosi na ye=m du dedene*
 SUBCONJ 3PC=DIST eat after CONJ REAL kill 3PC COMP 3PC=REAL stay crazy
sa nge=te
 CM NGE=MED
 ‘when they eat it, then it affects them so that they get completely crazy’
 (con02:129)
- B: ***Iyo!***
 INTJ
 ‘Oh, really!’ (con02:130)

Another very frequent interjection is *eki*, which either expresses disgust or a rejection of an idea as completely absurd. It comes with a characteristic intonation contour with a sharp rise on the second syllable. When expressing disgust, it is similar to English *yuck*. The following example shows how *eki* is used to ridicule an idea:

- (193) ***eki***, *ngok na sy-em mwe se=tak kyun a ko=m ka ko=p tiye*
 yuck 2S COMP shit-2S.POSS REAL hook=PROX just and 2S=REAL say 2S=POT kill
lisepsep en=tak
 lisepsep DEF=PROX
 ‘yeah, right, you whose shit is trapped inside, you want to beat this lisepsep’⁶
 (sto21:48)

The interjection *puo!* expresses negative surprise, comparable to English *oh no!*:

⁶The addressee here has a disability that causes a funny gait, but will eventually outsmart the lisepsep.

4. Minor Word Classes

- (194) *te ma ka: “Puo, meby-uk-uli, ko=m penin-siline ada*
 CONJ REAL say INTJ grandchild-1S.POSS-DIM 2S=REAL roast.pl-finish 1D.IN.POSS
vis!”
banana
 ‘she said: “Oh no, grandson, you have roasted all our bananas!”’ (sto38:24)

The expression *ormwes* is mostly used as an interjection meaning ‘whatever, it doesn’t matter’, but it can also be used as a predicate:

- (195) *ma ka: “Ormwes, na=p vyan kyun te vyan te barar wa ane nye.”*
 REAL say useless 1S=POT go just CONJ go CONJ pig POT eat 1S
 ‘He said: “It doesn’t make a difference, I’ll go down and the pig will eat me.”’
 (sto03:42)
- (196) *S-an gyes=an mu puo na mu puo, tawilin*
 CL3-3S.POSS work=NM REAL be.plentiful COMP REAL be.plentiful body.of
by-en tuswa to i ormwes
 body.of-3S.POSS one REAL;NEG COP useless
 ‘It has very many uses, none of its parts are useless.’ (exp09:6)

Two speech act particles which are no longer in use by younger speakers are *wangae* ‘please’ and *weaki* ‘really!’, which is similar to *iyo* in that it expresses surprise. A third synonymous expression is the phrase *ma wese!* (REAL be.enough), which means literally ‘it is possible’.

Still very much in use across the Ambrym languages is the word *sipa* for ‘thank you’. In contrast to the other speech act particles, this lexeme can be modified by further expressions as in *sipa ten* ‘thanks a lot’ or *sipa na towo ten* (thank.you COMP be.big very) ‘thank you very much’. The addressee of *sipa* can be specified by a pronoun introduced by the preposition *myane* ‘with, to’ as in (197):

- (197) a. *sipa myane ngok*
 thank.you to 2S
 ‘thank you (to one person)’
 b. *sipa myane kimim*
 thank.you to 2P
 ‘thank you (to a group of people)’

There is also a verb *sipa* ‘thank, be thankful’, as illustrated in (198):

- (198) *A, yaapu, s-ok pun=an mo nok a=te kyun, a na=m*
 and big.man CL3-1S.POSS tell=NM REAL finish LOC=MED just and 1S=REAL
sipa mon tevy-an yungta=an.
 thank.you also side.of-3S.POSS listen=NM
 ‘A, venerable one, my story ends here, and I am thankful for (your) listening.’
 (sto44:51)

Some interjections from Bislama are also used regularly, especially *saye*, which indicates that the speaker is presenting something to the listener and can roughly be translated as ‘there

it was’, ‘here he/she/it is’ or similar, depending on the context. An example is given in (199):

- (199) *mwe kyes-tase=ne na ti minyes te saye: mit=an nyoo mu du*
 REAL wash-redo=TRANS COMP DIST different CONJ INTJ meat=DEF 3P REAL stay
un by-en mu du
 skin body-3S.POSS REAL stay
 ‘she doused him with it again and there it was: he had meat, he had skin’ (st033:143)

Direct speech is often introduced by a short, unspecific vocalic shout such as *e* or *u*—see section 9.2.3. In addition, there are a number of canonical para-linguistic noises to express someone’s attitude. Among them is a quick succession of alveolar clicks to express amazement, for example when someone tells an amazing real-life story or shows pictures from impressive places.

4.5. Numerals

There are simplex number words from one to ten. As in related Oceanic languages, the number system was apparently once based on the number five: The number words from six to nine can be analyzed as ‘five plus *n*’, where *n* is a number from one to four—most transparently so in the case of *milip-sii* ‘eight’, where the latter part of the word is homophonous with *sii* ‘three’. As for *miliv-yo* ‘seven’, the change from the *l* in *ló* ‘two’ to */y/* is a regular sound change that has probably taken place many times in Daakaka. The least transparent of the set is *meper* ‘nine’ which should by analogy have arisen from the form *milip-vyer*. However, *meper* can easily be related to the corresponding forms in the neighboring language varieties Dalkalaen and Daakie, which are *melafer* and *melapet* respectively.

Younger speakers can usually not count beyond five in Daakaka and often express even lower numbers by Bislama numerals instead.

Numbers higher than ten are usually expressed by Bislama terms, independent of the speakers’ age. In most such cases, these numbers refer to dates:

- (200) *Tu-taosan-and-ten vilye Sesivi ya=m sikya faep-hanred-eiti wuk mo*
 two-thousand-and-ten place NAME 3P=REAL touch five-hundred-eighty already REAL
nok.
 finish
 ‘In 2010 [the inhabitants] of Sesivi amount to 580 already.’ (rep09:59)

Larger numbers than ten can in principle be named in Daakaka. Numbers up to 19 are simply expressed as sums of ten and a smaller number as in *sungavi a sii* (ten and three) ‘thirteen’. Numbers up to 199 are formed by a combination of the ten basic numerals, *ung* ‘times ten’ and *a* ‘and’, as in *ung vyer a meper* (times.ten four and nine) ‘forty-nine’ or *ung sungavi a ung ló a swa* ‘one hundred twenty-one’. To count even higher than that, the lexeme *vya* ‘times’ is used in addition. Thus, six-hundred and sixty-six would be expressed as *ung sungavi vya milipsyes a ung milipsyes a milipsyes* (times.ten ten times six and times.ten six and six). In practice, however, these constructions are never used. Table 4.8 gives an overview

4. Minor Word Classes

Tabelle 4.8.: Numeral expressions and principles of counting

	1-10		>10		> 19		> 100
1	<i>swa</i>	11	<i>sungavi a swa</i>	20	<i>ung ló</i>	100	<i>ung sungavi</i>
2	<i>ló</i>	12	<i>sungavi a ló</i>	21	<i>ung ló a swa</i>	200	<i>ung sungavi vya ló</i>
3	<i>sii</i>	∴	∴	30	<i>ung sii</i>	345	<i>ung sungavi vya sii</i>
4	<i>vyer</i>	∴	∴	40	<i>ung vyer</i>		<i>a ung vyer a lim</i>
5	<i>lim</i>	∴	∴	∴	∴		
6	<i>milipsyes</i>	∴	∴	∴	∴		
7	<i>milivyo</i>	∴	∴	∴	∴		
8	<i>milipsii</i>	∴	∴	∴	∴		
9	<i>meper</i>	19	<i>sungavi a meper</i>	90	<i>ung meper</i>		
10	<i>sungavi</i>						

over the various numeral expressions.

A numeral expression can quantify a noun phrase by directly following it.

- (201) a. *Ma dówa liplip ló.*
REAL pluck young.coconut two
 ‘She plucked two young coconuts.’ (sto47:75)
- b. *a s-enma temeli man sii kyun ye=m du*
and CL3-1D.EX child male three just 3PC=REAL stay
 ‘and we have only three sons’ (rep01:27)

Animate subjects of dual or paucal number are additionally accompanied by a number marker. The number marker takes the position between the noun and the numeral:

- (202) *a vyanten nya ló sa nge=tak*
and person 3D TWO CM NGE=PROX
 ‘and here are the two men’ (exp30:3)

Numerals can be used as predicates in connection with the copula:

- (203) *s-an pisya mw=i ló kyun*
CL3-3S.POSS paint REAL=COP two just
 ‘it has only two colors’ (sto08:26)

This predicative function is frequently used to quantify objects in serial predicate constructions (cf. section 7.3.2).

Reduplicated numerals are used to divide a group of individuals of subgroups consisting of single individuals in the case of *swa-swa* (one-one), of pairs (*ló-ló*—two-two), of groups of three (*sii-sii*—three-three) and so on:

- (204) a. *yene ka da=p ling~ling swa~swa*
 now MOD.REL 1D.IN=POT REDUP~depart REDUP~one
 ‘now we will go separate ways/ leave each other’ (sto07:37)
- b. *bisya oltaem mw=i ló~ló*
 rabbitfish always REAL=COP REDUP~two
 ‘the rabbitfish are always in pairs’ (exp07:205)

Ordinal numerals are formed by a combination of the cardinal numeral, the attributive morpheme *na*, and typically the definite article *an*—see section 3.4.4 for more on this derivation.

5. TAM Markers

5.1. Overview

Except for certain speech acts such as exclamatives, interjections and one type of imperatives, all sentences contain a marker expressing tense, aspect or modality (TAM), with modality being the most prominent category. By far the most frequent markers are the two (positive and negative) realis markers, which express that a proposition is true or false, respectively, in the actual world in the present or past. The following two sentences as they appear in the corpus are thus interpreted as past with reference to the time the story takes place, but could equally refer to a present situation in a different context:

- (1) a. *maa nge mwe kuk=ane dom pi~pili*
dove 3S(NSUB) REAL COOK=TRANS yam REDUP~red
'the dove cooked/cooks red yam'
b. *tomo nge to liye mees tuswa*
rat 3S(NSUB) REAL;NEG bring food one
'the rat hadn't brought/does not bring any food'¹

While the two realis markers are absolutely restricted to the temporal domain of the past and present, the future is typically referred to by the potential marker. It makes a prediction that a proposition be true or asserts that a proposition is compatible with a certain set of conditions, wishes, rules or beliefs. The potential marker is complemented by the negated version of the necessity marker: if a negative expression precedes the necessity marker, the resulting interpretation is 'it is necessary that not *p*', which is equivalent to 'it is not possible that *p*'. In its distribution and meaning, the negated necessity marker matches up more closely with the potential marker than with the non-negated necessity marker, which is why I treat it under the label of 'negative potential' rather than 'negative necessity'.

Both the potential marker and the necessity marker only express directives in non-embedded clauses, unless they are preceded somewhere in the sentence by the morpheme *ka* or its negative counterpart *saka*. These two morphemes do not correspond clearly to any cross-linguistically established category. I have named them **modal relators**. The sole function of the positive modal relator *ka* is to change a sentence containing a potential or necessity marker from a directive speech act into an assertion. The negative modal relator *saka* is essential for forming negative directives, but simultaneously also allows a clause in negative or potential mood to be interpreted as an assertion.

The modal relators *ka* and *saka* can occur both before or after a sentence-initial topic. They can even occur in both positions at the same time:

¹'dove' and 'rat' are marked as contrastive topics by the following third person pronoun, see also section 6.2.3

5. TAM Markers

- (2) a. *ka nye ka na=p syoo=ane bwet-uk me milye*
 MOD.REL 1S MOD.REL 1S=POT go.through=TRANS just-1S.POSS come on.top
 ‘I will push up my head’ (exp30:17)
- b. *Saka nyoo tuswa saka ne senga=ne ye taweka mursi myane kamsi.*
 MOD.NEG 3P one MOD.NEG NEC give=TRANS leaf tobacco a.bit with 2PC
 (i) ‘Let none of them give you any tobacco.’
 (ii) ‘None of them will give you any tobacco.’ (con02:139)

The modal relators are closely related to a pair of subordinating conjunctions and the modal complementizer *ka*, which are described in more detail in chapter 8.

The fifth very frequent marker is *te*, which I refer to as **distal**. Its meaning depends to a large extent on the context of utterance, ranging from distant past to counterfactual. Most frequently, however, it heads a temporal clause as in (3):

- (3) *só~sóró=an ka te nok te vyanten nyoo ya=m gene bwii=an*
 REDUP~talk=NM SUBCONJ DIST finish CONJ person 3P 3P=REAL make say.grace=NM
swa
 one
 ‘when the speeches had ended, people held a prayer’ (rep16:14)

Although this marker mostly refers to past contexts, it can also head future conditional clauses and therefore appears to be less restricted to the domain of the past than for example the realis marker.

In a similar fashion, the necessity marker can both express that something has to happen in the future, and that something was deontically necessary in the past. In the latter case, it typically triggers a counterfactual interpretation. Both cases are exemplified below:

- (4) a. *Ko=n peten!*
 2S=NEC be.true
 ‘You have to keep your word!’ (does not have a generic interpretation) (sto33:76)
- b. *ka na=n me kyun*
 MOD.REL 1S=NEC come just
 ‘I should have come (but I didn’t)’

However, this marker is today only rarely used for future contexts. Instead, the loaned auxiliary *mas* appears to be taking up the function of expressing future necessity as in (5):

- (5) *jip ma ka ra=p mas kuowilye ka sewe sa bwe gene*
 chief REAL say 1P.IN=POT must know MOD.COMP what CM REAL;CONT make
s-ar too bwe luk tetes
 CL3-1P.IN.POSS garden CONT grow again
 ‘the chiefs said we must know what makes our garden grow back again’ (sto33:76)

Mas is discussed in the context of auxiliaries in section 3.2.6.

Note that even though each of these TAM markers can have a range of temporal and modal interpretations, their interpretation is in most cases determined unambiguously by their specific

Tabelle 5.1.: The system of TAM markers. V: vowel; Pos: positive; Neg: negative.

	enclitic	proclitic	monosyllabic
Pos. Realis	= <i>m</i>	<i>mw</i> =	<i>mwe/mV</i>
Neg. Realis			<i>to</i>
Pos. Potential	= <i>p</i>	<i>w</i> =	<i>wV</i>
Distal	= <i>t</i>	<i>t</i> =	<i>tV</i>
Open Polarity			<i>doo</i>
Necessity /neg. Pot.	= <i>n</i>		<i>nV</i>
Change of State			<i>bwet</i>

environment.

Finally, there are two markers which are not modal in their meaning. One of them, *doo*, is hardly used anymore and not known to many younger speakers. It apparently expresses that the polarity of a proposition could be either positive or negative, similar to expressions like *whether or not*:

- (6) *da=p vyan téé-esi s-ok karton yan plen ka doo me*
 1D=POT go look-try CL3-1S.POSS package on plane MOD.COMP DOO come
 ‘let’s go check if my package on the plane has come’

The other one is *bwet*, which signals a change of state:

- (7) *mo nok te ye bwet gene s-aya bangbang=an tetes*
 REAL finish CONJ 3D COS make CL3-3D.POSS play=NM again
 ‘and (only) then they continued to play again’ (sto31:132)

The phonological form of most of the markers depends on their morpho-phonological environment: many of the markers are essentially individual consonants. If preceding a word that starts with a vowel, they will usually cliticize to that word; otherwise, they will cliticize to the preceding subject pronoun. If no such pronoun is present—usually because the subject is a third person referent—they will be realized as monosyllabic, with the vowel depending on the stem vowel of the subsequent word (see also section 2.3.1 for more on vowel harmony and section 4.1 about pronouns.) Table 5.1 gives an overview over the allomorphic variants of the markers.

The TAM markers form a word unit with the preceding subject pronoun and the subsequent verb. This is not reflected in the orthography.

See also chapter 8 for more on interdependencies between TAM markers in subordinate contexts.

5.2. Realis

There are two realis markers, one positive, one negative. The positive realis marker is by far the most frequent TAM marker and occurs both in fictional accounts and in reports of real

5. TAM Markers

events. It thus expresses the actuality of an event relative to the discourse framework. The realis marker either cliticizes to a preceding subject pronoun or a subsequent verb starting with a vowel. Otherwise, if there is no subject pronoun and no vowel-initial verb, *mwe* is pronounced as a monosyllabic item, with the vowel depending on the subsequent verb, as described in section 2.3.1.

Temporal reference is not entirely determined by either of the two realis markers. The events they refer to may either have taken place in the past or may be taking place in the present, only the future domain is excluded from their reference. Whether a sentence headed by this marker refers to past or to present events essentially depends on the context of the utterance. For example, the sentence in (8) would be interpreted as ‘I am going to the store’ if the speaker is just walking past the listener and announcing her destination. If uttered by someone sitting down with others, however, the interpretation would be ‘I went to the store’. The aspectual reference of the utterance is also underdetermined: Again depending on the context, it could be progressive, perfective or habitual.

- (8) *Na=m vyan stoa.*
 1s=REAL go store
 a. ‘I’m going to the store.’
 b. ‘I went to the store.’
 c. ‘I was going to the store.’
 d. ‘I’ve been to the store.’
 e. ‘I go to the store.’ (on a regular basis)

The same holds for the negative realis marker. The example in (9) suggests an experiential aspect, but in a suitable context, it could also be interpreted as present imperfective (they don’t see Lamap) or in other ways.

- (9) *ya to esi vilye Lamap*
 3P REAL;NEG see place NAME
 ‘they had never seen Lamap’ (rep14:3)

The negative realis marker *to* does not cliticize to adjacent elements, but is always realized as a monosyllabic item. Otherwise it has the same distribution as its assertive counterpart:

- (10) *a bili na ye mw=i temeli te ye to baa, ye to tiye nya*
 and time COMP 3D REAL=COP kid CONJ 3D REAL;NEG fight 3D REAL;NEG kill 3D
 ‘and while they were young they did not fight, they did not hit each other’ (sto17:6)

It is also possible to use the modal tag *vyen* ‘I think’ in a clause headed by a realis marker (see section 3.5.4, page 122):

- (11) *bosi=ne barar tisyu mu du a=tak mon vyen ngabak*
 bone=TRANS pig some REAL stay LOC=PROX also I.think still
 ‘there are still some pig bones here, I think’ (sto18:16)

The realis markers can also occur in the complement clause of a verb of saying, thinking

or perceiving. In contrast to the distal marker, this use does not imply the counterfactuality of the subject's thoughts or claims but remains neutral as to whether they match reality or not.

- (12) *te ma ka mw=i temyar, ma ka s-an nyur~nyur=an mw=i*
 CONJ REAL SAY REAL=COP demon REAL SAY CL3-3S.POSS REDUP~think=NM REAL=COP
temyar mwe syaapune nge
 demon REAL push 3S
 'he thought it was a demon, he thought that a demon was pushing him' (lit. 'his thinking was that a demon was pushing him') (rep04:28)

- (13) *te vyanten nyoo ya=m ka mw=i mesyu ma ane vyanten*
 CONJ person 3P 3P=REAL SAY REAL=COP fish REAL eat person
 'and then people said it was a fish who ate the person'

5.3. Potential

5.3.1. Positive potential

By itself, the positive potential marker mostly heads imperatives, propositives and similar directive speech acts.

In assertions, it applies to all events which will or might be the case in the future. Usually, these events are directly or indirectly related to the wishes or abilities of an agent or to a set of conditions. It also features in assertions about epistemic possibilities in the present and the past.

The marker is phonologically realized as the one-consonant enclitic *p*, which attaches to the preceding subject pronoun. If the subsequent verb starts with a bilabial consonant, the marker is often not phonetically realized (*na=p vyan* [na vyan], *ye=p me* [ye me]). If the subsequent verb starts with a vowel, the positive potential marker is instead realized as proclitic *w-*. In the absence of a preceding subject pronoun and a subsequent vowel-initial verb, the marker is pronounced as /wV/, where /V/ stands for /e/, /a/, /o/ or /u/, depending on the subsequent verb. See also table 5.1 for an overview of the modal allomorphs.

As mentioned above, without a preceding modal relator, the positive potential marker expresses directive speech acts such as propositives and imperatives, both of which are illustrated in (14) respectively:

- (14) a. *Eya ma ka: "Da=p lyung vyan pyan!"*
 white-eye REAL SAY 1D.IN=POT bathe go under
 'The white-eye [bird] said: "Let's dive!"' (sto04:32)
- b. *Tomo ma ka myane bwilya: "Ko=p swave wotop en=tak!"*
 rat REAL SAY with rail 2S=POT catch breadfruit DEF=PROX
 'The rat said to the rail: "Catch the breadfruit!"' (sto32:20)

Such directives can even be used with an inanimate third-person subject:

- (15) *eye we me*
 knife POT come

5. TAM Markers

'I want the knife/ give me the knife'

For more on imperatives with and without TAM markers, see section 6.4. In non-embedded clauses, the potential marker can only express an assertion if it is preceded by the modal relator *ka* as in the following examples, which are more or less neutral assertions about the future:

- (16) *barvinye swa ka we luk teve-sye m-ada em*
 grass one MOD.REL POT grow side.of-3S.POSS 3-1D.IN house
 'a grass will grow next to our house' (sto17:13)
- (17) *ma ka na=p sóró-usili kastom pun en=tak ka wa venek myane ngok*
 REAL say 1S=POT talk-follow kastom story DEF=PROX MOD.REL POT come with 2S
ka ko=p liye
 MOD.REL 2S=POT take
 'I will tell this kastom story, so it will go with you and you will take it with you'
 (sto33:2)
- (18) *lisepsep ka we me=ne ada a=tak sa nge=tak, ka we*
 lisepsep MOD.REL POT COME=TRANS 1D.IN LOC=PROX CM NGE=PROX MOD.REL POT
me=ne ka we tiye ada
 COME=TRANS MOD.REL POT kill 1D.IN
 'the lisepsep will come for us here, he will come for us to kill us' (sto31:54)

Just as the realis marker does not necessarily express the truth of a proposition in the actual world, but sometimes in the world set up by a narrative, the future referred to by the potential marker is not necessarily the time after the moment of utterance, but can also be the time after a moment of reference in a narration. Thus, the following examples sentences are interpreted as past relative to the moment of utterance, but as the future as seen from the moment of reference within the narrative:

- (19) [*ka te ka wa doko-kuwu tomo wa ge=tak*], *tomo on mwe nek*
 SUBCONJ DIST SAY POT pull-out rat POT be.like=PROX rat 3S.POSS REAL fear
 '[when he was about to pull the rat out like this], the rat was frightened' (sto31:95)
- (20) *webung swa, vyap myato ma ka na ka we vyan gyes vyan*
 day one old.woman old REAL say COMP MOD.REL POT go work go
[ka or te myaek te ka we pwer yen s-an too kyun]
 SUBCONJ place DIST be.night CONJ MOD.REL POT stay in CL3-3S.POSS garden just
 'one day, the old woman wanted to go and work, when it was night, [she would just sleep in the field]' (rep12:7)
- (21) *yan webung na [ka bap=an we pwer tetes] te ye=m vyan du*
 at day COMP MOD.REL dance=NM POT stay again CONJ 3D=REAL go stay
 'on the day that [the dance would take place again], they went' (sto25:25)

More frequent than neutral predictions are assertions about the future which relate to some set of conditions, abilities, desires, believes or goals. In one very frequent pattern, the potential marker occurs in a complement clause to a verb as in the following cases (compare also sections

3.2.7 and 8.1):

- (22) a. *na=m dimyane ka na=p ka sóróusi=an swa*
 1S=REAL want MOD.COMP 1S=POT say talk=NM one
 ‘I want to tell a story’ (sto29:4)
- b. *na=m kuowilye ka na=p gérase boyep*
 1S=REAL know MOD.COMP 1S=POT cheat pheasant.dove
 ‘I can cheat the pheasant dove’ (sto04:21)

In contexts of epistemic uncertainty, the potential marker can also refer to the (generic) present. In the following example, epistemic uncertainty is expressed by the verb *dimye*, and the potential marker is contained in a generic assertion about the number of snake species on Ambrym.

- (23) *si=m ka tyotyó mw=i ves, te na=m dimye tyotyó ka*
 1PC.IN=REAL say snake REAL=COP how.much CONJ 1S=REAL think snake MOD.REL
w=i ló kyun
 POT=COP two just
 ‘we say there are how many kinds of snake, I think there are/ should be only two’
 (exp50:113)

The expression of epistemic possibility is also possible without the presence of a verb of believing. In the following example, it is the modal tag *vyen* ‘probably, I think’, which indicates epistemic uncertainty and thereby determines the interpretation of the potential marker: The example sentence does not have any future reference but is taken from a description of a bird and refers to a generic property of that kind of bird.

- (24) *bat-en ka wa pe~pyo vyen*
 head-3S.POSS MOD.REL POT REDUP~white probably
 ‘its head is white, I think’ (exp50:138)

Related to this case are serial predicate constructions in which the potential marker and the copula head a non-initial predicate to express something like ‘for example’ (see also section 7.3). In the following example, the potential marker plus copula *w=i* would not be necessary for the sentence to be complete. Their presence indicates that the breadfruit is only one hypothetical example.

- (25) *yang wuonwuon ya=m kyu (w=i) wotop Ø-an vi*
 fly fruitfly 3P=REAL surround POT=COP breadfruit CL2-3S.POSS white.man
 ‘the fruit flies surround (for example) a pawpaw’ (exp08:158)

Similarly, in (26), the expression *wa ge myane* (POT be.like with) ‘such as’ is a serial predicate, the expression *na ka ra-p tiye* ‘which we kill’ is a relative clause. These expressions are not about an actual pig that has been or will be killed; rather, they express that hypothetically, a dead pig would be an example for the kind of smelly things that blowflies like. For more on modality in serial predicate constructions, see section 7.3.

5. TAM Markers

- (26) *yang dawo mwe téé=ane sisye na mu buo [wa ge myane]_{SerialPred} barar*
 fly blowfly REAL look=TRANS thing COMP REAL stink POT like with pig
*tuswa [na ka ra=**p** tiye]_{RelClause}*
 one COMP MOD.REL 1P.IN=POT kill
 ‘the blowfly looks for smelly things like for example a pig we have killed’ (exp08:135)

Another type of structure which can host a potential marker is the apodosis (consequence) of a conditional clause. In (27), the complex protasis (condition) and the apodosis are each limited by square brackets and the TAM markers of both sentence parts are in bold:

- (27) *[neti tyu tuswa ka **te** pwer we wese na ka we mer]*
 child.of chicken one MOD.COMP DIST stay POT enough COMP MOD.REL POT dead
*te [ko=**p** liye ye-tye tuswa]_{apodosis}*
 CONJ 2S=POT take leaf-of.it one
 ‘when a chick is about to die, then take one of these leaves’ (exp10:17)

- (28) *[ka lisepsep **te** me], te [nye ka na=**p** ka]*
 MOD.COMP lisepsep DIST come CONJ 1S MOD.REL 1S=POT fly
 ‘if the lisepsep comes, then I will fly away’ (sto31:38)

If the apodosis is headed by the distal marker *te* instead of a realis marker, the result is a counterfactual conditional—see section 5.5.

The potential marker frequently shows up in phrases indicating the purpose or goal of an action. Note that in combination with the modal relator *ka*, the inflected preposition *tevy-an* ‘its side’ is often best translated as ‘in order to’ (see also section 8.1.4):

- (29) *bwilya mwe tuwuli-esi s-an gini **tevy-an** ka wa winim*
 rail REAL try-try CL3-3S.POSS way side.of-3S.POSS MOD.COMP POT beat
lisepsep
lisepsep
 ‘The rail tried all he could to beat the lisepsep.’ (sto31:108)

A similar effect can be found with the preposition *ten* ‘for’:

- (30) *yesukuo na mw=i **ten** ka we gene vyanten we meu-lili tetes*
 leaves COMP REAL=COP for MOD.COMP POT make person POT live-back again
 ‘leaves which are meant to make someone come alive again’ (exp09:19)

Such a purposive reading of the potential can however also be available without a special lexeme suggesting this interpretation. Thus, in the following examples, each of the two parts limited by brackets would be a complete sentence by itself. The combination of the two suggests that the potential clause refers to the purpose of the realis clause.

- (31) *[lii mo kolir] [ka temeli en=**te** wa ongane te wuon]*
 owl REAL sing MOD.REL kid DEF=MED POT hear CONJ stop.crying
 ‘the owl sang so the child would hear it and stop crying’ (sto20:10)

- (32) [meby-un-eli bwet me tas] [ka ye w=en]
 grandchild-3s.POSS-DIM COS come sit MOD.REL 3D POT=eat
 ‘his grandson just came afterwards and sat down so they would eat’ (sto14:16)

In a similar way, a potential clause following a realis clause can indicate the likely outcome or destination of the process described in the realis clause:

- (33) lisepsep met-an bwe nyup ka we pwer
 lisepsep eye-3s.POSS CONT nod MOD.REL POT stay
 ‘the lisepsep was drowsy and falling asleep’ (sto13:38)

To summarize this section, the positive potential marker expresses either a directive or asserts that a proposition will come true in the future, or that it is compatible with someone’s desires, abilities, goals or knowledge.

5.3.2. Negative potential

In a negative context, the necessity marker *ne* becomes the negative counterpart to the positive potential marker. Its functions and distribution are much closer to the potential marker than to the necessity marker, which is why I discuss it in this section and also refer to its meaning as ‘negative potential’.

Like other TAM markers, the necessity marker can take shape either as an enclitic consonant (=n) or as a monosyllabic morpheme whose vowel depends on the subsequent verb (*nV*) (see also table 5.1 on page 189).

The following example shows how the negative potential complements the positive potential—the first part is the positive potential sentence while the second part is its conclusion in the negative potential. At the same time, this example shows how the negated necessity marker is used in the apodosis of a conditional clause:

- (34) a. ka ada syan ka te peten ka t=i Ø-an
 SUBCONJ 1D.IN other SUBCONJ DIST true MOD.COMP DIST=COP CL3-3S.POSS
 tan te tan en=te ka wo pwer
 ground CONJ ground DEF=MED MOD.REL POT stay
 ‘if one of us is right that it’s his island, then the island will stay there’ (sto16:10)
- b. syan te gères ka ka t=i Ø-an, te saka ne esi tan
 other CONJ lie say MOD.COMP DIST=COP 3S.POSS CONJ MOD.NEG NEC see ground
 en=te pelyen
 DEF=MED tomorrow
 ‘if he lied that it was his, then they would not see this island tomorrow’ (sto16:11)

Negative imperatives, or prohibitives, always involve both the modal relator *saka* and the negative potential marker:

- (35) a. Mwelip, saka ko=n vyan etes
 NAME MOD.NEG 2S=NEC go at.the.sea

5. TAM Markers

- ‘Mwelip, don’t go to the sea’ (sto23:7)
- b. *Saka ko=n ongane na sanga*
 MOD.NEG 2S=NEC hear NEC be.bad
 ‘Don’t be sad.’² (exp02:41)

In general, the negated necessity marker can express either a neutral prediction, as in (34-b), or an imperative, as in (35); there are no obligatory structural features to distinguish between the two, so the interpretation depends on the context. A similar ambiguity applies to negative potential clauses with non-second person subjects: they can be either a neutral prediction or a prescription. The sentence in (36) is an example of a prediction. Here, the elderly speakers are complaining about the reluctance of their younger relatives to help them with their chores:

- (36) *Saka ne dam tevy-an ka si=p ka we gyes mwes*
 MOD.NEG NEC agree side.of-3S.POSS MOD.COMP 1PC.IN=POT say POT work for.nothing
 ‘he won’t agree if we want him to work for free’ (lit. ‘he won’t agree for us to want him to work for free’) (con02:26)

By contrast, the next sentence is taken from an explanation about taboos between relatives: Whether or not one is allowed to joke with someone depends on one’s family relation to them. Here, the negative potential expresses deontic modality, the clause refers to a social constraint.

- (37) *a miny-en-eli ma ka we pyos=ane a saka ne*
 and womans.brother-3S.POSS-DIM REAL say POT joke=TRANS and MOD.NEG NEC
pyos=ane ne ge myane s-an metoo vyaven
 joke=TRANS NEC be.like with CL3-3S.POSS nephew woman
 ‘and with her brother, he can joke, but he can’t joke with him the same way as with his niece’ (see section 3.3.6 about kinship terms). (exp28:16)

As with the positive potential marker, a sentence containing a negative potential marker is very frequently explicitly related to a set of conditions, intentions, beliefs or abilities.

In one such scenario, the matrix clause involves a subordinating verb which is preceded by the negative realis marker; then, the potential clause is introduced by the modal complementizer *ka*, and there is no *saka*:

- (38) a. *etatakée mwe takéene yan beleem tevy-an [to dimyane ka*
 lock REAL hang at door side.of-3S.POSS REAL;NEG want MOD.COMP
ye=n sóvilye]
 3D=NEC come.out
 ‘the lock, he hung it on the door because he did not want them to come out’
 (sto12:40)
- b. *to wese ka na=n liye ngok*
 REAL;NEG enough MOD.COMP 1S=NEC take 2S
 ‘I can’t carry you’ (sto35:27)

²The sequence of *saka* and the second person singular pronoun *ko* is usually reduced to *sa ko-*.

- c. *a er ra to dimye ka ni gi=te*
 and 1P.IN 1P.IN REAL;NEG think MOD.COMP NEC be.like=MED
 ‘but we don’t think it’s like this’ (con01:35)

The verb *ka* ‘say, want, think’ plays a similarly important role in negative potential contexts as in positive potential clauses: In a negated realis clause, it can replace the modal relator *saka*. The resulting sentence always has a predictive, never a prescriptive reading. Another possible difference between the construction with *ka* ‘say’ and the one with *saka* might be that the impossibility expressed by the former is inherent to the subject. Thus, in the following two examples, the sequence *to ka* could be replaced by *saka*, but this would lead to a more ambiguous clause: the interpretation could be prescriptive as well as predictive (‘the yam mustn’t get done’), and it would not be clear whether, say, the persisting rawness of the yam was due to its own properties or to the circumstances of its preparation.

- (39) a. *dom en=te to ka ne pyang*
 yam DEF=MED REAL;NEG say NEC done
 ‘this yam didn’t get done’ (sto02:50)
- b. *Enes mw=i mesyu na mu vu ten, to ka ne tyup~tyup,*
 mullet REAL=COP fish COMP REAL good very REAL;NEG say NEC REDUP~battle
mu vu kyun.
 REAL good just
 ‘The mullet is a very good fish, it won’t fight, it’s just fine.’ (exp07:18)

See also section 8.3.2 for more on the relation between the verb *ka* and the modal relators *ka* and *saka*.

Another frequent environment for the negative potential marker are conditional clauses. One such example has already been seen above in (34-b), another one is given below:

- (40) [*saka ko=t dam=ane*] *te [saka na=n senga=ne suku-om myane*
 MOD.NEG 2S=DIST agree=TRANS CONJ NEC 1S=NEG give=TRANS stuff-2S.POSS with
ngok]
 2S
 ‘if you don’t agree then I won’t give what is yours to you’ (sto25:69)

Again, the negative potential clause can get a deontic reading in conditional clauses as well:

- (41) *vyan ka t=i saó te misy-an saka ye=n wet*
 go SUBCONJ DIST=COP ceremony CONJ uncle-3S.POSS MOD.NEG 3PC=NEG only.then
me, nyosi ye=p vyan du
 come 3PC 3D=POT go stay
 ‘for the wedding, her uncles mustn’t/can’t come anymore, they stay away’ (lit. ‘when it’s the wedding’) (exp06:31)

The negative potential also often occurs in negated serial verb constructions with several subsequent modal markers (see section 7.3). Here, a modal relator is not needed—or in fact appropriate—for the introduction of the negative potential marker.

5. TAM Markers

- (42) *krap mwe vyan te vyan tóóve nge ne yesukuo kyun, [to kii buluwu ne ge myane tomo]*
 crab REAL GO CONJ go cover 3S with leaves just REAL;NEG dig hole NEC
 be.like with rat
 ‘the crab went and just covered itself with leaves, it did not dig a hole like the rat had done’ (sto10:19)

Note that for the positive counterpart to this sentence, the second modal marker would be a positive realis, not a positive potential marker:

- (43) *...ma kii buluwu ma ge myane tomo*
 REAL dig hole REAL be.like with rat
 ‘it dug a hole like the rat’

While (42) is an example of an event argument serialization (see section 7.3.1), the following serialization is not. Here, the object of the first verb is the subject of the second:

- (44) *ko to gene gyes=an tuswa nu vu mursi teenem doma*
 2S REAL;NEG make work=NM one NEC good a.bit home today
 ‘you haven’t done the slightest bit of good work at home today’ (sto27:26)

It is however not the case that for all multiple marking serializations, if the first marker is a negated realis, the second one is automatically a negated potential marker. In the following example, a negative realis marker is followed by a positive potential marker:

- (45) *na to liye wa mesaa na teenem na en=be sa vyanten nya*
 1S REAL;NEG take POT smooth COMP home COMP DEF=which CM person 3D
en=te ye=m gene bivian a ye=m du pan~pandó
 DEF=MED 3PC=REAL make friend and 3PC=REAL stay REDUP~fish(V)
 ‘I haven’t clarified in which village the two men were friends and went fishing’
 (rep03:74)

In fact, I have found through elicitations that in all serial predicate constructions where the first predicate is negative, it does not make any difference whether the second predicate is headed by a positive or a negative potential marker. In this particular environment, the difference between the two TAM markers is apparently neutralized (see also section 7.1.3).

Finally, there are also contexts in which the necessity marker expresses negative potential modality without any preceding negation and without *saka*. Some of these cases correspond to what has been called *expletive negation* in languages like French: They involve verbs like ‘fear that’ or privative verbs like *dyanga* ‘lack’:

- (46) *gene na s-an bivian on mwe nek ka ne kueli vyan*
 make COMP CL3-3S.POSS friend 3S.POSS REAL fear(V) NEC MOD.NEG return go
etes, ne pandó etes
 at.the.sea NEC fish(V) at.the.sea
 ‘so his friend was scared to return to the sea, to go fishing at the sea’ (and so he didn’t

return to the sea) (rep03:67)

- (47) *bili-sye mwe dyanga ka na=n me*
 time-of.it REAL lack MOD.COMP 1S=NEC come
 ‘I don’t have time to come’

One more context in which the negative potential marker has been used without an explicit preceding negation is shown in the following example. Here, the matrix clause is headed by the distal marker. In this kind of context, the distal marker expresses that something was the case in the past and triggers the implicature that it is no longer the case in the present (see also section 5.5). Apparently, this negative implicature is sufficient to license the negative potential marker:

- (48) *na=t dimyane ka na=n vyan Baiap pelyen (a to wese)*
 1S=DIST want MOD.COMP 1S=NEC go NAME tomorrow but REAL;NEG enough
 ‘I wanted to go to Baiap tomorrow (but it’s not possible).’

Concluding this section, I have shown that the negated necessity marker has a similar distribution as the positive potential marker. Its negative interpretation can be triggered by the modal relator *saka*, by negated subordinating verbs, by a preceding negated verb in a serial verb construction or by predicates with certain adverse or privative meanings.

5.4. Necessity

The positive version of the necessity marker *ne* is far less frequent than its negated version and the other markers treated so far. It can be used to express that a future event is deontically necessary as in the following examples:

- (49) a. *ka t=i ngok ko=t poo vyan te ko=n vyan liye wotop*
 SUBCONJ DIST=COP 2S 2S=DIST climb go CONJ 2S=NEC go take breadfruit
nu vu kyun te me
 NEC good just CONJ come
 ‘if it’s you who climbs, then you must go, you must take the breadfruit properly and then come’ (sto31:36)
- b. *Ko=n peten!*
 2S=NEC true
 ‘Keep your word!’ (not generic) (sto33:76)
- c. *ko=m kuowilye ka ko=p kuo a=te, a ko=n liye seli na*
 2S=REAL know MOD.COMP 2S=POT run LOC=MED and 2S=NEC take road COMP
mu kuo a=te
 REAL run LOC=MED
 ‘you can go there, but you must take the road’ (con01:112)

As with the potential modalities, the necessity marker expresses directive speech acts, unless it is preceded by the modal relator *ka* or embedded somewhere.

5. TAM Markers

For past or present progressive contexts, the necessity marker *ne* asserts that something should have happened or should be happening, insinuating that it did not in fact happen, or is not happening:

- (50) a. *Ka na=n me kyun, s-ok gyes=an sa mwe pwer.*
 MOD.REL 1S=NEC come just CL3-1S.POSS work=NM CM REAL stay
 ‘I should have come (but I didn’t), I had work to do.’
 b. *Mata ka ne pwe kiyer ó.*
 NAME MOD.REL NEC stay SCOOP.out coconut
 ‘Mata should be scooping out coconuts.’

When the marker is used in examples like (50), it might sometimes seem that the actual assertion is that something didn’t happen, while the notion that it should have happened is just pragmatically presupposed. At least two observations, however, indicate that the assertion made really concerns the deontic necessity, not the counterfactuality of the clause headed by the marker.

The first of these two observations comes from elicited contradictions to such necessity statements with past reference. To elicit the meaning of a simple contradiction like *no* to a sentence headed by the necessity marker, I asked speakers to continue this contradicting response with a sentence. I gave a pattern of this which involved only reality markers and then prompted speakers with a positive sentence headed by the necessity marker. The first spontaneous response given by speakers was invariably headed by the negative necessity marker. When I suggested to continue the response instead with a positive or negative realis clause, the answers were less readily accepted.

The example in (51) illustrates a typical pair of a prompt and its response. The reaction in (51–iii) seemed acceptable, if not a perfect match. This is probably also because *ee* is not a total equivalent of *no*, but can also be used if someone wants to disagree with a presupposition made by the speaker (compare section 4.4.4). So in (51–iii), it could also be freely translated as ‘what do you want (she did scoop out coconut after all)’

- (51) A: *Mata ka ne kiyer ó.*
 Mata MOD.REL NEC SCOOP.out coconut
 ‘Mata should have scooped out coconuts.’
 B: (i) *Éé, saka ne kiyer ó.*
 no NEG.MOD NEC SCOOP.out coconut
 ‘No, she shouldn’t have scooped out coconuts.’
 (ii) *#Éé, to kiyer ó.*
 no REAL;NEG SCOOP.out coconut
 ‘#No, she didn’t scoop out coconut.’
 (iii) *?Éé, ma kiyer ó.*
 no REAL SCOOP.out coconut
 ‘?No, she did scoop out coconut.’

The more conclusive observation is therefore the second one, which is about the continuation of clauses headed by the necessity marker: Both a positive and a negative realis continuation

are acceptable, while a negative necessity continuation does not make sense to speakers. If the notion that ‘it didn’t rain’ were part of the assertion of (52), the sentence in (52-b-i) should be a contradiction, while (52-b-ii) should be a tautology, but neither is the case.

- (52) a. *Doma ós ka ne kin...*
 today rain MOD.REL NEC fall
 ‘It should have rained today...’
- b. (i) *...te mwe kin*
 CONJ REAL fall
 ‘...and it did rain’
- (ii) *...te to kin*
 CONJ REAL;NEG fall
 ‘...but it didn’t.’
- (iii) # *...te saka ne kin*
 CONJ MOD.NEG NEC fall
 ‘#...and it shouldn’t have rained.’

As described in the previous section, in negative contexts the necessity marker is interpreted as the negative counterpart to the positive potential marker. This also means that negative counterparts to sentences as in (50) on the facing page cannot simply be derived from the positive sentence. A meaning like ‘I shouldn’t have come’ has to be expressed by a different structure instead as for example in (53):

- (53) *To vu na na=m me.*
 REAL;NEG be.good COMP 1S=REAL come
 ‘It’s not good that I have come.’

So the two basic uses of the necessity marker *ne* we have seen so far are deontic necessity with future reference, and deontic necessity with past reference and with a counterfactual implicature. In some cases, the counterfactual implicature is also present in clauses with future reference. In the following sentences, the wanting lies in the past; the going to Baiap was supposed to lie in the future, but since the necessity marker is used instead of the potential marker, it is understood that, despite the speaker’s earlier plans, she will not go to Baiap as intended.

- (54) a. *Na=m dimyane ka na=n vyan Baiap*
 1S=REAL want MOD.COMP 1S=NEC go NAME
 ‘I want to go to Baiap (but I won’t).’
- b. *Na=t dimyane ka na=n vyan Baiap*
 1S=DIST want MOD.COMP 1S=NEC go NAME
 ‘I wanted to go to Baiap (but I won’t).’

Note that the matrix clause containing the subordinating verb can either be headed by the realis marker (a.) or by the distal marker (b.). The distal marker itself triggers a counterfactual reading, similar to the English past with verbs expressing beliefs or intentions (phrases like ‘I wanted to go’ or ‘I thought all birds had wings’ indicate that the plans or beliefs of the speaker

5. TAM Markers

may have changed). This is apparently why the potential marker is not good in a complement clause dominated by a matrix clause which is headed by the distal marker.

- (55) a. *Na=m dimyane ka na=p vyan Baiap.*
 1S=REAL want MOD.COMP 1S=POT GO NAME
 ‘I want to go to Baiap (and there is no reason why this should not happen).’
 b. **Na=t dimyane ka na=p vyan Baiap*
 1S=DIST want MOD.COMP 1S=POT GO NAME

The last meaning of the necessity marker is epistemic necessity of a generic proposition. In (56), the epistemic reading is induced by the modal tag *vyen*:

- (56) *Te nyoo ma ka ya=n liye nu vu kyun vyen.*
 CONJ 3P REAL say 3P=NEC take NEC good just I.think
 ‘And they, I think they certainly take it in a good way.’

To sum up this section, I have illustrated the major uses of the necessity marker *ne* in positive contexts: imperatives and assertions about deontic necessities with future reference, deontic necessity with past reference and counterfactual implicature and, finally, epistemic necessity of generic propositions. In comparison to the other markers discussed so far, I have only a small sample of occurrences in the corpus: there are only eleven instances of the positive necessity marker *ne*. These were complemented by elicitation and uses in (unrecorded) everyday conversations.

5.5. Distal

The modal marker *te* expresses a variety of meanings depending on the context of utterance. It most frequently occurs together with the subordinating conjunction *ka* ‘if, when’ in the protasis of a conditional or temporal clause.³ But it can also express distant past or counterfactuality in other environments.

I have termed this marker *distal* because, if my analysis is correct, it essentially expresses that a given proposition is true for a certain pair of a world and a time, which is not the pair of the world and the moment of reference. I assume that the default meaning of the distal marker is a temporal one. It only receives a modal interpretation if the context provides a set of alternative worlds, be it by a verb of wishing or thinking, be it by the presence of a potential marker in the apodosis of a conditional clause.

In what follows I will discuss and illustrate the applications of this versatile marker in more detail. When heading a matrix clause, the distal marker typically expresses what I refer to as *distant past*: that means that the proposition was true at a point of time prior to the moment of reference, triggering the implicature that it is no longer true at the moment of reference (otherwise the realis marker would be used which can refer both to the past and the present). Several examples are given below:

³Note that, contrary to some conventions, I use the terms *protasis* and *apodosis* to refer to the first (subordinate) and second part (matrix) of **temporal** clauses as well as for conditionals.

- (57) *Nge Ø-an pelet t=i swa kyun, a yene Ø-an pelet mwe*
 3S CL3-3S.POSS plate DIST=COP one just, and now CL3-3S.POSS plate REAL
pwis.
 be.numerous
 ‘He used to have only one plate, but now he has many plates.’
- (58) *Na=m kuk nenyu te ane di~ri-sye te murswa te pwer te*
 1S=REAL cook yesterday CONJ eat REDUP~part-3POSS CONJ a.bit DIST stay CONJ
na=m ane doma.
 1S=REAL eat today
 ‘I cooked yesterday and ate some of it, so a bit was left and I ate it today.’
- (59) *meu=an na nenyu te melumlum, melumlum, a meu=an na doma mwe yas*
 live=NM ATT yesterday DIST quiet quiet but live=NM ATT today REAL hard
 ‘the life of before was easy, it was easy, but the life of today is hard’ (con02:90)

This meaning is of course not restricted to matrix clauses, but can also be found in non-modal subordinate clauses. Thus, in the next two examples, the distal marker is part of a relative clause and is interpreted as expressing distant past as well. The sentence in (60) is taken from a story in which an ant is separated from his fellow workers. As he tries to rejoin them, he calls for them and they call back to him to let him know where they are, but every time he reaches the place they were shouting from, they have already moved on.

- (60) *mwe vyan vyan pwer ar=an [na ya=t is ar=an] te ya=m is milye*
 REAL go go stay LOC=DEF COMP 3P=DIST call LOC=DEF CONJ 3P=REAL call on.top
ar=yuk
 LOC=FAR
 ‘he went to the place where they had called and then they called from over there’
 (sto36:24)
- (61) *Lee nyoo na ma tesi=te ma ge myane [na tu du].*
 tree 3P COMP REAL fall=MED REAL like with COMP DIST stay
 ‘The trees which had fallen were like they had been before (standing up again).’
 (sto21:15)

As mentioned above, the most frequent environment to find a distal marker is the protasis of a temporal or a conditional clause. In these cases, the distal marker is preceded by the subordinating conjunction *ka* ‘if, when’. Temporal clauses generally adhere to the pattern of protasis first and apodosis second, the latter usually introduced by the conjunction *te* ‘and then’ (see section 6.2.5), and headed by a realis marker: [SUBCONJ...DIST...]PROTASIS [*te*...REAL...]APODOSIS.

