

A Grammar of Paluai

The Language of Baluan Island, Papua New Guinea

by

Gerda Hendrike Schokkin, MA

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Gerda Hendrike Schokkin

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Abstract

This thesis is a reference grammar of Paluai, an Austronesian language belonging to the Admiralties subgroup of Oceanic. Paluai is spoken on Baluan Island in the Manus Province of Papua New Guinea. It is predominantly isolating, with comparatively little productive morphology. Bound morphology is of the agglutinating type: morpheme boundaries are clear. The language is predominantly head-marking. Basic constituent order is SV for intransitive clauses and AVO for transitive clauses. However, constituents such as Objects, Obliques and Possessors can be fronted to pre-subject position via a topicalisation operation.

The two major word classes are noun and verb (with a major subclass of stative verbs), with adjectives and adverbs as minor classes distinguished from both noun and verb and each other. Verb to noun and verb to adjective derivations are very common, but not vice versa. Most predicates are headed by a verb complex, but nouns, adjectives, numerals and some prepositions can also function as predicate head. Only verbs, however, can take bound pronouns and be modified by TAM particles. The pronominal system distinguishes singular, dual, paucal and plural number. There is a distinction between direct and indirect nominal possession based on alienability.

The verb complex consists of a main verb and optional preverbal particles and postverbal coverbs to express aspect, modality, directionality and adverbial meanings. Reality status is expressed by a prefix to the verb complex. There is extensive verb serialisation with a variety of types, including cause-effect, valency-changing, adverbial and directional Serial Verb Constructions. S/A arguments are cross-referenced on the verb complex by a bound pronoun proclitic; O arguments are cross-referenced by an enclitic if they refer to animate beings and the full NP is elided. Oblique arguments are never cross-referenced on the verb, and the form of the marker depends on an animacy distinction. There is a causative prefix and an applicative suffix, but no passive operation.

The thesis consists of 12 chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the socio-cultural background of the Paluai speakers, the language family and work on related languages, and assesses language vitality. Chapter 2 describes the phonology. Chapter 3 discusses open word classes, including nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs with their subclasses, and derivational processes. Chapter 4 addresses closed word classes and grammatical systems such as pronouns, demonstratives, adpositions, numerals, quantifiers, question

markers, conjunctions and interjections. Chapter 5 describes the structure of the noun phrase, and discusses nominal categories such as the distinction between direct and indirect possession. Chapter 6 is about the structure of verbal predicates, and discusses verbal categories including aspect, reality status and modality. Chapter 7 discusses non-verbal predicates, headed by a member of a word class other than verb. Chapter 8 addresses valency and grammatical relations, including alignment of core and peripheral arguments, transitivity classes and valency-changing operations. Chapter 9 discusses the various types of Serial Verb Constructions and their functions. Chapter 10 deals with speech act distinctions, including interrogative, imperative, and declarative sentences, and polarity, including negation of verbal and verbless clauses. Chapter 11 discusses clause types, including dependent clauses (relative, complement and adverbial clauses), and the semantics of clause linking. Chapter 12 addresses topics in pragmatics and discourse, including information structure, anaphors and cataphors, and topicalisation.

Table of contents

Acknowledgements.....	iii
Abstract.....	vii
Table of contents.....	ix
List of tables.....	xxiii
List of figures.....	xxvi
Conventions and abbreviations.....	xxvii
Chapter 1 Background information.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Sociolinguistic situation.....	2
1.3 Language vitality.....	4
1.4 Social and cultural background.....	6
1.4.1 Natural environment.....	7
1.4.2 A bird-eye view of present-day Baluan.....	8
1.4.2.1 Economy.....	8
1.4.2.2 Demography and settlement patterns.....	9
1.4.2.3 Education.....	11
1.4.2.4 Religion.....	11
1.4.2.5 Traditional arts, crafts and speech genres.....	12
1.4.3 Societal and political organisation.....	13
1.4.4 Kinship and marriage.....	13
1.5 Genetic affiliation of Paluai.....	15
1.5.1 History, geography and linguistic subgrouping.....	15
1.5.2 Linguistic characteristics of Oceanic.....	19
1.5.2.1 Phonology.....	19
1.5.2.2 Pronominal system.....	19
1.5.2.3 Nouns.....	19
1.5.2.4 Articles and demonstratives.....	20
1.5.2.5 Verbs.....	20
1.5.2.6 Clauses.....	21
1.6 Sketches of neighbouring languages.....	21
1.6.1 Loniu.....	23
1.6.2 Mussau.....	24
1.6.3 Seimat.....	24
1.6.4 Lou.....	24

1.7	Data collection and methodology.....	24
Chapter 2	Phonology.....	27
2.1	Syllabic structure.....	27
2.2	Segmental phonology.....	29
2.2.1	Overview of consonant phonemes	29
2.2.2	Distribution and realisations of consonant phonemes.....	30
2.2.2.1	The phoneme /p/	30
2.2.2.2	The phoneme /t/	31
2.2.2.3	The phoneme /k/	32
2.2.2.4	The phoneme /p ^w /.....	32
2.2.2.5	The phoneme /m/	33
2.2.2.6	The phoneme /n/	33
2.2.2.7	The phoneme /ŋ/	34
2.2.2.8	The phoneme /m ^w /.....	34
2.2.2.9	The phoneme /s/	35
2.2.2.10	The phoneme /l/	35
2.2.3	Vowel phonemes	36
2.2.3.1	The phoneme /i/	36
2.2.3.2	The phoneme /ɪ/	37
2.2.3.3	The phoneme /e/.....	37
2.2.3.4	The phoneme /ɛ/.....	37
2.2.3.5	The phoneme /o/	38
2.2.3.6	The phoneme /ʊ/	38
2.2.3.7	The phoneme /u/	38
2.2.4	Minimal pairs	39
2.2.4.1	Minimal pairs for consonant phonemes.....	39
2.2.4.2	Minimal pairs for vowel phonemes	40
2.2.5	Issues related to phoneme status	40
2.2.5.1	The glottal fricative [h]	41
2.2.5.2	Rounded velar stop [k ^w].....	41
2.2.5.3	The approximants [j] and [w]	41
2.2.6	Phonological processes	43
2.2.6.1	Phonological processes related to consonants	43
2.2.6.2	Vowel assimilation	45

2.2.6.3	Vowel reduction	46
2.2.6.4	Syllable reduction	46
2.2.6.5	Metathesis	46
2.2.7	V-V sequences and phonetic diphthongisation	47
2.2.8	Generalisations with regard to segmental phonology	49
2.2.9	Phonology of loans	50
2.3	Prosody	52
2.3.1	Stress	52
2.3.1.1	Contrastive stress	53
2.3.1.2	Stress assignment in disyllabic forms	53
2.3.1.3	Stress assignment in trisyllabic forms	55
2.3.1.4	Stress assignment in quadrisyllabic forms	56
2.3.1.5	Interaction of morphology and stress assignment	56
2.3.1.5.1	Prefixation	56
2.3.1.5.2	Suffixation	57
2.3.1.5.3	Reduplication	57
2.3.1.6	Interaction of stress assignment and intonation	59
2.3.2	Intonation	60
2.3.2.1	Distinguishing speech acts	60
2.3.2.2	Informational and textual purposes	63
2.3.2.3	Emphatic and contrastive purposes	65
2.4	Phonological and grammatical word	66
2.4.1	Phonological word	66
2.4.2	Grammatical word	67
2.4.3	Coincidence of phonological and grammatical word	67
2.5	Orthography	68
Chapter 3	Word classes I: open classes	73
3.1	Preamble	73
3.2	The noun	74
3.2.1	Subclasses I: personal, local and common nouns	75
3.2.2	Subclasses II: direct and indirect possession	76
3.2.2.1	Kinship relations	78
3.2.2.2	Part-whole relations	81
3.2.2.2.1	Human and animal body parts	81
3.2.2.2.2	Tree and plant parts	83

3.2.2.2.3	Non-animate object parts.....	85
3.2.2.3	Human characteristics and propensities.....	86
3.2.2.4	Spatial relations.....	88
3.2.2.5	Characteristics of non-humans.....	92
3.2.3	Subclasses III: numeral and possessive classifiers.....	94
3.2.3.1	Numeral classifiers	94
3.2.3.2	Possessive classifier <i>ka-</i>	98
3.2.4	Noun morphology	99
3.2.4.1	Compounding.....	99
3.2.4.2	Reduplication	100
3.2.4.3	Suffixation	101
3.2.4.4	Derivation of other parts of speech from nouns	102
3.3	The verb.....	103
3.3.1	Subclassification of verbs.....	104
3.3.1.1	Transitive and active intransitive verbs	104
3.3.1.2	Stative verbs.....	105
3.3.1.3	Directionals	106
3.3.1.4	TAM verbs or particles	110
3.3.1.5	Existential verbs.....	111
3.3.2	Verb morphology	112
3.3.2.1	Deriving another verb	112
3.3.2.1.1	“Compounding”.....	112
3.3.2.1.2	Reduplication.....	113
3.3.2.1.2.1	Transitive verbs.....	114
3.3.2.1.2.2	Intransitive verbs.....	114
3.3.2.2	Word class-changing derivations.....	115
3.3.2.2.1	Reduplication.....	115
3.3.2.2.2	A note on inherently reduplicated verbs.....	117
3.3.2.2.3	Suffixation	119
3.3.2.2.3.1	The <i>-a</i> and <i>-o</i> suffix.....	119
3.3.2.2.3.2	The <i>-(n)an</i> suffix	119
3.3.2.2.3.3	The <i>-n</i> suffix.....	121
3.3.2.2.4	Zero derivation	121
3.3.3	Functions of nominalisations	122

3.4	Adjectives: overview and semantic classes	122
3.4.1	Formal characteristics of adjectives.....	123
3.4.2	Adjectives within the NP	124
3.4.3	Predicative adjectives	125
3.4.4	Adjectival morphology	125
3.4.4.1	Reduplication.....	125
3.4.4.2	Suffixation	126
3.5	Forms which appear in more than one word class.....	126
3.5.1	Forms which appear as noun and verb.....	126
3.5.2	Forms which appear as noun and adjective	127
3.6	Adverbs.....	127
3.6.1	Types of adverbs.....	128
3.6.1.1	Manner adverbs	128
3.6.1.2	Adverbs of degree	131
3.6.1.3	Temporal adverbs	132
3.6.1.4	Spatial adverbs	134
3.6.1.5	Modal/epistemic adverbs.....	136
3.6.2	Derivational processes related to adverbs.....	137
3.6.2.1	Reduplication.....	137
3.6.2.2	Periphrastic derivation of adverbials with <i>la</i>	138
3.7	Overview.....	138
Chapter 4	Word classes II: closed classes	141
4.1	Preamble	141
4.2	Pronouns	141
4.2.1	Free pronoun paradigm.....	143
4.2.2	Bound pronoun paradigm	144
4.2.2.1	Subject forms.....	144
4.2.2.2	Object forms	145
4.2.3	Possessive forms	146
4.2.3.1	The possessive/locative particle <i>ta-</i>	146
4.2.3.2	The possessive classifier <i>ka-</i>	147
4.3	Demonstratives	147
4.3.1	Basic demonstrative forms.....	148
4.3.2	Demonstratives with the formative <i>te-</i>	149
4.3.3	Spatial demonstratives with <i>a-</i>	151
4.3.4	Free demonstrative forms formed with <i>ta-</i>	152

4.3.5	Overview of demonstrative forms.....	153
4.4	Adpositions.....	154
4.4.1	The preposition <i>a-</i>	154
4.4.2	The preposition <i>pari</i>	156
4.4.3	The “preposition” <i>ta-</i>	157
4.5	Numerals	158
4.5.1	The numerals one to ten	159
4.5.2	Higher numerals	160
4.5.3	Morphology and syntax of numerals.....	162
4.5.3.1	Numerals as noun modifiers	162
4.5.3.2	Numerals heading a predicate.....	164
4.5.4	Counting money	165
4.6	Quantifiers.....	166
4.6.1	Quantifiers referring to large quantities	167
4.6.2	Quantifiers referring to small or indefinite quantities	169
4.6.2.1	The prefixes <i>an-</i> and <i>nan-</i> with quantifiers.....	170
4.6.2.2	The prefix <i>nan-</i> with numerals.....	173
4.7	Interrogative words	174
4.7.1	Questioning identity: <i>sa</i> , <i>sap</i> and <i>sê</i>	175
4.7.2	Questioning time and place	176
4.7.3	Questioning relations with <i>samai-</i>	176
4.7.4	Questioning purpose or reason.....	177
4.7.5	Questioning manner	178
4.8	Negation and mood markers	179
4.9	Conjunctions and clause connectors	179
4.9.1	Coordination.....	180
4.9.2	Subordination	183
4.9.2.1	Temporal subordinate clause markers	183
4.9.2.2	Other types of subordinate clauses	184
4.10	Interjections and formulaic words and phrases	185
Chapter 5	The noun phrase.....	189
5.1	Structural features of the NP	189
5.2	Determiner.....	190
5.2.1	Personal pronoun as determiner	190
5.2.2	Numeral ‘one’ as indefinite determiner	192
5.3	Prenominal modifier.....	193

5.4	Post-nominal modifier	194
5.5	Possessor.....	195
5.5.1	Form of direct possession	195
5.5.2	Form of indirect possession	197
5.6	Prepositional phrase.....	198
5.7	Relative clause	200
5.8	Demonstrative.....	200
5.9	Coordination of NPs	200
5.10	The formative <i>ta-</i>	202
5.10.1	Use of <i>ta-</i> with nouns.....	202
5.10.2	Use of <i>ta-</i> with adjectives	204
5.10.3	Use of <i>ta-</i> with demonstratives	205
5.10.4	Use of <i>ta-</i> with prepositions.....	205
5.10.5	Use of <i>ta-</i> with numerals.....	206
5.10.6	Use of <i>ta-</i> with quantifiers	206
5.10.7	The formative <i>ta-</i> : conclusion.....	206
Chapter 6	Predicates I: Verbal predicates.....	207
6.1	Cross-referencing of subject and object.....	208
6.2	Aspect	212
6.2.1	Preverbal aspectual particles.....	213
6.2.1.1	Core aspect	213
6.2.1.1.1	Imperfective <i>no</i>	214
6.2.1.1.2	Perfective <i>pe</i>	216
6.2.1.1.3	Perfect <i>an</i>	218
6.2.1.2	Secondary aspect	221
6.2.1.2.1	Continuative/habitual <i>to</i>	222
6.2.1.2.2	Stative continuative <i>tu</i>	225
6.2.1.2.3	Progressive <i>yen</i>	226
6.2.2	Postverbal aspectual particles	227
6.2.2.1	Completive <i>nêm</i>	228
6.2.2.2	Durative <i>wot</i>	229
6.3	Directionals.....	230
6.3.1	<i>la</i> ‘go to’.....	231
6.3.2	<i>me</i> ‘come to’	232
6.3.3	<i>wot</i> ‘go horizontally, away from DC’	232
6.3.4	<i>sot</i> ‘go upwards’	233

6.3.5	<i>sa</i> ‘come upwards’	233
6.3.6	<i>suwot</i> ‘go downwards’	234
6.3.7	<i>si</i> ‘come downwards’	234
6.3.8	<i>wen</i> ‘move horizontally’	235
6.3.9	<i>suwen</i> ‘move downwards’	235
6.4	Reality status	236
6.4.1	Forms of the irrealis marker	236
6.4.2	Functions of the irrealis	237
6.4.3	Dependencies between reality status and other verbal categories.....	238
6.5	Modality	241
6.5.1	Desiderative/intentional <i>pwa</i>	243
6.5.2	The particle <i>sa</i>	245
6.5.2.1	Apprehensive <i>sa</i>	245
6.5.2.2	Negated <i>sa</i> as deontic modal operator	248
6.5.2.3	Negated <i>sa</i> as a marker of negative polarity in future	250
6.5.3	Irrealis and aspectual particles with modal overtones.....	251
6.5.3.1	Irrealis and perfective <i>pe</i>	251
6.5.3.2	Irrealis and imperfective <i>no</i>	252
6.5.3.3	Irrealis and continuative/habitual <i>to</i>	253
6.5.3.4	Irrealis and the directional <i>la</i>	255
6.6	Structural properties of the Verb Phrase	256
Chapter 7	Predicates II: non-verbal and copula predicates	261
7.1	Clauses with a NP predicate as nucleus	261
7.2	Clauses with an adjectival predicate as nucleus.....	263
7.3	Clauses with a predicate containing a numeral	264
7.4	Clauses with a predicate containing <i>ta-</i> or <i>ka-</i>	265
7.5	Clauses with a predicate containing <i>pari</i>	266
7.6	Clauses headed by a predicate containing a question marker	268
7.7	Potential copula clauses	269
7.7.1	With <i>to</i> ‘to be’	269
7.7.2	With <i>la</i> ‘to go’	271
7.8	Comparative constructions.....	272
Chapter 8	Grammatical relations and valency	275
8.1	Alignment of core and peripheral arguments	275
8.1.1	Core arguments S, A and O.....	275
8.1.2	The E argument	277

8.1.2.1	E argument of intransitive verbs	277
8.1.2.2	E argument of transitive verbs.....	281
8.1.3	Peripheral arguments	284
8.2	Valency	286
8.3	Valency-changing derivations	289
8.3.1	Causative <i>pe-</i>	289
8.3.2	Applicative <i>-(C)ek</i>	294
8.3.2.1	The productive applicative	295
8.3.2.1.1	Form and function of the productive applicative	295
8.3.2.1.2	Semantics of the productive applicative	297
8.3.2.2	Frozen applicatives with two core arguments	299
8.3.2.3	Other frozen applicatives.....	299
8.3.2.3.1	Frozen applicatives with no thematic consonant	301
8.3.2.3.2	Frozen applicatives with thematic consonant <i>-s-</i>	302
8.3.2.3.3	Frozen applicatives with thematic consonant <i>-t-</i>	303
8.3.2.3.4	Frozen applicatives with thematic consonant <i>-ng-</i>	304
8.3.2.3.5	Frozen applicatives with thematic consonant <i>-p-</i>	305
8.3.2.3.6	Frozen applicatives with thematic consonant <i>-n-</i>	305
8.3.2.3.7	Frozen applicatives with thematic consonant <i>-l-</i>	306
8.3.2.4	Applicatives: overview and conclusions	307
8.3.3	Valency-reducing operations	308
8.3.3.1	Reduplication.....	308
8.3.3.2	Fossilised prefixes <i>ma-</i> and <i>ta-</i>	309
8.3.3.3	Verb-noun compounds	311
8.3.4	Reflexive and reciprocal constructions.....	312
8.3.4.1	Reflexives.....	312
8.3.4.2	Reciprocals	315
Chapter 9	Serial verb constructions	317
9.1	Asymmetrical SVCs	318
9.1.1	Lexicalised combinations with <i>tou</i>	319
9.1.2	Cause-effect/resultative SVCs	323
9.1.2.1	Cause-effect SVCs with intransitive V1.....	325
9.1.3	Adverbial SVCs	326
9.1.4	Valency-increasing SVCs with <i>tou</i> or <i>lêp</i>	328
9.1.5	SVCs with a posture verb	329

9.1.6	SVCs with a directional.....	331
9.1.6.1	Specifying Oblique to an intransitive verb	331
9.1.6.2	Specifying Locative or Animate Goal argument	334
9.1.6.2.1	Locative Goal	334
9.1.6.2.2	Animate Goal	337
9.1.6.3	Directional preceding the main verb.....	339
9.2	Symmetrical SVCs	341
9.2.1	Sequences with <i>liliu</i> ‘return; again’	343
9.3	SVCs: conclusions.....	345
9.3.1	Formal properties of asymmetrical SVCs	345
9.3.2	Combinations of more than two verbs	349
9.3.3	Grammaticalisation of SVC components.....	350
9.3.4	SVCs as grammatical and phonological words.....	352
Chapter 10	Speech act distinctions and polarity	355
10.1	Mood	355
10.1.1	Interrogative mood	355
10.1.1.1	Content questions.....	355
10.1.1.2	Polar questions	359
10.1.1.3	Tag questions	360
10.1.2	Imperative mood	361
10.1.2.1	Regular second person imperatives: commands and requests	362
10.1.2.2	Negative imperatives	365
10.1.2.3	Wishes and desires as (third person) imperatives?	366
10.1.3	Dependencies between mood and verbal categories	366
10.2	Polarity	367
10.2.1	Answer to a polar question.....	368
10.2.2	Predicative negation	368
10.2.2.1	Negation of realis and verbless predicates.....	368
10.2.2.2	Negation of irrealis predicates	371
10.2.2.3	Negation of existential predicates.....	371
10.2.2.4	Dependencies between negation and verbal categories	372
10.2.3	Non-predicative negation	374
10.2.3.1	Negative adverbial phrase <i>la pwên</i>	374
10.2.3.2	Negation of possessive constructions	374
10.2.3.3	Negated noun phrases	376

10.2.4	Inherently negative lexemes	378
10.2.5	Intensification and moderation of negated clauses	379
10.2.6	Ellipsis of <i>ma</i> -	380
Chapter 11	Clausal relations and clause combining	383
11.1	Dependent clauses.....	383
11.1.1	Relative clauses.....	384
11.1.1.1	Possible syntactic functions of the common argument	385
11.1.1.1.1	Common argument is S/A in MC	387
11.1.1.1.1.1	Common argument is S/A in RC.....	387
11.1.1.1.1.2	Common argument is O in RC	388
11.1.1.1.1.3	Common argument is VCS in RC	389
11.1.1.1.1.4	Common argument is Possessor in RC	389
11.1.1.1.2	Common argument is Object in MC.....	390
11.1.1.1.2.1	Common argument is S/A in RC.....	390
11.1.1.1.2.2	Common argument is O in RC	391
11.1.1.1.2.3	Common argument is Oblique in RC	391
11.1.1.1.2.4	Common argument is VCS in RC	392
11.1.1.1.2.5	Common argument is Possessor in RC	392
11.1.1.1.3	Common argument is Oblique in MC.....	393
11.1.1.1.3.1	Common argument is S/A in RC.....	393
11.1.1.1.3.2	Common argument is O in RC	393
11.1.1.1.3.3	Common argument is Oblique in RC	394
11.1.1.1.3.4	Common argument is VCS in RC	395
11.1.1.1.3.5	Common argument is Possessor in RC	395
11.1.1.1.4	Common argument is VCS in MC.....	396
11.1.1.1.4.1	Common argument is S/A in RC.....	396
11.1.1.1.4.2	Common argument is O in RC	397
11.1.1.1.4.3	Common argument is Oblique in RC	397
11.1.1.1.5	Common argument is VCC in MC	397
11.1.1.1.5.1	Common argument is S/A in RC.....	398
11.1.1.1.5.2	Common argument is O in RC	398
11.1.1.1.5.3	Common argument is Oblique in RC	398
11.1.1.1.5.4	Common argument is VCS in RC	399
11.1.1.1.6	Common argument is Possessor in MC.....	399

11.1.1.1.6.1	Common argument is S/A in RC	399
11.1.1.1.6.2	Common argument is VCS in RC.....	400
11.1.1.1.6.3	Common argument is Possessor in RC	400
11.1.1.2	‘Special’ types of relative clauses.....	401
11.1.1.2.1	MC with an interrogative word or indefinite quantifier	401
11.1.1.2.2	RC which contains the phrase <i>te ip̄to pwa</i>	402
11.1.1.3	Relative clauses: conclusions.....	403
11.1.2	Complement clauses.....	404
11.1.2.1	Verbs of Attention	405
11.1.2.2	Verbs of Thinking/Speaking	407
11.1.2.3	Verbs of Quotation.....	408
11.1.2.4	Verbs of Liking	409
11.1.2.5	Modal verbs	410
11.1.2.6	Complement clause modifying adjective.....	412
11.1.2.7	Complement clauses: conclusions	413
11.1.3	Conditional subordinate clause	413
11.1.3.1	“Plain irrealis” conditional clauses	414
11.1.3.2	Conditional clause marked by <i>kapwa</i> ‘if’	416
11.1.3.3	Counterfactual conditionals	418
11.1.4	Adverbial subordinate clause	419
11.1.4.1	Temporal subordinate clause	421
11.1.4.1.1	Temporal sequence	421
11.1.4.1.2	Temporal simultaneity/contiguity	422
11.1.4.1.3	Stretch of time	423
11.1.4.2	Manner subordinate clause	423
11.1.4.3	(Possible) consequence clause	424
11.1.4.3.1	Reason clause	424
11.1.4.3.2	Consequence clause.....	426
11.1.4.3.3	Possible consequence clause	428
11.1.4.4	Concessive clause	428
11.1.4.5	Adverbial subordinate clauses: conclusions	429
11.2	Combining main clauses	429
11.2.1	Addition.....	430
11.2.1.1	Temporal succession.....	430

11.2.1.2	Same-event and new-event addition.....	431
11.2.1.3	Elaboration	432
11.2.1.4	Contrast	433
11.2.2	Alternatives.....	433
Chapter 12	Pragmatics and discourse practices	435
12.1	Preliminaries	435
12.2	Terminology.....	436
12.2.1	Presupposition and assertion.....	436
12.2.2	Identifiability	437
12.2.3	Activation.....	437
12.2.4	Topic	438
12.2.5	Focus.....	439
12.3	Information structure on the sentence level.....	440
12.3.1	Identifiability: definiteness and specificity.....	440
12.3.1.1	Demonstrative as definiteness marker.....	440
12.3.1.2	Formative <i>ta-</i> as definiteness marker	442
12.3.1.3	‘Anchoring’ by possessive construction.....	442
12.3.2	Anaphors and cataphors.....	443
12.3.2.1	Pronouns as anaphors and cataphors	443
12.3.2.2	Demonstratives as anaphors and cataphors	446
12.3.3	Topicalisation.....	450
12.3.3.1	Topicalisation of S/A.....	450
12.3.3.2	Topicalisation of O	451
12.3.3.3	Topicalisation of an Oblique	452
12.3.3.4	Topicalisation of a Possessor	452
12.3.3.5	Discourse function(s) of topicalisation.....	453
12.3.4	Focus.....	456
12.3.4.1	Focus and sentence accent.....	457
12.3.4.2	The particle <i>ya</i>	460
12.3.4.3	The particle <i>ma</i>	462
12.4	Pivot.....	463
12.5	Discourse organisation at the paragraph level and beyond.....	464
12.5.1	Structuring of narratives: two examples	464
12.5.1.1	The story of Parulabei and Komou.....	464
12.5.1.1.1	The introduction.....	465

12.5.1.1.2	The narrative proper	465
12.5.1.1.3	The coda	467
12.5.1.1.4	Participants and props	467
12.5.1.2	Planting yam and mami	468
12.5.1.2.1	Participants and props	468
References	471
Appendix I. Table of Recordings	I
Appendix II. Texts.....	I

List of tables

Table 1.1 Language vitality assessment for Paluai	5
Table 1.2 Birth order terms	15
Table 2.1 The consonant phonemes of Paluai (marginal phonemes are indicated between brackets)	30
Table 2.2 Possible vowel sequences in Paluai	49
Table 2.3 Orthographic symbols for consonant phonemes	68
Table 2.4 Orthographic symbols for vowel phonemes	69
Table 2.5 Overview of possible trisyllabic forms in Paluai (* indicates a derived form)	70
Table 2.6 Overview of possible quadrisyllabic forms in Paluai (* indicates a derived form)	71
Table 3.1 Terms for consanguineal kin	79
Table 3.2 Terms for affinal kin	80
Table 3.3 Tree and plant parts	84
Table 3.4 Human characteristics	87
Table 3.5 Spatial nouns	89
Table 3.6 A selection of nouns that can be both directly and indirectly possessed	93
Table 3.7 Semantic distinctions on numeral ‘one’	96
Table 3.8 “Generic” nouns used for fractions and collections	97
Table 3.9 Directional paradigm	107
Table 3.10 Organisation of the directional paradigm along two dimensions: absolute FoR and deixis	109
Table 3.11 TAM verbs and particles	111
Table 3.12 Some lexicalised verb sequences	113
Table 3.13 Some nominalising reduplications	115
Table 3.14 Inherently reduplicated verbs	118
Table 3.15 Nominalisations formed by adding an <i>-a</i> or <i>-o</i> suffix	119
Table 3.16 Semantic classes of adjectives and some examples	123
Table 3.17 Some manner adverbs	129
Table 3.18 Adverbs of degree	131
Table 3.19 Temporal adverbs	133
Table 3.20 Spatial adverbs	135

Table 3.21 Modal/epistemic adverbs	136
Table 3.22 Overview of criteria applying to the word classes N, V, A and Adv.....	139
Table 3.23 Comparison of word classes with respect to distinguishing criteria	140
Table 3.24 Word class-changing derivational morphology	140
Table 4.1 Free pronoun paradigm	143
Table 4.2 Bound pronoun paradigm (subject forms)	145
Table 4.3 Bound pronoun paradigm (object forms).....	145
Table 4.4 Possessive paradigm (with <i>ta-</i>)	146
Table 4.5 Possessive paradigm (with <i>ka-</i>).....	147
Table 4.6 Demonstrative paradigm	153
Table 4.7 Prepositions and related forms in Paluai	154
Table 4.8 Numerals one to ten for animates.....	159
Table 4.9 Numerals one to ten for inanimates	159
Table 4.10 Multiplications of ten	160
Table 4.11 Multiplications of hundred	161
Table 4.12 Quantifiers referring to large quantities	166
Table 4.13 Quantifiers referring to small quantities	167
Table 4.14 Functions and distribution of <i>an-</i>	171
Table 4.15 Functions and distribution of <i>nan-</i>	171
Table 4.16 Interrogative forms.....	174
Table 4.17 Markers for coordinating two main clauses	180
Table 4.18 Temporal subordinating conjunctions.....	183
Table 4.19 Other subordinating conjunctions	184
Table 4.20 Formulaic words and phrases.....	186
Table 4.21 Expressive/conative interjections.....	186
Table 4.22 Phatic/conative interjections	187
Table 5.1 Vowel alternations in directly possessed nouns.....	197
Table 5.2 Functions of <i>ta-</i>	202
Table 6.1 Core aspectual particles.....	214
Table 6.2 Secondary aspectual particles	222
Table 6.3 Postverbal aspectual particles	228
Table 6.4 Forms of irrealis prefixes	236
Table 6.5 Overview of possible TAM combinations and meanings	260
Table 7.1 Question markers which can be head of a non-verbal predicate.....	268

Table 8.1 Verbs of emotion, belonging to extended intransitive subclass	278
Table 8.2 Remainder of verbs belonging to extended intransitive subclass	279
Table 8.3 Verbs belonging to the extended transitive subclass	282
Table 8.4 Intransitive “frozen applicative” verbs	300
Table 8.5 Some frozen applicative forms with <i>-ek</i>	302
Table 8.6 Some frozen applicative forms with <i>-sek</i>	303
Table 8.7 Some frozen applicative forms with <i>-tek</i>	304
Table 8.8 Frozen applicative forms with <i>-ngek</i>	305
Table 8.9 Frozen applicative forms with <i>-pek</i>	305
Table 8.10 Frozen applicative forms with <i>-nek</i>	306
Table 8.11 Frozen applicative forms with <i>-lek</i>	307
Table 8.12 Participant role-marking functions of <i>*akin[i]</i>	307
Table 8.13 Intransitive verbs derived with <i>ma-</i>	309
Table 8.14 Intransitive verbs derived with <i>ta-</i>	310
Table 8.15 Examples of the lexical verb <i>pe</i> in combination with a noun.....	311
Table 9.1 A selection of combinations with <i>tou</i>	321
Table 9.2 Potential historical stages of SVC lexicalisation	322
Table 9.3 Some cause-effect/resultative SVCs.....	324
Table 9.4 A selection of motion verbs frequently followed by directionals in SVCs ..	331
Table 9.5 Some symmetrical SVCs	342
Table 9.6 Asymmetrical SVCs	346
Table 10.1 Some lexicalised negative phrases.....	377
Table 10.2 Some possible ‘inherently negative’ lexemes.....	379
Table 11.1 Possible functions of CA in MC and RC.....	386
Table 11.2 Semantic subtypes of complement-taking verbs	405
Table 11.3 Types of conditional clauses.....	414
Table 11.4 Types of adverbial subordinate clauses	420
Table 11.5 Semantic types of main clause linking	430
Table 12.1 Demonstrative paradigm.....	446

List of figures

Figure 1.1 Language map of Manus Province	2
Figure 1.2 Map of Baluan Island (from Otto, 1991, p. 46)	10
Figure 1.3 Geographical spread of the Oceanic subgroup	16
Figure 1.4 Proto-Austronesian family tree	17
Figure 1.5 Oceanic languages of Papua New Guinea	18
Figure 2.1 The syllable.....	27
Figure 2.2 Paluai vowel inventory	36
Figure 2.3 Content question	61
Figure 2.4 Polar question	62
Figure 2.5 Tag question.....	62
Figure 2.6 Tag question.....	63
Figure 2.7 Pitch contour of example (54)	64
Figure 2.8 Pitch contour of example (55)	66

Conventions and abbreviations

Example sentences consist of four lines. The first line represents the utterance in a practical orthography. The second line demonstrates the underlying morphemes. The third line provides a gloss, and the fourth line provides a free translation in English. In glosses, proper names are represented by initials. Constituents are in square brackets. Examples are numbered separately for each chapter. If elements are marked in other ways (e.g. with boldface), this is indicated where relevant. A source reference is given for each example; the reference code consists of the initials of the speaker (or ‘Game’ for the *Man and Tree* games), the date the recording was made, and the number of the utterance. An overview of recordings plus reference codes can be found in Appendix I.

The following abbreviations and symbols are used in glosses:

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ADJ	adjectiviser
ANIM	animate
APPL	applicative
CAUS	causative
CLF	classifier
CNTF	counterfactual
COMP	complementiser
COND	conditional
CONT	continuative
DEF	definiteness marker
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
du	dual
EMP	emphatic marker
EXCL	exclusive
FREE	free pronoun
FOC	focus marker
HAB	habitual

IMP	imperative
INANIM	inanimate
INCL	inclusive
INT	intermediate
INTJ	interjection
INTF	intensifier
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
MOD	modal operator
NEG	negation marker
NOM	nominaliser
NS	non-singular
pc	paucal
PFV	perfective
pl	plural
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximate
PERT	pertensive
REDUP	reduplication
REL	relative clause marker
sg	singular
SUB	subordinate clause marker
TAG	tag question marker
ZERO	unrealised pronoun
-	affix boundary
=	clitic boundary
.	morpheme boundary

The following abbreviations are used as subscripts to constituents:

A	transitive subject
AdvCl	adverbial subordinate clause
AG	animate goal

Apo	apodosis
BEN	benefactive
CC	copula complement
Compl	complement clause
CS	copula subject
E	extended argument
LG	locative goal
LOC	locative
MAL	malefactive
MC	main clause
O	transitive object
Obl	oblique argument
Pot	potential
Pro	protasis
RC	relative clause
S	intransitive subject
SVC	serial verb construction
Top	topicalised element
VCC	verbless clause complement
VCS	verbless clause subject

The following abbreviations are used in running text and in tables:

A	adjective
Adv	adverb
CA	common argument
CoreAsp	core aspect
DC	deictic centre
DIR	directional
FC	Focal Clause
FoR	frame of reference
intr	intransitive
LG	Locative Goal
Manip	implement argument of ditransitive AFFECT verb
Mod	modifier

N, NP	noun, noun phrase
n/a	not applicable
POc	Proto-Oceanic
ProObj	object bound pronoun
ProSubj	subject bound pronoun
PV	postverbal element
s.b.	somebody
SC	Supporting Clause
SecAsp	secondary aspect
s.t.	something
stat	stative
SVC	serial verb construction
TAM	Tense-Aspect-Modality
tr	transitive
V, VP	verb, verb phrase

Chapter 1 Background information

1.1 Introduction

Baluan is a small island located south-east of the main island of Manus Province in Papua New Guinea (PNG) – see Figure 1.1. PNG is an area with high linguistic diversity, probably the highest in the world, with many languages having a small to very small number of speakers. Many of them can be classified as endangered, due to lack of intergenerational transmission and the high pressure of more dominant languages, in particular English and the national creole Tok Pisin. Manus Province, located north-east of the PNG mainland, consists of the relatively large Manus Island (commonly referred to as the ‘big place’ or ‘mainland’ within the province) and a large number of surrounding islands. In the province, between 30 and 40 languages are spoken, all of which belong to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family (Lynch et al., 2002, p. 10).

Two languages are spoken on Baluan Island: Titan, which is also spoken in several locations on Manus Island and on a number of other islands in the province, and Paluai, more commonly known as Pam-Baluan (ISO 639-3: blq) (Lewis, 2009). Although the latter name is more commonly known to the wider world, native speakers prefer to use the autodenomination Paluai to refer to their island, language and group identity. This practice will be followed throughout this thesis.¹ The Ethnologue website (<http://www.ethnologue.com>) lists 1,000 as number of speakers, but this is clearly outdated. The Summer Institute of Linguistics has provided another language map which lists the number of speakers as 2,000, based on the 2000 Census.² Pending more recent figures from the 2011 Census, the number of speakers of Paluai both on the island and in expatriate locations can be estimated to fall between 2,000 and 3,000.

The languages spoken in Manus Province belong to the Admiralties cluster, a higher-order subgroup of Oceanic (Lynch, Ross & Crowley, 2002). In contrast to the Oceanic subgroup as a whole, which is relatively well represented in the literature

¹ Baluan is probably a derivation from the name Paluai which originated in the colonial period. It is unclear how it came about, but outside of the island, the name Baluan rather than Paluai is used to refer to Paluai Island and its inhabitants.

² This map is accessible at http://www.sil.org/pacific/png/maps/Manus_small.jpg (accessed 18 December 2012).

compared to various other language families, very little is known about the Admiralties languages: ‘the language situation [here] is complex and remains poorly understood’ (Lynch et al., 2002, p. 123).

In this chapter a background to the grammatical description of Paluai will be sketched. I first provide general sociolinguistic information about the language and how its vitality can be assessed. After that, anthropological research undertaken in the area and the social and cultural environment of the language is discussed. Next, an overview of existing sources on the language family and neighbouring languages is given. The final section of the chapter discusses data collection and methodology.

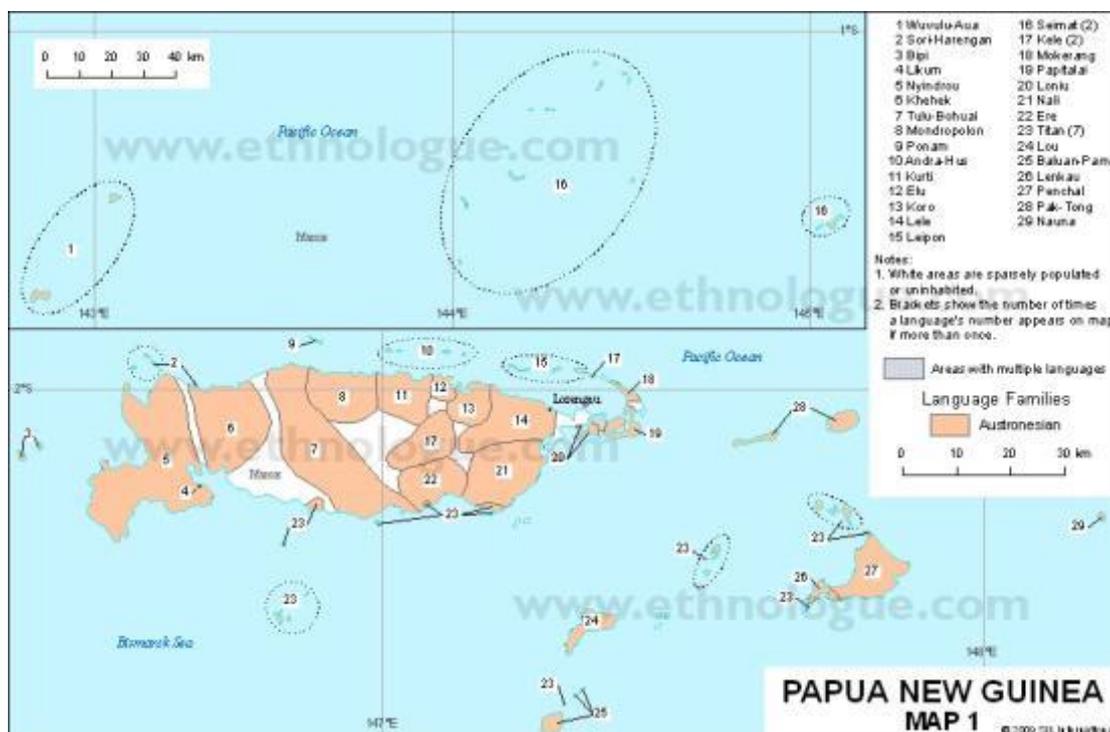


Figure 1.1 Language map of Manus Province³

1.2 Sociolinguistic situation

The language described in this thesis is spoken in two locations: on Baluan Island and on nearby Pam Island (see Figure 1.1). There are some very minor lexical differences between the variety spoken on Baluan and the one on Pam, but this is probably not even enough to classify the varieties as different dialects. Native speakers uphold that the varieties spoken on Baluan and Pam are the same. In addition, inhabitants of the two

³ http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=PG&seq=30 (accessed 17 December 2012).

islands regard their customs as very much alike, and there is considerable intermarriage. The data on which the current description is based were collected exclusively on Baluan Island, so I will refer to the language variety with ‘Paluai’ throughout the thesis, in accordance with the wishes of the Baluan speech community (see above). However, the reader should keep in mind that most of the description applies as well to the Pam variety.

On nearby Lou Island, a very closely related variety is spoken which is commonly known as Lou (ISO 639-3: loj) (Lewis, 2009). This variety is considered to have dialectical variation between villages, but the distinctions are very minor and mainly of a phonological and lexical nature. In fact, distinctions between Lou and Paluai are minor as well, and probably also only phonological and lexical. Based on data in Stutzman (1997) I estimate that the lexicons of the Baon dialect of Lou and of Paluai overlap for about 80-90%, and that there is very little to no grammatical difference. There are regular phonological correspondences between the two varieties. Paluai [j] word-initially or -medially corresponds to Lou [r]: compare Paluai *yamat* ~ Lou *ramat* ‘person’, Paluai *ngayan* ~ Lou *ngaran* ‘his name’. There are also slight differences in the vowels: Paluai [ɐ] seems to correspond to Lou [o] as in Paluai *manuai* ~ Lou *monua* ‘eagle’ and Paluai *kolpanu* ~ Lou *kolponua* ‘snake (species)’.⁴ Paluai speakers consider Lou culture to be related to Paluai, but with some pronounced differences. Thus it can be said that Lou and Paluai are considered separate languages based primarily on cultural and political, rather than linguistic, grounds.

Every member of the community on Baluan Island acquires Paluai from birth as their native language, except the Titan speakers in Mouk village. In addition, people acquire Tok Pisin, an English lexifier creole which is an official language of PNG, often from a very early age. English, although gaining ground as the language of mass media, government and education, is not commonly acquired in a naturalistic setting by people on the island, and people’s first exposure to English is usually when they enter primary school around the age of eight. For expatriate Paluai, the situation is often very different. Because they are not part of a stable Paluai speech community, for expatriate speakers the pressure of Tok Pisin and English is much greater, in particular within

⁴ A more detailed study of sound correspondences between Admiralties languages will shed more light on their historical developments and will probably have consequences for how Paluai allophones are analysed (in particular [j], which is now, on a synchronic basis, always analysed as a variant of /i/). Such an analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis, however, and would require more specific data, on a range of Manus languages, than is currently available.

mixed marriages. Children growing up away from Baluan Island often acquire only a passive command of the language, and have Tok Pisin (or sometimes English) as their first language. On Baluan Island, people of the older generations (about age forty and upwards) often show at least a passive command of either Titan, Lou or both, and sometimes of some other Manus languages, due to long-standing contacts between various neighbouring speech communities. These forms of passive bilingualism are on their way out, since Tok Pisin is increasingly used as a lingua franca between language groups.

1.3 Language vitality

In order to assess language vitality, several extralinguistic factors have to be taken into account. UNESCO (2003) identifies six major factors: 1) intergenerational language transmission, 2) absolute number of speakers, 3) proportion of speakers within the total population, 4) trends in existing language domains, 5) response to new domains and media, and 6) materials for language education and literacy. For the Paluai speech community on Baluan Island, my evaluation of these factors is shown in Table 1.1. Grades rank from 5 (safe) to zero (extinct); the descriptions are based on UNESCO (2003).

This assessment paints a rather bleak picture for the future. Even though the language scores well on factors 1 and 3, which are very important, it is under severe pressure from Tok Pisin and to a lesser extent English. Although diglossia and multilingualism do not necessarily have to lead to language loss, with Tok Pisin there is an additional risk. It has an Oceanic substratum, most of which can be traced back to Kuanua (Tolai), and therefore shows many similarities to the vernaculars of Manus Province. Tok Pisin is used as a lingua franca in many parts of the country and children start using it so early that the situation can most adequately be described as bilingual acquisition. People have a very pragmatic attitude about the use of Tok Pisin and see it mainly as a way to facilitate communication between members of different language groups. Nowadays, however, it is frequently used in intragroup communication as well, leading to extensive code-switching and borrowing.

Factor	Grade	Description
1	5- (stable yet threatened)	The language is spoken in most contexts by all generations with unbroken intergenerational transmission, yet multilingualism in the native language and one or more dominant language(s) leads to (partial) displacement of Paluai from certain important communication contexts.
2	4 (unsafe)	Small absolute number of speakers, but this is common for the PNG context.
3	5 (safe)	Almost all community members speak the language. ⁵
4	3 (dwindling domains)	The non-dominant language loses ground and, at home, parents begin to use the dominant language in their everyday interactions with their children, and children become semi-speakers of their own language (receptive bilinguals). Parents and older members of the community tend to be productively bilingual in the dominant and indigenous languages: they understand and speak both. Bilingual children may exist in families where the indigenous language is actively used.
5	2 (coping)	The language is used in some new domains, for example in text messages and on social network sites.
6	2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; and for others, they may have a symbolic significance. There is no standardised orthography. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the primary school curriculum.

Table 1.1 Language vitality assessment for Paluai

These language-internal and -external factors combined provide an environment in which structural borrowing and calquing is ubiquitous, which facilitates convergence and semantic attrition (see also Schokkin (2014a)). This is a type of language loss that is

⁵ The most notable exceptions to this are women from other parts of PNG who married Paluai speakers and moved to Baluan Island. They often acquire at most a passive command of the language.

all the more insidious compared to a language shift from one variety to another, because it goes so unnoticed. Although Paluai speakers pride themselves on the fact that their children still acquire the local vernacular as their first language, it is a very different, and some would say “depleted”, variety compared to what was spoken a few decades ago. What is furthermore important in this respect is the loss of specialised registers, such as traditional song genres (see also Section 1.4.2.5).

The official educational policy in PNG is to facilitate and encourage the use of local vernaculars in Elementary schools (grades prep, 1 and 2). Grade 3 should provide a “bridging” period, to prepare for English-only education at the primary level. Due to several factors, this policy does not work out well. First of all, the financial burden for providing elementary school buildings and materials mainly lies with the local communities, and thus there is often no funding nor expertise available for developing school materials in the local language. However, the Summer Institute of Linguistics is actively promoting literacy in the vernaculars, and has been developing templates for school materials which can be adjusted to the local situation. Secondly, teacher training is minimal, both for elementary and primary level, and teachers sometimes have limited command of English. Elementary school teachers are usually local people, and thus can provide education in the vernacular, but primary school teachers are often recruited from elsewhere in PNG. Since they do not speak the vernacular, and children do not have sufficient command of English, they will revert to the language that they have in common – Tok Pisin, which ends up being the language mostly in use in the classroom.

Unfortunately, people tend to blame vernacular education rather than lack of teacher training for the fact that children have insufficient command of English, which does not bode well for the future. Good command of English is seen as a prerequisite for successfully finishing higher education and thereby getting access to Western-style knowledge, something which is highly valued (cf. Otto, 1991), and white-collar jobs, which are seen as an important source of income for extended families (see below). In fact, the Provincial Government of Manus now seems to have completely abolished teaching in the vernaculars, since it is seen as a barrier for the acquisition of English.

1.4 Social and cultural background

In contrast to the situation in linguistics, much anthropological work has been done in Manus Province. Margaret Mead (1930; 1934; 1956) wrote about growing up and

cultural change, in particular among the Titan people of Pere. Other classic texts are Fortune (1965) on religion, Schwartz (1963) on the Paliau Movement, areal culture, cultural totemism and cargo cults, and J. Carrier and A. Carrier (1989) on kinship, exchange and trade. In the German ethnographic texts, three main ethnic groups were already distinguished in Manus Province: the Usuai people who predominantly live away from the coast on the main island, the Manus (or Titan) people on the coast and the Matankor people of the surrounding islands. Valuable work on material culture in Manus has been done by Ohnemus (1998); other recent anthropological sources on Manus are Wanek (1996), Dalsgaard (2009) and the work of Otto (see below for references).

In what follows, I will focus on the social and cultural background of the Paluai speech community. For reasons of space, the overview given here can unfortunately only be very fragmentary. For a more in-depth discussion of cultural practices on Baluan Island, the reader is referred to the anthropological work done by Ton Otto; see for example Otto (1991; 1992; 1997; 2002; 2008; 2011), Otto and Pedersen (2005), and Dalsgaard and Otto (2011).