A temporal clause of this nature can index one single moment in a narration, but can also express a generic correlation between two events, such that ‘whenever *p* is true, *q* is also true’. Both cases are illustrated in the following two examples respectively:

- (62) a. *ka te esi nge suw-un tetes yen bwili wye, te ma esi na...*
 SUBCONJ DIST see 3S SELF-3S.POSS again in hole water CONJ REAL see COMP
 ‘when he saw himself in the pond again, he saw that...’ (sto07:28)

5. TAM Markers

- b. *te tyu ka te pesis te deli-sye nyoo mwe pwis*
 CONJ chicken SUBCONJ DIST lay.egg CONJ egg-3S.POSS 3P REAL be.numerous
 ‘so when(ever) the chicken lays eggs, its eggs are many’ (sto08:23)

In a few cases, the order of clauses is reversed such that the matrix clause precedes the temporal subordinate clause:

- (63) *mwe me yan tan [ka myaa te ate ten]*
 REAL come on ground SUBCONJ hunger DIST bite very
 ‘it comes to the ground when it is very hungry’ (exp50:65)

Temporal clauses may also involve a relative clause with the adverb *bili* ‘time’ as head. In these cases, the temporal subordinate clause may still contain *ka* and the distal marker *te*. It may however also host the realis marker instead. Both cases are illustrated below:

- (64) *bili na ka ye=t naknak tevy-an ka ye=p gene*
 time COMP SUBCONJ 3D=DIST ready side.of-3S.POSS MOD.COMP 3D=POT make
byakvi s-e nate-yaa man...
 circumcision CL3-POSS child-3D.POSS male
 ‘when they are ready to arrange for the circumcision of their sons...’ (exp05:3)

- (65) *bili na ye=m tavya pelyen te ye=m téé vyan te esi na tan*
 time COMP 3D=REAL get.up morning CONJ 3D=REAL look go CONJ see COMP ground
kekei en=te ma seaa
 small DEF=MED REAL disappear
 ‘when they got up in the morning then they saw that the small island disappeared’
 (sto16:25)

Postposed temporal clauses such as in (63) and in (66) are more frequent with *bili* than without.

- (66) *te pyaavep kevene ngok a vyanten ke-kevene ma ka ki=p du*
 CONJ afternoon every 2S and person REDUP~every REAL say 2P=POT stay
nyur~nyur=ane nye [bili na ka yaa te vyan]
 REDUP~think=TRANS 1S time COMP SUBCONJ SUN DIST go
 ‘every evening you and everyone will think of me when the sun goes down’ (sto17:38)

Even without a subordinating conjunction and outside of adverbial clauses, a clause in distal mood will sometimes by itself be interpreted as indexing a moment in time to which the subsequent clause is related:

- (67) *[or te yuop tetes] te mwe saa=ne tee te vyan te apyaló ten*
 place DIST be.dawn again CONJ REAL pull=TRANS axe CONJ go cut ship native
 ‘(when) it was dawn again, he carried an axe and went to carve a canoe’ (sto33:42)

For more on temporal adverbial clauses, see sections 8.4.3, page 315 and section 8.3.

While clauses with a realis marker in the apodosis are interpreted as temporal, if the apodosis

contains a potential marker, it is interpreted as conditional:

- (68) *ka lisepsep te me, ka wa óte ngok vyan te tiye ngok*
 SUBCONJ lisepsep DIST come MOD.REL POT hunt 2S go CONJ kill 2S
 ‘if the lisepsep comes, he will hunt you and kill you.’ (sto31:40)

In negative conditionals, the protasis is introduced by the subordinating conjunction *saka* ‘if not’:

- (69) *Saka ko=t towane mesyu en=te me ka na w=ane ngok.*
 SUBCONJ;NEG 2S=DIST throw fish DEF=MED come MOD.REL 1S POT=eat 2S
 ‘If you don’t give me that fish, I will eat you.’ (rep03:44)

In counterfactual conditionals, the protasis can be either in potential as in (70) or in distal mood, and the apodosis is always in distal mood (also see section 8.4.3).

- (70) *ka we eli buluwu wa ge myane tomo te tu vu*
 SUBCONJ POT dig hole POT like with rat CONJ DIST good
 ‘if he had dug a hole like the rat, it would have been good’

The potential marker heads not only positive, but also negative protases of counterfactual conditionals, which are then introduced by the subordinating conjunction *saka* ‘if not’. Note that this is the only case in which any version of *saka* can cooccur with the potential marker:

- (71) *saka w=i Kaingas, Katolik te dyanga Sesivi*
 SUBCONJ.NEG POT=COP NAME NAME DIST lack NAME
 ‘if it hadn’t been for Kaingas, there wouldn’t be Catholics in Sesivi’
 (rep09:57)

The counterfactual interpretation of the distal marker is not only available for conditional clauses, but also in other contexts which introduce alternative possibilities to the actual world. For example, verbs of thinking or perceiving can refer to what a subject perceives or conceives of as true, independent from whether that perception or notion is in fact true. In (72-a), the proposition ‘it has a skin’ is true according to the subject’s perception, but the distal marker indicates that the proposition is not true in the actual world, that the tactile perception is mistaken. In (72-b), the woman has jumped according to what her husband believes, but not actually:

- (72) a. *ko=m ongane ma ge myane uli-sye te pwer*
 2S=REAL hear REAL be.like with skin-3S.POSS DIST stay
 ‘it feels as if it had a skin’ (exp50:36)
- b. *te yaapu=an ma dimye ka te mea vyan a=te te ma*
 CONJ big.man=DEF REAL think MOD.COMP DIST jump go LOC=MED CONJ REAL
mea usili
 jump follow
 ‘her husband thought that she had jumped there and he jumped after her’
 (sto47:72)

5. TAM Markers

In the following sentence, the clause headed by the distal marker is not syntactically dependent on the preceding sentence. It expresses that the ability to fly around is part of what the first person singular subject wishes, of what she would do if she had wings, but the implicature is that she does not have this ability in the actual world:

- (73) *Nye na bwe dimyane ka ebya-ok we pwer kyun, na=t ka pini*
 1S 1S REAL;CONT want MOD.COMP wing-3S.POSS POT stay just 1S=DIST fly fill
or.
 place
 ‘I wish I had wings, I would fly around everywhere.’ (ess01:3)

Not in all environments which introduce such alternative possibilities does the distal marker trigger such a counterfactual implicature. For example, it can be used with *wese* ‘be enough, be possible’ with an interpretation very similar to the potential marker (compare examples (27) on page 194 and (84) on page 274). The difference to the potential marker is that the distal marker here has a strict past reference; if it was replaced by the potential marker in this clause, it would have to be interpreted as referring to the future as in ‘it is possible that it will come from the West’, or to a generic present as in ‘it is possible that it (always) comes from the West’.

- (74) *Mwe me, ma wese ka te me yan vilye s-an vi.*
 REAL come REAL enough MOD.COMP DIST come on place CL3-3S.POSS white.man
 ‘It comes, it may have come from the West.’ (lit. ‘from the place of the white man’)
 (con02:183)

In conclusion, I have shown the distal marker to have the following functions: It can index a moment before the time of reference in the protasis of a temporal clause; it can point to a future possibility in the protasis of a conditional clause; it can express that a proposition is possibly true for the past or for the present moment of reference; and it can trigger the implicature that a proposition is not true at a time prior to or equal to the moment of reference.

5.6. Open polarity: *doo* (‘whether’)

A clause containing the marker *doo* corresponds to a subordinate clause introduced by *whether* in English:

- (75) *ma ka sye swa sa bwe me te ka da=p du ongane*
 REAL say something one CM REAL;CONT come CONJ say 1D.IN=POT stay hear
ka doo me pwisya=ne ada
 MOD.COMP DOO come come.out=TRANS 1D.IN
 ‘she said: “Something is coming, let’s listen if it’s coming to us”’
- (76) *da=p vyan téé-esi s-ok karton yan plen ka doo me*
 1D=POT go look-try CL3-1S.POSS package on plane MOD.COMP DOO come
 ‘let’s see whether or not a package for me has arrived on the plane’

Doo is thus restricted to subordinate clauses and never occurs in a matrix clause. Today, this meaning is more commonly expressed by constructions involving *mwede* ‘or, or not’ such as in the following examples:

- (77) a. *te ka ya=p tung=ane apyang te ka we [en~en esi*
 CONJ MOD.REL 3P=POT shine=TRANS fire CONJ MOD.REL POT REDUP~eat see
[ka wa ane mwede saka na ane]]
 MOD.COMP POT eat or MOD.NEG NEC eat
 ‘then they would light the fire and it would try whether it could burn them or not’
- b. *A kinye to kuowilye ya=m ane mwede...*
 and 1P.EX REAL;NEG know 3P=REAL eat or
 ‘but we don’t know whether they eat them or not’

See also section 8.2.1 for more on embedded polarity questions.

5.7. Change of state: *bwet*

The only TAM marker with an aspectual rather than a modal meaning is *bwet*. It is restricted to the modal domain of the realis: it can only refer to past and present events which are taken to be facts relative to the narrative framework. It expresses inchoative aspect or ‘change of state’: A clause headed by *bwet* indicates that something is or was the case at the moment of reference, but not prior to it.

The marker might be diachronically related to the verb *tebwteti* ‘start sth.’ In the following, I will illustrate its meaning with a few selected examples.

The first example comes from a story about the origin of the custom of the *liliwi* masks:⁴ According to the story, these ritual dance masks were first designed by two women as playthings for their children; but when their husbands saw the splendid masks, they had their wives killed by a sorcerer to obtain the masks and use them in their rituals. In the example sentence, *bwet* expresses this change of state of the *liliwi* from playthings to sacred items:

- (78) *sa gene te tis=an=ne liliwi en=te bwet me te i*
 CM make CONJ write=NM=TRANS kastom.mask DEF=MED COS COME CONJ COP
saó yo s-an yaapu nyoo
 ceremony taboo CL3-POSS big.man 3P
 ‘so this sand drawing of the *liliwi* then became a sacred *kastom* of the men’ (exp16:18)

In a similar way, the example in (79) records a change of historical dimensions, when a place that used to be haunted by a demon is finally exorcised by bush fires:

- (79) *apyang evin nyoo [na mu du ko] bwet vyan ane ar=an te mwe*
 fire bush.fire 3P COMP REAL stay spread COS go eat LOC=DEF CONJ REAL
kuo-syaane temyar en=te te or bwet dyu=ne
 run-away demon DEF=MED CONJ place COS be.empty=TRANS

⁴In the region, these costumes are more commonly known by their North Ambrym name as *rom* masks.

5. TAM Markers

‘bush fires which were spreading eventually burned there and drove the demon away, afterwards he was not there anymore’ (rep12:64)

But the changes indicated by *bwet* do not need to be historical, they can also be turning points or new developments in the course of a story. Thus, the following sentence is from the end of a story which begins with the two friends, the rat and the banded rail, as they are playing games and having fun. After a cartoon-like adventure ending in the victorious theft of a breadfruit, they go back to their previous leisurely activity.

- (80) *mo nok te ye bwet gene s-aya bangbang=an tetes*
 REAL finish CONJ 3D COS make CL3-3D.POSS play=NM again
 ‘afterwards they resumed their games again’ (sto31:132)

Another example in which *bwet* mostly stresses the order of events in a sequence of actions is the sentence in (81). It is taken from a story that goes with a sand drawing which records how carefully a man fastened his load with ropes before he started carrying it:

- (81) *mwe pis-kate yan evevyo mon bistuwo tevy-an saka ye=n*
 REAL tie-firm on carrying.stick also middle side.of-3S.POSS MOD.NEG 3D=NEC
tes, *te bwet vyose lewaa ne vis nya en=te te vyan*
 fall.down CONJ just carry lower.banana.stem TRANS banana 3D DEF=MED CONJ go
teenem
 home
 ‘he fastened them once more in the middle of so it wouldn’t fall down and now he carried the lower parts of the banana plant to the village’ (exp14:19)

Bwet shares many similarities with the auxiliaries *wet* and *dakap*, which are described in section 3.2.6.

6. Main Clauses

6.1. Overview

This chapter deals with basic structural properties of main clauses in Daakaka. The main aspects I will be exploring here are, first, the distinctive properties of different illocutionary acts—assertions will be taken as the default and other speech acts such as questions and directives will be defined by how they differ from this default in sections 6.3 and 6.4 respectively.

Secondly, in section 6.2, I will discuss different types of clauses (independent of their illocutionary category) in the sense of Dryer [1985, 224], that is basic clause types that differ “*in terms of their internal structure, primarily surrounding different types of predicates*”. In particular, I will discuss clause structures that differ systematically from the basic defaults described below in this section. These variations on clause-internal structure include different types of predicates, such as copular predicates and comparative predicates involving the morpheme *an*; different types of subjects, including impersonal and ambient subjects; several major information-structural processes which affect word order and topic-comment structure; coordination of clauses; and conditions on number marking on noun phrases and agreement in predicates.

For the remainder of this overview, I will introduce some of the basic defaults of Daakaka sentence structure. The only obligatory elements in most sentences are a subject, a TAM marker and a predicate (for exceptions see 6.2.4 and 6.4). The most frequent predicates are verbs and class one adjectives, as illustrated in (1), where *ane* ‘eat’ is a verb and *kekei* ‘small’ is an adjective:

- (1) a. *Na=m ane mesyu.*
1S=REAL eat fish
‘I ate fish.’
- b. *sini ma kekei*
green.pigeon REAL small
‘the green pigeon is small’ (exp02:95)

Subjects are expressed by subject pronouns as in (1-a) or by noun phrases as in (1-b). Definite third person singular referents are usually not expressed by pronouns at all: for subjects, there is no third person singular subject pronoun, and the presence of objects can be inferred from the transitivity of a verb. In (2), the only difference between the two clauses is that the first one has a semitransitive verb *en* ‘eat’, which can take certain generic objects, but doesn’t have to have an object. Its transitive counterpart *ane*, however, always requires an object; so when its argument is not given by an explicit noun phrase, the only possible interpretation is that its object is a given, definite referent (see also section 4.1.1):

6. Main Clauses

- (2) a. *bwe en*
REAL;CONT eat(SEMTR)
'she/he/it is eating'
- b. *bwe ane*
REAL;CONT eat(TR)
'she/he/it is eating it'

As can also be seen from (1), the default word order with transitive verbs is SVO; except for the distinction between subject pronouns and non-subject pronouns, word order is the only way to mark argument structure. Apart from verbs and class one adjectives, predicates can also consist of the copula plus a noun phrase or class two adjective. Figure 6.1 gives an overview over the most basic clause structures.

Assertive clauses in general contain either a verb phrase or a copular phrase. Exceptions are some clauses with the focus marker *sa* (see section 6.2.4 below), and, rather rarely, clauses containing intensified noun phrases such as (3) (see section 8.5).

- (3) *ar=an na barar mwe tutur pwer ar=an [buluwu na buluwu] na barar*
LOC=DEF COMP pig REAL bind stay LOC=DEF hole COMP hole COMP pig
en=te mwe eli
DEM=MED REAL dig
'where the pig was fastened, it had dug many many holes' (lit. 'where the pig was fastened, holes over holes which the pig had dug') (sto24:88)

Note that some of the TAM markers can either be one-consonant clitics to a preceding subject pronoun as in (1-a) or to a subsequent verb starting with a vowel; for third person singular subjects, there is however no subject pronoun, and in these cases, the TAM markers will instead be spelled out as monosyllabic morphemes as in (1-b) (compare also section 5.1).

Sentences can be expanded by topics, which stand before the subject constituent (see section 6.2.3 below). Adverbial additions to clauses and more complex noun phrases and predicates are discussed in section 3.5. Many clauses contain serial predicate constructions, which are treated in chapter 7. Subordinate clauses are treated in chapter 8.

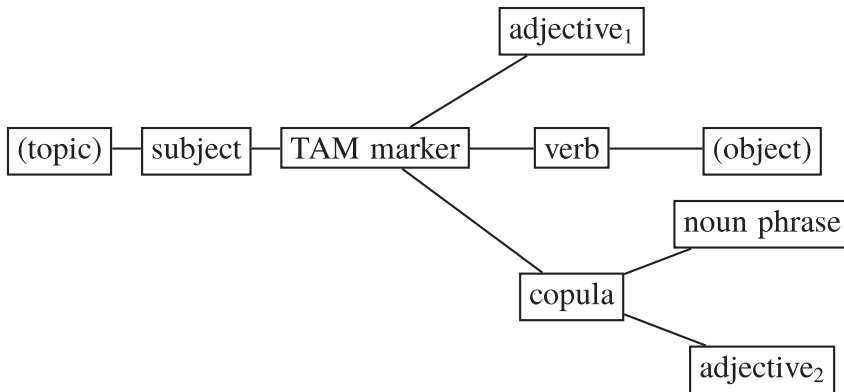
6.2. Clause Types

6.2.1. Copular clauses

Nouns, numerals, class two adjectives and adverbs need the copula *i* to serve as predicates. Some examples for predicative nouns are given below:

- (4) a. *ma ka: "S-ok naana mw=i tyotyö."*
REAL say CL3-1S.POSS mom REAL=COP snake
'he said: "My mother is a snake."' (sto25:117)
- b. *a bili na ye mw=i temeli te ye to baa, ye to tiye*
and time COMP 3D REAL=COP child CONJ 3D REAL;NEG fight 3D REAL;NEG kill

Abbildung 6.1.: Basic structure of assertive clauses



nya

3D

‘and while they were young they did not fight, they did not hit each other’ (sto17:6)

- c. *te, da=p vyan teenem, te da w=i bivian*
 CONJ 1D.IN=POT go home CONJ 1D.IN POT=COP friend
 ‘then we will go to the village and we will be friends’ (sto16:38)

One frequent function of nominal predicates is to indicate a state in the life-cycle of an animal as in (5). In this example, the first instance of the copula plus noun is a serial predicate after *me* ‘come’, in the second one it is a simple predicate.

- (5) a. *deli-sye te mwe top te me i diwi*
 egg-3S.POSS CONJ REAL leak(V) CONJ come COP mosquito.larva
 ‘the eggs break open and they become larvae’ (exp08:126)
- b. *diwi mwe pwer vyan kyun me te i bankyen kyun te ka*
 mosquito.larva REAL stay go just come CONJ COP mosquito after CONJ fly
 ‘after a while the larvae become mosquitos and fly’ (exp08:127)

In some other cases, the structure [COPULA NOUN] can express a property of the subject; it is then often possible to translate the predicate as ‘have NOUN’ as in (6):

- (6) *Tin-ik mw=i myanok.*
 gut-1S.POSS REAL=COP wound
 ‘I have a wound in the gut.’ (lit. ‘my gut is wound’)

This translation strategy does however not work for all such cases, as shown by (7):

- (7) *em en=te mw=i wuovyor kyun*
 house DEF=MED REAL=COP lava just
 ‘this house was all [covered by] volcanic stones’ (exp07:11)

6. Main Clauses

Another typical use of nominal predicates is to indicate environmental conditions such as in (8):

- (8) *A=tak mw=i butantan.*
LOCDEM.CL REAL=COP hill
'It's hilly here.'

For more on such structures, see also section 6.2.2, page 212 below.

The second category which needs the copula *i* to function as a predicate is class two adjectives, as described in section 3.4. Numerals too can serve as predicates only in combination with the copula (see also section 3.2.7 for similar examples):

- (9) *sivi s-an ekaakaa t=i swa kyun*
lorikeet CL3-3S.POSS clothes DIST=COP one just
'the lorikeet only had one piece of clothing' (lit. 'the lorikeet's clothes were only one')
(sto04:18)

Such prepositional phrases as can serve as predicates at all also depend on the copula for this function. Two examples for predicational preposition phrases are given below:

- (10) a. *Ngok ko mw=i [ten unte or].*
2S 2S REAL=COP for clear bush
'Your job is to clear the bush.'
- b. *Masisipe mw=i [ta Aneityum]*
NAME REAL=COP from NAME
'Masisipe was from Aneityum' (sto43:4)

Finally, the copula also turns temporal adverbs like *pyaavep* into predicates. The subject for such an expression is always *or* 'place', which is described in more detail in the following section.

- (11) *te or mw=i pyaavep te ya=m kueli me teenem te lisepsep*
CONJ place REAL=COP afternoon CONJ 3P=REAL return come home CONJ lisepsep
mwe pwer yen s-an levyak
REAL stay in CL3-3S.POSS banyan
'then it was afternoon and they returned home, but the lisepsep stayed at his banyan tree' (sto21:12)

6.2.2. Subject types

Ambient subjects

Predicates referring to meteorological events, to environmental conditions, or to times of day can typically only take a restricted range of expressions as subjects. In English, the pronoun *it* as in *it is raining*, *it is night* has been referred to as *ambient 'it'* since Bolinger [1977]. I therefore refer to corresponding cases in Daakaka as *ambient subjects*.

For most ambient expressions, the only lexeme they can take as a subject is *or* ‘place’. These expressions often refer to times of the day such as *yuop* ‘be dawn’, to climatic conditions such as *erér* ‘hot’. Some have more specialized meanings however, such as *dyu* ‘be devoid of people’.

- (12) a. *or mwe myaek*
 place REAL be.night
 ‘it is night’ (exp52:2)
- b. *or mwe yuop*
 place REAL be.dawn
 ‘it is dawn’ (sto41:80)
- c. *or ma erér*
 place REAL hot
 ‘it’s hot’
- d. *or mwe dyu*
 place REAL be.devoid
 ‘no one was there / the place was devoid of people’ (rep12:22)

The noun *or* ‘place’ has an adverbial counterpart *ar*, which also differs from *or* in that it is always definite. Like *or*, *ar* can also serve as an ambient subject:

- (13) a. *ar=yuk mw=i byun*
 LOC(ADV)=FAR REAL=COP depth(ADV)
 ‘there is a cliff over there’
- b. *a=tak mw=i meas*
 LOC(ADV)=PROX REAL=COP cold(N)
 ‘it is cold here’

There are at least two pairs of a noun and a homophonous verb which refer to the same meteorological event, and both have to be used together to form a proposition. The first of these cases is about earthquakes: the noun meaning ‘earthquake’ is *mu* and the verb meaning ‘(to) quake’ is also *mu*. The pair of *bee* ‘lightning’ and *bee* ‘be lightning’ works in a very similar way.

- (14) a. *mu mu mu*
 earthquake REAL quake(V)
 ‘there is an earthquake’ (lit. ‘an earthquake is quaking’)
- b. *bee bwe bee*
 lightning REAL;CONT be.lightning
 ‘it’s lightning’ (lit. ‘lightning is lightning’)

Another similar case are the two expressions for ‘thunder’. There is a verb *ruuruu* ‘(to) thunder’ and a noun *koruuruu* ‘thunder’ and they typically occur together:

- (15) *koruuruu mu ruuruu*
 thunder REAL thunder
 ‘thunder is rumbling / it was thundering’

6. Main Clauses

Furthermore, there are pairs of verbs and nouns which are not homophonous, but which hardly have any other collocates than each other. One such pair is *ós* ‘rain’ and *kin* ‘fall’: The only other predicate for *ós* is *me* ‘come’ and possibly *medap*, which also means ‘fall’ and is more widely applicable than *kin*, which in turn only takes *ós* as a subject.

For most other meteorological events, however, there is a rather generic predicate, while the subject noun specifies the event itself, as in *myaop mu kuo* (volcano REAL run) ‘the volcano erupted’ or *brongis mu kuo* (hurricane REAL run) ‘there is a hurricane’. For nouns to do with fire and heat such as *apyang* ‘fire’ and *yaa* ‘sun’, the generic predicate is the verb *en* ‘eat, burn’.

Event subjects

Events denoted by clauses, verb phrases or deverbal noun phrases can be arguments of verbs and copular predicates. Events are never referred to by pronouns.

A typical predicate of event subjects is *to i meerin* ‘it didn’t take long’, as in (16):

- (16) *mwe nii pwer, to i meerin te eng na towo ma ka me*
REAL hide stay REAL;NEG COP long.time CONJ wind COMP big REAL fly come
‘he was hiding, it didn’t take long before a strong wind came’

A similar case is the expression *wi to na* ‘it shall be later that’, which translates more idiomatically as *before (something happens)...*:

- (17) *w=i to na ka na=p wet gene sóróusi=an swa, na=m*
POT=COP later COMP MOD.REL 1S=POT only.then make talk=NM one 1S=REAL
dimyane ka na=p ka s-ok is
want MOD.REL 1S=POT say CL3-1S.POSS name
‘before I tell the story, I first want to say my name’ (lit. ‘it shall be later that I will make a story, I want to say...’) (sto07:2)

Other canonical predicates of event subjects are complex expressions like *to i sye tuswa* (REAL;NEG COP thing one) ‘it’s not a problem’ and *mwe gene na...* (REAL do COMP) ‘this led to.../this is why...’, as well as some simple verbs such as *maga* ‘be fast’ and *medó* ‘be slow’, as in (18):

- (18) *[s-an oko=an] ma maga*
CL3-3S.POSS walk=NM REAL fast
‘he walks fast’ (lit. ‘his walking is fast’)

More typically however, events are not subjects of initial predicates, but of non-initial predicates in a serial verb construction—these event argument serializations are described in section 7.3.

Subjects of perceptions and emotions

Emotions and sensations are typically not predicated of a person as such. In many cases they are predicated of a specific part of a person instead. For example, it is not possible to say literally ‘I am drunk’—the correct expression is ‘*my face* is drunk’.

The one noun which is most frequently used as a subject for verbs of emotions is *yu-*. It does not exist outside of expressions of emotions, which makes it hard to give an independent meaning. Speakers have compared it to the Bislama word *filing* and its English counterpart *feeling*. The lexeme *lo-* from the neighboring language Dalkalaen is apparently a cognate of *yu-*: There is a regular correspondence between /l/ in Dalkalaen and /y/ in Daakaka and its function is largely the same. In Dalkalaen, however, *lo-* is also used in constructions which are not related to emotions, and there it means ‘inside’.

Some of the verbs used together with *yu-* to express emotions have lexicalized meanings when used with other subjects. Thus *yaa* means literally ‘hurt’, but its combination with *yu-* (lit. ‘the feeling hurts’) means ‘be angry’. Some other verbs only ever occur in connection with *yu-* or similar subjects and have no independent, non-emotional meaning.

The noun which the emotion verbs *nek* ‘be afraid’ and *sa* ‘be ashamed’ take as a subject is also not entirely transparent in Daakaka. The three singular forms of this inflected noun are *uluk*, *on*, *om*. The first person singular form *uluk* is probably related to the transitive nouns *un* and *uli* ‘skin of’ (see section 3.3.3). Comparisons with the neighboring languages Dalkalaen and Daakie and with Paton’s account of Lonwolwol [Paton, 1971] also support the idea that the original meaning of this noun is ‘skin of’.

While most of the emotion verbs refer to rather familiar feelings such as fear or infatuation, two of them appear to be rather specific to the local culture: *tap* and *bungbung* refer to different states of consciousness. *Tap* expresses the mental state of a mentally healthy, sober and awake, grown-up person. Persons to which this verb does not apply are mostly small children and grown-up people who are not fully awake yet.

An example which illustrates the use of *tap* in relation to children is given in (19):

- (19) *temeli en=te yu-on mwe tap ma maga*
 child DEF=MED feeling-3P REAL CONSCIOUS REAL fast
 ‘this child’s mental abilities have developed rapidly’

The verb *bungbung* is in some ways the negative counterpart to *tap*: it expresses a state of mental disability, but it is thought to be the result of a curse, not of a natural cause. Natural states of minds are not usually referred to as *bungbung*.

Both notions are closely correlated with the ability to speak. A child is considered fully conscious (*tap*) only when it can follow and take part in daily conversations. And the kind of magic which causes the state described as *bungbung* also makes a person unable to speak.

An overview over verbs expressing emotions and the nouns they take as subjects is given in examples (20) to (29) in table 6.1 on the next page.

The collocates in table 6.1 are without alternative: No other nouns can be used as subjects with the emotion verbs to express the same meaning. By contrast, the verb *dimye* ‘think’ can denote a property both of a person or of that person’s mind:

6. Main Clauses

Tabelle 6.1.: Verbs expressing emotions and the nouns they take as subjects.

Subj.	Verb	Meaning	Example
	<i>yaa</i> ‘hurt’	‘be angry’	(20) <i>yu-on mwe yaa</i> feeling-3S REAL hurt ‘she/he is angry’
	<i>kyeskyes=ane</i> ‘be sweet for’	‘be in love with’	(21) <i>yu-on mwe kyeskyes=ane nge</i> feeling-3S REAL be.SWEET=TRANS 3S ‘she/he has a crush on her/him’
<i>yu-</i> (in- side)	<i>pyane</i> ‘roast’	‘be mad/angry at’	(22) <i>yu-on mwe pyane nge</i> feeling-3S REAL roast 3S ‘she/he is mad at her/him’
	<i>tap</i>	‘be conscious’	(23) <i>vyanten en=te yu-on to</i> man DEF=MED feeling-3S REAL;NEG <i>tap</i> conscious ‘this man is not fully conscious yet’
	<i>bungbung</i>	‘be dumb’	(24) <i>yu-on mwe bungbung</i> feeling-3S REAL dumb ‘he/she is dumb’
<i>ul-/o-</i> (skin)	<i>nek</i>	‘be afraid’	(25) <i>on mwe nek</i> 3S.EMT REAL fear ‘she/he is frightened’
	<i>sa</i>	‘be ashamed’	(26) <i>uluk mwe sa</i> 1S.EMT REAL be.ashamed ‘I’m ashamed’
<i>by-</i> ‘body’	<i>mermer</i>	‘be exhausted’	(27) <i>b-ik mwe mermer</i> body-1S REAL exhausted ‘I am exhausted’
<i>met-</i> ‘eyes’	<i>nyup</i>	‘be sleepy’	(28) <i>met-an mwe nyup</i> eye-3S REAL doze.off ‘she/he is dozing off’
<i>ny-</i> ‘face’	<i>lili</i>	‘be drunk’	(29) <i>ny-un mwe lili</i> face-3S REAL drunk ‘she/he is drunk’

- (30) *te (s-an nyur~nyur=an) bwe dimye*
 CONJ CL3-3S.POSS REDUP~think=NM REAL;CONT think
 ‘and then he (his mind) thought’ (sto24:109)

In a similar fashion, certain physical properties such as *yas* ‘strong’ and *kekei* ‘small’ can be predicates to a simplex entity or to a specific aspect of this entity:

- (31) a. *(see) lewewo ma kekei*
 size bamboo REAL small
 ‘the (size of the) bamboo is small’
 b. *s-an veop=an ma kekei*
 CL3-3S.POSS long=NM REAL be.small
 ‘it is short’ (lit. ‘it’s length is small’)

With perceptions of hunger or cold, the subject refers not to the experiencer, but to the perception or its cause itself, that is, to the cold or the hunger which is said to bite. Depending on whether the experiencer object is singular or non-singular, either the verb *kyer* or the verb *ate* has to be used:

- (32) a. *meas mwe kyer ansi*
 cold(N) REAL bite(P) 1PC
 ‘we feel cold’ (lit. ‘the cold bites us’)
 b. *myaa ma ate nge*
 hunger(N) REAL bite(s) 3S
 ‘she/he is hungry’

There is one more thing which *myaa* ‘hunger’ can do as a subject: If there is a general famine, the intransitive verb *lu* ‘kill’ is used as a predicate for *myaa*. In this case, who suffers from the famine is not expressed. Instead, the expression closely resembles the conditions described in the section about *ambient subjects* above:

- (33) *myaa mu lu*
 hunger REAL kill
 ‘there was a famine’

Among the verbs denoting perceptions, some languages have a class of verbs like *sound* or *taste*, where the subject denotes the entity which causes a perception and the perceiver can be left unexpressed as in *this melody sounds beautiful*.

In Daakaka, by contrast, the perceiver can generally not be left unexpressed in constructions like *this tastes good* or *it looks like a hibiscus flower*. Instead, there is usually a generic second person singular subject and a serial predicate construction of the form ‘you eat it it is good’ or ‘you see it it is like a hibiscus flower’:

- (34) a. *ko=m tang~tang yan ma ge=tak ko=m ongane mwe looloo*
 2S=REAL REDUP~touch on REAL be.like=PROX 2S=REAL hear REAL soft
 ‘you touch it like this, it feels soft’ (lit. ‘you feel it’s soft’) (exp50:35)

6. Main Clauses

- b. *ko=m ane mwe kyes*
 2S=REAL eat REAL sweet
 ‘it tastes good’ (lit. ‘you eat it it’s sweet’)
- c. *ale, vyar misis mon, nge, ko mw=esi ma ge myane vyaven*
 INTJ wood.borer white.woman also 3S 2S REAL=see REAL like with woman
na mwe naknak=ane le=an
 COMP REAL ready=TRANS marry=DEF
 ‘so, the ‘bride’ woodborer again, it, it looks like a woman who is ready for her
 wedding’ (lit. ‘you see it it’s like...’) (exp08:65)

One exception to this rule is the perception of a bad smell: Here, the perceiver can be left unexpressed. The inflected noun *bu-* ‘smell of’ is the only possible subject for the verb *sek* ‘stink’. Thus, in expressions like *bu-on mwe sek* (smell.of-3S REAL stink) ‘it stinks’ or *bu-on mwe yas* (smell.of-3S REAL strong) ‘its smell was strong’, there is no need to specify who perceives the bad and strong smells. Even so, it is still possible and common to express the perceiver of the smell as in (35):

- (35) *ma ongane bu-on sye en=te ma sanga*
 REAL hear smell-3S.POSS thing DEM=MED REAL be.bad
 ‘she smelled the stink of this thing’ (lit. ‘she smelled the smell of this thing it was bad’)
 (sto47:74)

Similar constructions to (35) are described in section 7.3, page 278. Note that *ongane* is a rather wide expression of perception, including auditory, tactile and olfactory sensations.

Impersonal subjects

There is no voice system in the language. The closest construction to a passive involves the third person plural pronoun *ya*, which can be a stand-in for arbitrary subjects. In generic contexts as in (36), the literal translation into English is fine.

- (36) a. *tis en=tak ya=m ka s-an is mw=i tamadu*
 writing DEM=PROX 3P=REAL say CL3-3S.POSS name REAL=COP tamadu
 ‘this drawing is called ‘tamadu’ (lit. ‘they call this drawing ‘tamadu’’) (exp30:1)
- b. *gee=ne tes mu vu, ya=m vinye, ya=m an~ane*
 flying.fox=TRANS sea REAL good 3P=REAL shoot 3P=REAL REDUP~eat
 ‘the ray is good, they shoot it, they eat it’ (exp07:39)

In non-generic contexts, however, the third person plural pronoun is still felicitous in Daa-kaka, while the corresponding English clauses are only felicitous with a passive construction. The following sentence is from a story where an old crippled man is seeking shelter from a volcanic eruption. He wants to hide in the church, but he feels that something is pushing him back and he cannot enter. He thinks that it must be some invisible demon and eventually returns to his hut and prepares for death. When the lava reaches his deserted village, however, the church is entirely covered by it and burned, while his hut remains unscathed. It is then clear to him that he was saved by God.

This means that the pronoun *ya* in the example sentence does not refer to anyone specific. At this point in the story, the speaker only asserts that the protagonist was pushed, without any commitment to who did the pushing:

- (37) *bili na ka we bwis pyan emyu m-e yaapu te ma*
 time COMP MOD.REL POT pass.under under nakamal CL1-AL big.man CONJ REAL
ongane ya=m tip-lili=ne
 hear 3P=REAL push-back=TRANS
 ‘when he was about to go into the holy house of God, he felt that he was pushed back’
 (lit. ‘that they pushed him back’) (rep04:25)

Likewise, in the following example, the third person plural pronoun *ya* in the second part of the clause does not identify a given referent. The sentence is from a story about a couple who provide their son with a good education. They are referred to by the third person dual pronoun at the beginning of the sentence. The third person plural pronoun *ya* in the second part of the sentence, by contrast, does not refer to anyone explicitly mentioned in the story.

- (38) *ye=m me vyan gene s-an usi=an mo kop~kop [te ya=m*
 3D=REAL come go make CL3-3S.POSS ask=NM REAL REDUP~be.full CONJ 3P=REAL
sêngane gyes=an myane]
 give work=NM with
 ‘they [his parents] made him complete his studies and then he was given work’
 (sto18:70)

6.2.3. Topics

The topic position can be occupied by a name, a noun phrase or a non-subject pronoun (see section 4.1). Topics have to be coreferential with one of the participants of the clause. Non-subject pronouns which are coreferential with the subject are often used as topics to signal that the subject is contrastive. This is shown in the example in (39) (also compare section 4.1.1).

- (39) a. *te tyu ma ka: “Meo, ngok ka ko=p pisyane nye w=i*
 CONJ chicken REAL say namalau 2S MOD.REL 2S=POT paint 1S POT=COP
mo”...
 first
 ‘the chicken said: “Incubator bird, you should paint me first”’ (sto07:10)
- b. *...te nye na=p wet pisyane ngok w=i to*
 CONJ 1S 1S=P only.then paint 2S POT=COP later
 ‘and then I will paint you’ (sto07:11)

With third person referents, a full noun phrase can express the topic in addition to the non-subject pronoun.

- (40) *maa nge mwe kuk=ane dom pi~pili*
 dove 3S REAL COOK=TRANS yam REDUP~red

6. Main Clauses

‘the dove cooked red yam’ (in contrast to the other birds who cook white yam)
(sto29:7)

Topics are frequently coreferential with the subject, but other arguments can be topicalized as well. In the following examples, the topic is coreferential with the internal argument of the verb *dyune* and with the complement of the preposition *yen* respectively:

- (41) a. *syani or mwe dyu=ne _____i ngabak*
other place REAL be.empty=TRANS still
‘one was not there yet’ (rep12:22)
- b. *lebekuu en=te_i wye mwe pwer yen _____i, te ya=m vyan te du*
palmtree DEF=MED water REAL stay in CONJ 3P=REAL go CONJ stay
min~min
REDUP~drink
‘this palm tree, water was inside and they went and they drank’ (sto13:6)
- c. *ye=m me te esi or_i apyang ma ane _____i*
3PC=REAL come CONJ see place fire REAL eat
‘they saw that the fire had consumed the place’ (lit. ‘they saw the place, the fire had burned it’) (rep04:65)

In a particularly frequent configuration, the topic refers to the third person possessor of the subject noun phrase: These cases differ from direct and indirect objects in that here, the topic does not necessarily correspond to an argument position in the clause and it is not obligatory.

- (42) a. *tomo tów-an mw=i towo*
rat stomach-3S.POSS REAL=COP big
‘the rat’s belly was big’ (sto27:35)
- b. *tamadu s-an nyur~nyur=an bwe gyes*
tamadu CL3-3S.POSS REDUP~think=NM REAL;CONT work
‘the tamadu’s mind was working’ (sto41:44)

As should be expected from topics, they have to have a certain degree of definiteness or at least specificity. Accordingly, a noun phrase which is marked as indefinite by the quantifier *swa* ‘one’ cannot serve as a topic. When *swa* is used as a partitive expression however, as in the third of the three following examples, it can be used as part of a topic noun phrase:

- (43) a. **Vyantén swa ya=m tiye (wuk).*
person one 3P=REAL fight already
Intended: ‘One man, they already fought him.’
- b. *Vyantén en=te_i ya=m tiye _____i wuk.*
person DEF=MED 3P=REAL fight already
‘This man, they already fought him.’
- c. *Vyantén nyoo en=te swa_i ya=m tiye _____i wuk.*
person 3P DEF=MED one 3P=REAL fight already
‘One of these men, they already fought him.’

Topic constituents can correspond to any argument position, including serial predicate constructions and verb-suffix constructions:

- (44) a. *bwili wye en=te_i vyanten nyoo ya=m du tas kyu ______i*
 hole.of water DEF=MED person 3P 3P=REAL stay sit surround
 ‘this pond, people were sitting around it’
- b. *We-tye_i na to kyer-esi ______i we.*
 fruit.of-3S.POSS 1S REAL;NEG bite-try first
 ‘It’s fruit I haven’t tasted yet.’

6.2.4. Focus marking constructions

Overview

The default word order in a Daakaka clause is SVO; in terms of information structure, constituents preceding the verb phrase (or rather the TAM marker) are generally mapped to the topic part of the clause, constituents in or after the verb phrase are mapped to the comment part. But several processes, in particular the marker *sa* can change this default and mark constituents other than the verb phrase as the comment of an utterance. In the following discussion, I will refer to constituents which are thus marked as *focused*.

We have seen in the preceding section about topics that one way to manipulate the information structure of a clause is to change the word order: individual constituents can be located sentence-initially rather than at their default position and are thereby marked as topics.

To mark a constituent which is not contained in or subsequent to the verb phrase as the focus of an utterance, however, no such word order manipulation is possible. For example, a subject constituent cannot simply be located at the end of a clause. Instead, the morpheme *sa* is used to focus the preceding constituent.

This leads to a variety of constructions with marked information-structural properties. In the simplest of cases, *sa* follows the subject constituent to mark it as the focus of the clause. These constructions are often best translated into English by a presentational sentence including a relative clause of the form *this is the x which...*:

- (45) [*Pun=an en=te*] *sa na=m ka na=p ka.*
 tell=NM DEM=MED CM 1S=REAL say 1S=POT say
 ‘This is the story I wanted to tell.’ (sto40:15)

This and similar cases are discussed under the section *constituent focus*. Another construction involves both *sa* and a clause-final demonstrative distal marker such as *te* (medial distance) or *tak* (proximal). The resulting interpretation is that the entire content of the sentence is focused, all the information in it is marked as equally new and unexpected. In the literature such clauses have been referred to as *thetic* (for example Sasse [1987]), which is why I treat them under the section *thetic clauses*. In English, corresponding clauses often start with *there’s* as in ‘there’s a cockroach in my shoe’, but they are generally not easy to translate. An example is given in (46):

6. Main Clauses

- (46) *S-an mama ma ongane; “E, net-uk sa mo kolir=te!”*
 CL3-3S.POSS mother REAL hear hey child-1S.POSS CM REAL sing=MED
 ‘His mother heard him; “That’s my child singing there!”’ (sto22:31)

For a small set of expressions, *sa* canonically replaces the copula or similar predicates, in particular in connection with assigning names and pointing out spatial positions. These cases are treated under the section on *copular clauses*.

Another very prominent environment which involves *sa* are questions: Interrogative pronouns can remain *in situ*, but they can also be located sentence-initially, if they are followed by *sa*. In questions about the subject of a clause, this is the only configuration available:

- (47) *Si sa mwe gene?*
 who CM REAL do?
 ‘Who did this?’

Sections 6.3.3 and 8.2 treat this function in more detail. With a total of 442 occurrences in a corpus of over 6400 sentence units, *sa* clauses are a very salient subgroup of clauses in Daakaka.

Constituent focus

In this section, I am looking at how *sa* marks individual constituents as the focus of an utterance. Typically, this process concerns the subject constituent of a clause. In (48), the word *gilyen* ‘its tail’ is not only the focus of the (second part of) the sentence, but in addition it also contrasts with *bungun* ‘its mouth’:

- (48) *mwe kyer-kate ngok ne bung-un a [gily-en sa ma tii*
 REAL bite-tight 2S with mouth-3S.POSS and end.of-3S.POSS CM REAL needle(V) 2S
ngok]

‘it bites you with its *mouth* and stings you with its *tail*’ (exp08:22)

Quite often, the contrast-sensitive particle *kyun* ‘just’ will stand in between the focused constituent and *sa*:

- (49) *Eya ma ka: “Maa kyun sa ma ane mees en=te”*
 white-eye REAL say dove just CM REAL eat food DEF=MED
 ‘The white-eye said: “The *dove* has eaten the food”’ (sto29:15)

Subjects are however not the only constituents which can be followed by *sa*. In (50), a construction involving the copula *i* and *sa* stresses the loneliness and mutual dependence of the speaker and his chicken.

- (50) “*Tyu, ko mw=esi mw=i ada suw-un sa da=m du=tak, a*
 chicken 2S REAL=SEE REAL=COP 1D.IN self-3S.POSS CM 1D.IN=REAL stay=PROX and
myaa mwe kyer-veni ada.”
 hunger REAL bite-dead 1D.IN

“Chicken, you see it’s only the two of us here, and we are starving.” (sto18:32)

This construction, which closely resembles clefts in English and other languages, is generally possible for focussing non-subject constituents, even though the copula is usually optional in these cases; it appears that subjects and highly animate participants are typically not preceded by a copula in positive assertions. These findings are summed up in the following elicited clauses:

- (51) a. (mw=i) wotop kyun sa na=m ane, na to ane vis myen
 REAL=COP breadfruit just CM 1S=REAL eat 1S REAL;NEG eat banana ripe
 ‘I only ate *breadfruit*, I didn’t eat ripe banana.’
- b. (mw=i) ye wep sa na=m toowe mees ane, to i ye
 REAL=COP leaf.of pandanus CM 1S=REAL cover food with REAL;NEG COP leaf
 vis
 banana
 ‘I covered the food with *pandanus leaves*, not with banana leaves.’
- c. (?mw=i) tomo sa ma ane, to i nye
 REAL=COP rat CM REAL eat REAL;NEG COP 1S
 ‘A *rat* ate it, not me.’

To express negative identification as in ‘it wasn’t *x* who did it’, the corresponding construction is [REAL;NEG COP *x sa* ...]:

- (52) To i nye sa na=m yas=ane Ø-am barar.
 REAL;NEG COP 1S CM 1S=REAL steal=TRANS CL2-2S.POSS pig
 ‘It wasn’t *me* who stole your pig.’

Whereas in English, clefts resemble relative clauses in that they use the same complementizer *that* or relative pronouns, in Daakaka, it is not possible to simply replace *sa* by the relative complementizer *na* (see also section 8.4). In some contexts, such a replacement would yield an ungrammatical structure, while in others, it would lead to a very different interpretation, as for example in (53):

- (53) a. Na=m esi vyanten sa mwe yas=ane Ø-ok barar
 1S=REAL see person CM REAL steal=TRANS CL2-2S.POSS pig
 ‘I saw that it was a *man* (human being) who stole my pig.’
- b. Na=m esi vyanten na mwe yas=ane Ø-ok barar
 1S=REAL see person COMP REAL steal=TRANS CL2-2S.POSS pig
 ‘I saw the person who stole my pig.’

One construction which is often best translated into English by a relative clause has the form [COP NOUN ‘one’ *sa*], as in the following examples:

- (54) a. a bili en=te [t=i vyanten swa sa] bat-en mo tóp
 and time DEM=MED DIST=COP man one CM head-3S.POSS REAL leak(V)
 ‘and back then he was a man whose head was overflowing [with knowledge]’
 (rep09:11)

6. Main Clauses

- b. *Lazarus* [*t=i* *vyanten swa sa*] *mwe nyur-kate yaapu yen s-an*
 NAME DIST=COP person one CM REAL think-tight god in CL3-3S.POSS
meu=an.
 live=NM
 ‘Lazarus was a man who believed in God in his life.’ (sto19:8)
- c. [*mw=i* *baséé swa sa*] *bung-un* *ma vyop*
 REAL=COP bird one CM mouth-3S.POSS REAL long
 ‘It’s a bird with a long beak’ (exp26:1)
- d. [*Karong mw=i* *mesyu swa sa*] *mu vu kyun.*
 trevally REAL=COP fish one CM REAL good just
 ‘The trevally is a good fish.’ (exp07:129)

Thetic clauses

So far, we have seen how *sa* marks single subconstituents of a clause as its focus. It is however also possible that the focus of an utterance consists of the entire clause. For example, in uttering a sentence like *there is a mosquito on your cheek*, it is usually not the case that either mosquitos or cheeks have been a prominent topic in the conversation prior to the utterance. These clauses can come out of the blue, or they can be answers to questions like *what’s happening?* / *what has happened there?* and such like.

Such clauses are usually referred to as *thetic clauses*, as for example in Sasse [1987], whose terminology I am assuming here. Thetic clauses in Daakaka have the form [*sa ...te/tak*], where *te* and *tak* are demonstrative expressions usually indicating either a close distance (*tak*) or a medial distance from speaker and listener (*te*)—see also section 4.1.4. This structure is illustrated in (55):

- (55) *Temeli ma ka: “Waawu, dulu sye swa sa bwe me=te!”*
 child REAL say grandparent sound thing one CM REAL;CONT come=MED
 ‘The boy said: “Grandmother, there’s a sound coming!”’ (sto34:58)

In (55), *sa* comes directly after the subject noun phrase, just as in the construction marking subject focus, which I have discussed in the previous section; they formally differ of course in that this sentence ends in the demonstrative clitic *te*; semantically, the difference is that the entire sentence is interpreted as focused, not only the subject.

This is however not the only option for thetic uses of *sa*: Another frequent configuration is that *sa* comes after an already complete clause with subject, verb, and possibly object; then comes another verb which denotes a further event in a sequence of actions, and either *tak* or *te* finish the construction. The verb in between *sa* and the demonstrative marker can sometimes be interpreted like a serial verb, as for example in (56-a), but more often, *sa* seems to take on the additional function of a conjunction to connect the subsequent verb to the preceding predicate. This is the case in (56-b), which would be ungrammatical without the presence of *sa* and *te*.

- (56) a. *Yap myató, na=m liye apyang sa me=tak.*
 old.man old 1S=REAL take fire CM come=PROX

‘Old man, I have brought the fire here.’ (sto18:42)

- b. *Yap myató en=tak mwe meu pwer sa wu~wu-p=te!*
 old.man old DEM=PROX REAL live stay CM REDUP~blow-EP=MED
 ‘The old man is alive and blowing [his shell]!’ (rep04:78)

Thetic clauses can be embedded into larger structures. In this case, they have to be preceded by the copula, like in (57). This example also illustrates that long thetic clauses can contain more than one *sa*:

- (57) *na=m mer, a mu vu na mw=i vyaven en=tak sa mwe gene*
 1S=REAL dead and REAL good COMP REAL=COP WOMAN DEF=PROX CM REAL make
na=m meu tetes sa kueli me=tak
 1S=REAL live again CM return come=PROX
 ‘I died and it’s good that this women made me come alive again and return’
 (sto33:183)

So far, we have seen that *sa* can come in between subject and verb [S *sa* V...*te/tak*] or after a complete clause and a conjoined verb [S V (O) *sa* V...*te/tak*]. A third possible structure for thetic clauses has the form [SV(O)(ADV)...*sa nge=tak/=te*]: That is, *sa* follows a complete clause, then comes *nge* and then a demonstrative marker *te* or *tak* as shown in (58). Although *nge* is homophonous with the third person singular non-subject pronoun, it appears to be a different lexeme. Its position cannot be filled by any other pronoun or comparable item of the language. Its sole function seems to be to fill a space between *sa* and the demonstrative. A homophonous particle *nge* which is probably related but also highly idiosyncratic is discussed in the context of relative clauses in section 8.4.