1.4.1 Natural environment

Baluan is a small cone-shaped island approximately 5 km in diameter. Its highest point, at 230 m above sea level, is the crater rim of an inactive volcano in the middle of the island (Otto, 1991, p. 1). The sides of the old volcano are densely forested, although large parts are cleared for garden land and plantations. Baluan is surrounded by coral reefs and some smaller islets, which are uninhabited. On the east and south sides of the island there are a number of beaches.

There is no fresh water on the island – the population obtains its drinking water by catching rain water in large tanks. Except for a poisonous centipede, there are no dangerous animals or insects to be found on the island, although mosquitoes present an annoyance and also a health risk in the form of malaria. There are mammals, mainly possums and wild pigs, which are hunted for their meat but nearly extinct on Baluan, and bird life is abundant. People dig out the eggs of a large bird known as “wild fowl” for consumption. The surrounding coral reefs provide an abundance of fish and crustaceans. Larger marine animals such as dugong and sea turtles are also hunted for their meat.

1.4.2 A bird-eye view of present-day Baluan

1.4.2.1 Economy

Most inhabitants of Baluan practice subsistence-based agriculture supplemented with fishing. Because of its volcanic soil, Baluan is more fertile than most islands in Manus Province. People are therefore able to tend large gardens in which they grow taro, yams, pawpaw, banana, sweet potato, cassava (*tapiok*), pineapple, sugarcane, corn and other staples. Other fruits and nuts, such as breadfruit, mangoes and coconuts, are gathered from trees which grow all over the island. There is an abundance of fish and shellfish which are eaten regularly, occasionally supplemented with chicken, turtle or pork, the latter exclusively for ceremonial purposes. Chickens are held for eggs as well as for meat; pigs are often held in small dens above the water near the beach and are a very valuable possession. Betel nut, combined with piper betle leaf and lime (obtained from coral), is widely used as a stimulant.

In pre-colonial times, Baluan people were self-sufficient to a large extent and did not depend much on other groups for provision of their food, although they traded with people from other islands in order to obtain important goods such as obsidian, sago and pottery. This situation, which differed from that of various other groups in Manus who specialised in either gardening or fishing, does not seem to have changed much. There are several markets on the island where garden crops, smoked and fresh fish, and occasionally goods from the stores, are bought and sold. Non-indigenous foodstuffs such as flour, rice, tea, coffee and sugar are obtained from stores in Lorengau, the provincial capital located on Manus Island. There are a number of coconut and cocoa plantations (Otto, 1991), but produce from these is traded only if prices are good. Due to its remoteness, it is not easy for the Baluan people to profitably sell their garden produce on the market in Lorengau, since high petrol prices often pose a problem.

Since the 1970's, an important source of income are remittances sent home by people who work outside the island, mainly in Lorengau, Port Moresby and Lae. Otto (1991) argues that this work-related migration has had social, economic and ideological effects on the community. First of all, new ideas were brought in and this made people regard their own culture in a more detached and objective way. Secondly, younger men were absent for a prolonged period and the usual course of events concerning succession was thus disrupted. Relationships between young and old changed.

Most of the people that work elsewhere will eventually return to the island and upon their return will be dependent on the knowledge and goodwill of their relatives who stayed behind, in order to obtain access to land and to acquire technological skills to build a house, tend a garden etc. For this reason, many people feel a high pressure to keep sending remittances regularly and to bring large quantities of gifts whenever they visit the island. Another economic change that the remittances system may contribute to is the creation of a “welfare society” (Zollinger (1982), quoted in Otto (1991, p. 221)). Remittances raised the standard of living to a much higher level than would otherwise be possible.

1.4.2.2 Demography and settlement patterns

As mentioned in Section 1.2, two languages are spoken on Baluan Island, Titan and Paluai. This division of language goes together with a division of labour. The speakers of Paluai are predominantly agriculturists but also catch fish, while the Titan people are predominantly fishermen, although nowadays they also keep gardens to a limited extent. The Paluai speakers occupied the island first, and the Titan speakers only settled permanently on Baluan in the 1940’s when they were invited by the Baluan people (Otto, 1992, p. 264). Before, they had been living around the tiny island of Mouk, just off the Baluan coast, for some years (their village is called Mouk after the islet). The Titans are a seafaring people who stem from the lagoon village Pere off the south coast of Manus mainland and set foot on a number of smaller islands. Titan is therefore spoken in six to seven different places; these people were in former times known as the “Manus tru” (Otto, 2002, p. 31). Otto (1991) mentions that the Mouk people were probably permitted to live close to Baluan Island because they provided protection against other Titan-speaking groups.

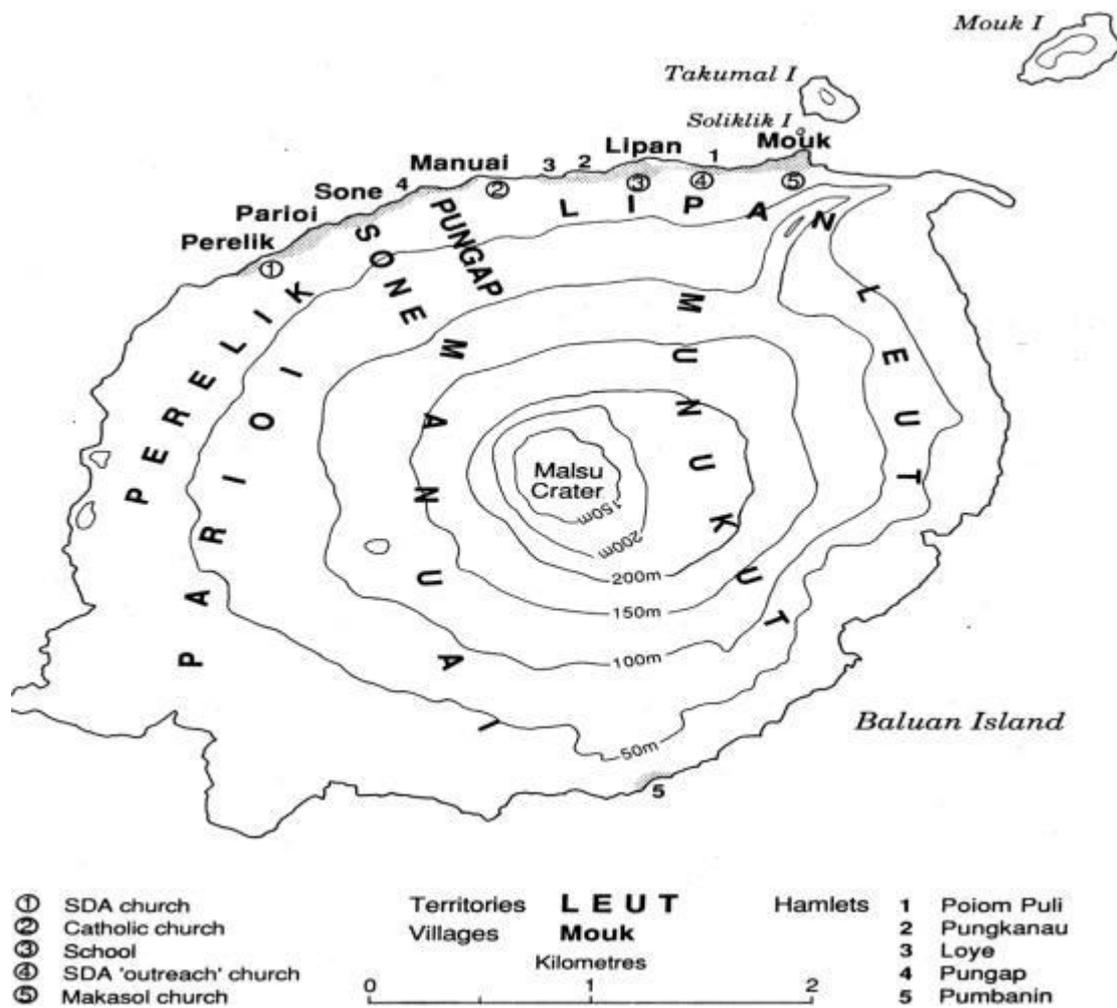


Figure 1.2 Map of Baluan Island (from Otto, 1991, p. 46)

Baluan has ca. 2,000 inhabitants spread over six villages, most of them on the north coast, while a large group of people lives elsewhere because they are working in urban areas (Otto, 1992, p. 264).⁶ See Figure 1.2 for a map of the island. Most villages are near the shore, but there are a couple of small hamlets on the flank of the mountain. Traditional building and clothing styles have been largely abandoned in favour of wooden houses with corrugated iron roofs, and Western-style clothing. Houses are built elevated from the ground, often with a veranda at the front, and with a separate building for cooking. Garden plots are not located near the houses, but further away, and people travel to and fro by canoe and foot. All land on Baluan is subject to traditional claims by the various descent groups. Cemeteries are located exclusively on land belonging to the respective lineages, but usufruct rights for gardening are sometimes passed on to others.

⁶ It is hard to estimate the number of inhabitants of Baluan Island, since sources are out-dated and the population appears to have grown rapidly in the last decade.

Knowledge about land ownership is a very valuable asset, and is normally not given freely by elders; younger members of a lineage have to give something in exchange in order to obtain this knowledge (cf. Otto, 1991).

1.4.2.3 Education

There are three elementary schools on Baluan Island and one primary school, which is located in Lipan village. As mentioned, children are taught in English entirely from Grade 3. For follow-up education, from Grade 9 onwards, children have to go to Manus Island. Education is highly valued in Baluan society, because it gives access to Western-style knowledge. Educated people are able to obtain white-collar jobs in urban areas, remittances of which can benefit their relatives on the island. This system is still in use, although it may have become less profitable in recent years due to more competition on the labour market (cf. Otto, 1991).

1.4.2.4 Religion

The entire population of Baluan has been converted to Christianity from the 1930's onward. The two largest denominations are the Catholic Church and the Seventh-day Adventists. In addition, the Paliau Movement must be mentioned in this context.⁷ During church services, Tok Pisin is generally used, but occasionally someone leads a collective prayer in Paluai, and there are a few hymns in the local language.

Traditional belief systems are still being practiced as well. In particular, they have to do with illness and its cure. When a person dies, their soul becomes a free-ranging spirit (*silal*) (Otto 1991, p. 119). These ghosts are considered very powerful: although they are generally benevolent, they can take someone's soul away, resulting in illness and, if not treated in time, in death. This may happen when there is a disagreement between members of a lineage, or when one of the lineage members asks for this as a retaliation for some perceived wrongdoing through speaking to the ancestor (*tenten*). In addition, evil spirits that roam in the bush (*pwalei*) can also cause illness. One's

⁷ The Paliau Movement is named after its founder Paliau Maloat (ca. 1900-1991), who was from Baluan. He is seen as a political as well as a religious leader. The tremendous impact of his emancipation movement is still felt in present-day Manus. Initially, Paliau propagated the abolition of traditional ways as he believed those were restraining the indigenous population and keeping them from becoming equal to the white colonisers. Later he changed his views. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the rise of the movement in detail, but an excellent account can be found in Otto (1991).

ancestral spirits usually form a protection against *pwalei*, but visitors, who don't have this protection, can get sick easily.

A divination ritual, using betel nut, lime, a pepper leaf and saliva, can be carried out in order to find out the cause of an illness. Once the cause of the disease is known, a treatment can be determined, usually reconciliation of the social conflict and the payment of some compensation (Otto, 1991, p. 120). There can be other causes for illness as well, such as breaching a food taboo (*napun*), or sorcery.

1.4.2.5 *Traditional arts, crafts and speech genres*

Traditional products include wooden canoes with outriggers, different types of woven bags made from tree bark or coconut leaves and *kil* (known as *garamuts* in Tok Pisin, or log drums) made out of wood. Traditional items of clothing include grass skirts for women and bark cloths for men. Drum beats play a very important role in traditional ceremonies, accompanied by dance. In addition to a number of "general" beats that many people know how to perform, each clan also has its own specific beats for special occasions, performed only by some clan members. Although people are very proud of this part of their culture, the danger exists that this specialised knowledge will disappear over time. This has practically already happened with traditional chanting. Three types are distinguished: *polpolot*, *weyi* and *kolorai*. They consist of a two-part chant, each type with its own distinctive melody (see also Messner (1981)). *Polpolot* is performed by two men or women, and is generally done for enjoyment. *Weyi* has two varieties: one performed by two men, and one by two women. It can be done either for enjoyment, or for a sad occasion such as a death. *Kolorai*, the type with the highest status, was done by two men at the time of a death, and was accompanied by a special drum beat. Unfortunately these musical genres, including the specific register of Paluai that is used for them, are now moribund. The few remaining people that have active knowledge of the chants and the linguistic register are now elderly and no longer physically able to perform them properly. There are a number of younger speakers that are able to perform some chants, but they have only passive knowledge and do not know, for instance, how to compose new chants.

1.4.3 Societal and political organisation

In pre-colonial Manus, villages were the largest political units (Otto, 2002, p. 31). A village is referred to as “place” (*panu*), consisting of several “little places” (*panu sê*), all of which have proper names. A village consists of one or several clans (*pusungop*) – groups of people who consider themselves related through descent from a common ancestor. A clan, in its turn, consists of several “houses” or lineages (*wum*), which carry the name of the ancestor who founded them. They can be regarded as patrilineal descent groups which own land and other kinds of property. A house of high status, including its leader, is called *lapan*; houses of lesser status, which follow a house of higher status, are called *lau*.

Warfare was common between different groups on Manus, and was one of the ways in which a *lapan* could demonstrate his leadership. Another way of doing this was by organising a large feast. On Baluan, these feasts were organised for a deceased *lapan* by his successor. The preparations could take several years. During the feast, large numbers of pigs and other products were distributed to specific related kin groups and allies: ‘The *lapan* primarily gave to the family of his predecessor’s mother, thus paying off the debt to this group for providing the woman who gave birth to the deceased leader’ (Otto, 2002, p. 34). The success of the feast was measured by the amount of food and goods that were distributed.

After colonisation, an additional layer of government was added. Eventually, three domains of power came to be established: *kastam*, which refers to the traditional ways, *lotu*, the sphere of religious institutions, and *gavman*, referring to ‘Western-type government, education, and development’ (Otto, 1991, p. 9).⁸ They affect each other in many intricate ways, as is demonstrated for instance in Otto (2011).

1.4.4 Kinship and marriage

Genealogies are considered very important, and people are often able to trace their kinship histories six generations back. This is necessary in order to properly carry out the many traditional ceremonies (*puron*) that are done on Baluan, and also to be able to make claims about land ownership. Because genealogies are so complex, however, and related to interests, they are often the subject of disputes. Most Paluai kinship terms are

⁸ The terms *kastam*, *lotu* and *gavman* are Tok Pisin. *Kastam* and *gavman* are based on English ‘custom’ and ‘government’, while *lotu* is based on an Oceanic substrate term meaning ‘worship’.

inalienably possessed, and the kinship system is very elaborate. Use of the terms is under pressure from Tok Pisin, however (see Schokkin and Otto (2014) for more details).

Cross-cousins of the second degree or higher are considered the best candidates for marriage. Traditionally, marriage is arranged by the parents and always occurs outside the clan (exogamy). Arranged marriages, however, are on the wane due to changes in attitudes and demography, and there is an increasing prevalence of intermarriage with people from culturally and linguistically distinct groups. After marriage, the wife will normally live in the village of her husband (virilocal settlement patterns). People in an affinal kinship relation are in a respectful relationship with each other: preferably, the address form *polam* is used as a sign of respect, rather than the person's proper name.

Birth, marriage and death are important life events accompanied by traditional celebrations, which always involve the exchange of gifts. These ceremonies (*puron*, or *kastamwok* in Tok Pisin) played a very important role in the traditional culture, but were abolished by the Paliau Movement. Revival of tradition started in the 1960's, and has seen an intensification in the last two decades (see e.g. Otto (2011)). With a bride price ceremony (*mosap*), large quantities of food are given by the side of the bride to the side of the groom; gifts are returned by the groom's side in the form of a bride price paid in cash. After a death, a large exchange of goods and cash (*pailou*) takes place. In all these cases, Western money has replaced traditional money in the form of dog's teeth (*lipan mui*) and shell beads (*sapul*), which were largely destroyed during cargo cults in the 1950's.

Paluai has a very interesting system of birth order terms, shown in Table 1.2 below. Every child has a birth order "name" which indicates its rank in the order of siblings of the same sex. Such a system is also encountered in several other Manus languages, and the terms may have a common origin (Holzknecht, 1992). On Baluan, their most common use is in fact as proper names, to address people and also refer to them; the latter is often done in combination with the mother's or father's name or a nickname, to avoid confusion. The only birth order term that is not used in this function is the one for the first-born son. Both series have an eighth term *Ngaipwên*, literally meaning 'no name'. In addition to the birth order term, children get several names; they are generally named after one or more of their ancestors and in addition get a Christian name.

Female	Male
1. Alup	1. Meme
2. Asap	2. Ngi
3. Ninou	3. Ngat
4. Maiau	4. Aêwai
5. Ngason	5. Kuam
6. Non	6. Yêp
7. Soai	7. Silip

Table 1.2 Birth order terms

1.5 Genetic affiliation of Paluai

1.5.1 History, geography and linguistic subgrouping

As mentioned, Paluai is a member of the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian language family. Austronesian is one of the best known and documented language families in the world. Geographically, it covers more than half the globe, from Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east, and from Taiwan (Formosa) in the north to New Zealand in the south (see Figure 1.3 (from Lynch et al., 2002, p. 5)). The number of languages in the family is estimated to lie around 1,200 (Crowley, 2006, p. 96). Although internal subgrouping is still a matter of debate, it is by far less controversial than with many other language families.

Austronesian is divided into at least ten primary subgroups, of which nine are located in Taiwan and the other one, Malayo-Polynesian, consists of the remainder of Austronesian languages (Blust, 2009, p. 29). Due to the large number of first-order subgroups on Taiwan, this is now uncontroversially believed to be the homeland of the Austronesian family. Multiple waves of migration have led to the spread of the language family across the globe. It is now fairly well established that migration basically went from west to east, with the farthest of the Polynesian islands reached by about 1000 A.D. (Lynch, 1998, p. 56).

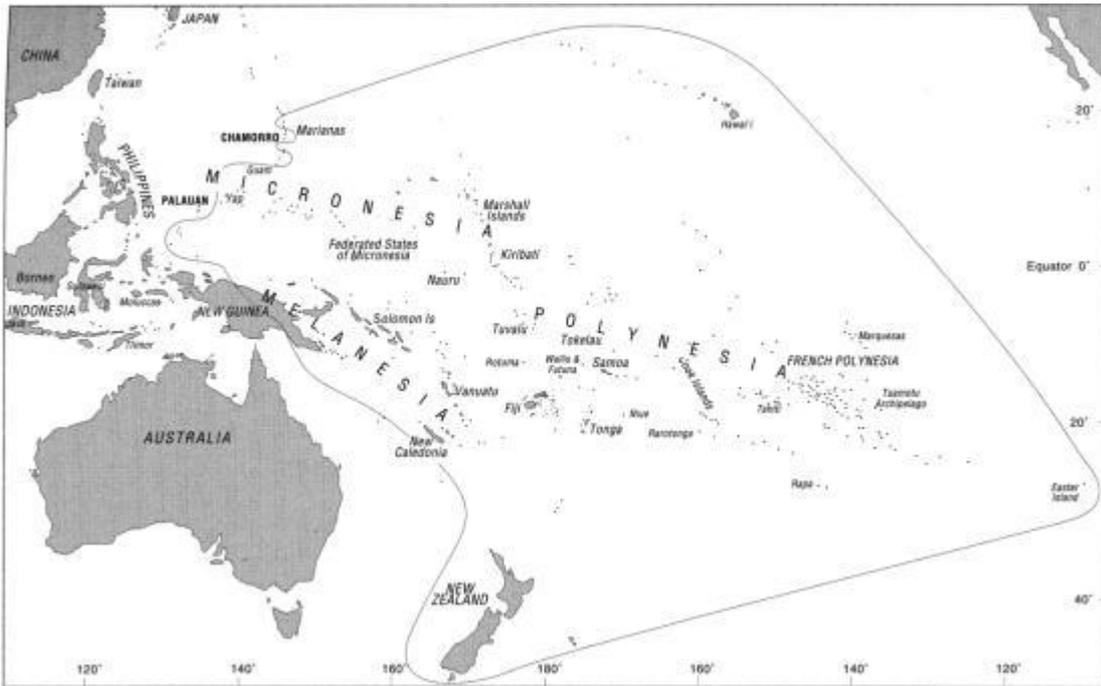


Figure 1.3 Geographical spread of the Oceanic subgroup

Malayo-Polynesian is further subdivided into two branches, a Western and an Proto-Central/Eastern one. Oceanic is a subgroup of the eastern branch. A widely accepted higher-order branching of Proto-Austronesian is represented in Figure 1.4 (based on Lynch et al., 2002, p. 4). With regard to the further division of the Oceanic subfamily, the story is a bit more complicated. Oceania is commonly divided into three geographical regions: Micronesia (the area located north-northeast of mainland PNG), Melanesia (island New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia and Vanuatu) and Polynesia (the remaining and geographically largest part of Oceania, consisting of among others Hawai'i, Samoa, Tuvalu, Tonga, French Polynesia, Easter Island and New Zealand).

However, linguistic facts do not coincide with geographical facts. For instance, there are Polynesian languages being spoken in Micronesia (some of the so-called Polynesian Outliers), and it is still a matter of debate whether Fijian belongs to the Polynesian or Melanesian languages. Melanesia, of which Manus Province is a part, has been especially difficult to classify, even to the extent that the languages of Melanesia were long believed not to be part of Oceanic. Both non-Oceanic and Oceanic Austronesian languages are spoken here, next to a large number of non-Austronesian languages, which are generally classified under the cover term "Papuan" but in fact consist of many distinct families.

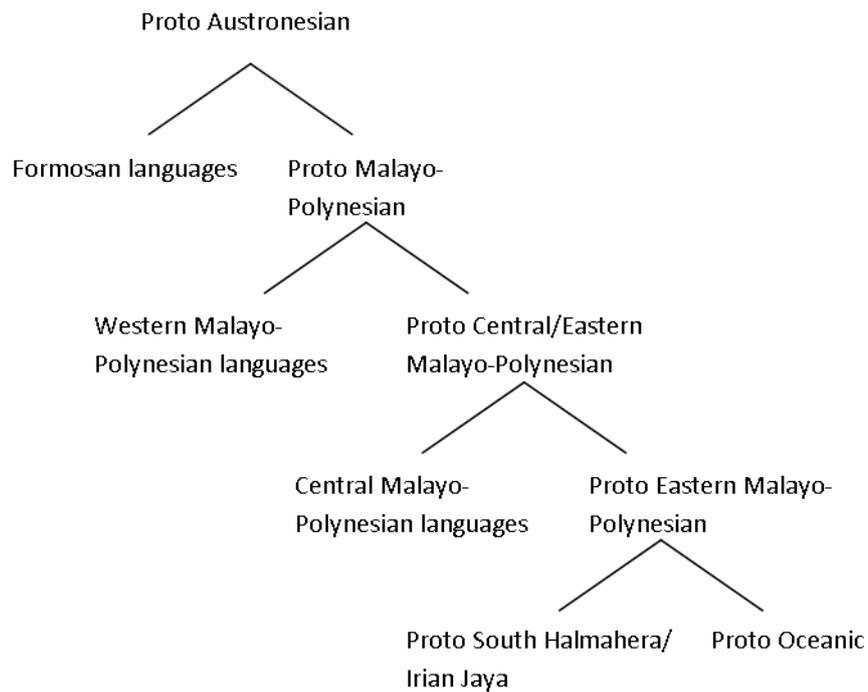


Figure 1.4 Proto-Austronesian family tree

What can in general be said about the three different regions is that Micronesia and Polynesia are characterised by basically one language per island or island group, with some dialect-chaining in Micronesia. In Melanesia, on the other hand, there are typically multiple languages spoken on one island or island group. Because of multiple sources of contact (with each other, with non-Oceanic languages and with non-Austronesian languages), the languages of Melanesia have undergone many changes from Proto-Oceanic. Another reason for the major changes may be that in Melanesia, language had much more an emblematic function than in other parts of Oceania (cf. Lynch, 1998). Language became an important symbol of group identity, and differences between languages may have been exaggerated and actively promoted. It is thus explicable that the Melanesian languages were not recognised as Oceanic by scholars in the past.

Oceanic is subdivided into three primary subgroups by Lynch et al. (2002, p. 94):

- (1) Admiralties family: Manus, its offshore islands and small islands to the west;
- (2) Western Oceanic linkage (WOc): the north coast of Irian Jaya, Papua New Guinea (excluding Admiralties) and the Western Solomons;

1.5.2 Linguistic characteristics of Oceanic

It is not easy to draw generalisations about the entire Oceanic family, but this section will make an attempt at drawing a quick sketch of the family, highlighting some salient characteristics. Unless otherwise indicated, descriptions in this section are based on Lynch et al. (2002).

1.5.2.1 Phonology

Phonologically, Oceanic languages are frequently less complex than languages from other families. Syllable structures are often CV, and phoneme inventories are often rather small. Typically, only five vowels are found in Oceanic languages. Stress is generally predictable, and tone and distinctive vowel length are often absent.

1.5.2.2 Pronominal system

There is generally no gender distinction in the pronominal system. We see, however, a distinction between singular, dual and plural, and an inclusive/exclusive distinction within first person non-singular, across the board. Many languages also distinguish “paucal”, which refers to more than two, but generally less than ten persons (or objects, but the pronominal system tends to be predominantly used for animate beings). In the pronominal system, three or four forms are recognised: free forms, bound possessive forms (affixes on the noun used with direct possession, see below) and bound forms on the verb that indicate the person and number of the subject and, sometimes, object.

1.5.2.3 Nouns

Nouns are often categorised in two ways. First, they are either directly or indirectly possessed. With direct possession, a possessive suffix is added on the noun. With indirect possession, the possessive suffix is added onto a separate morpheme. This direct/indirect distinction generally reflects a semantic distinction between inalienable and alienable possession. In the first category are nouns that are perceived in some sense “inseparable” from the possessor, typically body parts, kinship terms, locative parts and culturally important items (e.g. canoes). The second category consists of all other nouns. Languages differ in where they draw the line between alienable and

inalienable (Aikhenvald, 2003; Aikhenvald & Dixon, 2013). A feature commonly found in Oceanic languages related to this is the possessive classifier. In Oceanic, possessive classifiers typically refer to the nature of the relationship between the possessor and the possessee. In Fijian, for instance, a difference is made between ‘my kava, which I intend to drink’ and ‘my kava, which I grew or will sell’ (Aikhenvald, 2006b, p. 467).

Secondly, nouns are either personal, local or common. A noun’s category membership determines its syntactic behaviour. Oceanic languages do not have case and nouns are generally not marked for number. There is an animacy hierarchy, however, with more highly animate nouns more likely to obligatorily distinguish singular from plural. Nouns are often productively derived from verbs and occasionally from other roots. Reduplication is a productive mechanism in Oceanic and has a variety of meanings, such as diminutive, intensifier etc.

1.5.2.4 Articles and demonstratives

The Admiralties languages generally do not have articles (Lynch et al., 2002, 38). Demonstratives usually make a three-way distinction based on either person (near speaker, near addressee or neither) or relative distance (close, intermediate and distant). Some languages of the Admiralties and Micronesia (and Mussau) have elaborate systems of numeral classifiers. Oceanic languages mostly do not have adjectives and if they are found, it is often a small closed class. Adjectival meanings are more generally expressed by intransitive stative verbs.

1.5.2.5 Verbs

Turning to the verb, morphology is often not very extensive. Some valency-changing derivations are found; Western Melanesian languages often have a prefix which derives an intransitive stative from a transitive. Reduplication is extensively used, with a variety of meanings, such as randomness of action, repetition, plurality and change of valency. A formal marking of transitivity is frequently found on the verb. Passive constructions are very rare in the languages of Melanesia. Noun incorporation and verb serialisation, on the other hand, are frequently found. There exists a variety of semantic types of serial verb constructions.

1.5.2.6 *Clauses*

Clauses which involve a relationship between two nouns are often verbless, although some languages have a copula. For the languages of the Admiralties, basic constituent order is AVO for transitive clauses, according to Lynch et al. (2002, p. 49); for intransitive clauses, it may vary between VS and SV.¹⁰ Clauses in which both subject and object are expressed as noun phrases, however, are rare in discourse. Generally, it is allowed to move a constituent to clause-initial position in order to express topicalisation. Non-core nominal arguments in a clause are generally marked by adposed constituents. Most Oceanic languages have less than half a dozen adpositions, with other peripheral arguments being expressed by more complex constructions. Most Oceanic languages are nominative-accusative in their formal marking of core syntactic roles, although there are a few languages that show ergative-absolutive patterns.

The system to mark subordination was long thought to be not very complicated, but more recent studies indicate that this may be far from the case. There also is widespread use of a lexical verb meaning ‘say’ to mark subordinate clauses of verbs of locution and perception (Lynch et al., 2002, p. 53).

1.6 **Sketches of neighbouring languages**

There are about 30 languages spoken on Manus and the other Admiralty Islands (Lynch et al., 2002, p. 10). This area could be regarded as the “last unknown” in Oceanic linguistics. A preliminary sociolinguistic overview of the language situation in Manus was given by S. Schooling and J. Schooling (1980); this, however, used the lexicostatistic method, which has been much criticised. The only Admiralties language of which a full-length grammar has been produced is Loniu (Hamel, 1994). Mussau is a closely related language spoken on the islands of the St. Matthias Group, located east of Manus in New Ireland, of which a sketch grammar has been produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) (J. Brownie & M. Brownie, 2007). Various other members of SIL have been working in Manus Province, which has resulted in a sketch grammar of Seimat (Wozna & Wilson, 2005) and two MA theses: Stutzman (1997) about the Lou verb phrase, and Hafford (1999) about Wuvulu. More sketchy phonology and sometimes grammar data from SIL are available for Kurti, Nyindrou, Lele, Khehek,

¹⁰ Lynch et al. (2002) use the term SVO, which obscures potential differences in constituent order between transitive and intransitive clauses.

Nali, and Bipi. For Titan, there is an extensive text collection by Meier (1907-1912) with German translations, which has been adapted, translated to English and provided with a small sketch grammar by Bower (2011). There is a sketch grammar of Kele in Lynch et al. (2002). Currently, two other linguistic PhD projects are carried out on Manus, focusing on the Papitalai dialect of Koro (Jessica Cleary-Kemp) and Lele (Juliane Böttger), and some work is in progress on Pohowa (Tulu-Bohuai) (J. Newman, personal communication, 31 October 2011).¹¹

There are a few publications about historical phonology and linguistics of the area by Blust (1998; 2007; 2008) and Ross (1988). Ross (1988, p. 316) divides the Admiralties cluster into two second-order groups:

1. the western Admiralties, containing Wuvulu and Aua, Seimat, and now extinct Kaniet
2. the eastern Admiralties, divisible into two third-order subgroups:
 - a) the south-eastern Admiralties, comprising Pak-Tong, Baluan-Pam, Lou, Lenkau, Penchal and Nauna
 - b) the Manus subgroup, which includes all languages of Manus Island and its remaining offshore islands

The Admiralties cluster and its subgroups are defined by several phonological and morphosyntactic innovations. Detailed discussion of each of these falls beyond the scope of this thesis, but the main morphosyntactic innovations are listed below. For the Admiralties subgroup as a whole (Ross, 1988, pp. 331-32):

- Numeral classifiers are used, and occur in the sequence numeral + classifier, the sequence forming a single word phonologically.
- The numeral ‘one’ is used as a common article (marking not only indefinite but also specific and definite noun phrases).
- All POC non-singular possessive pronominal suffixes were lost and replaced by Proto-Admiralties (PAd) disjunctive pronouns.

¹¹ Papitalai is listed as a separate language in various sources, but is in fact a dialect of Koro (J. Cleary-Kemp, personal communication, 12 December 2012).

- Reduplication of the verb, used to form the continuative aspect in POC, was lost in PAd; in many Admiralties languages it is replaced by the verb *stay* as an auxiliary.
- The POC common article **na* has coalesced with common nouns, resulting in phonological changes in some initial consonants.

For Proto-Eastern Admiralties (PEAd), some of the innovations are (Ross, 1988, p. 342):

- PAd initial **p* merged with PAd **b* as PEAd **p*.
- PAd **r* and PAd **c* merged as PEAd **r*.
- POC numerals from seven to nine are replaced by a system based on subtraction from ten.
- The tense/aspect marker PEAd **k-* plays a major role in the verb system, especially in forming the future.
- The declarative negative is formed with reflexes of PAd clause-final **pwe[n]*.

In what follows, some of the better-studied languages of the region will be discussed briefly.

1.6.1 Loniu

Loni is spoken on the southern coast of the Los Negros section of Manus Island (see Figure 1.1). There are four numbers in the pronominal system and an inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person non-singular pronouns. Loniu has an extensive system of numeral classifiers. Verbs are prefixed for person/number and the potential aspect; proclitics and enclitics mark tense and other aspects. Transitive suffixes occur, but seem to be losing their productivity. No passive, causative or reciprocal forms have been identified. The most frequent forms of clause conjunction are coordination and clause chaining (Hamel, 1994, p. 3). Loniu also makes extensive use of serial verb constructions (Hamel, 1993).

1.6.2 *Mussau*

Mussau, spoken in the St. Matthias island group in the New Ireland Province of PNG, is said to be one of the phonologically most conservative Oceanic languages (Lynch et al., 2002). It shows an extensive set of possessive and numeral classifiers, five numbers in the pronominal system (singular, dual, trial, paucal and plural), with an inclusive/exclusive distinction, and a productive use of serial verb constructions (J. Brownie & M. Brownie, 2007).

1.6.3 *Seimat*

Seimat, belonging to the Western Admiralties subgroup and spoken on the Ninigo Islands in the far west of Manus Province, is unusual for an Austronesian language because it has nasalised vowels. Another unusual feature is its ‘limited’ and ‘extended’ plural (in addition to singular and dual, but not paucal). Limited plural refers to a group of people known to the speaker, whereas extended plural can refer to unknown persons as well. Seimat too has an extensive set of sixteen numeral classifiers. It has adjectives ending in *-n* which are derived from stative verbs. Interestingly, all nouns in Seimat can be directly possessed. In addition, there is a set of five possessive classifiers that specify the relationship between possessor and possessee (Wozna & Wilson, 2005).

1.6.4 *Lou*

Stutzman (1997) focuses on the Lou verb phrase, in particular verb serialisation which is very productive in this language. Mood and aspect is expressed by a series of preverbal particles. Adjectives and verbs may be reduplicated; the latter to express imperfectivity, but this is more commonly expressed with posture verbs as preverbal particles. Nouns may be formed from verbs by reduplication or suffixation. Ten noun classes can be distinguished based on the suffix taken by the numeral that modifies the noun. Since Lou is very closely related to Paluai, data of this language are very relevant for the current study.

1.7 Data collection and methodology

The linguistic data on which this thesis is based were collected during three field trips to Baluan Island: a pilot trip of two weeks in June 2010, and two lengthy trips, one of

about seven months in 2010-11 and one of about three months in 2012. In addition, a wordlist compiled by Ton Otto and several recordings made by him during field trips in the 1980's and 1990's were used.

The methodology used during field trips can be characterised as 'immersion fieldwork', in which a researcher lives with a language community for an extended period of time, takes part in daily activities and actively learns to speak the language (cf. Dixon, 2010a). I got in touch with the Baluan community through Ton Otto, and spent most of my time in Lipan village, where he also conducted his fieldwork. I lived there with a local family, by whom I was adopted. I would partake in their daily life and accompany them to the garden, on fishing trips, to church and to customary activities.

My pilot trip and the first few weeks of the first major field trip were spent acquainting myself with the field situation and introducing myself and the project to various key members of the community, such as clan chiefs, ward councillors and the local court magistrate. There was a lot of community support for a language documentation project, as people felt a need to preserve their language and culture which are both under pressure. Quite a few people were keen on participating in the project, and I managed to record a large variety of people from villages all over the island. I also witnessed a large number of traditional ceremonies, which are part and parcel of daily life on Baluan, and recorded several. At a later stage, in particular during the second major field trip when I was more fluent in the language myself, I ran several elicitation sessions and had a number of people play the *Man and Tree* game (Levinson et al., 1992). These were recorded as well.

All recordings were made and transcribed in the field, and checked and translated with the assistance of a native speaker of Paluai. Although a large variety of people provided stories and evidence in the form of field notes, I had a handful of consultants (who all had moderate to good command of English) who assisted me on a regular basis with transcription and translation: three women and three men. For glossing, interlinearisation and database management, version 1.6.1 of the program Toolbox (SIL International, 2013) was used. Furthermore, the analysis in this thesis is based on field notes on spontaneous language production collected during the field stays, and elicitation sessions which were carried out in Paluai as much as possible. Elicitation is a method necessary to gain negative evidence, i.e. to discover which constructions are not felicitous or allowed in the language under consideration.

An effort has been made to collect speech samples from a wide variety of genres and speakers. Genres represented include: spontaneous conversation, semi-spontaneous conversation (elicited by the *Man and Tree* picture matching task), procedural texts, family histories, anecdotes, children's stories, traditional legends, public speeches and traditional chants.¹² Speakers come from a variety of age groups and from several villages around the island, and are fairly balanced between males and females. In Appendix I, an overview is given of texts collected, including information on length, genre and speaker; this consists of spoken texts only, since I did not use any examples from chants for this thesis.

Speakers from the 10-20 year old age cohort are absent from the data collection. People from this age group are very self-conscious about their language use and were afraid that they would use too much Tok Pisin when recorded, so I have not been able to find candidates for this. However, since this is not a sociolinguistic study of Paluai I do not think this is an insurmountable gap in the data. Moreover, observations while in the field have given me an idea of the language use of younger people, and data from slightly older speakers (in particular 20-30 years old) can give an idea of how Paluai and Tok Pisin are in mixed use in the speech of the younger generations.

¹² The chants were collected for a side project funded by the Firebird Foundation for Anthropological Research, titled *Collection of Traditional Song Genres on Baluan Island (PNG)*.

Chapter 2 Phonology

2.1 Syllabic structure

Generally, a reference grammar will discuss segmental phonology before syllable structure. However, the analysis of some phones and the analysis of phonetic diphthongs depends on syllabicity, and therefore it is appropriate to first discuss which syllable structures are attested.

Syllables can be made up of an onset and a rhyme. A rhyme either is made up of only a nucleus (an open syllable) or of a nucleus and a coda (a closed syllable). Schematically, this can be represented as follows (Odden, 2005):

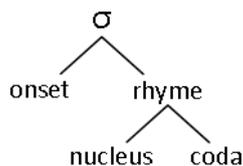


Figure 2.1 The syllable

A syllable can do without either an onset or a coda or both, but has to have a nucleus. In Paluai, only a vowel can appear in the nucleus of a syllable, i.e. only vowels can be syllabic. Syllables do not have complex nuclei. Vowel sequences, therefore, are always analysed as consisting of either two syllable nuclei, or of a single syllable containing a vowel in the nucleus and a glide in the coda (see Section 2.2.7 below for a more elaborate discussion of diphthongs and vowel sequences). Syllables cannot have complex onsets or codas either, i.e. consonant clusters are not allowed. All consonants can appear in both onset and coda position; there also seem to be no restrictions on CV or VC combinations. On the surface, allowed syllable structure is (C)V(C), which means the following basic syllable structures are attested:

- | | | |
|-----|-----|----------------------------------|
| (1) | V | /ɐ/ ‘and’ |
| | CV | /me/ ‘come’ |
| | VC | /ɛp/ 2 nd person dual |
| | CVC | /kem/ ‘salt’ |

A vowel /i/ or /u/ may appear in the onset or in the coda of a syllable and then loses its syllabicity. It will be realised as an approximant [j] or [w]. When a consonant (for instance a suffix) is added to the end of a word ending in [j] or [w], this increases syllable count, since extrasyllabic consonants are not allowed. The former approximant now becomes the nucleus of the added syllable. Because it gains syllabicity, the former approximant becomes a vowel (see Section 2.2.5.3 below for further discussion and exemplification). In underlying form, therefore, the following additional syllable structures are also allowed:

- (2) V_oV_n
 V_nV_c
 $V_oV_nV_c$
 V_oV_nC
 CV_nV_c where V_o and V_c can only be /i/ or /u/

These will always have (C)V(C) surface form. Examples are given below.

- (3) /io/ [jo] intermediate demonstrative
 /uo/ [wo] 2nd person singular
 /ui/ [wuj] ~ [uj] 1st person dual exclusive
 /æu/ [æw] 2nd person dual
 /ioi/ [jɔj] ‘stone’
 /uæu/ [wæw] ‘to move’
 /iep/ [jɛp] ‘fire’
 /uæk/ [wæk] ‘lizard sp.’
 /mui/ [muj] ‘dog’
 /pou/ [pow] ‘pig’

Monosyllabic forms are predominantly of the CVC type; V and VC syllables are not frequently attested as monosyllabic forms. In addition, words tend not to start with a V or VC syllable.¹ This means that the majority of words start with a consonant. Closed

¹ An exception is the fairly large number of words that start with [ɐ], which may be due to fossilised morphology (see Section 2.3.1.5.1).

syllables seem to be much more common than in some Oceanic languages (there are even a fair number of Oceanic languages which do not allow (C)VC syllables at all). The reason for this is the following: ‘[a]ll languages of the eastern Admiralties have lost not only original final consonants, but also the vowels that preceded them, and so allow many final consonants in contemporary word forms’ (Blust, 2009, p. 95). This same historic change is probably the cause for the large amount of monosyllabic CVC forms in present-day Paluai, which may stem from earlier CV.CV forms which lost the final vowel.

2.2 Segmental phonology

2.2.1 Overview of consonant phonemes

Consonants are realised with a complete or partial closure of the vocal tract. The Paluai consonant phonemes are shown in Table 2.1. Symbols between brackets indicate phones of which phonemic status is marginal and/or problematic; these will be discussed in Sections 2.2.2.2 and 2.2.5. There are four obstruent phonemes (three stops and one fricative): /p/, /t/, /k/ and /s/; and four sonorants: /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /l/. In addition, Paluai has a labialised bilabial plosive /p^w/ and a labialised bilabial nasal /m^w/.

The status of the trill /r/ and tap /ɾ/ rhotics as phonemes is unclear, since they are contrastive in only one form (see below). They appear in free variation with each other. Almost all consonant phonemes appear in all positions: word-initially, word-medially and word-finally. The only fricative phoneme, /s/, is not attested word-finally. With the labialised stop /p^w/ and nasal /m^w/, contrast with /p/ and /m/ is neutralised word-finally. [k^w] is not analysed as a separate phoneme; neither is [h] (see section 2.2.2.2). Glides [j] and [w] can basically be analysed as non-syllabic realisations of the vowels /i/ and /u/, and are discussed separately in Section 2.2.5.3.

	bilabial	apico- alveolar	lamino- palatal	dorso-velar	glottal
nasal	m	n		ŋ	
labialised nasal	m ^w				
plosive	p	t		k	
labialised plosive	p ^w			(k ^w)	
fricative		s			(h)
approximant			(j)	(w)	
tap		(ɾ)			
trill		(r)			
lateral approximant		l			

Table 2.1 The consonant phonemes of Paluai (marginal phonemes are indicated between brackets)

2.2.2 Distribution and realisations of consonant phonemes

2.2.2.1 The phoneme /p/

/p/ occurs in all positions. It is realised as a voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop [p] word-initially or -finally, and in careful speech. It is realised as a voiced bilabial stop [b] when it follows a lateral or nasal, and as a voiced bilabial fricative [β] between vowels. The fricative has only very brief friction, and does not sound markedly different from the voiced stop [b].

- (4) /pɛŋ/ 'rain'
 /pɛpɛu/ 'oar (for two hands)'
 /tɛp/ 1st person plural inclusive

2.2.2.2 The phoneme /t/

/t/ occurs in all positions. It is realised as a voiceless unaspirated apico-alveolar stop [t] word-initially or -finally, and in careful speech. It is realised as a voiced alveolar stop [d] when it follows a nasal and as a voiced alveolar trill [r] or tap [ɾ] when it occurs between vowels. In some cases, it is realised as an alveolar lateral liquid [l] if following another lateral liquid.

- (5) /tum/ 'tidal wave'
 /pɛtɛn/ 'on top of'
 /net/ 'ocean'

The alternation of [t] to [ɾ] or [r] is a very regular process. All instances of [r] in connected speech represent an underlying /t/, except for those that appear within a multisyllabic morpheme, such as /mɛri/ 'to sleep'. Here speakers would not accept substituting [r] with [t]. In some of these cases, morphological processes such as reduplication may give a decisive answer that [r] is indeed underlyingly /t/: compare [kurun] 'small' with [kutkurun] 'very small'.

There is, however, one minimal pair in which [t] and [r] appear to be contrastive:

- (6) /pɛtɛ-/ 'top' → /pɛtɛ-n/ 'top-PERT' → [pɛtɛn]
 /pɛt/ 'stem' → /pɛtɛ-n/ 'stem-PERT' → [pɛrɛn]²

These forms both originated from a root to which a 'direct possession' pertensive suffix is attached (see Section 5.5 on nominal possession). /pɛtɛ-/ 'on top of' is an obligatorily possessed root and does not appear by itself in speech, but /pɛt/ does, indicating that the

² The suffixed form contains a second vowel /ɛ/, which was lost in the root form but was retained in the directly possessed form. This phenomenon has been reported for a variety of Admiralties languages.

[r] of [pɛrɛn] is indeed an underlying /t/. /pɛtɛ-/ is the only form in the data for which [t] never changes to [r] or [ɾ].

In addition, /t/ changes to the lateral liquid [l] when following [l]. This alternation is most evident for the postnominal forms /te/ and /tɛ/, which change to [le] and [lɛ] following a noun ending in [l]. In addition, there are no simplex morphemes which show a [lt] sequence.

2.2.2.3 *The phoneme /k/*

/k/ occurs in all positions. It is realised as a voiceless unaspirated velar stop [k] word-initially or -finally, and in careful speech. It is realised as a voiced velar stop [g] following a nasal in the same phonological word, and as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] between vowels.

- (7) /kun/ ‘small basket’
 /kokon/ ‘money’
 /mɛk/ ‘surgeonfish’

Whether a [kw] sequence should be analysed as a separate phoneme /k^w/ or as a /ku/ sequence is discussed in Section 2.2.5.2.

2.2.2.4 *The phoneme /p^w/*

Word-initially, /p^w/ is realised as the rounded voiceless bilabial stop [p^w]. Between vowels, /p^w/ is realised as a rounded voiced bilabial stop [b^w], which often sounds as if somewhere between [b] and [w]. Word-finally, it is always realised as [p]. This phoneme appears most often followed by /ɛ/ and just a handful of times by other vowels. It is not attested before close back vowels /u/ or /o/. /p^w/ can be distinguished from a [pu] CV sequence because the secondarily articulated vocoid is never syllabic.³ This contrasts with for instance the disyllabic noun /pu.ɛn/ ‘fruit/seed’, with [u] in the nucleus of the first syllable.

³ Historically, however, this phoneme may have developed out of [p] followed by a rounded vowel, at least in some cases. See e.g. Blust (1981) and Lynch (2002) for discussion.

- (8) /p^wɛlei/ ‘ancestor spirit’
 /sop^wol/ ‘side, half’

For forms ending in [p] it can only be established whether the underlying form is /p/ or /p^w/ when a derived form is available in the data, as is the case with nouns which have both an unpossessed root form and a suffixed directly possessed form (see Sections 3.2.2 and 5.5). In (9) below, /p^w/ is retained in the suffixed form, whereas it is neutralised to [p] in the realisation of the root form.

- (9) [kup] ‘branch’ → [kup^wɛn] ‘branch-PERT’

2.2.2.5 *The phoneme /m/*

/m/ occurs in all positions. It has only one realisation: bilabial nasal [m].

- (10) /mɛn/ ‘seagull’
 /kɛmei/ ‘rainbow runner (fish species)’
 /kɛm/ ‘salt’

2.2.2.6 *The phoneme /n/*

/n/ occurs in all positions. It is usually realised as the alveolar nasal [n]. Within a phonological word, /n/ is realised as [m] when followed by a bilabial stop. When followed by a velar stop (again, within a word), /n/ is realised as [ŋ].

- (11) /nei/ ‘rat’
 /kɛnei/ ‘tree species with edible nut’
 /kun/ ‘small basket’

Within nominal compounds, /n/ is often deleted (especially in fast speech) when it precedes the glide [j], another nasal, or the lateral liquid [l]. The following compound expressions illustrate this.

(12) /mɛtɛ-n jɛmɛt/	→	[mɛrɛjɛmɛt]	eye-PERT person ‘human eye’
/jɛmɛt ii=an mɛt/	→	[jɛmɛrimɛt]	person 3sg=PRF die ‘deceased person’
/pulɪɛ-n lipɛn/	→	[pulɪɛlipɛn]	mountain-PERT Lipan ‘the mountain of Lipan’

It is likely that within a phonological word only homorganic nasal-consonant clusters are allowed (see Section 2.4.1 for more on the phonological word).

2.2.2.7 The phoneme /ŋ/

/ŋ/ occurs in all positions. It has only one realisation: the velar nasal [ŋ].

(13) /ŋɛn/	‘white ant, termite’
/soŋɛp/	‘refugee’
/niŋ/	‘to see’

2.2.2.8 The phoneme /m^w/

Word-initially and -medially, /m^w/ is realised as a rounded bilabial nasal [m^w]. Word-finally, it is always realised as [m]. Similar to the rounded stop /p^w/, this phoneme appears almost exclusively followed by /ɐ/ and only a few times followed by /e/, /ɪ/ or /o/. It is not attested before close back vowels /u/ or /ʊ/. /m^w/ can be distinguished from a [mu] CV sequence because the secondarily articulated vocoid is never syllabic.⁴ Contrasting with this is, for instance, the disyllabic noun /mu.in/ ‘green coconut’, with [u] in the nucleus of the first syllable.

(14) /m ^w ɛn/	‘man, person’
/kom ^w ɛt/	‘grasshopper’

For forms ending in [m] it can only be established whether the underlying form is /m/ or /m^w/ when a derived form is available in the data. Consider for instance:

⁴ Historically, however, this phoneme may have developed out of [m] followed by a rounded vowel, at least in some cases. See e.g. Blust (1981) and Lynch (2002) for discussion.

(15) [wum] ‘house’ → [wum^wɛn] ‘house-PERT’

2.2.2.9 *The phoneme /s/*

/s/ is only attested word-initially and -medially, not word-finally. It is realised as the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] and has only one realisation.

(16) /sɛko/ ‘bait’
/lisɛt/ ‘fish species’

Historically, there seems to have been a process of lenition in which /t/ was realised as [s] between vowels. This process is no longer productive (in present-day Paluai, /t/ is realised as [r] or [r̥] in that position), but the remnants of this process are still visible in several roots and their derived forms. Compare for instance:

(17) /nut/ ‘breast’ /nusu-n/ ‘breast-PERT’
/lolot/ ‘to be cool’ /lolosi-n/ ‘cool’ (derived adjective)
/kulut/ ‘rubbish’ /kulusu-n/ ‘rubbish-PERT’
/mɛsie-/ ‘appreciation’ /mɛt.mɛsie-/ ‘great appreciation’ (unposs.)

Other evidence that indicates that [s] may originally have been a variant of /t/ is the fact that it is not attested word-finally, and that there are very few minimal pairs with intervocalic /t/ and /s/.

2.2.2.10 *The phoneme /l/*

/l/ occurs in all positions. It is realised as the alveolar lateral liquid [l] and has only one realisation.

(18) /len/ ‘south, south wind’
/kulut/ ‘rubbish’
/kɛl/ ‘taro’

2.2.3 Vowel phonemes

Vowels are sounds that are pronounced with an open vocal tract. In Paluai, seven vowel phonemes are distinguished based on two dimensions: vowel height, and articulation in the front vs. back of the oral cavity. This yields two close, two near close, two close mid, and one central near open vowel (see Figure 2.1).⁵ Vowel length is not contrastive. Front vowels are always unrounded and back vowels are always rounded. Only vowels can be syllabic, i.e. they can form a syllable nucleus (see Section 2.1 for more on syllabic structure). Thus, there are no syllabic consonants. Glides [j] and [w] can basically be analysed as non-syllabic vowels /i/ and /u/, and are discussed separately in Section 2.2.5.3.

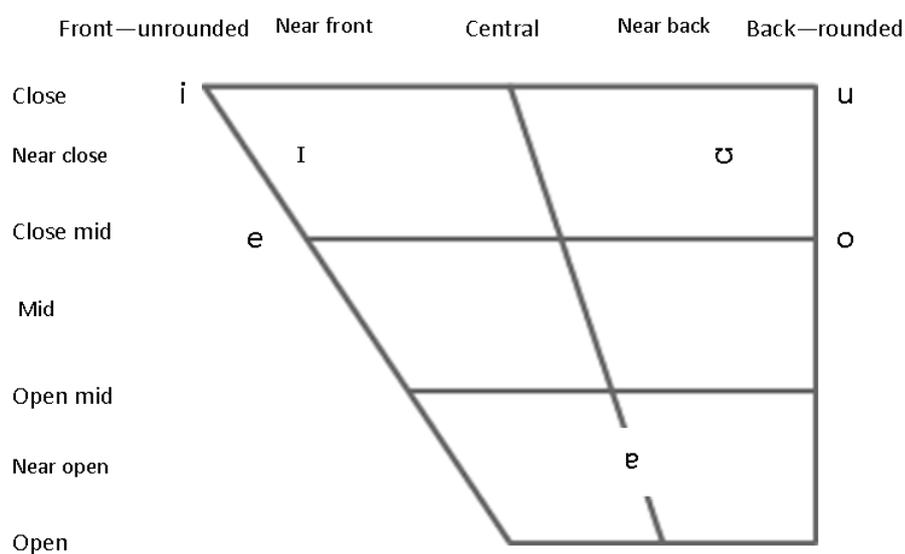


Figure 2.2 Paluai vowel inventory

2.2.3.1 The phoneme /i/

The vowel /i/ is realised as a close unrounded front vowel [i] and appears in VC, CV and CVC syllables. In syllables checked by a nasal, /i/ is lowered and realised as [ɪ]. When it occurs before /u/, /i/ sometimes seems to be backed and resembling [u], for instance in /iiu/ ~ [juw] ‘to pull’.

⁵ For vowel height, throughout the chapter the terms based on the opposition “open” vs. “close” (referring to jaw position) are used. In addition, reference is made to “lowering” or “laxing” of vowels, since these terms are more commonly used to refer to this phonological process than “opening”. But in essence, they refer to an alternation from a more close to a more open vowel.

- (19) /ip/ 3rd person plural
/pi/ ‘mosquito’
/nik/ ‘fish’

2.2.3.2 *The phoneme /ɪ/*

The vowel /ɪ/ is realised as a near close unrounded front vowel [ɪ] and has only one realisation. It occurs mostly in CVC syllables; it is attested only rarely in CV and not at all in VC syllables.

- (20) /ɪp/ ‘to take’
/sɪ/ ‘who’

2.2.3.3 *The phoneme /e/*

The vowel /e/ is realised as a close mid, unrounded front vowel [e] in CV syllables, and as an open mid unrounded front vowel [ɛ] in VC or CVC syllables. This lowering or ‘laxing’ in closed syllables is typical for Austronesian languages (Blust, 2009, p. 254). In a very small number of CV forms, /e/ is pronounced [ɛ]. Due to the limited number of forms and the fact that there is inter-speaker variation here, [ɛ] is not considered a separate phoneme. When occurring in a phonetic diphthong with /i/, /e/ is sometimes raised to [ɪ], and by some speakers even almost to [i] (see Section 2.2.7 below for more on vowel sequences).

- (21) /ep/ 1st person plural exclusive
/me/ ‘to come’
/lem/ ‘hole’

2.2.3.4 *The phoneme /ɐ/*

The phoneme /ɐ/ is realised as a central near open vowel [ɐ] (comparable to the one in RP English ‘up’) and has only one realisation. It appears in a range of environments: by itself and in VC, CV and CVC syllables.

- (22) /ɐ/ ‘and’
 /ɐp/ 2nd person plural
 /mɐ/ ‘and, but’
 /mɐt/ ‘to die’

2.2.3.5 *The phoneme /o/*

This vowel is realised as a close mid, rounded back vowel [o] in CV syllables, and as an open mid rounded back vowel [ɔ] in CVC syllables. This lowering or ‘laxing’ in closed syllables is typical for Austronesian languages (Blust, 2009, p. 254). /o/ does not occur in VC syllables. In a very small number of CV forms, /o/ is pronounced [ɔ]. Due to the limited number of forms and the fact that there is inter-speaker variation here, [ɔ] is not considered a separate phoneme.

- (23) /to/ ‘to be, to stay’
 /sok/ ‘to burn’

2.2.3.6 *The phoneme /ʊ/*

This vowel is realised as a near close, rounded near back vowel [ʊ] and has only one realisation. It occurs in CV and CVC syllables, but not in VC type syllables.

- (24) /ʊʊʊt/ ‘to be cool’
 /pʊn/ ‘sea turtle’

2.2.3.7 *The phoneme /u/*

The vowel /u/ is realised as a close rounded back vowel [u] and has only one realisation. It appears by itself and in CV and CVC syllables, but not in VC syllables. Word-initial /u/ is often preceded by an approximant [w].

- (25) /u/ 3rd person dual
 /su/ ‘comb’
 /kun/ ‘small basket’

2.2.4 Minimal pairs

Phonemes with similar places of articulation can be shown to be contrastive with minimal pairs.

2.2.4.1 Minimal pairs for consonant phonemes

Contrasts between the nasals are shown in the sets below:

(26)	/uom/ [wɔm]	‘to chop’	/mom/	‘fish sp.’
	/uon/ [wɔn]	‘to ladle, to scoop’	/mon/	‘pandanus’
	/uoŋ/ [wɔŋ]	‘I’ (1sg free pronoun)	/moŋ/	‘dry, barren (of tree)’
	/iem/ [jɛm]	‘lime stick’	/mɛmɛt/	‘to be awake’
	/ien/ [jɛn]	‘to lie’	/mɛnɛk/	‘elder’
	/ieŋ/ [jɛŋ]	‘to slice’	/mɛŋɛt/	‘work’
	/mui/	‘dog’	/min/	‘hand’ (unposs.)
	/nui/	‘squid sp.’	/nin/	‘fight’
	/ŋui/	‘to snore’	/ŋin/	‘to scratch’

Contrasts between labialised and ‘regular’ bilabials are shown below:

(27)	/mɛt/	‘to die’	/mɛk/	‘to emerge (from water)’
	/m ^w ɛt/	‘bandicoot’	/m ^w ɛk/	‘armband’
	/pɪt/	‘to clean (fish)’	/pon/	‘to compensate’
	/p ^w ɪt/	‘to peel fruit’	/p ^w on/	‘to cover’

Contrasts between the alveolar plosive /t/ and fricative /s/ are shown below:

(28)	/sɛn/	‘to cut’	/suk/	‘to deceive’
	/tɛn/	‘to dig out (wild fowl eggs)’	/tuk/	‘to beat’

/nusu-n/	‘breast-PERT’	/musin/	‘soft (of betelnut)’
/nurun/	‘clothing, belongings’	/murin/	‘broken’

2.2.4.2 *Minimal pairs for vowel phonemes*

The Paluai vowel inventory is quite unbalanced for height, as six of the seven vowels are close to close mid, and only one vowel is open. Therefore, contrasts between the three front vowels and the three back vowels are only minimal. Nevertheless, there are many minimal pairs.

Contrasts between the front vowels /i/, /ɪ/ and /e/ are shown in the sets below:

(29) /tik/	‘to creep’	/iik/ [jik]	‘to search for’
/tɪk/	‘to cut’	/iɪk/ [jik]	‘to feel’
/tek/	‘to put’	/iek/ [jek]	‘to hit’
/pil/	‘ladle’	/iit/ [jit]	‘to chip off’
/pɪl/	‘to roll’	/iɪt/ [jit]	‘to separate’
/pel/	‘tree sp.’	/iet/ [jet]	‘frog’

Contrasts between the back vowels /u/, /ʊ/ and /o/ are shown in the sets below:

(30) /pul/	‘moon’	/suk/	‘shore’
/pʊl/	‘coconut’	/sok/	‘tail of hair’
/pol/	‘bird sp.’	/sok/	‘to burn’
/pun/	‘origin’	/sui/	‘soup’
/pʊn/	‘sea turtle’	/sʊi/	‘to demolish’
/pon/	‘to compensate’	/soi/	‘to be upset (of stomach)’

2.2.5 *Issues related to phoneme status*

There are a number of phones in Paluai of which it is difficult to determine phoneme status. The rhotics [r] and [ɾ] were discussed above in Section 2.2.2.2, with the phoneme /t/. The others will be discussed below.

2.2.5.1 *The glottal fricative [h]*

The glottal fricative /h/ is discernible a number of times in the data, but it is not considered a phoneme in the present analysis. It is never used contrastively and there is much variation among speakers: with some speakers, an occasional [h] is heard, but with many there isn't. [h] seems to occur sometimes following an open syllable ending in [ɛ] or [ɔ], or is inserted between two vowels in hiatus. The interjection /mɛin/ 'I don't know!', for instance, is realised either as [mɛin] (with a hiatus), [mɛ^hin] (with an epenthetic glide) or [mɛ^hin]. It may be that [h] is used in cases where a speaker wants to give extra 'force' to his/her utterance of 'I don't know!' and therefore produces the glottal fricative. The variation with regard to [h] seems not to be sociolinguistically conditioned and/or genre-specific, but since it is relatively rare, more data would be needed to conclude this with certainty.

2.2.5.2 *Rounded velar stop [k^w]*

It is a valid question whether Paluai has a rounded velar stop [k^w] in analogy with the rounded bilabials, as some other Oceanic languages do. There is a small number of forms that could be analysed as starting with [k^w], such as /kuɛm/ 'fifth-born son' which is usually pronounced [k^wɛm]. However, in most of the forms that start with a [ku] sequence, the [u] is syllabic and should thus be analysed as a full vowel (forming the nucleus of the first syllable). Because of the small number of forms, and the possibility of an alternative analysis, [k^w] is not regarded as a separate phoneme.

2.2.5.3 *The approximants [j] and [w]*

The approximants [j] and [w] are analysed as non-syllabic realisations of /i/ and /u/ respectively. The term 'non-syllabic' refers to a realisation in either syllable onset or syllable coda position. 'Syllabic' refers to realisation in the syllable nucleus, and in Paluai this only applies to vowels (i.e. there are no syllabic consonants). These approximants (or glides or semivowels) are phonetically distinguishable from their full vowel counterparts because they involve a greater restriction of the vocal tract than full vowels (Ladefoged & Maddieson, 1996). [j] represents a palatal approximant, whereas [w] represents a voiced labialised velar approximant.

A [Vw] or [Vj] sequence in the rhyme of a syllable is underlyingly a [Vu] or [Vi] sequence, even though these sequences are normally realised as phonetic diphthongs.⁶ One reason for this analysis is that the [w] or [j] becomes syllabic when a suffix is attached:

- (31) /kɛ.mou/ → [kɛ.mow] ‘speech’
 /kɛ.mou-n/ → [kɛ.mo.'un] ‘speech-PERT’

- (32) /sui/ → [suj] ‘soup’
 /sui-n/ → [su.in] ‘soup-PERT’

As the above examples show, a /u/ or /i/ in coda position is realised as a glide, resulting in a [Vw] or [Vj] diphthong. However, when a *-n* suffix is attached, the underlying /u/ or /i/ now forms the nucleus of a new VC syllable. Because it has become syllabic, the /u/ or /i/ is now pronounced as a full vowel, in some cases even stressed, and there is less diphthongisation (although in fast speech still a certain degree of diphthongisation is discernible).

This process is usually only discernible at the end of phonological words. Example (33) shows how the process works word-medially.

- (33) /iu.ip/ → [ju.wip] ‘two’
 /tɛ.iu.ip/ → [tɛj.'wip] ‘DEF-two’

When the prefix /tɛ/ (indicating definiteness and specificity; see Section 5.10) is attached to the numeral /iu.ip/, syllable count increases from two to three. However, in connected speech, syllable count is again reduced to two. The /j/ glide now checks the first syllable of the new form, and the /u/ which was in the nucleus of the first syllable of /iu.ip/ now forms the onset of the second syllable. It is now realised as a glide /w/. In addition, because stress can only fall on a full vowel in the nucleus of a syllable, stress

⁶ From a historical linguistic viewpoint, an alternative analysis is possible for at least some of the [Vj] and [jV] sequences. There seem to be correspondences between Paluai [j], and [r] in several other Admiralties languages: cf. Lou *ramat* ~ Paluai *yamat* ‘person’, Lele *por* ~ Paluai *poy* ‘residue after boiling coconut oil’. Thus, some instances of [j] may in fact historically represent a separate phoneme, and not an underlying /i/. However, this study aims at a synchronic analysis of Paluai phonology, and synchronically no distinction is made between the various occurrences of [j]. A historical linguistic study of Admiralties cognates (in order to establish regular sound correspondences) is much needed, but falls beyond the scope of this thesis.

has shifted from the /u/, which became non-syllabic, to the /i/ vowel in the nucleus of the second syllable.

It is important to note that when /u/ and /i/ are realised as [w] and [j], they do behave more like consonants in some environments, but more like vowels in others. For instance, there is lowering (or ‘laxing’) of /e/ before [w] and of /o/ before [j], just as in ‘regular’ CVC syllables (see Sections 2.2.3.3 and 2.2.3.5). Thus, /mæ.leu/ ‘to hurry’ is realised as [mælew]; and /ioi/ ‘stone’ is realised as [jɔj]. There is, however, no lowering of /e/ before [j] and /o/ before [w]. Thus, /pei/ ‘stingray’ is realised as [pej] (not *[pej]), and /pou/ ‘pig’ is realised as [pow] (not *[pɔw]). In these cases the underlying vowels /i/ and /u/ are similar in place of articulation to /e/ and /o/ respectively, but only higher, and this may inhibit the lowering of /e/ and /o/. However, when the glide is articulated “across” from the vowel (front glide with back vowel, or back glide with front vowel), lowering will take place.

The second argument for the current analysis is based on distribution patterns of [w] and [j]. Firstly, [uw] sequences are not attested word-finally. [ij] sequences are, but they can be analysed as underlying disyllabic [ii] sequences (also, see note 6). Underlying disyllabic [uu] sequences would be realised with a hiatus between the first and second [u]. Secondly, in connected speech [w] and [j] are frequently dropped syllable-initially (i.e. [w] and [j] glides occurring in the syllable onset). [w] is usually dropped before the close back vowel /u/, sometimes before /o/ and once before /ɐ/. [j] is dropped before the close front vowel /i/. Because of this optionality of the approximants, and the fact that the presence or absence of the approximant is never contrastive, they are analysed as variants of /u/ and /i/, conditioned by a distributional rule: these variants only occur in the (non-syllabic) onset and coda positions.

2.2.6 Phonological processes

2.2.6.1 Phonological processes related to consonants

In the section on segmental phonology above, phonological processes acting on consonants were already mentioned. They will be repeated and schematised here for convenience.

1. /t/ is realised [r] or [r̥] between vowels and [d] following a nasal
 - a. /t/ → [r] / V__V
 - b. /t/ → [d] / N__

2. /p/ is realised [β] between vowels and [b] following a nasal
 - a. /p/ → [β] / V__V
 - b. /p/ → [b] / N__

3. /k/ is realised [ɣ] between vowels and [g] following a nasal
 - a. /k/ → [ɣ] / V__V
 - b. /k/ → [g] / N__

4. /m^w/ is realised [m] word-finally

/m^w/ → [m] / __#

5. /p^w/ is realised [p] word-finally

/p^w/ → [p] / __#

6. /n/ is realised [m] preceding /p/, [ŋ] preceding /k/ and deleted preceding [j], /l/ or a nasal
 - a. /n/ → [m] / __/p/
 - b. /n/ → [ŋ] / __/k/
 - c. /n/ → Ø / __[j]
 - d. /n/ → Ø / __/l/
 - e. /n/ → Ø / __N

There is a difference between rules 1 and 2 on the one hand, and the other rules on the other. Rules 1 and 2 operate across phonological word boundaries, whereas rules 3-6

don't. Within a phonological word, obstruent-nasal clusters are homorganic. This is realised by rule 1b, or by combining rule 6a with rule 2b, or rule 6b with rule 3b. The compound /pɛtɛn kei/ 'tree trunk', for example, is realised [pɛrɛŋgei]. The rules are applied as follows:

Rule 1a: /t/ → [R] / V__V [pɛrɛn kei]
 Rule 6b: /n/ → [ŋ] / __/k/ [pɛrɛŋ kei]
 Rule 3b: /k/ → [g] / N__ [pɛrɛŋ gei]

Rules 6b and 3b have to operate in this order to produce the correct end result. Thus, we find leftward assimilation followed by rightward assimilation. This full assimilation is only attested within phonological words. There will always be a slight phonetic assimilation of /n/ towards either /k/ or /p/, due to the anatomy of the vocal tract. The subsequent voicing of the obstruent /k/ under influence of the assimilated nasal, however, is a feature only found within phonological word boundaries.

2.2.6.2 Vowel assimilation

There is some vowel assimilation in Paluai. For instance, the imperfective particle /no/ is sometimes realised as [ne] when the following verb form has a front vowel in its first syllable, for instance in [ne jɛn jɛt] 'keep on stirring'. In addition, when one syllable of a phonological word contains /ʊ/, other syllables with close back vowels tend to assimilate to that vowel. There are also a few roots which alternate between [ɔ] for a free form, and [ɐ] for a suffixed form to indicate direct possession:

- (34) /nɛtu/ 'child, son' → realised as either [nɔt] or [nɛru-]
 /iɛnu/ 'water' → realised as either [jɔn] or [jɛnu-]

However, this is only a minor process as there are no systematic vowel alternations as are typically found in directly possessed noun paradigms and prefixed verbs forms of other Manus languages (cf. Hamel (1994) for Loni; Lynch et al. (2002) and Blust (2009) for other Admiralties languages).

2.2.6.3 *Vowel reduction*

Unstressed vowels, in particular the front close mid vowel /e/, are subject to some degree of reduction and tend to be realised as schwa, in particular in fast speech. For instance, the form /terepelek/ ‘to run’ is usually realised [ˌtɛr.ə.pə.ˈlɛk]. There do not seem to be any sociolinguistic and/or genre-specific factors which determine vowel reduction.

2.2.6.4 *Syllable reduction*

Vowels are sometimes dropped in fast speech, with the effect of reducing syllable count. There is a tendency to reduce syllable count, which may be done in order to facilitate production. Another indication of this is the relatively high incidence of haplology in Paluai, a process in which one of two consecutive identical or similar syllables is deleted. Examples of vowel deletion are:

- (35) /pɛ.lo.si/ → [pɛl.si] ‘in the past, long ago’
/tɛ.te.io/ → [tɛ.re] intermediate demonstrative, free/empathic form

Examples of haplology are:

- (36) /te.me.nin/ → [te.min] ‘like, as follows’
/li.liu/ → [liw] ‘again’
/iu.iu.it/ → [ju.it] ‘question’

2.2.6.5 *Metathesis*

Two irregular directly possessed nouns and their roots show traces of metathesis. However, metathesis is not a productive process in present-day Paluai. The following cases are attested (in the second one, there is also lenition of the /t/):

- (36) [jɛm.ɛt] ‘person’ → [jɛm.tɛ-n] ‘owner-PERT’
[mɛŋ.ɛt] ‘work’ → [mɛŋ.sɛ-n] ‘work-PERT’

2.2.7 *V-V sequences and phonetic diphthongisation*

Diphthongisation has been mentioned a number of times before. There are no phonological diphthongs in Paluai, since a syllable nucleus can only contain one vowel. Thus, although Paluai contains many V-V sequences and many vowel-glide or glide-vowel sequences, these are not analysed as diphthongs. The glide-vowel and vowel-glide sequences are analysed as partly consisting of /u/ or /i/ in a syllable onset or coda, which is then non-syllabic and realised as [w] or [j] (see Section 2.2.5.3. above). Other V-V sequences consist of two or more syllable nuclei. In fast speech, there is diphthongisation, but this is a phonetic rather than a phonological process. Table 2.2 gives an overview of the possible V-V sequences across syllables in multisyllabic morphemes. Please note that instances of /i/ and /u/ listed there should be understood as syllabic ones, and therefore should be distinguished from the glide realisations mentioned above.

What is immediately evident from Table 2.2 is that /ɪ/ and /ʊ/ are hardly attested in vowel sequences. This is in line with the fact mentioned above that their predominant occurrence is in CVC syllables. The second observation that can be made from the data in Table 2.2 is that opening V-V sequences (i.e. from a close vowel to an open vowel) do not diphthongise. Sometimes, there seems to be an epenthetic glide: for instance, /tiok/ is realised [tiʷk] and /leut/ is realised [leʷut], but it is usually not obviously distinguishable. Neither is a hiatus. Sequences that can be realised as a phonetic diphthong are all closing (i.e. from an open vowel to a close vowel) and are 1) those that start with [ɐ] and end in a close to close mid vowel: [ɛi], [ɛɪ], [ɛe] and [ɛu]; 2) those that start with close mid back [o] and end in near close front [ɪ] – which are very rare – and 3) those that start with close mid back [o] and end in close back [u], or start with close mid front [e] and end in close front [i]. Still, all those sequences can also be realised with a slight epenthetic glide, or with a very slight intervocalic [h].⁷

A third important observation is that V-V sequences consisting of identical vowels are relatively rare, and they are realised in different ways. /ii/ sequences are either realised as long vowels (e.g. [pi:ng] ‘to extinguish’) or with a slight epenthetic glide [j] or glottal fricative [h]. /ɛɛ/ sequences are realised with a hiatus. /uu/ and /oo/

⁷ These observations are in line with the tendency for closing diphthongs to be falling (i.e. losing prominence) and for opening diphthongs to be rising (i.e. gaining prominence). In most of the V-V sequences the first vowel (i.e. syllable) is stressed and thus the most prominent. This prominence pattern coincides with that of closing diphthongs, but not with that of opening diphthongs, in which the second V is most prominent. Thus, closing phonetic diphthongs are attested whereas opening phonetic diphthongs are not.

sequences are realised either with a hiatus or an epenthetic glide [w]. Again, in all these instances, the inter-speaker variation seems not to be conditioned by genre-specific or sociolinguistic factors. In all instances of /oo/ sequences, the second /o/ appears in a closed syllable and is thus realised as [ɔ]. Sequences of /ɪɪ/, /ee/ and /ʊʊ/ are not attested.

Sequence	Example	Phonetic diphthong possible
/ii/	[pi.iŋ] ‘to extinguish’	n/a
/iɪ/	[ne.si.it] ‘anger’	no
/ie/	[ɐ.ri.ej] ‘to patch a canoe’	no
/iɐ/	[li.ɐn] ‘anchor’	no
/io/	[ti.ɔk] ‘betel pepper vine’	no
/iʊ/	not attested	n/a
/iu/	not attested	n/a
/ɪɪ/	not attested	n/a
/iɪ/	not attested	n/a
/ie/	not attested	n/a
/iɐ/	not attested	n/a
/io/	not attested	n/a
/iʊ/	not attested	n/a
/iu/	not attested	n/a
/ee/	not attested	n/a
/ei/	[pe.in] ‘woman’	yes
/eɪ/	not attested	n/a
/eɐ/	[le.ɐm] ‘greedy’	no
/eo/	[mɐ.le.ow] ‘plant sp.’	no
/eʊ/	not attested	n/a
/eu/	[le.ut] ‘weed’	no
/ɐɐ/	[m ^w ɐ.ej]	n/a
/ɐi/	[p ^w ɐ.it] ‘sea anemone’	yes
/ɐɪ/	[nɐ.it] ‘canoe part’	yes
/ɐe/	[ɐ.e.ŋan] ‘ear-3sg.poss’	yes
/ɐo/	[nɐ.nɐ.ɔp] ‘tree sp.’	no

/əʊ/	not attested	n/a
/ɛu/	[mɛ.ut] ‘to sink’	yes
/oo/	[tɛ.p ^w o.ɔm] ‘right now’	n/a
/oi/	not attested	n/a
/oi/	[lo.ŋ] ‘to roast’	yes
/oe/	[ɐ.lo.ɛŋ] ‘long, tall’	no
/oɛ/	[ɐ.lo.ɛj] ‘daylight’	no
/oo/	not attested	n/a
/ou/	[jo.un] ‘tail-3sg.poss’	yes
/oo/	not attested	n/a
/oi/	not attested	n/a
/oi/	not attested	n/a
/oe/	not attested	n/a
/oɛ/	not attested	n/a
/oo/	not attested	n/a
/ou/	not attested	n/a
/uu/	[pɛ.ru.ul] ‘coral sp.’	n/a
/ui/	[mu.in] ‘green coconut’	no
/ui/	[ku.il] ‘blue-spotted parrotfish’	no
/ue/	[nu.ɛŋ] ‘wild tuber’	no
/uɛ/	[ku.ɛŋ] ‘clamshell sp.’	no
/uo/	[tu.ɔp] ‘chew betelnut’	no
/uʊ/	not attested	n/a

Table 2.2 Possible vowel sequences in Paluai

2.2.8 Generalisations with regard to segmental phonology

A number of generalisations can be made with regards to segmental phonology:

1. neutralisation of the contrast between labialised and non-labialised consonants word-finally
2. labialised consonants tend not to occur before back vowels
3. lenition of stops in intervocalic positions

4. voicing of stops after sonorants
5. preference for homorganic nasal-obstruent clusters [mb], [nd] and [ŋg]
6. deletion of /n/ when followed by a sonorant
7. lowering of /o/ and /e/ in closed syllables, unless the syllable is checked by an approximant with similar place of articulation
8. lowering of /i/ in syllables checked by a nasal
9. backing of /i/ in syllables checked by /u/
10. phonetic diphthongisation of V-V sequences that end in a close vowel, but not those that begin with a close vowel.

2.2.9 Phonology of loans

The last decades have seen an increasing presence of Tok Pisin and in particular English loans words, which contain segments that are not native to Paluai and which do not adhere to Paluai phonotactics. Tok Pisin contains many lexical items originating in English which have already been adjusted to the phonological template of most Oceanic languages, with, among others, shifts from voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ to bilabial stop /p/ and from dental fricatives to alveolar stops, replacement of schwa with a full vowel, reduction of consonant clusters and diphthongs, etc. Compare the following examples:

(37) finger	pinga	[pɪŋgə]
friend	pren	[prɛn]
three	tri	[tri]
community	komuniti	[kɔmuniti]
cucumber	kukamba	[kukɛmbɛ] ⁸

Most people will adhere to Tok Pisin phonology also when using English loans. One of the main exceptions is the labiodental fricative /f/, which most speakers are able to produce with ease, so currently Tok Pisin and English realisations are used side by side. There is a sociolinguistic factor to this as well: the younger and more educated the

⁸ It is often neither possible nor useful to decide whether a certain word was borrowed into Paluai from English via Tok Pisin, or whether it was borrowed directly from English. Tok Pisin has always been leaning heavily on English with regard to the lexicon, and continues to do so. With the introduction of mass media and in particular the internet to remote areas of PNG, one can probably most safely say that many words from English will be introduced simultaneously into Tok Pisin and the local vernaculars.

speaker, the more likely it is that he or she will adhere to English rather than Tok Pisin phonology. Interestingly, speakers will more often use a realisation adhering to Tok Pisin phonotactics when using an English loan word in Paluai speech, compared to when using it in Tok Pisin speech when the English pronunciation is retained more often. It seems as if they are more eager to adhere to the phonological template of Paluai and thus quite consciously adjust a word's realisation, based on the environment it is used in.

A number of other phonological adjustments are the following. Firstly, affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] are problematic for Paluai speakers. This has been resolved by changing the affricate into a [si] sequence, thereby adding an extra syllable to the word. In fast speech, reduction of this extra syllable results in a palatalisation of the [s] fricative. Also note that the second affricate of *church* is deleted entirely.

(38)	Japan	/si.ɐ.pən/	[sʲəpən]
	John	/si.on/	[sʲɔn]
	church	/si.os/	[sʲɔs]

Secondly, Tok Pisin words that start with the glottal fricative [h] are sometimes pronounced without the initial [h] sound. Thus we find both [həmɛmɛs] and [ɛmɛmɛs] 'happy', [hɛws] and [ɛws] 'house' and [hɛs] and [ɛs] 'bottom'. In the latter case, [h] is clearly overgeneralised. This seems to be a further indication that [h] is not perceived as a phoneme by native speakers of Paluai, but is sometimes phonetically realised.

Thirdly, sometimes an epenthetic vowel is inserted to reduce consonant clusters (a few examples are given in (39)). This is not done very consistently, however, and from my observations people are clearly capable of pronouncing consonant clusters such as [str] or [spr]. It seems that insertion of vowels is done mainly to adhere to Paluai phonotactics in a more conscious way.

(39)	/stret/	→	[steret]	'straight, right'
	/plawa/	→	[pələwə]	'flower'

Lastly, Tok Pisin or English voiced stops /b/ and /g/ are sometimes devoiced in careful speech, even though they are not underlying /p/ or /k/ as in Paluai.⁹ In similar fashion, /v/ is sometimes realised as [p] or [b] in careful speech, in analogy with the Paluai stop ~ fricative alternation. Examples of these processes are given below. Interestingly, I do not have examples of voiced stop /d/ being realised as [t]. This may be the only loan phoneme in Paluai.

(40) /gat/	→	[kət]	‘have’
/haŋgamap/	→	[həŋkəmɐp]	‘to hang (up)’
/gavman/	→	[kəbmən]	‘government’
/save/	→	[səbɛ]	‘to know’
/vanuatu/	→	[pənuətʉ]	‘Vanuatu’
/balus/	→	[pəlʉs]	‘airplane’
/bal/	→	[p ^w ɛl]	‘ball’ ¹⁰

2.3 Prosody

Prosody refers to suprasegmental features of speech, as opposed to segmental phonology. Relevant features for Paluai include stress and intonation.

2.3.1 Stress

In words that contain more than one syllable, there are some syllables that are more prominent than others. This prominence is due to more acoustic energy, mainly loudness and pitch, and can be conveniently called ‘stress’. Length is not a factor in stress assignment: Paluai does not have contrastive vowel length and stressed vowels do not appear to be longer than unstressed vowels. However, there is a prosodic feature that is often used for emphasis, in which a vowel is lengthened considerably, which can only apply to stressed vowels. The lengthened vowel can even be prolonged for several seconds, and is also realised considerably louder. An example could be [um pərən menəŋə:::n] ‘a vèèèry big house’ (*lit.* ‘house really big’).

⁹ An interesting exception is the proper name *Baluan*, which to the best of my knowledge is never pronounced [pəlʉn]. This may be done on purpose to clearly distinguish it from the original name of the island, *Paluai*.

¹⁰ This loan is probably not realised as [pəl] because this already means ‘penis’.

In each word, there is one syllable that receives primary stress. In words that contain three or more syllables, mostly there will be one syllable with secondary stress in addition to the one with primary stress. This is never a syllable adjacent to the syllable that receives primary stress. Stress assignment is to a large extent predictable and is either penultimate or final. However, lexical stress shows tendencies rather than strict rules and for every generalisation there are many exceptions.

2.3.1.1 *Contrastive stress*

There are two forms found in the data in which stress is contrastive, i.e. there are minimal pairs which differ in meaning only because of stress assignment. These are the following two:

- (41) [ˈv̥.rej] ‘to bite’ vs. [v̥.ˈrej] ‘to speak’
 [ˈpo.rək] ‘to be painful’ vs. [po.ˈrək] ‘strength’

In addition, when a certain root has a nominal and a non-nominal (e.g. verbal or adjectival) realisation which are formally similar, or when full reduplication of a root (see Section 3.3.2.2) can yield both a nominalisation and an intransitive verb, the noun tends to carry stress on the first syllable, whereas the non-nominal form does not. However, this is a tendency only, and thus overall, stress is not contrastive. But we do find, for instance, contrasts between:

- (42) [ˈnu.v̥.nən] ‘truth (N)’ vs. [ˌnu.v̥.nən] ‘true (A)’
 [ˈm̥.p̥w̥ej] ‘knowledge’ vs. [m̥.p̥w̥ej] ‘to know’
 [ˈtuk.tuk] ‘masher’ vs. [tuk.ˈtuk] ‘to beat (intr.)’
 [ˈŋən.ŋən] ‘food’ vs. [ŋən.ˈŋən] ‘to eat (intr.)’

2.3.1.2 *Stress assignment in disyllabic forms*

Stress assignment of CV.CV and CV.VC forms is most straightforward: these are stressed on the penultimate syllable without exception, regardless of word class. Probably due to historical changes, there are few CV.CV forms in present-day Paluai. Obvious changes to think of would be vowel loss word-finally and the loss of articles, which in some cases fused with the noun (Blust, 2009; Lynch et al., 2002). Stress

assignment, however, may nevertheless fundamentally be based on a trochaic system, with an alternation of stressed–unstressed trochaic feet.

- (43) [ˈmɛ.ri] ‘to sleep’ [ˈti.ɔk] ‘betel pepper’
 [ˈpɛ.nu] ‘place, village, land’ [ˈmɛ.ut] ‘to sink’

With regard to CV.CVC disyllabic forms, the following observations can be made.¹¹ Nouns and adjectives with these syllable patterns predominantly show stress on the penultimate syllable, with only a handful of exceptions. Verbs and other word classes show much more variation in stress pattern and are thus less predictable than nouns. Below, examples are given for nouns, adjectives, verbs and other forms, respectively.

- (44) [ˈku.lut] ‘rubbish’ [pu.ˈrɔn] ‘(customary) activity’
 [ˈmɛ.ŋɛt] ‘work’ [pu.ˈsɔk] ‘island’
 [ˈpu.nɛt] ‘soil’ [po.ˈrɔk] ‘strength’

- (45) [ˈko.nun] ‘heavy’
 [ˈkɛ.jɛn] ‘dark’ (from V [kɛj])
 [ˈkɔ.kin] ‘hot’ (from V [kɔk])

- (46) [ˈpi.lɛl] ‘to laugh’ [yo.ˈkɛt] ‘to carry’
 [ˈwo.rup] ‘to climb down’ [si.ˈrɛk] ‘to wake up’
 [ˈta.puj] ‘to shoot’ [ŋɛ.ˈjuɔ] ‘to spit’

- (47) [ˈsɔ.kum] ‘some’ [me.ˈnɔt] ‘many’
 [ˈpɛ.mow] ‘four’ [pɛ.ˈwɔj] ‘forty’

Forms with CVC.CVC and CVC.CV syllable structure also show the abovementioned pattern: mostly trochaic feet in nouns, more variation in other word classes. It is possible that some of the forms with word-final stress may in fact have underlying

¹¹ Sometimes it is problematic to decide whether a disyllabic form should be analysed as CV.CVC or CVC.VC. Universal tendencies of syllabification would predict more CV.CVC forms than CVC.VC forms, and this is borne out for Paluai. Due to the alternations they show, e.g. the forms in example (36) above could alternatively be analysed as CVC.VC. However, the evidence here is only morphological, and morphological segmentation can often be overridden by general rules of syllabification.

trisyllabic forms, where the vowel of the middle syllable has been deleted due to syllable-reduction tendencies (see Section 2.2.6.3). Trisyllabic forms tend to receive primary stress on the final syllable (see below). Below, some examples of CVC.CVC and CVC.CV forms are given.

- (48) [ˈkəl.sən] ‘ankle decoration’ [nuk.ˈnən] ‘his uncle’
 [kəm.təl] ‘morning star’ [suk.ˈpɛk] ‘corner’
 [ˈkɪn.ti] ‘sleep’ [luk.ˈsuŋ] ‘green (A)’
 [ˈsɛl.pi] ‘lightning’ [nəm.ˈwi] ‘small (A)’

2.3.1.3 Stress assignment in trisyllabic forms

With words that have more than two syllables it gets increasingly difficult to find uncontroversial forms that consist of a single morpheme, since many of these are derived, inherently reduplicated and/or affixed forms (see Section 2.3.1.5 below for morphological processes and their effect on stress patterns). Regardless of their morphology, however, trisyllabic forms tend to have primary stress on the final syllable and secondary stress on the antepenultimate one. There are many possible syllable combinations for trisyllabic forms, examples of which are shown in Table 2.5 on page 70 at the end of this chapter. If stress patterns vary for a particular form (due to prosodic factors, see below), it will always be the syllable with secondary stress that alternatively receives primary stress, never the other syllable. The syllable that usually carries primary stress will then receive secondary stress.

In particular a closed final syllable usually carries primary stress. It is possible that forms with a closed final syllable used to have a CV.CV.CV.CV realisation and thus consisted of two regular trochaic feet, with primary stress on the penultimate syllable. When they lost their final vowel, this yielded a CV.CV.CVC form, with primary stress on the final (closed) syllable. When these forms in turn lose their final consonant, this will yield a CV.CV.CV form with stress on the final open syllable.

For trisyllabic forms there is one major exception to the pattern of word-final stress, which consists of adjectival forms (and possibly one noun) derived from a fully reduplicated verb. In some cases, the verb is attested separately, but in other cases seems to have become obsolete and only survives in the derived form (which is in these

cases, synchronically, an inherently reduplicated form). Section 2.3.1.5 below will discuss the effect of morphological processes on stress assignment in more detail.

2.3.1.4 *Stress assignment in quadrisyllabic forms*

There are few forms of more than three syllables in Paluai; some of the forms attested in the data are shown in Table 2.6 on page 71 at the end of this chapter. All of them show a certain degree of morphological complexity; it is therefore quite safe to say that there are no morphemes of more than three syllables in Paluai. Stress falls on either the final or the penultimate syllable. There are a number of forms that show the “basic” two trochaic feet with penultimate primary stress, such as *kururupa* ‘making mounds in the garden’ (part of this form may be an inherently reduplicated stem). Other forms, however, show primary stress on the final and secondary stress on the first syllable; this is probably due to a stress-attracting suffix, which will be discussed below.

2.3.1.5 *Interaction of morphology and stress assignment*

As mentioned before, morphological processes play a role in the assignment of stress. Three processes can be distinguished: prefixation, suffixation and reduplication. These will be discussed below.

2.3.1.5.1 Prefixation

Prefixation is not a productive part of Paluai derivational morphology, except for a causative prefix. However, there are a fairly large number of forms starting with a V syllable [v] or a VC syllable [vC], which may be a fossilised form of an earlier prefix *aC-* in verbs, or perhaps a remnant of the common article in nouns. Stress assignment in forms which begin with [v] is usually fairly predictable: on the penultimate syllable in disyllabic nouns, on the final syllable in trisyllabic forms (nouns and verbs). In disyllabic verbs, there is some variation, which may have to do with their morphological structure (a further indication for this is the contrastive stress in the form [vɛj] mentioned earlier), but the synchronic forms are not further analysable.

- (49) [v.'kɪp] ‘to pick up’ [v.puj] ‘to cook’
 [v.'wɪn] ‘to help’ [v.luk] ‘to paddle’

2.3.1.5.2 Suffixation

In contrast to prefixation, suffixation is a productive process in present-day Paluai. There is one suffix that attracts stress and therefore has a major effect on stress assignment: the applicative suffix *-ek*. This suffix, which is realised as [ɛk] and is a reflex of POc **akin[i]*, is used to productively derive applicative forms from transitive verbs (for a full account see Section 8.3.2). In addition, it is also attested as a fossilised suffix in a large number of verbal and adverbial forms. In both cases, without exception it receives primary stress. Since it is historically a disyllabic form, this makes sense: it formed a trochaic foot, but in Proto Eastern Admiralties lost its final syllable.¹² All forms ending in [ɛk], regardless of syllable count, will have primary stress on the final syllable. For four-syllable forms, this means that primary stress has shifted from the penultimate to the final syllable. Forms of three and four syllables will also carry secondary stress on the first syllable.

2.3.1.5.3 Reduplication

Although reduplication is of limited productivity in the modern language, there are many inherently reduplicated forms, in which earlier reduplication processes may have been retained in “frozen” form. Reduplication in Paluai is based on a CVC-, a VC, or a CV-template (Marantz, 1982), which doesn’t necessarily coincide with syllable boundaries. However, reduplication may reflect historical syllable boundaries, which shifted due to loss of final consonants and/or vowels. Reduplication is always prefixing, i.e. the first syllable of a word, or the first syllable onset plus nucleus of a stem, is taken and then prefixed to the stem. This means that the maximal unit of reduplication is one syllable; there is no full reduplication of entire stems if they are two or more syllables long. See Sections 3.2.4.2 and 3.3.2.1.2 for a fuller account of the morphological and semantic aspects of reduplication for nouns and verbs respectively.

One way in which reduplication interferes with stress assignment is shown in the trisyllabic forms mentioned in Section 2.3.1.3 above, which have primary stress on the penultimate syllable. These forms stem from a fully reduplicated verb form, which is

¹² The status of **akin[i]* as a free or bound form in POc is unclear (cf. Evans, 2003). It may have been a preposition or a free verbal form serialised with the main verb, that was later reanalysed as a suffix. For stress-assignment purposes, however, there is no difference between the two analyses.

suffixed to derive an adjective. As mentioned, reduplicated verbs usually carry stress on the final syllable. This stress pattern is retained when the form receives its suffix, which contrasts with the usual pattern of trisyllabic forms (i.e. word-final stress). As mentioned, often the verb has become obsolete. A few examples are given below.

(50) Verb [puj.'puj] ‘to be soft’

Adjective [puj.'puj.in] ‘soft’

(51) Verb [lɛŋ.'lɛŋ] ‘to shine?’ (unattested, but cf. N *pulêng* ‘dawn, sunset’ and *kanan puleng* ‘tomorrow’)

Adjective [lɛŋ.'lɛŋ.m] ‘shiny, dazzling, brilliant’

An alternative analysis may be that only one suffix attracts stress (the *-ek* suffix discussed in Section 2.3.1.5.2 above), and that other suffixes are extrametrical and thus not affecting stress assignment. This does not seem to be the case, however, as some derived adjectives, e.g. *siksikan* ‘sour’ (from the stative verb *sik(sik)* ‘be sour’) carry stress on the final syllable.

Another way in which reduplication may interfere with stress assignment is the stress pattern in inherently reduplicated trisyllabic nouns. As mentioned above, fully reduplicated nouns usually carry stress on the first syllable (of what is usually a disyllabic form). This stress pattern seems to be retained even when the form contains an additional syllable, which is in these cases not analysable as a suffix. Interestingly, secondary stress is not clearly present on the final syllable either.

(52) ['kul.ku.lu] ‘fight’

['pɔŋ.pɔ.ŋɔj] ‘thought’

['pɔl.po.lɔt] ‘traditional song type’

One possible explanation for the emergence of these forms is that Paluai used to have a process of full reduplication of disyllabic forms, and that these forms used to be realised e.g. *kulu.kulu* or *polo(t).polot*. In a later stage, the unstressed second syllable was dropped, yielding a trisyllabic form but with primary stress retained on the first syllable.

2.3.1.6 *Interaction of stress assignment and intonation*

It is very likely that phenomena on other prosodic levels interact with lexical stress patterns (for a full discussion of intonation patterns see the next section). For the Admiralties languages this may be even more the case than for languages in general. Hamel (1994, pp. 24-25) remarks about Loniu:

Stress seems to play no role at the lexical level, since it may occur on different syllables depending on the structure of the word, phrase or clause, and there is apparently no phonological motivation at the lexical level for the choice of which syllable will receive the stress, whether it be primary or secondary. It is possible that stress is predictable only at the phrase or sentence level. [...] It may be that stress assignment is a matter of rhythm, and that the overall contour of an utterance requires only that primary stress be penultimate or final within the utterance – whether the utterance is a single word, a phrase, or a clause.

This may be partly the case for other Admiralties languages too, including Paluai. For instance, primary ‘phrasal’ stress will often fall on a demonstrative or possessive particle that follows the noun, as in examples (53a-c) below.¹³ This sometimes leads to a stress shift in the first element. For instance, in examples (a) and (c), the primary word stress on the final syllable of the noun will be considerably weakened because of the phrasal stress on the immediately following element. It could be argued that the noun plus particle is in fact forming one unit, one phonological word, and just receives word stress on the final or penultimate syllable. This, however, would mean that elements which are otherwise analysed as clitics would be able to receive primary word stress (see Chapter 5 for more on postnominal demonstrative and possessive particles). In addition, in compounds or relative clauses phrasal stress can fall on a monosyllabic lexical item which is not a clitic, as is shown in examples (d)-(e) for a monosyllabic verb and noun, respectively. Again, lexical word-final stress on the noun in (e) is weakened.

¹³ I am using the term ‘phrasal’ stress here to distinguish it from ‘lexical’ stress. It interacts with lexical stress, but it is different from it because it can also fall on monosyllabic forms, and it can fall on elements which are typically unstressed on the word level, such as clitics. Lexical stress is the stress pattern which a word receives when uttered in isolation. Lexical stress will be shown by the usual diacritics, while phrasal stress will be indicated in boldface. An undertie (˘) indicates that these forms are realised without a break.

- (53a) [p^wɛ. 'b^wɛm_ 'dɛ. b^wo] 'this morning'
- (b) ['mɛ.ŋɛt_ tɛŋ] 'my work'
- (c) [, mɛ. mɛ. 'row_ rɛŋ] 'my behaviour'
- (d) ['jɛ. mɛt tɛ_ i_ mɛt_ o] 'the man who died'
- (e) [, kɛ. mo. 'un_ kow] 'talk about fishing' (*lit.* 'talk-PERT fishing')

Thus, although Paluai shows phrasal stress patterns comparable to those of Loni, Hamel's analysis does not fit with the Paluai data on two points. Firstly, stress is clearly a psycholinguistic reality on the lexical level for Paluai native speakers. I was often corrected when misplacing stress on words uttered in isolation. Secondly, I do not think that Paluai stress is predictable only at the sentence level. Surely, lexical stress interacts with sentence intonation, and there will be one main pitch rise per sentence (see the next section), but this does not mean, at least for Paluai, that "anything goes" for the remainder of the entire sentence. In particular in complex sentences, there will be other elements that receive stress, and assignment of this will not be completely arbitrary.

2.3.2 Intonation

Intonation is mainly used to distinguish between speech act types, in particular statements and questions. Further types of speech acts, such as commands, do not seem to differ significantly from statements with respect to intonation; see also Chapter 10 on speech act distinctions. In addition, as in other languages, intonation is used for informational and textual purposes, and for emphasis and contrast.