- (58) *lispsep ka we me=ne ada a=tak sa nge=tak*
 lispsep MOD.REL POT come=TRANS 1D.IN LOC=PROX CM NGE=PROX
 ‘now the lispsep will come for us’ (sto31:54)

Finally, the phrase [*sa nge*=DEMONSTR.] does not only follow complete clauses, but can also constitute a complete utterance with only a noun phrase preceding it, as seen in (59). This is in fact the most frequent use of the phrase *sa nge=tak*. The meaning of such utterances can be termed *presentative*: they can usually be translated into English as *this is an X / here is an X* or similar. In the terminology of Sasse [1987], these are *entity-central* thetic clauses, in contrast to the *event-central* thetic clauses we have seen so far.

- (59) a. *te ye-tye sa nge=tak te s-an is sa tuwu*
 CONJ leaf.of-3S.POSS CM NGE=PROX CONJ CL3-3S.POSS name CM bush.nut
 ‘and this is its leaf, it is called ‘tuwu’ (rep08:5)
- b. *a vyanten nya ló sa nge=tak syan=an sa nge=tak, syan=an sa*
 and person 3D TWO CM NGE=PROX other=DEF CM NGE=PROX other=DEF CM
nge=yuk
 NGE=FAR
 ‘and here are the two men, one of them is here, the other one is over there’
 (exp30:3)

6. Main Clauses

In the examples in (59), the demonstratives actually point to physical places and entities: The speaker of (59-a) is pointing to a leaf he is holding in his hand; the second example sentence refers to a sand drawing and describes which parts of the drawing represent two of the participants of the corresponding story (see also section 9.3 for more on sand drawings). These are the only cases in which not only the proximal and medial markers *tak* and *te* can be used, but also other demonstratives like *yuk* (distal) and *ker* (far from speaker, close to listener)—it is then also possible to omit the demonstrative clitic and simply end the sentence with *sa nge*.

The interrogative morpheme *be* ‘which, where’, which patterns with demonstrative distal markers in many respects, can also occur in this type of construction—even though there is arguably nothing to present or to be pointed to:

- (60) *meby-un-eli ma ka: “Tuutu, Ø-ok basée sa nge=be?”*
 grandchild-3S.POSS-DIM REAL say grandparent CL2-1S.POSS bird CM NGE=where
 ‘his grandson said: “Granddad, where is my bird?”’ (sto14:18)

Note also that these presentative structures are fundamentally different from assertions about existence or location. The latter always require the verb *pwer* ‘exist’ or its plural counterpart *du*. Assertions about locations in addition require an adverb of location such as *ar=yuk* ‘over there’ (see also 3.5.2 and 3.2.7). To illustrate the difference, examples (59-a) and (60) are rephrased first as existential propositions and then as locative propositions (or questions respectively) below:

- (61) a. *te ye-tye mwe pwer*
 CONJ leaf.of-3S.POSS REAL exist
 ‘its leaf exists / it has a leaf’
 b. *Tuutu, Ø-ok basée mwe pwer?*
 grandparent CL2-1S.POSS bird REAL exist
 ‘Granddad, is my bird there / do I have a bird?’
- (62) a. *te ye-tye mwe pwer a=tak*
 CONJ leaf.of-3S.POSS REAL exist LOC=PROX
 ‘and its leaf is here’
 b. *Tuutu, Ø-ok basée mwe pwer ar=ve?*
 grandparent CL2-1S.POSS bird REAL exist LOC=which
 ‘Granddad, where is my bird?’
 c. *Tuutu, ar=ve sa Ø-ok basée mwe pwer ar=an?*
 grandparent LOC=which CM CL2-1S.POSS bird REAL exist LOC=DEF
 ‘Granddad, where is my bird?’ (lit. ‘where is the place where my bird is?’)

In examples (59) and (60), we have seen that the phrase [*sa nge* DEMONSTR.] can stand in as a predicate to form a complete sentence. In the following section, we will see more cases in which *sa* occupies a position which would otherwise have to be filled by a TAM marker plus the copula.

In some cases, it appears thatthetic or presentative *sa* can be replaced by *ta*. I have not been able to determine a substantial difference between the two, but *ta* seems to be restricted

to the medial clitic *te* and to utterances in which the events or objects that are being presented are not directly visible to the listener:

- (63) a. *mwe tang-pyak deli tyu ta nge=te*
 REAL touch-search egg chicken CM NGE=MED
 ‘it has been looking for chicken eggs to eat’ (con01:29)
- b. *ye=m du oko ta nge=te, ye=m myan tyoo~tyoo seaa vyan*
 3PC=REAL stay walk CM NGE=MED 3PC=REAL laugh REDUP~chirp every go
 ‘they walk around, they laugh loudly’ (con02:132)
- c. *te ye=m du yan point na Unua ta nge=te*
 CONJ 3D=REAL stay on harbour ATT NAME CM NGE=MED
 ‘and then they were at Unua harbour’ (sto33:173)

Copular use of *sa*

For some expressions, the pivot between subject and predicate is *sa* rather than a TAM-marker plus copula or similar structure. In contrast to copular clauses, where the predicate is interpreted as the comment of the utterance, *sa* focuses the subject of the clause and presents it as new information.

For example, in (64), the information expressed by *san bivian* ‘its brother’, which precedes *sa* in (64) is interpreted as new and prominent, in short, as the focus of the utterance.

- (64) [*S-an bivian*] *sa [sini]*.
 CL3-3S.POSS brother CM green.pigeon
 ‘The green pigeon is its brother.’ (exp23:3)

The most common context in which *sa* is used instead of a TAM marker plus copula are assignments of names as in (65):

- (65) *S-ok is sa Mata*.
 CL3-1S.POSS name CM NAME
 ‘My name is Mata.’

The same basic structure is used for questions about names as in (66). Note that person names are asked for by the pronoun *si* ‘who’, while for place names the pronoun *sewe* ‘what’ is used.

- (66) a. *mwe us-tase: “E, is=ane vilye en=tak sa sewe?”*
 REAL ask-redo INTJ name=TRANS place DEM=PROX CM what
 ‘he asked again: “What is the name of this island?”’ (rep08:58)
- b. *S-am is sa si?*
 CL3-2S.POSS name CM who
 ‘What’s your name?’ (lit. ‘who is your name?’)

For more on questions, see section 6.3 below. It is also possible to express a name assignment with the copula instead of *sa*. This option is usually chosen in serial predicate constructions such as (67), where the clause starts with *yam ka* ‘they say’:

6. Main Clauses

- (67) *ya=m ka s-an is mw=i Bekeli*
3P=REAL say CL3-3S.POSS name REAL=COP NAME
'they called him Bekeli' (lit. 'they say his name is Bekeli') (sto05:29)

The second environment in which *sa* frequently serves a copula-like, predicative function involves pointing to locations. These cases are closely related to the entity-centralthetic clauses discussed in the previous section. Here, it would not be possible to replace *sa* by a TAM marker and copula:

- (68) *bat-en sa (*mw=i) [yen bistuwo]*
head-3S.POSS CM REAL=COP in middle
'the head is in the middle' (sto48:24)

In a very similar structure, however, *sa* is followed by a verb of existence such as *pwer*, and in these cases, replacing *sa* by a TAM marker is grammatical, even though it would change the information structure as indicated in the English translations:

- (69) a. *S-an e-ve~vyo sa pwer bistuwo a=tak*
CL3-3S.POSS INSTR-REDUP~carry CM CONT middle LOC=PROX
'Here in the middle is his carrying stick.' (exp14:15)
b. *S-an e-ve~vyo mwe pwer bistuwo a=tak*
CL3-3S.POSS INSTR-REDUP~carry REAL CONT middle LOC=PROX
'His carrying stick is here in the middle.'

6.2.5. Coordination

Overview

Clauses can be conjoined to indicate a logical relation between them. The most frequent coordinator is *te*, which signals that the second clause refers to an event which is later than, or a consequence of, the first event; more generally, however, *te* is also used to simply express that the speaker has completed one sentence and reserves the option to continue.

The second coordinator to be discussed in this section is *a*, which indicates that two clauses stand in some contrast to each other or contradict each other. Finally, *mwede* 'or' and its loaned synonym *o* express that two clauses are alternatives to each other.

While *te* and *a* can only coordinate either whole clauses or predicates minimally consisting of the verb phrase, *mwede* and *o* can also connect nouns, numerals and other phrases.

For more on coordination of noun phrases, see also sections 4.3.2 about *myane* and 4.3.3 about *t-*.

At the end of this section, I will briefly discuss the conditions of coreference between arguments of coordinated sentences.

Te: 'then, and'

Single clauses are often connected in long sequences by the conjunction *te*, which can usually be translated into English as *then* or *and*, as shown in (70):

- (70) *Mwe téé~téé=ne nyoo, or mwe dyu te mwe is.*
 REAL REDUP~look=TRANS 3P place REAL be.empty CONJ REAL call
 ‘He was looking for them, they were not there, and he shouted.’ (sto01:15)

In conditional and temporal clauses, *te* usually stands in between protasis and apodosis:

- (71) [*Ka te is*] *te* [*ya=m vyan is teve-sye weu*].
 SUBCONJ DIST call CONJ 3P=REAL go call side.of-3s.POSS mountain
 ‘When he called, they called from the other side of the hill.’ (sto01:15)

If the subject and the modal-temporal reference of the first clause are the same as in the second clause, the second clause does not have to contain a subject pronoun and TAM marker, as long as it is conjoined to the first clause by *te* (see also page 233 for more on coreference conditions).

- (72) *te vyanten nyoo en=te ya=m téé vyan etes, te esi na tes mwe*
 CONJ person 3P DEF=MED 3P=REAL look go at.the.sea CONJ see COMP sea REAL
myas
 dry
 ‘then the men looked to the sea and they saw that the tide was low’ (sto02:8)

Other than that, *te* can only coordinate clauses, not smaller constituents. In general, *te* implies either a temporal or causal ordering of the two sentences it connects. It is however also possible that two clauses connected by *te* refer to two simultaneous, stative situations with no causality relation. This is the case in (73):

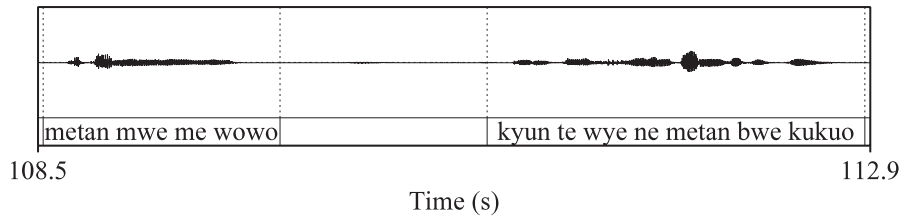
- (73) *na=m usili kimim me ar=an na ki=m ngapngap tetes ar=an te*
 1S=REAL follow 2P come LOC=DEF COMP 2P=REAL rest again LOC=DEF CONJ
or mwe dyu
 place REAL be.empty
 ‘I followed you to the place were you were resting, and/but there was no one there’
 (sto01:28)

With almost 3500 occurrences in a corpus of more than 6400 sentence units, *te* is one of the most frequent items in the language, with many sentences containing more than one *te*.

One rather frequent collocate is *kyun* ‘just’: *kyun* is often the last element of a clause (see also section 4.4.2) and *te* is often used to segue from one clause to the next. As a result, the sequence *kyun te* is very frequent and has partially become an independent idiomatic expression to signal that a stretch of discourse is complete but the speaker reserves the option to continue. It can thus be uttered in prosodic isolation in between pauses, or at the beginning of a clause as well as at the end, as shown in (74). The pause between the first clause and *kyun te* is illustrated in figure 6.2.

6. Main Clauses

Abbildung 6.2.: The figure shows how the expression *kyun te* is used at the beginning of a clause to mark the transition from the previous clause.



- (74) *Met-an mwe me wowo; kyun te wye=ne met-an bwe*
 eye-3S.POSS REAL come big just CONJ water=TRANS eye-3S.POSS REAL;CONT
ku-kuo.
 REDUP~run
 ‘Its eyes became big; and its tears were flowing.’ (exp02:27)

Especially when describing a series of actions carried out by the same agent, there can be long series of clauses without TAM markers and which are only connected by *te* ‘and, then’ or are simply juxtaposed without any conjunction at all. One such series is shown below, where *saane* ‘pull sth.’ constitutes its own minuscule clause and is not conjoined to the preceding stretch by a conjunction (in contrast to a serial predicate construction, however, it would be possible to insert *te* before *saane* without any change in meaning, see also section 7.1).

- (75) *lisepsep [ma sesa vyan] [saa=ne kyun] [te saa-kuwu kyun] [te liye]*
 lisepsep REAL reach.out go pull=TRANS after CONJ pull-out just CONJ take
[te ane]
 CONJ eat
 ‘then he stuck out his hand, when he stuck out his hand, the lisepsep reached out and pulled him and then he pulled him out and took him and ate him’ (sto13:30)

See also the section on coreference below to learn more about the properties of conjoined clauses.

A: ‘and, but’

Similar to *te*, but less frequent, is *a*, which can usually be translated as either *and* or *but*.

In some cases, the clause introduced by *a* is simply an addition to what has been said before. This is for example the case in (76):

- (76) *wip mw=i basée swa na mwe mirmir a webwes mwe pwer=ne*
 imp.pigeon REAL=COP bird one COMP REAL black and wart REAL stay=TRANS
kos-on
 nose-3S.POSS
 ‘the imperial pigeon is a bird which is black and on its beak it has a wart’ (exp02:186)

In some other cases, *a* introduces a clause which somehow contradicts the previous clause. For example, in (77-a), the speaker describes how one's good impression of one's dog may be wrong; the first part of the clause describes the dog-owner's first-person impression, which is then contrasted with the less favorable reality in the second part. Similarly, in (77-b) the small size of a gun is contrasted with its heavy weight:

- (77) a. \emptyset -ok kuli mw=i kuli sa~sayung swa, mu vu ten, ko
 CL2-1S.POSS dog REAL=COP dog REDUP~be.quiet one REAL good very 2S
 bwe warsyosi sa nge=te a nge ma tang pini or mo nok
 REAL;CONT revere CM NGE=MED and 3S REAL touch fill place REAL finish
 'my dog is a quiet dog, it's very good, you are praising it like this, but it has already
 checked out the entire place' (con01:31)
- b. Te mwe sèngane myane nye a vis mwe myap, [ma kekei kyun a
 CONJ REAL give with 1S but weapon REAL heavy REAL small just and
 mwe myap].
 REAL heavy
 'Then he gave it to me and the gun was heavy, it was only small, but heavy.'
 (rep15:73)

Not only predicates or entire propositions can thus be contrasted by *a*, but also different actors doing different things, as illustrated by the following two examples. The first of them also illustrates the parallel structure which is used for a variety of distributive and similar meanings—see also section 6.2.7.

- (78) a. syan=an pwer~pwer suw-un kuane nge a s-an bivian syan
 other=DEF REDUP~stay self-3S.POSS home.of 3S and CL3-3S.POSS friend other
 mon pwer~pwer suw-un kuane nge
 also REDUP~stay self-3S.POSS home.of 3S
 'one_i lived by himself at his_i home, and the other one_j lived at his_j home'
 (rep03:4)
- b. myan~myantung mwe siwir a nge mo kueli vyan yen bon
 REDUP~swordfish REAL dive and 3S REAL return go in hole
 'the swordfish_i dived and he_j went back to his hole' (sto11:29)

The contrast between the two conjoined clauses is often less stark than this. In (79) for example, the clause after *a* merely qualifies the assertion that *he went*, by implying that the going was slow because of the actor's disability:

- (79) mwe vyan pyan church, mwe vyan a ly-en ma sanga
 REAL go under church REAL go but leg-3S.POSS REAL be.bad
 'he went to the church, he went but he had bad legs' (rep04:21)

Mwede and o: 'or'

The conjunction *mwede* 'or' can connect clauses and other phrases. The loan word *o* 'or' from Bislama has exactly the same distribution and is used slightly more often, especially when

6. Main Clauses

speakers do not pay too much attention to purist principles. The following examples illustrate both lexemes as they have occurred in natural speech in different environments, but in each case, one could be replaced by the other without any change in meaning.

The first two examples to be discussed here show how *mwede* and *o* express that two predicates or propositions are alternatives to each other:

- (80) *mwe me me i ding na vyanten mo kuowilye [ka we tas yan]*
 REAL come come COP mat COMP person REAL know MOD.COMP POT sit on
mwede [we pwer yan]
 or POT stay on
 ‘it becomes a mat which people can sit down on or sleep on’ (exp20:16)

- (81) *ka ly-en we setyup o we te nge o wa mese*
 MOD.REL leg-3S.POSS POT break or POT cut 3S or POT sick
 ‘his leg will break or he will cut himself or get ill’ (exp08:40)

In a slightly different configuration, *mwede* and *o* conjoin two directly contradictory clauses which are embedded under verbs meaning ‘see (whether)’ or ‘try (if)’:

- (82) *te ka yap tung=ane apyang te ka we en~en-esi*
 CONJ MOD.REL old.man shine=TRANS fire CONJ MOD.REL POT REDUP~eat-try
[ka wa ane] mwede saka na ane
 MOD.COMP POT eat or MOD.NEG NEC eat
 ‘then they would light the fire and it would try whether it would burn them or not’
 (sto10:10)

- (83) *te ka ye w=esi tan en=te [ka ne pwer] o [ka wa*
 CONJ MOD.REL 3D POT=see ground DEF=MED MOD.COMP NEC stay or MOD.COMP POT
seaa]
 disappear
 ‘then they would see if this island would still be there or disappear’ (sto16:24)

A more compact, but slightly archaic way to express such embedded polarity questions is the TAM marker *doo* as shown in (84) (see also section 5.6).

- (84) *ma ka: “Sye swa sa bwe me te ka da=p du ongane*
 REAL say something one CM REAL;CONT come CONJ say 1D.IN=POT stay hear
ka doo me pwisya=ne ada.”
 MOD.COMP DOO come come.out=TRANS 1D.IN
 ‘she said: “Something is coming, let’s listen if it’s coming to us”’ (sto34:64)

Apart from predicates and propositions, *doo* and *mwede* can also conjoin other constituents, such as noun phrases and numerals. For the use of the potential marker plus copula before the second noun phrase after *mwede* in (85), see also sections 5.3.1 and 7.3.

- (85) *te timy-an t-en yas-en ma ka ye=p tiye tyu swa*
 CONJ father.of-3S.POSS and-3S.POSS mother-3S.POSS REAL say 3D=POT kill chicken one

a vyose [dom swa] mwede w=i [evis swa]
 and carry yam one or POT=COP banana.bundle one
 ‘the father and the mother will kill a chicken and carry a taro tuber or for example a bundle of bananas’ (exp06:13)

- (86) *webung wuoswa basé o gee ya=m tilya we-tye*
 day some bird or flying.fox 3P=REAL take fruit.of-3POSS
 ‘sometimes, birds or flying foxes take the fruit’ (exp13:4)

Both *mwede* and *o* are also used to paraphrase an expression in another language, such that the expression preceding the conjunction is a translation of the expression following it:

- (87) *[Theme=ane webung en=te] mwede [nyur~nyur=an na towo ne webung*
 theme=TRANS day DEM=MED OF REDUP~think=NM COMP big TRANS day
en=te] ma ka yan English. . .
 DEM=MED REAL say on English
 ‘The theme of the day, or the main idea of the day said in English. . .’ (rep16:8)

- (88) *apyaló=ane tan o trak*
 ship=TRANS ground or car
 ‘a ‘boat of the ground’, or ‘truck’ ’ (exp05:61)

Finally, the two lexemes are sometimes used as tags to mark a polarity question. This function is illustrated below in section 6.3.2.

Coreference

Whether two or more third-person actors across coordinated clauses are coreferential or not depends on a variety of factors and merits a separate small section. It is mostly based on an elicitation I did in 2011 and focuses on third person singular participants of varying degrees of animacy and clauses connected by *te*.

Essentially, when *te* conjoins two clauses, there are three possibilities for the form of the second clause: it can contain a bare verb phrase, without preceding TAM marker; it can contain a TAM marker plus verb phrase; and it can contain a non-subject pronoun plus TAM marker plus verb phrase. All three cases are illustrated below:

- (89) *Bongmyal_i ma myan silye Sande_j te ______i bweak=ane ______j.*
 NAME REAL laugh pluck NAME CONJ swear=TRANS
 ‘Bongmyal laughed at Sande and then swore at him.’
- (90) *Bongmyal_i ma myan silye Sande_j te ______j ma bweak=ane ______i.*
 NAME REAL laugh pluck NAME CONJ REAL swear=TRANS
 ‘Bongmyal laughed at Sande and then Sande swore at Bongmyal.’
- (91) *Bongmyal_i ma myan silye Sande_j te nge_{j/k} ma bweak=ane ______i.*
 NAME REAL laugh pluck NAME CONJ 3S REAL swear=TRANS
 ‘Bongmyal laughed at Sande and then he swore at Bongmyal.’ (where *he* can be Sande or someone else)

6. Main Clauses

If there is no TAM marker, the subject of the second verb has to be coreferential with the subject of the first clause. If there is a TAM marker, the subject of the second clause can be different from the first, but it is expected to come from within the same sentence. Thus, in a sentence like (90), where the first clause contains another highly individuated, highly animate participant besides the subject, the most natural interpretation is that this participant is the subject of the second clause.

In such cases, in which the second clause also contains a TAM marker, it is however also possible that the subject of the second clause is the same as the first:

- (92) *Bongmyal_i mwe bangbang myane kuli_j te —_{i/j} ma ongane mu vu.*
 NAME REAL play with dog CONJ feel REAL be.good
 a. ‘Bongmyal played with the dog and it was happy.’
 b. ‘Bongmyal played with the dog and was happy.’

The topical pronoun *nge* typically also signals that the subject has changed and opens up the possibility that the subject has not been mentioned in the previous sentence at all, but might only be identified within a larger chunk of discourse.

Thus, in (91), *nge* would be taken to refer either to the object of the first clause, or to someone not at all mentioned in the first clause.

By contrast, the most likely candidate for the subject of the second clause in (93-c), is the subject of the first clause, *Bongmyal*. The relevant differences to (93-c), are, first, that the object of the first clause in (93-c) is non-human, but topical subject pronouns such as *nge* only refer to human beings, which excludes the possibility that *nge* refer to the rope; and second, *nge* would not refer to a third party not mentioned in the sentence, because conjoined clauses are expected to be causally related and it seems hard to imagine a scenario where Bongmyal’s purchase of rope causes someone else to get lost.

- (93) a. *Bongmyal_i mwe vyan gilye aua_j te —_i seaa.*
 NAME REAL go buy rope CONJ disappear
 ‘Bongmyal went to buy a rope and then got lost.’
 b. *Bongmyal_i mwe vyan gilye aua_j te —_j ma seaa.*
 NAME REAL go buy rope CONJ REAL disappear
 ‘Bongmyal went to buy a rope and then it got lost.’
 c. *Bongmyal_i mwe vyan gilye aua_j te nge_{i/?j} ma seaa.*
 NAME REAL go buy rope CONJ 3S REAL disappear
 ‘Bongmyal went to buy a rope and then he got lost.’

Summarizing the above, if the second clause in a conjunction does not a TAM marker, the subjects of both conjoined clauses have to be coreferential. If the second clause does contain a TAM marker, its subject does not have to be coreferential with the subject of the first clause, but it must have been mentioned within the same clause. If the subject of the second clause is expressed by a topical non-subject pronoun such as *nge*, it can refer to any plausible human referent from within or outside the sentence, so this aspect of reference tracking varies mostly along the dimension of locality [compare also Comrie, 1989]. Beyond these restrictions, the identification of referents depends on plausibility in the given context.

6.2.6. Number marking and agreement

Nouns can be marked for non-singular number by a subsequent third person pronoun; singular number is unmarked. This applies equally to all noun classes, irrespective of whether they are inflected or transitive. The following two examples show inflected nouns marked for plural and dual respectively:

- (94) a. *na=m lingi dal-uk nyoo pesili, ka=m maawane*
 1S=REAL put egg-1S.POSS 3P near 2D=REAL spoil
 ‘I put my eggs nearby, you two spoiled them.’ (sto34:76)
- b. *Mo nok te tavyane ung baa ló yen met-an nya.*
 REAL finish CONJ fix.to.head flower.of hibiscus two in eye-3S.POSS 3D
 ‘Then he stuck two hibiscus flowers into its eyes.’ (con02:163)

In a complex noun phrase formed by a transitive noun and its complement, the number marker comes at the end of the phrase:

- (95) *Ma tilya aua nya na mwe pis-kate nya ne yan [gili [s-an*
 REAL take rope 3D COMP REAL tie-tight 3D with on end CL3-3S.POSS
e-ve~vyo] [nya]].
 INSTR-REDUP~carry 3D
 ‘He took the ropes with which he had fastened them to the two ends of his carrying stick.’ (exp14:18)

For animate subjects, the default situation is that number is marked on the subject noun phrase. Then, the subject pronoun obligatorily agrees in number. For example, in the following two clauses, the subject is expressed by the phrase *temeli vyaven nya ente* ‘these two girls’, which is marked as dual by the number marker *nya*; in the second sentence, the subject noun phrase is marked for paucal by the marker *nyosi*. In both cases, the subject pronoun of the clause agrees with the preceding subject noun phrase in number: The pronoun *ye* stands for third person dual or paucal (see section 4.1.1):

- (96) a. *[temeli vyaven nya en=te] ye=m lingsene bwee nge*
 child woman 3D DEF=MED 3D=REAL hide(TR) shell.of 3S
 ‘the two girls hid his cocoon’ (sto25:51)
- b. *na=m ongane [yap myató nyosi] ye=m du sóró usili*
 1S=REAL hear old.man old 3PC 3PC=REAL stay talk follow
 ‘I heard the old ones talk about it’ (rep04:7)

Inflected and transitive nouns denoting body parts are generally not referred to by a non-singular subject pronoun, irrespective of their number marking:

- (97) a. *golin vy-an (nyoo) mwe/ *ya=m yas*
 claw.of hand-3S 3P REAL/ 3P=REAL strong
 ‘it has strong claws’ (lit. ‘its claws are strong’) (exp02:142)
- b. *vy-ok nya ma/ *ye=m pepyap*
 hand-1S.POSS 3D/ 3D=REAL REAL shiver

6. Main Clauses

- ‘my hands are shivering’
 c. *temeli nyosi osi mwe/ *ye=m nek*
 children 3PC 3PC.EM REAL/ 3PC.EMT=REAL fear
 ‘the children were afraid’

Number marking on a full noun phrase is obligatory only for animate referents. Inanimate referents can be marked for the full set of non-singular numbers, but, in contrast to animate nouns, they can also be interpreted as plural even if neither the noun phrase nor corresponding pronouns are marked accordingly. The first of the following two examples shows how bare inanimate noun phrases each refer to multiple indefinite objects. By contrast, the animate nouns in the second example can only be interpreted as singular:

- (98) a. *te yaapu nyoo ya=m vyan edi eye, tee, vislee, metas, te vyan*
 CONJ big.man 3P 3P=REAL go take knife axe bow spear CONJ go
ka ya=p tiye lisepsep
 MOD.REL 3P=POT kill lisepsep
 ‘then the men took knives, axes, bows and spears and went to kill the lisepsep’
 (sto21:107)
- b. *ya=m tiye barar, puluk a tyu*
 3P=REAL kill pig cattle and chicken
 ‘they killed a pig, a cow and a chicken’

Not only is number marking on inanimate noun phrases optional, number agreement by a subject pronoun is also not always obligatory. Especially if the verb lexically encodes the plurality of its internal argument, the subject pronoun does not necessarily agree with the number of the subject noun phrase—in fact, the preferred version is with no marking for plural. One such verb is *tesī* ‘fall’, which contrasts with *mur* ‘fall’ in that the subject of *tesī* is automatically understood to refer to a multitude of objects, independent of the number marking on the subject expressions themselves (see section 3.2.2, page 48 for more on lexical plurality). In the following clause, the preferred version is printed in bold, but all four versions—with or without *nyoo*, with *ma* or with *yam*—are grammatical.

- (99) *eng mwe me te gene wotop (nyoo) **ma/** ya=m tesī*
 wind REAL come CONJ make breadfruit 3P REAL/ 3P=REAL fall
 ‘a wind came and made the/ several breadfruits fall down’

Some verbs which are not lexically pluractional can be reduplicated to indicate the plurality of their subject, as shown in the following example, where the verb *veop* is reduplicated. Note that instead of a plural subject pronoun, there is still only the full form of the realis marker, which is otherwise reserved for third person singular contexts:

- (100) *ya=m sye-p-ko~kote [wep nyoo] na **ma** ve~veop du ar*
 3P=REAL slice-EP-REDUP~in.two pandanus 3P COMP REAL REDUP~long stay place
na ya=m sisi,
 COMP 3P=REAL singe
 ‘they cut off the pandanus leaves which are (too) long at the places where they have

singed them'¹ (exp20:13)

Note that not all verbs can be reduplicated, and reduplication in verbs does not always express plurality. For more on reduplication, see section 3.2.5.

What can also be seen from the example in (99) is that it is not necessary for the subject noun phrase to be marked for number in order to be coreferential with a non-singular subject pronoun. This is generally true for all nouns, irrespective of their animacy:

- (101) a. *lee ya=m pa*
 tree 3P=REAL bear.fruit
 'the trees bear fruit'
 b. *a=tak temeli ya=m pwis*
 LOC=PROX child 3P=REAL be.numerous
 'There are many children here.'

Noun phrases can be quantified by a numeral. Whether or not there will be a number marker in addition to the numeral again depends on the animacy of the noun phrase: If a numeral follows an animate noun phrase, it is impossible to omit the number marker, even if it is semantically redundant, as in the following two cases.

- (102) a. *vyanten nya ló ye=m bangbang sukuo mu vu ten*
 person 3D two 3P=REAL play be.together REAL good very
 'two men, they enjoyed spending time with each other' (rep03:3)
 b. *temeli vyaven nyosi lim*
 child female 3PC five
 'five girls'

By contrast, for inanimate nouns, the much preferred version is for the noun to be followed by the numeral directly, without an intervening number marker. The preferred subject pronoun is then also the third person singular zero pronoun:

- (103) *wotop (?nyoo/ ??nyosi) lim ma/ ?ye=m sanga*
 breadfruit 3P/ 3PC five REAL/ 3PC=REAL bad
 '(the) five breadfruits are bad.'

In connection with other nominal quantifiers, number marking is optional both for animate and inanimate noun phrases. If the number marker is included before a quantifier, this results in a more definite or a partitive reading. Thus, in the second of the two following examples, the number marker *nyoo* refers to 'all [of the aforementioned] birds', while without the number marker, the phrase might also mean 'all birds'—see also section 4.2.

- (104) a. *te ma lingi temeli man swa tetes a temeli vyaven (nyosi) wuoswa mon*
 CONJ REAL put child male one again and child female 3PC some also
 'then he had another son and several more daughters' (rep01:30)

¹An additional effect in this example might come from the relative clause construction—number agreement appears to be less strictly enforced across clause boundaries.

6. Main Clauses

- b. *ya=m vyan te baséé (nyoo) kevene ya=m kuk=ane dom*
3P=REAL go CONJ bird 3P every 3P=REAL cook=trans yam
pe~pyo
REDUP~white
'they went and all (the) birds cooked white yam' (sto29:6)

Even animate noun phrases are not obligatorily marked for non-singular number. In the following example, the subject pronoun *ya* makes it clear that the speaker refers to a multitude of persons, even if the noun *vyan* itself is not marked for plural:

- (105) *vyan* (*nyoo*) *ya=m du es~esi teenem*
man 3P 3P=REAL stay REDUP~see home
'people see it [the chicken] around the village' (sto07:47)

Again, the number marker suggests a definite reading, while the absence of the number marker makes a generic interpretation more likely. A more explicit way to mark a noun phrase as definite is by adding a demonstrative article. A noun phrase modified by a demonstrative article can only be interpreted as plural if there is a plural marker. Without the number marker *nyoo* in the following example, the phrase *vyor ente* (stone this) would have to be interpreted as 'this (one) stone', a plural interpretation would not be possible:

- (106) *ya=m oko yan vyor nyoo en=te te kueli vyan*
3P=REAL walk on stone 3P DEF=MED CONJ return go
'they walked on these stones and went back' (rep04:96)

Finally, one rather idiosyncratic use of the plural marker can be found in connection with place names (compare also section 3.5.2). The plural marker *nyoo* can follow a place name to refer to the population of the place as in *Malekula nyoo* 'the people from Malekula' or *Sesivi nyoo* 'the people from Sesivi'.

6.2.7. Distributivity and contrastive topic-comment structures

The title of this section refers to a configuration in which one clause with indexical expressions is repeated such that the two clauses will be homophonous and will only differ in the reference of their indexicals.

The resulting structure indicates that the topic and the comment of the first clause contrast with the topic and comment of the second clause ('ONE sat on ONE side, while the OTHER sat on the OTHER side'), which sometimes triggers a distributive reading ('everyone took their respective food') and sometimes a reciprocal one ('one shot the other').

In a less complex scenario, the same indefinite article *swa* can be used twice in the same sentence to mean 'one...the other/ another'. The sentence in (107) comes from a context in which many people ask each other the same question:

- (107) *swa mon ma sóró myane swa: "Ma ka sewe?"*
one also REAL talk with one REAL say what
'another one said to someone else: "What did he say?"' (rep08:54)

This ability of identical indexicals to refer to different individuals is taken one step further in the parallel structures explored here. The general pattern consists of one clause with two indexical expressions which is repeated. The pronominal expressions of the first clause refer to different entities from the pronominal expressions of the second clause.

In the following examples, there are only two individuals involved. They are referred to by the pronoun *syán*:

- (108) *Syan=an mwe tas tevesye, a syan=an mwe tas tevesye.*
 other=DEF REAL sit side and other=NM REAL sit side
 ‘One sat on one side and the other one sat on the other side.’ (exp16:6)
- (109) *syán ma tinyo tevesye buluwu, syán ma tinyo tevesye buluwu*
 other REAL stand side.of hole other REAL stand side.of hole
 ‘they stood on either side of the hole’ (exp30:15)
- (110) *ye=m vinye nya te [syán ma vinye syán], [syán ma vinye syán]*
 3D=REAL shoot 3D CONJ other REAL shoot other other REAL shoot other
 ‘they shot each other, so one shot the other’ (exp44:13)

In a slightly different configuration, the example in (111) is about a group of people, each of whom takes a piece of food. The persons are referred to by the indefinite pronoun *swa*, the food by the possessive pronoun *an*.

- (111) *[swa ka te liye Ø-an vyan te te ta yen taten], [swa mwe vyan*
 one SUBCONJ DIST take CL2-3S.POSS go CONJ cut cut in shit one REAL go
ka te te Ø-an ta yen taten]
 SUBCONJ DIST cut CL2-3S.POSS cut in shit
 ‘as they took their serving, each of them cut into shit’ (lit. ‘as one took his [chestnuts] and cut them, he cut into shit, one went and when he cut his [chestnuts], he cut into shit’ (sto02:20)

6.2.8. Comparatives with *an*

Comparative notions can be expressed by a variety of structures, notably serial predicate constructions involving the verbs *ge* ‘be like’ (see page 267) and *save* ‘pass, surpass’ (see page 283). A non-verbal strategy to express comparison involves the lexeme *an*.

There is quite a number of lexemes homophonous with *an*, including the third person singular possessive pronoun, the plural possessive linker, a definite article and a nominalizer. The comparative marker *an* differs from all of them, in particular because it only applies to predicates denoting gradable, stative properties and, of course, because of its comparative meaning.

These predicates can be either verbs or adjectives, with or without the copula. The following examples show comparative *an* with the verbs *vu* ‘be good’ and *yaa* ‘hurt’:

- (112) a. *mees nyoo en=te mu vu an*
 food 3P DEF=MED REAL be.good(V) COMPARE
 ‘this food is better’

6. Main Clauses

- b. *yu-on* *mwe yaa* *an*
feeling.of-3S.POSS REAL hurt(V) COMPARE
'she is more angry'

The object to which the comparison is drawn can be left unexpressed as in (112), but it can also be introduced into the clause by the transitivizer (*a*)*ne*:

- (113) *em en=te [mw=i towo an] (ne em en=tak)*
house DEF=MED REAL=COP big COMPARE TRANS house DEF=DEM.CL
'that house is bigger (than this house)'

The same meaning could also be expressed by the more versatile *save* 'surpass' as in (114):

- (114) *em en=te mw=i towo ma save em en=tak*
house DEF=MED REAL=COP big(ADJ) REAL pass house DEF=MED
'that house is bigger than this house'

6.3. Questions

6.3.1. Overview

This section is about questions in the sense of interrogative speech acts—embedded questions share crucial structural properties with them, but are treated in the section about subordinate clauses, in 8.2.

There are two different types of questions—polarity questions and constituent questions. Polarity questions can be answered by 'yes' or 'no', and in Daakaka they are mostly marked by intonation. Constituent questions contain interrogative proforms such as *sewe* 'what' or *arve* 'where' and thus inquire about a participant or the circumstances of an event. Both types of questions will be explored in the following two sections.

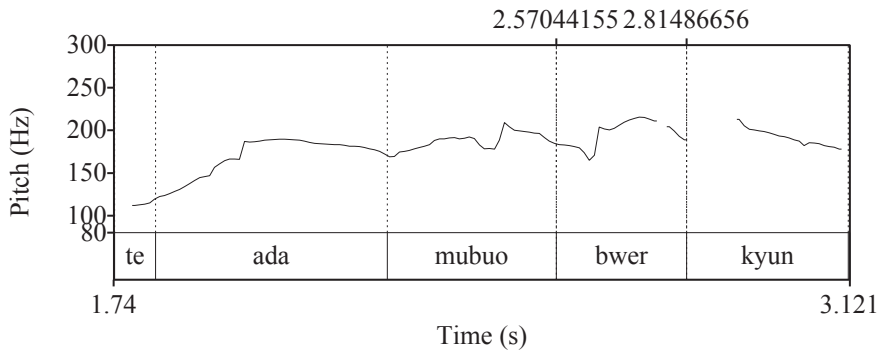
6.3.2. Polarity questions

A polarity question typically has the same word order as an assertion. The most important indicator to mark a polarity question is intonation. As described in section 2.4, the typical intonation contour of a polarity question is characterized by a sharp rise and fall on the last syllable.

Some types of polarity questions have different characteristic intonation contours. In particular, questions with a positive bias such as in (115) are characterized by a sharp rise at the left edge of the question, then a flat or slightly rising f0 level, and a slight downwards tilt on the last syllable

- (115) *∅-ada mubuo bwer kyun?*
CL2-1D.IN meat be.at just
'Do we still have meat?/ We still have meat, don't we?' (sto27:28)

Abbildung 6.3.: Intonation contour of a question with positive bias



A very similar intonation is also used for conventional greeting questions about one's well-being such as *ko=m meu kyun?* 'how are you?'—see also section 9.1.1.

Apart from intonation, another tell-tale sign of polarity questions in contrast to assertions is the use of non-realis quantifiers like *tuswa* 'one/any', *tisyu* 'several/any' and *mursi* 'some/any'. These can only be used in a clause with a positive realis marker if that clause is a polarity question, otherwise their realis counterparts *swa* 'one', *wuoswa* 'several' and *murswa* 'some' have to be used. The following example is repeated from section 4.2.3:

- (116) a. *Wotop swa/ murswa mwe pwer.*
breadfruit one(PSUP)/ a.bit(PSUP) REAL stay
'One breadfruit / a piece of breadfruit remains.'
- b. *Wotop tuswa/ mursi mwe pwer?*
breadfruit one(NPSUP)/ a.bit(NPSUP) REAL stay
'Is there [still] one/ a piece of breadfruit [left]?''

Polarity questions can be augmented by the conjunction *mwede*:

- (117) *Te mwe me yan vilye s-an vi nyoo en=tak mwede?*
CONJ REAL come at place CL3-3S.POSS white.man 3P DEM=PROX OR
'So does it come from the West?' (lit. '...from this place of white people')
(con02:182)

In all cases discussed so far, an interrogative intonation contour is obligatory. In order to turn an assertion which has already been uttered into a polarity question after the fact, it is possible to add the answer particle *ee* after the sentence is finished, as in *Mees mwe pyang mo nok. Ee?* 'The food is already done. Isn't it?'

Polarity questions can be answered by a repetition of its proposition, or predicate or the negative version of either. The first scenario is illustrated in (118):

- (118) Q: *A temyar bwe oko me?*
and demon REAL;CONT walk come
'And the ghost was walking around?' (con01:98)

6. Main Clauses

A: *Temyar bwe oko me, me ar na ya=m teveni ar=an.*
 demon REAL;CONT walk come come place COMP 3P=REAL bury place=DEF
 ‘The ghost was walking around, he came from the place where they buried him.’
 (con01:99)

Another way to answer a positive polarity question is by one of the answer particles *ao* ‘yes’, *ee* ‘no’, *ngabwe* ‘not yet’ and *dingyen* ‘I don’t know’ as described in section 4.4.4.

As in English, negative polarity questions in Daakaka are pragmatically more complex than positive polarity questions. They can be rhetorical questions which do not expect a positive or negative answer, but rather demand an explanation or express disapproval, as in the following two examples:

(119) *Temyar ma usi me ka: “Ka to pwer we?”*
 demon REAL ask come say 2D REAL;NEG stay first
 ‘The demon asked: “Aren’t you sleeping yet?”’ (sto12:55)

(120) *Ma ka: “Ka to ongane na na=m ka ka?”*
 REAL say 2D REAL;NEG hear COMP 1S=REAL say say
 ‘He said: “Did you not hear what I said?”’ (sto31:57)

When a negative polarity question does ask for information, it is usually answered by one or more entire sentences, and the answer does more than to merely confirm or negate the proposition introduced by the question. Negative polarity questions cannot be answered by an answer particle alone; both positive and negative responses can be introduced by *ee* ‘no’, but then have to be expanded to be more informative.

(121) a. *Ma usi: “Ko to esi sye tuswa?”*
 REAL ask 2S REAL;NEG see thing one
 ‘He asked: “Don’t you see anything?”’ (rep15:52)
 b. *Na=m ka: “Na=m esi. Na=m esi sa ya=m oko, a to*
 1S=REAL say 1S=REAL see 1S=REAL see CM 3P=REAL walk and REAL;NEG
wese ka da=n syokilyene”
 be.enough MOD.COMP 1D.IN=NEC find
 ‘I said: “I see it. I see that they have walked [here] and we won’t find it.”’
 (rep15:53)

(122) a. *Vyantem swa s-an is sa Reprepmalao to pwer a=tak?*
 person one CL3-3S.POSS name CM NAME REAL;NEG stay LOC=PROX
 ‘Doesn’t a man of the name Reprepmalao live here?’ (sto33:59)
 b. *Mwe pwer yan point en=yuk.*
 REAL stay at harbour DEF=FAR
 ‘He lives at the harbour over there.’ (sto33:60)

6.3.3. Constituent questions

To ask for specific constituents, there is a small group of interrogative proforms such as *si* ‘who’ and *nanges* ‘when’, and some more complex interrogative expressions such as *tevyan*

sewe (because.of what) ‘why’—see also section 4.1.5. These items can occur *in situ*, that is, in the position where their non-interrogative counterparts would usually stand, as in the following examples:

- (123) a. *temeli man ma ka: “Ka=m du téé-pyakilye si?”*
 child male REAL say 2D=REAL stay look-search who
 ‘the boy said: “Who are you looking for?”’ (sto25:94)
- b. *ko=m te apyaló ten en=te mw=i ten sewe?*
 2S=REAL cut ship native DEF=MED REAL=COP for what
 ‘What did you carve a canoe for?’ (sto33:45)

If the interrogative constituent comes before the verb phrase, it has to be followed by the focus marker *sa*, which is also described in section 6.2.4. In general, all interrogative constituents can stand before the verb phrase, irrespective of their default position in the clause. In the following examples, underlined spaces indicate alternative positions for the interrogative constituents, which they would occupy without the presence of *sa*.

- (124) a. [*tevy-an sewe*] *sa ya=m ka mw=i yuk webir ____?*
 side.of-3S.POSS what CM 3P=REAL say REAL=COP laplap taro
 ‘Why do they call it ‘laplap taro?’’ (exp51:2)
- b. *sewe sa bwe maawane er ma ge=tak?*
 what CM REAL;CONT spoil 1P.IN REAL like=PROX
 ‘what is doing harm to us like this?’ (sto21:25)
- c. [*Buluwu sewe*] *sa tomo mwe bwis yen ____?*
 hole which CM rat REAL enter in
 ‘Into which hole did the rat go?’
- d. *Si sa ko=m sóró myane ____?*
 who CM 2S=REAL talk with
 ‘Who did you talk to?’

In embedded constituent questions, the sentence initial position of the interrogative proform and subsequent *sa* are obligatory (see also section 8.2). An interrogative pronoun asking for the subject always has to stand before the verb phrase and always must be followed by *sa*:

- (125) *Si sa mwe gene?*
 who CM REAL make
 ‘Who did this?’

In clauses with two human participants, *si* ‘who’ can refer either to the object or the subject. If neither participant is given by a noun phrase or name, the question is ambiguous:

- (126) a. *Si sa ma tiye Byongkon?*
 who CM REAL hit NAME
 ‘Who hit Byongkon?’
- b. *Si sa Byongkon ma tiye?*
 who CM NAME REAL hit
 ‘Who did Byongkon hit?’

6. Main Clauses

- c. *Si sa ma tiye?*
who CM REAL hit
(i) ‘Who hit him?’
(ii) ‘Whom did he hit?’

To ask ‘how’-questions about the manner of an action or circumstances of an event, the phrase to use is [TAM *ge=vi*] (TAM be.like=which), which is mostly used as a non-initial predicate in a serial predicate construction—see also section 7.3, page 267. This construction is however quite flexible and can also be used as a main predicate to ask a question like ‘what about *X*/ what’s the matter with *X*?’:

- (127) A: *S-am naana ma ge=vi?*
CL3-2S.POSS mom REAL be.like=which
‘What’s the matter with your mother?’ (sto25:116)
B: *Ma ka: “S-ok naana mw=i tyoty.”*
REAL say 1S.POSS mom REAL=COP snake
‘he said: “My mother is a snake.”’ (sto25:117)

Similarly, the larger expression *mu kuo ma gevi* ‘how come’ (lit. ‘how does it run’) can ask in very general terms for a reason for a surprising fact:

- (128) [*mu kuo ma ge=vi*] *sa ko bwe ane ∅-am mesyu myar~myar*
REAL run REAL like=which CM 2S REAL;CONT eat CL2-2S.POSS fish REDUP~be.raw
nyoo?
3P
‘how come you’re eating your fish raw?’ (lit. ‘... your raw fish’) (rep03:37)

The question *ma gevi?* ‘how is it?’ is also used to inquire about someone’s well-being when greeting them—see section 9.1.1.

In contrast to polarity questions, there is no specific obligatory intonation contour for constituent questions. Although the overall pitch is usually higher than for an assertive utterance, it can also have the same pitch properties.

6.4. Directives

There are essentially two types of directives in Daakaka: One type is imperatives, which require only a bare verb phrase, without a TAM marker, and which are always addressed to a second person listener; they cannot contain a subject pronoun to specify the person and number properties of the addressee. Imperatives cannot be negated.

In everyday life, this type of imperative is quite frequent in expressions such as *me!* ‘come!’ or *sengane pelet me!* (give plate come) ‘give me the plate!’, but in my recordings it is rather rare compared to the second type.

The most elaborate examples in the corpus come from a cooking recipe, which uses the simple imperative throughout to give instructions to the reader.

These examples also show the characteristic use of the potential marker in serial predicates following an imperative, as well as the use of non-realis quantifiers such as *tuswa* instead of its realis counterpart *swa*:

- (129) *Sye na mw=i mo: kuku ó te gomu we vyan yen bwee*
 something COMP REAL=COP first grate coconut CONJ grab POT go in container
tuswa.
 one
 ‘First: grate the coconut and squeeze its milk into a container.’ (exp22:9)

The second type of directive is structurally more complex: It consists of a subject pronoun, a TAM marker and a verb phrase, where the TAM marker can be either the potential marker or the necessity marker, although the latter is much less frequent and productive in that function. As explained in chapter 5, these two markers always express directives rather than assertions, unless they occur in subordinate clauses or are preceded by the modal relators *ka* or its negative counterpart *saka*.

These directives always contain a subject pronoun indicating person and number of the subject and subjects are not limited to second person addressees: With first person subjects, the potential directives are interpreted as propositives, which can be translated into English as *let’s.../let me...:*

- (130) *te ye=m te swa wuk me, mwe mini te ka ka: “En=tak to*
 CONJ 3D=REAL cut one already come REAL drink CONJ say say DEF=PROX REAL;NEG
wese, na=p min-tase tuswa mon we!”
 enough 1S=POT drink-redo one also first
 ‘then they cut one and he drank, and then he said: “This one is not enough, let me drink another one first.”’ (sto02:71)

With second person subjects, TAM directives express requests or orders, very similar to imperatives without TAM markers. One crucial difference is that TAM directives allow differentiation between second person addressees of different numbers:

- (131) a. *Naana ko=p gene apyang tuswa!*
 mother 2S=POT make fire one
 ‘Mother, make a fire!’ (sto03:66)
 b. *ka=p naknak=ane s-amaa vislee myane s-amaa gyap nyoo*
 2D=POT be.ready=TRANS CL3-2D.POSS bow with CL3-2D.POSS arrow 3P
 ‘(you two,) have your bows and arrows ready’ (exp30:19)

Finally, the subject of a potential directive can even be a third person referent. The expression is then still understood to be a directive to a second person addressee, about the subject:

- (132) a. *ya=n me*
 3P=NEC come
 ‘let them come’

6. Main Clauses

- b. *eye we me*
knife POT come
'give me the knife/ let the knife come'

The only way to form a negative directive involves the negative modal relator *saka* and the necessity marker *ne*. These structures can also be interpreted as assertions about the future:

- (133) *saka ki=n tiye nye*
MOD.NEG 2P=NEC kill 1S
a. 'don't kill me'
b. 'you won't kill me' (rep10:12)

See also sections 5.3.1, 5.3.2 and 5.4 for more on the use of the potential and necessity markers.