2.3.2.1 Distinguishing speech acts

Pitch analysis with PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink, 2012) has brought to light the following differences between statements and questions:

- Statements seem to have slightly lower mean pitch than questions;
- Questions have greater fluctuation in pitch than statements, with in any case maximum pitch, but maybe also minimum pitch exceeding that of statements;
- Statements start with relatively high pitch which gradually declines, with a fall at the end of the prosodic unit;

- With content questions, there is peaking intonation (a sharp rise and fall in pitch) just before or on the question marker, which is usually the penultimate or final element in the prosodic unit;
- With polar (yes/no) questions, there is peaking intonation on the final element of the prosodic unit;
- The pitch peak in questions lies around 160-200 Hz for male speakers
- Tag questions show dipping intonation (a sharp fall and rise in pitch) on the tag, which is the final element of the prosodic unit.

Figures 2.3 and 2.4 show the pitch contour of a typical question and answer sequence (one with a content question and one with a polar question). The vertical dotted line shows maximum pitch, which is located on the final or penultimate element of the question. Figures 2.5 and 2.6 show the pitch contour of two tag questions. Here, the vertical dotted line shows minimum pitch, located on the tag. All speakers in the examples given are male.

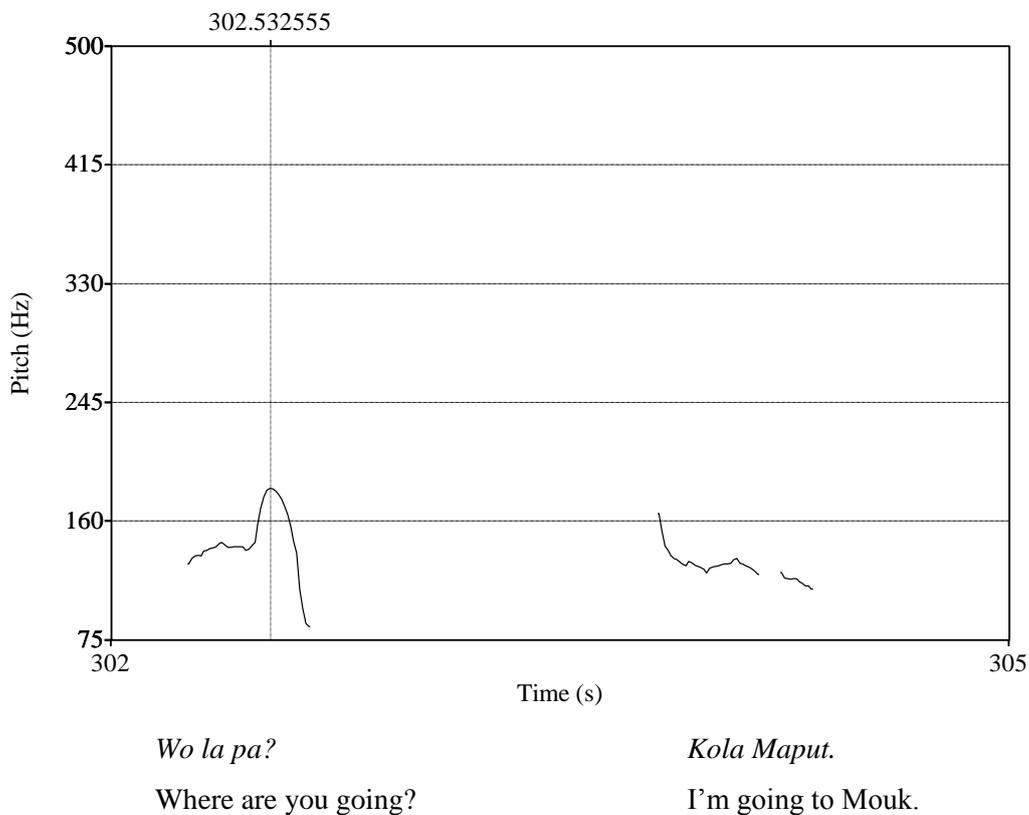
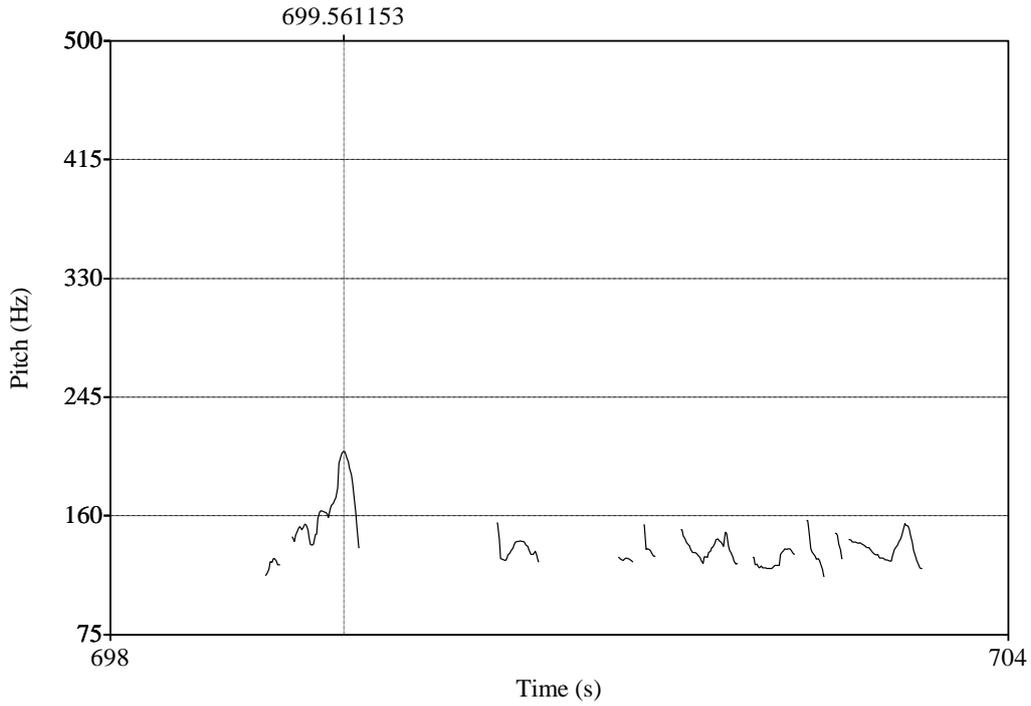


Figure 2.3 Content question



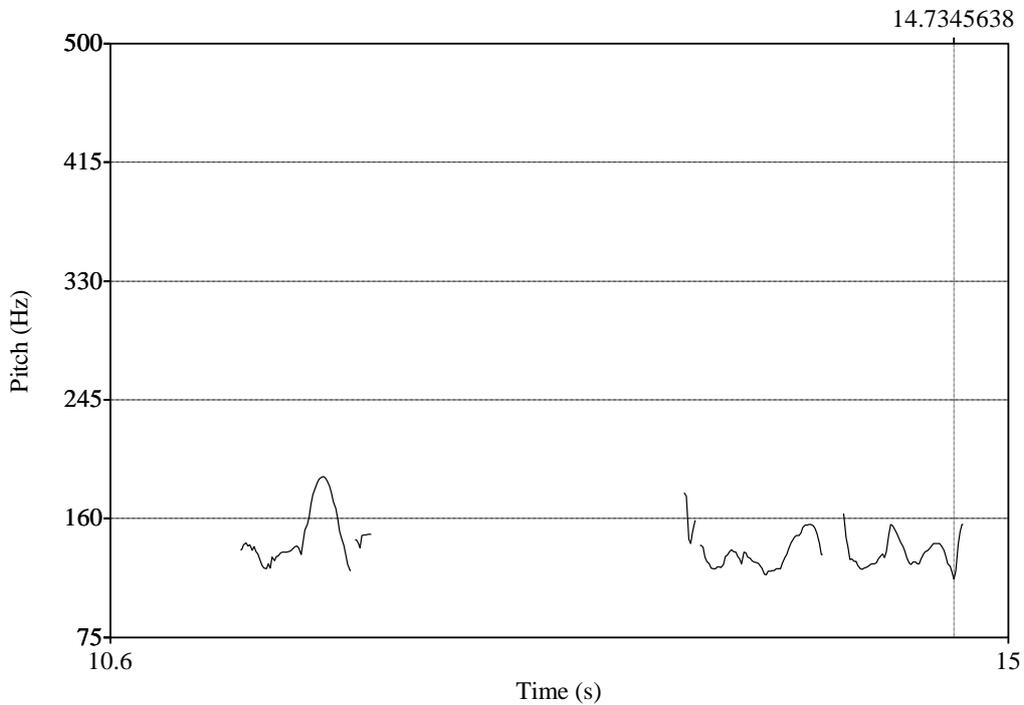
A kel sun tao?

Do you have a canoe?

Hm. Ngagat kel pulek, ma i re kel sê tang namwi.

Hm, I have a canoe too, although it is small.

Figure 2.4 Polar question



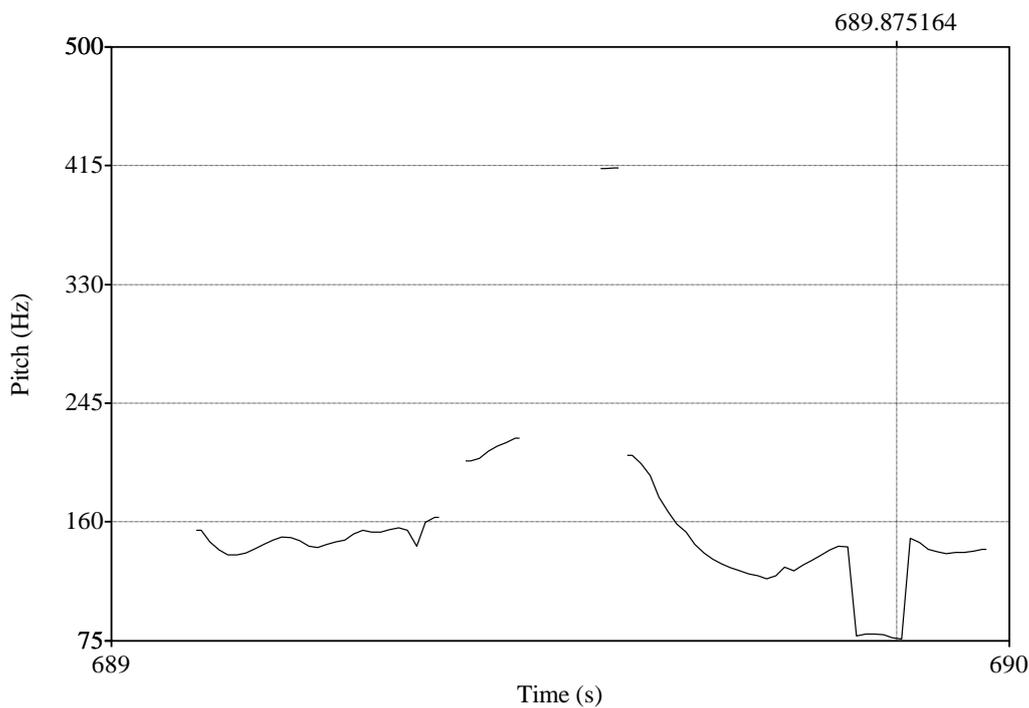
Pwapwa tepwo,

This story,

yi puron te tapkape têk eh?

it's something that we tell, right?

Figure 2.5 Tag question



Wo pa wo la pe kou, eh?
 You want to go fishing, right?

Figure 2.6 Tag question

2.3.2.2 *Informational and textual purposes*

At the end of a non-final clause within a prosodic unit, pitch stays level or even rises slightly, indicating that the prosodic unit is not finished. The fall in pitch (or peak in case of a question) at the end of the final clause indicates the end of the prosodic unit. Prosodic units can be very long, especially in narratives; sometimes they include multiple coordinated main clauses. An example is given below:¹⁴

(54) [i_↘jo | i_re p^wɛp^wɛ si_rɛn ʌmuj | a_p^wɛp^wɛ_rɛn ʌ'ŋojɛj | ɛj_ʌ'pɔtnɛn de_u ro rɔk
 lɛ_bien pɛlʌ'si | ɛ i_↘nim ||]

¹⁴ An undertie (˘) indicates absence of a break, while the single (|) and double (||) pipes are used for minor and major prosodic boundaries, respectively. A rise in pitch is indicated by a rising arrow (ʌ) and a fall in pitch with a falling arrow (↘).

yi yo ↘
 3sg DEM.INT

yi te-yo pwapwa sê ta-n mui ↗
 3sg EMP-DEM.INT story small POSS-PERT dog

a pwapwa ta-n ngoyai ↗
 and story POSS-PERT possum

a-yi potnan te u=to tok la pian palosi ↗
 at-3sg time REL 3du=CONT stay go.to good past

a yi=nêm ↘
 and 3sg=be.finished

‘That’s it; that is the little story of the dog, and of the possum, about the time when they were getting on well in the past; and it’s finished.’
 (LL010711_0092)

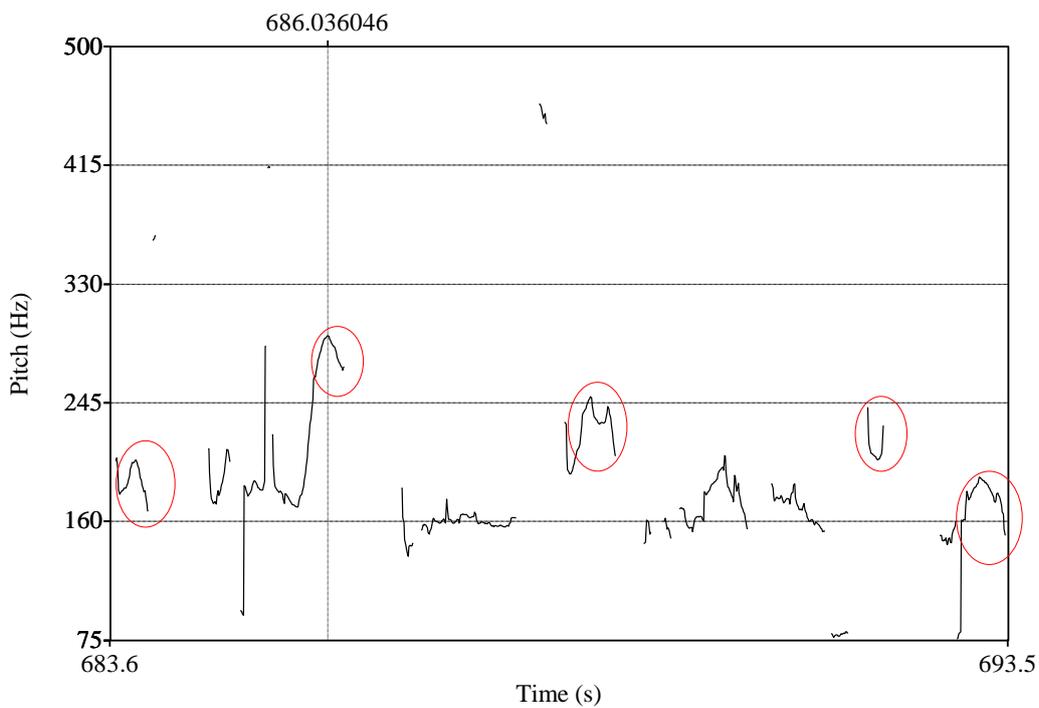


Figure 2.7 Pitch contour of example (54)

Figure 2.7 shows a pitch contour of example (54). Probably because the speaker is female, both mean pitch and maximum pitch are higher than with the other examples. The circles indicate prosodic boundaries. As can be seen, minor prosodic units are realised with rising pitch resulting in a peak, and pitch drops at the major prosodic boundary at the end of the utterance.

2.3.2.3 *Emphatic and contrastive purposes*

Intonation can also signal emphasis, or a contrast between a certain element and another (see Section 12.3.4.1 for a discussion of contrastive focus). The element will then be realised with additional loudness and pitch. Often, in practice, the element which is realised emphatically is the final or penultimate element in the phrase, and would have been the stressed element anyway. Therefore, it seems to be a matter of degree in realisation, rather than a switch of stress to a completely different element. However, the following examples show a clear pitch rise on a non-final element:

- (55) [ŋə_mə_nɪŋ tɛrɛ_bʷɪn | mɑ_i_re pʷɛpʷɛ'ʒɛn i_ro ɳrɛŋ]
*ngamaning tareo pwên, ma i re **pwapwaen** iro rang.*
 ‘I didn’t see all that, but the **story** is mine.’ (YK290411_1_0030)

- (56) [ŋə_mə_əkɪp ɲən'ʒɲən pʷɪn | mə_ŋə_no əkɪp 'mu_ɳjow]
*ngamaakêp **nganngan** pwên, ma ngano akêp **muyou**.*
 ‘I didn’t pick up the **food**, but I picked up the **snake** instead.’
 (Game1_021012_0510)

In example (56), there is clearly a peak on the second syllable of *nganngan*, instead of on *pwên*, as would be the case if this was just “regular” negation and not done for contrastive purposes. Figure 2.8 shows the pitch contour of example (55), and we see here that maximum pitch on the last syllable of the stressed element *pwapwaen* is much higher than maximum pitch on “regular” sentences: around 300 Hz for this male speaker, whereas the latter is around 200 Hz for male speakers (see above). This indicates that emphatic or contrastive stress is indeed a matter of degree, and shows higher pitch values than regular stress.

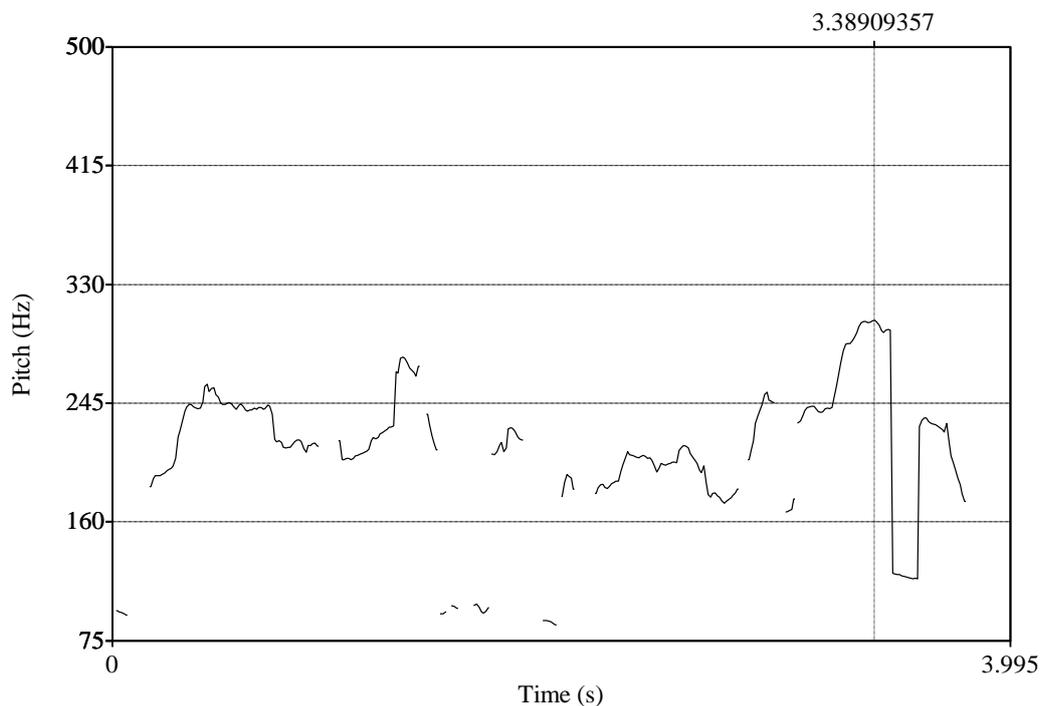


Figure 2.8 Pitch contour of example (55)

2.4 Phonological and grammatical word

It is not easy to determine what a word is for any language. A distinction is often made between phonological word and grammatical word. A phonological word is identified solely on (language-specific) phonological criteria such as segmental and prosodic features and phonological rules. A grammatical word is defined based on grammatical criteria, discussed below. Often, phonological and grammatical word coincide, but this is not always the case (Dixon, 2010b).

2.4.1 Phonological word

For Paluai, the following criteria can be used to identify a word on a phonological level.

1. Primary stress is assigned once per word, with additional secondary stress if the word is three or more syllables long.
2. /iV/ and /uV/ sequences form a phonetic diphthong word-initially, and the resulting glides [j] and [w] tend to be dropped.
3. /Vu/ and /Vi/ sequences form a phonetic diphthong word-finally.

4. The contrast between labialised and non-labialised consonants is neutralised word-finally.
5. Deletion of /n/ before [j], [l] or another nasal only occurs within word boundaries.
6. Assimilation towards homorganic nasal-obstruent [mb] and [ŋg] clusters only occurs within word boundaries.
7. Pauses are possible between words, but not within words.

2.4.2 Grammatical word

A grammatical word ‘has as its base one or more lexical roots, to which morphological processes have applied [...] and has a conventionalised coherence and meaning’ (Dixon, 2010b, p. 13). It is replaceable by another word of the same class in the syntactic slot that it fills. When it has several components (in case of e.g. compounding or affixation), these always occur together, and in a fixed order. There will be only one inflectional affix of the same type per word.

2.4.3 Coincidence of phonological and grammatical word

Often phonological word and grammatical word will coincide, but not always. Compounds, for instance, form one grammatical word; the question is whether or not they form one phonological word. It appears that there is a difference between nominal compounds and verb sequences. The former form one phonological word with regard to assimilation processes, whereas the latter do not. In (57), a few examples are given for nominal compounds.

(57) /pu-n pot/	→	[pumbot]	‘relatives of the mother’ (<i>lit.</i> ‘origin of the bamboo’)
/pətə-n kei/	→	[pərəŋgei]	‘tree trunk’
/pu-n yəmet/	→	[puyəmet]	‘genealogy (<i>lit.</i> ‘origin of man’)
/kolo-n læu/	→	[kolələw]	‘mouth of a fishing net’
/lipa-n mui/	→	[lipəmuɟ]	‘dog’s teeth’
/kolo-n loi/	→	[kolələɟ]	‘gathering place’ (<i>lit.</i> ‘mouth of the house’)

The verb sequences in (58), however, do not show these processes. The boundaries between verb-adverb sequences, serial verb constructions (SVCs) and verbal compounds are not easy to draw, and the examples given are probably either SVCs or verb-adverb sequences. It may be the case that there are no verbal compounds at all, but that conventionalised verb sequences should rather be analysed as lexicalised symmetrical SVCs, that consist of one grammatical word but two phonological words. Chapter 9 discusses SVCs in more detail.

- (58) /sɛn iut/ → [sɛn jut] *lit.* ‘cut split’
 /ɲɛn mɛləu/ → [ɲɛn mɛləw] *lit.* ‘eat hurry’
 /sɛn luek/ → [sɛn luek] *lit.* ‘move up come out’
 /ien kɛsiɛk/ → [jɛn kɛsiɛk] *lit.* ‘lie faultily’

Another process which may combine more than one phonological word within one grammatical word is reduplication. Again, there seems to be a difference between nouns and verbs. As mentioned, reduplicated nouns tend to receive stress on the first syllable, whereas reduplicated verbs receive it on the final syllable. It may be the case that this is because reduplicated nouns form one phonological word, but reduplicated verbs form two (both reduplicated nouns and verbs form one grammatical word). This would also explain why stress assignment with reduplicated verbs varies more than with nouns. They are made up of two phonological words, whereas reduplicated nouns form one phonological word which is more likely to adhere to the trochaic basic stress pattern.

2.5 Orthography

In the remainder of this thesis, data will be represented in a conventionalised orthography as shown in Table 2.5 for consonants and Table 2.6 for vowels.

Phoneme	/p/	/t/	/k/	/s/	/m/	/n/	/ŋ/	/m ^w /	/p ^w /	/l/	[j]	[w]
Character	<p>	<t> / <ɾ>	<k>	<s>	<m>	<n>	<ng>	<mw>	<pw>	<l>	<y>	<w>

Table 2.3 Orthographic symbols for consonant phonemes

Phoneme	/ɐ/	/e/	/ɪ/	/i/	/o/	/ʊ/	/u/
Character	⟨a⟩	⟨e⟩	⟨ê⟩	⟨i⟩	⟨o⟩	⟨ô⟩	⟨u⟩

Table 2.4 Orthographic symbols for vowel phonemes

The phoneme /t/ is always represented with ⟨t⟩ when it is known. Intervocalic instances of [r] are represented with ⟨r⟩ when it is not certain whether they are variants of /t/, but they may be. Thus, for this phoneme the orthography is potentially overspecified. There are three digraphs in the system: ⟨ng⟩, ⟨mw⟩ and ⟨pw⟩. This will not give cause for ambiguity. Since /g/ is not a phoneme in Paluai, there are no /ng/ sequences. /mu/ or /pu/ sequences that could be potential variants of the labialised consonants will be represented as ⟨mu⟩ or ⟨pu⟩ and are thus distinguishable from them.

In line with native speaker preferences, non-syllabic /i/ and /u/ are written differently at the beginning and end of a word. Word-initially, they are written ⟨y⟩ and ⟨w⟩ respectively, whereas word-finally they are written ⟨i⟩ and ⟨u⟩, even though they form a phonetic diphthong.

Structure	CV.CV.CV	CV.CV.VC	CV.CV.CVC	CVC.CV.CVC	CV.CV.V	V.CV.CV
Nouns	[,kə.lə.'si] 'headdress' [m ^w ə.lu.,p ^w e] 'canoe type' [ko.'ŋu.ja] 'snoring'*	[,nə.nə.'ɔp] 'tree sp.' [nə.lu.,ɛj] 'garden food'	[,sə.ri.'kow] 'bridge' [ko.lo.,rɛj] 'song type'	[kuj.'ku.jej] 'goosebumps' [pɛŋ.pɛ.ŋaj] 'thought' [pɔt.pu.,sɔn] 'his chest'	[mi.mi.ɐ] 'urine'* [si.si.ɐ] 'broom'*	[v.kɛ.kɛ] 'plant sp.'
Verbs	not attested	[,po.nə.'ut] 'to be unskilled'	[,nu.ru.'puj] 'to mature' [,pu.lu.'tow] 'to stick'	[,kul.po.'pɔt] 'to whistle'	not attested	[,i.li.'li] 'to stand up'
Adjectives	not attested	[,ko.ro.'ɛn] 'violent' [,ŋɛ.pe.'ɛn] 'bitter'	[,me.ne.'ŋɛn] 'big' [,pi.li.'pil] 'yellow' [lu.'kɛ.jɛw] 'light green'	[nɛk.'nɛ.kɛn] 'bright'* [kɔl.'pɛ.pɛn] 'sluggish' [,sik.si.'kɛn] 'sour'*	not attested	not attested
Other	not attested	[,sɛ.mɛ.'in] relational interrogative ('what of') [,se.le.'uk] 'one part (of s.t. elongated)'	[mi.si.,min] 'five hundred' [,mo.no.'kin] 'afterwards'*	not attested	not attested	not attested

Table 2.5 Overview of possible trisyllabic forms in Paluai (* indicates a derived form)

Structure	CV.CV.CV.CV	CV.CV.CV.CVC	CV.CV.CV.VC	CVC.CV.CV.CVC
Nouns	[,ku.ru.'ru.pə] 'making mounds in garden'	[,ku.nə.wə.'jən] 'his breath' [,pə.rə.'jo.jəp] 'power' [,sə.ne.'ru.ən] 'younger brother of deceased'*	[,pe.re.li.'ən] 'his middle'	not attested
Verbs	not attested	[,ku.nə.wə.'jut] 'to rest, regain breath'* [,te.re.pe.'lək] 'to run'*	not attested	not attested
Adjectives	not attested	[,ti.nə.wə.'jən] 'enormous' [,nu.ru.'pu.jən] 'mature (of woman)'	not attested	[,sup.su.pu.'rən] 'rough'
Other	not attested	[,pə.nu.rə.'sip] 'first'*	[nə.'ri.ŋi.,əj] 'many' [,pe.ru.ru.'ək] 'ignorant' [,sə.pu.lu.'ək] 'round'	not attested

Table 2.6 Overview of possible quadrisyllabic forms in Paluai (* indicates a derived form)

Chapter 3 Word classes I: open classes

3.1 Preamble

In Paluai, the two major word classes are noun and verb. These form truly open classes, to which new items are added constantly through borrowing and for example compounding and other derivational mechanisms. There is also a class of adjectives, but most and possibly all of its members are derived. There are, however, criteria to distinguish members of this class from both nouns and verbs. Distinguishing adverbial forms is a bit more problematic, but there are grounds on which a separate class of adverbs can be distinguished as well. To these two classes new members can be added as well, although this happens on a smaller scale than for nouns and verbs.

This chapter discusses the open word classes: noun, verb, adjective and adverb. These classes contain lexical items, or content morphemes, which carry lexical meaning and can be contrasted with functional or grammatical morphemes, which will be discussed in the next chapter and which generally form closed classes (but see Sections 4.9 and 11.1.4 for discussion on borrowed subordinating conjunctions). In any case, the distinction between open and closed classes is a gradient rather than an absolute one. There is a correlation between the size, “lexicality” and “openness” of a word class. Nouns form the biggest class, which shows the most time-stable lexical meanings and the largest number of borrowings and neologisms. This is followed by verbs, adjectives and adverbs respectively.

In this chapter, the criteria for distinguishing the various word classes will be discussed, and morphological and periphrastic word class-changing derivations. Open word classes can be subdivided into several subclasses, based on formal and/or semantic criteria. Where relevant, distinct subclasses will be discussed, together with the criteria on which they are based. An overview of modifiers which are relevant for a specific word class will be given here as well, although strictly speaking, these modifiers are generally part of a closed class (an example are TAM particles, which modify verbs). How modifiers work inside the noun and verb phrase will not be discussed in great detail, but in Chapters 5 and 6, respectively. At the end of the current chapter, Tables 3.22 and 3.23 give an overview of word classes and the criteria to distinguish them, and Table 3.24 gives an overview of word-class changing morphological processes.

3.2 The noun

Nouns form an open class consisting of several thousand members. Distributionally, nouns can be distinguished because they typically function as head of a NP which, as a constituent, forms an argument of a verb. Nouns cannot take bound subject pronouns,¹ or TAM particles and prefixes. This distinguishes them from verbs. In addition, nouns cannot take an adverbial modifier of degree, which distinguishes them from adjectives. In addition, in contrast to members of other word classes, nouns can be part of a possessive construction and be modified by demonstratives, numerals, certain quantifiers, other nouns and adjectives, and they can be replaced by pronouns and certain demonstratives.

There is no nominal case. Number marking is not obligatory, but there are a number of strategies to indicate number on nouns (see Section 5.2), where animate nouns seem to have a greater tendency to be marked for number, in line with observations for other Oceanic languages (Lynch et al., 2002). Contrary to the majority of Oceanic languages, but in line with developments in the Admiralties subgroup (Blust, 2009), Paluai nouns are not modified by articles.

Nouns can be subcategorised based on semantic grounds and concomitant grammatical properties in a number of ways. One distinction is based on the possessive construction(s) a noun can enter into. This is the subject of Section 3.2.2. Another distinction that can be made is a common one for Oceanic languages, between personal, local and common nouns (Section 3.2.1). A third distinction for nouns is being lost rapidly. The semantics of a noun determine which numeral classifier is to be used with it, so nouns can be grouped into subclasses based on the form of the numeral they take. See for the forms of numerals Section 4.5 and for the various numeral classes Section 3.2.3.

Nouns are often derived from verbs, but verbs derived from nouns seem to be very uncommon. There are several nominalising operations, such as reduplication, suffixation and zero derivation, which will be discussed in Section 3.3 about verbs. There are minor processes that derive adjectives and adverbs from nouns. Common morphological operations on nouns which do not change word class are reduplication, compounding and suffixation, but there are many irregularities in noun morphology. Nouns do not have prefixes, infixes or circumfixes.

¹ The pronominal system is discussed in Section 4.2. There is a formal difference between free and bound pronouns only for the 1sg subject form.

3.2.1 Subclasses I: personal, local and common nouns

As is common for Oceanic languages (Lynch et al., 2002, p. 37), Paluai nouns can be grouped into three different subclasses: personal, local and common nouns. Personal nouns include proper names of people. They generally do not appear in a possessive construction. An exception is formed by birth order terms, which were discussed in Section 1.4.4. These terms sometimes appear in an indirect possession construction, e.g. *Alup ta-ng* ‘my first-born daughter’. These forms are best analysed as “hybrid” forms which are used both as personal names and as referential devices.

Local nouns include place names and familiar places that need no further specification, such as ‘shore’, ‘bush’, etc. A subclass of these are “spatial nouns”: directly possessed nouns referring to a location relative to an object. These are often used where other languages would use a preposition, and are discussed more fully in Section 3.2.2.4. The remainder of nouns are common nouns.

In many Oceanic languages, nouns can be grouped based on the article they take: often personal and common nouns take a different article. Since Paluai, like most other Admiralties languages (Lynch et al., 2002), has lost articles, these two subclasses can only be distinguished on semantic grounds. Local nouns can be distinguished based on a syntactic criterion: they do not need to be introduced by a preposition *a-* when forming a locative constituent. All common nouns need to be introduced by this preposition, which is prefixed to a 3sg pronoun. In example (1), the local noun (place name) *Lou* and in example (2), the local noun *suk* ‘shore’ are shown. Example (3) shows that *kanum* ‘garden’ is a common and not a local noun, since it has to be accompanied by the preposition *a-*.

(1) *eppwa kala yik ngoyai Lou*

ep=pwa ka-la yik ngoyai Lou

1pl.EXCL=want.to IRR.3sg-go.to search.for possum Lou

‘We were about to go (and) catch possums (on) Lou Island.’

(NP210511_2_0004)

(2) *urêsuwen suk*

wurê=suwen suk
1pc.EXCL=move.down shore

‘We went down to the shore.’ (MK060211_0006)

(3) *ipāt mun to a-yi kanum te-yo*

yi=pat mun to a-yi kanum te-yo
3sg=plant banana be at-3sg garden EMP-DEM.INT

‘He planted bananas in the garden.’ (WL020611_0029)

3.2.2 *Subclasses II: direct and indirect possession*

A second way to group nouns is based on how they are used in possessive constructions. The terms “possession” and “possessive” are used in this section and elsewhere to refer to a grammatical construction which usually refers to a relation of close association characterised by an entity “having”, “owning” or “controlling” another entity. For instance, entity X is part of entity Y, or entity X is in a blood relationship to entity Y. X is then often called the Possessee (Pe) and entity Y the Possessor (Po). In fact, this relation of close association encompasses a number of semantic relations with different characteristics, which are discussed below. Possession or ownership in the strict sense is only one of them. Because this range of relations is expressed by a limited number of grammatical constructions, these constructions are often grouped together under the header “possessive constructions”. It should be kept in mind that the terms “possession” and “possessive” are used throughout this thesis in this purely grammatical sense, unless otherwise indicated.²

There are two types of possessive construction: direct and indirect. With direct possession, as the name suggests, a suffix is added directly to a nominal stem. With indirect possession, a suffix is added to a possessive particle which follows the noun. Both with direct and indirect possession, the Po always follows the Pe. The formal characteristics of direct and indirect possession are discussed in more detail in Section 5.5. There are four subclasses with regard to possession, in which a noun either:

² Another advantage of this approach is that there is no need to further specify the concepts ‘possession’ and ‘ownership’ in the strict sense. These are cultural constructs, and thus need to be defined based on culture-specific criteria.

1. Only appears in a direct possession construction (which implies obligatory use of the of the form in a possessive construction)
2. Optionally appears in a direct possession construction, but never in an indirect possession construction
3. Appears in a direct possession construction, in an indirect possession construction, or unpossessed
4. Optionally appears in an indirect possession construction

The rules for subclass 1 are the strictest, as these nouns *must* always appear in a possessive construction. The rules for subclasses 2 to 4 are somewhat looser, since these nouns are not obligatorily possessed. To the first group belong most nouns that refer to kinship relations, some nouns that refer to human characteristics, and spatial nouns that function prepositionally. Many terms referring to body parts belong to the second group. The third group has semantically mixed contents. To the fourth group belong all nouns that have not been encountered in the data in a direct possession construction, but it cannot be ruled out that they can enter such a construction and thus belong to the third category. It seems to be the case that only proper names (both personal and local) can never be directly possessed.

The following semantic distinctions within possessive constructions will be discussed in this section:

- Kinship relations, both consanguineal and affinal
- Part-whole relations:
 - Human and animal body parts
 - Tree and plant parts
 - Non-animate object parts
- Spatial relations, extended to temporal relations
- Human characteristics and propensities
- Non-human characteristics and features (“associative relations”)

Spatial relations are often metaphorically extended from part-whole relations, and a construction can be ambiguous between two interpretations. In what follows, the various possibilities are discussed one by one.

3.2.2.1 Kinship relations

Kinship terms are mentioned in a range of standard works as the most likely candidates for obligatory direct possession (see Aikhenvald and Dixon (2013) and references there). Generally, the explanation for this is that in a great number of cultures, kinship is perceived as inalienable. The relation between Po and Pe is thought of as something that cannot be undone: blood ties are for life. Kinship terms form a closed subclass of twenty-three nouns, nineteen of which obligatorily occur in a direct possessive construction. These terms have both referential (i.e. to refer to the relative as a third person when addressing somebody else) and vocative function (i.e. to address the relative themselves). An overview of the terms is given in Tables 3.1 and 3.2. Paluai has an elaborate kinship system, discussed in more detail in Schokkin and Otto (2014). Here, it suffices to say that many kinship terms are classificatory: for example, father's brother's children and mother's sister's children are grouped with real siblings, and so on.

Generation	Paluai term	English equivalent ³	Used for ⁴
+4	makapua-	great-great-grandparent	all relatives in this generation
+3	apua-	great-grandparent	all relatives in this generation
+2	tupu-	grandparent	all relatives in this generation
+1	tama-	father	F, FB, FFBS, FFZS etc.
	tina-	mother	M, MZ, MFBD, MFZD etc.
	nukna-	uncle	MB, MFBS, MFZS etc.
	sae-	aunt	FZ, FFBD, FFZD etc.

³ English translations given here are not accurate and are meant as an indication only, because the English kinship system classifies kinship relations in different ways than Paluai.

⁴ F = father, M = mother, B = brother, Z = sister, S = son, D = daughter, H = husband, W = wife, C = child, + = older, - = younger (e.g. H-BW = husband's younger brother's wife).

0	tou-	older sibling (same sex); parallel cousin	F+S, F+BS, M+ZS etc. (ego m); F+D, F+BD, M+ZD etc. (ego f); W+ZH, H+BW (W+Z, H+B)
	nae- / sanei- ⁵	younger sibling (same sex); parallel cousin	F-S, F-BS, M-ZS etc. (ego m); F-D, F-BD, M-ZD (ego f); W-ZH, H-BW (W-Z, H-B)
	patne-	sister (ego m)	FD, FBD, MZD etc.
	mwane-	brother (ego f)	FS, FBS, MZS etc.
	pwai	cross-cousin	FZC, FFBDC, FFZDC etc.; MBC, MFBSC, MFZSC etc.
-1	natu-	son	S, BS, FZSS, MBSS, FBSS, MZSS (ego m); ZS, FZDS, MBDS, FBDS, MZDS (ego f)
	pên (indirectly possessed)	daughter	D, BD, FZSD, MBSD, FBSD, MZSD (ego m); ZD, FZDD, MBDD, FBDD, MZDD (ego f)
	wôlia-	niece/nephew	ZC, MBDC, MZDC, FBDC, FZDC etc. (ego m); BC, MBSC, MZSC, FBSC, FZSC etc. (ego f)
-2	maêwe-	grandchild	all relatives in this generation

Table 3.1 Terms for consanguineal kin

⁵ *nae-* is predominantly used for ‘real’ siblings, whereas *sanei-* can be used for both ‘real’ and classificatory siblings.

Generation	Term	English equivalent	Used for
+1	nana-	father/mother-in-law	HF, WF; HM, WM
0	asoa-	husband	H
	paria-	wife	W
	ipa-	sister-in-law (ego f)	patne- of H, W of mwane-
	polam	in-law (general)	affines of ego's generation
	nôpe-	in-law	term indicating all kinds of affines except e.g. SWF/M, DHF/M, BWF/M, ZHF/M, SWB/Z, DHB/Z
-1	kat natu-	daughter-in-law	SW

Table 3.2 Terms for affinal kin

There are four exceptions to the rule that kinship terms should be directly possessed: these are *pên* ‘daughter’, *polam* ‘in-law’, *pwai* ‘cousin’ and *not/natu-* ‘child, son’. Cousins and in-laws have “special” statuses in Paluai culture, which can be said to be diametrically opposed. With in-laws you are in a taboo relationship, which means you have to pay respect to them. There is no avoidance relationship in Paluai as in some other Melanesian cultures, and people are also not required to avoid mentioning the personal name of their in-laws. *Polam*, however, is preferably used as a respectful term to address and greet the person.

Cross-cousins, on the other hand, are the people with whom one can freely joke. This is especially the case with second or third cousins, when people are *pet pwai kesin* (*pet* is a “reciprocal possessive particle” only used with kinship terms, translatable as ‘each other’s’). With *pet pwai laleusip*, the children of your MB and FZ, the joking relationship is still quite civilised. Joking relations between cousins are very widespread in Melanesia and typically are rather bawdy with a lot of sexually tinted jokes. Since there is a cross-sibling link in the ascending generation, cousins on father’s side do not belong to his (and your) lineage. Cousins on mother’s side do belong to her lineage, but not to yours. Traditionally, cousins negotiate in finding marriage partners for each other, but these partners have to have a sufficiently “distant” relationship, at least four degrees away.

Thus, it is relatively easy to explain why *polam* and *pwai* may stand for somewhat “looser” relationships, albeit for very different reasons. This looser relationship may be reflected in the linguistic form with which it is referred to. Interestingly, *pwai* and

polam seem to be the only symmetrical kinship terms (i.e. if I call you *pwai*, you will also call me *pwai*). However, the fact that *pên* ‘daughter’ is not directly possessed is harder to explain. Since marriage patterns are exogamous, daughters will marry out of their own clan and their children will belong to the daughter’s husband’s clan. This may be reflected in the kinship term being indirectly possessed. What is furthermore interesting about *pên* is that it always occurs in an indirect possession construction and never as unpossessed form, also when used as address term. This is not the case with *polam* and *pwai*. It thus can still be considered as obligatorily possessed (as other kinship terms); the possessive construction just takes a different form.

For *not* (indirectly possessed form) and *natu-* (directly possessed stem) there is a meaning difference involved: *natu-* always refers to someone’s son or daughter (*natu-n pein* ‘child-PERT woman’ in case of a girl), whereas *not* can refer to a child or children in general. Thus, when using the directly possessed form the relationship is foregrounded, whereas using the indirectly possessed form indicates that an individual of young age is referred to.

3.2.2.2 *Part-whole relations*

3.2.2.2.1 Human and animal body parts

Like kinship terms, body part terms are a “likely candidate” for obligatory direct possession. Since the part cannot, in general, be severed from the whole without serious harm, this part-whole relation is seen as inalienable.

A distinction can be made between primary and secondary body parts. Primary body parts form an (in theory) closed subclass of single morphemes referring to various parts of the body. The larger open subclass of secondary body parts consists of compounds, of which the first term (mostly bearing a *-n* possessive suffix) refers to a part of the second term, which is chosen from the closed class of primary body parts. Some examples are given below.

- (4) *numun parung*
 numu-n patu-ng
 hair-PERT head-1sg.PERT
 ‘my head hair’

- (5) *kapun kêm*
 kapu-n ke-m
 muscle-PERT leg-2sg.PERT
 ‘your calf’

The first terms of these secondary body parts mostly cannot be used by themselves; if they can, usually their meaning changes. For instance, *kapu-* from example (5) used by itself means ‘bladder’. So, when a speaker wants to say ‘my hair’, s/he always has to specify the body part that s/he is referring to. The class of secondary body parts is in principle an open class, because for many items, any primary body part could theoretically be placed in the second slot.

Body parts, both external and internal, usually appear in a direct possessive construction. In addition, some bodily substances like *apirô-* ‘sweat’, *ngingia-* ‘saliva’ and *kunawaye-* ‘breath’ usually do. However, in certain contexts the unsuffixed stem can be used. This is possible with most and perhaps all body part terms. For instance, for blood the suffixed stem *noye-* is used when referring to blood inside the body, but the unsuffixed stem *noy* when referring to, for instance, bloodstains or blood in a bag for transfusion. In addition, body part terms can be used as bare stems when they are used in generic contexts. The final vowel of the stem is deleted in these cases; a few examples are given below.

- (6) *ipmape ai min pwên, te i repwo ippe ai masin*
 ip=ma=pe a-yi min pwên
 3pl=NEG₁=make at-3sg hand NEG₂
- te yi te-pwo ip=pe a-yi masin
 SUB 3sg EMP-DEM.PROX 3pl=make at-3sg machine
- ‘It is not made by hand, but by machines.’ (Game1_021012_0165)

- (7) *nupan mat*
 nup-an mata
 wash-NOM eye
lit. ‘washing of the eye’ (name of traditional ceremony)

An interesting point about body part terms is that when they are used as bare stems, they do not appear in indirect possession constructions, but always as unpossessed stems. Thus, when a speaker wants to express a possessive relation which includes a body part, this can only be done by a direct possessive construction. Some bodily substances, such as *ne* ‘faeces’ and *mimia* ‘urine’, are always indirectly possessed.

3.2.2.2.2 Tree and plant parts

Tree and plant parts are usually suffixed with *-n* and thus are formally very similar to human and animal body parts.⁶ The problem is, though, that there are no forms which show a first or second person suffix, and thus it is hard to establish whether the relation should be characterised more adequately as possession or association.⁷ For a more elaborate discussion of this problem, see Section 3.2.2.5 below. Table 3.3 shows some of the frequently encountered forms.

⁶ As is set out in Section 5.5, *-n* is the pertensive suffix for the third person singular and all non-singular persons. The first person singular pertensive suffix is *-ng*, and second person singular is *-m*.

⁷ Of course, a researcher could try to elicit this by asking if it would be possible for a tree (if trees could talk) to use e.g. the directly possessed form *yêpi-ng* ‘my leaf’, but this would yield data which are a far cry from spontaneous language use.

Part	Meaning	Related term
akon	root	
koropun	base of tree trunk	koropu- 'abdomen'
kumun	sprout	
kupwen	branch	
kuêsamen	string with which a coconut is attached to the tree	
lo	covering sheath of coconut	
mangun	dry coconut with meat	
muin	green coconut with juice and little meat	
noyen	sap	noye- 'blood'
paraken	stalk of coconut frond	
paran	stem, trunk	
puan	fruit, seed	
payan	soft meat inside a coconut	
pukien / pwakien	unripe coconut (only water, sour taste)	
pungun	coconut husk	
(pun) kuen	stalk, with which fruit is attached to the tree	
pusuan	coconut shell	
saêrin	coconut palm frond	
sangan	area between the roots of a tree	sanga- 'groin'
sangarun	area between the 'fork' of the branches of a tree	
sapon	top of a plant, crown of a tree	
silin	sucker (of banana, pineapple)	
(su)puron	node on bamboo stalk	
yapit	'side leaves' of coconut frond	
yêpin	leaf	
yon	tree leaf (bigger sized, such as banana leaf)	

Table 3.3 Tree and plant parts

A number of the terms above (*sanga-*, *koropu-* and *noye-*) are also used for human body parts. Many of the forms end in *-n*. Whether this final *-n* should be considered a suffix

or part of a “frozen” form is a matter for discussion. Although terms for plant parts are generally used as a modifier, preceding e.g. a name for a tree species, they are also often used by themselves, as in the example below.

(8) *yep iret ai yêpin teo*

yep	yi=tet	a-yi	yêpin	te-yo
fire	3sg=spread at-3sg		leaf	EMP-DEM.INT

‘The fire spread through the leaves.’ (KM190211_0020)

Forms ending in *-n* are never used as “bare stems” without the *-n* (as is the case for e.g. body parts), indicating that speakers do not perceive it as a suffix and may regard it as part of the stem. Another indication for this is that citation forms of these nouns always end in *-n*, in contrast to body parts where the short form of the stem can be used as citation form. Another explanation could be that, in cases like the example above, *yêpin* is referring to ‘its leaves’ in general, without specifying the Po, or that the Po is elided. However, the story from which this example was taken is about clearing the bush in order to make space for a garden, so in fact, *yêpin* refers to the leaves of many trees. Nevertheless, the plural is not indicated on the pertensive form, which gives rise to the assumption that *yêpin* and other names of plant parts ending in *-n* refer to the part in a generic sense, just as the bare stem does in the case of body parts.

3.2.2.2.3 Non-animate object parts

As with other part-whole relations, parts of non-animate objects are generally expressed through a direct possessive (or associative – see Section 3.2.2.5 below) construction which is likely to result in a compound. Some of these are metaphorical extensions of human body parts, such as *pole-* ‘lower arm’. Some examples are given below.

(9) *kerein kel*

kerei-n	kele
edge-PERT	canoe
‘canoe edge’	

(10) *polen pil*

pole-n pil
lower.arm-PERT ladle
'handle of a soup ladle'

3.2.2.3 *Human characteristics and propensities*

Interestingly, the direct possession construction is not limited in its use to concrete parts of the body. Other human traits that may be seen as inalienable can and often must also be directly possessed. Table 3.4 gives an overview of these. Some of the terms, such as *arona-*, *ngaya-*, *nuruna-* and *pwaku-*, can also refer to characteristics of nonhuman entities. This is the case in examples (11) and (12), whereas in (13) and (14) they refer to human characteristics or belongings.

(11) *aronan suian yapi re ep Paluai ro pe*

arona-n sui-an yapi te ep Paluai to pe
procedure-PERT fry-NOM sago REL 1pl.EXCL P. HAB do
'The procedure of frying sago, such as we Paluai are doing it.'
(CA120211_1_0015)

(12) *kope puk mapian la rai*

ko-pe puk mapia-n la ta-i
IRR.1SG-PFV open knowledge-PERT go.to POSS-3sg
'I will inform her about it.' (*lit.* 'I will open the knowledge of it to her.')

(KW290311_0008)

(13) *ngamalêp nansê masiom pwên*

nga=ma=lêp nan-sê masia-m pwên
1sg=NEG₁=take DEF-small appreciation-2sg.PERT NEG₂
'I don't appreciate what you did at all.' (*lit.* 'I do not take a bit of your appreciation') (LL010711_0062)

arona-	character; way s.t. should be done, procedure; sense, foreknowledge (prescriptive/moral dimension)
ayo-	way
kasu-	bad behaviour
longoa-	(temporary) habit, characteristic
lopwa-	(designated) place, location; position in society
maloa-	shadow; reflection in water; spirit, soul (also: picture, photograph)
mamarou / mamarou- ^o	way of doing s.t., style, characteristic behaviour (moral dimension; overtones of “good behaviour”)
mapia-	knowledge
masia-	appreciation
napu-	(food) taboo
ngai / ngaya- ^o	name
ngola-	language
nia-	pregnancy
nonou / nonoua- ^o	promise; a sign of s.t. that cannot be changed
nurun / nuruna- ^o	possessions; everything that typically belongs to s.t. or s.b.; (more abstract) business
perina-	bad behaviour, bad attitude
pepi	kindness, generosity (not directly possessed)
pelingara-	namesake
pwaku-	style, type (e.g. of dancing)
sayoa-	‘ordinariness’ ⁸
tangoa-	(temporary) habit, characteristic; effort, attempt

Table 3.4 Human characteristics

^o Direct possession is not obligatory. The first form represents the short variant, that occurs unpossessed or in indirect possession constructions; the second form shows the directly possessed stem.

⁸This term is used in the phrase *wuk sayoa-* which means ‘to mock’ (*lit.* ‘to declare ordinary’).

(14) *Ngat, i repwo malopwom pwên*

Ngat yi te-pwo ma=lopwa-m pwên

N. 3sg EMP-DEM.PROX NEG₁=place-2sg.PERT NEG₂

‘Ngat, this here is not your place (to rest).’ [said to somebody who died on Lou Island] (NP210511_2_0055)

Some items, such as *nurun(a-)* and *mamarou*, can appear either in a direct or an indirect possessive construction. It is not easy to pinpoint the decisive factors as to which construction is chosen when. One speaker mentioned that *nuruna-* used with direct possession is more all-encompassing, referring to each and every thing associated with a person or clan (both concrete items and abstract notions), whereas with indirect possession it refers to more commonplace and concrete things like someone’s clothes or personal belongings carried on the body. Another speaker mentioned that the indirect possessive construction is sometimes used (with additional loudness and peak) in order to emphasise a contrast between the speaker’s ways and someone else’s:

(15) *mamarou rang i remenin teo*

mamarou ta-ng yi temenin te-yo

way POSS-1sg.PERT 3sg like EMP-DEM.INT

‘**My** way is like that (as opposed to his).’ (field notes 07/05/2011)

3.2.2.4 *Spatial relations*

Spatial relations are generally expressed by directly possessed nouns, making their expression fundamentally different from that in Indo-European languages, where spatial relations are generally formally expressed by prepositions. Although there seems to be a small class of genuine prepositions (most notably *a-* ‘at’ – see Section 4.4.1), in most cases where English would use a preposition, Paluai uses a directly possessed noun. These nouns form the closed subclass of spatial nouns. Some are clearly metaphorically extended from body parts, but with others their origin is less clear. Table 3.5 gives an overview.

Form	Spatial meaning	Related term elsewhere
asilo-	(at the) side of	
kaso-	near to	
kô-	(on) top of	kô- ‘(on) top of the body’
lalo-	inside (of)	
mata-	(in) front of	mata- ‘eye’
monok / monoki-	(at the) back, behind (<i>also used for temporal relations</i>)	
moyen / moyenga-	between, among, in the middle of	moyen lipa- ‘front teeth’
naêmwa-	(at the) back of	naêmwa- ‘backside’
nau-	(on the) surface of	naun mina- ‘back of hand’
naso-	(at the) end of (s.t. elongated)	
nisie-	(at the) middle of (s.t. elongated)	nisie- ‘middle of the body’
panua-	(at the) front, in front of (<i>also used for temporal relations</i>)	
parayo-	(in) front of (a human being)	
pata-	(on) top of	patu- ‘head’?
pururua-	(in) the middle of	pururuan patu- ‘middle of skull’
pwalin / pwalinga-	(together) with	
pwapwa-	(at the) side of	pwapwa- ‘cheek’
pwoyo-	under(neath)	paye ‘down below’
soyo-	(at the) pointed front of s.t.	e.g. soyon puyusu- ‘tip of nose’
sue-	(at the) side of	suen mata ‘side of face’
ya-	(in the) top of	yan sipe- ‘top of shoulder’

Table 3.5 Spatial nouns

As is clear from the table, many spatial nouns are also used as body parts or modifiers of secondary body parts. It could be argued that *pata-* ‘on top of’ shares its origin with *patu-* ‘head’. Evidence that, synchronically, these forms are genuine directly possessed nouns and not frozen forms, comes from the fact that direct possession is productive for many terms. For instance *kaso-*, *naêmwa-* and *pwalinga-* are attested with first and

second person pertensive suffixes. This is not the case for e.g. plant part terms. Examples (16) to (18) show spatial nouns with other than the *-n* suffixes.

(16) *ip lau karo au kasông*

ip lau ka-to wau kaso-ng
 3pl people IRR.NS-HAB move near-1sg.PERT
 ‘The people will walk near to me.’ (LK25011_0075)

(17) *ngaro naêmwom*

nga=to naêmwa-m
 1sg=be backside-2sg.PERT
 ‘I am at your back.’ (field notes 20/08/2012)

(18) *naêng ta Pwanou iro pwalingong*

naêng-ng ta-Pwanou yi=to pwalinga-ng
 younger.sibling-1sg.PERT DEF-P. 3sg=be with-1sg.PERT
 ‘My younger brother Pwanou stayed with me.’ (KM060111_0015)

Below, an example is shown of *parayo-* and *naêmwa-* with the general *-n* suffix. The terms here refer more generally to ‘the front’ and ‘the back’ of a scene, rather than to the front and back of specific objects.

(19) *lôk teo, iro parayon le iro naêmwan?*

lôk te-yo yi=to parayo-n le
 vegetable EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=be front-PERT or

 yi=to naêmwa-n
 3sg=be backside-PERT
 ‘The vegetable, is it at the front or at the back?’ (Game1_021012_0281)

The question can be raised for some of these spatial relations whether they could not also be viewed as part-whole relations, especially for notions like ‘inside of’, ‘in the top of’, etc. Sometimes constructions are ambiguous between either interpretation.

The terms *monok* and *panua* in particular are used to refer to temporal notions of ‘before’ and ‘after’, in addition to their primary meanings ‘front’ and ‘back’. Some examples are given below; here as well, constructions can be ambiguous between a spatial and a temporal interpretation.

(20) *kope sopwol pari panu a kope sopwol pari monok*

ko-pe	sopwola	pari	panua	a
IRR.1sg-make	one.half.round	belonging.to	front	and

ko-pe	sopwola	pari	monok
IRR.1sg-make	one.half.round	belonging.to	behind

‘I will make the front side and the back side (of a grass skirt).’
(AK160411_1_0012)

(21) *yamat te iro au panuan teo*

yamat	te	yi=to	wau	panua-n	te-yo
person	REL	3sg=CONT	walk	front-PERT	EMP-DEM.INT

‘The person that went before her / in front of her...’ (KW290611_0012)

(22) *monokin pêng tangunan*

monoki-n	pêng	ta-ngunan
behind-PERT	day	DEF-five

‘After five days, ...’ (LM260511_1_0046)

Sometimes, also other body part terms are found in temporal expressions:

(23) *perelia-n panu*
middle-PERT place
‘midday, noon’⁹

⁹ *panu* encompasses many meanings, among which ‘the visible world’. Here it is probably used to mean ‘daylight’, in opposition to ‘darkness’, ‘night’.

3.2.2.5 Characteristics of non-humans

In addition to the kinship terms, body part terms and human propensities mentioned above that can be used in both a direct and an indirect possessive construction, there are a number of other nouns which are encountered in the data in both these constructions. Semantically, they form a haphazard collection, but based on their formal shared ability to appear in both types of possessive constructions they could be put together in one class.

These forms fall into several formal categories. There is a category that only occurs in a direct possessive construction and is also attested with a first or second person singular suffix in the data. Examples of this type are *ninga-* ‘look’, *malala-* ‘clearness’ and *sipia-* ‘scatteredness’. The latter is most likely a nominalisation of the verb (*sip*)*sipi* ‘to scatter’. Forms in a second category also only appear in a direct possession construction, but are only attested with a third person *-n* suffix attached and not with a first or second person suffix. These are therefore more similar to the plant and object parts that were discussed in Section 3.2.2.2; examples typically are nouns describing physical properties of objects, such as *molea-* ‘colour’, *kuli-* ‘depth’ and *namne-* ‘taste’. The third category consists of forms that appear in their unpossessed forms or in an indirect possession construction much more often than in a direct possession construction, such as e.g. *wumwa-/wum* ‘house’ and *sale-/sal* ‘road’. These items have a long and a short form, and there is a large group of them. When they do appear in a direct possession construction, they are only attested with the third person *-n* suffix. Table 3.6 gives a number of examples.

The semantic relations represented by many of these constructions are maybe better characterised as “associative” rather than “possessive” relations. The noun which bears the pertensive suffix often describes a property or feature of the other noun that forms part of the construction (the modifying noun). However, since grammatical possession already encompasses a much broader set of relations than just possession in the strict sense, any line drawn between possessive and associative constructions feels rather arbitrary. Lichtenberk (2006) argues for an analysis which distinguishes between possessive and associative relations, in which the latter are nonspecific and non-referential, in contrast to the former: ‘Associative constructions are not relational in the way possessive constructions are’ (Lichtenberk, 2006, p. 24). The modifying noun represents a type rather than an entity. For Proto-Oceanic, particles *qi* and *ni* have been reconstructed which indicated this associative relationship (cf. Lichtenberk, 2006). In

many modern Oceanic languages, the associative construction is still formally different from possessive constructions.

kamou / kamou-	speech, words
kapu / kapua-	gift of food/money
kei / kei-	tree; magic
kulut / kulusu-	rubbish
lapan / lapan-	chief; leadership
mosap / mosape-	bride price ceremony
nin / nine-	fight
pêng / pêngi-	day
pwapwa / pwapwae-	story
sal / sale-	road, way
yamat / yamase-	person, man
wum / wumwa-	house

Table 3.6 A selection of nouns that can be both directly and indirectly possessed

In Paluai, however, there is formally only one construction to indicate both possessive and associative relations: the *-n* suffix. It could be argued that if a form is only attested with the third person *-n* suffix and not with a first or second person suffix, it can only appear in an associative construction and not be directly possessed. But the absence of other forms could also just be due to a gap in the data. Therefore, the difference between possessive and associative constructions can only be established on semantic or referential grounds.

That the distinction between possessive and associative is valid also for Paluai, however, is shown by the form *natun pein* ‘son-PERT woman’ which is ambiguous between two interpretations: it can either mean ‘son of a/the woman’, referring to a particular woman’s son, or ‘female child, little girl’. In the first case *pein* refers to a specific, individuated woman, in the latter it refers to a type, “female”. Another example is *kamou* ‘speech, words’, which is used in a suffixed form when referring to “the story of something” in a more generic sense, and in an indirect possessive construction when a specific talk of someone on a particular occasion is referred to. Sentences (24) and (25) give an example.

(24) *ngapwa kopul kamoun kun*

nga=pwa ko-pul kamou-n kun
1sg=want.to IRR.1sg-speak speech-PERT small.basket

‘I am going to talk about baskets [i.e. tell “the story of the basket” in a generic sense].’ (MK050311_0001)

(25) *tapkano yong kamou ran lapan tararap*

tap=ka-no yong kamou ta-n lapan ta-tap
1pl.INCL=IRR.NS-IPFV hear speech POSS-PERT chief POSS-1pl.INCL

‘We will obey the words of our chief [i.e. specific words that he just said].’
(LL300511_1_0044)

This example is characteristic for the use of many items similar to *kamou*, like the ones mentioned in Table 3.6. Thus, even though there may not be a possessive relation in these cases, the semantic distinction between alienable and inalienable still seems somehow valid. The inalienable relation is represented by direct suffixation, and stands for a relation which is upheld across several specific occasions, a generic relationship. The alienable relation is represented by suffixation of a possessive particle, and refers to a specific occasion, a more volatile relationship.

3.2.3 *Subclasses III: numeral and possessive classifiers*

3.2.3.1 *Numeral classifiers*

A third and final way in which nouns can be divided is based on which class of numeral they take. Many languages in the region have an extensive system of numeral classifiers: among others Loniu (Hamel, 1994), Mussau (J. Brownie & M. Brownie, 2007), Kele (Lynch et al., 2002) and Seimat (Wozna & Wilson, 2005). Such an elaborate system may have been present in Paluai, but in that case it is all but obsolete in the present-day language. The data that were gathered on this subject are mainly elicited and often inconsistent, since there is disagreement among native speakers about which classifier a given noun would take.

Numeral classifiers take the form of a suffix on a cardinal numeral modifying the noun. The form this suffix takes depends on the semantics of the modified noun. In addition, there are a number of nouns referring to fractions (meanings such as ‘part of’, ‘half of, ‘a piece of’) or collections, which are strictly speaking not numerals, but whose distribution is dependent on the same system of semantic classification.

The only distinction that still holds firm ground in the present-day language is the one between animate and inanimate. Numerals modifying animate nouns take the suffix *-mou*, those modifying inanimates take the suffix *-êp* (some numerals have suppletive forms – see Section 4.5 for more details). These forms are consistently used, also in the higher numbers. Otto (personal communication) mentions that during his fieldwork in the 1980’s the *-mou* suffix was used exclusively for humans and pigs, but this has definitely changed, since the data on which this thesis is based contain many examples of numerals suffixed with *-mou* used for other kinds of animals, such as fish.

The other distinction that is still commonly made, in addition to the animate-inanimate one, is ‘elongated objects’ such as trees, canoes and roads. Then the numeral takes the suffix *-ei*. The *-ei* suffix, however, is not attested with numbers higher than four. The remainder of semantic distinctions is attested only for the numbers one and sometimes two. Some of these forms have cognates in Loniu, which, at the time fieldwork was done by Patricia Hamel for her 1994 grammar, still had many noun classes which were distinguished on the numerals up to ten.¹⁰ This indicates that the classifier system may have been more elaborate in the past. For number ‘one’, the forms encountered are given in Table 3.7.

Below, some examples of “non-default” numerals in spontaneous speech are given.

(26) *pureu supu reo ila ro ai*

pureu	supu	te-yo	yi=la	to	a-yi
grass	one.heap	EMP-DEM.INT	3sg=go.to	be	at-3sg

‘There is one bunch of grass on it.’ (Game1_280812_0086)

¹⁰ This may not seem so long ago, but I believe that numeral classifiers are a typical example of a linguistic feature that may become obsolete in the course of a single generation.

(27) *kolêp pit la sakam sakam*

ko-lêp pit la sakam sakam
 IRR.1sg-take be.close go.to one.leaf one.leaf

‘I will collect [the coconut leaves] one by one.’ (AK160411_2_0004)

saya	place, area of land, village
sakam	leaf
sei	elongated object
seleuk	part of elongated object
sikil	leaf, wing, betel pepper fruit
sip	inanimate object (residue or default category)
som	animate being
sum(ut)	flat object, grass skirt
supu	heap, bundle, group of (e.g. fruit or people)
sui	heap of fruits
sêk	half of elongated object
sopwol	half of round object

Table 3.7 Semantic distinctions on numeral ‘one’

These semantic distinctions made for inanimates with regard to the numeral they take (and possibly many more) have all but disappeared and are now grouped together, reflected by the use of a single default marker *-êp*. In the present-day language, the numerals for animates are also used for inanimate objects that are somehow perceived important. This may be an innovation due to the loss of the classifier system, or it may be that nouns referring to important and abstract concepts are classed with animates. In the data, numerals for animates have been encountered in combination with the following nouns: *pule-n* ‘thing’, *nel* ‘rope’, *ngai* ‘name’, *yêkyêk* ‘feeling’, *pangpangai* ‘thought’, *puron* ‘thing’ and *kamou* ‘speech’. *nel* used to refer to a string of dog’s teeth and thus to money, which is probably the reason why it is perceived as important.

In addition to a suffix on the numeral, there seem to be separate morphemes that often accompany the numeral and noun and give more information about the thing counted. They seem to have developed from generic nouns, and most of the ones encountered refer to fractions and collections. When used, they precede the noun they

modify. Table 3.8 shows the forms encountered in the data, and below some examples are given. However, due to inconsistent and scattered data, not much can be concluded about them with certainty.

Form	Literal meaning	Used when counting
patan	stick, stem, trunk	trees, tree trunks (timber), poles/masts
kerin	year	“hands” or rows on a bunch of bananas
kuen	[unknown]	bunches of round fruits
manun	[unknown]	pieces of clay pot?
matan	eye	heaps of stones, yam or mami; especially to be distributed at traditional ceremonies
napukun	[unknown]	heaps of stones, yam or mami
nipen	[unknown]	parts of s.t. round, esp. soft things; pieces of s.t. sharp; areas of land
paripen	[unknown]	coins; single dog’s teeth; maybe paper money
puan	fruit	heaps, bundles (e.g. of firewood), groups of people
sipen	[unknown]	parts of s.t. hard (stone, metal); areas of land
yôpôn	backbone; knuckle	parts of s.t. elongated

Table 3.8 “Generic” nouns used for fractions and collections

Below, some examples of these forms in spontaneous language use are given.

(28) *suei kila napukun sip, mwayen kila napukun sip*

suei ki-la napukun sip
 mami IRR.3sg-go.to heap one.INANIM

mwayen ki-la napukun sip
 yam IRR.3sg-go.to heap one.INANIM

‘The mami will go onto one heap, the yam will (also) go onto one heap.’

(NK290311_1_0003)

(29) *iro sap sipen sum*

yi=to sap sipen sum
3sg=be some part.of one.flat

‘He was at some little part of land...’ (MS250311_0045)

It can be concluded, however, that there are a number of important semantic distinctions on which the classifier system was (and partially still is) based. As mentioned above, the strongest distinction is animate-inanimate. Other important distinctions are round-elongated (and possibly two-dimensional flat), and partitioned-single whole-collective. This is in line with cross-linguistic findings: the most common parameters with regard to classifiers are animacy and dimensionality (Aikhenvald, 2003).

From a cultural point of view, it makes sense that collectives and partitions are distinguished. Highly complex gift exchanges are the core of traditional ceremonies on Baluan. There are many different ceremonies, but each of them involves a stage in which gifts (of money, cloth, pigs and garden food – depending on the kind of ceremony) from various groups aligned to the person that the ceremony is held for are gathered and put together, followed by a stage in which the collected gifts are redistributed among other stakeholders in the ceremony (see e.g. Otto (1991; 1992; 2002) and Otto and Pedersen (2005)). Thus, collecting, counting, division and (re)distribution are highly significant activities in Paluai culture, and this is reflected by, among others, a large number of different verbs referring to these activities, and a strong focus in the classifier system.

3.2.3.2 *Possessive classifier ka-*

Oceanic languages tend to have at least one possessive classifier, referring to things intended to be eaten (Lynch et al., 2002). Paluai meets this expectation: for food items possessed and intended to be eaten (or already eaten) the classifier *ka-* is used. *ka-* is a bound root which is suffixed with a form from the paradigm used for direct possession (see Section 4.2.3.2). This possessive classifier has been reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic (Lynch et al., 2002, p. 77) in exactly the same form **ka*, probably derived from the verb ‘to eat’. Interestingly, this form differs from most other noun modifiers because it precedes the noun instead of following it. It thus differs from the particle *ta-* for indirect possession, which always follows the noun (*ka-* and *ta-* never occur together).

ka- can also be used by itself, and is used also for betel nut, cigarettes and chewing gum, but not for things intended for drinking. The following sentences give a few examples.

(30) *iplêp kaip nik*

ip=lêp ka-ip nik
3pl=take CLF.food-3pl fish

‘They took their fish (for them to eat).’ (LK250111_0040)

(31) *wono ro yoktou nik la kan pwalei*

wo=no to yok.tou nik la ka-n pwalei
2sg=IPFV CONT throw fish go.to CLF.food-PERT spirit

‘You keep on throwing the fish to the spirit (for him to eat).’

(NP210511_1_0032)

(32) *iapui naluai la kau*

yi=apui naluai la ka-u
3sg=cook garden.food go.to CLF.food-3du

‘He cooked food for the two of them.’ (WL020711_0013)

3.2.4 Noun morphology

3.2.4.1 Compounding

The most common morphological process associated with nouns is compounding. As mentioned in Section 3.2.2 above, two nouns which are in a possessive or associative relation are juxtaposed, with the preceding one often bearing a *-n* pertensive suffix. The resulting form is analysed as a compound because it forms one phonological word (see Section 2.4.1). Many phonological alternations that only occur within the phonological word, such as assimilation or deletion of the final *-n* of the first noun, occur in compounds. A number of examples are given below.

(33) <i>natu-n</i> ‘son’ + <i>pein</i> ‘woman’	→	[nɛrumbein]	‘little girl, daughter’
<i>lipa-n</i> ‘tooth’ + <i>mui</i> ‘dog’	→	[lipɛmuj]	‘dog’s teeth’
<i>patu-n</i> ‘head’ + <i>punat</i> ‘sky’	→	[pɛrumpunɛt]	‘cloud’

<i>pata-n</i> ‘stem’ + <i>kei</i> ‘tree’	→	[pəɾəŋgei]	‘tree trunk’
<i>pun</i> ‘origin’ + <i>yamat</i> ‘person’	→	[pujəmət]	‘genealogy’

Compounds thus formed are left-headed; e.g. *lipan mui* is a kind of tooth, not a kind of dog. The left noun thus determines the meaning of the entire structure. Although some of them are connected to part-whole relations, the compounds mentioned in (33) are probably better analysed as associative rather than possessive constructions, since their reference is generic. Thus, *paran kei* usually refers to tree trunks in general, not to the trunk of a specific tree (although of course, in certain contexts, it can refer to just that). Here again we run into the issue discussed above, that due to their formal similarity, the distinction between associative and possessive constructions is unclear.

There is a fairly large number of compounds (many of them animal and/or plant names) of which one of the elements is not encountered by itself in the present-day language. A few examples are given below.

(34) <i>kanan</i> (unknown) + <i>pulêng</i> ‘dawn’	→	[kənəmbuləŋ]	‘tomorrow’ ¹¹
<i>nian</i> ‘stomach’ + <i>laleu</i> (unknown)	→	[niənleləw]	‘fish species’

3.2.4.2 Reduplication

Noun reduplication is not a productive process in the present-day language, but it may have been in the past. If a form is monosyllabic, the entire syllable will be reduplicated; if it is multisyllabic, only the first CV- or VC- sequence will be prefixed (see also Section 2.3.1.5.3). There are many inherently reduplicated nouns, either fully or partially reduplicated, without a non-reduplicated counterpart.¹² Many of the attested forms are insect, plant and bird names. There are just a few exceptions that do have a non-reduplicated *and* a reduplicated form in the present-day language:

(35) <i>akon</i> ‘root’	→	<i>akakon</i> ‘many roots’
<i>pule-n</i> ‘sort of, kind of’	→	<i>pulpule-n</i> ‘(all) sorts of’
<i>puron</i> ‘thing’	→	<i>putpuron</i> ‘things’
<i>pwapwem</i> ‘morning’	→	<i>pwapwapwem</i> ‘early morning’

¹¹ This compound is also slightly irregular because there is a vowel change from /i/ to /e/ in *pulêng*.

¹² In addition, there are many nouns which are derived from verbs by reduplication. For more on this, see Section 3.3.2.2.1.

poyep ‘afternoon’ → ***popoyep*** ‘late afternoon’
kasun ‘coconut cream’ → ***kasusun*** ‘thick coconut cream’¹³

From these examples, plus the fact that many inherently reduplicated nouns refer to things that usually come in large numbers (such as weeds, small insects or fish) it can be concluded that noun reduplication is a strategy to indicate plurality. At the same time, it seems that a reduplicated noun often refers to many *small* things. It is a well-established fact that reduplication can function both as a marker of plurality and as a diminutive device in the language family that Paluai belongs to (Kiyomi, 1995). The exceptions to this are the abovementioned *pwapwem*, *poyep* and the irregular *kasun*: reduplication here functions more like an intensifier. Below, a number of inherently reduplicated nouns with plural or mass meaning are shown.

(36) <i>langlang</i>	fly, flies
<i>loyloy</i>	ant, ants
<i>pweipwei</i>	caterpillar species
<i>latlat</i>	gravel (made of crushed coral)
<i>kotkot</i>	smoke
<i>lumlum</i>	moss
<i>somsom</i>	cloud, clouds; mist
<i>yeuyeu</i>	star, stars

In some cases the inherently reduplicated noun could be analysed as a mass noun. However, reduplication is not obligatory for mass nouns: other nouns which could be classified as such, such as *yon* ‘water’ and *kone* ‘sand’ are not inherently reduplicated and also do not have derived reduplicated forms.

3.2.4.3 Suffixation

The major form of suffixation associated with nouns is the marking of possessive in direct possession and associative constructions. For more details, see Sections 3.2.2 and 5.5. In addition, there is a small number of nouns that were themselves derived, i.e. they

¹³ This is the only form that exhibits a reduplicated and a non-reduplicated form in which there is no prefixing reduplication. For more, see Section 2.3.

bear a *-n* pertensive suffix, and are suffixed with *-an* which normally derives nouns from verbs or adjectives (see Section 3.3.2.2.3.2 below). The forms encountered are:

- (37) *koropu-n* ‘base-PERT’ → *koropu-n-an* ‘reason, origin’
napu-n ‘taboo-PERT’ → *napu-n-an* ‘negative imperative’

Because of the limited number of forms and the idiosyncratic meaning difference between the original and the derived form, the *-an* suffix is not analysed as a productive suffix on nouns.

3.2.4.4 Derivation of other parts of speech from nouns

There are no regular derivational processes to derive other parts of speech from nouns. Since nouns can function as head of a verbless predicate, there is no real need for an operation to derive verbs from nouns. In addition, nouns can be modified by other nouns in a possessive or associative construction and by juxtaposition (see Sections 3.2.2 and Chapter 5); thus, adjective derivation is also not really necessary.

There may be a minor process to derive (ad)verbs from nouns, but this seems not to be productive. The *-ek* suffix, which has a productive variant that forms applicatives on verbs (see Section 8.3.2), is also found as frozen form on a number of verbal and adverbial forms (for the criteria to distinguish adverbs from verbs, see Section 3.6). Interestingly, some of these forms share a root with a nominal:

- (38) *kasu-* ‘bad behaviour’ *kasiek* ‘not well’ (Adv)¹⁴
arona- ‘way, character’ *aronek* ‘accordingly’ (Adv)
molea- ‘colour’ *moleyek* ‘to decorate’ (V)
sopea- ‘wish’ *sopeyek* ‘to welcome’ (V)
sonea- ‘near (in time)’ *soneyek* ‘to draw near (in time)’ (V)

Of course, the central question is whether these forms are (ad)verbs derived from nouns or vice versa, or whether perhaps they share transcategorical roots (see Section 3.5).

¹⁴ With *kasu-/kasiek* there is an alternation from a front close to a back close vowel. Nevertheless, the two forms are considered to share the same root. This /i/ ~ /u/ alternation shows up in other parts of the lexicon as well, for instance with *panirasip* ~ *panurasip* ‘first’. It does, however, not seem to be a conditioned alternation and is not productive.

Since both V-N derivation and applicative derivation are very productive processes, this question is not easy to answer.

3.3 The verb

Verbs form a relatively large open class, although smaller than the noun class, of a few hundred items. Verbs are typically the head of a predicate; they are the only word class that is allowed to take bound subject pronouns and TAM particles.¹⁵ Many verbs also appear, without any overt morphological marking, as modifiers to nouns or as heads of NPs. There is no category of tense, but there are many prefixes and particles (often grammaticalised from verbs) expressing aspectual and modal meanings. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

The subject, whether expressed with a free pronoun or a full NP, is cross-referenced on the verb by a bound pronoun (see Section 4.2 for forms). Direct objects are cross-referenced on the verb only when animate, and oblique constituents never. There appear to be no verbs with a valency of more than two, i.e. ditransitive verbs (but cf. Section 8.3.2.2). Verbs are either intransitive, with only a Subject argument (S), or transitive, with transitive Subject (A) and transitive Object (O) argument. Alignment is nominative-accusative. Oblique arguments are introduced by a preposition and/or a specific type of Serial Verb Construction (SVC). Sections 8.1 and 9.1 discuss this. Since direct objects are generally omitted in narratives, especially when they are established discourse referents, it is hard to establish whether there are any truly ambitransitive verbs.

Verbs can be subcategorised into lexical transitive verbs, lexical intransitive verbs, aspectual verbs (always intransitive) and directionals (also always intransitive). A large subclass of lexical intransitive verbs is formed by stative verbs. Aspectual and directional verbs developed from full lexical verbs and may be on their way to losing verb status and becoming adverbials, particles or preposition-like items. However, they all have (often formally identical) full-verb counterparts, which can function by themselves as predicate heads.

Although equative clauses are generally verbless, the verbs *to* ‘to be, to stay, to exist’ and *la* ‘to go’ can function as copulas in certain cases (see Section 7.7). SVCs are

¹⁵ The pronominal system is discussed in Section 4.2. There is a formal difference between free and bound pronouns only for the 1sg subject form.

very common, both the symmetrical and the asymmetrical type (Aikhenvald, 2006a). Verb serialisation is extremely productive, and we find both lexicalisation of verb combinations and grammaticalisation of lexical verbs into pre- and postverbal aspectual and directional particles. Chapter 9 discusses SVCs in detail.

Valency-changing operations are not very common. Many transitive verbs can be reduplicated in order to intransitivise them, but this operation can also derive a nominalisation. Intransitive verbs can also be reduplicated; then the operation generally indicates continuous or iterative aspect (or, again, a nominalisation). There is no passive. There is a morphological causative formed by the prefix *pe-* which only applies to stative verbs, in addition to a periphrastic causative. In addition, we find an applicative suffix *-ek*. These operations are discussed in Chapter 8.

Verb to noun derivation is very common (in contrast to noun to verb derivation) and is done by reduplication, suffixation or a combination of both. From many stative verbs, an adjectival form can be derived by suffixation. Verbs can be modified by a number of forms that are analysed as adverbs (see Section 3.6), although many “adverbial” meanings are expressed by other verbs in a SVC with the main verb. The line between SVC and verb-adverb sequence is often hard to draw.

3.3.1 Subclassification of verbs

3.3.1.1 Transitive and active intransitive verbs

Lexical verbs are of two valencies: transitive and intransitive. The great majority of simplex transitive verbs is monosyllabic. They can be grouped in a number of semantic subclasses: verbs of affect (hit, break), perception and cognition (see, hear), consumption (eat, drink), etc. and take an A (transitive subject) and O (transitive object) argument. Grammatical relations and how they are distinguished based on the marking they receive, are discussed in Chapter 8.

Intransitive verbs only take an S (intransitive subject) argument and can firstly be subdivided into active and stative verbs; for stative verbs, see below. Active intransitive verbs fall into semantic subclasses such as verbs of posture (sit, lie), motion (dance, paddle) and bodily actions (urinate, laugh). There are a small number of existential verbs: *tok* ‘to be, to exist’, *toktoai* ‘to be, to stay’, and the Tok Pisin loan *gat* (*lit.* ‘have’). There is a small subclass of (probably stative) intransitive verbs that are

subcategorised for an S and an E ('extended' or 'third') argument. They fall in the semantic class of verbs of emotional sensation, which optionally take a Stimulus argument; examples are *kaêrê* 'be afraid (of)' and *mwamwasêk* 'be ashamed (of)'. There is no difference in marking between S and A (the language has nominative-accusative alignment), but an Oblique or E is marked different from an O argument: with the preposition *a-*, or the particle *ta-* in case of an animate referent. Again, a more elaborate discussion can be found in Chapter 8.

3.3.1.2 *Stative verbs*

An important semantic subclass of intransitive lexical verbs is formed by stative verbs expressing "transient states"; equivalent forms belonging to this semantic domain in other languages are often adjectives. "Transient state" can be defined as follows: a state which is not inherent to an object but is likely to vary over time. Examples are for instance 'to be ripe', 'to be cold', 'to be afraid', etc. Often, stative verbs are ambiguous between a "static state" and a "dynamic state" reading; they can either mean 'be X/have the property X' or 'become X/have increasing property X'. Stative verbs function just like all other verbs: they can take TAM particles and bound subject pronouns and are typically heading a predicate. They differ from active verbs in a number of significant ways, however: 1) they can undergo a morphological causative operation (see Section 8.3.1), 2) they can be modified by the adverb of degree *paran* 'very', just like adjectives, and 3) from many of them an adjective can be derived by suffixation with *-n* (see Section 3.4.1 below). These three operations are not allowed for active verbs. Typically, stative verbs also appear as second verb in certain types of SVCs (see Section 9.1.2), but this is not a sufficient or necessary criterion.

There is a difference in interpretation and usage between a stative verb and its derived adjective. A good example of this is the verb *yamyam* 'to redden'. Sentences (39a) and (39b) refer to the process of ripening of the fruit, and at which stage it is. Sentence (39c) only refers to a characteristic of a particular ton fruit, namely, that it is red-coloured, without referring to the process and the passing of time inherent to it. This sentence would for instance be used to contrast this piece of fruit with another, yellow- or green-coloured ton fruit.

(39a) *nau i(ro) yamyam*

nau yi=(to) yamyama
ton.fruit 3sg=(CONT) redden
‘The ton fruit is reddening (getting ripe).’

(39b) *nau in yamyam*

nau yi=an yamyama
ton.fruit 3sg=PRF redden
‘The ton fruit has reddened (ripened).’

(39c) *nau yamyaman*

nau yamyama-n
ton.fruit redden-ADJ
‘A red-coloured ton fruit.’

Sometimes, the same form is attested both as stative and as active verb. This is the case for e.g. *tet*, which can mean both ‘to ebb (of tide)’ and ‘to move (a short distance)’. Thus, sentence (40a) is grammatical whereas (40b) is not.

(40a) *met in paran tet*

met yi=an paran tet
tide 3sg=PRF very ebb
‘The tide has become really low.’

(40b) **Sion in paran tet*

*Sion yi=an paran tet
John 3sg=PRF very move
Intended: ‘John has really left.’ (compare *Sion yi=an tet* ‘John has left’)

3.3.1.3 Directionals

Directionals form a closed subclass of active intransitive verbs, which have become grammaticalised to function as direction markers in SVCs for the action of the main

verb. They do, however, also appear as head of a predicate. Table 3.9 shows the directional paradigm.

Form	POc root	Paraphrase
la, lak	* <i>lako</i> ‘go, thither’	to go to, motion away from DC, thither; not specified for absolute FoR
suwot		to go seawards (down), away from DC
sot		to go inland (up), away from DC
wot	* <i>ua[tu]</i> ‘go to addressee’	to go parallel to the shore (horizontally), away from DC
me	* <i>mai</i> ‘come, hither’	to come, motion towards DC; not specified for absolute FoR
si	* <i>sipo</i> ‘go down’	to come seawards (down), towards DC
sa, sak	* <i>sake</i> ‘go up’	to come inland (up), towards DC
suwen		to move seawards (down), not deictically anchored
sen		to move inland (up), not deictically anchored
wen		to move parallel to the shore (horizontally), not deictically anchored

Table 3.9 Directional paradigm

Each motion event includes ‘a Figure in Motion along a Path oriented with respect to one or more Grounds’ (Wilkins & Hill, 1995, p. 217). The source (the location where the motion starts) and the goal (where the motion terminates) are sometimes, but not always, explicitly stated. When referring to motion, two dimensions are important: whether or not the motion is oriented or grounded with regard to a deictic centre, and whether or not the motion is oriented or grounded with regard to an absolute Frame of Reference (FoR) based on fixed bearings (Levinson, 2003; Levinson & Wilkins, 2006). Levinson regards deixis as falling outside of his frame of reference/coordinate system. He defines it as a system ‘where F [figure] is located relative to a (usually egocentric) G [ground] in terms of radial categories (‘here’ vs. ‘there’)’ (Levinson, 2003, p. 65). Thus, although deixis has to do with the location of two objects relative to each other, ‘deictic specifications of location merely use the deictic centre as a special kind of ground, and

they do not themselves contribute to angular specifications of the kind that constitute coordinate systems' (*ibid.*, 71).

There are eight directionals which are specified with regard to an absolute FoR. For these, a three-way distinction is made between 1) movement seawards, 2) movement inland, and 3) movement parallel to the shore. As for other Oceanic and Austronesian languages, the land–sea axis is an important concept within spatial reference. Baluan is a cone-shaped volcanic island; its highest point is the crater of the now dormant volcano located more or less in the middle. Therefore, going inland always means going up, and going towards the shore always means going down. In addition, since motion parallel to the shore (i.e. intersecting the land–sea axis) usually means moving on more or less the same level, this has obtained the secondary meaning of 'moving on a horizontal level'. At sea, the system is extrapolated: thus, for moving towards the shore the same directionals are used as for moving inland, and for moving out to sea the same directionals are used as for moving towards the shore when on land.

Seven of the ten directionals are specified for deixis: they indicate motion either towards or away from the deictic centre. Most often, the speaker of the utterance can be understood as the DC, but this can be varied for pragmatic reasons. Five of the directionals specified for deixis are additionally specified for the absolute FoR. The other three of the ten directionals are specified with regard to the absolute FoR, but are not deictically anchored. This means that both the source and the (intended) goal of the motion are located at points removed from the DC, and thus the motion is directed neither towards nor away from the DC. Thus, these terms are often used for motion transverse to the DC. For instance, when speaker and addressee from their DC slightly uphill are commenting on a third person walking along the shore, the form *wen* could be used. No distinction is made between motion from left to right or the reverse. Although there are the terms *kasui* for left and either *almaru* or *mapai* for right, these are not generally used for motion reference, but rather for sides of the body or description of the location of objects relative to each other. Two directionals, *la* and *me*, are deictically anchored, but not specified for the absolute FoR.

This interrelation is illustrated in Table 3.10. The first and third row of the table show forms all ending in *-ot* and *-en* respectively, and it is possible that the forms in the first column start with the same formative *si-* ~ *su-*. It is likely that some of the directionals were in fact morphologically complex forms, but thus far it has not been possible to analyse them synchronically. For two directionals there are two different

forms attested: *la/lak* and *sa/sak*. The long form is used when the directional is used by itself (either as main verb or in a SVC), whereas the short form is used when the directional introduces a constituent and is thus followed by an adverbial or NP. It is unclear why this distinction is made only for these two directionals and not for the remainder of the paradigm. Note that there are two gaps in the paradigm: first, there is no antonym of *wot*, a directional indicating motion towards the DC, parallel to the shore. This slot is filled by *me*, which is discussed below. In addition, there is no term that is neither specified with regard to the absolute FoR, nor deictically anchored. This is no surprise, as such a term would not add meaningful information to a lexical motion verb.

Absolute FoR Deixis	down, seawards (on land); out to sea (on water)	up, inland (on land); towards the shore (on water)	parallel to the shore, level, horizontally	not specified
away from deictic centre	suwot	sot	wot	la, lak
towards deictic centre	si	sa, sak	-	me
not deictically anchored	suwen	sen	wen	-

Table 3.10 Organisation of the directional paradigm along two dimensions: absolute FoR and deixis

The directional paradigm provides a very precise reference structure with ample use in discourse. For virtually all actions that in some sense involve motion (including perception-based actions such as seeing/looking, speaking or listening), the direction of the action has to be specified with a directional, something which is very common in Oceanic languages. In Paluai, this is done by a SVC, in which a directional either precedes or follows the main verb (see Section 9.1.6 and Schokkin (2013a) for more details).

There are semantic differences between the directionals which are not specified above. For instance, *la* is telic, with an endpoint to the motion inherent in its meaning; it

is therefore also systematically translated with ‘go to’. *wot*, on the other hand, seems to lack an inherent endpoint. With forms indicating motion towards the DC, the situation is a bit different again: these motion events are telic in nature, since it is implied that the object’s arrival at the DC will terminate the motion. This may be part of the reason that *me* is used as an antonym to *wot* in many instances. First of all, the semantics of *me* do not clash with this reading, and secondly, with ‘come’ forms the arrival at DC may be the meaning facet that speakers focus on, rather than the exact direction the object came from.

As in other Oceanic languages, the deictic centre does not necessarily have to be the current position of the speaker, but it can be varied in order to put a certain constituent or discourse participant in focus (cf. Hamel (1994) for *Loniu*). In addition, directionals are used to keep track of who did what to whom, because they specify the locations of speech act participants relative to each other. Oceanic languages generally do not have gender or case marking on pronouns and therefore directionals play an important role in disambiguating reference to speech act participants.

3.3.1.4 TAM verbs or particles

TAM verbs or particles give information about the grammatical categories of Tense, Aspect and Modality (TAM) of a main verb. We hypothesise that most of them grammaticalised from full verbs in SVCs, but they are in different stages of grammaticalisation; some still carry a large amount of lexical meaning whereas others are almost completely devoid of this. Therefore, although they may form a closed class, this class is not exactly homogeneous (and some forms can be said to be “more” part of it than others). Most of the forms appear in preverbal position, but some follow the main verb. Others can both precede and follow the main verb.

Particle	Meaning	Lexical source / related form
<i>pwa</i>	Desiderative; Inchoative	<i>pwa</i> ‘say, think’
<i>no</i>	Imperfective	[unknown]
<i>pe</i>	Perfective	[unknown]
<i>an</i>	Perfect	[unknown]
<i>to</i>	Continuative; Habitual	<i>to</i> ‘to be, to stay, to remain’
<i>yen</i>	Progressive	<i>yen</i> ‘to lie’
<i>tu</i>	Stative continuative	<i>tu</i> ‘to stay, to remain’
<i>sa</i>	Ability; Apprehension	<i>tai</i> ‘to look at’?
<i>nêm</i>	Completive	<i>nêm</i> ‘to be finished’
<i>wot</i>	Durative	<i>wot</i> ‘to move across’

Table 3.11 TAM verbs and particles

It looks as if there have been successive “waves” of grammaticalisation of verbs into TAM particles. *yen* and *wot*, for instance, occur just as often as lexical verbs as modifiers to other verbs, whereas *no* and *an* have completely lost the connection with their lexical sources. The former development therefore seems to have taken place much more recently than the latter. Chapter 6 discusses these and other elements of the verb phrase (VP) in detail.

3.3.1.5 Existential verbs

Truly existential predicates seem to be quite uncommon, since a predicate headed by *tok* ‘to be’ or *toktoai* (*lit.* ‘stay-be-at’) could often have an alternative locative interpretation. These verbs are used in very similar fashion to the Tok Pisin verb *stap*. Two examples of *tok* which clearly have an existential interpretation are given below.

(41) *urêrok tepwo*

wurê=tok te-pwo

1pc.EXCL=be EMP-DEM.INT

‘We remain/exist today.’ (OL201210_0099)

(42) *pian te irok o, inêm*

pian te yi=tok yo yi=nêm
good REL 3sg=be DEM.INT 3sg=be.finished

‘The goodness that existed is finished.’ (PK290411_3_0046)

For humans and abstract concepts, existential predicates such as the above are still used. With regard to inanimate, concrete objects, however, an existential meaning is more likely to be expressed by Tok Pisin *gat*:

(43) *tepwo pun igat yuêp kain mun te ipto pwa panuatu*

te-pwo pun y_{iA}=gat [yuêp kain mun
EMP-DEM.PROX INTF 3sg=have two.INANIM kind banana

[te ip_A=to pwa [panuatu]_O]_{RC}]_O

REL 3pl=HAB say Vanuatu

‘Nowadays, there are two kinds of banana that are called “Vanuatu”.’

(KS030611_1_0044)

3.3.2 *Verb morphology*

Several morphological operations on verbs can be distinguished: compounding, reduplication and affixation. Prefixation (with a prefix that expresses irrealis) is considered an inflectional operation and will not be discussed here, but in Chapter 6. Reduplication can have different meanings, one of them nominalisation. Suffixation always leads to a change of word class: either nominalisation or, for stative verbs, adjective derivation.

3.3.2.1 *Deriving another verb*

3.3.2.1.1 “Compounding”

Whether compounding is a relevant process for verbs is much harder to establish than for nouns, since serialisation is extremely productive. Most likely, there is a continuum ranging from fully lexicalised to fully productive verb sequences.

At the most lexicalised end of the continuum, we find lexical verbs that form a sequence of which the meaning cannot be derived from the two parts. Probably, these are cases of lexicalisation of a SVC; see Chapter 9. In many of these cases, one of the parts is not attested by itself. Below, some examples are given.

Compound	Consists of	Meaning
antek yut	<i>antek</i> ‘to put away’ + <i>yut</i> ‘to split’	to collect branches after burning a garden
lup san	<i>lup</i> (unknown) + <i>san</i> ‘to cut’	to compare, to judge
tou put	<i>tou</i> ‘give’ + <i>put</i> (unknown)	to regret
wui antek	<i>wui</i> ‘to grow; to surround’ + <i>antek</i> ‘to put away’	to push out by force using a lever; to forget about
soksok yit	<i>sok(sok)</i> ‘to hit’ + <i>yit</i> ‘chip off’	to hatch (of egg)

Table 3.12 Some lexicalised verb sequences

However, there are also many “semi-productive” SVCs, where for either the first or the second verb there is a choice from a small range of verbs that are related to each other. These SVCs are only semi-lexicalised, since their meaning is still to some extent reconstructible from the meanings of the parts, and they are productive to some extent. SVCs are one part of the grammar where grammatical word and phonological word do not coincide. These and other aspects of verb serialisation will be discussed in Chapter 9.

3.3.2.1.2 Reduplication

There are two types of verbal reduplication: one type that derives a noun from a verb (a word class-changing derivation, discussed below), and one that derives another verb. Furthermore, reduplication that yields another verb has a different effect for transitive verbs on the one hand and intransitive verbs on the other: with the first, it is a valency-reducing strategy, whereas with the latter it adds aspectual meanings.

Nominalisation reduplication and other forms of reduplication can be distinguished based on distributional differences: whether the resulting form appears in a nominal or a verbal slot. In addition, disyllabic reduplicated forms which are verbal tend to carry stress on the final syllable, whereas nominal forms tend to be stressed on

the penultimate syllable. However, these are tendencies only and cannot be solely relied upon to determine word class of a particular form.

3.3.2.1.2.1 Transitive verbs

Reduplication is often mentioned as an intransitivising device in Oceanic languages (Evans (2003) and references there) and it is also encountered in Paluai as such. The transitive subject A will be the S of the intransitive construction. Both full and partial reduplication are attested: if a form is monosyllabic, the entire structure will be reduplicated and if it is multisyllabic, only the first CV- or VC- sequence will be prefixed (see also Section 2.3.1.5.3). Below, examples are given for the transitive verbs *ngan* ‘to eat’ and *lomêek* ‘to plant (yam or mami)’.

(44) *epnganngan nê̄m*

ep=ngan.ngan nê̄m
 1pl.EXCL=REDUP.eat be.finished
 ‘We finished eating.’ (KM060111_0075)

(45) *ipkalomêek suei le mwayen, kalolomêek nê̄m...*

ip=ka-lomêek suei le mwayen ka-lo.lomêek
 3pl=IRR.NS-plant mami or yam IRR.NS-REDUP.plant

nê̄m

be.finished

‘They will plant mami or yam. (When) they will finish planting...
 (KM190211_0035)

3.3.2.1.2.2 Intransitive verbs

Reduplication of intransitive verbs is not as common as reduplication of transitive verbs. With intransitive verbs, reduplication does not change the valency of the verb. For both active and stative intransitive verbs, reduplication indicates a durative state or iterative action, which is (already) going on for a stretch of time. The reduplicated form is often preceded by the continuative particle *to*. Some examples are given below, for the stative verb *porok* ‘be painful’ and the active verb *aluk* ‘paddle’.