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

7.1. Overview

7.1.1. Single marking, multiple marking and switched marking

A number of Oceanic languages are known to make use of serial verb constructions, but in Daakaka they appear to play a considerably greater role than in most other Oceanic languages [compare Brill and Ozanne-Rivierre, 2004].

In the following discussion, I speak of serial predicates rather than serial verbs because predicates other than verbs can also be part of a serialization, in particular adjectives and copular predicates. In general, there is no restriction on the choice of the first predicate in a serial construction, but apparently not all verbs and adjectives can equally be used as non-initial predicates. Even so, a considerable number of semantically and syntactically varied predicates have been attested as non-initial predicates in serializations, and given that some of them only occurred very rarely, it is highly likely that the constructions described here are by no means exhaustive.

I follow Foley and Olson [1985] in defining serial predicate constructions (SPCs) as monoclausal structures with more than one predicate. Determining whether or not a given structure consists of one or of several clauses is notoriously difficult, and the most decisive criteria often depend on the properties of the individual language and are hard to generalize. To make the classification easier, several other criteria have been suggested, such as the requirement that all predicates of a clause have to share the same TAM and polarity values [compare for example Aikhenvald, 2006, 8].

However, I suggest that these criteria are secondary, especially the requirement of agreement in polarity: Even in languages without serial verb constructions, it is possible to have narrow negation on only one constituent, while the rest of the sentence is positive as in *I made the sweater [not for Fred], but for Susan*. It therefore does not seem contradictory to assume that a serial structure can be contained within the same clause even if its individual predicates disagree in terms of polarity, and indeed there is strong evidence from Daakaka that such structures are not only a logical possibility but do actually exist. I will present some of that evidence in section 7.3.

One fundamental criterion according to which all serial predicate constructions can be classified into one of two groups is finite marking: Depending on the non-initial predicate, some SPCs contain only one TAM marker (**single marking**), while in others, each predicate is preceded by its own TAM marker (**multiple marking**). Subject pronouns are never allowed in a non-initial predicate, the TAM marker always takes its monosyllabic form, as with third person singular subjects (see also section 5.1).

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

In multiple marking SPCs, the modality and polarity values of non-initial TAM markers are determined in part, but not entirely, by the initial TAM marker.

There are several ways to tell a monoclausal structure from a multiclausal one in Daakaka. Crucially, serial predicate constructions have to be differentiated from series of elliptic clauses without explicit conjunctions connecting them. Consider for example (1), where a long sequence of verb phrases is uninterrupted by conjunctions like *te* ‘and, then’:

- (1) *mwe kyep se bat-en te ye=m vyan pesili, mwe mea vyan yan*
 REAL defecate trapped head.of-3S.POSS CONJ 3D=REAL go near REAL jump go at
soa, mea vyan or, ku~kuo vyan te vyan
 shore jump go shore REDUP~run go CONJ go
 ‘he defecated on his head and they went close [to the shore], he jumped onto the shore and ran away’

The commas indicate boundaries between conjoined clauses, but the only reason I knew where to put them is that it is possible in these places to insert the conjunction *te* ‘and, then’ without altering the meaning. In single marking serial predicate constructions, by contrast, it is not possible to insert conjunctions without changing the interpretation of the structure. For example in (2), if *te* was inserted between *wotop* ‘breadfruit’ and *vyan* ‘go’, it would mean ‘the rat threw the breadfruit and left’: if two clauses are conjoined and the second clause does not contain a TAM marker, its subject has to be the same as the subject of the first clause. In the serial predicate construction, by contrast, it is the breadfruit which moves away from the rat and is thus the subject of *vyan* ‘go’—see also section 6.2.5 for more on conjoined clauses.

- (2) *tomo [mwe towane wotop vyan], bwilya mwe sulup-kilye mwe syute tan*
 rat REAL throw breadfruit go rail REAL catch-miss REAL hit ground
 ‘the rat threw the breadfruit down, but the rail failed to catch it and it hit the ground’
 (sto32:21)

While this test works very well with single marking constructions, however, it is not nearly as reliable in multiple marking serializations, because there, the insertion of *te* does not always lead to a fundamentally different interpretation.

But there are other ways to tell whether a structure is monoclausal or not: For example, if a non-initial predicate is followed by a phrase which is clearly part of the preceding predicate, this is a strong indication that the non-initial predicate is also part of the same clause; or, when question words can be extracted from a structure, this also indicates that the structure is monoclausal [compare also Aboh, 2009, 6]. Both cases are illustrated below, with the non-initial predicates in bold:

- (3) a. *Vyantem [mwe gene sisye mwe pwis seaaten ne ding].*
 person REAL make thing REAL be.plentiful extremely with mat
 ‘People do many things with mats.’ (exp20:2)
- b. *Sewe sa mwe gene ma maga?*
 what CM REAL do REAL fast
 ‘What did he do fast?’

Another test comes from the relation between TAM markers: In a multiple marking construction, if the first TAM marker is negative, the second one will be either the necessity marker or the potential marker. If they were not in the scope of the preceding negation, these two markers would express directives. But instead, the phrases they head are simply interpreted as part of the negative assertion, which shows that they must be part of the same clause as the negation. This phenomenon is discussed in section 7.1.3 below.

Even so, for some individual sentences it is not possible to tell whether they are monoclausal or not—or maybe, in these cases the difference is not relevant. But at least the structures they exemplify can be shown to occur in monoclausal constructions.

One group of verbs only enters into single marking serializations, a second group only enter into multiple marking serializations, but a third group of intransitive verbs can occur both in single marking and in multiple marking serializations, depending on whether the first predicate is transitive or not. I investigate this last case under the label of **switched marking predicates**.

The difference between single marking and multiple marking constructions is closely linked with the argument sharing properties of the serial predicates, which are described in more detail below.

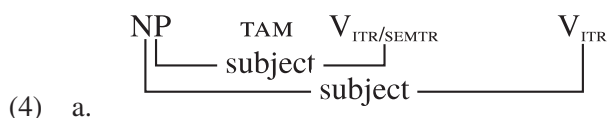
7.1.2. Argument sharing

It is generally accepted that the individual predicates of a serial verb construction share at least one argument [Foley and Olson, 1985, Durie, 1997, Baker and Harvey, 2010], although it has been recognized that the subject of the second predicate can also be the *event denoted by* the first predicate, not one of its arguments [compare Aikhenvald, 2006]. This phenomenon plays an important a role in Daakaka as will be seen shortly.

In Daakaka, single marking serial predicates have partially different argument sharing properties from multiple marking serializations and from switched marking predicates. Single marking serial predicates generally can be described as sharing one argument in the narrow sense, that is, excluding event arguments, although there are possible exceptions to this rule, which I will point out as we go along.

There are two major groups of single marking serial verbs which are consistent in terms of their argument sharing patterns. The first of these groups consists of motion verbs that form **directional constructions**. As serial predicates, these verbs always share the internal argument with the initial predicate, that is, the internal argument of the initial predicate is also the internal argument of the non-initial motion verb.

Thus, if the initial predicate is intransitive, its subject will also be the subject of the motion verb, as shown in (4). Otherwise, if the initial predicate is transitive, then its object will be the subject of the motion verb, as in (5). Note that a transitive verb always counts as having an object even if this object is not expressed explicitly by a noun phrase, as definite objects can be dropped (see also sections 4.1.1 and 6.1).



7. Serial Predicate Constructions

- b. *ma seling me etes*
 REAL go.down(ITR) come at.the.sea
 ‘he came down to the sea’
- (5) a. $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{NP} & & \text{TAM} & & \text{V}_{\text{SEMTR/TR}} & & \text{NP} & & \text{V}_{\text{ITR}} \\ | & & | & & | & & | & & | \\ \text{subject} & & & & \text{object} & & \text{subject} & & \end{array}$
- b. *ko=p vyan liye liplip=an tuswa me te na=p mini*
 2S=POT go take(TR) young.coconut=DEF one come CONJ 1S=POT drink
 ‘go and bring me one of the young coconuts and let me drink it’ (sto14:26)

The second group can be described as **transitivizing serial predicates**: They always introduce their own object into a sentence, regardless of whether the initial predicate has its own object or not. If the initial predicate is intransitive, the non-initial, transitivizing predicate will share its subject. This is illustrated in (6): In (6-c), the subject of the initial predicate *polo* ‘climb’ is the third person referent ‘she’; the same referent also serves as the subject for the second predicate *usili* ‘follow’. *Polo* ‘climb’ is intransitive, so ‘she climbs’ would be a complete sentence, without any further object; but *usili* ‘follow’ is transitive and thus introduces an object to the clause, *ló-ó* ‘coconut palm’. Literally, the clause could thus be translated as ‘she climbs she follows the coconut palm’.

For the structure in (6-b), the same analysis can be given: *vyanten* ‘person’ is the subject both of *pis* ‘tie’ and of *kyu* ‘surround’ and *neti tyu* ‘chick’ is the object of *kyu*. A corresponding word-by-word translation would be ‘a man takes its leaves he binds he surrounds a chick with it’.

If the initial predicate does have an object, the transitivizing predicate will take this noun phrase as its subject, as illustrated in (7).

- (6) a. $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{NP} & & \text{TAM} & & \text{V}_{\text{ITR/SEMTR}} & & \text{V}_{\text{TR}} & & \text{NP} \\ | & & | & & | & & | & & | \\ \text{subject} & & & & \text{subject} & & \text{object} & & \end{array}$
- b. *vyanten ma liye ye-tye te mwe [pis kyu neti*
 person REAL take(TR) leaf-3POSS CONJ REAL tie(SEMTR) surround(TR) child.of
tyu en=te] ne
 chicken DEF=MED with
 ‘people take its leaf and wrap the chicks in it’ (exp10:19)
- c. *mwe tavya te polo usili ló-ó swa vyan milye*
 REAL get.up CONJ climb(ITR) follow(TR) plant-coconut one go on.top
 ‘she got up and climbed up a coconut palm’ (sto02:65)
- (7) a. $\begin{array}{ccccccc} \text{NP} & & \text{TAM} & & \text{V}_{\text{TR}} & & \text{NP} & & \text{V}_{\text{TR}} & & \text{NP} \\ | & & | & & | & & | & & | & & | \\ \text{subject} & & & & \text{object} & & \text{subject} & & \text{object} & & \end{array}$
- b. *te mwe gene ye=m pisi vini ó nyoo kyu*
 CONJ REAL make 3PC=REAL fasten(TR) husk coconut 3P surround(TR)
ly-osi
 leg-3PC.POSS
 ‘so they fastened the coconut husks around their feet’ (rep04:87)

- c. *na=p tisi [tis swa] usili ya=m ka mw=i*
 1S=POT write(TR) drawing one follow(TR) 3P=REAL say REAL=COP
lewaa, lewaa=ne vis
 lower.banana.stem lower.banana.stem=TRANS banana
 ‘let me draw a drawing about what they call the lower part, the lower part of the
 banana plant’ (exp39:1)

Semitransitive verbs without objects pattern with intransitive verbs both in directional and in transitivizing structures, as can be seen in (6-b) and (8). In the corpus, there are no instances of semitransitive verbs with objects in these constructions and I have not examined whether they are possible or not.

- (8) *lii swa sa bwe kolir me a=tak*
 owl one CM REAL;CONT sing(SEMTR) come LOC=PROX
 ‘an owl came singing towards them’ (sto20:15)

One single marking verb which does not quite fit into the classification given so far is *ka* ‘say’, which is used after verbs of speaking like *sóro* ‘speak’ or *usi* ‘ask’ to introduce a stretch of direct or reported speech as in (9):

- (9) *Ma usi ka: “Tawi, ma ge=vi?”*
 REAL ask say tawi REAL be.like=what
 ‘He asked him: “Uncle, how are you?”’ (con01:56)

Finally, there is a small number of adjectives which also play a role as single marking serial predicates, even though they rather pattern with multiple or switched marking constructions in terms of their argument sharing properties: They either enter into complex transitivized predicates as in (14) on page 253 or take event arguments, like the multiple marking constructions in (10), to which I turn now.

In multiple marking constructions, only two basic patterns of argument sharing are attested: In the most frequent pattern, the non-initial predicate takes the event denoted by the initial predicate as its subject. Following Aikhenvald and Dixon [2006], I refer to these structures as **event argument serializations** (EAS). Other terms for this type of constructions are *ambient serialization* [Crowley, 1987], *descriptives* [Solnit, 2006] and *adverbial serialization* [Bradshaw, 1993].

The initial predicate of an EAS can consist of a single, intransitive or semitransitive predicate, but also of a verb phrase containing both a transitive or semitransitive verb and its object noun phrase. The non-initial predicate is typically intransitive, but may also consist of a more complex transitive structure, especially with *ge* ‘be like’ (see page 267 below).

In both of the two examples in (10), the subject of the non-initial predicate is the event denoted by the initial predicate; in the first sentence, this event is the scooping out of coconuts which is said to end, and in the second clause it is the scaling of fish, which is supposed to be quick.

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

- (10) a.
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \quad \text{TAM} \quad \text{VP} \quad \text{TAM} \quad \text{V}_{\text{ITR}}/\text{ADJ} \\ \text{subject} \quad \text{subject} \end{array}$$
- b. *ya=m kyaate buu ó swa mo nok te du punguo*
 3P=REAL SCOOP.out heap.of coconut one REAL finish CONJ stay go.up
 ‘they had already scooped out a heap of coconuts and then they went uphill’
 (sto01:6)
- c. *ka si=p sesivi mesyu en=te wa maga*
 MOD.REL 1PC.IN=POT skin fish DEF=MED POT fast
 ‘we will scale these fish quickly’ (rep08:66)

The second major argument sharing pattern in multiple marking serializations is analogous to the directional constructions described above, in that the object of the initial predicate is also the subject of the non-initial predicate. In contrast to the directional constructions of course, this multiple marking structure contains—by definition—a second TAM marker. This pattern is used for quantifying and for depictive predicates:

- (11) a.
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \quad \text{TAM} \quad \text{V}_{\text{SEMTR/TR}} \quad \text{NP} \quad \text{TAM} \quad \text{V}_{\text{ITR}}/\text{ADJ} \\ \text{subject} \quad \text{object} \quad \text{subject} \end{array}$$
- b. *tisyu ka ya w=esi ka we gene gyes=an we pwis*
 SOME MOD.REL 3P POT=SEE MOD.COMP POT make work=NM POT be.plentiful
 ‘some will say it has many functions’ (lit. ‘it does many works’) (exp10:8)
- c. *ma tilya we=tye ma vi~vi*
 REAL take fruit.of=3S.POSS REAL REDUP~NEW
 ‘she took its fresh fruit’

Turning now to switched marking predicates, they can be further classified according to whether they are intransitive, transitive or copular. All three types take the internal argument of the initial predicate as their subject. For example, if the first predicate is simple and intransitive, the switched marking predicate will take the same subject and it will not be preceded by another TAM marker. If the first predicate contains an object noun phrase, on the other hand, the switched marking predicate will take the object as its subject and will then be preceded by another TAM marker. An initial predicate basically counts as syntactically complex if it contains anything but an intransitive or semitransitive verb without object; that includes transitive verbs with or without overt object noun phrase, copular predicates and intransitive verbs extended by prepositional phrases.

Both the cases with simple and complex initial predicates are illustrated in (12) and (13) respectively, each with a transitive and an intransitive non-initial predicate.

- (12) a.
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{NP} \quad \text{TAM} \quad \text{V}_{\text{ITR}/\text{SEMTR}}/\text{ADJ} \quad \text{V}_{\text{ITR}}/\text{V}_{\text{TR}} \quad (\text{NP}) \\ \text{subject} \quad \text{subject} \quad \text{object} \end{array}$$
- b. *ye=m tilya temeli en=te, ye=m tas sukuo*
 3PC=REAL take child DEF=MED 3PC=REAL sit(ITR) be.together(ITR)
 ‘they take the children, they sit together’ (exp05:125)

- c. *barar mon mwe vyan te vyan mea save apyang en=te vyan tevesye*
 pig also REAL go CONJ go jump pass(TR) fire DEF=MED go side
 ‘the pig also went and jumped over the fire to the other side’ (sto03:75)
- (13) a. NP TAM V_{SEMTR/TR} NP TAM V_{ITR/V_{TR}} (NP)
 subject object subject object
- b. *yaase wotop Ø-an vi myane vis myen wa sukuo*
 turn(TR) breadfruit CL2-3S.POSS white.man with banana ripe POT be.together
 ‘mix the breadfruit with the banana’ (exp22:12)
- c. *bili na ka ko=t pveli=ne te ko=m ane mon ma*
 time COMP SUBCONJ 2S=DIST bake=TRANS CONJ 2S=REAL eat(TR) also REAL
save na ko=m kuk=ane
 surpass COMP 2S=REAL cook=TRANS
 ‘when you bake it, it tastes even better than when you cook it’ (lit. ‘when you bake it, then you eat it it even surpasses what you cook’) (exp17:57)

Intransitive switched marking predicates also enter into **transitivized serial predicates** as shown in (14): These structures consist of an semitransitive verb, a switched marking serial predicate and the transitivizer (*ane*). The object introduced by the transitivizer then serves as the subject of the non-initial predicate. For example, in (14-b), the first person singular subject ‘he/ she’ lays down the mat, with the result that the mat ‘tumbles’, in the sense that it faces the wrong way up. Thus the object of the initial predicate ‘put’ is the subject of the second predicate ‘tumble’.

In (14-c), a definite third person referent is the object of the initial predicate *en* ‘eat’ and the second predicate *kopkop* ‘be whole’ expresses that the person who is being eaten is left whole in the process; in this sense, the object of ‘eat’ is the subject of ‘be whole’.

- (14) a. NP TAM V_{SEMTR} V_{ITR/ADJ} TRANS NP
 subject object subject
- b. *ma ling bup=ane ding*
 REAL put tumble(ITR)=TRANS mat
 ‘she/ he put the mat the wrong way up/ with the wrong side facing up’
- c. *ma ane te to kyer-veni, mwe en kop-kop=ane*
 REAL eat CONJ REAL;NEG bite-dead REAL eat(SEMTR) REDUP~be.full(ITR)=TRANS
kyun
 just
 ‘he ate him but he did not bite him dead, he just swallowed him whole’ (sto13:32)

An analogous process also applies to some verbal suffixes (see section 3.2.4).

Note that not every sequence of an initial semitransitive verb and a transitivized second predicate has the same configuration. Thus, the structure in (15-a) patterns with the transitivizing structures described in (6-b) on page 250: The initial, semitransitive verb is followed by a non-initial, transitive predicate—which in this case happens to be a transitivized verb, rather than a lexically transitive verb as in (6-b).

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

Tabelle 7.1.: Overview of the types of argument sharing with references to the structures discussed in this section

Single Marking	Multiple Marking	Switched Marking
directionals (4), (5)	event argument serializations (10)	transitive, copular (12), (13)
transitivizing (6), (7)	depicting, quantifying (11)	intransitive (12), (13), (14)
adjectives (10), (14)		
<i>ka</i> ‘say’ (9)		

The structure in (15-a) differs crucially from the configurations in (14) in that the non-initial predicate has the same subject as the initial predicate and the additional argument it introduces is its object. The two cases also differ in that for structures such as (15-a), it is possible to use the initial predicate with the non-transitivized version of the non-initial predicate as well; and it is also possible to use the non-initial, transitivized predicate on its own, outside of a serial construction. By contrast, it would not be possible to say, for example **ma ling bup* (REAL put tumble) or **ma bup=ane ding* (REAL tumble=TRANS mat).

- (15) a. *mwe se pwer=ne luu lee*
 REAL catch(SEMTR) stay(ITR)=TRANS root tree
 ‘it was fastened to the root’ (sto21:71)
- b. *yaapu nyoo ya=m ku~kuo me ma ge=tak te [lispsep mwe*
 big.man 3P 3P=REAL REDUP~run come REAL be.like=PROX CONJ lispsep REAL
se pwer
 trapped stay
 ‘the man came running like this, then the lispsep was still trapped’ (sto21:75)
- c. *wip ka ko w=esi te webwes mwe pwer=ne kos-on*
 imp.pigeon SUBCONJ 2S POT=see CONJ wart REAL stay=TRANS nose=3S.POSS
 ‘when you see the imperial pidgeon, it has a wart on the nose.’

Table 7.1 gives an overview of the different types of serial predicate constructions and the argument sharing patterns they are associated with.

7.1.3. TAM and polarity agreement

This section mostly concerns multiple marking constructions, but it is also of relevance to single marking constructions in that it shows how a non-initial predicate can be narrowly negated, both in single marking and in multiple marking constructions.

In multiple marking SPCs, each predicate of the series is preceded by its own TAM marker. The value of the non-initial TAM marker partially depends on that of the initial TAM marker, but is not entirely determined by it; in particular, aspectual values and polarity can differ, and also, to a lesser extent, modality values. This finding contradicts the general requirement that all TAM and polarity values of a serial construction have to be in agreement in order to qualify as serializations [compare Aikhenvald and Dixon, 2006, 8]. Even so, I have decided to treat

these structures as serial predicate constructions, because I can show that even structures with several different TAM values can be monoclausal.

By far the most frequent constellation is for both TAM positions to be filled by the positive realis marker. If the initial TAM marker is the change of state marker *bwet*, the second one will usually also be a positive realis marker. Both cases are illustrated below:

- (16) a. *vyanten mwe mer mo nok*
 person REAL dead REAL finish
 ‘the man has already died’ (con02:84)
- b. *te si bwet teveni mo nok*
 CONJ 1PC.IN COS bury REAL finish
 ‘and we had just buried him’ (con01:63)

There are however exceptions to this rule: In some cases, an initial positive realis marker can also be followed by a positive potential marker instead of another realis marker. One scenario in which this can happen is when the non-initial predicate denotes the result of an action which has not been achieved at the time of reference. In the following clause, for example, the protagonist is rowing and the result or goal of his movement is to reach the origin of a mysterious light. The potential marker of the non-initial¹ predicate implies that, at this point in the narrative, the protagonist has not yet arrived at his destination:

- (17) *mwe pyaos vyan we tumtum=ane ar=an na apyang en=te bwe daa*
 REAL IOW go POT be.right=TRANS LOC=DEF COMP fire DEF=MED CONT shine
me ar=an
 COME LOC=DEF
 ‘he rowed straight to the place from which the fire was shining’ (sto24:19)

The second scenario in which a multiple marking serial verb construction will contain a sequence of a realis marker and a potential marker is when the content of the non-initial predicate is meant to be purely hypothetical, by way of example only. Such hypothetical notions are always expressed by the potential marker, independent of the initial TAM marker. One example which is also discussed in section 5.3.1 is repeated here:

- (18) *yang dawó mwe téé=ane sisye na mu buo wa ge myane barar tuswa*
 fly blowfly REAL look=TRANS thing COMP REAL stink POT be.like with pig one
na ka ra=p tiye
 COMP MOD.REL 1P.IN=POT kill
 ‘the blowfly looks for smelly things like for example a pig which we have killed’
 (sto24:19)

This function of non-initial predicates in the potential mood is discussed in a separate

¹Note that the beginning of this clause contains three serial verbs, *pyaos*, *vyan* and *tumtum*. It is not unusual for a sentence to contain a series of more than two verbs, but each such sequence can be divided into two parts which might in turn also consist of two parts and so on. Thus in the example above, *we tumtum...* can be taken as the serial predicate to *pyaos vyan*, which in turn consists of two verbs, *pyaos* and *vyan*. Alternatively, it is also conceivable that the first predicate is *pyaos*, followed by a complex serial predicate *vyan we tumtum...*

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

paragraph below on page 287.

Apart from that, if the initial marker is in positive realis mood, it is often possible for the non-initial marker to agree with it in terms of modality (realis), but disagree in terms of polarity (positive). I will now discuss the different types of structures in which this happens.

If the first predicate is in negative realis mood, the non-initial predicate can always be either headed by the potential or by the necessity marker. This constitutes agreement in TAM values, because an initial negative realis marker can never be followed by another negative realis marker in the non-initial predicate.

The two markers are completely synonymous in this particular configuration. In cases like (19-b), the non-initial predicate can also be preceded by the modal complementizer *ka* without any change in meaning. Even so, it is clear that *ka* does not start a new clause here, because its interpretation would have to be very different if it did—in the case of (19-b), the interpretation of the chunk after and including *ka* would then translate as ‘it will be strong’ or ‘it should have been strong’ respectively.

In the following examples, the first marker of each pair of alternatives is as in the original recording, while the other alternatives have been checked by elicitation:

- (19) a. *ko to gene gyes=an tuswa nu/ wu vu mursi teenem doma*
 2S REAL;NEG make work=NM one NEC/ POT good a.bit home today
 ‘You haven’t done the slightest bit of good work at home today.’ (sto27:26)
- b. *ye to oko (ka) we/ ne yas, ye=m du oko medó*
 3D REAL;NEG walk MOD.COMP POT/ NEC be.strong 3D=REAL stay walk be.slow
 ‘they weren’t walking quickly, they were walking slowly’ (con01:102)

In the examples above, the potential and necessity markers are the only markers which can grammatically occupy that position. For expressions such as in (19-b), where the negation only concerns the non-initial adjective—they were walking, but not quickly—a different, quite peculiar configuration is also possible, both for multiple marking and for single marking constructions: the general structure is [. . . REAL;NEG Pred1 *ka* (subject-pron.) NEC/POT Pred1 (NEC/POT) Pred2]; The second NEC or POT marker is only present for multiple marking constructions as in (20), not in single marking constructions as in (21):

- (20) *mw=i mesyu swa, ya=m ane, a to ane ka ya=n ane*
 REAL=COP fish one 3P=REAL eat but REAL;NEG eat MOD.REL 3P=NEG eat
n=i towo ten, mw=i poison
 NEC=COP big very REAL=COP poison
 ‘it’s a fish they eat, but they don’t eat it a lot, it’s poisonous’ (exp07:193)
- (21) *bili na kana=t sóvilye, te kana to oko ka kana*
 time COMP 1D.EX=DIST come.out CONJ 1D.EX REAL;NEG walk MOD.REL 1D.EX
w=oko téé mo
 POT=walk look first
 ‘as we walked, we didn’t walk looking ahead’ (meaning: we walked backwards)
 (rep15:58)

There are however some other cases in which an initial negative realis predicate can also be

followed by a positive realis predicate, yielding quite a different interpretation, as exemplified in (22). In the first case, the negation applies to the non-initial predicate, not necessarily to the initial one: The most natural interpretation of (22-a) is that Mata does sing, but her singing is not like Salo's. In (22-b), by contrast, Mata does not sing, and in that she is like Salo, who also does not sing.

- (22) a. *Mata to kolir wa/ ne ge myane Salo.*
 NAME REAL;NEG sing POT NEC be.like with NAME
 'Mata doesn't sing like Salo.'
- b. *Mata to kolir ma ge myane Salo.*
 NAME REAL;NEG sing REAL be.like with NAME
 'Mata doesn't sing, like Salo (who also doesn't sing).'

See also example (71-b) on page 271 for a naturally occurring example of this type of polarity disagreement.

Another case of disagreement in polarity values between the two predicates of a serialization involves a positive initial predicate followed by a negative realis marker. Such sentences are synonymous with a structure where the initial predicate has a negative realis marker and the non-initial predicate a necessity or potential marker, as long as the negation applies to the second predicate, but not necessarily to the initial one, as in (19-b). The following two examples have been elicited based on naturally occurring sentences:

- (23) a. *mwe te lee to i apyaló ten, mwe te mw=i bwye*
 REAL CUT WOOD REAL;NEG COP boat native REAL cut REAL=COP slit.drum
- b. *to te lee n=i/ w=i apyaló ten, mwe te mw=i*
 REAL;NEG cut WOOD NEC=COP/ POT=COP boat native REAL cut REAL=COP
bwye
 slit.drum
 'he carved the wood not to become a canoe, but to become a slit drum'
- (24) a. *ma ane webir to i towo ten*
 REAL eat taro REAL;NEG COP big very
- b. *to ane webir n=i/ w=i towo ten*
 REAL;NEG eat taro NEC=COP/ POT=COP big very
 'she doesn't eat a lot of taro.'

For these particular examples, we cannot be certain that they are monoclausal. There are however structures with the same crucial feature—an initial positive realis predicate with a non-initial negative realis predicate—which clearly are monoclausal. The most clear-cut examples for this come from quantifying serializations. The examples below have occurred naturally with an initial positive, instead of negative, realis marker and the negative versions were accepted by native speakers during elicitation:

- (25) a. *gee [ma ge myane sye to pwis na ebya-oo*
 flying.fox REAL be.like with thing REAL;NEG be.plentiful COMP wing.of-3P.POSS

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

- mu du]*
 REAL stay
 ‘the flying fox is like not many things with wings’
- b. *vyanten [mwe gene sisye to pwis ne ding]*
 man REAL do thing REAL;NEG be.plentiful with mat
 ‘people do not do many things with mats’

Both structures can safely be assumed to be monoclausal—in the first case, the relative clause modifying *syé* ‘thing’ continues after the non-initial predicate; in the second case, the verb phrase is extended by an adverbial phrase, *ne ding* ‘with mats’.

The non-initial predicate after a negative realis marker can optionally be preceded by the modal relator *ka*:

- (26) a. *Na to ane mesyu (ka) w=i/ n=i towo.*
 1S REAL eat fish MOD.REL POT=COP/ NEC=COP big
 ‘I don’t eat a lot of fish.’
- b. *Tan to kuu~kuu (ka) we/ ne yas/*
 ground REAL;NEG REDUP~MOVE MOD.REL POT NEC be.strong
 ‘The ground didn’t move strongly.’

For initial predicates with distal, potential or necessity markers, the non-initial predicate generally has to have the same marker:

- (27) a. *bili na ka lee tu kuu t=i towo...*
 time COMP SUBCONJ tree DIST MOVE DIST=COP big
 ‘when the wood moves a lot, ...’ (exp11:23)
- b. *nye kyun na=m ka na=p sikya nya wa maga*
 1S just 1S=REAL say 1S=POT touch 3D POT fast
 ‘only I, I wanted to reach them quickly’ (con01:103)
- c. *te myanok en=te saka ne map ne maga*
 CONJ SORE DEF=MED MOD.NEG NEC heal NEC fast
 ‘then this wound will not heal quickly’ (exp08:109)

In imperatives without TAM marking in the initial predicate, the non-initial predicate also has to be in potential mood:

- (28) *Dange sóó=ane ó vyan te yaase kevene wa sukuo.*
 pour coconut.juice=TRANS coconut go CONJ turn every POT be.together
 ‘Pour in the coconut juice and mix everything together.’ (exp22:12)

Finally, if the initial predicate is headed by the negative potential marker, the same will be true for the non-initial predicate:

- (29) *saka ko=n gene [na ka tevesye lewewo ne wowo ne ge=tak]*
 MOD.NEG 2S=NEC make COMP MOD.REL side bamboo NEC big NEC be.like=PROX
 ‘you mustn’t leave the side of the bamboo coarse like this’ (exp32:4)

The open-polarity marker *doo* has not been attested in a serial predicate construction, which is not surprising, given its rareness.

In sum, the most frequent configuration for the TAM markers in a serial construction is to agree in terms of modality and polarity. However, certain constructions also allow for a potential marker in the non-initial predicate independent of the initial TAM marker; and in some configurations, the polarity values of the two markers can also differ.

7.2. Single Marking Serial Predicates

7.2.1. Directional constructions

The verbs *me* ‘come’ and *vyan* ‘go’ can be used to specify the direction of a movement relative to the speaker or another contextually defined reference point. When they follow an intransitive verb of movement, the subject stays the same and the second verb merely indicates whether the movement is directed towards or away from the reference point:

- (30) a. *mu kueli vyan*
 REAL return go
 ‘she went back (to where she came from)’ (exp44:15)
- b. *mu kueli me*
 REAL return come
 ‘she came back (from where she had been to)’ (sto36:9)

Other frequent verbs of movement which regularly go together with one of the two direction verbs are *punguo* ‘go up’ and *seling* ‘go down’:

- (31) a. *ya=m punguo wuk vyan*
 3P=REAL go.up already go
 ‘they had already gone further up’ (sto01:20)
- b. *temeli man ma seling me*
 child male REAL go.down come
 ‘the boy came down’

These two verbs *punguo* and *seling* can themselves be used as non-initial predicates indicating the vertical direction of a movement. In the following example, three motion verbs form one serial predicate: *kuo* indicates the speed of the movement, *seling* the vertical orientation and *me* specifies that the movement was directed towards the point of reference, not away from it:

- (32) *ye=m kuo seling me yen buluwu*
 3PC=REAL run go.down come in hole
 ‘they ran down into the lavabed’ (rep13:10)

Other verbs of directional movement can be used in a similar fashion. In the following example, the verb *kuo* ‘run’ is followed by *sovilye* ‘emerge’, to yield the meaning ‘run out (of the pen)’.

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

- (33) *Barar en=te mwe pwer yen s-an biyep vyan te yan swa me*
 pig DEF=MED REAL stay in CL3-3S.POSS fence go CONJ on one come
tu-tae s-an biyep te kuo sovilye.
 hit-through CL3-3S.POSS fence CONJ run come.out
 ‘This pig lived in its pen and then one day it broke through its fence and ran out.’
 (sto46:3)

If the first verb is a transitive verb of transport, its object will be the subject of the serial verb of movement. In such constructions, the word order will be [VERB1 NOUN VERB2], the pivotal noun being the object of the first verb and the subject of the second:

- (34) a. *kuli ko=p óte barar vyan yen biyep*
 dog 2S=POT hunt pig go in fence
 ‘dog, hunt the pig into its pen’ (sto46:5)
- b. *tomo mwe towane wotop vyan, bwilya mwe sulup-kilye mwe syute tan*
 rat REAL throw breadfruit go rail REAL catch-miss REAL hit ground
 ‘the rat threw the breadfruit down, but the rail failed to catch it and it hit the ground’ (sto32:21)
- c. *mu dis-kuwu dom me milye*
 REAL draw.back-out yam come on.top
 ‘he pulled the yam out and upwards’ (sto47:31)

Some directional verbs also have derived non-spatial meanings. For example, *vyan* ‘go’ as a non-initial predicate can also indicate that some time passes without much change before a story goes on. This function occurs both with transitive and intransitive initial verbs. In these cases, *vyan* does not actually share an argument with the initial verb, in the strict sense. They might instead be analyzed as instances of event argument serializations—it is the event expressed by the initial predicate which goes (on), rather than of one of its arguments. See also section 7.3 below for more on event argument serializations. Otherwise, it might simply be seen as one of several devices for indicating the passage of time in a story (see section 9.2.2).

- (35) a. *ye=m vyan du séka ivyo vyan...*
 3D=REAL go stay harvest cabbage go
 ‘the two were picking leaves (for a long time)...’ (sto15:3)
- b. *te webung swa ye=m du bangbang vyan, te myaa ma ate nya*
 CONJ day one 3D=REAL stay play go CONJ hunger REAL bite 3D
 ‘then one day, they were playing (for a while), then they were hungry’ (sto31:5)

Finally, a more specific motion verb which has been observed as a serial verb is *disi* ‘draw back, retreat’, which is illustrated in (36):

- (36) *ma saa disi nge vyan yen buluwu*
 REAL pull draw.back 3S go in hole
 ‘it pulled itself back into the hole’ (exp30:22)

7.2.2. Transitivity constructions

A number of transitive verbs can function as non-initial verbs to introduce a new participant with a particular semantic role. They are thereby similar in their function to prepositions.

The most prominent specimen of this category is the verb *usili* ‘follow’. Its object denotes an entity or path along which a literal or metaphorical movement proceeds. It occurs with a great variety of collocates such as *sóró usili* (speak follow) ‘speak about’, *poo usili lóó* (climb-follow coconut.palm) ‘climb up a coconut palm’ and *is usili* (call follow) ‘call for/after so.’ Further examples with intransitive initial verbs are given below:

- (37) a. *bura mu ku~kuo usili bung-un*
 blood REAL REDUP~run follow mouth-3S.POSS
 ‘blood was running from his mouth’ (rep03:59)
- b. *ma usi, esi bangbang=an mw=i towo na mw=i towo a to*
 REAL ask see play=NM REAL=COP big COMP REAL=COP big and REAL;NEG
pwe nyur usili bangbang=an nyoo en=te
 CONT think follow play=NM 3P DEF=MED
 ‘he studied, he saw the greatest distractions but didn’t think about these distractions’
 (sto18:69)

Examples with transitive initial predicates are given in (38):

- (38) a. *na=m dimyane ka na=p [kolir=ane bwe swa] usili borwemedaa*
 1S=REAL want MOD.COMP 1S=POT sing=TRANS song one follow nalnal
 ‘I want to sing a song about the nalnal club’ (exp11:1)
- b. *se tóó=an, seli=an mo kuowilye ka ya=p gene saó*
 hook wild.cane=NM road=DEF REAL know MOD.COMP 3P=POT make ceremony
usili se tóó=an
 follow hook wild.cane=NM
 ‘spear throwing, according to the tradition they can have a spear throwing ceremony’ (exp29:7)

Another quite prolific transitivity serial verb is *kyu* ‘surround’. The following two examples show instances of *kyu* retaining its literal meaning of spatial surrounding:

- (39) a. *ya=m tas kyu bwili tes swa ma ge=tak*
 3P=REAL sit surround hole sea one REAL be.like=PROX
 ‘they were sitting around a bay like this’ (rep08:25)
- b. *te ye=m pisi vini ó nyoo kyu ly-osi*
 CONJ 3PC=REAL fasten husk coconut 3P surround leg-3PC.POSS
 ‘so they fastened the coconut husks around their feet’ (rep04:87)

The meaning of *kyu* can also be metaphorically stretched to non-spatial meanings. In these cases, the argument it introduces has the role of a patient or recipient:

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

- (40) a. *te ye=m ling daa kyu nya*
 CONJ 3D=REAL put language surround 3D
 ‘and they had a discussion’ (compare example (107-b) on page 158) (sto30:25)
- b. *Te yu-on mwe pyane yaapu en=te tevy-an na ma*
 CONJ feeling-3S.POSS REAL roast big.man DEF=MED side.of-3S.POSS COMP REAL
gi kyenkyen=an kyu s-an vyap myato
 do be.sore=NM surround CL3-3S.POSS old.woman right
 ‘He was mad at this man because he had violated his wife’ (lit. ‘he had caused pain surrounding his wife’) (sto47:14)

Less frequent and less productive as a serial predicate is the verb *se* ‘stick, catch, be stuck’. Its function as a main verb is illustrated by the following example:

- (41) *mwe gene, mo kuowilye ka we sye-p-kote gily-en ten te*
 REAL make REAL know MOD.COMP POT cut-EP-in.two end.of-3S.POSS very CONJ
ma se~se tamadu yan
 REAL REDUP~catch tamadu on
 ‘one can cut off its tip and catch a tamadu with it’ (exp09:87)

Se differs from *usili* ‘follow’ and *kyu* ‘surround’ in that it is semitransitive rather than transitive.

As a (non-initial) serial verb, it always introduces an object argument to an otherwise intransitive initial verb, but the different roles of these arguments do not correspond clearly to any established semantic role; some combinations of a verb and *se* might also be lexicalized expressions. Some examples are given below:

- (42) *vyan vyan vyan pesili=ne or te mwe kyep se bat-en*
 go go go near=TRANS shore CONJ REAL defecate catch head-3S.POSS
 ‘they kept going and near the shore, he [the rat] defecated on his [the turtle’s] head’
 (sto35:37)
- (43) *e, ko bwe deng se sewe?*
 hey 2S REAL;CONT cry catch what
 ‘hey, why are you crying?’ (sto43:24)
- (44) *Yen 1953 na=m kueli vyan gyes se bisop Vila.*
 in 1953 1S=REAL return go work catch bishop NAME
 ‘In 1953 I returned back to work for the bishop in Vila.’ (rep01:8)

Quite a few verbs end in *-se*, such as *bungse* ‘smell sth.’, *nungse* ‘ask so. for food’ etc. All of these verbs are transitive, and while they do not have an intransitive counterpart without *-se* it is quite possible that they have evolved diachronically from a combination of such an intransitive (or semitransitive) verb plus *se*.

The verb *pini* means ‘fill, cover’, typically of food items as shown in the following two examples:

- (45) a. *wotop ma pini pwesyey nyoo*
 breadfruit REAL fill branch 3P
 ‘the branches are full of breadfruits’ (lit. ‘breadfruits cover the branches’)
- b. *mees ma pini silee*
 food REAL fill table
 ‘the table is covered with food’ (lit. ‘food covers the table’)

As a serial verb, it can combine both with intransitive and transitive verbs; it only takes quantifiable expressions as arguments and expresses universal quantification over these expressions. Mostly, these expressions refer to units of time or space:

- (46) a. *nge mo kuowilye ka we pwer pini or*
 3S REAL know MOD.COMP POT stay(ITR) fill place
 ‘it [the snake] can live everywhere’ (exp50:105)
- b. *Ma esi pini webung vyan te s-an nyur~nyur=an bwe*
 REAL see(TR) fill day go CONJ CL3-3S.POSS REDUP~think=NM REAL;CONT
gyes
 work
 ‘He saw it [the fire] every day and his mind was working’ (sto24:11)

Other nouns can however also be used in this way:

- (47) *na=m téé pini buk nyoo na mu du*
 1S=REAL look(ITR) fill book 3P COMP REAL stay
 ‘I read all the books’

It is hard to decide whether these are instances of event argument serializations or whether the subject of non-initial *pini* is coreferential with one of the participants introduced by the first verb. Thus, in (46-a), it is possible to identify the subject of *pini* with the subject of *pwer* ‘live’, to break it down into *it_i lives*, *it_i covers the place*; similarly, in (46-b), the object of *esi* ‘see’ can be interpreted as the subject of *pini* as in *he saw it_i*, *it_i filled the days*, which is why I place this construction with the transitivizing serial verbs. But because of the level of abstraction these readings require, I cannot exclude the possibility that we might be dealing with event arguments instead.

The verb *ka* ‘say’ takes either a noun or a stretch of direct or indirect speech as its argument:

- (48) a. *na=m dimyane ka na=p ka sóróusi=an swa*
 1S=REAL want MOD.COMP 1S=POT say talk=NM one
 ‘I want to tell a story’ (sto29:4)
- b. *s-an tuutu ma ka: “U, ngok ko bwe ongane sye*
 CL3-3S.POSS grandparent REAL say INTJ 2S 2S REAL;CONT hear thing
minyees!”
 different
 ‘her grandmother said: “You are hearing something different”’
 (sto22:39)

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

There are several other words of saying and thinking in Daakaka, such as *sóró* ‘speak’, *usi* ‘ask’ and *dimye* ‘think’. When the content of what is thought or said is expressed as reported speech, these verbs are followed by *ka*:

- (49) a. *te kekei ma sóró ka: “E, saka ki=n tiye nye!”*
 CONJ baby REAL talk say INTJ MOD.NEG 2P=NEC kill 1S
 ‘the baby spoke and said: “Don’t kill me!”’ (rep10:12)
- b. *Ma kii kii kii kii vyan te ma usi ka: ‘Ko=m tang pyan?’*
 REAL dig dig dig dig go CONJ REAL ask say 2S=REAL touch under
 ‘He dug on and on and then asked: “Do you reach it?”’ (sto47:24)
- c. *Ma ane vyan mo nok te dimye ka, “O, bosine barar tisyu mu*
 REAL eat go REAL finish CONJ think say INTJ bone=TRANS pig some REAL
du a=tak mon vyen ngabak.”
 stay LOC=PROX also probably still
 ‘He ate them and then he thought: “I think there are still some pig bones here.”’
 (sto18:16)

Like other transitivizing serial verbs, *ka* can also follow a more complex verb phrase consisting of a transitive verb of saying and its argument:

- (50) *te mwe kueli tetes me te [gérase nya] ka ka wa mini vyos*
 CONJ REAL return again come CONJ cheat 3D say MOD.REL POT drink coconut
 ‘he came back and lied to them that he wanted to drink a coconut’ (sto02:68)

What is less usual for serial verbs is that *ka* ‘say’ can also be its own non-initial verb, that is, it is not uncommon to find a sequence of two *ka* as in (51):

- (51) *te en=te ya=m ka ka mw=i tóó byaa*
 CONJ DEF=MED 3P=REAL say say REAL=COP wild.cane bird
 ‘They call it the ‘hawk spear’ (lit. ‘this they say it’s the hawk spear’) (exp29:46)

This indicates that *ka* has been partially reanalyzed as a marker of reported speech—see also section 9.2.3. This in turn also supports the idea that the verb *ka* is diachronically related to the modal complementizer, subordinating conjunction and modal relator *ka*, which are treated in section 8.3 and section 5.1 respectively.

7.2.3. Single marking serial adjectives

There is a small number of adjectives which can enter into a single marking serial predicate construction. One of them is *mwelili* ‘be small’. This adjective belongs to the group of lexemes which lexically specify plurality of the events they denote or of their internal arguments—see section 3.2.2, page 48. In transitivizing serial constructions, it expresses that the object of the first verb is disintegrated into many small pieces:

- (52) a. *tes mwe tower mwelili=ane mees nyoo en=te ta nge=te*
 sea REAL throw be.small=TRANS food 3P DEF=MED CM NGE=MED
 ‘the sea was throwing these foods around and scattering them’ (sto25:175)

7.2. Single Marking Serial Predicates

- b. *mwe sye-p mwelili=ane s-an bivian yen buluwu en=te te*
 REAL CUT-EP be.small=TRANS CL3-3S.POSS friend in hole DEF=MED CONJ
teveni
 bury
 ‘he cut his friend into small pieces and buried him in this hole’ (sto47:34)

Other than that, *mwelili* is also sometimes used after *sóro* ‘speak’, where it can be translated as ‘a little’:

- (53) *te ye=m du sóro mwelili myane nya*
 CONJ 3D=REAL stay talk be.small with 3D
 ‘they talked a little’ (sto25:22)

The other three adjectives which can also be used in single marking SPCs are *melumlum* ‘quiet’ and *melipro* ‘relaxed, easy-going’. They describe the manner of an action:

- (54) a. *s-an sinisyé nyoo mu vu, ma sóro melumlum*
 CL3-3S.POSS manners 3P REAL good REAL talk quiet
 ‘his manners are good, he speaks calmly’ (con01:24)
 b. *ye=m du oko melipro*
 3PC=REAL stay walk lax
 ‘they strolled leisurely’ (con01:4)

It might not be an accident that all three adjectives begin with *mwe-* or *me-*: It is possible that this syllable once was a realis marker and that the serial predicate constructions they appeared in were originally multiple marking constructions, with both the initial and the non-initial predicate preceded by a TAM marker. This would be consistent with the fact that adjectives are not usually allowed as non-initial predicates in single marking constructions. The only other adjective with this potential is *pipili* ‘red’, which is however restricted to the adjective *erér* ‘warm, hot’ and the verb *pyang* ‘be warm, be hot’, yielding *pyang pipili* ‘be red hot’ and *erér pipili* ‘red hot’.

A further indication that *mwelili*, *melumlum* and *melipro* might have developed from sequences of a TAM marker plus verb is that there is good evidence for a similar process from some other items in the language—compare the cases of *towo* (section 3.4, page 99) and *tuswa* (see section 4.2.3). On the other hand, *melipro* ‘relaxed’ might also be etymologically related to the word for ‘seven’, which is *milivyo* in Daakaka and *melipru* in the neighboring language Dalkalaen.²

Section 7.4.1 on switched marking predicates below also features several serializing adjectives.

²A possible semantic relation between ‘seven’ and ‘relaxed’ comes from the biblical tradition that the seventh day is the day of rest, as has been pointed out to me by Bernard Comrie.

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

7.2.4. Idiomatic constructions

Concluding this section, I will briefly discuss some verbs whose functions as serial verbs are far more specialized: they only occur with one particular initial verb and the meaning of the resulting structure is lexically determined.

One of them is *tene* ‘wait’ and possibly the only verb it can follow as a non-initial verb is *tas* ‘sit’. It also occurs with *pwer* and *du* ‘stay, exist’, but in these cases, it is not clear whether *pwer* and *du* are full initial verbs or aspectual auxiliaries (compare section 3.2.6).

Another such verb is *silye* ‘pluck’. It appears to be a non-initial verb in the expression *myan silye* ‘laugh at so.’, where *myan* ‘laugh’ is an intransitive verb; the same appears to hold for the expression *ta silye* (cut pluck) ‘trim a piece of wood, to trim down a plant’. But the semantic connections here are too elusive to establish a clear relation between these expressions.

Staying in the domain of laughter for the moment, the verb *tevene* ‘throw sth. (against sth.)’ has also only been attested as a single marking non-initial predicate in connection with *myan* ‘laugh’, as in (55):

- (55) *ko=m myan te~tevene ngok*
2S=REAL laugh REDUP~throw.against 2S
‘you’re shaking with laughter’ (con02:203)

Several serial constructions concern sleep and related activities: The verb *pwer* ‘stay’ can also mean ‘sleep’ by itself, but a less ambiguous expression for ‘sleep’ is *pwer myaek*, where *myaek* is a verb meaning ‘be night’. The only other serial predicate construction with *myaek* involves the verb *tung* ‘be dirty, to be dark’; the resulting expression *tung myaek* means ‘be pitch black’ as illustrated in (56):

- (56) *or ka te tung myaek tu vu te gee virvir nge bwe*
place SUBCONJ DIST dirty be.night DIST good CONJ flying.fox bat 3S REAL;CONT
ka~ka
REDUP~fly
‘when it’s pitch-dark then the bat flies’ (exp50:85)

Another sleep related construction also involves *pwer* ‘stay’ as an initial verb. The second verb in this structure is *esi* ‘see’. As discussed in section 3.2.4, the homophonous verbal suffix *-esi* expresses tentativity. The sequence of *pwer esi* however means ‘dream’ (not: ‘try to stay’). A similar expression is *pwerlilye* ‘have a vision while dreaming’, which also contains *pwer*, but whose second part *lilye* does not have any transparent, independent meaning to speakers and does not occur in any other expression.