(46) *niong iro (paran) potporok*

nia-ng yi=to (paran) pot.porok
 stomach-1sg.PERT 3sg=CONT (very) REDUP.be.painful
 ‘My stomach is being (very) painful (already for a while).’ (field notes
 15/09/2012)

(47) *taman no ro alaluk*

tama-n no to al.aluk
 father-PERT IPFV CONT REDUP.paddle
 ‘His father was paddling.’ (NP210511_1_0025)

3.3.2.2 Word class-changing derivations

3.3.2.2.1 Reduplication

There are a number of frequently used nouns that only have a reduplicated form, most of which can be traced back to a corresponding verb. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can be reduplicated to form nominalisations. Some examples:

Base form	Meaning	Reduplicated form	Meaning
<i>ngan</i>	‘to eat’ (tr)	<i>nganngan</i>	‘food’
<i>angou</i>	‘to arrive’ (intr)	<i>angangou</i>	‘stranger’
<i>ning</i>	‘to see’ (tr)	<i>ningning</i>	‘view, opinion’
<i>ngayup</i>	‘to spit’ (intr)	<i>ngangayup</i>	‘spittle’
<i>pangai</i>	‘to think of/about’ (tr)	<i>pangpangai</i>	‘thoughts, mindset’
<i>soyek</i>	‘to push, to move’ (tr)	<i>soysoyek</i>	‘change(s)’
<i>tuk</i>	‘to beat’ (tr)	<i>tuktuk</i>	‘beat (N); masher’
<i>wop</i>	‘to fly’ (intr)	<i>wopop</i>	‘flying fish’
<i>yuêt</i>	‘to ask’ (tr)	<i>yuyuêt</i>	‘question’

Table 3.13 Some nominalising reduplications

The abovementioned examples could be regarded as Result or Instrument nominalisations, where the reduplicated form refers to an object or abstract concept which is somehow the result of the action described by the verb, or an instrument used while carrying out the action. There is one instance of Agentive nominalisation: the noun *angangou* ‘stranger’ refers to the semantic role Agent of the verb *angou* ‘to arrive’. Reduplication, however, can also yield Action nominalisations, which are comparable to the English gerund. That they are nouns is evidenced for example by the fact that they can follow a preposition (as in (49)), or they can be modified by a possessive particle (as in (48)). Below, examples are shown for the transitive verb *san* ‘to cut’ and the intransitive verb *wau* ‘to move (longer distances)’. In particular cases, reduplication may have negative overtones (do for too long, overdo), shown by example (50).

(48) *tareo nêmnêmti nê, i reo sansan tan ngoyai*

ta-te-yo	nêmnêmti	nê		
DEF-EMP-DEM.INT	all	be.finished		

yi	te-yo	san.san	ta-n	ngoyai
3sg	EMP-DEM.INT	REDUP.cut	POSS-PERT	possum

‘All of that, it was (the result of) the cutting of/by the possum.’
(LL010711_0083)

(49) *...lalon um pari ai wauwau pit tararap*

lalo-n	wumwa	pari	a-yi	wau.wau
inside-PERT	house	belonging.to	at-3sg	REDUP.move

pit	ta-tap
be.close	POSS-1pl.INCL

‘...inside our meeting house.’ [*lit.* ‘inside our house for coming together’]
(LL300511_1_0043)

(50) *wono ro pe no roktok si*

wo=no to pe no tok.tok si

2sg=IPFV CONT do only REDUP.sit come.down

‘You are just sitting around.’ [*lit.* ‘you are just doing sitting’] (field notes

02/10/2012 – said to child as reprimand)

3.3.2.2.2 A note on inherently reduplicated verbs

There is a fairly elaborate list of verbs which seem to be inherently (partly) reduplicated, i.e. no non-reduplicated counterpart was attested. Interestingly, most of these verbs are intransitive, of which a large number are stative verbs, and others describe bodily functions. Most of them describe actions where no or little volition on the part of the S argument is involved (typical examples are e.g. yawning, sneezing, dreaming etc.). The verb forms encountered are:

alalmau (intr)	to yawn
amamsi (intr)	to sneeze
ilili (tr)	to stand up (on), to lead (a clan)
kulpopot (intr)	to whistle
kupkup (stat)	to turn grey (of hair)
loklok (stat)	to hang
lôlôt (stat)	to cool down
lulum (tr)	to take off s.t. that is hanging (laundry, fruit)
lulut (tr)	to undress
mamat (stat)	to be awake
mayai (stat)	to be quick
memeyek (tr)	to spoil, to ruin
mêpmêp (intr)	to dream
mimi (intr)	to urinate
mumut (intr)	to vomit
mwamwanget (stat)	to be lazy, to be tired
mwamwasêk (stat)	to be ashamed
ngolngol (intr)	to grunt (of pig)

nopnop (stat)	to be jealous
nonou (valency unknown)	to promise; to give a public speech
nunuau (stat)	to be keen, energetic
pelpelik (stat)	to shiver, to tremble
pepek (intr)	to defecate
pêtpêt (intr)	to cough
pipilek (tr)	to insult, abuse s.t. or s.b.
pitpit (intr)	to weep, to sob
pweipwei (stat)	to settle down, to be quiet
sisi (tr)	to sweep
sosol (stat)	to be sorry
sosou (stat)	to be cold, to feel cold
tenten (intr)	to speak to an ancestor, to pray
têktêk (intr)	to hop
wokok (intr)	to float, to drift
yamyam (stat)	to redden
yangyang (intr)	to love
yatyat (intr)	to jump up and down and wave the arms (as a toddler)
yauyau (intr)	to stoop, to bend down
yaya (intr)	to swim
yepyep (stat)	to be itchy
yuyut (intr)	to fall off

Table 3.14 Inherently reduplicated verbs

It is possible that these forms developed diachronically from forms derived by valency-reducing reduplication (see above). Semantically, however, for many verbs this does not seem to make sense (for some, e.g. *sisi* ‘to sweep’ or *yangyang* ‘to love’, it does). For most of the meanings expressed by these verbs, the intransitive is the semantically unmarked form. If there would be more than one constituent expressed, this would rather be an optional locative or instrumental constituent (e.g. ‘vomit *on*’, ‘drift *towards*’, ‘be ashamed *about*’) expressed with a SVC or prepositional phrase, rather than a direct object.

3.3.2.2.3 Suffixation

3.3.2.2.3.1 The -a and -o suffix

Formally, three suffixes that derive nouns from verbs can be distinguished: *-(n)an* (see below), *-a* and *-o*. The suffix *-a* is encountered in the following forms, which can be described broadly as result nominalisations, with a few exceptions. This suffix seems to be encountered with intransitive verbs more than with transitive verbs, but firm conclusions are hard to draw because of the limited number of forms and the fact that the suffix seems to be no longer productive. The same is true for the *-o* suffix. Suffixation also derives adjectives from stative verbs; this process will be discussed in the next section on adjectives.

V	Meaning	N	Meaning	Type
<i>mumut</i>	'to vomit'	<i>mumur-a</i>	'vomit'	result
<i>sisi</i>	'to sweep'	<i>sisi-a</i>	'broom'	instrument
<i>mimi</i>	'to urinate'	<i>mimi-a</i>	'urine'	result
<i>ngui</i>	'to snore'	<i>kongui-a</i>	'snoring (the sound)'	result
<i>sosol</i>	'to feel sad, sorry'	<i>sosol-a</i>	'mourning, sorrow'	result/action
<i>pepek</i>	'to defecate'	<i>pepek-a</i>	'defecation'	action
<i>mamat</i>	'to be awake'	<i>mamar-a</i>	'wake, being awake'	result/action
<i>kol</i>	'to wait for'	<i>kolkol-o</i>	'place to sit and wait'	instrument

Table 3.15 Nominalisations formed by adding an *-a* or *-o* suffix

3.3.2.2.3.2 The *-(n)an* suffix

In contrast to the former two suffixes, the suffix *-(n)an* is very productive. *-an* can only be applied to transitive verbs and derives an action nominalisation, with the former direct object of the verb modifying the derived verbal noun. This suffix, as its form already indicates, is again connected to association and/or possession. The resulting noun X heads the former direct object Y in an associative or possessive construction, which globally means 'the X-ing of Y'. Below, some examples are given. In (52), we

see two nominalisations: one of the verb-noun combination *pe kui* ‘to cook’ (*lit.* ‘to make pot’) and one of *sui* ‘to fry’.¹⁶

(51) *worou porok pari ai awuian paralan*

wo=tou	porok	pari	a-yi	awui-an	paralan
2sg=give	strength	belonging.to	at-3sg	weave-NOM	relatives

‘You give (him) strength for keeping together the clan.’ [*lit.* ‘weaving-of the clan’] (YK290411_2_0026)

(52) *a peinan kui reo i suian yapi*

a	pe-i-nan	kui	te-yo	yi	sui-an	yapi
and	make-3sg-NOM	pot	EMP-DEM.INT	3sg	fry-NOM	sago

‘...and that (way of) cooking is frying sago.’ [*lit.* ‘frying-of sago’]
(CA120211_1_0014)

That *-an* is very productive is shown by the fact that it is used with derived forms and with loans from Tok Pisin. For instance, from the stative verb *mat* ‘to die’, the transitive verb *pemat* ‘to kill’ can be derived by a causative construction. This can be nominalised to form *pemat-an yamat* ‘murder’ (*lit.* ‘make die-of person’). Another example is the somewhat curious compound *toktoai* ‘to dwell, to exist at’, which is literally ‘remain-be-at-3sg’, consisting of two verbs plus a preposition. This compound verb can be nominalised, forming *toktoai-an* ‘life at/of’. An example with a loan word is *soim-an* ‘showing’ with the Tok Pisin loan *soim* ‘to show’.

Sometimes the suffix has the form *-nan* instead of *-an*. Thus we find both *tou-nan* and *tou-an* ‘giving’ and *pei-nan* and *pe-an* ‘doing, making’. There does not seem to be a meaning difference between the two forms. In addition, sometimes a bound object pronoun *-i* (which marks a third person animate object on the verb, see Section 4.2.2) is retained in the nominalisation, as was already shown for *peinan* in (52). Other examples encountered are *ngan-i-an* ‘eating’ (in addition to *ngan-an*) and *ning-i-an* ‘looks, appearance’ (in addition to *ning-an*). It is not clear if there is a meaning difference.

¹⁶ V-N combinations with *pe* ‘do, make’ are very common and always refer to so-called “name-worthy activities”. The construction is not analysed as noun incorporation, however. One reason is that it does not form one phonological word, evidenced by the fact that not the entire combination is nominalised, but only the verb, as example (52) shows.

3.3.2.2.3.3 The -n suffix

From most stative verbs, an adjective can be derived by adding a *-n* suffix. In that case, the final vowel of the verb stem will surface, and thus the final vowel of the derived adjective will be unpredictable. Adjective derivation is not productive; it will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.4.1.

3.3.2.2.4 Zero derivation

Verbs are also encountered in nominal slots without any overt morphological operations, a phenomenon which can be considered zero derivation. In particular intransitive verbs appear in a nominal slot with zero derivation. Often, these forms are encountered modifying nouns which refer to human beings, in order to describe a characteristic of the person. A few examples are given below, for *mwamwanget* ‘to be lazy’, *nopnop* ‘to be jealous’ and *palak* ‘to be bad’. *palak* is a bit irregular, because it apparently cannot take a bound subject pronoun: **nga=palak* (1sg=be.bad) is ungrammatical. It is also often encountered in the adverbial construction *la palak* ‘badly’ (see Section 3.6.2.2). The verbal status of *palak* is therefore a bit questionable. However, because it is allowed to take TAM particles it is analysed as being primarily a verb, with a zero-derived nominal and adverbial variant.

(53) *i reo kinan mwamwanget tang*

yi	te-yo	kina-n	mwamwanget	ta-ng
3sg	EMP-DEM.INT	mark-PERT	be.lazy	POSS-1sg.PERT

‘It is a sign of my laziness.’ (WL020611_0048)

(54) *yamtan nopnop*

yamta-n	nopnop
owner-PERT	be.jealous

‘A jealous person.’ (field notes – 30/04/2011)

(55) *umaro pe palak pwên*

u=ma=to	pe	palak	pwên
3du=NEG ₁ =HAB	do	evil	NEG ₂

‘They did not do bad things.’ (LL010711_0010)

3.3.3 *Functions of nominalisations*

Nominalisations function like nouns, as an argument to a verb or following a preposition. Grammatically they have more in common with nouns than with verbs: there is, for instance, no TAM morphology found on nominalisations, but they do exhibit nominal categories such as possessive and number. Nominalisations show no differences in syntactic behaviour with respect to other (abstract) nouns.

3.4 *Adjectives: overview and semantic classes*

There is a separate class of adjectives, but many members of this class are derived from stative verbs. The forms for which there is no stative verb counterpart attested seem to encompass in particular Dixon's Set A: Dimension, Age, Value and Colour, but there are also many terms referring to Physical Property from Set B (Dixon, 2010b). Adjectives derived from stative verbs mostly refer to Physical Property, with a few Dimension and Colour terms and one Speed term. Human Propensity and Speed (from set B) are almost exclusively expressed by stative verbs which have no derived adjective. Terms from Set C are generally not expressed by adjectives (or stative verbs) but in other ways. In the table below, some examples are given of adjectives and other forms in each semantic class. For forms that are not adjectives, the word class is indicated.

Set	Semantic type	Examples
A	Dimension	<i>menengan</i> ‘big’; <i>aloen</i> ‘long, tall’ (from V <i>alau</i> ‘grow’)
	Age	<i>salai</i> ‘old (of people)’
	Value	<i>pian</i> ‘good’
	Colour	<i>pilipil</i> ‘yellow’; <i>yamyaman</i> ‘red’ (from V <i>yamyam</i> ‘be red’)
B	Physical Property	<i>konun</i> ‘heavy’; <i>kôkin</i> ‘hot’ (from V <i>kôk</i> ‘be hot’)
	Human Propensity	<i>peruruek</i> ‘ignorant’; <i>nopnop</i> ‘be jealous’ (V)
	Speed	<i>mayayen</i> ‘quick’ (from V <i>mayai</i> ‘be quick’)
C	Difficulty	metaphorical extension of Physical Property terms such as ‘hot’ or ‘light’
	Similarity	<i>ngonomek</i> ‘be corresponding’ (V); adverbs
	Qualification	<i>nuanan</i> ‘true, thruth’; adverbs
	Quantification	Quantifiers (see Section 4.6)
	Position	Adverbs (see Section 3.6)

Table 3.16 Semantic classes of adjectives and some examples

The two grammatical functions of adjectives, cross-linguistically, are 1) to function as a modifier to a noun within the NP, and 2) to head a verbless predicate, or function as a copula complement. Paluai adjectives fulfil both these functions. Adjectives can be distinguished from verbs because they are not allowed to take TAM particles and bound pronouns. They can be distinguished from nouns because 1) they can be modified by the adverb of degree *paran* ‘very’, 2) reduplication of adjectives functions as a mitigating rather than an augmentative device, and 3) adjectives are the only word class that can function as Parameter in comparative constructions (see Section 7.8). In addition, the nominalising suffix *-an* can also be used on adjectives, in addition to verbs.

3.4.1 Formal characteristics of adjectives

Derived adjectives always end in *-Vn*; the same is true for a large number of adjectives for which no verbal counterpart is attested. The vowel in derived adjectives is

unpredictable, and is probably part of the verb stem. Thus, as is the case with nouns, many verbs seem to have underlying long forms, of which the final vowel only surfaces in an adjectival, suffixed, form. The vowel can be /a/, /e/, /u/, /i/ or /o/. /ʊ/ and /ɪ/ are not attested. Some examples of derived adjectives are given in (56).

- (56) *kai* ‘to darken’ → *kaya-n* ‘dark, black’
kôk ‘to be hot’ → *kôki-n* ‘hot’
mat ‘to die’ → *mare-n* ‘dead’
mut ‘to break’ → *muri-n* ‘broken’
sakôî ‘to dry (up)’ → *sakôyu-n* ‘dry, dried up’

A number of examples of adjectives ending in *-Vn* for which no verbal counterpart is attested are *mwalolon* ‘fragrant’, *kawin* ‘crooked’ and *menengan* ‘big’. It is possible that diachronically these adjectival forms were derived from verbs, but the verb has been lost.

3.4.2 *Adjectives within the NP*

Within the NP, an adjectival modifier always follows the noun, with four exceptions: *kurun* ‘small’, *pwakpwak* ‘fat, big’, *tinawayen* ‘huge; very many’ and *lapan* ‘excellent’. These can all be considered adjectives of dimension, except for *lapan*, but this may be used preceding the noun to distinguish it from the N meaning ‘chief’. Two examples of attributive adjectives, within the NP, are given below.

- (57) *panu menengan*
land big
‘Manus mainland’ (*lit.* ‘the big place’)

- (58) *pêng pian*
night good
‘Good night’

3.4.3 *Predicative adjectives*

Just like nouns, adjectival forms can be head of a predicate. On a par with nouns, they cannot take bound pronouns, indicating their non-verbal status (there is a formal difference between free and bound pronouns only for first person singular, see Section 4.2). Instead, they form a verbless relational clause modified by a free pronoun. Compare (59a) with (59b) and (60a) with (60b):

(59a) wong pian
 1sg.FREE good
 ‘I am alright.’

(59b) *nga=pian
 1sg=good

(60a) wong aloen
 1sg.FREE long
 ‘I’m tall.’

(60b) *nga=aloen
 1sg=long

3.4.4 *Adjectival morphology*

3.4.4.1 *Reduplication*

Semantically, reduplication of an adjective implies reduced degree; this is a way in which adjectives can be distinguished from nouns. Examples are *menmenengan* ‘quite big’ and *pipian* ‘quite good’. However, reduplication is not very often employed to express reduced degree, but a periphrastic construction with the adverb of degree *ansê* ‘a bit’ (which is derived from a quantifier *sê*) is used instead; see Section 3.6.1.2 for more on adverbs of degree.

3.4.4.2 Suffixation

The suffix *-an* which functions as a deverbal nominalisation suffix (see Section 3.3.2.2.3.2 above) is also occasionally used to derive a noun from an adjective. Two examples are given below.

(61) *lou repwo, ma konunan sa?*

lou te-pwo ma konun-an sa
living.person EMP-DEM.PROX EMP heavy-NOM what

‘(My goodness,) what is the weight of this person!’ (LM190611_0023)

(62) *ino ro ai aloenan maranip*

yi=no to a-yi aloen-an mata-n-ip
3sg=IPFV be at-3sg long-NOM eye-PERT-3pl

‘It was (dependent) on how far they could see (*lit.* ‘the length of their eyesight’).’

(LK100411_0127)

3.5 Forms which appear in more than one word class

There are several forms which can occur as both noun and verb, or as both noun and adjective, based on distributional criteria. In addition, there are forms for which it is problematic to determine their status as either verb or adverb, but these will be discussed below, in Section 3.6 on adverbs. Most forms for which it is hard to determine word class refer to abstract concepts.

3.5.1 Forms which appear as noun and verb

There are a number of forms which appear both as nouns and as verbs. Zero-derivation of intransitive verbs to nouns was already discussed in Section 3.3.2.2.4 above, as were other roots which appear both as noun and verb but with separate endings, for which it is also difficult to determine “what came first”. There is also a transitive verb which appears also as noun with zero derivation: *puk* ‘to open; reason, cause’. Examples of its nominal and verbal use are given below. In (63), *puk* has as modifier a noun which itself is also a zero derivation of a verb.

(63) *eppuk koukou*
 ep=puk koukou
 1pl.EXCL=open fence
 ‘We opened the fence.’ (KM060111_0067)

(64) *puk tan kaêrêt*
 puk ta-n kaêrêt
 cause POSS-PERT be.afraid
 ‘[This snake is] a reason for fear.’ (Game1_021012_0533)

3.5.2 *Forms which appear as noun and adjective*

The following forms are encountered both as noun and adjective: *nuanan* ‘true; truth’, *parayoyop* ‘power; strong’ and *pian* ‘good; goodness’. Because nouns and adjectives are distributionally and formally very similar, the only way to distinguish between them is whether or not they can be modified by an adverbial of degree such as *paran*. Below, examples for *pian* are given. *pian* can function as a core argument and be relativised (as in (65)), a typical function of nouns, and it can also occur modified by *paran* (as in (66)), which is typical of adjectives. Thus, it must belong to both word classes.

(65) *pian te irok o inêm*
 pian te yi=tok yo yi=nêm
 good REL 3sg=stay DEM.INT 3sg=be.finished
 ‘The goodness that existed, it is finished.’ (PK290411_3_0046)

(66) *panu reo i paran pian*
 panu te-yo yi paran pian
 place EMP-DEM.INT 3sg very good
 ‘That place is very good.’ (MS250311_0076)

3.6 **Adverbs**

Adverbials are a part of speech that modifies word classes other than nouns, or that modifies clauses. In the language under discussion, there is a marked difference between adverbs that modify verbs on the one hand, and adverbs that modify other word

classes and clauses on the other. Adverbs that modify verbs are themselves often verbal in nature and origin, and sometimes it is hard to determine whether a form is fully verbal or adverbial. Because of the fluid boundaries between verbs and verb-modifying adverbs, this subclass of adverbs can be regarded as an open class.¹⁷ Adverbs that modify word classes other than verbs, or clauses, are either nominal in origin or their origin is unclear. These form closed subclasses within the adverbial word class.

There are no clear formal criteria for adverbs. Distributionally, (verb-modifying) adverbs can be distinguished because they are the only word class other than verbs that can appear inside the VP, but in contrast to verbs, they can never head a predicate. Many of the verb-modifying adverbs end in *-ek* and are thus formally similar to derived applicatives. However, these cases show a frozen suffix, because there are no underived forms synchronically attested.

3.6.1 *Types of adverbs*

Semantically and distributionally, several types of adverbs can be distinguished:

- Manner adverbs, modifying verbs
- Adverbs of degree, modifying stative verbs, adjectives and possibly other adverbs
- Temporal adverbs, modifying clauses
- Spatial adverbs, modifying verbs
- Modal/epistemic adverbs, modifying clauses

3.6.1.1 *Manner adverbs*

Manner adverbs modify a verb within the VP, and give information about the manner in which the action described by the verb is carried out. Table 3.17 shows a number of the forms encountered. Since the manner of an action can also be expressed with a SVC (see Chapter 9), strict criteria have been employed in order to distinguish manner adverbs from verbs. One criterion is that the form is never encountered as a full verb, heading a predicate. The second criterion, related to the first, is that if there is a semantically related full verb form, the ‘adverbial’ form will still be considered verbal.

¹⁷ Alternatively, this subclass of adverbs could be regarded as a subclass of verbs instead, which have undergone grammaticalisation and incomplete reanalysis.

This is the case for e.g. *liliu* ‘again’. Since there is also a full verb *liliu* ‘return’, the verb-modifying form is still considered a verb. Criteria related to semantics and distribution state that the form must refer to the manner of the entire action (and not e.g. to the manner of a kind of “result”) and that it is allowed to appear between a transitive verb and its direct object.

apurek	quickly
kasiek	not well
keleyek	turning
lilisek	forgetting about
nayek	around, here and there
neyek	following
nonot	understanding; clearly (used with verbs of perception and cognition)
nonosi	exactly
pelpelek	shivering
pulêek	too, as well, also
pwotpwot	exactly
sapeyek	not in a straight line
sapuluek	around, in a circle
seniek	frequently
sou	leaning
tiyek	completely; nicely
tuliek	confused
tut	completely
yokosek	mixed
wuliek	slowly, tardily

Table 3.17 Some manner adverbs

Below, some example sentences with manner adverbs are given. All main verbs are transitive (main verb is shown in boldface in the examples); the manner adverb always directly follows the verb and thus appears between the verb and its direct object.

(67) *wong, ngasi rou pulek Korup*

wong nga_A=si **tu** pulêek [Korup]_O
1sg.FREE 1sg=come.down bring too K.

‘Me, I came too, in order to bring Korup.’ (ANK020995_0015)

(68) *irêno rêk sapuluek kôlôlôî menengan*

irê_A=no **têk** sapuluek [kôlôlôî menengan]_O
3pc=IPFV build going.round gathering.place big

‘They built [their houses] in a circle around a big gathering place.’

(OL200111_0094)

(69) *kapwa epkape kasiék napunep teo...*

kapwa ep=**ka-pe** kasiék napu-n-ep
if 1pl.EXCL=IRR.NS-make not.well food.taboo-PERT-1pl.EXCL

te-yo

EMP-DEM.INT

‘If we do not follow our food taboos properly...’ (NP260511_0003)

That *-ek* adverbs could still be somewhat related to applicatives is shown by sentence (68). This sentence could be interpreted as ‘they built-on_{APPL} [the gathering place]_O in a circular manner’. However, *kôlôlôî* is a local noun, and therefore does not need to be preceded by a preposition. It is therefore hard to establish whether this is a “proper” applicative construction (for more on these, see Chapter 8). The difference between *sapuluek* and *nayek* becomes clear when sentences (68) above and (70) below are compared.

(70) *ngapwa ro ningning nayek*

nga=pa to ning.ning nayek
1sg=yet CONT REDUP.see around

‘I am still looking around.’ (Game1_021012_0096)

3.6.1.2 Adverbs of degree

Adverbs of degree are hard to delimit in almost any language. In Paluai, forms that modify stative verbs or adjectives and give information about the extent of the attribute or state described by them, are considered adverbs of degree. Table 3.18 gives an overview.

paran	very, really
pun	intensifier (extremely)
ansê	a little, quite

Table 3.18 Adverbs of degree

Adverbs of degree are encountered modifying other word classes beside stative verbs and adjectives, such as quantifiers and other adverbs. *pun* is a general intensifying or augmentative particle, and is among others used to form comparative and superlative constructions. These will be discussed in more detail in Section 7.8. *ansê* is derived from the quantifier *sê*, and is also itself used as a quantifier. Quantifiers are discussed in Section 4.6. Also interesting is the origin of *paran* and *pun*. They seem to be nominal in origin, and are related to the terms for ‘stem’ and ‘base’ of a tree respectively. These were metaphorically extended to mean ‘most important part’, ‘core’, and probably over time grammaticalised to adverbial modifiers.

A number of examples of *paran* modifying adjectives and stative verbs were already given. Below, some examples of adverbs of degree modifying other word classes are shown.

(71) *nirasip pun kala alilêt*

panurasip pun ka-la alilêt

first INTF IRR.NS-go.to forest

‘First of all, one has to go to the bush.’ (CA120211_2_0004)

(72) *paran menot teo irok*

paran menot te-yo yi=tok
very many EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=stay
'Very many are there.' (LL300511_2_0004)

Adverbs of degree can also be used with loan words:

(73) *mangat teo i paran expensive pun*

mangat te-yo yi paran expensive pun
work EMP-DEM.INT 3sg very INTF
'That ceremony is very expensive.' (PK290411_3_0041)

In a small number of cases, *paran* modifies a noun. Interestingly, all these cases show a directly possessed noun, mostly *kane-n* 'its meat', which is heading a verbless predicate. It seems that *paran kanen* is a set expression, meaning something like 'the real thing'. Here especially, the nominal origin of *paran* comes to the fore. Since this is probably a variant of *paran* which is less grammaticalised, with a limited distribution, it does not change the analysis of *paran* as an adverbial modifier. Below, an example of its use is given.

(74) *i reo i paran kanen yamat pun*

yi te-yo yi paran kane-n yamat pun
3sg EMP-DEM.INT 3sg very meat-PERT person INTF
'This here, it is really a person / a real person (and not a spirit).'
(OL200111_0039)

3.6.1.3 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs modify clauses or verb phrases; an overview is given in the table below.

kanan puleng	tomorrow, the next day
mapêng	three days from now
minak	today, the present day
mino	yesterday, the previous day
monokin	afterwards, after X (behind-PERT)
nipêng	before, the other day
pa	yet, still
palosi	before, in the past
papwên	not yet (yet-NEG)
panuan	before X (front-PERT)
panurasip	(at an) earlier (moment in time)
pempom	last night, the previous night
perelian panu	(at) noon, (at) midday
pêng	(at) night; day of 24 hours; occasion
pêngino	the day before yesterday, two days previously
poyep	(in the) afternoon
pururuan pêng	(at) midnight
pwa in	first (before something else); for the time being
pwapwem	(in the) morning
pwotnan	at that time
teloan	now
tepwo-om	right now
wulian	finally
yupêng	the day after tomorrow, two days from now

Table 3.19 Temporal adverbs

A number of observations can be made with regard to temporal adverbs. First of all, they either modify a clause or a verb phrase. They usually appear as the first constituent in the clause they modify. An exception is *pa* ‘yet’, which usually appears as first element in the VP, just after the bound pronoun. Secondly, temporal adverbs either have nominal origin, or their origin is unknown. Many, in particular the terms for parts of the day and ‘yesterday’, ‘tomorrow’ etc., are also attested as nouns. In addition, Paluai seems to have had a “numeral classifier-like” counting system for days. Lele, a

language spoken on Manus mainland, seems to have retained many more of the terms for days, even counting up to ‘ten days from now’ (J. Böttger, personal communication, November 2012). Moreover, temporal operators such as *pempom* ‘last night, previous night’ are not deictic shifters as e.g. in English. When English temporal adverbs are used in indirect quotation, for instance, they have to be adjusted based on the moment the sentence is uttered. You can’t say, for instance: *Last Tuesday she told me she went to the movies last night*, where *last night* refers to Monday night. Instead, you have to say *Last Tuesday she told me she went to the movies the night before*. In contrast, Paluai *pempom* could felicitously be used in both these instances.

Below, a few examples of the use of temporal adverbs are given.

(75) *taim te wong pa namwi a tamong i mat tu niong*

taim	te	wong	pa	namwi	ya	tama-ng	yi
time	SUB	1sg.free	yet	small	then	father-1sg.PERT	3sg

mat tu ni-ong

die stay away-1sg

‘When I was still little, my father died and left me.’ (SY100411_0005)

(76) *minak wuirok tepwo*

minak	wui=tok	te-pwo
present.day	1du.EXCL=stay	EMP-DEM.PROX

‘Nowadays, the two of us live here (together).’ (KM060111_0009)

3.6.1.4 Spatial adverbs

An overview of spatial and directional adverbs is given below. The first three forms in the table are complex forms which consist of the preposition *a-*, the emphatic particle *te-*, and a member of the demonstrative paradigm, which form spatial deictics (demonstratives will be discussed in Section 4.3). Adverbials are only directional when combined with a directional verb in a SVC (see Section 3.3.1.3. and Chapter 9).

arepwo	(right) here (spatial deictic)
areyo	there (spatial deictic)
arelo	over there (far) (spatial deictic)
masayen	outside
maso	away; apart, separate
ni	away
nok	far away
paye	down, low; beneath
wat	up, high; above

Table 3.20 Spatial adverbs

A number of examples of the use of spatial adverbs are given below.

(77) *i rapari monok telo ired wen nok nansê*

yi ta-pari monok te-lo yi=tet wen
 3sg DEF-belonging.to behind EMP-DEM.DIST 3sg=move move.level

nok nan-sê
 far.away one.piece-small

‘The one at the back is leaning away a little.’ (Game3_280812_0176)

(78) *ipnu ru wau naynayek masayen*

ip=no tu wau nay.nayek masayen
 3pl=IPFV stay move REDUP.around outside

‘They were walking around outside.’ (LL300511_1_0038)

(79) *wosa yen arepwo pwên*

wo=sa yen a-te-pwo pwên
 2sg=MOD lie at-EMP-DEM.PROX NEG2

‘You cannot lie here.’ (NP210511_2_0058)

3.6.1.5 Modal/epistemic adverbs

Modal or epistemic adverbs modify a clause or sentence, and give information about speaker attitude towards the information represented, for instance about the certainty of the speaker's knowledge about or the (non-)desirability of the state of affairs represented in the clause or sentence. Some members of this category of adverbs have an affinity with subordinating conjunctions which reflect for instance a concessive or causal relationship between two clauses. Because the terms mentioned here cannot function by themselves as subordinators, but must be accompanied by the general subordinating particle *te*, they are considered adverbs.

aronan	consequently, therefore
kanopa	like, for example
konan	like, such as
longoan	consequently, therefore
naman	perhaps, maybe
punan	luckily
ta po	indeed; actually
tangoan	consequently, therefore
tole	for sure
(la) temenin	like (that); as follows

Table 3.21 Modal/epistemic adverbs

Most modal and epistemic adverbs form the first constituent in the clause. An exception is *tole*, which usually appears clause-finally. *kanopa* and *konan* are frequently used, but in contexts where they seem to function more as interjections, and therefore will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.9. Below, a few examples of the use of modal or epistemic adverbs are given.

(80) *i reo pwên tararap tole*

yi te-yo pwên ta-tap tole
3sg EMP-DEM.INT NEG POSS-1pl.EXCL for.sure

‘This (thing) is not ours (i.e. is not native to Baluan Island) for sure.’

(Game1_021012_0090)

(81) *pein teo, rabo ila ran narun Kireng*

pein te-yo tapo yi=la ta-n
woman EMP-DEM.INT indeed 3sg=go.to POSS-PERT

natu-n Kireng

son-PERT K.

‘This woman, indeed she belongs to Kireng’s son.’ (KW290311_0016)

(82) *naman nianip palak ai*

naman nia-n-ip palak a-yi
perhaps stomach-PERT-3pl be.bad at-3sg

‘Perhaps they got angry about it.’ (NP190511_2_0023)

naman is used in a variety of contexts where a speaker does not want to vouch for the truth value of a proposition. This can refer to something that could have happened in the past, or something that could happen in the future. The variety of modal meanings that can be expressed e.g. in English seems to be largely absent. Modality will be discussed in more detail in Section 6.5.

3.6.2 Derivational processes related to adverbs

3.6.2.1 Reduplication

As with verbs, adverbs can be reduplicated to indicate prolonged and/or iterative action. Example (78), repeated below as (83), showed a reduplicated form of *nayek* ‘around’. As with verbs, reduplication of adverbs can have slightly negative overtones of ‘do for too long, overdo’.

- (83) *ipnu ru wau naynayek masayen*
 ip=no tu wau nay.nayek masayen
 3pl=IPFV stay move REDUP.around outside
 ‘They were walking around outside.’ (LL300511_1_0038)

3.6.2.2 Periphrastic derivation of adverbials with *la*

Adverbial phrases can be formed with the directional verb *la* ‘go to’ followed by an adjective. In these cases, the motion and direction semantics of *la* usually have completely disappeared. It is probably the copula variant of *la*, meaning ‘to become’, which has grammaticalised in this way; *la* as a copula is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7. Below, a few examples are given.

- (84) *tapan pemat ip pariantap la mangsilan*
 tap=an pe-mat ip paria-n-tap la
 1pl.INCL=PRF CAUS-die 3pl wife-PERT-1pl.INCL go.to

 mangsilan
 meaningless
 ‘We have killed our wives for no reason.’ (LK100411_0088)

- (85) *ngamasan la pian pwên*
 nga=ma=san la pian pwên
 1sg=NEG₁=cut go.to good NEG₂
 ‘I haven’t cut (it) well.’ (LL010711_0031)

3.7 Overview

The two tables below summarise the criteria for distinguishing the various word classes discussed in this chapter. The final table gives an overview of derivational morphological marking.

<p>I. Criteria to distinguish nouns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cannot take TAM particles and prefix • Cannot take bound subject pronouns • Cannot take a modifier of degree • Can be modified by demonstrative and possessive/locative particle • Can follow the prepositions <i>pari</i> and <i>a-</i> • Reduplication indicates plurality • Most typical function: head of NP which is an argument to a verb
<p>IIA. Criteria to distinguish verbs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Can take TAM particles and prefix • Can take bound subject pronouns • Most typical function: head of a predicate
<p>IIB. Criteria to distinguish stative verbs (as verbs, but with the following additional criteria)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are always intransitive (some can take E argument) • Can take causative prefix <i>pe-</i> • Can take a modifier of degree • From some (but not all) a noun-modifying participle (A) can be derived
<p>III. Criteria to distinguish adjectives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cannot take TAM particles and prefix • Cannot take bound subject pronouns • Can take a modifier of degree • Reduplication indicates mitigation • Can be Parameter of comparison in comparative constructions • Most typical function: as modifier to N within the NP
<p>IV. Criteria to distinguish (manner) adverbs</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cannot head a predicate • Are the only elements that can appear between a transitive V and its O argument, and between a stative V and its TAM elements • Most typical function: as modifier to V within the VP

Table 3.22 Overview of criteria applying to the word classes N, V, A and Adv

Function	N	V	Vstat	A	Adv
head predicate	X	X	X	X	
TAM		X	X		
bound subject pronoun		X	X		
causative			X		
transitive		X			
mod. of degree			X	X	
parameter of comparison				X	
modifies N	X			X	
modifies V			(X)		X
modifies A					X
modifies Adv					X
appears in VP		X	X		X

Table 3.23 Comparison of word classes with respect to distinguishing criteria

from \ to	N	V	Vstat	A	Adv
N		redupl. -(n)an -a / -o	-	-an	-
V	-		-	-	-
Vstat	-	-		-	-
A	-	-	-n		-
Adv	-ek ?	-	-	la A	

Table 3.24 Word class-changing derivational morphology

Chapter 4 Word classes II: closed classes

4.1 Preamble

This chapter discusses the closed word classes found in Paluai: classes that have a limited amount of members, usually restricted to functional or grammatical morphemes. In what follows, the closed classes of pronouns, demonstratives, adpositions, numerals, quantifiers, question markers, negation and mood markers, conjunctions and other clause connectors, and interjections will be discussed. Some members of closed classes, such as TAM particles, were already discussed in the previous chapter together with the word class they function as modifiers for; they will not be repeated here.

It is questionable for some of the classes discussed in this chapter, such as conjunctions and interjections, whether they are really closed. There are, for instance, a number of loans found in these classes. In any case, the distinction between open and closed classes is probably better characterised as gradient rather than absolute. In addition, functional categories sometimes have affinities with forms in other word classes. This is especially true for items whose form is dependent on the semantics of the noun that they modify, such as numerals, quantifiers or classifiers. This issue will be discussed where relevant.

4.2 Pronouns

Pronouns form a closed class of grammatical items. Paluai distinguishes between free and bound personal pronouns, and two sets of suffixes that are attached to the possessive forms *ta-* and *ka-*; the latter are also attached to directly possessed nouns. Free pronouns are free morphemes that can be used independently, as head of a NP, and can be modified by deictic demonstratives. Bound pronouns are clitics that attach to the first (in case of the subject clitic) or the last element (in case of the object clitic) in the VP, in order to cross-reference the subject and sometimes the object of the verb. This is discussed in detail in Chapter 6. The third person free pronouns are also used to indicate number on nouns (see Section 5.2 for more on this). Free pronouns can carry sentence accent, whereas bound pronouns are never stressed. Both free and bound pronouns can be used for anaphoric reference (see Chapter 12).

Personal pronouns distinguish between first person, referring to the speaker, second person, referring to the addressee, and third person, referring to neither speaker nor addressee but to an additional speech act participant or some person or entity which is not present at the speech act. Four numbers are distinguished: singular (referring to one entity), dual (two entities), paucal (several entities) and plural (many entities). Paucal number refers to any quantity greater than two and smaller than about ten, but it has no strict limits. This is in line with observations made for the paucal in other languages (see Dixon (2010b) and references there). It basically refers to a relatively small number compared to a larger number, rather than to any specific number. In one text, for example, the population of one village is contrasted with the population of Baluan Island as a whole. The village population (probably numbering several hundred people) is referred to by the paucal, whereas the entire population of Baluan (several thousand individuals) is referred to by the plural.

For the non-singular first persons (i.e. dual, paucal and plural), a distinction is made between inclusive (referring to two or more people including the addressee) and exclusive (referring to two or more people excluding the addressee). There is no gender or animacy distinction in the pronominal system. Naturally, first and second person pronouns generally refer to human beings or personified animals or objects, but a third person subject clitic can refer to either a human, an animal or an object without a change in form.

Free pronouns can replace nouns and function as core arguments (transitive and intransitive subject, and transitive object) of the verb, or as subject form in a verbless clause. Free-standing pronouns are often modified by demonstrative forms, which function as definiteness and topic markers (see Section 4.3 below and Chapter 12). They cannot, however, be modified by adjectives or numerals, unlike nouns. Oblique arguments are never expressed by only a free pronoun, but will be modified by either the preposition *a-*, the possessive/locative particle *ta-* or the possessive classifier *ka-*, and often are preceded by a directional verb (see Chapter 8). Subject bound pronoun clitics can only attach themselves to verbs, not to other word classes.¹ Often, this bound pronoun will be a pronoun “copy” of a NP or pronominal subject preceding it in the clause. See Chapters 6 and 8 for more on verbal categories, grammatical relations and the order of elements in the clause.

¹ Since adverbs can appear between the verb and its object, the object bound pronoun enclitic can attach itself to an adverb.

Pronouns also have multiple functions within the noun phrase, such as indicating number on nouns, and functioning as a marker of comitative, e.g. *taman u tinan* ‘father and mother’ (*lit.* ‘father 3du mother’). These functions are discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2.1 Free pronoun paradigm

The free pronoun paradigm is given in Table 4.1.

		1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular		wong	wo	yi
Dual	inclusive	tau	au	u
	exclusive	(w)ui		
Paucal	inclusive	tarê	arê	irê
	exclusive	(w)urê		
Plural	inclusive	tap	ap	ip
	exclusive	ep		

Table 4.1 Free pronoun paradigm

The pronouns are complex forms. Clearly, the dual pronouns share a formative [u] which may go back to Proto-Oceanic **rua* ‘two’. The paucal forms share a formative [rê] ~ /tê/ which may go back to Proto-Oceanic **tolu* ‘three’ (Lynch et al., 2002, p. 72). Thus, the paucal may originally have been a trial. The plural forms share a formative [p], but it is not clear where this came from.

Interestingly, the first person inclusive pronouns are formed by the second person form of the same number preceded by *t-*. This *t-* formative could be related to a formative *ta-* which appears on numerals (see Section 4.5.3), demonstratives (Section 4.3.4) and other, mostly nominal, forms, and which indicates definiteness and specificity.² This formative will be discussed in more detail in Sections 4.5 and 5.9.

From a discourse organisational point of view, it makes sense for a first person inclusive form to be related to second person: when this pronoun is used, it is targeting the addressee, just as a second person pronoun would do, in addition to referring to the

² This *ta-* formant may in its turn be diachronically related to the locative/possessive particle *ta-*, but this hypothesis is tentative.

speaker himself. Below, the two are compared (note that the forms here are bound pronouns, but the same analysis holds for the free forms).

(1) *taukape la yiku*

tau_A=ka-pe la yik=u_O
 1du.INCL=IRR.NS-PFV go.to search=3du

‘We two (you and me) will go and look for them (two).’ (MS250311_0031)

(2) *auksa ro pwalingong pwên*

au_S=ka-sa to pwalinga-ng pwên
 2du=IRR.NS-MOD be with-1sg.PERT NEG

‘You two will not be able to stay with me.’ (KM060111_0026)

In sentence (1), the speaker is addressing a little boy, telling him that he will carry him and the two of them are going to search for his parents. In sentence (2), the speaker is addressing two people. But in sentence (1), the speaker is in fact also addressing two people, one of them himself. This could explain why the first person inclusive pronouns have acquired hortative overtones; sentence (1) could also be translated with: ‘Let’s go (the two of us) and find them two.’ In fact, in everyday conversation, inclusive pronouns are used as hortative markers without any additional sentence material:

(3) *kay, tarê!*

kay tarê
 okay 1pc.INCL

‘Okay, let’s (go ahead and do what we want to do).’

4.2.2 *Bound pronoun paradigm*

4.2.2.1 *Subject forms*

The forms for the subject bound pronouns, preceding the verb complex, are given in Table 4.2. The table shows that the forms are identical to the free pronouns, except for the first person singular; also note that word-initial [w] and [j] tend to be dropped more frequently for the bound pronouns. They are analysed as clitics that attach to the first element in the verb phrase.

		1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular		nga=	(w)o=	(y)i=
Dual	inclusive	tau=	au=	u=
	exclusive	(w)ui=		
Paucal	inclusive	tare=	arê=	irê=
	exclusive	(w)urê=		
Plural	inclusive	tap=	ap=	ip=
	exclusive	ep=		

Table 4.2 Bound pronoun paradigm (subject forms)

4.2.2.2 Object forms

The forms for the object bound pronouns, following the verb complex, are given in Table 4.3. The forms are identical to the subject bound pronouns, with the exception of first person singular; also note that there is no optional [w] or [j] which is dropped in the majority of cases. The forms are analysed as enclitics that attach to the last element in the verb complex. For third person, there is an animate/inanimate distinction: animate O arguments are formally overt, whereas inanimate O arguments have a zero form. Since first and second person (normally) refer to animate beings, there is no such distinction here.

		1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular		=ong	=o	=i (animate) =∅ (inanimate)
Dual	inclusive	=tau	=au	=u (animate) =∅ (inanimate)
	exclusive	=ui		
Paucal	inclusive	=tarê	=arê	=irê (animate) =∅ (inanimate)
	exclusive	=urê		
Plural	inclusive	=tap	=ap	=ip (animate) =∅ (inanimate)
	exclusive	=ep		

Table 4.3 Bound pronoun paradigm (object forms)

4.2.3 Possessive forms

Pronouns also appear as suffixes on the particle for indirect possession *ta-* and on the possessive classifier for food *ka-* (and on directly possessed nouns). Because the resulting forms are slightly irregular in some cases, the entire paradigms are given here, with the surface realisation forms placed between square brackets.

4.2.3.1 The possessive/locative particle *ta-*

The bound root *ta-* is suffixed with a pronominal form as shown in the table below. It is used to indicate an indirect possession construction (see Section 5.5) or as a marker of an animate E/Oblique constituent (see Section 8.1).

		1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular		ta-ng [tang]	ta-o [tao] ~ [to]	ta-i [tai] ta-n [tan]
Dual	inclusive	ta-tau [tarau]	ta-au [tau]	ta-u [tau]
	exclusive	ta-ui [tui]		
Paucal	inclusive	ta-tarê [tararê]	ta-arê [tarê]	ta-irê [tairê]
	exclusive	ta-urê [turê]		
Plural	inclusive	ta-tap [tararap]	ta-ap [tap]	ta-ip [taip]
	exclusive	ta-ep [tep]		

Table 4.4 Possessive paradigm (with *ta-*)

For the third person singular, there are two possibilities: the particle takes *-i* when it is not modified by a NP constituent, and *-n* when it is. The suffixes that *ta-* takes are predominantly the same ones that directly possessed nouns take (see Section 5.5 for more on possessive constructions), except for the second and third person singular. The *-o* and *-i* suffixes for these persons are formally similar to the second and third person object bound pronouns, respectively. Because the particle takes a mixture of nominal and verbal dependent morphology, it seems to be a somehow “hybrid” form between the nominal and verbal paradigm.

In addition, there is some degree of syncretism within the possessive paradigm, and also between the personal (first person inclusive pronouns) and the possessive

paradigm. The surface form *tarê*, for example, either refers to first person paucal inclusive, or to second person paucal possessive.

4.2.3.2 The possessive classifier *ka-*

In the table below, the forms are shown for the possessive classifier *ka-*.

		1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person
Singular		ka-ng [kong]	ka-m [kom]	ka-n [kan]
Dual	inclusive	ka-tau [karau]	ka-au [kau]	ka-u [kau]
	exclusive	ka-ui [kui]		
Paucal	inclusive	ka-tarê [kararê]	ka-arê [karê]	ka-irê [kairê]
	exclusive	ka-urê [kurê]		
Plural	inclusive	ka-tap [kararap]	ka-ap [kap]	ka-ip [kaip]
	exclusive	ka-ep [kep]		

Table 4.5 Possessive paradigm (with *ka-*)

In contrast to the particle *ta-* discussed above, the classifier *ka-* only takes suffixes from the nominal paradigm. An interesting formal difference between *ta-* and *ka-* is the different vowel in the first and second person singular forms. The change from /e/ in the *ka-* form (*kong* vs. *tang*) is probably due to a historical version of the pertensive suffix, which contained a vowel that caused alternations to the stem vowels. The same process is evident in the suffixing of directly possessed nouns; for more on this, see Section 5.5.1.

4.3 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic expressions, which, in situational deixis, ‘indicate the location of referents along certain dimensions, using the speaker (and time and place of speaking) as a reference point or “deictic centre”’ (Cruse 2006: 44). With discourse deixis, demonstratives function as anaphors to refer to previously mentioned discourse participants or stretches of discourse, or they act as cataphors and refer forward. In many languages, demonstrative forms do double duty as situational and discourse deictic elements. Paluai has an elaborate system for the expression of discourse deixis,

definiteness and specificity, topic and focus, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 12.

There is a three-way demonstrative system, which distinguishes 1) a position at or very near the deictic centre, 2) an intermediate position, somewhat removed, and 3) a position at significant distance from the deictic centre. The deictic centre is usually the speaker, and it appears to be very small: the proximate demonstrative seems almost exclusively used for objects held in the hands or on the body. The terms are used relative to each other: when talking about two objects at different distances, the intermediate and distal demonstratives will be used to contrast them, rather than indicating specific distances. Relative distance from the addressee is not a factor in the demonstrative system. Visibility may be a factor, as the distal demonstrative tends to be used when something is handed to a person and this person doesn't see the item. Thus, the distal demonstrative may more generally be used for objects that are not visible, but is also used for objects that still are visible, but just further away than something that was referred to with the intermediate form.

There is no gender or animacy distinction in the demonstrative paradigm. The paradigm is quite large, with at least twelve basic and complex demonstrative forms. They have different functions, but all have one of the three basic units as their main formative. Demonstratives always follow the element they modify and usually appear last in the NP (see Section 5.1 for more on the order of elements within the NP).