If someone does more than dream while sleeping, their activity is referred to by the verb *wuowuop* ‘sleepwalk’. The serial verb construction *sóró wuowuop* (talk sleepwalk) means ‘talk in one’s sleep’.

7.3. Multiple Marking Serial Predicates

7.3.1. Event argument serializations

Comparison

One highly frequent verb in serial predicate constructions is *ge* ‘be like’. This verb is either followed by a deictic clitic such as *tak* ‘(this) here’ or *te* ‘(that) there’ or by the preposition *myane*.

The phrase *ma getak*, literally ‘it is like this’ will sometimes compare an event or action which the speaker talks about to something he simultaneously shows to the listener with a gesture or similar. The following example sentence is about a sand drawing performed by the speaker, who points at the drawing when he utters the sentence:

- (57) *a ya=m tisi ma ge=tak*
 and 3P=REAL write REAL be.like=PROX
 ‘and they draw it like this’ (exp47:4)

As described in section 4.1.4, deictic morphemes *tak* and *te* often refer not to something directly visible to speaker and listener, but to something which has just been mentioned. The serial predicate *ma getak* can also refer to something which is now going to be told, as in (58): the first sentence is uttered before the speaker then goes on to tell the story; the second example sentence is followed by the song it refers to.

- (58) a. *pun=an en=te mwe vyan ma ge=tak*
 tell.a.story=NM DEF=MED REAL go REAL like=PROX
 ‘this story goes like this’ (sto32:2)
- b. *yap myató mo kolir=ane s-an bwe sa mo kolir=ane ma*
 old.man old REAL sing=TRANS CL3-3S.POSS SONG CM REAL sing=TRANS REAL
ge=tak
 like=PROX
 ‘the venerable man sang his song, he sang like this’ (rep02:37)

In combination with the deictic clitic *e*, which is used to contrast alternatives as in ‘one ... another one’, *ge* changes its phonemic shape to *giy-* so that the entire phrase formed by *ge* and *e* is spelled out as *giye*. The following example comes from a story in which a woman is forced to eat her dead lover, but then spews out his remains to resurrect him:

- (59) *bat-en mwe vyan ma giy=e, ly-en mwe vyan ma giy=e,*
 head-3S.POSS REAL go REAL be.like=ALT leg-3S.POSS REAL go REAL be.like=ALT
vy-an mwe vyan ma giy=e
 arm-3S.POSS REAL go REAL be.like=ALT
 ‘here came his head, there came his legs, there came his arms’ (sto47:80)

Another element which has the same distribution as the demonstratives *tak* and *te* is *vi* ‘which, what, where’, which is also described in section 4.1.4. In combination with *ge* as a

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

non-initial predicate, *vi* can introduce an embedded question as in (60)—see also section 8.2.2 for more on embedded questions.

- (60) *pun=an mu kuo ma ge=vi na vyanten mwe gene too*
 tell=NM REAL run REAL like=what COMP person REAL make garden
 ‘the story is about how to make a garden’ (lit. ‘the story goes it is like what that...’)
 (exp19:4)

By itself, *ge* ‘be like’ can only compare its subject to something referred to by demonstrative markers like *tak* or the interrogative marker *vi*.

For comparisons involving noun phrases or clauses, the preposition *myane* ‘with, to’ is used.

The subject of *ge* as a serial predicate is usually an event—the only exception is when *ge* is used by way of giving an example, on which more below. The object of the comparison can be given by a simple noun phrase or pronoun as in the following two examples. A structure like [NP_x VP *ma ge myane* NP_y] roughly means ‘the action carried out by *x* is like [the same action carried out by] *y*’. The following two examples illustrate this principle:

- (61) a. *krap mwe vyan te vyan toove nge ne yesukuo kyun, to kii buluwu*
 crab REAL go CONJ go cover 3S with leaves just REAL;NEG dig hole
ne ge myane tomo
 NEC be.like with rat
 ‘the crab went and just covered itself with leaves, it did not dig a hole like the rat had done’ (sto10:19)
- b. *ya mw=i manbush kyun ya to sesear wa ge myane er*
 3P REAL=COP savage just 3P REAL;NEG wear REAL be.like with 1P.IN
 ‘they were just savages, they weren’t dressed like us’ (rep08:41)

If the VP consists of a transitive verb and its object, a structure like [NP V NP_x *ma ge myane* NP_y] can also mean ‘the action performed on *x* is like [the same action performed on] *y*’ as in the following example:

- (62) *ya=m gomu lisepep, pisi, pisi ma ge myane barar*
 3P=REAL grab lisepep tie tie REAL be.like with pig
 ‘they grabbed the lisepep, tied him, tied him up like a pig’ (sto21:83)

The object of comparison can however also be given by a verb phrase or an entire clause. In the first case, the interpretation is that one action by a given subject is like a different action by the same subject. The latter case simply expresses that two events are alike, independent of whether the participants are the same or different. Both cases are illustrated in (63), first with a verb phrase (or TAM phrase) as the object of the comparison, then with a whole clause, which has to be introduced by the complementizer *na*:

- (63) a. *bwe kuu~kuu ma ge myane [bwe pepyap]*
 REAL;CONT REDUP~MOVE REAL be.like with REAL;CONT shiver
 ‘it moves like it’s shivering’ (exp08:85)

7.3. Multiple Marking Serial Predicates

- b. *kinye=m gene saó ne mer=an en=tak ma ge myane*
 1P.EX=REAL make ceremony TRANS dead=NM DEF=PROX REAL be.like with
[na ya=m gilye vyaven]
 COMP 3P=REAL buy woman
 ‘we do the burial ceremony the way a bride is bought’³ (con02:81)

Yet a different interpretation of a non-initial predicate with *ge myane* can be classified as *depictive* in the sense of Himmelmann and Schultze-Berndt [2005]: depictive serial predicates describe a participant of the initial predicate, not the event expressed by it, as for example in (64). Such depictive interpretations can also be found with a range of other non-initial predicates and are described in more detail below (see section 7.3.3).

- (64) *ma liye pepa, liye ∅-an pensil ma ge myane [na ko=m*
 REAL take paper take CL1-3S.POSS pencil REAL be.like with COMP 2S=REAL
liye=te]
 take=MED
 ‘he had paper and a pencil like the one you have’ (rep08:35)

For more on *myane* with complement clauses, see section 8.1.4.

A probably related and very frequent use of *ge myane* as a non-initial predicate is to give an example:

- (65) a. *ma tilya silitoo nyoo ma ge myane vis*
 REAL take old.crops 3P REAL be.like with banana
 ‘he takes crops from the old garden like for example banana’ (exp19:14)
 b. *suku-on vi mwe dyanga ma ge myane rapa, o klaket*
 stuff-3S.POSS white.man REAL lack REAL be.like with sandal or sandal
 ‘there were no western goods (lit. ‘things of the white man’) such as sandals or thongs’ (rep04:86)

To specify degrees of size, weight and similar properties, *ge* is also used as a non-initial predicate to the verb or adjective denoting the property, as in (66):

- (66) a. *Atuwo mwe myap ma ge=vi?*
 basket REAL heavy REAL be.like=which
 ‘How heavy is the basket?’
 b. *Byongkon mw=i towo ma ge myane vyanten en=tak*
 NAME REAL=COP big REAL be.like with person DEF=PROX
 ‘Byongkon is as big as this man.’

There are no measure words like *meter* or *kilo* in Daakaka. In general, dimensions are only given by way of comparison—the size of a house is compared to the size of another house, the size of a person is compared to the size of another person, as in (66) above. Not only are there no measure words, but it is also structurally hard to say something like ‘five meters long’. The

³Paying the bride price is another important ceremony on Ambrym. The example sentence means that the speakers consider the two ceremonies to be similar.

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

only way to incorporate loaned measure words from Bislama into a Daakaka sentence is to make the property—length, size, weight—the subject of the sentence and the measure word the predicate, as in (67):

- (67) a. *see lewewo mw=i faep mita*
 size.of bamboo REAL=COP five meter
 ‘the bamboo is five meters tall’ (lit. ‘the size of the bamboo is five meters’)
- b. *veop=an=ne lewewo mw=i faep mita*
 be.long=NМ=TRANS bamboo REAL=COP five meter
 ‘the bamboo is five meters long’ (lit. ‘the length of the bamboo is five meters’)

Another verb which compares two items in concordant marking constructions is *gigyen* ‘be the same’. In the following sentence, the clause in square brackets contains the initial predicate *we mwer~mwer* (POT short) and the non-initial predicate *wa gigyen* (POT the.same), which leads to the meaning ‘be equally short’ or ‘have the same length’:

- (68) *ra=m ta-ko~kote gili lewewo vyan [ka we mwer~mwer wa*
 1P.REAL=REAL cut.loose-REDUP~in.two end bamboo go MOD.REL POT REDUP~short POT
gigyen kevene]
 the.same every
 ‘we cut the ends of the bamboo so they will all have the same length’ (exp31:1)

Gigyen can also be a non-initial predicate to *ge* ‘be like’ to stress the degree of similarity, as in the following, negative comparison:

- (69) *mw=i bowa swa a s-an uni to ge myane basée wuoswa*
 REAL=COP worm one and CL3-3S.POSS nest REAL;NEG be.like with bird some
ni gigyen
 NEC the.same
 ‘it’s an insect, its nest is not exactly like/ the same as [the nests of] birds’ (exp50:22)

Like *nok* ‘be complete’ in the previous section *ge* ‘be like’ also plays an important role in structuring discourse, which is described further in section 9.2.2, from page 332.

Order of events

Two lexemes are used, often as a pair, to specify the order of events—what happens first, what happens later. They are the two adverbs *mo* ‘in front, first’ and *to* ‘behind, later’ (compare section 3.5.2). As adverbs, both lexemes need the copula to become predicates, initial as well as non-initial. A typical example is given in (70):

- (70) *ko=p pisya nye w=i mo we nok te nye na=p wet pisya ngok*
 2S=POT paint 1S POT=COP first POT finish CONJ 1S 1S=POT only.then paint 2S
w=i to
 POT=COP later
 ‘paint me first and then I will paint you afterwards’ (sto07:11)

7.3. Multiple Marking Serial Predicates

The two do not always occur as a pair, however, as shown in (71) and (72). The example in (71-a), which features only *mo* ‘be first’ is also interesting because it shows a superlative meaning and the transitivization of a complex phrase. The sentence in (71-b) is an example of polarity disagreement: In this case, if the non-initial predicate agreed in polarity with the initial negative realis marker, the interpretation would be ‘it was not the first to grow in Vanuatu’, instead of its actual interpretation which is ‘at first it didn’t grow in Vanuatu’.

- (71) a. *ma sóró mw=i [[mo ten]=ane] sye kevene*
 REAL talk REAL=COP first very=TRANS thing every
 ‘it is the very first to talk, before everything else’ (about a bird that starts to sing very early in the morning)
- b. *To luk Vanuatu mw=i mo.*
 REAL;NEG grow NAME REAL=COP first
 ‘It didn’t grow in Vanuatu at first.’ (con02:101)

For *to* ‘behind, after’, it is far less common than for *mo* ‘in front, first’ to occur without the other. In (72), the function of *mo* is instead taken up by *we*, which also signals that an event takes place early in a series of events (compare section 4.4.2, page 179):

- (72) *ma ka: “E, mwe pwer pyan bwitir a=te ngabak, ko w=en we a*
 REAL say INTJ REAL stay under leaf LOC=MED still 2S POT=eat first and
wet ane w=i to.”
 only.then eat POT=COP later
 ‘He said: “It’s still under the leaves, eat first and then eat [the bird] later.”’ (exp02:4)

In the examples given so far, it would be plausible to assume that the subjects of *mo* and *to* are events. The two adverbs can however also take individuals as subjects, as shown in (73):

- (73) *tyu na mw=i mo na te ling~ling*
 chicken COMP REAL=COP first COMP DIST REDUP~put
 ‘the first chicken that had offspring’ (lit. ‘the chicken which was first which had offspring’) (sto45:17)

This makes it hard to decide in many cases whether *mo* and *to* have the same subject as the initial predicate or take the event it denotes instead.

Manner

One function of concordant marking SPCs in Daakaka is to denote the manner in which an action takes place. Two prominent representatives of this function are *yas* ‘be strong’ and *maga* ‘fast, quick’:

- (74) a. *tan mu kuu~kuu mwe yas*
 ground REAL REDUP~move REAL strong
 ‘the ground was shaking strongly’ (sto25:111)

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

- b. *Yan wuoswa, ya=m kuowilye ka ya=p bivili yan apyang*
 on some 3P=REAL know MOD.COMP 3P=POT smoke(VTR) on fire
tevy-an ka we gaó wa maga.
 side.of-3S.POSS MOD.COMP POT dry POT fast
 ‘Sometimes, they might place it over a fire to make it dry fast.’ (exp20:6)

The two differ in that the subject of *yas* does not have to refer to an event, it can also refer to a person or an object as in (75):

- (75) a. *golin vy-an nyoo mwe yas*
 claw arm-3S.POSS 3P REAL strong
 ‘its claws are strong’ (exp02:142)
 b. *bu-on mwe yas*
 smell.of-3S.POSS REAL strong
 ‘its smell is strong’ (exp08:100)

In contrast to *yas*, *maga* is entirely restricted to subjects referring to events. Outside of serial verb constructions, this leaves only nominalized noun phrases as possible subjects. The following examples show that the property of being fast cannot be predicated directly of a referent like ‘car’ or ‘person’; instead, it has to be specified that it’s the car’s running, the person’s walking, which is fast.

- (76) a. *trak en=te s-an ku~kuo=an ma maga/ *trak en=te ma*
 car DEF=MED CL3-3S.POSS REDUP~RUN=NM REAL fast car DEF=MED REAL
maga
 fast
 ‘this car is fast’ (lit. ‘this car, it’s running is fast’)
 b. *vyanten en=te s-an oko=an ma maga/ *vyanten en=te ma*
 person DEF=MED CL3-3S.POSS walk=NM REAL fast person DEF=MED REAL
maga
 fast
 ‘this person walks fast.’ (lit. ‘this person, her walking is fast’)

These cases show clearly that there is no syntactic restriction against *maga* taking a noun phrase as subject, but that semantically, this subject noun phrase has to refer to an event.

Both *yas* ‘be strong’ and *penin* ‘roast’ can generally express that something is done with a high degree of intensity; in the context of verbs like *kuo* ‘run’, this can also mean high speed:

- (77) *ko-t kii-kuwu tuswa, te mu kuo mwe penin, mu kuo mwe yas*
 2S-DIST dig-out one CONJ REAL run REAL roast.pl REAL run REAL strong
 ‘if you dig one out, it speeds away like lightning, it runs very fast’ (exp50:128)

Other serial predicates relating to the manner of an action are *vu* ‘be good’, which can then be translated as ‘well’, ‘nicely’, or sometimes also ‘very’; and *myor* ‘be straight, be right’:

- (78) a. *‘daa’ mwe minim na s-an seepisya nyoo ma daa mu vu*
 shine REAL mean COMP CL3-3S.POSS make.up 3P REAL shine REAL good

- ‘*daa* means that its colors shine nicely’ (exp52:4)
- b. *mwe pwer tevy-an nat-en nyoo mwe gene ya=m pyang~pyang*
 REAL stay side.of-3S.POSS child-3S.POSS 3P REAL make 3P=REAL REDUP~hot
mu vu
 REAL good
 ‘she [the mother hen] stays with her children and makes them nice and warm’
 (exp02:168)

For a switched marking predicate expressing manner, see also page 283, in the section about *medó* ‘be slow’.

Completion

One of the most frequent verbs in multiple marking serial predicate constructions is *nok* ‘finish, end’. Its use as a main verb is shown in (79):

- (79) *te s-an meu=an mo nok, mwe mer*
 CONJ CL3-3S.POSS live=NM REAL finish REAL dead
 ‘and his life ended, he died’ (sto19:38)

In serial predicate constructions, it signals completion. In many cases, it can be translated as *already*:

- (80) a. *Ko=m en seaa Ø-ada mubuo mo nok?*
 2S=REAL eat all CL2-1D.IN.POSS meat REAL finish
 ‘Have you eaten all our meat?’ (sto19:38)
- b. *S-ok meteseli na vyer=tak ye=m ka kueli vyan Tonga mo*
 CL3-1S.POSS sister COMP four=PROX 3D=REAL fly return go NAME REAL
nok a nye na=m pwer.
 finish and 1S 1S=REAL stay
 ‘My four sisters have already flown back to Tonga, and I am still here.’ (sto44:24)

In the majority of cases, *nok* is used as a serial predicate to separate individual events in a sequence; accordingly, it is often followed by the conjunction *te* ‘and, then’:

- (81) *Reprepmalao mwe lyung~lyung mo nok te gae nge ne ye wovya*
 NAME REAL REDUP~bathe REAL finish CONJ rub 3S with leaf cottonwood
 ‘Reprepmalao had already bathed and rubbed himself dry with the leaves of a cotton-
 wood tree’ (sto33:35)

See also section 9.2.2, page 332 for more on the discourse function of *nok*.

Location

Locations are more typically specified by adverbs than by serial predicates. The two items which nevertheless feature in locative SPCs are the adverb *syoten* ‘far away’ and the verb *unun* ‘be far away’. Both are shown in their function as serial predicates in (82):

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

- (82) a. *bwilya mu kuo vyan mw=i syoten*
 rail REAL run go REAL=COP far.away
 ‘the rail ran far away’ (sto31:79)
- b. *barar mu bun ma unun*
 pig REAL grunt REAL be.far.away
 ‘the pig was grunting far away’ (sto24:128)

The verb *unun* is apparently restricted to serial predicate constructions, or at least to event subjects—it is not possible to say for example **na=m unun* (1S=REAL be.far.away) to express ‘I was far away’.

Sufficiency

The verb *wese* ‘be sufficient’ expresses that its subject is sufficient for a specific purpose; in most cases, this purpose is expressed by the complement clause to *wese*, but can also be represented by a deverbal noun phrase:

- (83) *temeli en=te [∅-an dom] to wese min kava=an*
 child REAL=DEM.MD CL3-3S.POSS year REAL;NEG be.enough drink kava=NM
 ‘this child is not old enough to drink kava’ (lit. ‘this child, his years are not enough for drinking kava’)

The following two examples show how *wese* is used as a non-initial predicate after an initial predicate denoting a property like ‘strong’ or ‘dry’ to express the notions ‘strong enough’ or ‘dry enough’.

- (84) *temeli mwe yas ma wese [ka we te vislee]*
 child REAL strong REAL be.enough MOD.COMP POT cut bow
 ‘the boy was strong enough to make a bow and arrows’ (sto22:24)
- (85) *or ka te gaó tu vu te wese [na apyang ka w=ane*
 bush SUBCONJ DIST dry DIST good DIST be.enough COMP fire MOD.REL POT=eat
te mwe vyan]....
 CONJ REAL go
 ‘When it has dried to a degree that allows for burning it, he goes...’ (exp19:10)

Duration

The verb *meep* ‘last long’ can only take events as subjects. This means it is predestined to occur mostly in serial predicate constructions such as in (86):

- (86) *temeli vyaven nya en=te syan=an wuk mwe nii pwer, pwer pwer vyan ma*
 child woman 3D DEF=MED other=DEF already REAL hide stay stay stay go REAL
meep
 last.long
 ‘of these girls, one went to hide, she stayed hidden for a long time’ (sto25:35)

- (87) *na=m tuwuli tevy-an ma meep te na bwet me tis syone*
 1S=REAL try side.of-3S.POSS REAL last.long CONJ 1S COS come write reach
 ‘I have been working on it for a long time before I managed to draw it’ (sto48:4)

Outside of serial predicate constructions, the only expressions which can serve as subjects to *meep* are deverbal nouns denoting events or similar, as in (88):

- (88) *s-an kolir=an ma meep*
 CL3-3S.POSS sing=NM REAL last.long
 ‘she sang for a long time’ (lit. ‘her singing lasted long’)

But even in these cases, it would be more natural to take the adjective *veop* ‘long’ instead of *meep*, thus: *san koliran ma veop*.

Possibility

A rare but interesting case is the usage of *kuowilye* ‘know, to be able to’ as a serial predicate to express possibilities (see also section 8.1 for more on expressions of possibility and ability):

- (89) *Mwe meu mo kuowilye ka wa sikya dom ves?*
 REAL live REAL KNOW MOD.COMP POT touch year how.much
 ‘How long can it live?’ (lit. ‘It lives it knows to reach how many years?’) (con01:117)

As in several other cases, there is a certain ambiguity about what the subject of *kuowilye* is, the subject of the first predicate or the event it denotes, that is, the living thing or its life.

7.3.2. Quantification

One rather prominent function of concordant marking SPCs is the quantification over events or their participants. The pair *towo* ‘big’ and *kekei* ‘small’ is often used in this function. It is often clear that they quantify not over participants of the initial predicate, but over the event it denotes. Thus, in the following examples, the predicate *towo* does obviously not take a subject or object of the initial predicate as its subject: In the first clause, it is not the bird which is big, but what it has produced; in the second clause, it is not ‘I’ who is great, but my suffering; and in the third example, again, it is neither ‘I’ nor ‘you’ who is great, but rather the subject’s gratitude:

- (90) a. *basée en=te mwe kyep~kyep mw=i towo*
 bird DEF=MED REAL REDUP~defecate REAL=COP big
 ‘this bird had defecated a lot’ (sto15:6)
- b. *na=m liyes mw=i towo ten*
 1S=REAL suffer REAL=COP big very
 ‘I am suffering greatly’
- c. *Tyu, na=m sipa myane ngok mw=i towo ten.*
 chicken 1S=REAL thank.you with 2S REAL=COP big very
 ‘Chicken, I thank you very much.’ (sto18:44)

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

In some other cases, however, the subject of *towo* ‘big’ might as well be taken to be a participant, not an event: Thus, in the first of the following two examples, it seems plausible to think that the object of the initial verb is the subject of the quantifying *towo* ‘big’; and in the second one, the subject of *towo* might be the same as the subject of the initial predicate, namely *da* ‘blood’.

- (91) a. *mo kuowilye sye mw=i towo ten*
 REAL know thing REAL=COP big very
 ‘he knew many things’ (sto05:9)
- b. *da mu kuo mw=i towo ten*
 blood REAL run REAL=COP big very
 ‘a lot of blood was running’ (rep11:51)

Similar arguments can be made for the corresponding cases with *kekei* ‘small’ instead of *towo*. Especially in the first of the following two examples, it is clear that the subject of *kekei* is not *ngok* ‘you’, the object of the preceding predicate, but that it is the event of touching whose extent is said to be small. Note also that in this case there is a further predicate *wa ke=vi* (POT be.like what), which further qualifies the predicate *wa kekei*, the combination of them meaning ‘however small’.

In the second example, it is less clear if *kekei* is a predicate to the event referred to by the initial predicate, or to the object of the initial verb, *marijuana*.

- (92) a. *ka ye-tye wa sikya ngok wa kekei wa ke=vi pwer a*
 SUBCONJ leaf-3POSS POT touch 2S POT small POT be.like=what stay and
ko=m ongane mwe sóó
 2S=REAL hear REAL itch
 ‘however little its leaves touch you, you feel how it burns’ (exp10:13)
- b. *ye=m dange mariuana ma kekei vyan yen mees en=te*
 3PC=REAL pour marijuana REAL small go in food DEF=MED
 ‘they put a little marijuana into this food’ (con02:128)

Another quantifying serial predicate is the expression *pwis* ‘be numerous’. In contrast to most serial verbs, this expression can not only be used *after* a initial verb phrase as in (93-a), but can also be the first predicate in a serial construction such as in (93-b):

- (93) a. *temeli mwe pyen pyen vyan vinye baséé mwe pwis*
 child REAL shoot shoot go shoot bird REAL be.plentiful
 ‘the boy shot many birds’ (sto22:25)
- b. *Yan webung en=te sye mwe pwis mwe happen.*
 on day DEF=MED something REAL be.plentiful REAL happen
 ‘Many things took place on that day.’ (rep16:6)

This is a strong indication that here, the subject of the quantification is indeed given by the syntactic subject *sye* ‘thing’. These cases are also reminiscent of attributive or depictive serial predicate constructions described below on page 278. Even so, as with all other types of multiple marking SPCs, the only possible form of the TAM marker is the third person singular

7.3. Multiple Marking Serial Predicates

form, independent of the actual number of the subject. There can be no plural subject pronoun to which the TAM marker cliticizes. If the subject of *pwis* is given by a plural pronoun, *pwis* cannot be used as a serial predicate, as illustrated below: The complementizer *na*, which introduces the relative clause, is obligatory here.

- (94) *vyanten nyoo [na ya=m pwis] apyaló ma tilya nyoo ya=m vyan*
 person 3P COMP 3P=REAL be.plentiful ship REAL take 3P 3P=REAL go
Teveltes
 Malekula
 ‘many men were taken to Malekula by a ship’ (rep04:18)

The subject of *pwis* here is the third person plural pronoun *ya*, which is coreferential with the plural noun phrase *vyanten nyoo*. The entire phrase *ya=m pwis* is obligatorily embedded in a relative clause introduced by the complementizer *na*, which means that serial predicates cannot contain subject pronouns.

The verb *puo* is synonymous with *pwis* and mostly interchangeable, although in practice, *pwis* is mostly used as a serial predicate, while *puo* is almost exclusively used as a main predicate.

Two other quantifying expressions do not refer to the number of their subjects but rather denote a portion of their subjects. They are the switched-marking predicate *kop~kop* (REDUP~be.full) ‘be whole’, which is described on page 282; and *yaa* ‘be half’, which might be a multiple marking or a switched-marking predicate, since I only have the following example:

- (95) *na=m esi buk mwe yaa kyun*
 1S=REAL see book REAL be.half only
 ‘I have only read half the book’

Concluding this section, I will discuss the role of numerals in quantifying serial verb constructions. Numerals can be non-initial predicates in combination with the copula and a concordant marking TAM marker as shown in the following examples:

- (96) a. *ye=m gene raon mw=i sii*
 3PC=REAL make round REAL=COP three
 ‘they made three rounds’ (rep08:61)
 b. *ma tilya tyu mw=i ló*
 REAL take chicken REAL=COP two
 ‘she took the two chickens’ (sto34:9)
 c. *Séngane pelet w=i ló!*
 give plate POT=COP two
 ‘Bring two plates!’

In many cases, numerals can directly be used as nominal quantifiers, without the more complex serial predication:

- (97) *Bongmalip ma óte barar (mw=i) ló.*
 NAME REAL hunt pig REAL=COP two

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

‘Bongmalip has hunted two pigs.’

In some cases, however, only the serial predication is clearly accepted by speakers. One such case is the following, in which the non-initial predicate *mwi ló* (REAL=COP two) is followed by yet another serial predicate, *ma sukuo* (REAL together):

- (98) *ya=m tu [mw=i ló] [ma sukuo] te ya=m tataraa yan belor nyoo*
 3P=REAL hit REAL=COP two REAL be.together CONJ 3P=REAL slide on slope 3P
 ‘they nail two [coconut leaves] together and then they slide down a hill’ (exp09:46)

Another example is (99), where the numeral *ló* ‘two’ is reduplicated. Here, the reduplication indicates a distributive interpretation: from a mass of narrow stripes made from leaves, all stripes were woven into braids of two stripes each.

- (99) *ya=m sewete=ne mw=i ló~ló, mo nok te sewete=ne ma*
 3P=REAL join=TRANS REAL=COP REDUP~two REAL finish CONJ join=TRANS REAL
sukuo, te wet vyate
 be.together CONJ only.then weave
 ‘they join pairs of stripes together, then they join them all together, then they weave them’ (exp20:8)

7.3.3. Depictive constructions

In quite a number of cases, one of the predicates expresses a property of one of the participants. In contrast to the cases described in the previous section about resultative constructions, the property referred to by the non-initial predicate does not come about as a result of the action denoted by the first predicate:

- (100) a. *ma ngase bwee vini-sye mwe kyes~kyes*
 REAL chew shell.of husk-3POSS REAL REDUP~sweet
 ‘they chew its sweet husk’ (exp09:78)
- b. *mwe vyose nat-en ma vi~vi*
 REAL carry child.of-3S.POSS REAL REDUP~new
 ‘she carried her newborn child’ (rep10:4)
- c. *Mwe me i vyanten swa ma pupwer.*
 REAL come COP person one REAL lie.on.back
 ‘It turned into a man who was lying down.’ (lit. ‘It turned into a man it was lying down.’) (sto47:89)
- d. *Yan swa ka ta ane mees swa te sanga yen tes, te wa kuowilye*
 on one SUBCONJ DIST eat food one DIST bad in sea CONJ POT know
ka wa tiye ngok
 MOD.COMP POT kill 2S
 ‘Sometimes, when it has eaten bad food in the sea, it can hurt you.’ (exp07:147)

The difference between a depictive serial verb as opposed to an adnominal attribute appears to affect mostly information structure. In cases like (101), the use of a non-initial predicate

instead of an adjective reflects a semantic difference similar to the one between *he ate his raw fish* and *he ate his fish raw*:

- (101) *kana=m pipine mesyu te nge ma ane ∅-an mwe myar~myar*
 1D.EX=REAL share fish CONJ 3S REAL eat CL2-3S.POSS REAL REDUP~be.raw
 ‘we were sharing the fish, and he was eating his [fish] raw’ (rep03:55)

7.4. Switched Marking Predicates

7.4.1. Intransitive

Pwer and *du*: ‘stay’

The two verbs *pwer* and *du* are a polysemous pair with quite a variety of different functions in the language. They are both full verbs meaning ‘stay, to be (at), to exist’, they are auxiliaries marking continuous aspect, and they also play a role in switched marking constructions, to which we turn here. The two differ in that *pwer* is restricted to singular subjects while *du* is restricted to plural subjects (compare section 3.2.2).

Intransitive initial predicates are often verbs of motion, and *pwer* and *du* then specify the location where the movement comes to a halt:

- (102) a. *ya=m en-siline vyanten nya en=te, bosine nya kyun bwet*
 3P=REAL eat-finish person 3D DEF=MED bone=TRANS 3D just COS
tesu du pyan em
 fall.down(ITR) stay under house
 ‘they ate the two people entirely, only their bones fell down and stayed in the house’ (sto34:83)
- b. *ma polo pwer yan lee te ka: “Yevyo, yevyo, tang~tang yan*
 REAL climb(ITR) stay at tree CONJ say turtle turtle REDUP~touch on
bat-om!”
 head-2S.POSS
 ‘he climbed onto a tree and said: “Turtle, turtle, touch your head!”’ (sto35:39)

A second type of verb often followed by *pwer* or *du* denotes actions of hiding or similar, as in (103):

- (103) a. *Masisipe mwe me te me nü pwer*
 NAME REAL come CONJ come hide(ITR) stay
 ‘Masisipe came and hid’ (sto43:11)
- b. *mwe toowe kyu te yung pwer ma ge-te kyun te*
 REAL cover surround CONJ quiet(ITR) stay REAL be.like-MED just CONJ
saakuokuo te me i bwii
 change CONJ come COP butterfly
 ‘it covers itself up and it stays quiet like this and then it changes and becomes a butterfly’ (exp08:178)

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

Transitive verbs followed by *pwer* and *du* usually denote an action of transport, like *lingi* ‘put’. The non-initial *pwer* and *du* then express that the object of the transport comes to a rest. Other likely initial predicates are verbs meaning ‘keep’ or verbs of creation like ‘write’ below:

- (104) a. *mwe syo-kuwu s-an ekaakaa te lingi mu du*
 REAL take-out CL3-3S.POSS clothes CONJ put(TR) REAL stay
 ‘he undressed and left his clothes there’ (sto37:123)
- b. *ra=m gum-kate s-ar du=an myató mwe pwer*
 1P.IN=REAL hold.tight-firm(TR) CL3-1.IN.POSS stay=NM old REAL stay
 ‘we keep our tradition firmly’ (exp06:58)
- c. *Ka na=p sóró usili ane tis na na=m tisi mwe*
 MOD.REL 1S=POT talk follow TRANS writing COMP 1S=REAL write(TR) REAL
pwer=tak.
 stay=PROX
 ‘I will talk about the drawing which I have drawn here.’ (exp14:1)

With transitive initial verbs as well as with intransitive ones, *pwer/du* can be extended by an adverbial phrase to specify the location of its subject:

- (105) a. *da=p vyan te molisi we pwer [myane ada ivyo], te ane*
 1D.IN=POT go CONJ bake(TR) POT stay with 1D.IN cabbage CONJ eat
pyaavep
 afternoon
 ‘let’s go and bake [the bird] first with our greens and then eat it in the afternoon’
 (sto14:10)
- b. *ya=m teveni sye mu du [a=te yen tan]*
 3P=REAL bury(TR) thing REAL stay LOC=MED in ground
 ‘they have buried something there in the ground’ (con01:122)

Sukuo: ‘be together’

Another frequent switched marking predicate is *sukuo* ‘be together’. The examples in (106) show it with intransitive initial verbs, while (107) features a transitive initial verb:

- (106) a. *ya=m du bangbang sukuo ma ge=te kyun*
 3P=REAL stay play(ITR) be.together REAL be.like=MED just
 ‘they’re just playing together like that’ (exp01:66)
- b. *vyanten ane vilye en=te ya=m sóró sukuo ka ya=p*
 person TRANS place DEF=MED 3P=REAL talk(ITR) be.together MOD.REL 3P=POT
tas tene tevy-an ka ya=p tiye vyanten en=te
 sit wait side.of-3S.POSS MOD.COMP 3P=POT kill person DEF=MED
 ‘the people of this place agreed to wait to kill this man’ (sto05:7)
- (107) *Yaase wotop an vi myane vis myen wa sukuo.*
 turn(TR) breadfruit 3S.POSS white.man with banana ripe POT be.together
 ‘Mix the papaya with the banana.’ (exp22:12)

The examples in (108) illustrate how *sukuo* is used as a non-initial predicate after a copular initial predicate. In such cases, the non-initial switched marking predicate behaves as with transitive initial predicates, that is, it is preceded by another TAM marker. Also note how, in connection with quantifying predicates, the interpretation of *sukuo* depends very much on the context, as illustrated by the difference between the following two examples:

- (108) a. *na=m tilya gyes=an mw=i sii ma sukuo*
 1S=REAL take work=NM REAL=COP three REAL be.together
 ‘I had three professions altogether’ (rep01:18)
- b. *te ya=m takote bwenges en=te, ya=m tu mw=i ló ma*
 CONJ 3P=REAL cut.loose branch DEF=MED 3P=REAL hit REAL=COP two REAL
sukuo te ya=m tataraa yan belor nyoo
 be.together CONJ 3P=REAL slide on slope 3P
 ‘they cut these [coconut leaves], they nail two together and then they slide down
 a hill’ (exp09:46)

Myor: ‘be straight’

As a serial predicate, the verb *myor* ‘be straight, be right’⁴ typically expresses the result of an action. Thus, the first of the following two examples expresses that the object of the first verb *ta-kote* (cut-in.two) is straight as a result of the cutting. In the second example, the object of the first verb lands directly in a child’s mouth as the result of his mother’s action:

- (109) a. *ra=m vyan ta-kote mwe myor*
 1P.IN=REAL go cut-in.two(V.TR) REAL be.straight
 ‘we cut it down straight’ (exp15:7)
- b. *mwe lingi mwe myor=ane bung-un*
 REAL put(V.TR) come be.straight=TRANS mouth-3S.POSS
 ‘then she put [the banana] directly into his mouth’ (sto22:17)

Myor can also be used with semitransitive verbs in single marking transitivized predicates as in *doko(SEMTR) myor=ane* (pull be.straight=TRANS) ‘pull sth. the right way’ or *sesa myor=ane* (reach.out(SEMTR) be.straight=TRANS) ‘reach straight for sth.’.

Bup: ‘tumble’

The literal meaning of the verb *bup* is ‘tumble, topple over’ as in the following example:

- (110) *ekuokuo mu bup*
 car REAL tumble
 ‘the car tumbled over’

As a non-initial verb in a serial construction with an intransitive initial predicate, *bup* expresses that the action described by the first verb is carried out in a weird, clumsy and inappropriate

⁴This word refers both to the right side of the body (or a different entity of reference) and to the notion of ‘being right’ as opposed to ‘being wrong’.

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

manner. Examples are *sóró bup* (speak tumble), which covers all kinds of mistakes in speech, from mispronunciations to mixing up words; or *oko bup* (walk tumble) which roughly means walking somewhere in a round-about fashion. *Bup* also features in transitivized serial predicates such as in (111):

- (111) *ma ling bup=ane ding*
 REAL put tumble=TRANS mat
 ‘she/ he put the mat the wrong way up, with the wrong side facing up’

Kop: ‘be full’

The verb *kop* means ‘be full’; its reduplicated form means ‘be whole’ as illustrated by the following sentence:

- (112) *te un by-en mo kop~kop mu vu, mu du kyu*
 CONJ skin body-3S.POSS REAL REDUP~be.full REAL good REAL stay surround
 ‘the skin was whole and well and surrounded [the bones]’ (sto47:88)

It occurs as a non-initial verb after the semitransitive verbs *en* ‘eat’ and *min* ‘drink’ to express that the subject of the eating or drinking is full and satisfied as a result. It is polite to refuse an offer to take more food by saying *na=m en kop* (1S=REAL eat be.full) ‘I am full’. The reduplicated form *kop~kop* can also be used as a serial predicate as in the following example:

- (113) a. *mwe pwer webung swa mo kop~kop*
 REAL stay day one REAL REDUP~be.full
 ‘it lasted through the whole day’ (sto34:32)
- b. *ye=m me vyan gene s-an usi=an mo kop~kop te*
 3D=REAL come go make CL3-3S.POSS ask=NM REAL REDUP~be.full CONJ
ya=m sèngane gyes=an myane
 3P=REAL give work=NM with
 ‘they went and completed his studies and then he was given work’ (sto18:70)

With a semitransitive initial predicate, *kop~kop* can also be used in transitivized serial predicates:

- (114) *ma ane te to kyer-veni mwe en kop~kop=ane kyun*
 REAL eat CONJ REAL;NEG bite-dead REAL eat REDUP~be.full=TRANS just
 ‘he ate him but he did not bite him dead, he just swallowed him whole’ (sto13:32)

Here, *kop~kop* ‘whole’ refers to the state of the object rather than the manner of the event. Similar (depictive) meanings of serial predicates are described on page 278.

Mesaa: ‘clear’

A number of adjectives also count among the switched marking predicates. They include *mesaa* ‘clear, clean, smooth’ and *medó* ‘slow’. The following two examples illustrate how *mesaa* is used in a transitivized serialization and with a transitive initial verb respectively:

7.4. Switched Marking Predicates

- (115) ... *wet vyo mesaa=ne, ao mw=i bat-en temyar an mesaa*
 only.then take(SEMTR) clear=TRANS yes REAL=COP head-3S.POSS demon DEF smooth
kyun
 just
 'he removes [the costume] from [the mask] and this just leaves the naked face of the
 demon' (lit. 'he takes it clear') (exp40:8)
- (116) *te ye=m towaase wou kekei en=te ma mesaa mu vu*
 CONJ 3PC=REAL clean(TR) hill small DEF=MED REAL clear REAL good
 'they clear this small hill well' (lit. 'they clear this small hill it is clear it is good')
 (exp29:32)

Medó: 'be slow'

In contrast to the semantically similar adjective *maga* 'fast', the class one adjective *medó* 'slow' can be a predicate of individuals as well as of events, as can be seen by utterances like: *e, ko=p medó* (hey 2S=POT slow) 'slow down!'

Its use as a non-initial predicate both with simple and complex initial predicates is illustrated below:

- (117) a. *ye=m du só~sóró a du oko medó*
 3D=REAL stay REDUP~talk and stay walk(ITR) slow
 'they were talking and they were walking slowly' (con01:101)
- b. *ma oko ne trak ma medó*
 REAL walk with car REAL slow
 'he drove the car/ went by car slowly'

7.4.2. Transitives

Save: comparisons

To express comparisons, the verb *save* 'pass, to walk past' is used as a serial predicate. Together with motion verbs like *vyan* go or *syoo* 'pass through', it retains its literal spatial meaning of going further than the place denoted by its object:

- (118) *ye=m dyunga syoo save ar=an na bwe kolir ar=an*
 3D=REAL just go.through pass LOC=DEF COMP REAL;CONT sing LOC=DEF
 'they had just passed the place where he was singing' (sto25:88)

In connection with predicates referring to an activity or attribute however, *save* expresses that the predicate's subject bests the object of *save* with regard to this activity or attribute.

- (119) a. *myanmyadung mw=i mesyu swa sa mwe ku~kuo save mesyu sea yen*
 swordfish REAL=COP fish one CM REAL REDUP~run pass fish every in
bwili tes
 hole sea

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

- ‘the swordfish is a fish which is faster than all the other fishes in the sea’
(sto11:2)
- b. *l6-6 mw=i lee swa sa mu vu save lee ke~kevene*
plant-coconut REAL=COP tree one CM REAL good pass tree REDUP~every
‘the coconut palm is a tree which is better than all other trees’ (exp09:3)

With complex (transitive) initial predicates, *save* can be used just as well:

- (120) a. *na=m ane webir, a kumala na=m dimyane ma save ngabak*
1S=REAL eat taro and sweet.potato 1S=REAL want(TR) REAL pass still
‘I eat taro, but I like eating sweet potato even more/ I like eating sweet potato more than taro’
- b. *Bongmyal mwe [en webir] ma save Steven*
NAME REAL eat(SEMTR) taro REAL pass NAME
‘Bongmyal likes eating taro more than Steven’

Syone: ‘reach’

The lexeme *syone* ‘reach, touch’ occurs almost exclusively as a serial verb and is therefore close to the class of verbal suffixes described in section 3.2.4. It is probably the transitive version of the semitransitive root *syo* ‘take’, which mostly occurs in combination with a suffix such as in *syo-kuwu* (take-out) ‘take out’.

Its collocates are varied and its meaning extends well beyond a purely physical event of touching. Example phrases include *pyen syone* (shoot reach) ‘shoot at and hit sth.’, *nyur syone* (think reach) ‘think of sth., realize sth.’, and *tée syone* (look reach) ‘behold sth.’ *Syone* can combine both with intransitive verbs and with semitransitive ones such as *tyup* ‘fight, hit’.

The following example contains two serial verb constructions with *syone* at once:

- (121) *ko=t oko syone te mo kuowilye ka tii ngok, ka te*
2S=DIST walk reach CONJ REAL know MOD.COMP needle(V) 2S SUBCONJ DIST
tii syone ngok te ko=m kuowilye ka ko=p pwe pyan
needle(V) reach 2S CONJ 2S=REAL know MOD.COMP 2S=POT CONT under
lopital
hospital
‘when you step on it, it can sting you, when it stings you, you may (have to) go to the hospital’ (exp07:189)

Syute: ‘hit’

The meaning of *syute* is similar to *syone* above, but the crucial difference is that *syone* always implies that something is hit deliberately, whereas with *syute*, the object may also be hit by mere accident. Thus, in (122), the collision between the subject’s hand and the house does not result from a planned movement:

- (122) *ma towane vy-an ma ge=tak kyun, vy-an mwe syute*
 REAL throw hand.of-3S.POSS REAL be.like=PROX just arm-3S.POSS REAL hit
em m-e misy-uk Blaise
 house CL1-POSS uncle-1S.POSS NAME
 ‘he was flailing his arms like this and hit the house of my uncle Blaise’ (con01:94)

Accordingly, the most frequent co-occurring initial verb is *mur* as for example in (123), where the event of hitting the ground is obviously not the result of a careful aiming process:

- (123) *mu mur syute tan, mer*
 REAL fall hit ground dead
 ‘he fell to the ground and died’ (sto33:86)

Similarly, the phrase *pyen syute* (shoot hit) ‘shoot sth.’ expresses that something is hit as a result of the shooting, but not necessarily on purpose. Other elicited examples are *kuo syute vyor* (run hit stone) ‘stumble on a stone while running’ or *ka syute lee* ‘fly against a tree’.

7.4.3. Copular

The copula *i* is very versatile as a non-initial predicate. The only attested intransitive initial verb it combines with is *me* ‘come’, the sequence *me i* (come COPULA) means ‘become’:

- (124) a. *a ly-en mwe dyun vyan yen tes mwe me i vyor*
 and leg-3S.POSS REAL drown go in sea REAL come COP stone
 ‘and his legs have sunk into the sea and become stone’ (sto48:25)
- b. *Barar en=te mwe me i towo te vyap myato en=te ma*
 pig DEF=MED REAL come COP big CONJ old.woman old DEF=MED REAL
lingi barar en=te yen biyep.
 put pig DEF=MED in fence
 ‘This pig became big and then the venerable woman put it into a pen.’ (sto41:18)

Similar meanings with *me* as an initial verb can however also be expressed without the copula, if the non-initial predicate is a verb or adjective:

- (125) *Te vyor ma ane te mwe me ma ga~gaó.*
 CONJ stone REAL eat CONJ REAL come REAL REDUP~dry
 ‘And the stone burns it and it becomes dry.’ (exp17:56)

Nouns in combination with the copula are used quite frequently in resultative constructions, where the subject affects an object and as a result the object acquires the property denoted by the noun. The example in (126) is about the black trunk of a fully grown tree fern, which is used to carve the famous man-shaped statues called *myage*. The clause could be paraphrased as *they cut it, it is a statue*:

- (126) *mwe gene nena, mwe te mw=i myage*
 REAL make face REAL cut REAL=COP carving

7. Serial Predicate Constructions

‘they make a face, they carve a statue from it [the hairy trunk of a tree fern]’
(exp12:30)

The structure [COPULA Noun] sometimes does not express the result of an action, but rather means ‘(to use sth.) as [NOUN]’, as in (127):

- (127) a. *mu kuowilye na mwe tewes syuksyuk ane mw=i etewes*
REAL know COMP REAL sweep rubbish with REAL=COP broom
‘one can sweep away rubbish with it as a broom’ (exp09:50)
- b. *webung wuoswa, vyanten mo kuowilye ka wa mini ye*
day some person REAL know MOD.COMP POT drink leaf.of
wovya w=i yesukuo
cottonwood POT=COP leaves
‘sometimes, people will drink the leaves of the cottonwood as [tea] leaves’
(exp15:35)

In contrast to single marking SPCs, multiple and switched marking SPCs do not usually introduce new participants into a clause. The exception is the copula in combination with possessive pronouns or linkers. These constructions introduce a recipient or beneficiary to a predicate.

In some of these cases, the subject of the copula is the object of the preceding verb. Thus the example in (128) could be paraphrased as *they held a prayer, it (the prayer) was for all the women*. Example (129) is similar.

- (128) *ya=m gene bwii=an swa mw=i s-an vyaven nyoo seaa*
3P=REAL make close.eyes=NM one REAL=COP CL3-AL.P woman 3P every
‘they held a prayer for all the women’ (rep16:14)
- (129) *webung swa yaapu swa mwe pwer vyan te mwe nyur~nyur=ane*
day one big.man one REAL stay go CONJ REAL REDUP~think=TRANS
[ka we gene sye tuswa ka w=i s-e nat-en]
MOD.COMP POT make thing one MOD.REL POT=COP CL3-AL.E child-3S.POSS
‘one day, a man planned to make something for his child’ (exp14:7)

In some other cases, however, the subject of the copula is not coreferential with any previously introduced noun phrase:

- (130) *ka nge mw=i myato an, na=p vyan gyes w=i s-an*
say 3S REAL=COP right COMPARE 1S=POT go work POT=COP CL3-3S.POSS
‘he’s older (than me), I’ll work for him’ (lit. ‘I’ll work it will be his’) (con02:41)
- (131) *ya=m ka sipa mw=i s-an*
3P=REAL say thank.you REAL=COP CL3-3S.POSS
‘they thanked him’ (sto18:73)

In cases such as these, it is clear that the subject of the non-initial predicate is the event denoted by the initial predicate rather than any of its arguments. For more on possession and benefactive meanings, see also section 4.1.3 and page 68.

7.4. Switched Marking Predicates

A similar meaning is expressed by a combination of the copula with the preposition *ten* ‘for’. This combination is not restricted to serial predicate constructions but occurs in that context quite frequently. *Ten* is among the prepositions which can also take complement clauses as arguments, in addition to noun phrases—see page 165 and section 8.1.4.

- (132) a. *ya=m lingi milye mw=i ten tulup*
 3P=REAL put on.top REAL=COP for ridge
 ‘they put it on top of [the house] for the roof’ (exp09:73)
- b. *ko=m gene en=te mw=i ten sewe?*
 2S=REAL make DEF=MED REAL=COP for what
 ‘what are you doing this for?’ (sto33:45)

Finally, copular non-initial predicates are also used to give a purely hypothetical example of something. Notably, this use is also inevitably tied to the potential marker—see also section 5.3.1 for more on hypothetical interpretations of this TAM marker.

The term which is given as example can be a noun phrase such as *evis swa* ‘bundle of bananas’ in (133):

- (133) *te timy-an t-en yas-en ma ka ye=p tiye tyu*
 CONJ father.of-3S.POSS and-3S.POSS mother-3S.POSS REAL say 3D=POT kill chicken
swa a vyose dom swa mwede w=i evis swa
 one and carry yam one or POT=COP banana.bundle one
 ‘the father and the mother will kill a chicken and bring a yam or for example a bundle of bananas’ (exp06:14)

But it can also be an adverb of location or of time, as in the following two examples. Note that in (135), the adverb *doma* ‘today’ is used to index a specific day in order to express the idea of ‘on the same day’, which would otherwise be hard to phrase.