4.3.1 Basic demonstrative forms

The three basic forms on which demonstratives are built are the following:

- | | | |
|-----|------------|------------------------------------|
| (4) | <i>pwo</i> | proximate demonstrative, 'this' |
| | <i>yo</i> | intermediate demonstrative, 'that' |
| | <i>lo</i> | distal demonstrative, 'that (far)' |

These basic demonstrative forms can modify a noun or pronoun, but they are most often encountered with the 3sg pronoun. As a situational deictic device, *yi pwo* is often used when pointing at an object or offering somebody an object: 'here it is'. *yi yo* often occurs as an evaluative discourse marker ('okay', 'that's it'). When modifying a noun, the basic form probably functions as a marker of definiteness; this is similar to its

function when combined with the emphatic particle *te-* (see below). *lo* is not encountered as often as the other two, but is used to point at a distant object. The examples below show some uses of the basic demonstrative forms. In (5), a situational deictic use of *pwo* is shown, and in example (6) a discourse deictic use of *yo*.

(5) *i pwo, moni reo pepa sangal*

yi pwo [moni te-yo]_{vcs} [pepa sangal]_{vcc}
 3sg DEM.PROX money EMP-DEM.INT ten.kina ten

‘Here. The money is one hundred kina.’ [said when the money is handed over]
 (PK290411_3_0036)

(6) *i o. naman kamou rang teo inêm*

yi yo naman [kamou ta-ng te-yo]_s
 3sg DEM.INT perhaps speech POSS-1sg EMP-DEM.INT

yi=nêm

3sg=be.finished

‘That’s it. Perhaps my talk is finished.’ (OL201210_0195)

4.3.2 *Demonstratives with the formative te-*

Demonstratives do not occur all that often as basic forms. In most cases, the forms are used with a formative *te-* preceding them. The exact meaning of *te-* is not entirely clear. It may have an emphatic function, or it may predominantly be used as a ligature between the (pro)noun and the modifying basic demonstrative form. There is also a general dependent clause marker *te* (see Chapter 11) which may be related to the formative, but this cannot be established with certainty.

The demonstrative forms *tepwo*, *teyo* and *telo* can also modify both nouns and pronouns, and again can be used either for situational or discourse deixis. *yi teyo* is used in a way very similar to *yi yo*, as an evaluative discourse marker. *tepwo* and *telo* are encountered as anaphoric and cataphoric devices.

A number of important observations should be made with regard to the *te-* demonstratives. First of all, in particular the proximate form *tepwo* does not only refer to place, but also to time. It can thus mean ‘this, here’, but also ‘now’. Secondly, these

demonstratives can modify proper nouns, place names and first and second person pronouns as well as common nouns, and are in this regard much more versatile than their English counterparts. For instance, when beginning a story, speakers usually introduce themselves with something similar to the following phrase, which is quite difficult to translate into proper-sounding English:

(7) *wong tepwo, ngayong Lorat*

[wong te-pwo]_{vcs} [ngaya-ng Lorat]_{vcc}

1sg.FREE EMP-DEM.PROX name-1sg.PERT Lorat

‘I here, my name is Lorat.’ (Tok Pisin: *Mi nau, nem bilong mi Lorat.*)

(OL201210_0014)

Thirdly, in particular the intermediate demonstrative *teyo* is used to indicate definiteness. Newly introduced elements, which are indefinite (regarded unidentifiable to the hearer), lack a demonstrative modifier. For more on definiteness and information structure, see Chapter 12. Below, some examples of *te-* demonstratives are given. All sentences come from the *Man and Tree* game (Levinson et al., 1992) in which pictures are described, so they predominantly have situational deictic functions. At the same time, however, they also seem to mark definiteness of discourse entities which have been mentioned before.

Basic demonstratives and the demonstrative forms with *te-* do not occur by themselves, but always modify another element (a noun or pronoun). Grammatically, they can best be analysed as clitics: they cannot occur independently, and can modify more than one word class. Phonologically, however, they show behaviour that is very atypical of clitics, since they can be stressed. In this sense, these demonstratives are different from the ones starting with *a-* and *ta-* discussed below, which can occur as an independent constituent.

(8) *on pwa mun tepwo iro Paluai?*

w_OA=an pwa [[mun te-pwo]_s yi=to Paluai]_{CompI:O}

2sg=PRF think banana EMP-DEM.PROX 3sg=be P.

‘Do you think this kind of banana grows on Baluan?’ (Game3_280812_0230)

(9) *mun teo i makerin sip pwên*

[mun te-yo]_{vcs} yi ma=[kerin sip]_{vcc} pwên
 banana EMP-DEM.INT 3sg NEG₁=bunch one.INANIM NEG₂
 ‘Those bananas, they are not in a bunch.’ (Game3_280812_0229)

(10) *kei raywei relo ila ro monokinirê*

[kei ta-yuei te-lo]_s yi=la to monoki-n-irê
 tree DEF-two.long EMP-DEM.DIST 3sg=go.to be behind-PERT-3pc
 ‘Those two trees are behind them.’ (Game4_280812_0178)

4.3.3 *Spatial demonstratives with a-*

A further set of demonstratives is created by prefixing the forms with *te-* with the preposition *a-* (see Section 4.4.1). This renders a spatial adverbial demonstrative modifying a verb, already discussed briefly in Section 3.6.1.4. It deictically refers to the location where the action described by the verb takes place, and thus forms an adverbial modifier to a verb. In the case of *ateyo*, this is usually a location mentioned previously in the discourse. In sentence (12), it is a garden located high on the mountain, mentioned just before. The proximate and distal spatial demonstratives usually deictically refer to a location, either the location at which the speech act takes place, as in (11), or a location removed from there, as in (13).

(11) *wosa yen arepwo pwên*

wos=sa yen a-te-pwo pwên
 2sg=MOD lie at-EMP-DEM.PROX NEG
 ‘You cannot lie here.’ (NP210511_2_0058)

(12) *wuisot kunawayut areo*

wuis=sot kunawayut a-te-yo
 1du.EXCL=go.up take.rest at-EMP-DEM.INT
 ‘We went up to take a rest there.’ (KM050995_0017)

(13) *ola lêp kong payanpôl sip te ila ro arelo me*

wo_A=la lêp [ka-ng payan.pôl sip
2sg=go.to take CLF.food-1sg.PERT dry.coconut one.INANIM

[te yi_S=la to a-te-lo]_{RC}]_O me
REL 3sg=go.to be at-EMP-DEM.DIST come

‘You go and take my coconut (for me to eat) that is over there, and bring it here.’

(LK100411_0063)

4.3.4 Free demonstrative forms formed with ta-

There is also a complex demonstrative which is made up of a formative *ta-*, the aforementioned emphatic particle or ligature *te-*, and a basic demonstrative form. This demonstrative can be used as an independent form that can substitute a noun and be head of a NP, for instance as a subject or object argument to a verb. These forms can be compared to Indo-European demonstrative pronouns, such as English *this* in ‘This is rubbish’ or ‘I don’t like this’.

Again, the proximate and distal forms are usually encountered in situational deictic uses, whereas the intermediate form is often used as discourse deictic. Their usage is exemplified below. In (14) and (16), the proximate and the distal demonstrative, respectively, function as VCS. In (15), the intermediate demonstrative functions as O argument.

(14) *Nulik, tarepwo ran sê?*

Nulik [ta-te-pwo]_{VCS} [ta-n sê]_{VCC}

Nulik DEF-EMP-DEM.PROX POSS-PERT who

‘Nulik, whose is this?’ (WendyLawan020611_0044)

(15) *irouek nê m tareo la ran pein teo*

yi_A=touek nê m [ta-te-yo]_O la ta-n
3sg=show be.finished DEF-EMP-DEM.INT go.to POSS-PERT

[pein te-yo]_E

woman EMP-DEM.INT

‘She showed all that [what has been talked about just before] to the woman.’

(KS030611_1_0017)

(16) *tarelo yeuyeu*

[ta-te-lo]_{VCS} [yeuyeu]_{VCC}

DEF-EMP-DEM.DIST star

‘Those are stars.’ (052b_0169)

4.3.5 Overview of demonstrative forms

The complex demonstrative forms do not differ from the basic forms in meaning, but they clearly have different functions. Table 4.6 gives an overview. Across all functions, the intermediate demonstrative more often has a definiteness marking and discourse deictic function than the other two.

Form	Modifies noun	Modifies pronoun	Modifies verb	Full NP (core argument)
<i>pwo</i> ‘this’	sometimes	yes	no	no
<i>yo</i> ‘that’	sometimes	yes	no	no
<i>lo</i> ‘that (far)’	sometimes	yes	no	no
<i>tepwo</i> ‘this’	yes	yes	no	no
<i>teyo</i> ‘that’	yes	yes	no	no
<i>telo</i> ‘that (far)’	yes	yes	no	no
<i>arepwo</i> ‘here’	no	no	yes	no
<i>areyo</i> ‘there’	no	no	yes	no
<i>arelo</i> ‘over there’	no	no	yes	no
<i>tarepwo</i> ‘this’	no	no	no	yes
<i>tareyo</i> ‘that’	no	no	no	yes
<i>tarelo</i> ‘that (far)’	no	no	no	yes

Table 4.6 Demonstrative paradigm

What complicates matters with the intermediate demonstrative is that the basic form *yo* is often shortened to *o*, and this *o* tends to be dropped when unstressed. Therefore, *tareyo* is often realised as *tare*, becoming very similar to the 1pc personal pronoun *tarê*, and *teyo* is often realised as *te*, which makes it hard to decide whether the *o* was there in the first place, or the form is an instance of the dependent clause marker.

4.4 Adpositions

Spatial relations are often expressed by spatial nouns (see Section 3.2.3.4) or directional verbs (Section 3.3.1.3). Therefore, there is not a large number of adpositions. There is a small number of forms and phrases, with a variety of meanings, which have “prepositional” functions. Table 4.7 gives an overview. There are no postpositions.

a-	at, in, for, to, on, with; inanimate oblique argument marker
pari	from, belonging to
ta-	possessive, locative; animate oblique argument marker

Table 4.7 Prepositions and related forms in Paluai

4.4.1 The preposition a-

When used to introduce a prepositional phrase, *a-* is always prefixed to the third person singular pronoun *yi*. *a-* is considered a prefix because it is attached to other forms too, without the *yi*, for example to the demonstrative forms with *te-* as discussed in Section 4.3.3 above, the locative question marker *pa* ‘where’ (see Section 4.7) and the subordinate clause marker *te* (see Section 4.9.2).

a- has a very general prepositional meaning, comparable to the Tok Pisin preposition *long*. It is an obligatory oblique argument marker with common nouns. When local nouns and directly possessed nouns (often spatial nouns) form an oblique constituent, *a-* is not required. When expressing movement, *a-* is preceded by a directional verb indicating the direction of the motion. The following uses of *a-* can be distinguished:

1. Location
2. Motion towards, ‘allative’ (in combination with directional)
3. Moment in time / period of time
4. Instrument
5. Stimulus
6. ‘Theme’ (often followed by nominalised verb)

Below, an example of each usage is given.

(17) *ipat mun to ai kanum teo*

yi_A=pat [mun]_O to a-yi [kanum te-yo]_{LOC}
 3sg=plant banana be at-3sg garden EMP-DEM.INT
 ‘He planted bananas in the garden.’ (WL020611_0029)

(18) *wope yen piy me ai yapi*

wo_A=pe yen piy me a-yi [yapi]_{LG}
 2SG=PFV CONT squeeze come at-3sg sago
 ‘You will continue squeezing (it) into the sago.’ (CA120211_1_0036)

(19) *wuirok ai kerin sip*

wui_S=tok a-yi [kerin sip]_{TIME}
 1du.EXCL=stay at-3sg year one.INANIM
 ‘The two of us stayed (there) for one year.’ (KM060111_0039)

(20) *ngalêp pein, nga lêpi ai kokon*

nga_A=lêp [pein]_O nga=lêp=i a-yi [kokoni]_{INSTR}
 1sg=take woman 1sg=take=3sg at-3sg money
 ‘I took a woman, I took her with money.’ [i.e. I paid my bride price]
 (KM060111_0100)

(21) *maloan no wop ai kamou rai*

[maloa-n]_S no wop a-yi [kamou ta-i]_{STIMULUS}
 spirit-PERT IPFV fly at-3sg speech POSS-3sg
 ‘She was surprised (*lit.* ‘her spirit flew’) by his words.’ (WL020611_0038)

(22) *nganêm ai nganngan*

nga=nêm a-yi [ngan.ngan]

1sg=be.finished at-3sg REDUP.eat

‘I am done (with) eating.’ (Game1_021012_0476)

4.4.2 *The preposition pari*

The form *pari* can be used by itself, heading a predicate, or as a NP modifier. When followed by a common noun, it needs to be accompanied by *a-* (see above) suffixed to *yi*, and then it usually introduces a constituent with a purposive meaning, or meaning ‘about’. When followed by a local noun, it is not accompanied by *a-*, and it can be translated with English ‘from’. However, it can only be used to refer to a person’s or an object’s origin and does not have a directional or ablative use. *pari* has an affinity with possessive constructions and is therefore glossed as ‘belonging to’. The exact semantic differences with “proper” possessive constructions, however, are not entirely clear. It seems to have more “purposive” overtones. Examples of its various uses are given below. *pari* is also part of the complex question marker *pari ai sa* ‘why’ (see Section 4.7) and the complex dependent clause marker *pari ai te* ‘because’ (see Chapter 11).

Sometimes, *pari* heads the predicate of a verbless clause. When it is head of a predicate with a 3sg subject it is usually preceded by the 3sg subject pronoun *yi*. In these cases, *pari* might be better analysed as a copula (see Section 7.5). It is not a full verb, since it cannot take a bound pronoun.

In (23), an example is given of *pari* indicating a person’s origin. In this example, it heads a verbless predicate. (24) shows *pari* as a NP modifier with a purposive meaning. *lalon* is a spatial noun, so *a-* is not needed.

(23) *taman i pari Ulput*

[tama-n]_{vcs} yi [pari Ulput]_{vcc}

father-PERT 3sg belonging.to Ulput

‘His father was from Ulput.’ (OL201210_0019)

(24) *kei nangin pari lalon kanum*

[kei nangin [pari lalo-n kanum]]_{NP}
tree smell belonging.to inside-PERT garden

‘Nice-smelling herbs (meant) for inside the garden.’ (NK290311_1_0013)

Sentence (25) and (26) show examples of possessive or purposive uses of *pari* as a NP modifier. In (25), it refers back to the common noun *matmat*, the name of a particular kind of ceremony.

(25) *ikipe si pe mangat pari ai*

yi_A=ki-pe si pe [mangat [pari a-yi]]_O
3sg=IRR.3sg-PFV come.down do work belonging.to at-3sg

‘He will come (and) do the work for it [a ceremony].’ (SY100411_0025)

(26) *...pari ai wauwau pit taip*

[pari a-yi [wau.wau pit ta-ip]]_{NP}
belonging.to at-3sg REDUP.move be.close POSS-3pl

‘[a house] for (the purpose of) their meetings.’ (LL300511_1_0024)

pari as a NP modifier is also encountered describing a typical activity of a certain person or group of people. In these cases, *X pari ayi* could be replaced by *yamta-n*, which literally means ‘owner’.

(27) *ip yamat pari ai peinan nin*

[ip yamat [pari a-yi peinan nine]]_{NP}
3pl person belonging.to at-3sg making.of fight

‘Troublemakers, people inclined to fighting.’ (TP: *man bilong pait*)

(NP220611_2_0009)

4.4.3 The “preposition” *ta-*

ta- functions as a possessive particle in indirect possessive constructions (see Section 5.5), but it is also used in a prepositional sense, often in combination with a directional. *ta-* marks an oblique argument of a verb in case this is animate, and is therefore in

complementary distribution with *a-*. *ta-* can mark oblique arguments with a variety of semantic roles, but since the argument refers to an animate being, it will often be a Goal or Recipient (see Chapter 8 for more on grammatical relations).

The *ta-* particle is probably a reflex of the Proto-Oceanic root **ta*, which also has a locative meaning (Ross, 1988, p. 103). Also in this function, *ta-* receives a pronominal suffix as indicated in Table 4.4 above. An example of *ta-* marking an oblique Stimulus argument to the Experiencer subject verb *kaêrêt* ‘be afraid (of)’ is given below in (28a). (28b) shows the same verb with an inanimate stimulus introduced by *a-*. Many examples of *ta-* with ditransitive constructions are given in Chapters 8 and 9.

(28a) *ngaru kaêrêt tan muyou*

ngaʃ=tu kaêrêt ta-n [muyou]_{STIMULUS}
 1sg=stay be.afraid POSS-PERT snake
 ‘I was afraid of the snake.’ (Game1_021012_0562)

(28b) *ipto kaêrêt ai aronan kauwat taip*

ip=to kaêrêt a-yi [arona-n kauwat ta-ip]_{STIMULUS}
 3pl=HAB be.afraid at-3sg way-PERT tradespartner POSS-3pl
 ‘They used to be afraid of the customs of their tradespartners.’
 (MS250311_0046)

4.5 Numerals

Cardinal numerals follow a decimal system, with numbers seven to nine forming subtractive numerals. This is a commonly encountered feature in eastern Admiralties languages (Ross, 1988). Numerals bear suffixes depending on the noun class they are modifying (see Section 3.2.4.1). The numbers one, four and five, and their multiplications by a factor 10 or 100, have suppletive forms.

Numerals modify nouns and can be head of a verbless clause. They are morphologically complex forms, so what follows will discuss their analysis in as much detail as possible. There are no ordinal numbers, which seems to be a feature shared with other (Eastern) Admiralties languages (Ross, 1988).

4.5.1 The numerals one to ten

In Tables 4.8 and 4.9 below, two paradigms of numerals one to ten are given. The first table shows the numerals suffixed with *-mou* used for animates, and the second one those suffixed with *-êp*, used as a “residue” category for inanimates. It is unclear what the origin of these suffixes is.

Numeral	Morphological structure	Translation
som	<i>sV-m[ou]</i>	one
yumou	<i>yu-mou</i>	two
tulumou	<i>tulu-mou</i>	three
pamou	<i>pa[t]-mou</i>	four
ngunan	<i>ngV-nan</i>	five
ngonomou	<i>ngV-onom-mou</i>	six
nganorulumou	<i>nga-no-tulu-mou</i>	seven (ten minus three)
nganoyumou	<i>nga-no-yu-mou</i>	eight (ten minus two)
nganosom	<i>nga-no-som</i>	nine (ten minus one)
sangal	<i>sV-nga-l</i>	ten

Table 4.8 Numerals one to ten for animates

Numeral	Morphological structure	Translation
sip	<i>sV-êp</i>	one
yuêp	<i>yu-êp</i>	two
tulêp	<i>tulu-êp</i>	three
talot	unknown	four
ngunan	<i>ngV-nan</i>	five
ngunêp	<i>ngV-onom-êp*</i>	six
nganorulêp	<i>nga-no-tul-êp</i>	seven (ten minus three)
nganoyuêp	<i>nga-no-yu-êp</i>	eight (ten minus two)
nganosip	<i>nga-no-sip</i>	nine (ten minus one)
sangal	<i>sV-nga-l</i>	ten

Table 4.9 Numerals one to ten for inanimates

*It is possible that the form *ngunêp* contains the POC root **onom* ‘six’, but this is rather tenuous.

The tables show that the morphological makeup of numerals is the same for both paradigms, except for the final suffix. A number of other remarks can be made. Firstly, it is clear that some of the numerals reflect Proto-Oceanic forms. **ta* ~ **sa* (one), **rua* (two), **tolu* (three), **pat* (four) and **sa[-ŋa]-puluq* (ten) can be reconstructed (Lynch et al., 2002, p. 72). **onom* (six) can be reconstructed for the paradigm for animates, but not really for inanimates. Another Proto-Oceanic root whose reflexes are widespread in Oceanic languages, **lima* (meaning ‘five’ and also ‘hand’) is only reflected in the form for ‘fifty’, shown below. The inanimates form for ‘four’ is also irregular. The formative *nga-*, which is probably derived from the form for ‘ten’, is the base for the subtractive numerals seven to nine. Ross (1988, p. 344) has reconstructed the subtraction morpheme as the PEAd form **(a)nto-*. Clearly, the formative *-no-* in the forms for seven to nine is a reflex of this.³

4.5.2 Higher numerals

The forms for multiples of ten and hundred are given in Tables 4.10 and 4.11 below.

Numeral	Morphological structure	Translation
yungal	<i>yu-nga-l</i>	twenty
tulungal	<i>tulu-nga-l</i>	thirty
pawoy	<i>pa[t]-woy</i>	forty
limlim	<i>lim-lim</i>	fifty
wolongal	<i>wolo-nga-l</i>	sixty
nganorungal	<i>nga-no-tulu-nga-l</i>	seventy
nganoyungal	<i>nga-no-yu-nga-l</i>	eighty
nganosangal	<i>nga-no-sV-nga-l</i>	ninety
songot	<i>sV-ngo-t</i>	one hundred

Table 4.10 Multiplications of ten

³ The *-no-* formative may also be related to the adverb *no* ‘only, just’.

Numeral	Morphological structure	Translation
yungot	<i>yu-ngo-t</i>	two hundred
tulungot	<i>tulu-ngo-t</i>	three hundred
pangot	<i>pa[t]-ngo-t</i>	four hundred
misimin	unknown	five hundred
wolongal kasip	numeral 'sixty' plus unknown formative	six hundred
nganorulungal kasip	numeral 'seventy' plus unknown formative	seven hundred
nganoyungal kasip	numeral 'eighty' plus unknown formative	eight hundred
nganosangal kasip	numeral 'ninety' plus unknown formative	nine hundred
mwason	unknown	one thousand

Table 4.11 Multiplications of hundred

These forms do not show the numeral classifier suffix, but they will mostly be followed by a numeral one to nine which bears the suffix. Rounded tens and hundreds for some reason do not bear the suffix. The system based on which the tens and hundreds are formed is almost the same as that for the numbers one to ten, but with a formative *-nga-* and *-ngo-* respectively. Again, subtractive numerals have the formative *nga-* as base. There are irregular forms for fifty and five hundred, and numbers 600 to 900 are made up of the numbers for 60 to 90 plus a formative *kasip*, which is not encountered anywhere else and the exact meaning of which is not clear. Complex numbers are built by simple combination. A few examples:

- (29) *sangal a sip* eleven (*lit.* 'ten and one')
- tulungal a (kulan) nganosip* thirty-nine (*lit.* 'thirty and (plus) nine')
- mwason yuêp* two thousand

Numbers exceeding a couple of thousand are not attested, but they could theoretically be formed combining the numerals given above. In the past, the higher numerals would be used when performing traditional exchange ceremonies, but nowadays these are

being replaced more and more by English and/or Tok Pisin numerals. Because of this, many speakers, especially from younger generations, are losing or have already lost proficiency in Paluai numerals. One could therefore say that the Paluai numeral system is more critically endangered than the language as a whole (cf. also Comrie 2005).

4.5.3 Morphology and syntax of numerals

4.5.3.1 Numerals as noun modifiers

Like most modifiers, numerals usually follow the noun. However, the forms for ‘one’ sometimes precede the noun. This may be a strategy to express indefiniteness, which will be discussed in more detail in Section 5.2. It is possible that this is a structural borrowing from Tok Pisin; see sentence (30) for an example. Similarity is also expressed by the numeral for one: *no sip* (*lit.* ‘only one’) can, depending on the context, be translated with ‘the same’ (sentence (31)).

The formative *ni-* ‘other’ can precede the numerals for one, the resulting form meaning ‘another’. The form of the numeral will again depend on the semantics of the head noun: *nisaya* refers to another place, *nisopwol* to another side, and *nisip* and *nisom* to another inanimate and animate entity, respectively. Usually, forms with *ni-* refer to an indefinite entity. They usually follow the noun, but can also precede it, or be used by themselves (as in (33)).

Lastly, the sequences *(a-)sip* *(a-)sip* or *(a-)som* *(a-)som* are used to express ‘one by one, one after the other’ (sentence (34)).

(30) *ope rou lai sip kui menengan*

wo _A =pe	tou	la	a-yi	sip	kui	menengan
2sg=PFV	put	go.to	at-3sg	one.INANIM	pot	big

‘You will put (it) into a big pot.’ (CA120211_2_0020)

(31) *woning parun teo? mano sip pwên*

wo _A =ning	[patu-n	te-yo] _O	ma=no	sip	pwên
2sg=see	head-PERT	EMP-DEM.INT	NEG ₁ =only	one.INANIM	NEG ₂

‘You see their heads? They’re not the same.’ (Game3_280812_0310)

(32) *pou nisom ila ro ilili la ro naêmwan*
 [pou ni-som]_s yi=la to ilili la to naêmwa-n
 pig other-one.ANIM 3sg=go.to CONT stand.up go.to be backside-PERT
 ‘Another pig is standing behind him.’ (Game2_021012_0246)

(33) *pian, ngan akêp nisip*
 pian nga=an akêp ni-sip
 good 1sg=PRF pick.up other-one.INANIM
 ‘Alright, I picked up another one.’ (Game1_021012_0094)

(34) *kipe la ro yil asip asip*
 ki_A-pe la to yil a-sip a-sip
 IRR.3sg-PFV go.to CONT dig at-one.INANIM at-one.INANIM
 ‘She will be digging (them) up one by one.’ (KM190211_0047)

Numerals are also often encountered as noun modifiers preceded by the formative *ta-*, which was already discussed with complex demonstratives in Section 4.3.4 above. This formative also has to do with definiteness, limitedness and specificity. When a numeral refers to an entity that has been mentioned before in the discourse and which is thus regarded as identifiable to the hearer, it will be preceded by *ta-*. When counting or tallying objects, or when entities are introduced for the first time (and thus regarded as unidentifiable to the hearer), usually the bare numerals will be used. However, when the numeral refers to a specified and limited number of objects, the *ta-* numeral seems to be commonly used at first mention. For instance, a person can have only two ears or eyes at most. When there is first mention of a person’s ears or eyes, the *ta-* numeral will be used, rather than the bare numeral (see example (35)). Example (36) shows the use of the numeral for two from the animates paradigm, *yumou*, both with the formative *ta-* and without it. In a pair of married people, there can be two persons at most. In addition, this entity was mentioned before in the discourse. In contrast, the number of children of a married couple is not limited, plus (35) is the first mention of these participants in the story. Hence, the formative *ta-* is not used.

In addition, *tasip* and *tasom*, consisting of *ta-* with the forms for one, have an additional meaning ‘(the) whole of’. An example of this is shown in sentence (37).

(35) *ipe yipek môsôkei la laêngan taywêp*

y_i _A=pe yipek [môsôkei]_O la laênga-n ta-yuêp
3sg=PFV blow conch.shell go.to ear-PERT DEF-two.INANIM
'He blew the conch shell into her two ears.' (LM260511_2_0012)

(36) *u pet parian taymou reo, ugat not yumou*

[u pet paria-n ta-yumou te-yo]_A
3du both wife-PERT DEF-two.ANIM EMP-DEM.INT

u=gat [natu yumou]_O

3du=have child two.ANIM

'The married couple, they had two children.' (WL020711_0004)

(37) *kanen tasom nê m kila yamyaman...*

[kane-n ta-som nê m]_{CS} ki-la [yamyaman]_{CC}
body-PERT DEF-one.ANIM be.finished IRR.3sg-go.to red
'Its [the snake's] whole body is like red...' (Game1_021012_0532)

Moreover, numerals with or without *ta-* can be modified by the prefix *nan-*, which also occurs on quantifiers. Therefore, this prefix will be discussed in Section 4.6 on quantifiers.

4.5.3.2 Numerals heading a predicate

A numeral can also be head of a verbless clause. It is possible that only numerals referring to animates have this property. In sentences (38) and (39), examples are given.

(38) *urê ramwen urê ngonomou, a irê rabein, irê ngunan*

[wurê ta-mwen]_{VCS} [wurê ngonomou]_{VCC} a [irê
1pc.EXCL DEF-man 1pc.EXCL six.ANIM and 3pc

ta-pein]_{VCS} [irê ngunan]_{VCC}

DEF-woman 3pc five

‘We (of the) men, we are six, and them women, they are five.’

(OL201210_0042)

(39) *pou re kope yiuek kup tan tamong nganoyumou*

[pou_i [te ko_A-pe yiu-ek=Ø_i kup

pig REL IRR.1sg-PFV pull-APPL=3sg.ZERO pigs.lined.up

ta-n tama-ng]_{RC}]_{VCS} [nganoyumou]_{VCC}

POSS-PERT father-1sg.PERT eight.ANIM

‘The pigs with which I will pull the rope for my father (as part of a traditional ceremony) are [i.e. number] eight.’ (YK290411_2_0049)

4.5.4 *Counting money*

There is an interesting way of counting money. The Tok Pisin loan *pepa* (*lit.* ‘paper’) refers to a ten kina note. When money is counted, in particular at traditional ceremonies, this is done in units of ten kina referred to by *pepa*, and modified by the numerals for animates. We thus have, for instance:

(40) *moni pepa yungal a kulan som*

[moni pepa]_{VCS} [yungal a kulan som]_{VCC}

money ten.kina twenty and plus one.ANIM

‘The money is two hundred and ten kina.’ (PK290411_1_0010)

It is possible that this convention is a relic from the time that customary payments were made with dogs’ teeth. These were generally counted in units of ten or one hundred, strung on a line. This may also be the reason that *nel* ‘rope’ is modified by a numeral for animates. *nel som* conventionally referred to a string of dogs’ teeth, and was as such counted with the numeral for animates.

4.6 Quantifiers

Quantifiers form a small closed class, members of which are shown in Tables 4.12 and 4.13. Quantifiers usually modify nouns and indicate quantity or scope. They show a fair bit of variation with regard to their position in the NP or clause (see also Section 5.1). Some quantifiers can also be used by themselves, functioning as a core argument of a verb. Some are also used in an adverbial phrase introduced by the directional verb *la* (see Section 3.6.2.2), meaning ‘become much; do many times’.

Form	Meaning	Position in NP/clause
menot	many; much	usually follows N (as modifier within NP); also used adverbially with <i>la</i> and as predicate head
menton ⁴	many; much	unknown (maybe only appears in adverbial phrase with <i>la</i>)
mwason	many (<i>lit.</i> thousand)	precedes N (as modifier within NP)
naringiai	many	mostly follows N (as modifier within NP), also used adverbially with <i>la</i>
nêmnêmti	all	follows N (as modifier within NP); sometimes used by itself
tasom / tasip	whole, (al)together	follows N (as modifier within NP); also used by itself
wut	every, all (land)	precedes N (as modifier within NP)

Table 4.12 Quantifiers referring to large quantities

⁴ *menot* and *menton* are formally very similar, and may be variants of the same root.

Form	Meaning	Position in NP/clause
no	only, just	precedes N
sôkôm	some (indefinite)	follows N (as modifier within NP), or used by itself
sê	a little; small	precedes or follows N (as modifier within NP)
sut	a little (land, paper money)	precedes or follows N (as modifier within NP)

Table 4.13 Quantifiers referring to small quantities

Quantifiers have affinities with numerals and numeral classifiers. There are at least three varieties of ‘some, a little’ whose use seems to depend on the semantics of the noun they modify. *sut* (and a probably related form *wut*) is only used for areas of land and for money. *sê* is a general diminutive device, while *sôkôm*, the indefinite quantifier, seems to be used for persons and individuated objects. The forms *tasip* and *tasom* were discussed in the previous section on numerals.

nan- and *an-* are prefixes which can be attached to quantifiers. *nan-* can also be attached to numerals. The resulting forms can modify verbs, adjectives or nouns. The forms with *nan-* can also be used by themselves; this seems not to be the case for forms with *an-*. In what follows, quantifiers indicating large quantities (‘a lot’, ‘many’) are discussed first, followed by quantifiers indicating small quantities (‘a little’).

4.6.1 Quantifiers referring to large quantities

The use of these quantifiers is usually quite straightforward. *naringiai* seems to be used predominantly for countable objects and in particular animate beings, while *menot* and *mwason* have a more general use. Sentences (41) to (43) show examples. *mwason* is also the numeral for ‘thousand’. Its use as a quantifier can usually be distinguished because it precedes the noun in these cases; an example is given in (43).

(41) *epan lêp naringiai ngoyai*

ep_A=an lêp [naringiai ngoyai]_O

1pl.EXCL=PRF take many possum

‘We had caught many possums.’ (NP210511_2_0013)

(42) *ipting antek puron menot*

ip_A=ting antek [puron menot]_O

3pl=check put.away activity many

‘They abolished many ceremonies.’ (SP190311_0068)

(43) *iplêp mwason nik*

ip_A=lêp [mwason nik]_O

3pl=take thousand fish

‘They caught many fish.’ (PN100411_0018)

menot can also head a verbless predicate:

(44) *numun parun mamenot pwên*

[numun patu-n]_{VCS} [ma=menot pwên]_{VCC}

hair head-PERT NEG₁=many NEG₂

‘He doesn’t have much hair.’ (*lit.* ‘his hair not much’) (Game3_280812_0368)

wut seems only to be used in combination with *panu*; it is the universal quantifier referring to place, ‘everywhere’:

(45) *kinan irok wut panu*

[kina-n]_S yi=tok [wut panu]_{LOC}

mark-PERT 3sg=stay every.land place

‘Its mark remains everywhere.’ (LM260511_1_0066)

For other nouns, including those referring to time, the universal quantifier *nêmnêmti* ‘all, every’ is used. When modifying a pronoun, it usually refers to people: ‘everybody’.

Two examples of *nêmnêmti* are given below.

(46) *koayit nêmnêmti*

ko_A-ayit [nêmnêmti]_O

IRR.1sg-separate all

‘I will separate (them) all [i.e. separate the inner layer of the bark of all tree branches].’ (MK050311_0013)

(47) *ip nêmnêmti iptet sak*

[ip nêmnêmti]_S ip=tet sak

3pl all 3pl=move come.up

‘All of them came up.’ (LL300511_1_0039)

4.6.2 *Quantifiers referring to small or indefinite quantities*

These quantifiers are a bit more complex than the ones discussed above. The particle *no* means ‘only, just’; a homonym is attested as a marker of imperfective aspect (see Chapter 6). A phrase in combination with the forms *tasip* or *tasom* means ‘only one’; a phrase combined with the bare numeral *som* or *sip* means ‘the same’ (see 4.5.3.1 above). Some examples of the use of *no* are given below.

(48) *woro ning no kuku minan a parei*

wo_A=to ning [no kuku.mina-n a parei]_O

2sg=CONT see only wrist-PERT and pole

‘You see only his wrist and the pole.’ (Game4_280812_0458)

(49) *maran no rasip teo iro pei*

[mata-n no ta-sip te-yo]_S yi=to pei

eye-PERT only DEF-one.INANIM EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=CONT appear

‘Only one eye is showing/visible.’ (Game3_280812_0365)

sôkôm refers to a few, usually non-specific, members of a collection and can thus be regarded as a (categorical) indefinite quantifier. It is thus typically used with countables, and very often refers to animate beings, in particular when modifying a pronoun. *sôkôm* is attested only once with the prefix (*n*)*an-* attached.

(50) *ip numun sôkôm teo kosan antek*

[ip numun sôkôm te-yo]_{TopO} ko_A-san=Ø antek
 3pl fibre some EMP-DEM.INT IRR.1sg-cut =3sg.ZERO put.away
 ‘Some of the fibres I will cut off.’ (MK050311_0024)

(51) *ip sôkôm pe, ip sôkôm mape pwên*

[ip sôkôm]_A pe [ip sôkôm]_A ma=pe pwên
 3pl some do 3pl some NEG₁=do NEG₂
 ‘Some (people) did, some didn’t.’ (LM260511_1_0042)

4.6.2.1 The prefixes *an-* and *nan-* with quantifiers

The quantifiers *sê* and *sut*, and the prefixes *an-* and *nan-* that often accompany them, are the most problematic ones. *nan-* is also attested with numerals. In their bare forms, *sê* and *sut* are predominantly used as diminutive particles to nouns, always following the noun they modify.⁵ The following sentences give some examples.

(52) *i mapari sap nipen sut pwên*

yi_{VCS} ma=[pari sap [nipen sut]]_{VCC} pwên
 3sg NEG₁=belonging.to any part.of.round small.land NEG₂
 ‘He is not from just any old piece of land.’ (PK290411_3_0088)⁶

(53) *monmon sê suisuinot, ipe yong suisuinot*

[monmon sê] suisuinot
 bird small yellow-bellied.sunbird

yi_A=pe yong [suisuinot]_O
 3sg=PFV hear yellow-bellied.sunbird

‘A small bird, the *suisuinot*, she heard a *suisuinot* (yellow-bellied sunbird).’
 (LK100411_0094)

⁵ Interestingly, the numerals for ‘one’ and these quantifiers all begin with *s-*. They may share a formative in common.

⁶ *sap* is a question marker which can also function as an indefinite pronoun: ‘any, which(ever)’. It will be discussed in Section 4.7 below.

Often, there is a prefix *an-* or *nan-* attached. *an-* is attested in the following functions:

Function	Position	Translation
1. Modifier to mass noun	Preceding N	‘a bit of N’
2. Modifier to adjective	Following A	‘somewhat, quite A’
3. Modifier to verb	Following V only in clause with negative polarity	‘not do V at all’

Table 4.14 Functions and distribution of *an-*

The prefix *nan-* is attested in the following functions:

Function	Position	Translation
1. Independent form	Argument to predicate	‘a bit, a small piece’
2. Modifier to mass noun	Preceding N	‘a bit of N’
3. Modifier to noun or independent form (prefixed to numeral)	Following N	?
4. Modifier to V	Following V	‘do V a bit (a while?)’
5. Temporal adverbial phrase (preceded by <i>no</i>)	Clause-initial	‘in a while, almost’

Table 4.15 Functions and distribution of *nan-*

Thus, although the functions of *an-* and *nan-* seem to partly overlap, they do serve in different domains. *an-* forms never occur as independent forms, but always as modifiers to other forms. *an-* also does not attach to numerals.

Below, examples of each use of *an-* and *nan-* are given. The quantifier and the element it modifies are placed between square brackets. The following sentences show examples of *an-* forms as modifier to a noun, an adjective and a verb, respectively.

(54) *worou ansê pau namwi lai*

wo_A=tou [[an-sê pau] namwi]_O la a-yi
2sg=put piece-small coconut.oil small go.to at-3sg
'You put a small bit of coconut oil into it.' (NK290311_2_0020)

(55) *iro aloen ansê ai Paluai*

yi_S=to [aloen an-sê] a-yi Paluai
3sg=be long piece-small at-3sg P.
'It is quite far from Baluan.' (LL030611_0005)

(56) *ngamapwa koning ansêo pwên*

nga_A=ma=pwa [ko_A-ning an-sê=O_O]_{Compl:Pot} pwên
1sg=NEG₁=want.to IRR.1sg-see piece-small=2sg NEG₂
'I don't want to see you ever again.' (WL020711_0082)

The following sentences show examples of *nan-* prefixed forms as an independent form (57), a mass noun modifier (58), a verbal modifier to a stative verb ((59) and (60)), and as temporal adverbial modifier (61).

(57) *worou palsi nansê sot*

wo_A=tou palosi [nan-sê]_O sot
2sg=put first piece-small go.up
'You put a little bit first (into the frying dish).' (CA120211_1_0026)

(58) *wope lêp nansê yon*

wo_A=pe lêp [nan-sê yanu]_O
2sg=PFV take piece-small water
'You will take a bit of water.' (CA120211_1_0032)

(59) *ino ret nali nansê wot*

yi_S=no [tet nali nan-sê] wot
3sg=IPFV move be.lost piece-small go.level
'It is going away a little bit to the side.' (Game4_280812_0201)

(60) *kino ru, ma kilólôt nansê...*

ki_s-no tu ma [ki_s-lólôt nan-sê]

IRR.3sg-IPFV stay and IRR.3sg-be.cool piece-small

‘It should remain (inside the pot) and when it will cool down a bit...’

(CA120211_2_0042)

(61) *no nansê, kola ai sou reo*

[no nan-sê] ko_s-la a-yi sou te-yo

only piece-small IRR.1sg-go.to at-3sg reef EMP-DEM.INT

‘In a little while, I will go to that reef.’ (LK100411_0131)

4.6.2.2 *The prefix nan- with numerals*

When prefixed to a numeral, *nan-* is either attached to the bare numeral or to the form with *ta-*. It is not clear why numerals modifying nouns sometimes are prefixed with *nan-*, and what meaning difference this makes. Both *nan-* and *ta-* attached to the numeral ‘one’ for animates, *som*, yield the autoreflexive meaning ‘on his own’. Below, some examples of *nan-* modifying numerals are given.

(62) *maran nansip menengan a nansip namwi*

[mata-n nan-sip]_{vcs} [menengan]_{vcc} a
eye-PERT piece-one.INANIM big and

[nan-sip]_{vcs} [namwi]_{vcc}
piece-one.INANIM small

‘One of his eyes is big and one is small.’ (Game3_280812_0296)

(63) *i ranisip telo, u not nantaymou liliu*

[yi ta-ni-sip te-lo]_{vcs}
3sg DEF-other-INANIM EMP-DEM.DIST

[u natu nan-ta-yumou]_{vcc} liliu
3du child piece-DEF-two.ANIM again

‘The next one, (of) the two boys again.’ (Game3_280812_0346)

(64) *Ngat i no nantasom o*

[Ngat]_{VCS} yi [no nan-ta-som]_{VCC} yo

N. 3sg only piece-DEF-one.ANIM DEM.INT

‘Ngat is just on his own (an only child).’ (LM240611_0045)

4.7 Interrogative words

The following words in Paluai mark content questions:

Form	Translation	Morphological makeup	Questions what	Related to word class
pa	where; wherever	-	Location	N, Dem, Adv
kapi	when	unknown	Point in time	Adv
la sa	how	<i>la</i> ‘to go (to) + <i>sa</i> ‘what’	Manner; Quality	Adv
pari ai sa	why; for what	<i>pari</i> ‘belonging to’ <i>a-yi</i> ‘at-3sg’, <i>sa</i> ‘what’	Purpose; Reason	-
sa	what	-	General; Identity of object	N
samai-	what (relationship) of	unknown; contains <i>sa</i> ‘what’	Relationship	N
samnon	how many	unknown; contains <i>sa</i> ‘what’	Quantity	Numeral
sap	which(ever); something	unknown, contains <i>sa</i> ‘what’	Identity of object	N
sê	who(ever); someone	unknown	Identity of person	N
tenepa	how	unknown, maybe contains <i>pa</i> ‘where’	Manner	A, Adv

Table 4.16 Interrogative forms

4.7.1 Questioning identity: *sa*, *sap* and *sê*

The syntax of interrogative clauses is discussed in Chapter 9. The question marker remains in situ, occupying the same grammatical slot as the element it questions, and is not fronted. *sa* is the most general question marker, and as can be seen above, some of the complex forms contain *sa* as well. *sap* is questioning entities ('which'); it is usually modifying a noun such as *pule-n* 'thing' or *kanai* 'kind' and then questions the identity of a certain object. *sap* is also used in declarative clauses, where it refers to a non-specified entity: 'something' (or, in the complex form *sesap*, 'anything', for a negated clause). The same is true for *sê*, questioning persons. Examples of *sa*, *sap*, and *sê* are given below; (67) and (68) exemplify the indefinite use of *sap* and *sê* in a declarative clause.

(65) *ngayom sa?*

[ngaya-m]_{vcs} [sa]_{vcc}
 name-2sg.PERT what
 'What's your name?'

(66) *i reo i maloan sap pulen, kolpanu le?*

[yi te-yo]_{vcs} yi [maloa-n sap pule-n]_{vcc}
 3sg EMP-DEM.INT 3sg photo-PERT which thing-PERT

 kolpanu le
 green.tree.snake or
 'This is a picture of which thing, a green tree snake or?'
 (Game1_021012_0016)

(67) *naman sap palawêk in pei la ro panu*

naman [sap palawêk]_s yi=an pei
 perhaps something badness 3sg=PRF happen

la to panu
go.to be home

‘Perhaps something bad has happened at home.’ (WL020711_0105)

(68) *ma kapwa wo sê re wopwa wolak...*

ma kapwa wo sê [te wo=pwa wo=lak]_{RC}

but if 2sg who REL 2sg=want.to 2sg=go

‘But if you are someone who wants to go...’ (LL030611_0109)

4.7.2 Questioning time and place

A moment in time is questioned by *kapi* ‘when’. Place is questioned by *pa* ‘where’. When used in a sentence, *pa* has to be prefixed with the preposition *a-*, as in (69a). However, in daily conversation it is also often used in a very elliptical manner, as in (69b).

(69a) *Jema i ro apa?*

[Jema]_S yi=to a-pa

J. 3sg=be at-where

‘Where is Jema?’

(69b) *Jema pa?*

Jema pa

Jema where

‘Where is Jema?’

4.7.3 Questioning relations with *samai-*

Perhaps not surprising for a language in which direct possession and association plays such an important role (for this see Sections 3.2.3 and 5.5), Paluai has a separate interrogative form questioning direct possessive relations, itself directly possessed. This form can question both kinship and part-whole relations; examples are given below. In (71), the speaker is referring to a body part of the pig in the picture, but is unsure what body part it is exactly and therefore uses the interrogative form, but the clause in its entirety is declarative.

(70) *Pokut i samaim?*

[Pokut]_{VCS} yi [samai-m]_{VCC}

P. 3sg what.of-2sg.PERT

‘How is Pokut related to you?’ (052b_0015)

(71) *puan ngusun le samain to ai nipêng teo*

[puan.ngusu-n le samai-n]_S to a-yi

upper.lip-PERT or what.of-PERT be at-3sg

nipêng te-yo

other.time EMP-DEM.INT

‘His upper lip or what of him was (visible) on it just before.’

(Game4_280812_0292)

4.7.4 *Questioning purpose or reason*

The form *pari ai sa* translates with ‘why’, but is more accurately questioning a purpose relation. There is not really an existential or “reason” question word ‘why’. The expression *kipe la sa*, which can be characterised as a rhetorical question, ‘now what?’, could be used in a situation when someone’s actions or motives are questioned. An example of *kipe la sa* is given below, followed by an example of *pari ai sa*.

(72) *ikipe la sa? imaarei ngonomek i re ngaakêp pwên*

yi_S=ki-pe la sa

3sg=IRR.3sg-PFV go.to what

yi_A=ma=arei ngonomek [yi te nga=akêp]_O pwên

3sg=NEG₁=say corresponding 3sg REL 1sg=pick.up NEG₂

‘Now what? He didn’t correctly describe the one that I picked up.’

(Game1_021012_0023)

(73) *woro pe yep pari ai sa?*

w_OA=to pe [yep]_O pari ai sa

2sg=CONT make fire what.for

‘Why are you making fire?’ / ‘What are you making fire for?’ (field notes

12/10/2012)

4.7.5 Questioning manner

la sa and (*la*) *tenepa* both question manner, but in different ways. *la sa* is only attested modifying a main verb, and questions the manner of the action described by this main verb (e.g. *ngan* ‘eat’ in (74) and *pe* ‘do’ in (75)). *tenepa* is attested modifying a main verb in an adverbial phrase with *la* (as in (76)), but can also head a predicate, as it does in (77) and (78). It questions more generally the manner of a situation, procedure or appearance.

(74) *kapwa kongan, kope nganan la sa?*

kapwa ko_A-ngan ko_A-pe [ngan-an]_O [la sa]

if IRR.1sg-eat IRR.1sg-do eat-NOM go.to what

‘If I would eat (this), how would I do the eating?’ (Game1_021012_0302)

(75) *kanopa i siai, le ipe la sa?*

kanopa yi_S=siai le yi=pe [la sa]

like 3sg=arms.bent or 3sg=do go.to what

‘Like he is standing with his arms bent, or how?’ (Game2_280812_0086)

(76) *a ngaakêpi la renepa?*

a nga_A=akêp=i_O [la tenepa]

and 1sg=pick.up=3sg go.to how

‘And how do I pick it up?’ [i.e. what is the right procedure]

(Game1_021012_0020)

(77) *tare kanopa kaywun le i renepa?*

[ta-te-yo]_{VCS} kanopa [kaywun]_{VCC} le yi_{VCS} [tenepa]_{VCC}
DEF-EMP-DEM.INT like white or 3sg how
'This thing, it is like white or how (does it look)?' (Game2_280812_0142)

(78) *kay, wope pul ma wo renepa?*

kay wo_{S=PE} pul ma wo_{VCS} [tenepa]_{VCC}
okay 2sg=PFV speak EMP 2sg how
'Okay, tell me. What's your story?' (TP: *yu olsem wanem?*)
(LK100411_0054)

4.8 Negation and mood markers

Markers which indicate TAM for a VP were already listed in Table 3.11. Reality status is indicated by zero for realis, and by a *kV-* prefix for irrealis (see Chapter 6). In addition, there are markers which give information about the mood and polarity of a clause. Declarative clauses are unmarked. Interrogative clauses are marked by intonation and, in the case of content questions, by one of the question markers as listed in Section 4.7 above. Imperative clauses are generally only marked by either a "bare" verb phrase or by irrealis; the imperative meaning can be deduced from the context. Negative imperatives, however, are marked by *napunan* (*lit.* 'it is forbidden').

Negative polarity of both verbal and verbless predicates is marked by double negation: the marker *ma-* is inserted before, and the marker *pwên* after the material over which the negation has scope. *pwên* can be used by itself, e.g. as a negative answer to a question. Mood and polarity are discussed in more detail in Chapter 10.