- (134) *vyanten swa ma dimyane ka we vyan w=i Malekula o Paama o*
 person one REAL want MOD.COMP POT go POT=COP NAME OR NAME OR
Epi, o Vila te mwe vyan...
 NAME OR NAME CONJ REAL go
 ‘someone wants to go to Malekula or Paama or Epi, or Vila, then he goes...’ (exp04:12)
- (135) *syant=an, ka we vyan w=i doma te mo kuowilye ka we*
 other=DEF MOD.REL POT go POT=COP today CONJ REAL know MOD.COMP POT
vyan doma, kueli me doma tetes kyun.
 go today return come today again just
 ‘another one, if for example he wants to go today, he can go today and return today again’ (exp04:5)

8. Subordinate Clauses

8.1. Complement Clauses

8.1.1. Overview

In principle, it seems that every transitive or transitivized verb phrase can take a subordinate clause as an argument, as long as this makes sense semantically. Thus serial predicates like *myan silye* ‘laugh at’ and *tas tene* ‘wait for’ mostly take noun phrases as objects, but they occasionally also take complement clauses:

- (1) a. *na bwe myan silye na da=m du me kyun,...*
1S REAL;CONT laugh pluck COMP 1D.IN=REAL stay come just
‘I’m just laughing because we’re walking, ...’ (lit. ‘I’m laughing at that we’re walking’) (sto06:21)
- b. *ya=m te, ta-ku~kuwu lee tas tene na or ma gaó...*
3P=REAL cut cut-REDUP~out tree sit wait COMP bush REAL dry
‘they cut out the trees, wait until the [dead plants] have dried...’ (lit. ‘wait for that...’) (exp19:9)

The majority of complement clauses however are selected by verbs from one of several specific semantic domains, such as perception (‘see that...’, ‘hear that...’), mental states (‘know that...’, ‘think that...’) or similar. These are described in more detail below. All verbs that can take complement clauses can also take noun phrases as arguments.

Likewise, a few prepositions can also take subordinate clauses as complements. A structure consisting of a preposition plus a complement functionally corresponds to an adverbial clause expressing for example the cause or purpose of an event. Various adverbial notions are expressed by adverbs modified by relative clauses, as described in section 8.4.3.

8.1.2. Complementizers: *na* vs. *ka*

There are two different complementizers in Daakaka, *na* and *ka*. The difference between them can be described in terms of finiteness and factuality, with *na* taking finite, factual clauses as complements and *ka* non-finite and counterfactual ones. But this is only a tentative characterization which needs to be fleshed out in terms of the TAM markers and clause types that co-occur with the complementizers. Note also that *ka* is a polysemous morpheme: one related version is used to make clauses in potential and necessity mood into finite assertions rather than directives—I refer to this function as a *modal relator* (see sections 5.3, 5.3.2 and 5.4); another one is a subordinating conjunction which introduces conditional and temporal adverbial clauses (see section 8.3 below).

8. Subordinate Clauses

In general, only *na* can introduce a clause in realis mood. Only *ka*_{COMP} can take a non-finite clause in potential mood; *na* can take clauses in potential mood only if they are finite, that is only if they are preceded by a modal relator—remember that without one of the modal relators *ka*_{MOD.REL} or *saka*_{MOD.REL}, a clause in potential mood is a directive, not an assertion (see section 5.3). The interpretation of the subordinating verb often depends on the nature of the complement clause. These observations are illustrated by the following examples:

- (2) a. *Na=m dimyane ka na=p pwer Vila.*
 1S=REAL want MOD.COMP 1S=POT stay Vila
 ‘I want to be in Vila.’
- b. *Na=m dimyane na/ *ka na=m pwer Vila.*
 1S=REAL want COMP/ MOD.COMP 1S=REAL stay Vila
 ‘I like (the fact) that I am in Vila.’
- c. *Na=m dimyane na ka na=p pwer Vila.*
 1S=REAL want COMP MOD.REL 1S=POT stay Vila
 ‘I like (the fact) that I will be in Vila.’
- (3) a. *Mo kuowilye ka we ka.*
 REAL know MOD.COMP POT fly
 ‘She/ he/ it can fly.’
- b. *Mo kuowilye na/ *ka mwe ka.*
 REAL know COMP/ MOD.COMP REAL fly
 ‘She/ he/ it knows that she/ he/ it flies.’ (the subject of ‘know’ may or may not be coreferential with the subject of ‘fly’)
- c. *mo kuowilye na ka we ka*
 REAL know COMP MOD.REL POT fly
 ‘He/ she/ it knows that he/ she/ it will fly’

Both complementizers can take clauses in distal mood, but the interpretations are different: If *na* takes a clause in distal mood, the interpretation is distant past—something used to be the case but has changed since; with *ka*_{COMP}, a distal marker is interpreted as counterfactual.

- (4) a. *yap myató nyosi sii ye=m ka na myaop te pwer Maskilin*
 old.man old 3PC three 3PC=REAL say COMP volcano DIST stay NAME
 ‘the old ones said the volcano used to be on Maskilin’ (and the speaker found this to be true) (exp19:9)
- b. *nat-en man ma dimye ka t=i s-an meteseli*
 child-3S.POSS male REAL think MOD.COMP DIST=COP CL3-3S.POSS sister
 ‘his son thinks she was his sister’ (which she is not) (exp27:22)

The mood of a *na* complement clause is largely independent from the polarity of the subordinating predicate; by contrast, if the subordinating predicate is negative, a *ka* complement clause has to be in negative potential mood (compare section 5.3.2):

- (5) a. *bili na mwe mer te san bivian to kuowilye na mwe mer*
 time COMP REAL dead CONJ 3S.POSS friend REAL;NEG know COMP REAL dead
 ‘when he died, his friend didn’t know that he had died’

- b. *a to wet kuowilye ka bat-en ne téé vyan milye*
 and REAL;NEG only.then know fly head-3S.POSS NEC look go on.top
 ‘and he couldn’t bring his head up anymore’ (lit. ‘he didn’t know anymore for his head to look up’) (rep03:20)

If the subordinating verb itself is preceded by a potential marker rather than a realis marker, the complement clause will usually also be in potential mood and the complementizer used here is then *ka*:

- (6) a. *ka ko w=esi ka we ko eya nyoo*
 MOD.REL 2S POT=SEE MOD.COMP POT race white-eye 3P
 ‘you can see it chase away the white-eye’ (exp01:10)
- b. *ka si=p wet ongane ka we ka sewe*
 say 1PC.IN=POT only.then hear MOD.COMP POT say what
 ‘we will just listen to what he says’ (lit. ‘we will hear that he says what’)(rep08:48)

Similarly, when the subordinating verb is itself in a temporal or conditional clause in distal mood, the complement clause will also be in distal mood and will be introduced by *ka* instead of *na*. The subordinating conjunction *ka* may also be repeated in the complement clause, as in (7-b):

- (7) a. *ka ko=t vyan pwer or tuswa ka ko=t ongane ka*
 SUBCONJ 2S=DIST go stay place one SUBCONJ 2S=DIST hear MOD.COMP
om te nek, ...
 2S.EM DIST fear
 ‘when you go somewhere, when you feel frightened, ...’ (exp10:28)
- b. *ka ko=t esi ka booli vyor swa ka te pwer a=te, ...*
 SUBCONJ 2S=DIST see MOD.COMP hole stone one SUBCONJ DIST stay LOC=MED
 ‘if you see a hole in a stone there, ...’ (exp07:122)

Finally, the open polarity marker *doo* can also head a complement clause introduced by *ka*, although its rareness does not allow for a more qualified account.

- (8) *ma ka: “Sye swa sa bwe me=te ka da=p du ongane ka*
 REAL say thing one CM REAL;CONT come=MED say 1D.IN=POT stay hear MOD.COMP
doo me pwisya=ne ada,”
 DOO come come.OUT=TRANS 1D.IN
 ‘she said: “Something is coming, let’s try to hear if it’s coming to us.”’ (sto34:64)

In some configurations, subordinating verbs can take a clause without a complementizer as an argument. The conditions for this and other more verb-specific phenomena are described in more detail in the coming sections.

8. Subordinate Clauses

8.1.3. Subordinating verbs

Perception

The two main verbs referring to an act of perception are *esi* ‘see’ and *ongane* ‘feel, to hear, to smell’. They can take regular realis complement clauses with the complementizer *na* as in (9):

- (9) a. *ye=m esi na wotop mwe pa du*
3D=REAL see COMP breadfruit REAL bear.fruit stay
‘they saw that the breadfruit tree was bearing fruit’ (sto31:10)
- b. *bili na Buwu mwe pwer pyan m-an em, ma ongane na myaop*
time COMP NAME REAL stay under CL1-3S.POSS house REAL hear COMP volcano
mwe me
REAL come
‘while Buwu was in his house, he heard/felt that the volcano was coming’
(rep04:19)

Both verbs can however also be followed by clauses without a complementizer. The exact structure of such configurations is not entirely clear to me: Since definite referents can be omitted, it is possible that the object of the subordinating verb is really just the subject of the following clause, not the entire clause. Thus, in (10), a literal translation of the sentences might have the form ‘he felt his feeling, it was angry’, ‘he felt the hunger, it was biting’, ‘he felt it, it ran through his body’. But intonation suggests that the entire clauses are the objects of the subordinating verbs, as the bracketing and the translations indicate: the bracketed chunks are usually produced as single intonation units, with boundary tones only at the end of the chunk.

- (10) a. *mwe ongane [yu-on mwe yaa] tevy-an na mwe is usili*
REAL hear feeling-3S.POSS REAL hurt side.of-3S.POSS COMP REAL call follow
nyoo te ya to tas tene
3P CONJ 3P REAL;NEG sit wait
‘he felt angry because he had called after them but they had not waited’
(sto01:24)
- b. *ma ongane [myaa ma ate]*
REAL hear hunger REAL bite
‘he felt hungry’ (sto03:29)
- c. *ka te liye te ma ongane [mu kuo usili by-en nyoo]*
SUBCONJ DIST take CONJ REAL hear REAL run follow body-3S.POSS 3P
‘when he took it [the drink], he felt it run through his body’ (con01:69)

With *ongane* ‘hear, feel, smell’, there is hardly a difference between complement clauses with and without complementizer. In stories, the same event is often framed in both ways at different points:

8.1. Complement Clauses

- (11) a. *ka ye=t vyan syoo save vyan vyan t=i syoten, te*
 SUBCONJ 3D=DIST go go.through pass go go DIST=COP far.away CONJ
ye=m ongane na mo kolir tetes
 3PC=REAL hear COMP REAL sing again REAL return with 3D
 ‘when they went past him to certain distance, they heard that he sang again, they came back’ (sto25:85)
- b. *ka ye=t me du mw=i syoten te ye=m ongane mo*
 SUBCONJ 3D=DIST come stay REAL=COP far.away CONJ 3D=REAL hear REAL
kolir tetes
 sing again
 ‘when they were at a certain distance, they heard him sing again’ (sto25:90)

With *esi* ‘see’, if the complement clause is not introduced by a complementizer, it sometimes suggests a more subjective interpretation as in the first of the following two examples in (12), which reads ‘we consider his manners to be good’, rather than ‘we saw that his manners were good’. In some other cases, *esi* with a bare complement clause also means ‘feel, perceive’ rather than ‘see’ as in the second sentence in (12):

- (12) a. *a ra=m esi [s-an gini mu vu]*
 and 1P.IN=REAL see CL3-3S.POSS way REAL good
 ‘we consider his manners to be good’ (even though this judgement might turn out to be wrong) (con01:23)
- b. *na=m esi [un b-ik ma pwenges]*
 1S=REAL see skin.of body.of-1S.POSS REAL hurt
 ‘I feel my body hurt’ (rep02:28)

This is however not necessarily so. In the following two examples, it would not make a difference in interpretation if there was a complementizer after *esi*:

- (13) a. *bili na na bwe téé~téé usili vyan te esi [bura mu*
 time COMP 1S REAL;CONT REDUP~look follow go CONJ see blood REAL
ku~kuo usili bung-un]
 REDUP~run follow mouth-3S.POSS
 ‘while I watched him, I saw blood running from his mouth’ (rep03:59)
- b. *mwe téé te esi [puskat ma polo vyan yan lee]*
 REAL look CONJ see cat REAL climb on tree
 ‘it looked and saw that the cat had climbed up a tree’ (exp07:5)

As shown in (5) on page 290 above, when a subordinating verb is negated, the mood of the complement clause can be in realis mood and introduced by *na*. With verbs of perception this would mean that something happened but was not perceived. However, if the complement clause of a negated verb of perception is introduced by *ka* instead and in negative potential mood, this means that something was not perceived because it did not happen:

8. Subordinate Clauses

- (14) *ra to ongane ka ne pwe sóró yas-kate vyanten, nyoo*
 1P.IN REAL;NEG hear MOD.COMP NEC CONT talk strong-tight man 3P
en=te mwe dyanga
 DEM=MED REAL lack
 ‘we never heard him shout at anyone, these things didn’t happen’ (con01:5)

If the predicate of perception is itself in realis mood, a complement clause in distal mood will be interpreted as counterfactual—see also section 6.2.2, page 215 about subjects of perceptions.

- (15) *ko=m ongane ka t=i wee swa ti minyes a wee, we tuwu*
 2S=REAL hear MOD.COMP DIST=COP fruit one DIST different and fruit fruit bush.nut
kyun
 just
 ‘it tastes like a different fruit, but it’s just the tuwu fruit’ (lit. ‘you feel it as if it was a different fruit’) (exp17:60)

Other predicates of perception which may take complement clauses are the verb *syokilyene* and serial verb constructions such as in (16-b), where *usili* essentially transitivizes an otherwise intransitive verb of perceiving as in this case *tée* ‘look’:

- (16) a. *Na bwet syokilyene na mwe pwer Maskilin.*
 1S COS find COMP REAL be.at NAME
 ‘I just found out it was on Maskilin.’ (sto24:146)
- b. *te meo mwe tée-tée usili na nge s-an pisyā=an*
 CONJ namalau REAL REDUP~look follow COMP 3S CL3-3S.POSS paint=DEF
mw=i sii kyun
 REAL=COP three just
 ‘the incubator bird looked and saw that its colours were only three’ (sto08:9)

Mental states

Most prominent among the subordinating verbs denoting mental states are *kuowilye* ‘know’, *yurmiline* ‘forget’ and *dimye* ‘think’. Like their English counterparts, *kuowilye* ‘know’ and *yurmiline* ‘forget’ take factual clauses as complements, which are in realis mood and introduced by *na*.

- (17) a. *A nge mo kuowilye na ma sengep mo nok.*
 but 3S REAL know COMP REAL be.open REAL finish
 ‘And he already knew that it was open.’ (rep15:42)
- b. *ko=m yurmiline na ka=m du yan tan na pyan te ngok*
 2S=REAL forget COMP 2D=REAL stay on ground ATT under CONJ 2S
ko=m, ko=m esi meu=an na mu vu
 2S=REAL 2S=REAL see live=NM COMP REAL good
 ‘you forget that we were on the earth down there and you had a good life’
 (sto19:64)

Kuowilye ‘know’ can instead also take complement clauses in potential mood, but then it has to be translated as ‘be able to, to be possible’ instead—this function is described in the following section on abilities and possibilities. More versatile in terms of its possible complements is *dimye* ‘think’. It can have complement clauses in realis mood, with or without the complementizer *na*.

- (18) *Na=m dimye (na) pun=an=ne ló-ó mon mo nok ma*
 1S=REAL think (COMP) tell=NM=TRANS palm-coconut also REAL finish REAL
ge=te kyun.
 be.like=MED just
 ‘I think the story of the coconut ends like this.’ (exp09:89)

It can also have a complement clause in distal mood, with the complementizer *ka*; the resulting interpretation is that the proposition denoted by the complement clause is or was believed to be true by the subject of *dimye*, but is (now) known to be wrong by the speaker. In cases like (19-a), where the subject of *dimye* is coreferential with the speaker, this means that the speaker has changed their mind about their previous belief. The same interpretation is also available if *dimye* is replaced by *ka* ‘say’, which does not have to be followed by the homophonous complementizer *ka*:

- (19) a. *Na=m dimye ka ko=t penin seaa Ø-ada vis a Ø-ada*
 1S=REAL think MOD.COMP 2S=DIST roast.pl every 1D.IN banana and 1D.IN
vis mwe pwer kyun
 banana REAL stay just
 ‘I thought you had roasted all our bananas, but our bananas are just here’
 (sto37:104)
- b. *vyan ka swa ka te mer te ya=m ka vyanten ti tiye,*
 go SUBCONJ one MOD.COMP DIST dead CONJ 3P=REAL say man DIST kill
t=i abwilyep
 DIST=COP black.magic
 ‘when someone dies, they say/ think someone killed him, it was black magic’
 (con02:118)

To express epistemic uncertainty, the complement clause of *dimye* can also be in potential mood:

- (20) *si=m ka tyotyó mw=i ves te na=m dimye tyotyó ka*
 1PC.IN=REAL say snake REAL=COP how.much CONJ 1S=REAL think snake MOD.COMP
w=i ló kyun
 POT=COP two just
 ‘we say there are how many kinds of snake, I think there will be only two’ (exp50:113)

If *dimye* is itself negated, the complement clause is in negative potential mood:

- (21) *a er ra to dimye ka ni gi=te*
 but 1P.IN 1P.IN REAL;NEG think MOD.COMP NEC be.like=MED

8. Subordinate Clauses

‘but we don’t think it’s like this’ (con01:35)

The complement clause of *dimye* can also be in necessity mood, in which case it is interpreted as counterfactual deontic necessity:

- (22) *na=m dimye tomo ka ne mer wuk*
 1S=REAL think rat MOD.REL NEC dead already
 ‘I thought/ think the rat should have died’

Abilities and possibilities

To express ability and possibility, the most important two verbs are *wese* ‘be sufficient’ and *kuowilye* ‘know’.

Both can be used to express subject-internal and subject-external possibility, but subject-external possibility is the more frequent meaning for *wese* as in the following two examples. If *wese* itself is in a positive clause, its complement clause will usually be introduced by the complementizer *na* and be in potential mood:

- (23) a. *tomo mwe vyan ongane ma wese na ka lisepsep wa sikya*
 rat REAL go hear REAL be.enough COMP MOD.REL lisepsep POT touch
 ‘the rat felt that the lisepsep would be able to touch him’ (lit. ‘it was possible that the lisepsep would touch him’) (sto31:99)
- b. *[neti tyu tuswa ka te pwer wa wese na ka we mer]*
 child chicken one SUBCONJ DIST stay POT be.enough COMP MOD.REL POT dead
te [ko=p liye ye-tye tuswa]
 CONJ 2S=POT take leaf-of.it one
 ‘when a chick is about to die, you’ll take one of these leaves’ (exp10:17)

At least *wese* can also express epistemic possibility. This is to my knowledge the only scenario in which *wese* will take a *ka* complement clause in distal mood:

- (24) *ma wese ka te me yan vilye s-an vi*
 REAL be.enough MOD.COMP DIST come on place CL3-AL.P white.man
 ‘it may have come from the West (place of white men)’ (con02:183)

Kuowilye primarily expresses subject-internal possibilities although in some cases such as (25-b), it is not entirely clear what the subject is:

- (25) a. *Ko=m kuowilye ka ko=p séngane myane nye?*
 2S=REAL KNOW MOD.COMP 2S=POT give with 1S
 ‘Can you give it to me?’ (sto24:56)
- b. *mo kuowilye ka wa tilya vyanten milipsyes sikya sungavi*
 REAL KNOW say POT take man six touch ten
 ‘six to ten men can take part’ (lit. ‘it knows to take six to ten men’, where ‘it’ might refer to the ritual described in the context.) (exp11:28)

If *kuowilye* refers to an ability, the object of this ability can also be expressed by a deverbal noun phrase as in (26) (see also section 3.3.4):

- (26) *na to dimyane ka na=p ku~kuo myane ngok tevy-an*
 1S REAL;NEG want MOD.COMP 1S=POT REDUP~run with 2S side.of-3S.POSS
na ko to kuowilye ku~kuo=an
 COMP 2S REAL;NEG KNOW REDUP~run=NM
 ‘I don’t want to race with you, because you can’t swim fast’ (lit. ‘you don’t know racing’)
 (sto11:7)

In combination with a preceding negation, both *wese* and *kuowilye* express impossibility or inability. The complement clause is then in negative potential mood and the complementizer *ka* can be omitted, although it is usually still present:

- (27) a. *tyu to wese ne bangbang myane meo*
 chicken REAL;NEG be.enough NEC play with namalau
 ‘the chicken will never hang out with the incubator bird’ (sto08:28)
 b. *to wese ka ne sóvilye*
 REAL;NEG be.enough MOD.COMP NEC come.out
 ‘he could not come out’ (sto13:11)
- (28) a. *telelel to kuowilye na tas-mar~mar yan lee*
 long.tailed.triller REAL;NEG KNOW NEC sit-REDUP~quiet on tree
 ‘the long-tailed triller can’t sit still on a tree’ (exp02:149)
 b. *te mw=i or yo swa na vyanten kevene ya to kuowilye*
 CONJ REAL=COP place taboo one COMP man every 3P REAL;NEG know
ka ya=n vyan
 MOD.COMP 3P=NEC go
 ‘it’s a sacred place where not everybody can go’ (exp03:6)

Intentions and attempts

The most prominent verbs denoting intentions or attempts are *dimyane* ‘want’, *tuwuli* ‘try, toil’—often in combination with the suffix *-esi* ‘try’, *nyur~nyur=ane* (REDUP~think=TRANS) ‘plan’ and *ka* ‘say, think, want’. They overwhelmingly occur in realis contexts and take complement clauses in potential mood:

- (29) a. *kana=m dimyane ka kana=p me usi ∅-am wotop*
 1D.EX=REAL want MOD.COMP 1D.EX=POT come ask CL2-2S.POSS breadfruit
 ‘we wanted to come and ask for your breadfruit’ (sto31:18)
 b. *na=m nyur~nyur=ane ka na=p gene saó swa*
 1S=REAL REDUP~think=TRANS MOD.COMP 1S=POT make ceremony one
 ‘I am planning to do a kastom ceremony’ (sto41:12)
 c. *Lisepsep mwe tuwuli-esi ka we kuo, tevy-an na ya=m*
 lisepsep REAL work.hard-try MOD.COMP POT run side.of-3S.POSS COMP 3P=REAL

8. Subordinate Clauses

se-kate vy-un mu du yen buluwu
hook-tight hair-3S.POSS REAL stay in hole
‘the lisepsep tried (in vain) to run away, because they had fastened his hair inside the hole’ (sto02:40)

- d. *te webung swa ma ka we vyan te Ø-an vis*
CONJ day one REAL say POT go cut CL2-3S.POSS banana
‘then one day he wanted to go and cut down the bananas’ (sto48:9)

We have seen above in (2) on page 290 that *dimyane* ‘want’—which has apparently developed from the transitivized version of *dimye* ‘think’—can also take realis complement clauses, but then it rather means ‘like (the fact that)’, and this use is far less frequent.

If *dimyane* is the predicate of a clause in distal mood, the complement clause is typically still in potential mood:

- (30) *ka vyanten te dimyane ka wa ane maa te mwe gene kuo*
SUBCONJ person DIST want MOD.COMP POT eat em.dove CONJ REAL make trap
‘when someone wants to eat emerald dove, he makes a trap’ (exp02:80)

Counterfactual wishes can be expressed both by complement clauses in positive and negative potential (or necessity) mood, although only the negative version ensures a counterfactual interpretation:

- (31) a. *Nye na bwe dimyane ka ebya-ok we pwer kyun, na=t ka*
1S 1S REAL;CONT want MOD.COMP wing-3S.POSS POT stay just 1S=DIST fly
pini or.
fill place
‘I wish I had wings / I want to have wings, I would fly around everywhere.’
(ess01:3)
- b. *na=m dimyane ka ne meu kyun*
1S=REAL want MOD.COMP NEC live just
‘I wish she was alive’

If *dimyane* is negated, the complement clause will also be either in negative or positive potential mood, this time without any difference in meaning. The same relation between moods can also be observed in the context of serial verb constructions (see section 7.1.3).

- (32) a. *etatakée, mwe takééne yan beleem tevy-an to dimyane ka*
lock REAL hang on door side.of-3S.POSS REAL;NEG want MOD.COMP
ye=n sóvilye
3D=NEG come.out
‘the lock, he hung it on the door because he did not want them to come out’
(sto12:40)
- b. *boyep to dimyane ka ye=p sukuo*
pheasant.dove REAL;NEG want MOD.COMP 3D=POT be.together
‘the pheasant dove doesn’t want them to be together’ (sto04:49)

8.1. Complement Clauses

The subject of *dimyane* is not always an animate entity, it can also be an abstract notion. These cases can often be translated into English with expressions like *it is necessary that...*:

- (33) *s-ar gyes=an mwe pwis ten, ma dimyane kuone=an s-an*
 CL3-1P.IN.POSS work=NM REAL be.plentiful very REAL want help=NM CL3-3S.POSS
vyanten kevene
 person every
 ‘we have a lot of work to do, everyone has to help’ (lit. ‘it wants everyone’s help’)

This leads to a certain ambiguity of negated clauses where *dimyane* has a third person singular subject: They can be interpreted either as ‘it is not necessary that...’ or as ‘he/ she/ it doesn’t want that...’:

- (34) *To dimyane ka ko=n me.*
 REAL;NEG want MOD.COMP 2S=NEC come
 a. ‘It’s not necessary for you to come/ you don’t have to come.’
 b. ‘He/ she/ it doesn’t want you to come.’

Demonstrations and representations

Transitive verbs expressing notions like *pisyenane* ‘show’ and *tyuptene* ‘symbolize, signify’ also take subordinate clauses as arguments. They are joined by the loanword *minim* ‘mean’ from Bislama. Examples for each of them with realis complement clauses introduced by *na* are given below:

- (35) a. *te ma pisyenane na ma sanga mon ngabak*
 CONJ REAL show COMP REAL bad also still
 ‘it’s still a bad sign’ (lit. ‘it still shows that it’s bad’) (exp26:19)
 b. *mwe tyuptene na er vyanten ka saka ra=t yungta tu*
 REAL illustrate COMP 1P.IN man SUBCONJ MOD.NEG 1P.IN=DIST listen DIST
vu...
 be.good
 ‘it shows that we men, if we don’t listen well...’ (sto03:106)
 c. *‘daa’ mwe minim na san seepisya nyoo ma daa mu vu.*
 shine REAL mean COMP 3S.POSS make.up 3P REAL shine REAL good
 ‘*daa* means that its colours shine nicely’ (exp52:4)

Other configurations are possible as shown by the following example where the complement clause is in potential mood and without a complementizer:

- (36) *te ma pisyenane [sye swa ka wa gene ngok]*
 CONJ REAL show something one MOD.REL POT make 2S
 ‘it shows that something will happen to you’ (exp08:38)

8. Subordinate Clauses

Causation: *gene* ‘do, make’

Another quite frequent subordinating verb is *gene* ‘do, make, process’. When it takes a subordinate clause instead of a noun phrase as its object, the resulting meaning is one of causation, which translates literally as ‘make it that (something happens)’ or ‘cause (something to happen)’.

- (37) *Saka ko=n gene na ka tevesye le-wewo ne wowo ne*
MOD.NEG 2S=NEC make COMP MOD.REL side plant-bamboo NEC big NEC
ge=tak.
be.like=PROX
‘You mustn’t leave the side of the bamboo coarse like this.’ (lit. ‘You mustn’t make it that the side of the bamboo be coarse like this.’) (exp32:4)

Mostly, if *gene* takes a subordinate clause as an object its subject is an event argument, yielding a structure that translates literally as ‘it made that ...’; a more idiomatic translation into English would be a result clause starting with ‘so/ that is why/ thus’:

- (38) a. *bili na ko=m sóró-lili vyan, te mwe gene na temyar*
time COMP 2S=REAL talk-back go CONJ REAL make COMP demon
yu-on mwe pyane ngok
feeling-3S.POSS REAL roast 2S
‘when you talked back to him, it made the demon angry with you’ (lit. ‘it made that the demon was angry with you’) (rep12:58)
- b. *mwe gene na da mu kuo mw=i towo ten tevy-an na*
REAL make COMP blood REAL RUN REAL=COP big very side.of-3S.POSS COMP
ma tiwir
REAL abort
‘so a lot of blood was running, because she had aborted’ (rep11:51)

Complement clauses of *gene* are not necessarily introduced by a complementizer:

- (39) a. *mwe pwer tevy-an nat-en nyoo mwe gene [ya=m pyang~pyang*
REAL stay side.of-3S.POSS child-3S.POSS 3P REAL make 3P=REAL REDUP~hot
mu vu]
REAL good
‘she stays with her children so they are warm’ (exp02:168)
- b. *yaapu mwe gene [lee ke~kevene s-an gyes=an mu du]*
big.man REAL make tree REDUP~every CL3-3S.POSS work=NM REAL stay
‘God made it so that every tree has its uses.’ (exp15:3)

8.1.4. Subordinating prepositions

The few prepositions which take complement clauses as well as noun phrases as arguments express the cause, reason or purpose of an action. One preposition which frequently takes complement clauses as arguments is *tevy-* ‘at the side of’. With a third person singular inflection,

followed by a complement clause in realis or distal mood, it expresses the reason or cause for an event.

- (40) a. *yu-on mwe pyane eya tevy-an na mwe gérase*
 feeling-3S.POSS REAL roast white-eye side.of-3S.POSS COMP REAL cheat
 ‘he was mad at the white-eye (a bird) because he had cheated him’ (sto04:44)
- b. *Ra=p tiye vyanten en=tak tevy-an na nyoo ya=m du tiye*
 1P.IN=POT kill person DEM=PROX side.of-3S.POSS COMP 3P 3P=REAL stay kill
er.
 1P.IN.O
 ‘Let’s kill this man, because *they* kill *us*.’ (sto26:8)

If the complement clause of *tevyan* is in potential mood rather than realis mood, the clause is interpreted as giving a purpose rather than a cause. In these cases, the complementizer *na* is optional:

- (41) a. *ye=m du téé~téé vyan milye tevy-an (na) ka ye w=esi*
 3D-REAL stay REDUP~look go up side.of-3S.POSS COMP MOD.REL 3D POT=see
ó ka we mur me ka ka ye=p kuo
 coconut MOD.REL POT fall come MOD.REL MOD.REL 3D=POT run
 ‘they kept looking up in order to see if a coconut fell down so they could run away’
 (sto45:13)
- b. *ye=m gene apyang tevy-an ka we mea save apyang vyan*
 3D=REAL make fire side.of-3S.POSS MOD.COMP POT jump pass fire go
tevesye
 side
 ‘they made a fire so that he would to jump across it’ (sto03:69)
- c. *Yan wuoswa, ya=m kuowilye ka ya=p bivili yan apyang*
 on some 3P=REAL know MOD.COMP 3P=POT smoke on fire
tevy-an ka we gaó wa maga.
 side.of-3S.POSS MOD.COMP POT dry POT be.fast
 ‘Sometimes, they might smoke it over a fire to make it dry fast.’ (exp20:6)

A more specific expression is the preposition *metone* ‘from’, which indicates a cause in a narrow sense rather than a reason more generally. In combination with a clausal complement, *metone* occurs mostly as a modifier of the verb *kulye* ‘get a fright’.

- (42) a. *tes mwe myas, nyoo ya=m kulye metone na tes mwe myas*
 sea REAL dry 3P 3P=REAL get.a.fright from COMP sea REAL dry
 ‘the tide was low, they got a fright because the tide was low’ (sto02:31)
- b. *ma ka we vyan t=i ki=tak te vyan kulye metone na*
 REAL say POT go DIST=COP be.like=PROX CONJ go get.a.fright with COMP
vyap myató swa mwe dange bosine barar
 old.woman old one REAL sprinkle bone=TRANS pig
 ‘thus it went and then it was startled by an old women throwing away pigbones’

8. Subordinate Clauses

(lit. ‘... was startled from that...’) (sto18:13)

By contrast, *ten* ‘for’ with a complement clause indicates the purpose of an action or an object, as shown in the following examples. The example in (44) is also interesting in that it shows two complement sentences coordinated by *a*.

(43) *nge s-an gyes=an mw=i ten [na ma ka or ka we yuop]*
3S CL3-POSS work=NM REAL=COP for COMP REAL say place MOD.REL POT be.dawn
‘its job is to announce when it’s getting dawn’ (exp02:8)

(44) *te ya=t du gene mw=i ten [na ya=m yas vyanten] a [na*
CONJ 3P=DIST stay make REAL=COP for COMP 3P=REAL steal man and COMP
ya=m syo sisye]
3P=REAL take thing
‘they made it for abducting people and for taking things’ (exp04:41)

(45) *silitoo mw=i ten [na ya=m bya]*
old.crops REAL=COP for COMP 3P=REAL plant
‘the crops of the old garden are meant to be planted [again]’ (exp19:16)

Ten can take not only complement clauses in realis mood, but also in potential mood, as in the following example with a negative potential complement clause:

(46) *vyan te ye=m tuwuli-esi ka ye=p gene sye tuswa te w=i*
go CONJ 3D=REAL toil-try MOD.COMP 3D=REAL make thing one CONJ POT=COP
ten ka nate-yaa nyoo saka ye=n wet du deng~deng
for MOD.COMOP child-3D.POSS 3P MOD.NEG 3D=NEC only.then stay REDUP~cry
‘so they tried to make something so their children wouldn’t cry any longer’ (exp16:4)

8.2. Embedded Questions

8.2.1. Embedded polarity questions

Complement clauses of verbs of perception and knowing can be polarity questions as in *to see if*, *to know if* and similar. There are several ways in Daakaka to form such embedded polarity questions. One way is to use the TAM marker *doo* which is restricted to exactly this use, but is no longer an active part of the language of many speakers (see also section 5.6):

(47) *ka da=p du ongane [ka doo me pwisya=ne ada]*
say 1D.IN=POT stay hear MOD.COMP DOO come.COME.OUT=TRANS 1D.IN
‘let’s try to hear if it’s coming to us’ (sto34:64)

More frequently, embedded polarity questions form a conjunction of two mutually exclusive propositions, either joined by *mwede* ‘or’, or the synonymous loanword from Bislama *o*.

- (48) a. *ma ka we pwer esi, we esi [seli=ane vyor en=te ar=an [ka wa wese na ka kana=p vyan kyun] o [ka we kuokuo]]*
 REAL say POT stay see POT see road=TRANS stone DEM=MED LOC=DEF MOD.COMP
 POT be.enough COMP MOD.REL 1D.EX=POT go after or MOD.REL POT shut
 ‘he wanted to dream, to see whether the way to this rock there, whether we would be able to go or whether it would be closed’ (rep15:16)
- b. *te ka ya=p tung=ane apyang te ka we en~en-esi [ka wa ane] mwede [saka na ane]*
 CONJ MOD.REL 3P=POT shine=TRANS fire CONJ MOD.COMP POT REDUP~eat-try
 MOD.REL POT eat or MOD.NEG NEC eat
 ‘then they would light the fire and it would try whether it could burn them’ (sto10:10)

8.2.2. Embedded constituent questions

The most frequent type of embedded question is a constituent question which serves as the complement of a subordinating verb. As with regular questions, if the interrogative element precedes the TAM marker, it has to be followed by the comment marker *sa* (see sections 6.2.4 and 6.3). I have no evidence about embedded questions where the interrogative phrase is *in situ*.

The most prominent predicate to take embedded constituent questions as complements is the verb *kuowilye* ‘know’ in potential or negative realis mood. Note that in (49), the embedded clause in the first example is introduced by the complementizer *ka*, while in the second example, the embedded clause is introduced by the realis complementizer *na*. Since both embedded clauses are in realis mood, one would expect only *na* to be acceptable in both cases; presumably, the acceptability of *ka* is due to the fact that the matrix clause itself is in potential mood. As will be seen below, embedded interrogative clauses are often not introduced by a complementizer at all.

- (49) *jip ma ka: “Ra=p mas kuowilye [ka sewe sa bwe gene s-ar too bwe luk tetes].”*
 chief REAL say 1P.IN=POT must know MOD.COMP what CM REAL;CONT make
 CL3-1P.IN.POSS garden REAL;CONT grow again
 ‘the chiefs said: “We must know what makes our garden grow back again.”’
 (sto21:42)
- (50) *ma dimyane ka we kuowilye [na si sa bwe téé~téépuon apyang en=te]*
 REAL want MOD.COMP POT know COMP who CM REAL;CONT REDUP~guard
 fire DEM=MED
 ‘he wanted to know who was guarding this fire’
- (51) *na to kuowilye [dom sewe] sa myaop mwe top*
 1S REAL;NEG know year what CM volcano REAL break
 ‘I don’t know in which year the volcano erupted’

8. Subordinate Clauses

- (52) *to kuowilye [yan seli sewe] sa mwe gene sa ma tiwir*
 REAL;NEG know on road what CM REAL make CM REAL abort
 ‘I don’t know in which way she aborted’ (rep04:6)

Apart from *kuowilye* ‘know’, a range of other subordinating verbs can also be found with embedded constituent questions as complements.

- (53) *ka ye=p ko~ko-esi nya [tevy-an si sa ka w=i*
 SUBCONJ 3PC=POT REDUP~face-try 3D side.of-3S.POSS who CM say POT=COP
mo=ne syan=an yen sene tóó=an]
 first=TRANS other=DEF in hook wild.cane=NM
 ‘when they came together to compete to see whose side would beat the other at spear
 throwing’ (exp29:5)
- (54) *vyan vyan vyan vyan te vyan yurmiline [sewe sa s-an naana ma ka]*
 go go go go CONJ go forget what CM CL3-3S.POSS mother REAL say
 ‘he went on and on and forgot what his mother had told him’
- (55) *ma sóró usili [sewe sa mwe pwer]*
 REAL talk follow what CM REAL stay
 ‘he told them what had happened’ (sto03:20)
- (56) *a da=p téé=ane [sewe sa mwe pwer pyan wap en=tak]*
 and 1D.IN=POT look=TRANS what CM REAL stay under cave DEM=PROX
 ‘and let’s look for what is in this cave’ (rep15:48)
- (57) *ko=m kuowilye ko=p syokilyene [sewe sa ko=m vyan=ane]*
 2S=REAL know 2S=POT find what CM 2S=REAL go=TRANS
 ‘you can find what you’re after’ (exp26:13)

Such embedded questions with *sewe* ‘what’ can often also be paraphrased as ‘the thing that’ as in *you can find [the thing that] you’re after*. Sometimes, this latter structure is literally how the object of a verb is expressed, instead of a synonymous embedded question. Compare:

- (58) a. *yap myató nya en=te ya=m ongane [sewe sa tamadu ma ka]*
 old.man old 3D DEM=MED 3P=REAL hear what CM tamadu REAL say
 ‘these venerable men heard what the tamadu said’ (sto41:70)
- b. *ko to ongane [sye na na=m ka]*
 2S REAL;NEG hear something COMP 1S=REAL say
 ‘you didn’t listen to what I said’ (lit. ‘you didn’t listen to the thing that I said’)
 (sto03:53)

While most interrogative expressions are either pronominal or adverbial in distribution, the expression for *how* involves the verb *ge* ‘be like’ and an interrogative expression from the paradigm of demonstratives—see sections 4.1.4 and 4.1.5. Clauses containing *ge=vi* (be.like=what) can be complements of subordinating clauses just as other embedded questions:

- (59) *Sóróusi=an mwe vyan mo nok usili [na ma ge=vi myaop mwe*
 talk=NM REAL go REAL finish follow COMP REAL be.like=what volcano REAL

vyan kuane er.

go home.of 1P.IN

'The story about how the volcano came to us has already [been told].' (exp04:1)

(60) *Sóróusian usili [ma ge=vi sa ya=m gene ding]*

story follow REAL be.like=what CM 3P=REAL make mat

'The story is about how they make mats.' (exp20:3)

(61) *or mwe myaek, mwe pwer te ma ka: "Na w=esi [apyang en=te*

place REAL be.night REAL stay CONJ REAL say 1S POT=see fire DEM=MED

bwe mwe me ma ge=vi]."

REAL;CONT REAL COME REAL be.like=what

'it was night, he stayed and said: "I want to see how this fire is coming [about]."'

(sto24:27)

However, unlike other interrogative clauses, a question sentence with *ge=vi* can also be a serial predicate:

(62) a. *pun=an na mu kuo ma ge=vi [na ya=m sene tóó] mo*

tell=NM COMP REAL RUN REAL be.like=what COMP 3P=REAL hook wild.cane REAL

nok kyun

finish just

'the story about how they threw spears is finished' (exp29:68)

b. *pun=an mu kuo ma ge=vi [na vyanten mwe gene too]*

tell=NM REAL RUN REAL like=what COMP man REAL make garden

'the story is about how to make a garden' (exp19:4)

8.3. Conditional Clauses

8.3.1. Overview

Conditional clauses are generally introduced by the subordinating conjunction *ka* or its negative counterpart *saka*. They are briefly discussed in more detail in the following section.

The meaning of the conditional clause depends mostly on the mood of the **apodosis** (the consequent part of the conditional): if it is in realis mood, the clause will have past or generic reference, with a temporal or conditional meaning; if the apodosis is in potential mood, the clause is a future or generic conditional; and if the apodosis is in distal mood, the clause will be interpreted as counterfactual.

The mood of the **protasis** (the condition) can be either distal or potential, with only subtle differences in meaning between the two. The protasis overwhelmingly precedes the apodosis and the two are often connected by the conjunction *te* 'and, then' (see section 6.2.5).

One rather non-standard use of conditionals involves the use of interrogatives: If the protasis of a conditional contains an interrogative expression *X*, it can be translated as 'however *X*' as in *however many people there are. . .* These cases are discussed at the end of section 8.3.3.

8. Subordinate Clauses

8.3.2. The subordinating conjunctions *ka* and *saka*

We have come across *ka* and *saka* already in previous sections in their functions as modal relators (sections 5.3 to 5.4) and of *ka* as a complementizer (section 8.1.2 above). In this section, I will discuss their function as subordinating conjunctions and will expand briefly on the relations between the different functions.

All three functions appear to go back to the verb *ka* ‘say, think, want’, which is also used as a serial verb after verbs of saying and thinking to introduce a stretch of reported speech. How close the verb *ka* and its more abstract relatives are even now can be seen most clearly by cases like the following where the only factor that decides whether I analyze *ka* as a verb or as a modal relator introducing an assertive sentence in potential mood is the presence of the realis marker *ma*. The meaning of the clause however remains the same with or without the realis marker.

- (63) *ka ko=t mestem te (ma) ka we sye-veni ngok*
SUBCONJ 2S=DIST miss CONJ REAL say POT cut-dead 2S
‘if you miss, it will cut you dead’ (exp07:236)

A less intuitive case illustrating the relation between the verb *ka* and the subordinating conjunction *ka*_{SUBCONJ} comes from temporal and conditional clauses as they are formed by some speakers from the areas of Baiap and Sesivi. Here, the apodosis of a temporal and conditional clause can also be introduced by the verb *ka*, instead of the subordinating conjunction *ka*_{SUBCONJ}, as shown by the preceding realis marker:

- (64) *(ma) ka te téé ti ki=tak te esi bat-en yaapu en=te*
REAL say DIST look DIST be.like=PROX CONJ see head-3S.POSS big.man DEM=MED
‘when/as she was watching like this, she saw the head of this man’ (sto47:52)

A literal translation of the first part of this sentence could be ‘it said she was watching’. Presumably, the subject of this ‘saying’ is an ambient subject. But in any case, it is clear that *ka* here has the syntactic status of a verb, while, at the same time, it has the meaning and function of the subordinating conjunction *ka*_{SUBCONJ} ‘if, when’: The meaning of the sentence would remain the same without the realis marker.

The verb *ka* cannot substitute for the modal complementizer *ka*_{MOD.COMP} however: a complement clause which is introduced by *ka*_{MOD.COMP} cannot be introduced by modal marker plus verb *ma ka*:

- (65) *te ye=m dimyane (*ma) ka ye=p vyan myane s-aya apyaló*
CONJ 3D=REAL want REAL MOD.COMP 3D=POT go with CL3-3D.POSS ship
ten tuswa
native one
‘so they wanted to go in a canoe’ (sto35:7)

As for *saka*, it appears to be a derived version of *ka*. There is no corresponding verb and *saka* cannot directly be preceded by a TAM marker. In contrast to the complementizer *na*, but like the modal relators, the subordinating conjunctions *ka*_{SUBCONJ} and *saka*_{SUBCONJ.NEG} can

occur behind a subject noun phrase as well as sentence-initially. Especially if the subject noun phrase is rather long, the conjunctions can also occur in both positions at the same time.

- (66) a. *temeli ka te vyan tas or swa, barar mwe vyan tas myane*
 kid SUBCONJ DIST go sit place one pig REAL GO sit with
 ‘when the child went to sit down somewhere, the pig went to sit down with him’
 (sto03:58)
- b. *saka kama syan nyosii saka ye=t ongane, ...*
 MOD.NEG 2D other 3PC MOD.NEG 3PC=DIST hear
 ‘if you and your friends did not hear them, ...’ (sto19:70)

Ka can be omitted from a conditional apodosis in distal mood (see also the following section):

- (67) [*vyanten tuswa mon te dimyane ka we vyan*] *te mwe bwii syoten*
 man one also DIST want SUBCONJ POT go CONJ REAL close.eyes far.away
kyun
 just
 ‘if another man wants to come, he closes his eyes while he is still in the distance’

8.3.3. Conditional clause types

Past, present and generic reference

If the apodosis is in realis mood, the protasis can be either in distal or potential mood. Both types of clauses can be interpreted to have a generic temporal or conditional interpretation (‘if/whenever *x* happens, *y* happens’), but only a protasis in distal mood can also index a specific moment in the past (‘when *x* happened, *y* happened’), as in the first sentence in (68):

- (68) a. [*ka tomo te myan kyun*] *te [ya=m esi na dom en=te mwe*
 SUBCONJ rat DIST laugh just CONJ 3P=REAL see COMP yam DEF=MED REAL
pi~pili du=ne lu-un]
 REDUP~red stay=TRANS tooth-3s.poss
 ‘when the rat laughed, they saw that this red yam was on his teeth’
- b. [*ka or te yuop*] *te [nge mwe vyan pwe pwer myaek]*
 SUBCONJ place DIST be.dawn CONJ 3S REAL go CONT stay be.night
 ‘when(ever) it gets dawn, it [the owl] goes to sleep’

In general, clauses with an apodosis in realis mood rarely have a negative protasis in distal mood. One of the few naturally occurring cases is the rather tautological statement in the first sentence of (69). The second example has been elicited.

- (69) a. *vyanten saka te kuowilye ka we gene gyes=an yan, te*
 man SUBCONJ.NEG DIST know MOD.COMP POT make work=NM ON CONJ
to kuowilye
 REAL;NEG know
 ‘if someone doesn’t know how to use it, then he doesn’t know’ (sto29:19)

8. Subordinate Clauses

- b. *Saka te pwe en te mwe pwe pwer myaek.*
 SUBCONJ.NEG DIST CONT eat CONJ REAL CONT stay be.night
 ‘If he isn’t eating, he’s sleeping.’

All natural occurrences of clauses with a protasis in distal mood and an apodosis in realis mood in my corpus have a temporal rather than a conditional interpretation, but it was possible to elicit cases such as in (70). The interpretation of (69-b) is also similar to these cases.

- (70) a. [*Ka te gères*] *te* [*nge sa mwe yas=ane Ø-am barar*].
 SUBCONJ DIST lie CONJ 3S CM REAL steal=TRANS CL2-2S.POSS pig
 ‘If he lies, it was him who stole your pig.’
- b. *Ko=p ring-esi, [saka te sóró] te [mwe pwe pwer myaek ngabak*
 2S=POT call-try SUBCONJ.NEG DIST talk CONJ REAL CONT stay be.night still
sa nge=te].
 CM here=MED
 ‘Try to call her, if she doesn’t answer, that means she’s still asleep.’

Examples for clauses with an apodosis in realis mood and a protasis in potential mood are given in (71). Both have a generic reference:

- (71) a. *meo ka we pesis te mwe pyase deli-sye swa kemyas kyun*
 namalau SUB.CON POT lay.egg CONJ REAL give.birth egg-3S.POSS one only just
 ‘when the incubator bird lays eggs, it lays only one egg’ (sto08:19)
- b. *saka na=p séngane vyor te na=m pwer nok kyun*
 MOD.NEG 1S=POT give stone CONJ 1S=REAL CONT finish just
 ‘if I don’t pay, I’m finished’ (con02:51)

A sequence of a clause in distal mood followed by a clause in realis mood can often be interpreted like a temporal or conditional clause even without the presence of a subordinating conjunction:

- (72) [*temeli man te sóró myane vyaven kyun vyan*] [*yu-oo te*
 child male DIST talk with woman just go feeling-3P.POSS DIST
kyes~kyes=ane nya] *te* [*ye=m tilya nya*]
 REDUP~sweet=TRANS 3D CONJ 3D=REAL be.together 3D
 ‘if a boy talks to a girl and if they fall in love with each other, they marry’ (exp27:50)

Moreover, temporal clauses without a conditional interpretation can also take the form of relative clauses to the temporal adverb *bili*—see section 8.4.3, page 315 below.

Future conditionals

If the apodosis of a conditional clause is in potential mood, the clause will be interpreted as a future or generic conditional. As before, the protasis will typically be in distal mood:

- (73) a. [*ka lisepsep te me*], *te nye ka na=p ka*
 SUBCONJ lisepsep DIST come CONJ 1S MOD.REL 1S=POT fly
 ‘if the lisepsep comes, then I will fly away’ (sto31:38)
- b. [*ka pus te syokilyene tomo or tuswa*], *ka we mas óte tomo*
 SUBCONJ cat DIST find rat place one MOD.REL POT must hunt rat
vyan te ka we mas tyu-veni te ane
 go CONJ MOD.REL POT must battle-dead CONJ eat
 ‘when the cat finds the rat somewhere, it must hunt it and must kill it and eat it’
 (sto27:56)
- c. [*Saka ko=t towane mesyu en=te me*] [*ka na w=ane ngok*]
 SUBCONJ.NEG 2S=DIST throw fish DEF=MED come MOD.REL 1S POT=eat 2S
 ‘If you don’t give me that fish, I will eat you.’ (rep03:44)

Again, the protasis of a future conditional can also be in potential mood. This case seems to differ slightly from a protasis in distal mood in that speakers report greater confidence that the event described in the protasis will come about. This difference can be simulated in English translation by the difference between *when* and *if*, as in the following example pair:

- (74) a. [*ka we me korkor teenem*] *te [na w=esi]*
 SUBCONJ POT come hurry home CONJ 1S POT=see
 ‘when he hurries home I will see him’ (sto22:38)
- b. [*ka lisepsep te me*], *te [nye ka na=p ka]*
 SUBCONJ lisepsep DIST come CONJ 1S MOD.REL 1S=POT fly
 ‘if the lisepsep comes, then I will fly away’ (sto31:38)

Counterfactual conditionals

In counterfactual conditionals, the apodosis is in distal mood, while the protasis is again in potential or distal mood. The potential mood is more common here, but it does not seem to make a difference whether the distal is chosen instead:

- (75) a. *Ka we/ te eli buluwu wa ge myane tomo te tu vu.*
 SUB.CON POT/ DIST dig hole POT like with rat CONJ DIST good
 ‘If he had dug a hole like the rat, it would have been good.’
- b. *saka w=i/ t=i Kaingas, Katolik te dyanga Sesivi*
 MOD.NEG POT=COP/ DIST=COP NAME NAME DIST lack NAME
 ‘and if it hadn’t been for Kaingas, there wouldn’t be Catholics in Sesivi’
 (rep09:57)
- c. *tati, saka w=i/ t=i vyaven en=tak te saka ko=t*
 dad SUBCONJ.NEG POT=COP/ DIST=COP woman DEF=PROX CONJ MOD.NEG 2S=DIST
esi nye
 see 1S
 ‘father, if it had not been for this woman, then you would not see me now’
 (sto33:181)

8. Subordinate Clauses

Adverbial clauses with interrogative elements

Finally in this section, there is one type of clause which formally resembles conditional clauses but differs in its meaning: If a clause with the properties of a conditional protasis contains an interrogative element *X*, the interpretation will be ‘however *X*...’, ‘no matter how *X*...’ or ‘depending on how *X*...’:

- (76) *[ka em wa veop [wa ki=vi]] a le-wovya te pwis*
SUBCONJ house POT long POT be.like=what and plant-cottonwood DIST be.plentiful
te ya=m gene kevene mw=i le-wovya kyun
CONJ 3P=REAL make every REAL=COP plant-cottonwood just
‘no matter how long the house is, when there is a lot of cottonwood, they make it all out of cottonwood’ (lit. ‘if the house is how long and there is a lot of cottonwood...’)
(exp15:13)
- (77) *[ka te ongane [ka ti ki=vi]] te ka we me ka*
SUBCONJ DIST hear SUBCONJ DIST be.like=what CONJ MOD.REL POT COME MOD.REL
na=p sèngane mursi mon
1S=POT give a.bit also
‘depending on how he felt, he should come and I’d give him a little more’ (lit. ‘if he felt how...’) (con01:57)
- (78) *ye=m kye seaa misya nyosi [ka ye t=i ves] te kye seaa*
3PC=REAL call every uncle 3PC SUBCONJ 3PC DIST=COP how.much CONJ call every
nyosi
3PC
‘they call all their uncles, no matter how many they are, they call them all’ (lit. ‘if there are how many...’) (exp05:152)

8.4. Relative Clauses

8.4.1. Overview

Relative clauses are generally introduced by the complementizer *na*, which also plays a role in forming complement clauses, as just described above. Relative clauses can be headed by nouns and by adverbs. Relativized nouns can correspond to a variety of arguments in the relative clause, and these arguments will sometimes be expressed explicitly by pronouns or noun phrases, but often their positions will be vacuous. To indicate coreference between the head noun of a relative clause and an argument of the relative clause, I will use indices and, if the argument position in the relative clause is empty, an underlined space as in (79):

- (79) *[sóróusi=an=ne goyor]_i [na na=m sóró usili ______i myane kimim mwe*
talk=NM=TRANS red.ant COMP 1S=REAL talk follow with 2P REAL
mwer mwer ma ge=te kyun
short REAL be.like=MED just
‘The story of the ants which I have told you is only short like this.’ (sto01:34)

A relative clause does not have to follow its head noun immediately, it can also be separated from it.

- (80) *mwe gene mili-sye_i mwe pwis [na ______i mu du yan yesukuo*
 REAL make place.of-3S.POSS REAL be.plentiful COMP REAL stay at leaves
en=te]
 DEF=MED
 ‘that is why there were many traces of it on these leaves’ (lit. ‘that is why its traces were many which were on these leaves’) (sto38:20)

The end of a relative clause is often also the end of the entire clause it is contained in, either because the relativized noun comes at the end of the matrix clause, or because the relative clause is separated from its head noun as in (80) and thus occupies a clause-final position. If however the relativized noun phrase is not clause-final and the relative clause still follows it directly, the head noun is usually resumed within the relative clause, with a definite article:

- (81) a. *te bwe_i [na Buwu bwe kolir=ane bwe=an_i] ma ge=tak:...*
 CONJ SONG COMP NAME REAL;CONT sing=TRANS SONG=DEF REAL be.like=PROX
 ‘and the song that Buwu was singing goes like this: ...’ (rep04:53)
 b. *Barar_i [na vyanten en=tak ma tiye barar=an_i] mw=i Ø-ok.*
 pig COMP PERSON DEF=PROX REAL kill pig=DEF REAL=COP
 CL2-1S.POSS
 ‘The pig this man has killed is mine.’

Another condition under which the head noun of a relative clause also appears in within the relative clause is when the head noun is separated from the relative clause as shown below in example (87) on page 313.

A similar structure is typically also found with relative clauses of locative adverbs as in (82): The head adverb is *ar*, and it is coreferential with the adverb *ar=an* in the relative clause:

- (82) *Temyar bwe oko me, me ar_i [na ya=m teveni ar=an_i].*
 demon REAL;CONT walk come come LOC COMP 3P=REAL bury LOC=DEF
 ‘The ghost was walking around, he came to the place where they buried him.’
 (con01:99)

Relative clauses headed by nouns are discussed in the following section, while relative clauses headed by adverbs, as in (82), are treated in section 8.4.3 below.

8.4.2. Relative clauses headed by nouns

Relative clauses are a very frequent type of attribute in Daakaka. The number of adjectives is quite restricted as mentioned in the corresponding section, and even lexical adjectives are often encased in a relative clause despite the fact that they could be used as attributes without it:

8. Subordinate Clauses

- (83) *webung wuoswa, vyanten ma te tawili laa [(na ma) kekei]*
 day some person REAL cut body.of nettle COMP REAL small(ADJ)
 ‘sometimes, people cut the trunk of a small nettle tree’ (exp10:21)

A relativized noun phrase often corresponds to the subject or object of a relative clause. If it corresponds to a third person singular subject, there is no pronoun to pick up the reference in the relative clause, simply because there is no third person singular pronoun. Likewise, if it is coreferential with a third person object in the relative clause, there is usually no correspondent pronoun in the relative clause; this is in accordance with the general rule that definite third person arguments of verbs and predicates can be left unexpressed:

- (84) a. *te nyoo ya=m du~ru yan [lee_i [na ______i ma medar]]*
 CONJ 3P 3P=REAL REDUP~stay on tree COMP REAL ROT
 ‘so they live on rotten trees’ (exp08:44)
- b. *nge bwe en~en yan tan, ma ane suku [ó na
 ya=m kyaate ______i]*
 3S REAL;CONT REDUP~eat on ground REAL eat things.of coconut COMP
 3P=REAL SCOOP.out
 ‘it eats on the ground, it eats the remainder of scooped out coconuts’ (exp02:79)

If the relativized noun phrase corresponds to the subject of the relative clause and is in non-singular number, the relative clause has to contain a subject pronoun.

- (85) a. *goyor_i [na ya_i=m mwelili], goyor [na ya=m wowo]*
 red.ant COMP 3P=REAL be.small red.ant COMP 3P=REAL big
 ‘red ants, small red ants, big red ants’ (exp08:1)
- b. *ra=m ka [vyanten nyoo]_i [na ye_i=m ki=te] ya=m puputawye*
 1P.IN=REAL say person 3P COMP 3D=REAL be.like=MED 3P=REAL unreliable
 ‘we say the men who are like this, they are unreliable’ (con01:20)

Non-singular object arguments can optionally be expressed by a pronoun in the relative clause:

- (86) *mwe sóvilye me te ye=m me vyan tilya wotop_i [na ye=m gote
 nyoo_i]*
 3P
 ‘he came out and they went and took the breadfruits which they had plucked’
 (sto31:128)

As seen above in (81) on the previous page, the head noun itself can also be repeated within the relative clause. This happens usually if the relative clause is not at the end of the sentence, or if, as in (87), the head noun is separated from the relative clause:

- (87) *ka te kii tetes pwe vyan te [gily-en_i mwe sekur tetes [na lisepsep mwe gomu gily-en_i]]*
 SUBCONJ DIST dig again CONT go CONJ end.of-3S.POSS REAL be.torn again COMP
lisepsep mwe gomu gily-en_i]]
 lisepsep REAL grab end.of-3S.POSS
 ‘when he dug again, his tail was torn off again, (the tail) which the lisepsep had grabbed’
 (sto31:97)

Not only subjects and direct objects can be relativized, but also arguments of prepositions. Again, as should be expected from the general principle that definite arguments of verbs and prepositions do not have to be expressed explicitly, they are usually not represented by a pronoun:

- (88) a. *aua_i [na ya=t luwa bweebwi en=te ne ______i]*
 rope COMP 3P=DIST fasten bweebwi DEM=MED with
 ‘the rope with which they had fastened the bweebwi’¹ (exp04:59)
- b. *vilye_i [na kinye=m du yan ______i] tak*
 place COMP 1P.EX=REAL stay on PROX
 ‘this place here where we live’ (rep08:8)

A relativized noun phrase can also correspond to the possessor of the subject in the relative clause.² If the possessed noun is inflected, the inflection itself will be coreferential with the relativized noun:

- (89) a. *sivi nge mw=i baséé_i [na golin vy-an_i nyoo mwe yas]*
 lorikeet 3S REAL=COP bird COMP claw.of arm-3S.POSS 3P REAL strong
 ‘the lorikeet is a bird whose claws are strong/ which has strong claws’ (exp02:142)
- b. *damo_i [na tów-an_i mw=i towo]*
 spider COMP belly-3S.POSS REAL=COP big
 ‘a spider with a big belly’ (exp08:81)

If the relativized noun corresponds to the possessor of a transitive noun, this transitive noun has to be suffixed by *-sye* or its allomorph *-tye*, which refers to a non-human, definite third person possessor (see also sections 3.3.3 and 4.1.3):

- (90) *ya=m du en yan barvinye_i [na ung-sye_i te pwer]*
 3P=REAL stay eat on grass COMP flower.of-3S.POSS DIST stay
 ‘and they eat on grass with flowers’ (exp01:69)

If a relativized noun phrase corresponds to the possessor of an intransitive noun, this intransitive noun will be accompanied by a possessive pronoun coreferential with the relativized noun. For example in (91), the postnominal possessive pronoun *an* represents an inalienable third person possessor:

¹The *bweebwi* is a magical device for fast under-water travel.

²Presumably, it can also correspond to possessors of other arguments in the relative clause, but I do not have any evidence on this question at the point of writing.

8. Subordinate Clauses

- (91) *sivi mwe lingi s-an [ekaakaa=an]_i [na mak=an_i t=i swa*
 lorikeet REAL put CL3-3S.POSS clothes=DEF COMP colour=DEF DIST=COP one
kemyas] te lingi mwe pwer
 only CONJ put REAL stay
 ‘but the lorikeet left his clothes which had [back then] only one colour, he left them there’ (sto04:35)

Finally, noun phrases referring to places can also be coreferential with a locative adverb in the relative clause (compare also relative clauses of locative adverbs below):

- (92) *bató mw=i or_i swa [na liliwi ma du-ru*
 taboo.place REAL=COP place(N) one COMP kastom.mask REAL REDUP~stay
ar=an_i]
 place(ADV)=DEF
 ‘the bato is a place where the liliwi are’ (exp03:13)

Not only nouns, but pronouns too can be modified by an attributive relative clause:

- (93) a. *eki, ngok_i [na sy-em_i mwe se=tak kyun] a ko=m ka ko=p*
 INTJ 2S COMP shit-2S.POSS REAL hook=PROX just and 2S=REAL say 2S=POT
tiye lisepsep en=tak
 kill lisepsep DEF=PROX
 ‘ha, you with the shit trapped inside, you want to beat this lisepsep’ (sto21:48)
- b. *yap myató nyoo na ya=m du yen taem en=te ya=m tilya*
 old.man right 3P COMP 3P=REAL stay in time DEM=MED 3P=REAL take
kinyem_i [na kinye_i mw=i temeli yen taem en=te
 1P.EX COMP 1P.EX REAL=COP child in time DEM=MED
 ‘the old men who lived in that time, they took us who (we) were children back then’ (con02:14)

8.4.3. Relative clauses headed by adverbs

Space

Relative clauses modifying locative adverbs obligatorily contain the generic locative adverb *ar* followed by the definite article clitic *an*. The relativized adverb itself is often also *ar* plus *an* so that the majority of locative adverbial clauses have the form [*ar=an...ar=an*]. In the first occurrence of *ar*, however, the definite article is optional:

- (94) a. *ye=m vyan sukuo ar=an_i [na ye=m du pan-padó*
 3PC=REAL go be.together LOC=DEF COMP 3PC=REAL stay REDUP~fish(V)
ar=an_i]
 LOC=DEF
 ‘they went to the place where they used to fish’ (rep03:16)
- b. *ya=m vyan tas yen belapyang kyun ar_i [na mees mwe pyang ar=an_i]*
 3P=REAL go sit in fireplace just place COMP food REAL hot LOC=DEF

‘they go to sit at the fireplace, where the food is cooked’ (exp03:16)

Although we have seen in example (92) on the facing page above that nouns referring to places can be modified by a relative clause where the relativized noun corresponds to the locative adverbial in the clause, this is not possible for noun phrases in general: when a noun does not refer exclusively to a place, but denotes a certain type of object, a locative relative clause will still need a place adverbial as its head:

- (95) *ko mw=esi meo ma kekei kyun a mwe saa=ne lee na mw=i*
 2S REAL=see namalau REAL small just and REAL pull=TRANS tree COMP REAL=COP
towo towane kyu buluwu=an ar=an [na mwe pesis ar=an]
 big throw surround hole=DEF LOC=DEF COMP REAL lay.egg LOC=DEF
 ‘you see the incubator bird is only small and it pulls a large piece of wood and covers the hole with it (at the place) where it has layed eggs’ (exp02:111)

But the relativized adverb of location does not always have to be *ar*: In (96), it is first the adverb *teenem* ‘at home, at the village, at the house’ which is relativized. In the second example sentence, the head of the relative clause is a prepositional phrase denoting a location:

- (96) a. ...*kyun te kuo te kueli vyan teenem na towo, teenem_i [na te*
 after CONJ run CONJ return go home COMP big home COMP CONJ
pwer~pwer ar=an_i]
 REDUP~stay LOC=DEF
 ‘and then she ran back to the big house, the house where she lived’ (rep12:41)
 b. *ko=p tas [yen barvinye tuswa]_i [na or mwe medir ar=an_i]*
 2S=POT sit in grass one COMP place REAL cold LOC=DEF
 ‘you sit in some grass where it’s cold’ (exp08:154)

Like other adverbs of location, relativized adverbs can also be nominalized by a preceding *vilye* ‘place’ to serve for example as the subject of a clause (see section 3.3.4, page 88):

- (97) [*vilye [ar=an na mwe pwe gene san too ar=an]*]_N *mw=i* ‘yen
 place LOC=DEF COMP REAL stay make 3S.POSS garden LOC=DEF REAL=COP in
le-tako
 plant-sago
 ‘the name of the place where her garden was is ‘in the sago palms’ (rep12:5)

Time

The lexeme *bili* ‘time of, when’ is not trivial to nail down in terms of word class affiliation: It is like a transitive noun in that it can take another noun phrase as its argument and it can be suffixed by the third person possessive pronoun *-sye*, in which cases it can be the argument of a predicate.

Otherwise, however, it only ever appears in adverbial positions, either followed by a demonstrative article or by a relative clause—see section 3.5.3.

8. Subordinate Clauses

Transitive nouns cannot take complement clauses instead of noun phrases as arguments and they are restricted to argument positions, which means that, when introducing adverbial temporal clauses, *bili* functions exactly like an adverb and not at all like a noun, and this is why I treat this case in the current section.

In contrast to locative relative clauses, there is no adverb within the relative clause coreferential with the head of the clause. Temporal adverbial clauses with *bili* can express either that two events take place simultaneously, as in (98), or that they take place one after the other, as in (99). The second part of a temporal clause is usually, but not necessarily, introduced by the conjunction *te* ‘and, then’ (see also section 6.2.5).

- (98) *bili* [*na ya=m du pweli map*], *te vyanten swa mwe nii pwer yen*
 time COMP 3P=REAL stay bake(TR) T.chestnut CONJ person one REAL hide stay in
booli lee
 hole.in tree
 ‘when they were baking chestnuts, someone was hiding in the hole of a tree’ (sto02:3)
- (99) a. *bili* [*na mwe waase*] *basée en=te mwe me kop~kop tetes*
 time COMP REAL whip bird DEF=MED REAL come REDUP~be.full again
 ‘when she touched it (with it), the bird became whole again’ (sto15:39)
- b. *bili* [*na Bekeli mwe me vyan syoo save nyoo mw=i syoten*]
 time COMP NAME REAL come go go.through pass 3P REAL=COP far.away
te towane s-an yesukuo na ma lulu kyu
 CONJ throw CL3-3S.POSS leaves COMP REAL cover surround
 ‘when Bekeli had passed by them [and gone] a certain distance, he then threw
 away his leaves in which he had covered himself’ (sto05:17)

As described in 8.3.3, there is a different way of forming temporal clauses in Daakaka, where the protasis is in distal mood and is usually introduced by the subordinating conjunction *ka*. These two ways of expressing a temporal clause appear to compete with each other, and sometimes both are in fact combined. Thus, in (100), the relative clause itself contains a subordinate temporal clause introduced by *ka*. The sentence in (101) does not contain the subordinating conjunction *ka*, but the distal marker is an additional signal that the clause is to be interpreted as a temporal subordinate clause. See also section 5.5 for more on the distal marker.

- (100) *Bili* [*na [ka ya=t tas tene ka ya=p tiye]] te mo kuowilye*
 time COMP SUBCONJ 3P=DIST sit wait MOD.COMP 3P=POT kill CONJ REAL know
mo nok.
 REAL finish
 ‘While they were waiting to kill him, he knew already.’ (lit. ‘At the time that when
 they were waiting. . .’) (sto05:10)
- (101) *bili* [*na ya=t kyaate ó mo nok*] *te ya=m pwesane ó,*
 time COMP 3P=DIST SCOOP.out coconut REAL finish CONJ 3P=REAL fix coconut
soemap ane umisyoo=ane yoó
 sew.close with palm.leaf.string=TRANS coconut.leaf

‘when they have finished scooping out copra, they make [a bag of] copra stand upright and tie it up with the string made from a coconut leaf’ (exp09:29)

Temporal adverbial clauses headed by *bili* always have a past or generic reference, even though they may contain a potential marker, and the matrix clause is always in realis mood:

- (102) *bili na mo go vyan, bili [na ka we bwis pyan em yo*
 time COMP REAL crawl go time COMP SUBCONJ POT pass.under under house holy
m-e yaapu] te ma ongane ya=m tip-liline
 CL1-POSS big.man CONJ REAL hear 3P=REAL push-back
 ‘while he was crawling, when he was about to go into the holy house of God, he felt
 that he was pushed back’ (rep04:24)

Time is one of the semantic domains in which speakers tend to take over expressions and notions from Bislama. The loanword *taem* is used primarily to quantify over times as in *taem tuswa* (time one) ‘once’ or *taem kevene* (time every) ‘always’, which is not equally possible with words from the original Daakaka vocabulary. But *taem* also sometimes replaces *bili* as the adverbial head of a relative clause (compare also section 3.5.3).

As with *bili*, a relative clause headed by *taem* will usually be in realis or distal mood and might also contain the subordinating conjunction *ka*:

- (103) a. *taem [na ka te kyep], mwe kyep te sy-en ma giy=e*
 time COMP SUBCONJ DIST shit REAL shit CONJ shit-3S.POSS REAL be.like=ALT
kyun
 just
 ‘when they shit, it shits and its crap is like this’ (exp08:148)
- b. *meerin, taem [na tyu te bwe min~min] te to*
 long.time time COMP chicken DIST REAL;CONT REDUP~drink CONJ REAL;NEG
pwer téé vyan milye
 stay look go on.top
 ‘long ago, when the chicken was drinking, it did not look up’ (sto45:2)

Speakers are aware of the fact that *taem* is a loanword and try to avoid it during recordings. When the word slips through anyway, rephrasing the sentence without *taem* seems curiously hard. In (104), the speaker has replaced *taem* by *webung* ‘day’, which yields a slightly awkward meaning (‘on the day(s) on which the dove looks for food’ instead of ‘when the dove looks for food’) and which is not often used as the head of a relative clause. In (105), the speaker comes up with a more idiomatic solution in the form of a temporal clause introduced by the subordinating conjunction *ka*.

- (104) *te maa bwe, taem na bwe, webung [na bwe téé=ane*
 CONJ dove REAL;CONT time COMP REAL;CONT day COMP REAL;CONT look=TRANS
mees] te bwe téé suku ó
 food CONJ REAL;CONT look things.of coconut
 ‘and the emerald dove is, when it’s, when it is looking for food, it looks for the
 remainders of coconuts’

8. Subordinate Clauses

(exp02:77)

- (105) *Taem* [*na ka na=p sóvilye tak nge te*] (*sori*) *a kana=m*,
 time COMP SUBCONJ 1S=POT come.out PROX 3S CONJ sorry and 1D.EX=REAL
[ka kana=t sóvilye], ...
 SUBCONJ 1D.EX=DIST come.out
 ‘When we were about to get out, he (sorry) and we, when we came out, ...’
 (rep15:56)

8.4.4. Headless relative clauses

In the preceding sections we have seen relative clauses with nominal and adverbial heads. Relative clauses without explicit heads can stand in for noun phrases in argument positions and, less frequently, for adverbs. Headless relatives in argument positions differ from complement clauses in that, rather than being themselves the argument of a verb or preposition, they contain an argument which is coreferential with the argument of said verb or preposition. In contrast to complement clauses, headless relatives denote an individual or object which is coreferential with one of the clause’s participants, while complement clauses denote a fact or event.

An example is (106), where the unexpressed head of the clause is coreferential with the pronoun *nya*:

- (106) *to ge myane* ______{*i*} [*na mwe saa-ku~kuwu nya_i mw=i mo*]
 REAL;NEG like with COMP REAL pull-REDUP~out 3D REAL=COP first
 ‘it was not like the first two he had taken away’ (lit. ‘like that which_{*i*} he had taken them_{*i*} away first’) (sto31:117)

As with regular relatives, if the head of a relative clause corresponds to a definite third person singular argument within the relative clause, this argument is usually also left unexpressed:

- (107) a. *vyanten mwe te ló-ó kyun te ta-ku~kuwu bwenges=an nyoo*
 man REAL cut plant-coconut after CONJ cut-REDUP~in.two branch=DEF 3P
te liye ______{*i*} [*na* ______{*i*} *mwe looloo a ma pe~pyo*]
 CONJ take COMP REAL soft and REAL REDUP~white
 ‘people cut the coconut palm and cut off the branches and take what is soft and white’ (exp09:59)
- b. *Na=m ka na=p sóró usili* ______{*i*} [*na* ______{*i*} *mw=i s-ok*]
 1S=REAL say 1S=POT talk follow COMP REAL=COP CL3-1S.POSS
meu=an]
 live=NM
 ‘I want to talk about my life’ (lit. ‘... about what is my life’) (rep01:1)

Most headless relative clauses stand in for noun phrases, but the expression *na ti minyes* (lit. ‘which was different’) has the distribution of an adverb. Accordingly, it can be found in structures like (108), where it accompanies the adverb *webung* ‘(on a) day’:

- (108) *[webung na ti minyes] mon mwe kueli vyan te vyan liye Ø-an*
 day COMP DIST different also REAL return go CONJ go take CL2-3S.POSS
mees vyan te kye
 food go CONJ call
 ‘on another day again, she went back and took his food and called’ (sto13:17)

If there is no explicit head, *na ti minyes* can be translated as ‘again’, ‘another time’, ‘once more’ or similar:

- (109) a. *mwe kye [na ti minyes] mon*
 REAL call COMP DIST different also REAL come
 ‘he calls once more’ (exp05:148)
 b. *ka te pwe en seaa te nungse [na ti minyes]*
 SUBCONJ DIST stay eat every CONJ ask.for.food COMP DIST different
 ‘when he had eaten it all, he asked for food again’ (rep03:42)

8.5. Intensifying Clauses

A special type of clause, which looks like a subordinate clause but is neither a complement nor a relative clause, expresses intensification of properties. These clauses are essentially a copy of a preceding clause, introduced by the complementizer *na*.³

- (110) *s-an pon~pon=an [mo goli] na [mo goli], ra to*
 CL3-3S.POSS REDUP~whistle=NM REAL writhe COMP REAL writhe 1P.IN REAL;NEG
wese ra=n ka
 be.enough 1P.IN=NEC say
 ‘when you go to the hole here, you hear it’s whistling is so convoluted, we can’t imitate it’ (exp50:143)

The copied clause generally has to contain the preceding phrase including the TAM marker and, if present, the subject pronoun, as in (113). In (111), the copied phrase is a non-initial predicate in a serial predicate construction; in (112), the copied phrase is itself part of a relative clause, but the preceding complementizer *na* is not added to the copied clause.

- (111) *ko=p te le-wewo te ko=p te [wa mwelili] na [wa mwelili]*
 2S=POT cut plant-bamboo CONJ 2S=POT cut POT be.small COMP POT be.small
 ‘you cut the bamboo into very narrow [stripes]’ (exp32:3)
 (112) *ma ka: “Tevya, tevyu tuswa [na [mw=i towo] na [mw=i towo]] we*
 REAL say wave wave one COMP REAL=COP big COMP REAL=COP big come
me te me vyo-kuwu tomo.”
 CONJ POT come take-out rat
 ‘he said: “A wave, a big big wave shall come and take away the rat.”’ (sto35:43)

³There is a very similar structure in Bislama as in *santin ia i gud we i gud* (this is very good) where *we* is also a complementizer [see Crowley, 2004, 185].

8. Subordinate Clauses

- (113) *Te na=m esi ngok [ko=m vu] na [ko=m vu ten] a ngok ko=m*
 CONJ 1S=REAL see 2S 2S=REAL good COMP 2S=REAL good very but 2S 2S=REAL
maawane nye.
 spoil 1S
 ‘I see you look absolutely great, but you, you spoiled me.’ (sto07:36)

As in (113), the copied phrase is often additionally emphasized by the adverb *ten* ‘very’ or by the serial verb *vu*, which also expresses emphasis:

- (114) *meo mwe pyas=ane [mu vu] na [mu vu ten]*
 namalau REAL flashy=TRANS REAL good COMP REAL good very
 ‘the incubator bird had adorned it extremely well’ (sto07:16)
- (115) *le-wewo [ma mesaa] na [ma mesaa mu vu]*
 plant-bamboo REAL smooth COMP REAL smooth REAL good
 ‘the bamboo is very smooth’ (exp32:19)

For more emphasis, the intensifying phrase can be repeated more than once:

- (116) *levyak mw=i lee swa sa [ma wowo] na [ma wowo] na [ma wowo]*
 banyan REAL=COP tree one CM REAL big COMP REAL big COMP REAL big
a we-tye te ma mwelili
 and fruit.of-3POSS CONJ REAL be.small
 ‘The banyan tree is a tree which is very very big and its fruit are small’ (exp13:1)

While this intensifying structure is quite frequent with predicates, noun phrases can also enter into the same kind of structure. This has however the additional effect of adding an existential assertion to it. Thus, in (117), the phrase *buluwu na buluwu* (hole COMP hole) in fact represents the proposition ‘**there were** a great number of holes’:⁴

- (117) *ar=an na barar mwe tutur pwer ar=an [buluwu na buluwu] na barar*
 LOC=DEF COMP pig REAL bind stay LOC=DEF hole COMP hole COMP pig
en=te mwe eli
 DEM=MED REAL dig
 ‘Where the pig was fastened, it had dug many many holes.’ (lit. ‘where the pig was fastened, holes over holes which the pig had dug’) (sto24:88)

An adverbial intensifying clause can be replaced by a clause final *nge* without a significant change in meaning:

- (118) a. *kus-un [mw=i towo] na [mw=i towo]*
 nose.of-3S.POSS REAL=COP big COMP REAL=COP big
- b. *kus-un mw=i towo nge*
 nose.of-3S.POSS REAL=COP big NGE
 ‘its nose is very very big’

⁴Alternatively, it is possible that this structure constitutes an exclamative. I haven’t been able to test this yet.

9. Discourse

9.1. Conversational Conventions

9.1.1. Greetings

The way people deal with each other is largely regulated by the kinship system: The kinship relation between two individuals will typically determine how they talk to each other or if they can talk to each other at all.

The conventions described here hold especially for encounters between individuals which are not in a taboo relation to each other (see section 3.3.6 for a little more information on the kinship system), and are mostly based on my own, unrecorded observations.

If people have not met for a long time, they will greet each other by asking for each other's health with one of the following phrases:

- (1) a. *Ko=m meu kyun?*
2S=REAL live just
b. *Ko=m yas kyun?*
2S=REAL be.strong just
'Are you well?'

A less formal way of greeting is given in (2):

- (2) *Ma ge=vi?*
REAL be.like=what
'How are you/ how's it going?'

Both kinds of questions are typically answered positively as in (3):

- (3) *Mu vu kyun.*
REAL be.good just
'Fine.'

If a conversation ensues, people will expand on their responses and also mention difficulties they are currently facing, and they will talk about their families and common relatives.

In encounters between people who see each other regularly, the appropriate response is to ask them where they are going or, if someone arrives back at their home, where they have come from. The corresponding question is usually simply *ar=ve* 'where?' and an elliptic response consisting only of a place name is usually enough, although people like to exchange as much information as possible even on brief encounters.

9. Discourse

If someone is walking through the forest and passes by a small settlement, they are expected to alert the residents that they are approaching and inform them of their business and direction. If someone inadvertently passes by another person concealed by the bush, the concealed person will call out to them to alert them of their presence.

Greetings of European origin have also found their way into the language. Before noon, people will often greet each other with *moning* ‘good morning’. Some language-conscious speakers have replaced this by the formula *pepelyen na mu vu* (morning COMP REAL good), literally ‘a morning which is good’, and will sometimes use corresponding expressions for different times of the day. These do however not appear to be very natural and I suspect them to be calques rather than traditional greetings.

After a conversation or any kind of meeting, all participants will thank each other for sharing their thoughts. If the meeting involved a meal, thanks will also pertain to the food that has been shared. (4) gives an example of what might be said at the end of a meal:

- (4) *sipa tevy-an sóróusi=an, sipa tevy-an mees*
thank.you side.of-3S.POSS talk=NM thank.you side.of-3S.POSS food
‘thank you for the conversation, thank you for the food’

See also section 4.4.5 for more on *sipa* ‘thank you’. Finally, before people go their separate ways, if they do not expect to see each other the same day, they will say *peleyen* (literally ‘tomorrow’) ‘see you’ to bid farewell.

9.1.2. Address and reference

When addressing people and referring to them, certain rules of politeness and taboo have to be observed. In particular, taboo relatives cannot be addressed or referred to by pronoun in singular number; instead, the corresponding dual pronoun has to be used. Thus, when addressing a taboo relative, the pronoun *ka* (2D) has to be used instead of *ko* (2S). When referring to them with a third person pronoun, *ye* (3D) has to be used instead of the empty third person subject pronoun (see also section 4.1.1).

In some contexts, the first person plural inclusive pronoun is used instead of the second person plural pronoun. For example, the chair of a meeting will typically say *na=m sipa myane er...*, literally ‘I thank *us* (for coming)’ instead of ‘I thank you’. Similar examples from the text corpus are shown in (5):

- (5) a. *A na=m ka na=m gene mesaa myane er, mal to*
and 1S=REAL say 1S=REAL make open.space with 1P.IN seventh.rank REAL;NEG
i ten vilye Ambrym.
COP assigned.to place NAME
‘And I want to make it clear to us that the *mal* rank is not from Ambrym.’¹
(exp25:26)

¹In the traditional social organization on Ambrym, people could achieve *ranks* by holding certain ceremonies. With each rank came certain privileges, the right to perform certain crafts and rituals as well as spiritual and political powers.

- b. *na=m dimyane ka na=p sóró usili pun=an swa myane er*
 1S=REAL want MOD.COMP 1S=POT talk follow tell=NM one with 1P.IN
 ‘I want to tell us a story’ (sto44:1)

If people address someone by a non-pronominal expression, people often use not only the name of the person but also the appropriate kinship term, especially when the kinship relation crosses from one generation to the next as with *tati* ‘father, uncle’ or *waawu* ‘grandparent’—see also section 3.3.6.

People avoid using the name of a person to refer to them while they are present. They will usually resort to the demonstrative pronoun *en=tak* (DEF=PROX) instead. If they want to express an additional degree of reverence towards the referent, they will use the terms *yap myato* ‘venerable man’ or *vyap myato* ‘venerable woman’ instead. On the one hand, these strategies make sure that someone who does not speak the language will not notice if they are being talked about.²

On the other hand the same strategies are applied in exactly the same manner with native speakers listening to the conversation, so they are probably a means of politeness as much as of discretion. The expressions *yap myato* and *vyap myato* are also used more generally in stories as honorific versions of the more generic expressions *vyanten* ‘person, man’ and *vyaven* ‘woman’. The highest honorific for men is *yaapu*, which is used to refer to chiefs, respected elders and also refers to God.

9.1.3. Non-verbal communication

Shouting over a distance is only acceptable if the addressee is out of eyeshot. Otherwise, if two individuals have eye-contact but are too far away to talk privately, gestures are used instead. The content of such gestured conversations will be quite predictable: For example, if you see someone leaving, you know that they are expected to inform you where they are going. The hand gestures do not appear to be very specific by themselves, but they can be accompanied by vigorous mouthing of speech sounds, which presumably enables locals to guess someone’s destination.

Other purposes of gesturing include ordering someone to come over or asking someone for permission to enter their property.

²Speakers have explained to me that they cherish the ability to talk freely about third parties who are present but do not understand their language, and I have witnessed many occasions in which a conversation centered around a guest who could not know he or she was being talked about. In fact, many speakers consider the ability to talk freely without being understood by outsiders as one of the greatest advantages of having a local vernacular.

9.2. Narratives

9.2.1. Genres

Overview

The speakers of Daakaka have a rich oral tradition, which has served as a major source for the recordings this grammar is based on. Most of the traditional texts are stories which differ more in their content than in their form and in this section I will discuss some of the categories to which these stories can be assigned, depending mostly on their content.

Speakers make a distinction between children's stories, myths and historical and anecdotal accounts. Childrens' stories are considered purely fictional, while myths are thought to be at least in part true although the supernatural events they relate are usually not thought to be mundane, but are taken to be specific to the particular time and space in which they evolve; anecdotal and historical accounts are mostly taken at face value, even though they might report events which would be hard to believe for, say, a Western researcher.

There was also one example of a text that has many characteristics of a poem, but which is as such probably not representative: It is said to record the names for all the different kinds of yam that used to grow on Ambrym, but in the language of the lisepeps, which differs from human languages. It is described below, at the end of section 9.2.3.

In the composition of the corpus, children's stories are collectively labeled as 'stories', while historical and anecdotal accounts feature as 'reports'.

The content and structure of Daakaka narratives are a fascinating research topic in their own right and I will only be able to give a brief introduction and overview over some of the most salient features. I hope that my brief and superficial expedition into the matter will inspire other researchers to explore it in more detail.

Childrens' stories

Childrens' stories come in two major varieties: One type of story is explanatory in purpose, it explains the appearance and behavior of certain animals or the origin of remarkable plants and rocks. The other type of narrative features the familiar plot of a human or animal hero getting into trouble.

One explanatory story which is very popular throughout Vanuatu compares the chicken and the *meo*, the 'incubator bird'. Both lay eggs of similar sizes, but the chicken is domesticated and has brilliant colors, while the *meo* lives in the bush and is black. The story relates that the two birds used to be friends until one day they decided to paint each other. The *meo* gave the chicken its beautiful colors, but the chicken painted the *meo* pitch black, so that the *meo*, ashamed of its appearance, retreated into the bush, while the chicken returned to the people in the village to be admired.

Similar stories relate how the rat got its whiskers, why chickens look up while drinking, why the dog does not like the cat and why the flying fox hangs down from a branch instead of sitting up on it.

Not all of these stories feature animals, a few are about plants and rocks instead: For example, one story explains how the kava plant came to be friends with the coconut plant with the result

that people used parts of the coconut palm to process and drink kava. Across Vanuatu, there are stories about how culturally and economically important plants have come into the world by the metamorphosis of a dead person. From the Daakaka region, I have been told two such stories, one about the coconut and one about the kava plant. In both cases it was someone's wife, who, when she felt that she was going to die, instructed her husband to bury her in a specific place and then wait for a plant to grow that would provide him with valuable resources.

Likewise, certain rocks with peculiar shape are said to be the result of a metamorphosis.

The most popular type of hero, both in explanatory and adventurous stories, is a trickster character. That role is often filled by the rat, who is generally known as being lazy, lying, thieving, cunning and outrageously impudent.

The standard villain in adventurous children's stories is a lisepsep. Lisepseps are said to live by themselves in the bush. They are described as small, with a lot of long hair. They are smart and full of mischief and they have powerful magical abilities; most stories feature explicitly female lisepseps. Given a chance, they will eat human children, but in many stories their offenses are much less grave. For example, in one story a lisepsep eats the baked chestnuts of a group of people and then fills the shells with her shit. In fact, in many stories, the lisepsep resembles a trickster hero, but in contrast to other trickster characters, stories usually aren't told from the perspective of a lisepsep. Any children's story with a lisepsep in it inevitably ends with her death.

Even so, lisepseps are not universally portrayed without empathy. They are unanimously considered to be real, even though today there do not appear to be many of them around anymore. Some families on Ambrym are said to be mixed descendants from lisepseps and humans. In one touching recording from Wuro in the Dalkalaen region, an elderly man told me how his childless ancestor found a lisepsep in his garden and adopted him as his son. And in another story, which records the origin of an oddly shaped reef, the lisepsep gets to sing a song and to express anxiety over her pending death.

Demons can also show up as the villain of a story, but usually they only appear in anecdotal accounts of actual events.

A few children's stories bear very close resemblance to Grimm fairy-tales. In one story, a lisepsep tricks a young emerald dove by disguising her voice and then eats the dove. The dove's mother however finds her out and manages to cut open the lisepsep's belly to rescue her still living child. The storyline is so similar to *The Wolf and the Seven Little Goats* that it suggests some kind of transfer, from colonialists, missionaries or possibly tourists. Local speakers are however not aware of any foreign origin of this and other stories.

Several children's stories are connected to songs or sand drawings—they will be discussed in more detail in the sections on extra-linguistic content below.

Myths

While children's stories usually have a transparent plot, myths are at the same time powerful and enigmatic. They are usually thought to encode information about the history or origins of certain families. Often, their elements are of symbolic significance rather than of narrative momentum, which in practice means that they are often mixed up—so any story may be told with a motive that originally belonged to a different story.

9. Discourse

In contrast to children's stories, there is a strong sense that myths have to be told the right way and authorities are often consulted before a speaker agrees to tell a mythical story. Many myths are connected to songs. For some myths, such as 'Lyungpaas' or 'Lii man tes', the song is almost all that is left of the story, while in others, the song has been lost.

Since most myths pertain to a particular family's secrets, only few speakers usually know the meaning of any of them. In one myth, a woman gives birth to a child while she is working in the field, and she lays the baby to rest at a tree and gives him one of the tree's roots to suck on. When she leaves for home, she does not take the child with her. But the child grows big and strong on the tree's roots, until he is old enough to make a bow and arrows and shoot some birds.

With the birds on his shoulder, he approaches his mother's village, all the while singing a song about how he grew up. The ending varies between versions.

Some myths have a wider significance, such as the tale about the boy whose mother was a giant snake and whose dire wedding ceremony caused the dispersal of different food items and mats over the islands, which are characteristic for them even today.

The origin of the volcano on Ambrym is also accounted for by a myth: A man from Ambrym used to see a light each night on the neighboring island of Maskilin. Curious, he used the *bweebwi*, a magical travel device in the shape of a shark skin, to go there and find out about the cause of that light. It turned out to come from the mouth of a pig. The man from Ambrym exchanged the pig for the *bweebwi* and took it back home in a canoe. But the pig made so much noise and smoke and dug so many huge holes in the ground, that he had to move it further and further away from the village. It ended up in the middle of the island, where it has dug the deepest hole and is still making noise and fire. When you walk up to the volcano, you will find golden glass fibers on the way, which are known to volcanologists as *Pele's hair*. On Ambrym, they are thought to be the bristles of the volcanic pig.

Historical and anecdotal accounts

The canon of stories which are repeatedly spread like children's stories and myths also contains some tales which count as accounts of historical events or anecdotes of more recent eye-witnessed events.

Some of these tales explain how certain places got their names based on a misunderstanding after the arrival of early Western seafarers. The general storyline sees a captain come ashore somewhere and ask the local residents for the name of their village or island. They don't understand him, but will try to say something relevant, which will in turn be taken to be the name of the place.

The name of the island Ambrym itself is said to go back to the North Ambrym expression *am rem* 'yam for you', with which the locals offered a number of yams to the foreign intruders. The name of the village *Sesivi* is related to the verb *sesivi* 'scale fish', which is apparently what the locals were doing when a Westerner arrived and wanted to know the name of the place.

A number of other tales relate to the volcano, especially the big eruption in 1913 which destroyed the hospital in Dip Point and is said to be the work of a powerful chief. Another story describes how a man called Buwu survived a volcanic eruption with the protection of

God. When his village was evacuated, he was left behind because he was crippled and couldn't walk. He prayed and was spared, even though his entire village was destroyed. This might have been during the eruption in 1950 which produced lahars³ rather than lava flows.

Anecdotal stories from the more recent past bear witness to the existence of lisepseps and demons. One such story illustrates what will happen if you make an appointment with someone to meet at some point in the future, but they die in the meantime: Their ghost will show up to the meeting instead and will probably try to eat you.

Another demon story describes how a woman decided to stay in her *too*, her vegetable garden, for the night so she would be able to work longer. When she heard a demon call out to his friend Palpalmweli, she made the mistake of talking back to him, which earned her a number of burns.

Like children's stories and myths, anecdotal accounts can also be accompanied by a song to commemorate them—see section 9.3.1 below.

9.2.2. Structural features

Overview

In the following, I will present longer stretches of discourse: If an example is broken up into subparts labeled (a), (b) etc., they are not separate examples but subsequent clauses of the same paragraph. The focus of interest in each example will be highlighted.

Framing

Each story independent of its genre is framed by one sentence introducing it and one sentence declaring that it is over.

This is what the typical beginning of a story looks like:

- (6) *Na=m dimyane ka na=p sóró usili sóróusi=an swa.*
 1S=REAL want MOD.COMP 1S=POT talk follow talk=NM one
 'I want to tell a story.' (sto31:1)
- (7) *Sóróusi=an ma usili vyap myató swa.*
 talk=NM REAL follow old.woman old one
 'The story is about an old woman.' (sto34:2)

The same story concludes with the following words:

- (8) *sóróusi=an mwe buorwur ma ge=te kyun, mo nok a=te kyun,*
 talk=NM REAL short REAL be.like=MED just REAL finish LOC=MED just
sipa
 thank.you
 'the story is short like this, it ends here, thank you' (rep12:66)

³A lahar is a slow volcanic mudflow.

9. Discourse

In the Dalkalaen region, a more conventionalized and more interactive way of framing a story is still very much alive: The storyteller will shout *dun!* ('story') and the audience will answer *milee!*, the meaning of which is no longer transparent to speakers, but which presumably also means something like 'story'. Then the storyteller will ask *milee=ne sa?* ('a story about what') and continue with whatever the story is about (*milee=ne...*).

At the end of the story, the storyteller will say *kiki lon tyen tomo a...* ('pat around in the rat's shit and...'), to which the audience will answer *sfee!* ('spit'). Speakers explained to me that the meaning of this ritual was to remind everyone that the content of the story was only fictional and not to be taken literally. However, researchers have reported similar rituals from other communities in Vanuatu as well, where these rituals are interpreted differently.

For example, Jauncey [2011] reports about Tamabo that the ritual ending of a story translates as 'yours is the shit of my animal to eat' and this is apparently taken as a challenge for someone else to tell a story.

The same conventional formulae as in Dalkalaen also exist in Daakaka and are reported to be used when telling a story to children, which I have however not witnessed myself. The Daakaka version of the formulae is given below, where A is the storyteller and B is the audience. (9) shows the introduction to a story and (10) the ending:

- (9) A: *Pun!*
story
'A story!'
B: *Milee!*
story
'A story!'
A: *Milee=ne sewe? Milee=ne...*
story=TRANS what story=TRANS
'A story about what? A story about...'
- (10) A: *Tang~tang yen sy-en tomo a...*
REDUP~touch in shit.of-3S.POSS rat and
'Pat around in the rat's shit and...'
B: *s-fee!*
s-spit
'spit!'⁴

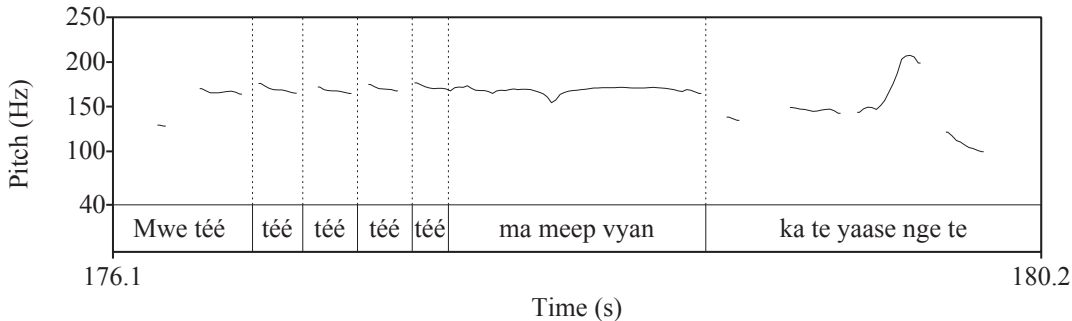
Repetition of verbs

One of several ways to indicate the passage of time is the repetition of verbs. Verbs can be repeated twice or more to express that the activity or state they denote lasts for a long time before the story moves on:

- (11) *Ya=m bangbang bangbang bangbang, pyaavep ya=m me kyun te en.*
3P=REAL play play play afternoon 3P=REAL come just CONJ eat

⁴The lexical expression for 'spit' is *fee*, but in this context it is usually preceded by the additional fricative /s/, presumably for onomatopoeic reasons.

Abbildung 9.1.: The figure shows the characteristic, high and flat intonation contour of a verb repetition



‘They play and play and in the evening, they just come and eat.’ (con02:92)

Often, these verb repetitions are concluded by the verb *vyan* ‘go’, which is itself another way to express passage of time, see the next section below.

- (12) *Mwe téé téé téé téé téé ma meep vyan...*
 REAL look look look look look REAL last.long go
 ‘He looked and looked for a long time...’ (exp23:12)
- (13) *da mu kuo mw=i towo ten, mu kuo kuo kuo kuo vyan*
 blood REAL run REAL-COP big very REAL run run run run go
 ‘a lot of blood was running, it kept running on and on’ (rep11:38)
- (14) *Ma kii kii kii kii vyan te ma usi ka: “Ko=m tang pyan?”*
 REAL dig dig dig dig go CONJ REAL ask say 2S=REAL touch under
 ‘He dug on and on and then asked: ‘Do you reach it?’ (sto47:24)
- (15) *apyang mwe ane kyun, ane ane ane vyan*
 fire REAL eat just eat eat eat go
 ‘the fire just burned, it kept burning’ (sto38:33)

Verbal repetitions differ from reduplications in several ways: in polysyllabic verbs, all syllables are repeated, while only the first syllable is reduplicated; repetitions can involve, in principle, an indefinite number of reiterations—in practice, the number of reiterations is usually not higher than six—but with reduplication, only one reiteration of a syllable is possible; finally, verb repetitions are characterized by a high and flat intonation contour as shown in figure 9.1, while reduplicated verbs are given the same intonation as regular verbs. Finally the semantic effect is different, since repetition only expresses duration, whereas reduplication can express a range of meanings, from continuous aspect to reciprocity. However, the continuous aspect expressed by reduplication is not too different from the duration expressed by repetition, and sometimes both occur together. Often, the last reiteration of the verb, or the concluding *vyan* ‘go’ will be dragged out for a long time to add further emphasis to the duration.

9. Discourse

While many verb repetitions involve dynamic verbs, stative verbs can also be repeated to indicate that a state lasts for a while before the story moves on. An example is given below with *pwer*, which can otherwise also be used without repetition to indicate a passage of time in the narrative (see the section on *pwer* and *du* below):

- (16) *masta en=te mwe pwer pyan man em, pwer pwer pwer vyan*
master DEF=MED REAL stay under 3S.POSS house stay stay stay go
'this master stayed in his house for a long time' (sto19:43)

Durative *vyan* 'go'

As discussed in section 7.2.1, *vyan* 'go' is used as a serial verb to indicate the direction of a movement away from the reference point, which is by default the speaker. An additional function of this serial structure is to indicate that a certain situation persists for a while before the story moves on. In this function *vyan* is almost impossible to translate into English, which simply does not comment as routinely on the passage of time in a story.

Quite frequently, this durative *vyan* is followed by the conjunction *te* 'and, then' as in the following examples:

- (17) *kana=m du bangbang vyan te myaa mwe ate kenma te*
1D.EX=REAL stay play go CONJ hunger REAL bite 1D.EX CONJ
'the two of us were playing then we got hungry' (sto31:17)
- (18) *bili na na bwe téé-téé usili vyan te esi bura mu ku~kuo*
time COMP 1S REAL;CONT REDUP~look follow go CONJ see blood REAL REDUP~run
usili bung-un
follow mouth-3S.POSS
'while I watched him, I saw that blood was running from his mouth' (rep03:59)

In the previous section we have seen that verbs can be repeated to indicate a passage of time, and then be followed by durative *vyan*. Alternatively, durative *vyan* can itself also be repeated for emphasis:

- (19) *ya=m téé-ane vyan vyan yaa mwe pi~pili yan tes*
3P=REAL look-trans go go sun REAL REDUP~red at sea
'they looked for it on and on, the sun went red on the sea' (sto43:19)
- (20) *te bwe tyup barar vyan vyan vyan i sakran*
CONJ CONT battle pig go go go COP second.rank
'he kills pigs until he becomes a sakran (a rank)' (exp25:5)

Durative *vyan* also combines quite frequently with other expressions whose primary function is to manipulate the flow of time in a narration such as *gete* 'like this' and *pwer* 'stay'. These are discussed in more detail in the coming sections.

- (21) *ye=m ongane ma ge=te vyan*
3D=REAL hear REAL be.like=MED go
'they were listening like this' (sto25:81)

- (22) *diwi mwe pwer vyan kyun me te i bankyen kyun te ka*
 mosquito.larva REAL stay go after come CONJ COP mosquito after CONJ fly
 ‘after a while the larvae become mosquitos and fly’ (lit. ‘the larvae just stay/ live on’)
 (exp08:127)

***Pwer* and *du*: topicalization and passage of time**

The two verbs *pwer* and *du* ‘stay, exist’ serve a number of related functions: there is a pair of corresponding auxiliaries marking continuous aspect, they play a role in serial verb constructions, and as main predicates, they are used not only to talk about locations, but also about possession. One more function of *pwer* and *du* as main predicates is to topicalize participants and to indicate a passage of time—this is the function discussed in this section.

Throughout Daakaka narratives, it is quite common to find phrases as in (23-b), where the main predicate *ya=m duru* ‘they existed/ were there’ is remarkably uninformative. It appears therefore that the function of these predicates is not so much to introduce new information, but rather to set the scene for the beginning of a story or a new development in a story. The subject of these verbs of existence *pwer* and *du* are thus firmly established as the topics and protagonists of the following stretch of discourse, even if they have been introduced before as in (23):

- (23) a. *Sóróusi=an ma usili goyor.*
 talk=NM REAL follow red.ant
 ‘The story is about ants.’
 b. *Goyor ya=m du du~ru vyan,...*
 red.ant 3P=REAL CONT REDUP~stay go
 ‘The ants were living their lives, ...’ (sto01:2)

Another example of a similar introduction to a story is given in (24):

- (24) a. *Ka na=p ka sóróusi=ane tomo t-en krap.*
 MOD.REL 1S=POT say talk=TRANS rat and-3S.POSS crab
 ‘I will tell a story about the rat and the crab.’ (sto10:1)
 b. *Webung swa tomo t-en krap ye=m du vyan te ye=m ka*
 day one rat and-3S.POSS crab 3D=REAL stay go CONJ 3D=REAL say
ka ye=p gene too.
 MOD.COMP 3D=POT make garden
 ‘One day, the rat and the crab they were there and they wanted to make a field.’
 (sto10:2)

The sentence in (25) is from an explanation about the properties and uses of various trees and the nettle tree has already been introduced as the topic of the following stretch of discourse. In (25), it appears that the predicate *pwer* allows for *laa* ‘nettle’ to remain in a topical position for a little longer even though it is the possessor of the object of the following clause.

- (25) *laa mwe pwer te ya=m tilya ye-tye*
 nettle REAL stay CONJ 3P=REAL take leaf-3POSS

9. Discourse

‘there is the nettle and they take its leaves’ (exp10:9)

In other contexts, *pwer* and *du* seem to indicate not only the topicality of their subjects, but also the passage of time within the story, or to lead over from one part of a narration to the next. In the following two examples, the main meaning of *du* appears to be passage of time:

(26) *bili na ka te luk me pa we-tye, mu du vyan ka*
time COMP SUBCONJ DIST grow come bear.fruit fruit.of-3POSS REAL stay go SUBCONJ
te vyan myató. . .
DIST go old
‘when it has grown, it bears fruit, after a while (lit. ‘they stay’), when they are ripe. . .’
(exp19:22)

(27) a. *apyaló ma lingi nyoo Baiap a=tak*
ship REAL put 3P NAME LOC=PROX
‘a ship put them here to Baiap’ (rep02:12)
b. *ka te nok, ya=m du vyan te apyaló mwe me syo-tase nyoo*
SUBCONJ DIST finish 3P=REAL stay go CONJ ship REAL come take-again 3P
‘After that, they were there for a while and then the ship came and carried them
again.’ (rep02:13)

The sentence in (28) comes at the turning point of a story, where the focus shifts from two other actors back to the protagonist, the insect called *tamadu*:

(28) a. *bili na ye=m du vyan te*
time COMP 3D=REAL stay go CONJ
‘while they were there,’ (sto41:30)
b. *webung na tamadu ta ka myane nya*
day COMP tamadu DIST say with 3D
‘the day which the tamadu had told them’ (sto41:31)
c. *mwe me vyan*
REAL come go
‘arrived.’ (sto41:32)

Moving from one event to the next: *ge* and *nok*

The two serial predicates *ge=tak/=te* (‘be like this/ that’) and *nok* (‘be finished’) have already been introduced in section 7.3.1, where their respective functions as expressing comparisons and completion have been discussed in some detail. In this section, I will review their role in structuring discourse. The =DEM element to combine with *ge* can be either =*tak* (close distance) or =*te* (middle distance), and I could not identify a difference in meaning between the two in this particular function.

The two expressions *nok* and *ge=DEF* are used as multiple marking serial predicates in very similar ways to signal boundaries between units of discourse. Usually, *ge=DEF* is used with durative, atelic predicates, while *nok* is used with telic ones, although that correlation is not absolute.

As markers of discourse boundaries, they are usually at the end of an intonation unit with a high boundary tone which signals continuation (compare section 2.4), followed by the conjunction *te* or *kyun te* (compare section 6.2.5):

- (29) a. *Ye=m du bangbang ma ge=tak vyan kyun te*
 3D=REAL stay play REAL be.like=PROX go just CONJ
 ‘They were playing like this and then’ (sto06:3)
- b. *vyan te [vyan yen too], [kueli yen too] mo nok*
 go CONJ go in garden return in garden REAL finish
 ‘then they went to the garden, they came back from the garden’ (sto06:4)
- c. *kyun te ma ka ye=p vyan teenem.*
 just CONJ REAL say 3D=POT go home
 ‘then the two were going home.’ (sto06:5)
- (30) *ma tuwuli=ne ma ge=te vyan te vyan te ma esi na ya=m*
 REAL try=TRANS REAL be.like=MED go CONJ go CONJ REAL see COMP 3P=REAL
du ngapngap
 stay rest
 ‘he kept struggling like this and then he went and saw that they were having a break’
 (sto36:27)

Often, the clause they end is a repetition or rephrasing of the previous clause:

- (31) a. *vyan kyun te [puskat bwe myan silye kuli]*
 go just CONJ cat REAL;CONT laugh pluck dog
 ‘and the cat was laughing at the dog’
- b. *[puskat mwe myan silye kuli ma ge=tak] te kuli ma ka:...*
 cat REAL laugh pluck dog REAL be.like=PROX CONJ dog REAL say
 ‘the cat laughed at the dog like this, then the dog said: ...’ (sto06:12)
- (32) a. *Ya=m vyan=ane kekyer ó=an*
 3P=REAL go=TRANS SCOOP.out coconut=NM
 ‘They went to scoop out copra’ (exp09:42)
- b. *ya=m kyaate buu ó swa mo nok te du punguo*
 3P=REAL SCOOP.out heap.of coconut one REAL finish CONJ stay go.up
 ‘they had already scooped out a heap of coconuts and then they went uphill’
 (sto01:6)

Sometimes, there is a pause between a sentence and the subsequent *ma ge=DEF* or *mo nok*. They are then still realized with the same rising intonation contour and followed by the conjunction *te*. In the following examples, the line-break indicates a pause:

- (33) a. *Mwe me, me lingi pyan em m-e Lui,*
 REAL come come put under house CL1-POSS NAME
 ‘he came and took it into Lui’s house,’ (con01:72)
- b. *mo nok te nyur~nyur=ane ka ka we vyan liye-p-kuwu vyan*
 REAL finish CONJ REDUP~think=TRANS say MOD.COMP POT go take-EP=out go

9. Discourse

teveni

bury

‘afterwards he thought he would take it out and bury it’ (con01:73)

- (34) a. *mwe me te ma tinyo pwer te pwe engdir te pwe levene vyaven*
 REAL COME CONJ REAL stand stay CONJ CONT peep CONJ CONT watch woman
na lim=te ye=m du lyung~lyung
 COMP five=MED 3PC=REAL stay REDUP~bathe
 ‘he came and stood and was secretly watching and observing the five women and they were bathing’ (sto44:14)
- b. *ma ge=te vyan te mwe esi toto=ne nyosii*
 REAL be.like=MED go CONJ REAL see lastborn=TRANS 3PC
 ‘so he saw the youngest of them’ (sto44:15)
- (35) a. *yu-on mwe kyes=ane,*
 feeling-3S.POSS REAL sweet=TRANS
 ‘he fell in love with her,’ (sto44:16)
- b. *ma ge=tak te mwe me te me lingsene ebya-on*
 REAL be.like=PROX CONJ REAL COME CONJ COME hide.sth wing-3S.POSS
 ‘so he hid her wings’ (sto44:17)

Nok can signal a transition from one event to the next not only as a serial verb but also as the predicate of a temporal clause in distal mood (see also section 8.3).

- (36) a. *Tyu mon mwe pisyā meo, vyan ka te nok,*
 chicken also REAL paint namalau go SUBCONJ DIST finish
 ‘Then the chicken painted the incubator bird, then when it was finished,’ (sto08:8)
- b. *te meo mwe téé~téé usili na nge s-an pisyā=an*
 CONJ namalau REAL REDUP~look follow COMP 3S CL3-3S.POSS paint=NM
mw=i sii kyun
 REAL-COP three just
 ‘the incubator bird looked and saw that its colors were only three.’ (sto08:9)

By contrast, *ge=DEF* only signals a discourse boundary when used as a serial predicate. It therefore only occurs in distal mood as a discourse marker when the matrix clause is also in distal mood. Note that in different TAM environments, different allomorphs of *ge* are used such as *ki* in (37) and *ke* in (39).

- (37) a. *ka te katiwiye pwesye lo-wotop ti ki=tak*
 SUBCONJ DIST break branch plant-breadfruit DIST be.like=PROX
 ‘when he broke the branch of the breadfruit tree’ (sto31:48)
- b. *te bwilya mwe ka myane tomo, ka: “Tomo, ...”*
 CONJ rail REAL say with rat say rat
 ‘the rail said to the rat, it said: “Rat, ...”’ (sto31:49)

More generally, discourse *nok* and *ge=DEF* agree in TAM values with the matrix clause, as multiple marking serial predicates usually do (compare section 7.1.3). The following examples

show both predicates in potential mood:

- (38) [ko=**p** *pisya nye w=i mo we nok*] *te nye na=p wet pisya ngok*
 2S=POT paint 1S POT=COP first POT finish CONJ 1S 1S=POT only.then paint 2S
w=i to
 POT=COP later
 ‘paint me first and then I will paint you afterwards’ (sto07:11)
- (39) a. *mu dyunga liye s-an vislee te me milye ka te ka wa*
 REAL finally take CL3-3S.POSS bow CONJ come on.top SUBCONJ DIST say POT
doko-ne vislee...
 pull-TRANS bow
 ‘he finally took up his bow and when he was about to pull the bow’ (exp23:17)
- b. *tevy-an ka wa vinye wa ke=tak te basée mwe lingkone*
 side.of-3S.POSS MOD.COMP POT shoot POT be.like=PROX CONJ bird REAL leave
pwesye lee te ka seaa te vyan
 branch tree CONJ fly disappear CONJ go
 ‘to shoot the bird, the bird left the branch and flew away’ (exp23:18)

9.2.3. Reported speech

Overview

Both direct and indirect speech are typically introduced by the verb *ka* ‘say’, which is used either as a main verb or as a serial verb after another verb of saying or thinking (compare section 7.2.2, page 263).

Direct speech differs from indirect speech mostly in terms of deictic expressions: If the pronouns and other deictic expressions in the stretch of reported speech are quoted directly, I classify it as direct speech (as in *I told her: ‘You are wrong.’*). If pronouns are used relative to the speech situation in which a stretch of discourse is reported instead, I classify it as indirect speech (as in *I told her she was wrong*).

In addition, there is a number of optional structural features which can help distinguish the two types of reported speech. The are discussed in more detail below.

Indirect speech

In indirect speech, third person pronouns are used to refer to the speaker who originated the reported stretch of speech or to their addressees. This is illustrated in (40), where ‘the woman’ is properly included in the pronoun *nya* ‘them’, which refers to her and her grandson.

- (40) *vyaven_i ente ma ka [ka saka ya=n maawane nya_{i,j}]*
 woman this REAL say MOD.COMP MOD.NEG 3P=NEC harm 3D
 ‘the woman_i said they should not hurt them_{i,j}’

Indirect speech can be introduced by the complementizer *na*, but this is not a distinguishing feature, since direct speech can also be preceded by *na* (see below).

9. Discourse

- (41) *te* —_i *to* *ka na sye en=te ma tiye* —_i
 CONJ REAL;NEG say 1S thing DEF=MED REAL kill
 ‘but he_i didn’t tell him this thing had hurt him_i’ (con01:49)

Within a narrative, a stretch of indirect speech is sometimes embedded in a stretch of direct speech. The following two examples are both taken from stretches of direct speech and embed a stretch of indirect speech. In these cases, the speaker of the reported utterance is referred to by first person pronouns rather than third person pronouns.

In (42), the owl is talking to the sun, so the entire sentence in (42) is a stretch of direct speech. Within this sentence, the owl reports what the other birds say about it, and this stretch of reported speech is quoted indirectly, relative to superordinate context of direct speech: It does not say ‘[the owl said] they laughed at *it*, they said *its* eyes are big’, which would be indirect speech embedded in indirect speech; nor does it say ‘they laugh at *me*, they say: “*your* eyes are big”’, which would be direct speech embedded in direct speech. Instead, the whole sentence is in direct speech, using the same referential expressions which the owl actually used while uttering the clause; and the report about what the owl’s peers say is in indirect speech, using referential expressions relative to the superordinate clause rather than as they were used by the owl’s peers.

Similarly, in (43), the thoughts of the protagonist are reported as direct speech, and when he quotes, in his thoughts, what his mother told him, his mother’s words are reported as indirect speech.

- (42) “*Ya=m myan silye nye kyun, ka ka [met-ok ma wowo]*”
 3P=REAL laugh pluck 1S just say say eye-1S.POSS REAL big
 ‘“They laugh at me, they say my eyes are big.”’ (exp02:40)

- (43) *s-an nyur~nyur=an ma dimye: “U, naana ma ka [ka saka*
 CL3-3S.POSS REDUP~think=NM REAL think INTJ mother REAL say MOD.COMP MOD.NEG
na=n save point en=tak].”
 1S-NEC PASS harbour DEF=PROX
 ‘he thought: “Oh, mother said I should not go further than this point.”’ (sto03:23)

Direct speech

Direct speech is often rendered quite lively by Daakaka speakers. One of the ways to signal the beginning of a stretch of direct speech is to call the name of the addressee of that direct speech as in the following two examples:

- (44) *te bwilya ma ka ka: “Lisepsep...”*
 CONJ rail REAL say say lisepsep
 ‘then the rail said: “Lisepsep, ...”’ (sto31:16)
- (45) *bwilya mwe kueli me, me te me kye tomo ka: “Tomo, ...”*
 rail REAL return come come CONJ come call rat say rat
 ‘the rail came back and called the rat and said: “Rat, ...”’ (sto31:125)

This strategy is probably modeled on the natural way people address each other in non-reported contexts—it is quite common to address someone by first uttering their name or using the appropriate kinship term.

By contrast, another strategy to signal direct speech does not have a prominent counterpart outside of the realm of reported speech: Direct speech is often introduced by a non-specific vocalic interjection, mostly *e*, but also *u* or *o*. While similar interjections can be used to attract someone’s attention before saying something unexpected, they are far less common in non-reported speech than in reported speech. Some examples are given below. In particular the example in (47), where two subsequent stretches of direct speech are both initiated with an interjection, shows what a frequent feature this is.

- (46) *met-an bwe nyup kyun te ma ka: “E, ko=p pwer na=p vyate*
 eye-3S.POSS CONT nod after CONJ REAL say INTJ 2S=POT stay 1S=POT weave
s-am ding!”
 CL3-2S.POSS mat
 ‘she [the lisesep] was drowsy and she [the dove] said: “Sleep, I will weave your mat.”’
 (sto13:39)
- (47) a. *ma ka: “Ewe, na=m liye kekei sa kana=m me”, te ma ka*
 REAL say INTJ 1S=REAL take baby CM 1D.EX=REAL COME CONJ REAL say
 ‘he said: “Look, I brought the baby and we came”, and she said’ (sto43:54)
 b. *“e, te mu vu kyun”*
 INTJ CONJ REAL good just
 ‘“well, it’s ok”’ (sto43:55)
- (48) *Masisipe mwe me yen or, te ka: “U, vyaven en=tak ma seaa.”*
 NAME REAL come in bush CONJ say INTJ woman DEF=PROX REAL disappear
 ‘Masisipe came back from the bush and said: “Oh, this woman has disappeared.”’
 (sto44:38)
- (49) *ya=m ka: “E, nge sa ra=m kaa-kilye mwe vyan te mo nok.”*
 3P=REAL say INTJ 3S CM 1P.IN=REAL bend-miss REAL go CONJ REAL finish
 ‘they said: ‘Hey, we have missed him, he’s already gone.’” (sto05:22)

Like indirect speech, direct speech can also be introduced by the complementizer *na*:

- (50) *Ma ka na “Kana=p vyan!”*
 REAL say COMP 1D.EX=POT go
 ‘He said: “Let’s go!”’ (rep15:43)
- (51) *a nyoo di-sye nyoo ye=m ka na “kinyem kinye=m vyan,*
 and 3P half-3S.POSS 3P 3PC=REAL say COMP 1P.EX 1P.EX=REAL go
pveli=ne ∅-enyem nyoo te to pyang”
 bake=TRANS CL2-1P.EX.POSS 3P CONJ REAL;NEG done
 ‘and some of them said (that) “we went and baked our food but it did not become
 done”’ (sto02:54)

9. Discourse

Lisepsep speech

Lisepseps are said to speak differently from humans. Several lisepsep stories record what the lisepsep has said, and typically, the speech of the lisepsep is a conventional, often repeated and easily recognizable feature of the story. One crucial feature of lisepsep speech is that they don't use the TAM markers, which are otherwise so omnipresent in the West Ambrym languages.

Two of the best known lisepsep phrases in the Daakaka region are at the same time magic spells to control the forces of nature. In one story, a lisepsep tells the tide to recede in order to divert people's attentions:

- (52) *tes myas, tes myas*
sea dry sea dry
'low tide, low tide' (sto02:7)

To be a regular Daakaka directive, this spell would need a potential marker as in *tes we myas* (sea POT dry) 'let the tide be low'. Similar phrases are used by a non-lisepsep character to bring a crab back to life and let a rat die instead, and by another lisepsep to make a freshly cleared field grow back:

- (53) *ómesyu meu, tomo mer, ómesyu meu, tomo mer*
crab live rat die crab live rat die
'live crab, die rat, live crab, die rat' (sto28:17)

- (54) *or luk, or luk*
bush grow bush grow
'grow bush, grow bush' (sto21:13)

In the same story, the lisepsep is caught and then sings a song about how she does not want to go to the sea and pleads to her captors to let her go. As the story comes from the Dalkalaen region, the song is more easily intelligible for speakers of Dalkalaen than for speakers of Daakaka, but even there, it is usually translated into regular Dalkalaen whenever the story is told. See also the section on songs below in 9.3.1.

In a different story, the lisepsep throws away the rail's mask, which was supposed to frighten him, with the words:

- (55) *en=tak ten sewe?*
DEF=PROX for what
'what this for?'

In regular Daakaka, there would have to be a realis marker and a copula in there:

- (56) *en=tak mw=i ten sewe?*
DEF=PROX REAL=COP for what
'what is this for?' (sto31:103)

The longest recorded stretch of lisepsep speech is said to encode the lisepseps' traditional names for the yams. The poetic form in which it is encoded is enigmatic to Daakaka speakers, who also do not have as many names for different species of yams, since most of them do not

grow in West Ambrym. Moreover, as with some songs, the original language appears to be more closely related to the neighboring Dalkalaen than to Daakaka itself (see also the section on songs below). The poem roughly follows the form X *sa* X Y, Y *sa* Y Z and so on. The first few lines are given below:

dem sa dem tavya
tavya sa tavya sóró malé
sóró malé sa sóró malé tuntum be
tuntum be sa tuntum lue
lue sa lue san lela
lela sa lela sim. . .

9.3. Extra-linguistic Content

9.3.1. Songs

Stories of various genres are associated with songs. In myths, they can be seen to record the essence of the story. They often contain the names of the protagonists or the crucial emblematic elements of the story. In some cases, the song has survived, while beyond the song, most of the myth has been forgotten.

In other cases, the myth has become mixed up with elements from other stories, but the song is still repeated faithfully, even though most speakers don't know what the song means, also because the songs are not always in the same language that the story is being told. In one case, it turned out that a song recorded the names of the two main characters of a myth in Lonwolwol; a Daakaka speaker had faithfully repeated the song, even though he gave the protagonists different names in the story and professed that he didn't know what the song meant.

Similarly, the mythical story about a boy whose mother left him to suck on the roots of a tree as a newborn comes with a song that is repeated faithfully in the Daakaka region, but not understood well. Its words are much closer to Dalkalaen, to whose speakers the song is far more transparent.

Songs are not only associated with myths, but also with some children's stories and even with anecdotal accounts: For example, one anecdote records how a citizen of Baiap used to work on ships and in Queensland. After many years, he stayed in Baiap and didn't get another chance to work abroad. According to the anecdote, he found life so hard in Baiap that he made a song about it, and the song still keeps the memory of this man's boredom and hardship:

- (57) a. *ma ka: O apyaló ko=p me we ao,*
 REAL say INTJ ship 2S=POT come first LYR
 'he sang: Oh, ship, come here'
- b. *na=m bangbang yan vilye s-an vi nyoo.*
 1S=REAL play on place CL3-AL.P white.man 3P
 'I was having fun in the place of the white men.'
- c. *Vilye Ambrym ao*
 place NAME LYR

9. Discourse

- ‘Oh, Ambrym,’
- d. *na=m esi un b-ik mwe pwenges*
1S=REAL see skin body-1S.POSS REAL SORE
‘I feel my body hurt’
- e. *O vilye Ambrym, ao, na=m esi un b-ik ma pwenges.*
INTJ ? NAME LYR 1S=REAL see skin body-1S.POSS REAL SORE
‘Oh, Ambrym, I feel my body hurt.’ (rep02:25)

A characteristic feature of the songs is the insertion of vowels. Especially at the end of a musical phrase, vowels like /e/, /o/ or, as above /ao/ are usually added. Songs are often repeated once or twice before the story proceeds, and in longer stories, the protagonist will sing the song more than once.

9.3.2. Sand drawings

The second important artistic feature connected to many stories are sand drawings. Sand drawings are abstract geometric drawings on the ground. They are based on a grid containing an arbitrary number of points, which are connected by straight and curved lines as well as circles and ellipses. Ideally, each leg is visited only once and the drawing ends at the same point at which it started.

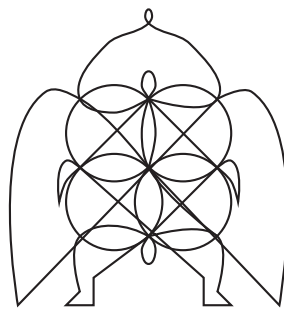
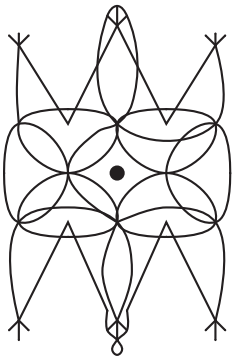
Like songs, sand drawings are not restricted to any specific genre. Also, not every sand drawing is accompanied by a story. Some are purely representational, showing a breadfruit or a warship. Some are part of rituals, magical or otherwise. They can also be pornographic in content although their abstract esthetics make them generally child-safe.

Among those connected to a story, I will briefly introduce two which represent two different genres. One drawing is associated with the story of the tamadu, a caterpillar-like insect which lives in the ground. In the story, the tamadu decides to have a custom ceremony to attain a higher rank. For this, it needs two pigs, and since it does not have any pigs of its own, it asks two men to give one each. The tamadu holds the ceremony, attains its rank, but when the time has come to give back the pigs, it is still empty-handed. To escape its dilemma, the tamadu tells the two men to come and kill it for its failure to return the pigs. It instructs them to bring a bow, to stand up at either side of it and to shoot simultaneously at the count of three. But just as it counts to three, the tamadu retreats into its hole and the two men end up shooting each other instead of the tamadu.

The drawing, which is shown in figure 9.2, displays the tamadu’s hole in the ground and the two men at either side.

The other sand drawing in figure 9.2 represents a man called *Bekeli* (baldhead). The legend goes that this man used to live by himself in the bush, until some people from a nearby village decided to kill him. But he was wise and cunning and escaped their trap by disguising himself with leaves. It is said that this man, who was thought by some to be a lisepep or a similar supernatural being, settled down near Baiap and had a family there.

Abbildung 9.2.: Left: The sand drawing *tamadu*. Right: The sand drawing *Bekeli*.



Appendix

A. Example Texts

A.1. Sivi ten Gee

Synopsis: The flying fox and the lorikeet were sitting on a breadfruit tree. The lorikeet started rotating around the tree; seeing this, the flying fox wanted to imitate him and also started to rotate. But when his head was facing down, he was no longer able to come back up. This is why, to this day, the flying foxes hang on branches with their heads down.

- (1) *Ma ka yene en=tak na=p pun usili gee myane sivi.*
REAL say NOW DEF=PROX 1S=POT talk follow flying.fox with lorikeet
'Now I will talk about the flying fox and the lorikeet.'
- (2) *Bili na sa wotop mwe pa,*
time COMP CM breadfruit REAL bear.fruit
'When the breadfruit tree bore fruit,'
- (3) *te gee ma ka t-en sivi ye=p vyan te vyan du ane*
CONJ flying.fox REAL say and-3S.POSS lorikeet 3D=POT go CONJ go stay eat
wotop.
breadfruit
'the flying fox suggested to the lorikeet that they go to eat breadfruit.'
- (4) *Ye=m vyan ma ge=tak, du en~en vyan te,*
3D=REAL go REAL be.like-PROX stay REDUP~eat go CONJ
'They went like that and they were eating,'
- (5) *Sivi mwe pwe yaase nge kyu pwesye nyoo,*
lorikeet REAL CONT turn 3S surround branch 3P
'The lorikeet was rotating around the branch,'
- (6) *pwe yaase nge kyu, yaase nge kyu vyan mo nok te*
CONT turn 3S surround turn 3S surround go REAL finish CONJ
'he was rotating and then'
- (7) *gee mwe esi na sa sivi mwe pwe yaa~yaase nge kyu nge,*
flying.fox REAL see COMP CM lorikeet REAL stay REDUP~turn 3S surround 3S
'the flying fox saw the lorikeet rotating,'
- (8) *yaa~yaase kyu nge kyun vyan te gee ma ka*
REDUP~turn surround 3S just go CONJ flying.fox REAL say
'he turned round and round and then the flying fox said:'

Appendix

- (9) “*Mo, nye mon na=p yes-esi nye.*”
 ok 1S also 1S=POT turn-try 1S
 ‘“Ok, let me also try to turn round.”’
- (10) *Ka te yaase nge kyu,*
 SUBCONJ DIST turn 3S surround
 ‘When he rotated,’
- (11) *te bat-en mwe téé me yan tan,*
 CONJ head-3S.POSS REAL look come at ground
 ‘his head was facing to the ground,’
- (12) *a to wet kuowilye ka bat-en ne téé vyan milye.*
 and DIST only.then know fly head-3S.POSS NEC look go on.top
 ‘and he couldn’t bring his head up anymore.’
- (13) *Te gene pwer vyan sikya doma en=tak.*
 CONJ make stay go touch today DEF=PROX
 ‘And it’s like that until this day.’
- (14) *Te ko w=esi ka gee te mwe saasaa pwer te bat-en*
 CONJ 2S POT=SEE SUBCONJ flying.fox CONJ REAL move stay CONJ head-3S.POSS
to wet wese ka ne téé vyan milye
 REAL;NEG only.then enough MOD.REL NEC look go on.top
 ‘You see the flying fox hang somewhere, its head just can’t point upwards.’
- (15) *A sivi bat-en mwe téé vyan milye. Pun=an en=te sa na=m ka*
 and lorikeet head-3S.POSS REAL look go on.top tell=NM DEF=MED CM 1S=REAL say
na=p ka.
 1S=POT say
 ‘And the lorikeet’s head faces upwards. This is the story I wanted to tell.’

A.2. Levyak

Synopsis: This is an explanation about the banyan tree’s biological properties, life-cycle and uses.

- (1) *Levyak mw=i lee swa sa ma wowo na ma wowo na ma wowo a*
 banyan REAL=COP tree one CM REAL big COMP REAL big COMP REAL big and
we-tye te ma mwelili.
 fruit.of-3POSS CONJ REAL be.small
 ‘The banyan tree is a tree which is very very big, and its fruits are small.’
- (2) *Bili na ka li-sye tuswa te pwer or tuswa,*
 time COMP SUBCONJ plant-3POSS one DIST stay place one
 ‘When somewhere there is a plant of it,’
- (3) *te pa, basée nyoo ya=p vyan tevy-an,*
 CONJ bear.fruit bird 3P 3P=POT go side.of-3S.POSS
 ‘and it bears fruit, the birds go there,’

- (4) *ya=t vyan tevy-an, webung wuoswa basée o gee ya=m tilya*
 3P=DIST go side.of-3S.POSS day some bird or flying.fox 3P=REAL take
we-tye,
 fruit.of-3POSS
 ‘when they go there, sometimes, the birds or flying foxes take the fruits,’
- (5) *ya=m ane mo nok ye=t vyan yan lee tuswa t=i syoten, ya=t*
 3P=REAL eat REAL finish 3PC=DIST go on tree one DIST=COP far.away 3P=DIST
kyep=ane, ya=t kyep,
 defecate=TRANS 3P=DIST defecate
 ‘they eat them and when they go to a tree far away, when they excrete them, when they defecate,’
- (6) *ka ye=t kyep=ane uti levyak,*
 SUBCONJ 3PC=DIST defecate=TRANS seed.of banyan
 ‘when they excrete the seeds of the banyan tree,’
- (7) *te ka wa we yan bweti lee swa, ka wa we yan bweti lee tuswa,*
 CONJ MOD.REL POT lie on stem.of tree one MOD.REL POT lie on stem.of tree one
 ‘then it will lie on a tree, it will lie on a tree,’
- (8) *w=i le-mango o lo-wotop o,*
 POT=COP plant-mango or plant-breadfruit or
 ‘for example the mango tree or the breadfruit tree or,’
- (9) *ló-ó, ka uti-sye basée te kyep, ka te we pwer yan*
 plant-coconut SUBCONJ seed.of-3POSS bird DIST defecate SUBCONJ DIST lie stay at
pwesye lee
 branch tree
 ‘the coconut palm, when a bird excretes its seeds, and when it lies on the branch of the tree,’
- (10) *te levyak en=te ka we pwer a=te te luk wa kekei vyan te*
 CONJ banyan DEF=MED MOD.REL POT stay LOC=MED CONJ grow POT small go CONJ
luu-sye nyoo ka wa ve~veop,
 root-3S.POSS 3P MOD.REL POT REDUP~long
 ‘then this banyan tree will stay there and grow a little and its roots will be long,’
- (11) *te veop mwe sikya pyan,*
 DIST long REAL touch under
 ‘when they are long enough to reach down,’
- (12) *te ka we go pis ki-kyu lee na mu luk yan*
 CONJ MOD.REL POT crawl tie REDUP~surround tree COMP REAL grow on
 ‘then they will creep around the tree on which it grows.’
- (13) *Mwe tebweti luk yan te vyan lee ka we gaó*
 REAL start grow on CONJ go tree SUBCONJ POT dry
 ‘It starts to grow on it and when the tree [on which it grows] is dead,’

Appendix

- (14) *ka we wet me te vyan ka w=i lee swa ka w=i*
 MOD.REL only.then come CONJ go MOD.REL POT=COP tree one MOD.REL POT=COP big
towo na ka w=i towo tevy-an levyak mw=i lee swa
 COMP MOD.REL POT=COP big side.of-3S.POSS banyan REAL=COP tree one
 ‘it will become a very very big tree because the banyan tree is a tree’
- (15) *mw=i lee na mwe toowe, mwe save lee ke~kevene*
 REAL=COP tree COMP REAL COVER REAL surpass tree REDUP~every
 ‘it’s a tree which covers, which exceeds all other trees’
- (16) *ne vilye nyoo.*
 TRANS place 3P
 ‘of [all] the places.’
- (17) *Ya=m, bili na luu-sye te ve~veop, te ya=m*
 3P=REAL time COMP root-3S.POSS DIST REDUP~long CONJ 3P=REAL
 ‘They, when the roots are long, they’
- (18) *ya=m gene gyes=an yan luu-sye.*
 3P=REAL make work=NM at root-3S.POSS
 ‘they use the roots.’
- (19) *Bili na luu-sye te mwelili ngabak te ya=m takote*
 time COMP root-3S.POSS DIST be.small still CONJ 3P=REAL cut.loose
 ‘When the roots are still small, they cut them’
- (20) *ya=m takote na ma mwelili me te*
 3P=REAL cut.loose COMP REAL be.small come CONJ
 ‘they cut the small ones and’
- (21) *ya=m mitye teve-sye ka t=i ló mo nok te wilyakate.*
 3P=REAL split side.of-3S.POSS SUBCONJ DIST=COP two REAL finish CONJ peel
 ‘they brake them into two and then they peel them.’
- (22) *Ya=m pisi eye ne uli-sye.*
 3P=REAL fasten knife with skin-3S.POSS
 ‘They wrap the knife [handles] with its bark.’
- (23) *Webung wuoswa ka ya=t te vislee,*
 day some SUBCONJ 3P=DIST cut bow
 ‘Sometimes, when they cut a bow,’
- (24) *te ya=m me wilyakate uli-sye te tilya te*
 CONJ 3P=REAL come peel skin-3S.POSS CONJ take CONJ
 ‘they peel off the bark and take it and’
- (25) *te ya=m gene mwe myas~myas te ya=m*
 CONJ 3P=REAL make REAL REDUP~dry CONJ 3P=REAL
 ‘they make it dry and they’

- (26) *ya=m yaase te me mw=i ten na ya=m utivi vislee yan te*
 3P=REAL turn CONJ come REAL=COP for COMP 3P=REAL to.string bow on CONJ
ya=m gene mw=i yas,
 3P=REAL make REAL=COP strong
 ‘they turn it in order to make a bow from it, they make it strong,’
- (27) *na ka te me wowo, luu-sye na te myató tu vu*
 COMP SUBCONJ DIST come big root-3S.POSS COMP DIST old past good
 ‘and when it gets big, its roots which are mature,’
- (28) *ya=m takote, te ya=m liye me te ya=m lingi mw=i*
 3P=REAL cut.loose CONJ 3P=REAL take come CONJ 3P=REAL put REAL=COP
ewewe=ne em,
 roof.beams=TRANS house
 ‘they cut them and they take them and use them as beams for the roof of a house,’
- (29) *te mw=i ten na ya=m gene em yan.*
 CONJ REAL=COP for COMP 3P=REAL make house on
 ‘so they [the roots] are for making a house (with them).’
- (30) *Bili na ka levyak ka te gaó, ka te tési, taem na*
 time COMP SUBCONJ banyan SUBCONJ DIST dry SUBCONJ DIST fall.down time COMP
 ‘When the banyan tree dies, when it falls down, when’
- (31) *bili na ka yaa te en*
 time COMP SUBCONJ sun DIST eat
 ‘when the sun dries it,’
- (32) *te ya=m sye mw=i op te ya=m vyan penin ó yan.*
 CONJ 3P=REAL cut REAL=COP firewood CONJ 3P=REAL go roast.pl coconut on
 ‘they cut it up for firewood and roast coconuts on it.’
- (33) *Bili na ka te pa,*
 time COMP SUBCONJ DIST bear.fruit
 ‘When it bears fruit,’
- (34) *te mwe kye seaa baséé ke~kevene, baséé kevene na ya=m vyan*
 CONJ REAL call every bird REDUP~every bird every COMP 3P=REAL go
tevy-an na ya=m du ane,
 side.of-3S.POSS COMP 3P=REAL stay eat
 ‘it calls out all the birds, and all the birds go to eat,’
- (35) *ya=m ane we-tye.*
 3P=REAL eat fruit.of-3POSS
 ‘they eat its fruit.’
- (36) *A or kekei na ya=m gene gyes=an yan tevy-an em,*
 and place small COMP 3P=REAL make work=NM on side.of-3S.POSS house
 ‘And the small part of it which they use for the house,’
- (37) *luu-sye kyun ya=m te tevy-an ya=m me wilyakate*
 root-3S.POSS just 3P=REAL cut side.of-3S.POSS 3P=REAL come peel

Appendix

- ‘only its roots, they cut them to peel them’
- (38) *yaa ma ane vyan ka te gaó ya=m tilya, te*
 sun REAL ane go SUBCONJ DIST dry 3P=REAL take CONJ
 ‘the sun burns them and when they are dry,’
- (39) *lingi mw=i ewewe=ne em te ya=m lingi mw=i tulup milye.*
 put REAL=COP roof.beams=TRANS house CONJ 3P=REAL put REAL=COP ridge on.top
 ‘they use them as beams of the roof of a house, they make the ridge of the roof from them.’
- (40) *Ya=m gene mw=i ewewe=ne...*,
 3P=REAL make REAL=COP roof.beams=TRANS
 ‘They use it as beams of the roof of...’
- (41) *mwe gene yan etep vyaven nya*
 REAL make on post woman 3D
 ‘so, on the small posts [in the corners of the house]’
- (42) *tevesye tevesye*
 side side
 ‘on either side’
- (43) *na mw=i, lee byavya na mwe kuo-kote or yen bistuwo.*
 COMP REAL=COP tree be.perpendicular COMP REAL run-in.two place in middle
 ‘and the central, uppermost beam which runs through the middle [of the roof].’
- (44) *bili na levyak swa ka luu-sye te pwis te myató tu vu,*
 time COMP banyan one SUBCONJ root-3S.POSS DIST be.plentiful DIST old past good
 ‘When a banyan tree has many roots and they are really old,’
- (45) *ka te myor~myor vyanten vyan te mwe gene em yan.*
 SUBCONJ DIST REDUP~straight person go CONJ REAL make house at
 ‘when they are straight, people make a house from them.’
- (46) *Uli-sye ya=m wilyakate, ya=m utivi vislee ne.*
 skin-3S.POSS 3P=REAL peel 3P=REAL to.string bow with
 ‘They peel off the bark, and string the bows with it’
- (47) *ya=m utivi vislee yan a*
 3P=REAL to.string bow on and
 ‘they string the bows with it and’
- (48) *ya=m gene, ya=m pisi eye ne tevy-an ka eye mwe*
 3P=REAL make 3P=REAL fasten knife with side.of-3S.POSS SUBCONJ knife REAL
myap~myap saka vyase eye nu kuu-kuu.
 REDUP~heavy MOD.NEG handle.of knife NEC REDUP~sway
 ‘they make, they wrap up [the handle of] a knife in it so that the knife is heavy and the handle of the knife doesn’t move.’
- (49) *Te ya=m gene gyes=an yan luu-sye na ten eye,*
 CONJ 3P=REAL make work-3S.POSS on root-3S.POSS COMP for knife
 ‘So they use the roots for the knife’

- (50) *ya=m gene ten vislee, ya=m gene na ma wowo ten em.*
 3P=REAL make for bow 3P=REAL make COMP REAL big for house
 ‘they use it for the bow, they use the big ones for the house.’
- (51) *Na=m dimye gyes=an s-an levyak nge kyun sa na=m sóró usili te.*
 1S=REAL think work=NM CL3-AL.P banyan 3S just CM 1S=REAL talk-usili CONJ
 ‘I think the uses of the banyan tree are just those which I have explained.’

B. Statistics

B.1. Text corpus

A list of all texts used in the corpus, sorted according to their genre, with information about their ID, the speaker, duration, number of words and number of examples used in this grammar.

Tabelle B.1.: The composition of the corpus

Genre	ID	Speaker	Duration	Words	Examples
conversation	con01	DM	11:45	1342	32
conversation	con02	DM	16:08	2173	30
essay	ess01	AD	written	56	2
explanation	exp01	SD	05:02	547	6
explanation	exp02	SD	14:38	1648	29
explanation	exp03	FT	01:52	229	6
explanation	exp04	FT	05:00	622	8
explanation	exp05	FT	16:11	1660	9
explanation	exp06	DM	05:08	434	7
explanation	exp07	JI	21:17	2642	19
explanation	exp08	SD	14:32	1576	35
explanation	exp09	FT	08:09	843	16
explanation	exp10	FT	03:57	392	8
explanation	exp11	FT	04:08	394	6
explanation	exp12	FT	06:15	755	4
explanation	exp13	FT	04:31	488	8
explanation	exp14	FT	02:04	206	6
explanation	exp15	FT	05:39	569	5
explanation	exp16	AU	05:04	319	6
explanation	exp17	FT	06:17	563	5
explanation	exp18	FT	03:00	392	5
explanation	exp19	FT	02:14	216	9
explanation	exp20	DB	written	215	16
explanation	exp21	RT	00:43	111	3
explanation	exp22	MJ	written	126	5

Tabelle B.1.: (continued)

Genre	ID	Speaker	Duration	Words	Examples
explanation	exp23	FT	03:45	208	7
explanation	exp24	DM	01:32	132	1
explanation	exp25	DM	03:02	315	3
explanation	exp26	FT	01:36	187	3
explanation	exp27	FT	05:37	634	4
explanation	exp28	FT	03:46	425	4
explanation	exp29	FT	06:54	767	7
explanation	exp30	FT	03:47	266	8
explanation	exp31	FT	00:36	65	2
explanation	exp32	FT	01:14	195	5
explanation	exp33	RB	01:39	111	0
explanation	exp34	BV	01:55	44	1
explanation	exp35	MB	04:38	62	0
explanation	exp36	BV	01:46	39	0
explanation	exp37	MB	01:53	51	0
explanation	exp38	RB	01:42	271	1
explanation	exp39	BV	05:15	197	1
explanation	exp40	BV	02:59	77	2
explanation	exp41	RB	04:01	143	1
explanation	exp42	BB	02:59	175	1
explanation	exp43	MB	01:35	25	0
explanation	exp44	MB	02:55	131	2
explanation	exp45	BV	05:39	118	0
explanation	exp46	BB	05:35	71	0
explanation	exp47	BV	02:36	88	1
explanation	exp48	BV	03:32	58	0
explanation	exp49	JB	01:43	71	0
explanation	exp50	BV	12:47	1432	19
explanation	exp51	FT	03:45	242	1
explanation	exp52	FT	01:00	81	5
report	rep01	DM	05:24	304	11
report	rep02	BP	02:44	289	9
report	rep03	FT	06:48	768	17
report	rep04	FT	08:44	877	28
report	rep05	TS	00:40	107	0
report	rep06	ED	00:53	100	2
report	rep07	SD	00:17	47	0
report	rep08	ST	05:04	647	13
report	rep09	DM	06:33	579	9
report	rep10	DM	01:46	191	9

Tabelle B.1.: (continued)

Genre	ID	Speaker	Duration	Words	Examples
report	rep11	FT	05:01	549	5
report	rep12	FT	05:14	647	12
report	rep13	BT	00:42	110	1
report	rep14	BM	01:27	182	2
report	rep15	BC	05:20	829	16
report	rep16	MJ	written	270	8
story	sto01	FT	03:17	399	16
story	sto02	BV	09:16	1006	22
story	sto03	RB	04:54	923	11
story	sto04	FT	05:00	562	15
story	sto05	FT	04:38	356	8
story	sto06	SD	02:19	270	12
story	sto07	FT	04:55	519	19
story	sto08	JB	02:53	270	11
story	sto09	AK	01:22	201	3
story	sto10	AN	01:00	286	8
story	sto11	AQ	03:27	411	13
story	sto12	TB	07:13	821	6
story	sto13	SD	05:52	719	13
story	sto14	ME	03:33	350	10
story	sto15	BV	03:29	400	7
story	sto16	FT	08:49	853	13
story	sto17	DM	03:35	423	8
story	sto18	DM	05:06	626	18
story	sto19	FT	09:31	864	9
story	sto20	BV	02:39	174	5
story	sto21	JS	09:33	1191	19
story	sto22	ME	04:41	419	7
story	sto23	LD	01:45	168	3
story	sto24	FT	14:03	1569	19
story	sto25	FT	21:27	2276	36
story	sto26	BP	02:11	173	4
story	sto27	BV	03:50	477	12
story	sto28	AM	01:47	186	1
story	sto29	RT	01:37	252	15
story	sto30	BR	02:02	309	3
story	sto31	FT	12:48	1306	36
story	sto32	DM	05:25	488	8
story	sto33	ST	14:58	1831	22
story	sto34	FT	08:08	915	18

Tabelle B.1.: (continued)

Genre	ID	Speaker	Duration	Words	Examples
story	sto35	JM	04:57	478	9
story	sto36	FT	03:31	403	7
story	sto37	BV	03:30	1073	3
story	sto38	BR	01:05	333	4
story	sto39	RB	06:41	248	1
story	sto40	AK	01:05	147	3
story	sto41	FT	07:07	1033	15
story	sto42	FT	04:39	412	4
story	sto43	DM	04:07	503	13
story	sto44	DM	04:31	487	13
story	sto45	RT	01:11	180	6
story	sto46	MJ	written	326	3
story	sto47	ME	07:27	1024	13
story	sto48	FT	05:49	244	7
totals					
5	119	34	9:53:12	60579	1037

B.2. Speakers

Speaker	Gender	Age	Place	Texts
AD	F	<15	Baiap	1
AK	M	45-60	Sesivi	2
AM	F	15-25	Sesivi	1
AN	F	15-25	Emyotungan	1
AQ	F	35-45	Sesivi	1
AU	M	25-35	Sesivi	1
BB	M	35-45	Yaotilye	2
BC	M	45-60	Baiap	1
BM	M	>60	Sesivi	2
BP	M	>60	Baiap	2
BR	M	45-60	Sesivi	2
BT	M	>15	Emyotungan	1
BV	M	35-45	Emyotungan	14
DB	M	25-35	Emyotungan	1
DM	M	>60	Sesivi	13
ED	M	25-35	Leelee	1
FT	M	45-60	Emyotungan	41
JB	M	15-25	Sesivi	2
JI	M	15-25	Sesivi	1
JM	M	15-25	Emyotungan	1
JO	M	>60	Sesivi	1
JS	M	15-25	Malver	1
HM	M	15-25	Sesivi	2
LD	F	>60	Baiap	1
MB	M	35-45	Emyotungan	4
ME	M	>60	Baiap	3
MJ	F	25-35	Baiap	3
NO	M	>60	Sesivi	1
RB	M	45-60	Yelevyak	5
RT	F	15-25	Emyotungan	3
SD	M	45-60	Emyotungan	6
ST	M	>60	Sesivi	1
TB	M	35-45	Sesivi	1
TS	M	15-25	Emyotungan	1

Appendix

B.3. Fieldtrips

Arrival	Stay	Place
2009-08-07	18	Vila
2009-08-25	32	Emyotungan
2009-09-26	7	Vila
2009-10-03	14	Emyotungan
2009-10-17	7	Baiap
2009-10-27	14	Sesivi
2009-11-07	9	Emyotungan
2009-11-16	6	Vila
2010-05-09	6	Vila
2010-05-15	42	Emyotungan
2010-06-26	7	Vila
2010-07-03	18	Sesivi
2010-07-21	3	Emyotungan
2010-07-24	14	Wuro
2010-08-07	4	Emyotungan
2010-08-11	21	Vila
2011-07-31	17	Vila
2011-08-11	23	Wuro
2011-09-03	24	Vila
2011-09-27	7	Wuro
2011-10-05	10	Vila

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Selbständigkeitserklärung

Ich erkläre, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit selbständig und nur unter Verwendung der angegebenen Literatur und Hilfsmittel angefertigt habe.

Berlin, den 3. Oktober 2012

Kilu von Prince