4.9 Conjunctions and clause connectors

Clauses can be subdivided into main and dependent clauses. Main clauses can stand on their own, whereas dependent clauses usually cannot and must be connected to a main clause (an exception to this are complement clauses of the verb *pwa* 'to say'). In many languages, main and dependent clauses can be distinguished by grammatical means, such as constituent order. On semantic grounds, dependent clauses can be distinguished because they somehow feel "unfinished"; something should be added to them.

However, the distinction between main and dependent clauses is not always clear-cut, and there is probably a continuum between them.

Paluai has a dependent clause marker *te* that introduces relative clauses (which modify nouns) and complement clauses (which are arguments to a verb). They are discussed in Sections 11.1.1 and 11.1.2, respectively. In addition, the marker *te* can follow a form in order to mark an adverbial subordinate clause, specifying e.g. time, manner or reason. The forms which can be followed by *te* will be discussed below. Generally speaking, *te* indicates that the element which it follows is modified by a clausal instead of a phrasal constituent.

Another type of dependent clause is a conditional clause, which is marked by irrealis (see Section 6.4). This type of clause is discussed in Section 11.1.3.

4.9.1 Coordination

The markers linking main clauses are shown in Table 4.17. Two of the coordinating clause connectors, *a* and *le*, can also connect two NPs as conjunctive and disjunctive marker, respectively. The markers *ma* and *onga* are only attested connecting clauses. *ma* can mean ‘and’, but usually can be translated with ‘but’, in particular when it occurs in the form *ma i te*, which presumably contains the subordinate clause marker *te* and links the two phrases connected by *ma i te* closer together. *ma* is also attested as an emphatic marker, and in the complex form *ai sa? ma* which can be translated with ‘because’.

a	and (conjunctive)
ma	but, and
le	or (disjunctive)
onga	(and) then, (and) so

Table 4.17 Markers for coordinating two main clauses

ma is used not only for a relation of contrast (translatable with ‘but’), but also for addition. Most cases of *ma*, however, are a clear relation of contrast. Below, example (79) shows a relation of contrast with *ma*, while this is absent from (80). A contrastive reading of (80) would be strange, because the storyteller is talking about returning home from the garden, which people usually do in the afternoon. For a more detailed discussion, see Chapter 11.

(79) *ngamaakêp nganngan pwên, ma ngano akêp muyou*⁷

nga_A=ma=akêp [nganngan]_O pwên
 1sg=NEG₁=pick.up food NEG₂

ma nga_A=no akêp [muyou]_O
 but 1sg=IPFV pick.up snake

‘I didn’t pick up the food, but I picked up the snake.’ (Game1_021012_0510)

(80) *ila poyep, ma uliliu si*

yi_S=la poyep ma u_S=liliu si
 3sg=go.to afternoon and 3du=return come.down

‘It had become afternoon and they returned home.’ (LM190611_0006)

The phrase *ai sa? ma* may be a calque from Tok Pisin (*bi*)*long wanem* ‘because’. *ai sa* literally means ‘for what?’ and is used as a sort of rhetorical question to indicate the meaning ‘because’; an example is given in (81). The phrase, however, is always followed by *ma*. It is unlikely that *ma* means ‘and’ in these cases. It may be that *ma* is used as an emphatic marker; for more, see Chapter 12.

(81) *ai sa? ma nik in pwak ai lau*

a-yi sa ma [nik]_S yi=an pwak a-yi lau
 at-3sg what EMP fish 3sg=PRF be.stuck at-3sg fishing.net

‘[The net went under] because fish had filled up the net.’ (NP210511_1_0016)

The disjunctive coordinator *le* connects main clauses and can be translated with ‘or’. It indicates a choice between two options. Often, *le* is repeated after the second clause of the two it connects.

(82) *i reo, iro patan nan le iro patan yoy, le?*

[yi te-yo]_S yi=to pata-n nan
 3sg EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=be on.top-PERT ground

⁷ *ma* is formally identical to the first particle of clausal negation *ma-* (which occurs in combination with *pwên*). They may be diachronically related. Negation is discussed in Section 10.2.

le yi_s=to pata-n yoy le
 or 3sg=be on.top-PERT stone or
 ‘This (thing), is it on the ground or is it on top of the stone, or..?’
 (Game1_021012_0046)

Both *le* ‘or’ and *a* ‘and’ can connect two NPs. In (83), two different words for ‘spirit’ are used, connected by *le*.

(83) *silal le pwalei, ipe pung nangin sasawan nik*
 [silal]le [pwalei] yi_A=pe pung [nangin sasawan nik]_O
 spirit or spirit 3sg=PFV smell smell.of strong.smell fish
 ‘A spirit, he smelled the strong smell of the fish.’ (NP210511_1_0028)

(84) *kokonin teo, moni a tiap*
 [kokoni-n te-yo]_{VCS} [[moni] a [tiap]]_{VCC}
 money-PERT EMP-DEM.INT money and cloth
 ‘His money [to be distributed at the *pukan kokon* ceremony] consists of paper money and cloth.’ (SY100411_0045)

The marker (*te*) *onga* is a bit of an enigma. It is used so frequently by some speakers, in particular in narratives, that it can almost be regarded as a filler. It basically means ‘and so, and then’ and thus may indicate a closer connection between two clauses than the use of *a* would. However, due to its frequent use it seems almost devoid of any meaning in present-day Paluai. Below, an example of *onga* is given; for more detailed discussion, see Chapter 11.

(85) *epsi ret onga epsi panu, epsi panu a sin ilol...*
 ep=si tet onga ep=si
 1pl.EXCL=come.down move and.so 1pl.EXCL=come.down

panu ep=si panu a sin yi=lol
 home 1pl.EXCL=come.down home and sun 3sg=be.dark
 ‘We went and so we came home, we came home and the sun had set...’
 (LL030611_0078)

4.9.2 Subordination

Syntactically, there is not much difference between main and dependent clauses (see Chapter 11 on clause relations for more details). There are, however, a number of conjunctions to be found in the data which mark a subordinate relation between one clause and another. Most of them contain a dependent clause marker *te*, which marks an adverbial subordinate clause. First, temporal subordinate clause markers are discussed, followed by other types of subordinate clause markers.

4.9.2.1 Temporal subordinate clause markers

Temporal subordinate clause markers are shown in the table below.

Form	Translation	Origin
no te	‘(just) when’	<i>no</i> ‘only’ ?
panua-n te	before	<i>panu</i> ‘front’
monoki-n te	after	<i>monok</i> ‘back’
pwotna-n te	when	<i>pwotwpot</i> ‘exactly’ ?
pêng te	when	<i>pêng</i> ‘day, occasion’
taim te	when	TP loan <i>taim</i> ‘time’
inap te	until	TP loan <i>inap</i> ‘until’

Table 4.18 Temporal subordinating conjunctions

All subordinate clause markers indicating temporal relations contain the marker *te*. Many of them have a nominal origin. Most indicate simultaneousness of two events in time: ‘at the time X happened, then Y (also) happened’. Others indicate a sequence of events (‘before/after X happened, Y happened’) or a sequence of stretches of time (‘X happened until Y happened’). Most of these markers can not only be used for past events, but also for future or hypothetical ones. When a temporal subordinator is used,

the main clause will usually be marked with the particle *ya*. This particle plays an important role in discourse and information structure, and is also attested with the emphatic marker *te-* (which was discussed in Section 4.3 on demonstratives) attached to it. This is the case e.g. in example (86) below. A more elaborate discussion of temporal subordinate clauses can be found in Section 11.1.4. Example (86) shows the use of *taim* for a hypothetical event.

(86) *taim te pên tao ıla nurupui rea, wope lêpi...*

taim te pên ta-o yi=la nurupui
time SUB daughter POSS-2sg.PERT 3sg=go.to mature

te-ya wo=pe lêp=i
EMP-then 2sg=PFV take=3sg

‘When your daughter has her first period, then you will take her...’

(NK290311_2_0005)

4.9.2.2 Other types of subordinate clauses

Markers of other types of subordinate clauses are shown in Table 4.19.

Form	Translation	Type of relation
arona-n te	‘consequently’	Consequence
a-yi sa? ma	‘because’	Reason
(a-)te	‘for, because’	Reason
kanopwên	‘if’	Counterfactual conditional
kanpwên	‘as if’	Manner
kapwa	‘if, when’	Conditional
longoa-n te	‘consequently’	Consequence
ma i te	‘but, well’	Concessive
pari ai te	‘because’	Reason
tangoa-n te	‘consequently’	Consequence
(te) onga	‘so that’	Result
te ... sa	‘lest, for fear of’	Possible consequence

Table 4.19 Other subordinating conjunctions

Again, all the markers show the marker *te*, except the conditional clause markers (and *kanpwên*, which also refers to an “unreal” situation).

The markers *(a-)te* and *pari ai te* appear to be very similar in meaning. Sometimes, *(a-)te* is used in a very elliptical manner. Example (87) below was used as a warning to a child. What is clearly meant is ‘cover your head, lest the sun burn you!’. The dependent clause (which can be characterised as an apprehensive), however, is almost entirely elided. All types of subordinate clauses mentioned in this section will be discussed in detail in Chapter 11.

(87) *wopolpol, te sin!*

wo=polpol te sin
2sg=cover.head SUB sun

‘Cover your head, because of the sun!’ (field notes 25/09/2012)

4.10 Interjections and formulaic words and phrases

A residual word class is formed by interjections: words or phrases which usually give information about the attitude of the speaker towards what is said, but fall outside of the syntax of a sentence. Ameka (1992) distinguishes expressive interjections, ‘the vocal gestures which are symptoms of the speaker’s mental state’, conative interjections, ‘those expressions which are directed at an auditor’, and phatic interjections, ‘used in the establishment and maintenance of communicative contact’ (Ameka, 1992, pp. 113-14). Formulaic words (and phrases) such as *sorry* and *thank you* are a bit problematic: they are ‘intentional and (socially) expected reactions to situations’ (*ibid.*: 109), whereas interjections are spontaneous. However, since formulaic words often cannot readily be assigned to another word class, they are put together with interjections.

An overview of frequent interjections and formulaic words and phrases is given in the tables below.

nok mwe- (directly possessed)	‘sorry’	sympathy, concern (not apology)
wuro	‘thank you’	appreciation
pwapwem (pian)	‘(good) morning’	greeting
poyep (pian)	‘(good) afternoon’	greeting
pêng (pian)	‘(good) night’	greeting
wo / au / arê / ap teyo (2 nd person pronoun plus DEM)	‘hello’	greeting
wo=tu tet au= / arê= / ap=ka-tu tet	‘goodbye’ (<i>lit.</i> ‘you will be going’)	greeting with leave-taking (party who stays)
wo=no tok au= / arê= / ap=ka-no tok	‘goodbye’ (<i>lit.</i> ‘you will be staying’)	greeting with leave-taking (party who goes)
arê no / arê rebo-ong	‘my goodness’	surprise, indignation, dismay
yi tinang	‘mother!’	alarm, dismay
konan	‘never mind’	dismissal of unimportant topic
ma in	‘don’t know’	uncertainty

Table 4.20 Formulaic words and phrases

eh	general expression of dismay, disgust, disagreement
oh	surprise, sign of comprehension

Table 4.21 Expressive/conative interjections

ah	affirmation of statement, comprehension
au	when hesitating
eh	after mistake, self-repair
hm	backchanneling device
i lou	when hesitating, filler when people cannot think of a word
kanopa	hedging device, filler
kay	resolution, agreement
uu	affirmation of statement, agreement; general backchanneling device

Table 4.22 Phatic/conative interjections

Thus, although interjections and formulas are usually regarded as elements that “fall outside” of grammar, there are clearly several types that can be distinguished. They also have various functional slots in grammar and discourse. On the one hand, there are those interjections that can be used to reply to an utterance of another speaker, for instance *ah*, *kay*, *oh* and *uu*. They thus have a communicative function and a potential illocutionary force. Formulas always have a communicative function.

On the other hand, there are those interjections that mainly function as expressions of attitude (expressive interjections) or that function as “self-regulating” devices (a subtype of phatic/conative interjections). *eh* is used in situations of self-repair, while *au*, *ilou* and *kanopa* are used as fillers and with hesitation. *kanopa* is also used as a hedging device. Of the latter type of interjections the primary function is not communicative, but they facilitate the speaker in his/her utterances. Of course, expressive interjections do have a secondary communicative function, giving the listener information about the emotional state of the speaker. They can therefore be characterised as conative as well as expressive (Ameka, 1992).

Chapter 5 The noun phrase

The head of a noun phrase (NP) is most often a noun, but can also be a free pronoun, or an independent demonstrative form with *ta-* (see Section 4.3.4). Only NPs that have a noun as head have the full range of modifiers available to them. A NP headed by a free pronoun can only have a relative clause, the emphatic particle *mwanenen* and/or a demonstrative as modifying element, and a NP headed by a demonstrative cannot take any modifiers.

NPs typically function as core or peripheral arguments to verbal predicates. In addition, a NP can fill the predicative position in a non-verbal predicate (see Chapter 7). Categories that are associated with the noun will be discussed in this chapter, in addition to the structural properties of the NP. Nouns can be modified by pronouns, numerals, quantifiers, adjectives, other nouns, prepositional phrases, relative clauses and demonstratives. In addition, nouns can enter into a possessive construction, either direct or indirect.

5.1 Structural features of the NP

Word order in a maximal noun phrase (with a noun as head) is as follows:

- (1) (Determiner) (Pre-head Mod)* **Noun** (Post-head Mod)* (Possessor)
 (Prepositional Phrase) (Relative Clause) (Demonstrative)

* Pre-head Mod can be filled by either a quantifier or an adjective, but not both.
Post-head Mod can be filled by a quantifier, an adjective, a numeral or another noun.

Minimally, a NP consists of just a bare noun; all modifiers are optional. Often, the noun is accompanied by one or more modifiers, but never as many as the maximal noun phrase suggests. The use of multiple modifiers in a NP is extremely rare. You will not be likely to find equivalents of English *Keket's huge new shiny house* or *two fat lazy pigs*. When speakers wish to modify a noun multiple times, they will do so with a chain of predicates, or use relative clauses. These discourse practices seem to be typical for

the New Guinea region (cf. de Vries, 2006). See Chapter 12 and Schokkin (2013b) for a more detailed discussion of discourse practices. Thus, the template given above for a “maximal” NP is somewhat misleading, since such a NP, with an adjectival modifier *and* a numeral *and* a prepositional modifier *and* a relative clause, will hardly ever be encountered. In what follows, each of the NP elements will be discussed.

5.2 Determiner

The first optional slot in the NP may be filled by a determiner indicating number and/or definiteness. There are two options for the determiner:

1. a third person non-singular personal pronoun, indicating non-singular number
2. the numeral ‘one’, functioning as an indefinite determiner

5.2.1 *Personal pronoun as determiner*

Third person pronouns are optionally used to indicate number on nouns. Bare nouns are neutral with regard to number, i.e. an unmodified noun can refer to either singular or non-singular. Thus, in (2), it has to be understood from the context that *yêpin* refers to many leaves, rather than one:

- (2) *yep iret ai yêpin teo*
 [yep]s yi=tet a-yi [yêpin te-yo]_{Loc}
 fire 3sg=spread at-3sg leaf EMP-DEM.INT
 ‘(The) fire spread through the leaves.’ (KM190211_0020)

To disambiguate whether a noun is referring to one or multiple entities, speakers have a number of options. Naturally, a numeral can be used; the numeral ‘one’ can be utilised as an indefinite determiner rather than indicating one entity (see below). Or, alternatively, a noun can be modified by a third person non-singular (i.e. dual, paucal or plural) pronoun, to indicate that it is referring to a non-singular referent. The following sentences give a number of examples.

- (3) *Ton no lêp maloan ip kurun pusok si net*

[Ton]_A no lêp [maloa-n [ip kutun pusok]]_O
T. IPFV take picture-PERT 3pl small island

si net
come.down sea

‘Ton was taking pictures of the small islands down in the ocean.’

(KM050995_0019)

- (4) *ipe ro lêp tinawayen ip molat*

yi_A=pe to lêp [tinawayen [ip molat]]_O
3sg=PFV HAB take huge 3pl dogtooth.tuna

‘He used to catch huge amounts of dogtooth tuna.’ (KW290611_0037)

- (5) *irê not no sot tet panu rang*

[irê natu]_S no sot tet [panua ta-ng]_{LOC}
3pc child IPFV go.up move front POSS-1sg

‘The boys went in front of me.’ (NP210511_2_0040)

- (6) *ip numun sôkôm teo kosan antek*

[ip numun sôkôm te-yo]_O ko_A-san antek
3pl fibre some EMP-DEM.INT IRR.1sg-cut put.away

‘Some of the leftover fibres (after basket weaving) I cut away.’

(MK050311_0024)

The 3pl pronoun *ip* is used much more often than the dual and paucal ones, and a notable difference between them is that the dual and paucal are only used for human referents. As can be seen from the examples above, *ip* has no such constraints. Still, it does most often refer to human or at least animate beings, despite the significant number of its occurrences with inanimate referents. This correlates with the animacy hierarchy that is well established for the marking of number on nouns (Smith-Stark, 1974). Usually, when a noun is preceded by a numeral, it refers to definite or at least specific entities, but this is not always the case. In (3), for example, the referent of *ip molat* is non-specific generic: it refers to the dogtooth tuna species as a whole.

5.2.2 Numeral ‘one’ as indefinite determiner

A numeral ‘one’ can precede the head noun in a NP. In this case, it functions as an indefinite determiner. In fact, some of the instances of ‘one’ following the head noun (in the usual position of a numeral) may also be more appropriately analysed as indefinite determiners; this will be discussed below in Section 5.4. The indefinite determiner indicates that the modified element refers to information that is regarded by the speaker as unidentifiable to the hearer, such as in examples (7), (8) and (9).

(7) *ope rou lai sip kui menengan*

wo_A=pe tou la a-i [sip kui menengan]_{LOC}

2sg=PFV put go.to at-3sg one.INANIM pot big

‘You will put (it) into a big pot.’ (CA120211_2_0020)

(8) *wola lêp som not taip*

wo_A=la lêp [som natu ta-ip]_O

2sg=go.to take one.ANIM child POSS-3pl

‘You go (and) take a child of theirs.’ (LM240611_0047)

(9) *aplêp som nel me*

ap_A=lêp [som nel]_O me

2pl=take one.ANIM rope come

‘You bring a (piece of) rope.’ [imperative] (LK100411_0077)

In example (10), however, the numeral in prenominal position refers to a definite referent, identifiable to the hearer. As discussed below, sometimes a numeral following the head noun can, in contrast, have the function of indefinite determiner. It is possible that the use of numerals is undergoing a shift due to influence of Tok Pisin: in this language, the numeral (either as number marker or indefinite determiner) always precedes the noun.

- (10) *wono akêp sip youn mui*
 wo_A=no akêp [sip you-n mui]_O
 2sg=IPFV pick.up one.INANIM tail-PERT dog
 ‘You will (each) pick up a dog’s tail.’ (LL300511_1_0059)

Whether the use of the numeral in this context is obligatory or optional is not entirely clear. However, if the NP lacked the indefinite determiner, it would in all likelihood have been interpreted as given information, i.e. as something that has been mentioned before in the discourse, even if it lacks a demonstrative as definite determiner (cf. Sections 4.3 and 12.3). If not definite, it would in any case refer to a specific and known instance of an object (e.g. with example (7), if there was only one big pot in the entire village). When the numeral ‘one’ is included, there is no doubt about it that the entity referred to is one instance of a generic set.

5.3 Prenominal modifier

The prenominal modifier slot can be filled with either a quantifier or an adjective. Most adjectives follow the head noun, but there are a number of exceptions to this rule, e.g. *kutun* ‘small’, *pwakpwak* ‘big, fat’ and *tinawayen* ‘huge’. Most of these exceptions seem to involve adjectives of Dimension. Quantifiers either precede or follow the head noun; a more detailed discussion can be found in Section 4.6. There are no examples attested of nouns that are preceded by both a quantifier and an adjectival modifier. The quantifier for small quantities *sê* (or a slightly different form, depending on the semantics of the head noun – see Section 4.6) precedes the head noun when the formative *an-* is attached to it, but follows it when it is used by itself. Below, two examples are given of a quantifier as pre-head modifier. In (11), *ansê* precedes the head noun *pau*, and in (12), *ansut* precedes *kokon*. Note that in (11), the entire phrase *ansê pau* is in its turn modified by the adjective of dimension *namwi* ‘small’.

- (11) *worou ansê pau namwi lai*
 wo_A=tou [[an-sê pau] namwi]_O la a-yi
 2sg=put piece-small coconut.oil small go.to at-3sg
 ‘You put a little bit of coconut oil with it.’ (NK290311_2_0020)

(12) *ipwa kime baim ai ansut kokon*

yi=pwa ki-me baim a-yi [an-sut kokoni]

3sg=want.to IRR.3sg-come buy at-3sg piece-small money

‘He wants to come (and) buy (it) with a bit of money.’ (MK050311_0030)

5.4 Post-nominal modifier

Most adjectives follow the head noun, as do most quantifiers. Numerals, used within the NP, also follow the head noun. A head noun can be modified by a pre-head and a post-head modifier combined, as in (13), but seemingly not by two pre-head or two post-head modifiers.

(13) *u tinawayen yoy raywêp*

[u]_{vcs} [[tinawayen yoy] ta-yuêp]_{vcc}

3du huge stone DEF-two.INANIM

‘They were two huge stones.’ (LK250111_0052)

As was mentioned above, in some cases a numeral following the head noun can also be interpreted as a marker of indefiniteness. Below, some examples are given.

(14) *irême ai marayon sip te iro net*

irê_s=me a-yi [maran.yon sip]_{LOC} te yi=la

3pc=come at-3sg well one.INANIM REL 3sg=go.to

to net

be sea

‘They came upon a well that was located in the sea.’ (MS250311_0052)

(15) *ipe la ran parip som*

yi_s=pe la ta-n [parip som]

3sg=PFV go.to POSS-PERT old.woman one.ANIM

‘She went to an old woman.’ (LK100411_0018)

In addition, a second noun can fill the post-head modifier slot as a modifier juxtaposed to the head noun, without any marking. This appears to be only possible with nouns that refer to animate beings. Examples are *pein pwalei* ‘spirit woman’ (*lit.* ‘woman spirit’) or *not mwen* ‘male child’ (*lit.* ‘child man’). Many of the combinations thus formed have lexicalised into names for animals. An example is e.g. *pei manuai* ‘spotted eagle ray’ (*lit.* ‘stingray eagle’), which is so named because of its similarity in shape to the eagle’s wings.

5.5 Possessor

When there is a direct or indirect possession construction, the noun referring to the Possessee (Pe) is always the head of the construction. The Possessor (Po) is cross-referenced by a suffix on the noun referring to the Pe (in the case of direct possession) or on a separate particle *ta-* following the NP referring to the Pe (in the case of indirect possession). In addition, the Po can be overtly expressed by a full NP; this NP always follows the Pe NP and then the possessive construction consists of two NPs, with the Pe NP as head. Section 3.2.2 provides a discussion of how nouns can be classified according to the possession construction(s) they can participate in. For alienable possession of edible objects, there is a separate possessive form *ka-*, which precedes the head noun. This is the only case where Po precedes Pe. See Section 4.2.3.2 for the *ka-* paradigm.

5.5.1 Form of direct possession

Direct possession, which is usually considered to be linked to a semantic class of “inalienable possession”, is expressed by a pronominal suffix added directly to the noun (hence the name). Because the suffix marks person and number information of the Po on the noun referring to the Pe, it is labelled ‘pertensive’. It can take the following forms:

(16) 1 st person sg	-ng
2 nd person sg	-m
3 rd person sg	-n (optionally followed by full NP)
all other persons and numbers	-n plus personal pronoun suffix (see Section 4.2.3 for paradigm)

An example is given below of direct possessive constructions with the directly possessed root *tama-* ‘father’:

(17) <i>tamo-ng</i>	‘my father’
<i>tamo-m</i>	‘your (sg.) father’
<i>tama-n</i>	‘his father’
<i>tama-n Sion</i>	‘John’s father’
<i>tama-n-ip</i>	‘their (pl.) father’

The *-n* pertensive marker itself is not specified for person and number, but only indicates a possessive relation. It could be argued that it is a default form, which refers to 3sg if not further specified. For other persons and numbers, information referring to the Po is added by a personal pronoun suffix that follows the pertensive suffix. The suffixes for non-singular numbers added to the form already containing the *-n* suffix are formally identical to the suffixes added to the *ta-* and *ka-* possessive forms; the paradigm is given in Section 4.2.3.

Nouns that can be both directly and indirectly possessed have two stem forms: a long and a short form. This surfaces in e.g. *sal* ‘road’ vs. *sale-n* ‘its road’, *pwapwa* ‘story’ vs. *pwapwae-n* ‘its story’, *pêng* ‘day’ vs. *pêngi-n* ‘its day’. Stems that are obligatorily directly possessed, such as kinship terms, only have a long form. For first and second person singular, the final vowel of the long form changes under influence of the pertensive suffix. The possibilities are shown in the table below. The vowel alternations shown here are triggered by the presence of the 1sg and 2sg pertensive suffix and can thus be regarded as morphophonological alternations, operating separately from regular phonological alternations (Trubetzkoy, 1969). In all likelihood, a historical version of the pertensive suffix contained a vowel which caused alternations to the stem vowels. It is beyond the scope of this thesis, however, to reconstruct this historical suffix.

Final vowel of stem	Final vowel 1sg and 2sg suffixed form	Example
/ɐ/	[ɔ]	tama- ‘father’: [təmɔŋ], [təmɔm], [təmɔn]
	[ɐ]	tina- ‘mother’: [tinɐŋ], [tinɐm] ¹ , [tinɐn]
/u/	[u]	nupu- ‘bottom’: [nupuŋ], [nupum], [nupun]
/e/	[ɪ]	ke- ‘leg’: [kɪŋ], [kɪm], [kɪn]
/o/	[o]	kaso- ‘near’: [kəsɔŋ], [kəsɔm], [kəsɔn]
/i/	[ɪ]	mapi- ‘fontanel’: [mapɪŋ], [mɛpɪm], [mapɪn]

Table 5.1 Vowel alternations in directly possessed nouns

Experts on Oceanic believe that the languages of the Eastern Admiralties have lost final consonants and the preceding vowels (Blust, 2009, p. 95). Therefore, it is possible that also nouns that are not found in direct possession constructions still have underlying long forms; however, these never surface. The same may be the case for other stem forms, e.g. verbs. There is some evidence from derivations, such as reduplication, that verbs may indeed have underlying long forms.

5.5.2 *Form of indirect possession*

General indirect possession is expressed by a pertensive suffix added to a particle *ta-*, which follows the head NP which refers to the Pe. This form of possession is usually linked to a semantic class of “alienable possession”. The paradigm of forms can be found in Section 4.2.3. There is a distinction in third person singular, depending on whether or not the *ta-* form plus suffix is followed by a full NP: if it is followed by a full NP, the suffix *-n* is used, but if not, the suffix *-i* is used. Note that the indirect possession pertensive suffixes for second and third person singular are different from the ones that attach directly to the noun. In fact they are formally similar to the verbal object enclitics (see Section 4.2.2.2). Thus, *ta-* is a hybrid form which takes dependent forms from both the nominal and verbal paradigm. An example is given below of indirect possessive constructions with the noun *wum* ‘house’:

¹ There is some variation found with this form: [tinɔm] is also encountered.

- (18) *wum ta-ng* ‘my house’
wum ta-o ‘your (sg.) house’
wum ta-i ‘his house’
wum ta-n Sion ‘John’s house’
wum ta-ip ‘their (pl.) house’

Indirect possession of edible or otherwise consumable items (but not potable items) is expressed by the possessive classifier *ka-*, which precedes the noun. Below, two examples of the use of this classifier are given.

- (19) *kong naluai a kong pou*
[ka-ng naluai] a [ka-ng pou]
CLF.food-1sg garden.food and CLF.food-1sg pig
‘My garden food and pork (for me to eat).’ (LK100411_0104)

- (20) *kom puan tiok*
ka-m puan tiok
CLF.food-2sg fruit piper.betle
‘Your *tiok* fruit (for you to chew with betel nut).’ (LL300511_2_0015)

Alternatively, both *ta-* and *ka-* can be head of a non-verbal predicate, expressing predicative possession. This function is discussed in Chapter 7.

5.6 Prepositional phrase

The only prepositional phrases encountered within a NP are formed with *pari* ‘from, belonging to’.² A prepositional phrase always follows the head noun it modifies. When *pari* is followed by a local noun, there is no additional modifier, but when not, the preposition *a-* (prefixed to the 3sg pronoun *yi*) needs to be added. Sentences (21) to (24) give examples of the use of *pari*, the first two with a local noun and the latter two with a common noun.

² If the possessive particle *ta-* is considered a preposition, phrases expressing the Po of an indirect possession construction also count as prepositional phrases within the NP.

(21) *ip pein pari Nauna*

ip pein pari Nauna

3pl woman belonging.to N.

‘(The) women from Nauna’ (KS030611_1_0007)

(22) *epworup Lou, suk pari Lou*

ep_S=worup [Lou]_{LOC} [suk pari Lou]_{LOC}

1pl.EXCL=descend Lou shore belonging.to Lou

‘We alighted on Lou, on the shore of Lou Island’ (NP210511_2_0006)

(23) *wong kope pwapwa repwo, pwapwa pari ai pang*

wong_A ko-pe [pwapwae te-pwo]_O [pwapwae

1sg.FREE IRR.1sg-make story EMP-DEM.PROX story

[pari a-yi pang]_o

belonging.to at-3sg rain

‘I will tell this story, the story of the rain.’ (LM260511_1_0004)

(24) *ip yamat pari ai peinan nin*

ip yamat [pari a-yi peinan nine]

3pl person belonging.to at-3sg making.of fight

‘Short-tempered people, people prone to fighting.’ [TP *man bilong pait*]

(NP220611_2_0009)

The prepositional phrase with *pari* follows adjectives and other post-head modifiers:

(25) *kei nangin pari lalon kanum*

[kei nangin [pari lalo-n kanum]]_{NP}

tree smell belonging.to inside-PERT garden

‘Nice-smelling herbs (meant) for inside the garden.’ (NK290311_1_0013)

5.7 Relative clause

NPs are frequently modified by relative clauses. There is a range of functions that the common argument (CA) can have in either the main clause or the relative clause. Relative clauses are discussed in detail in Section 11.1.1.

5.8 Demonstrative

The demonstrative is always the final element in the NP, following all other modifiers. As such, it probably has a function signalling the end of the NP. The demonstrative paradigm is discussed in Section 4.3. Demonstratives with *te-* have been reanalysed as definiteness markers: they indicate that the referent of the NP they modify is identifiable to the hearer. When a participant is first introduced in the discourse, it is mostly not marked by a demonstrative, unless the speaker wants to put extra emphasis on it by topicalising it. Subsequent occurrences of the participant are likely to be marked with the intermediate demonstrative. The proximate and distal demonstrative forms are often used as discourse cataphors. See Chapter 12 for more on pragmatics and discourse practices. Below, example (26) shows a complex NP with the distal demonstrative as final element.

5.9 Coordination of NPs

As mentioned in Section 4.9, the coordinators *a* ‘and’ and *le* ‘or’ can be used to coordinate two NPs:

(26) *taman a tinan teo, ukape pul la rai la remenin telo*

[[tama-n]	a	[tina-n]	te-yo] _A	u=ka-pe	pul
father-PERT	and	mother-PERT	EMP-DEM.INT	3du=IRR.NS-PFV	talk

la	ta-i	la	temenin	te-lo
go.to	POSS-3sg	go.to	like	EMP-DEM.INT

‘Her father and mother, they (two) would speak to her as follows.’

(LK100411_0013)

In (26), the entire constituent *taman a tinan teyo* forms the topicalised A argument of the clause, ending with the intermediate demonstrative as a definiteness marker.

Interestingly, two NPs can also be linked by means of a personal pronoun. In a number of cases, dual number pronouns are used in combination with one or two NPs to indicate a collective meaning ‘together with, and’. These are examples of what Lichtenberk (2000) calls ‘inclusory pronominals’, although he does not in fact discuss inclusory pronominals which are combined with two NPs. According to Lichtenberk (2000, p. 2), it is not the case that two NPs, or a pronoun and a NP, are coordinated, but rather that the pronominal ‘identifies the total set of participants’ and the NP ‘identifies a subset’. If we follow this analysis, this would mean that in Paluai, more than one subset of a total set of participants could be identified with this construction.

(27) *iro ran taman u rinan*

yis=to ta-n [[tama-n] u [tina-n]]_{LOC}
 3sg=be POSS-PERT father-PERT 3du mother-PERT

‘She was (staying) with her father and mother.’ (*lit.* ‘father them two mother’)
 (LK100411_0009)

(28) *wui Maiiau pe yangyangek tui*

[wui Maiiau]_A pe yangyang-ek ta-ui
 1du.EXCL M. PFV love-APPL POSS-1du.EXCL

‘Maiiau and I fell in love with each other.’ (*lit.* ‘we two Maiiau...’)
 (KM060111_0009)

(29) *pêng pian, Sauka au Keket*

pêng pian [Sauka] au [Keket]
 night good S. 2du K.

‘Good night to you two, Sauka and Keket.’ (*lit.* (Sauka you two Keket’)
 (OL201210_0002)

Mostly, it is the third person pronoun that is used in this sense; the first and second person instances are quite rare. Similar usages of dual pronouns are reported for closely related languages, e.g. Loni (Hamel, 1994), Sivisa Titan (Bower, 2011) and Seimat (Wozna & Wilson, 2005).

5.10 The formative *ta-*

The formative *ta-*, which was already briefly discussed in Chapter 4, is encountered within the NP as a linker, combined with members from several word classes as shown in the table below. It occurs either by itself or is preceded by the 3sg pronoun *yi*.

Word Class	Example	Function
N – local	ta-almaru ‘the right (one)’	Definiteness marker
N – personal	ta-Keket	Definiteness marker
A	ta-kayan ‘the black (spots)’	Possibly nominalising / definiteness marker
Demonstrative	ta-te-pwo	Derives independent form
Preposition	ta-pari ‘one belonging to the’	Possibly derives independent form
Numeral	ta-ngunan ‘the five’	Definiteness marker
Quantifier	ta-sê ‘the small one’	Definiteness marker
Pronoun?	ta-arê 1pc-INCL	Possibly inclusive pronoun formative

Table 5.2 Functions of *ta-*

ta- functions either as a formative deriving independent nominal heads from forms that cannot be used independently (e.g. adjectives, demonstratives, prepositions, numerals and quantifiers), or as a definiteness marker for forms that can be used as such, i.e. nouns. Below, examples of the use of *ta-* within the NP with various word classes are given.

5.10.1 Use of *ta-* with nouns

yi ta- is often encountered with nouns referring to spatial orientation ‘left’ and ‘right’. In (30), the *ta-* phrase forms a modifier to the head of the NP *minan*.

(30) *kei ila ro minan i raalmaru*

kei_S yi=la to [mina-n [yi ta-almaru]]_{LOC}
tree 3sg=go.to be hand-PERT 3sg DEF-right

‘The stick is in his right hand.’ [*lit.* ‘The stick is in the hand on the right-hand side.’] (Game2_021012_0017)

Secondly, *yi ta-* is often used with the unpossessed form *not* of the root *natu-* ‘child’, or with the form *manak* ‘elder’, to refer to a younger resp. older individual, often a sibling.

(31) *iro yik i ranot teo*

yi_A=to yik [yi ta-natu te-yo]_O
3sg=CONT search.for 3sg DEF-child EMP-DEM.INT

‘He was searching for the younger one.’ (WL020711_0162)

Thirdly, *yi ta-* is often used with the forms *nisip* ‘other’, *panurasip* ‘first’ and *monok* ‘after’, to refer to an instance or object that came first, came later, or will come next.³

(32) *ino pwa kingonomek i rapanurasip*

yi=no pwa ki-ngonomek [yi ta-panurasip]
3sg=IPFV want.to IRR.3sg-correspond.to 3sg DEF-first

‘It is likely corresponding to the first one.’ (Game1_021012_0384)

ta- by itself, without *yi*, is not often encountered with nouns other than personal nouns. With personal nouns, however, it is quite common. It is used to introduce the name of a person who has been referred to by a kinship term just before:

(33) *sopwol lan tupung ta Kiralue*

sopwol ta-n [tupu-ng [ta-Kiralue]]
one.half.round POSS-PERT grandparent-1sg DEF-Kiralue

‘The side of my grandfather, Kiralue.’ (KW290611_0004)

³ Word class membership of *panurasip* is not entirely clear. It is mostly used as sentence adverbial, but probably has nominal origins; it is related to the noun *panua* ‘front’.

(34) *tamom ta Yêp Ponaun*

[tama-m [ta-Yêp Ponaun]]

father-2sg.PERT DEF-Yêp Ponaun

‘Your father Yêp Ponaun.’ (PK290411_1_0005)

5.10.2 Use of *ta-* with adjectives

With adjectives, *yi ta-* derives an independent form meaning ‘the X one’. Some examples are given below. The phrases *yi takaywun*, *yi tayamyaman* and *yi tapilipil* each form the head of a NP that functions as an argument in the clause (in this case, as VCS).

(35) *som i menengan, i rakaywun i menengan*

[som]_{VCS} yi [menengan]_{VCC} [yi ta-kaywun]_{VCS} yi [menengan]_{VCC}

one.ANIM 3sg big 3sg DEF-white 3sg big

‘One is big, the white one is big.’ (Game1_021012_0580)

(36) *i rayamyaman teo isot wat a i rapilipil leo isi paye*

[yi ta-yamyaman te-yo]_s yi=sot wat

3sg DEF-red EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=go.up up.high

a yi ta-pilipil te-yo yi=si paye

and 3sg DEF-yellow EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=come.down down.below

‘The red one is up high and the yellow one is down below.’

(Game2_280812_0153)

ta- is occasionally used by itself to derive an independent form from an adjective. Again, the derived form heads a NP that functions as core argument. Sentence (37) below describes an overripe banana, with black spots all over it.

(37) *takayan ino pei muyan o*

[ta-kayan]_A yi=no pei [muya-n yo]_O
 DEF-black 3sg=IPFV appear skin-PERT DEM.INT
 ‘Black spots are / “blackness” is appearing all over its skin.’
 (Game3_280812_0224)

5.10.3 Use of *ta-* with demonstratives

There is a complex demonstrative which is made up of a particle *ta-*, the emphatic particle or ligature *te-*, and a basic demonstrative form, which was discussed in Section 4.3.4. This demonstrative can be used as an independent form that can substitute a noun, for instance as a subject or object argument to a verb or a subject in a non-verbal predicate. Below, an example is given.

(38) *ipwa, “Nulik, tarepwo ran sê?”*

yi=pwa Nulik [ta-te-pwo]_{VCS} [ta-n sê]_{VCC}
 3sg=say Nulik DEF-EMP-DEM.PROX POSS-PERT who
 ‘She said, “Nulik, whose is this?”’ (WendyLawan020611_0044)

5.10.4 Use of *ta-* with prepositions

ta- is, with and without *yi*, encountered preceding the preposition *pari* ‘belonging to’. The construction usually has spatial reference. The phrase starting with *ta-* modifies the element that precedes it, whether this is a full NP or the 3sg pronoun *yi*.

(39) *wai rai rapari paye relo*

[wai ta-i [ta-pari paye] te-lo]_{NP}
 loincloth POSS-3sg DEF-belonging.to down.below EMP-DEM.DIST
 ‘The lower side of his loincloth.’ (Game3_280812_0110)

(40) *i rapari monok telo*

[yi [ta-pari monok] te-lo]_{NP}
 3sg DEF-belonging.to behind EMP-DEM.DIST
 ‘The one at the back...’ (Game3_280812_0110)

5.10.5 Use of *ta-* with numerals

Numerals are often encountered as noun modifiers preceded by the formative *ta-*. This was discussed in detail in Section 4.5.3. Below, one example is repeated as an illustration.

(41) *ipe yipek môsôkei la laêngan taywêp*

$y_{iA}=\text{pe}$ *yipek* $[\text{môsôkei}]_O$ *la* $[\text{laênga-n } [\text{ta-yuêp}]]_{\text{Loc}}$
3sg=PFV blow conch.shell go.to ear-PERT DEF-two.INANIM

‘He blew the conch shell into her two ears.’ (LM260511_2_0012)

In addition, numerals with or without *ta-* can be modified by the prefix *nan-*, which also occurs on quantifiers; see Section 4.6.2.2.

5.10.6 Use of *ta-* with quantifiers

The formative *ta-* is encountered with the quantifier *sê* ‘small, little’, as in (42) below. This form follows the head noun. It is not entirely clear what exactly the semantic difference is between the “bare” quantifier and the variant with *ta-*. This may be connected to definiteness of the head noun. (42) is a concluding remark at the end of a narrative, and so the noun *pwapwae* which *tasê* modifies refers to an entity well established in the discourse.

(42) *pwapwa rasê reo, a inêp*

$[\text{pwapwae } [\text{ta-sê}] \text{ te-yo}]$ *a* $y_{iS}=\text{nêp}$
story DEF-small EMP-DEM.INT and 3sg=be.finished

‘This is the small story, and it’s finished.’ (WL020711_0165)

5.10.7 The formative *ta-*: conclusion

Although the formative *ta-* remains a bit of a mystery, its role is in any case to derive a constituent with definite reference. This constituent is either used by itself, often preceded by the 3sg pronoun, or it is used to modify a nominal form as modifier with definite reference. The first situation is particularly common for adjectival or demonstrative forms and the latter situation is particularly common for numerals and nominal forms.

Chapter 6 Predicates I: Verbal predicates

In this chapter, the various categories that are associated with verbal predicates and the verb phrase (VP) are discussed. These are: cross-referencing of subject and object, reality status, aspect and modality. With regard to aspect, a distinction can be made between pre- and postverbal aspectual markers. The former could be regarded as particles, whereas the latter take on the guise of coverbs or adverbs, or may perhaps be analysed as full verbs serialised with the main verb in a SVC. The Paluai verb phrase is very complex and could be analysed as potentially containing a serial verb construction (SVC), a main verb plus coverbs/adverbs or a main verb plus particles, or a combination of the above.

In addition to aspectual particles, many VPs contain a directional (see Section 3.3.1.3). Some of these, in particular the most frequent ones *la* and *me*, may have grammaticalised (or be in a process of grammaticalisation) to become aspectual particles with a purposive/sequential sense. Directionals can occur both preceding and following the main verb, but in this chapter only their preverbal instances will be discussed (with the exception of *wot* ‘to move horizontally’). The reason for this is that a directional following the main verb is not analysed as a part of the VP, because it follows the object bound pronoun (if present) and introduces a Locative or Goal constituent by means of a SVC. Verb-particle or verb-verb sequences that are part of the VP, however, could potentially also be analysed as SVCs, but this is not the topic of the current chapter. See Chapter 9 for more on SVCs.

In what follows, bound subject and object pronouns cross-referencing core arguments will be discussed first, followed by discussions of aspectual particles and preverbal directionals. Although reality status is probably the most fundamental verbal category in Paluai, its discussion will follow that of aspectual categories, because it interrelates in various ways with them. Modality ties in with reality status and thus will be discussed directly following it. After discussing the various categories associated with the verb and VP, the final part of the chapter will discuss the structural properties of the VP itself and how it can be schematically represented.

6.1 Cross-referencing of subject and object

For declarative and interrogative clauses, the subject has to be obligatorily expressed within the VP, either by a bound pronoun which forms a proclitic to the VP, or an irrealis marker containing person and number information (see Section 6.4 for discussion of the category irrealis). This means that if the irrealis marker is present, the bound pronoun is not obligatory, but it is otherwise – example (6) is ungrammatical. In addition, a free pronoun can precede the VP. Free and bound subject pronouns are only formally distinguished for first person singular (see Section 4.2 for the pronominal paradigms) so for other persons and numbers, it is in fact not formally evident whether the free or the bound form of the pronoun is used. But, for first person singular the following variation can be recognised:

(1) *wong ngakola um*

wong	nga=[ko-la] _{VP}	wumwa
1sg.FREE	1sg=IRR.1sg-go.to	house

‘Me, I will go home.’

(2) *ngakola um*

nga=[ko-la] _{VP}	wumwa
1sg=IRR.1sg-go.to	house

‘I will go home.’

(3) *wong kola um*

wong	[ko-la] _{VP}	wumwa
1sg.FREE	IRR.1sg-go.to	house

‘I will go home.’

(4) *kola um*

[ko-la] _{VP}	wumwa
IRR.1sg-go.to	house

‘I will go home.’

(5) *ngala um*
 nga=[la]_{VP} wumwa
 1sg=go.to house
 ‘I went home.’

(6) **wong la um*
 *wong [la]_{VP} wumwa
 1sg.FREE go.to house
 Intended: ‘I went home.’

For first and second person, there will always be a bound pronoun present, expressing the subject of the clause,¹ sometimes accompanied by an optional free pronoun. For third person, the situation is less clear, because the subject will often be expressed by a full NP. When the NP is quite long (for instance, if it contains a relative clause), the VP usually shows a bound pronoun, but there are a number of examples in the data with a short NP subject where this seems not to be the case. It is possible, however, that the *yi*-form of the bound pronoun is sometimes hard to discern in fast speech. The sentences below give some examples of a 3sg subject expressed by a full NP, with and without a bound pronoun copy present on the verb. In (7) and (8) below, a subject expressed by a full NP headed by a directly possessed kinship term is also cross-referenced by a bound pronoun on the VP.

(7) *tamong ipe pul la rang, ipwa “narung...”*
 [tama-ng]_{NP/A} yi=[pe pul]_{VP} la ta-ng yi=pwa
 father-1sg.PERT 3sg=PFV speak go.to POSS-1sg 3sg=say

 natu-ng
 son-1sg.PERT
 ‘My father spoke to me, he said, “My son...”’ (KM060111_0025)

¹ The term ‘subject’ refers to the grammatical subject position, which can be filled by either core arguments S or A, depending on the valency of the verb. There is no formal difference between S and A. See Chapter 7 for more on grammatical relations.

(8) *irê tamantarê, irêro arei ngai som e*

[irê tama-n-tarê]_{NP/A} irê=[to arei]_{VP} [ngai som]_{NP/O} e
 3pc father-PERT-1pc.INCL 3pc=HAB say name one.ANIM TAG

‘Our fathers used to call (it) one [specific] name, right?’ (PK290411_1_0020)

In (9) and (10), a 3sg subject expressed by a full NP is not cross-referenced by a bound pronoun on the VP. In (9), it is expressed by a directly possessed noun and in (10) by a proper name. Dropping of the 3sg subject bound pronoun seems to happen predominantly when the subject is expressed by a directly possessed noun (such as a kinship term) or a proper name. It remains a matter for further research under exactly what pragmatic circumstances the 3sg bound pronoun tends to be dropped. Across the board, the phenomenon seems to be quite marginal, however, since the great majority of subjects are cross-referenced by a bound pronoun on the VP.

(9) *a tinan to apui a uro ngan*

a [tina-n]_{NP/A} [to apui]_{VP} a u=to ngan
 and mother-PERT HAB cook and 3du=HAB eat

‘And the mother used to cook (the fish) and they used to eat (them).’

(KW290611_0019)

(10) *Alup Sauka pe yaya rou China*

[Alup Sauka]_{NP/A} [pe [yaya tou]]_{VP} [China]_O
 A.S. PFV swim give C.

‘Alup Sauka swam after China [name of a dog].’ (MK060211_0035)

The object NP of a transitive verb is often not overtly expressed, especially when it is the sentence topic (see also Chapter 12).² Inanimate objects get zero cross-reference on the VP, but animate objects are obligatorily cross-referenced. When the object is cross-referenced with a bound pronoun, this appears as an enclitic on the last element of the VP. This means that adverbs or coverbs of manner (see Section 3.6.1.1) appear between the main verb and its object, whether this is expressed as an enclitic or as a full

² There are, in fact, a number of transitive verb forms ending in *-i*, such as *sui* ‘to fry’, *apui* ‘to cook’ and *yei* ‘to grate, scrape’. When a 3sg bound object pronoun cliticises on these verbs, it is not easily discernible from the final vowel of the verb. However, there is an equally large amount of verbs ending in another phoneme for which it is easily recognisable.

NP. A number of examples are given below. In (11) and (12), the main verb is followed by an adverbial and a postverbal aspectual particle, respectively. These are followed by a bound pronoun enclitic expressing the O argument. In (11), the clause *kingan puni* forms a complement clause to the main verb *pwa* ‘to want to’ (see Section 6.5.1 below).

(11) *ibpwa kingan puni*

yi=pwa [[ki_A-[ngan pun]<sub>VP=i_O]]_{Compl:Pot}
 3sg=want.to IRR.3sg-eat INTF=3sg</sub>

‘He wanted to really eat him/eat him completely.’ (LL010711_0067)

(12) *ingan mat nênip*

yi_A=[[ngan mat]_{SVC} nênip]_{VP=i_O}
 3sg=eat die be.finished=3pl

‘He killed and ate them all.’ (*lit.* ‘he eat die finish them’) (KW290611_0057)

In (13) and (14), the O argument is expressed by a full NP and seems also to be expressed by a bound object pronoun on the VP. In both cases, the O argument has human reference, so this makes sense.

(13) *iro yuai ip lau*

yi_A=[to yuai]_{VP=ip} [laue]_O
 3sg=HAB call=3pl people

‘He (usually) calls the people [of his clan].’ (LL300511_2_0005)

(14) *kapwa kariu keleyekip not tang teo...*

kapwa [ka_A-tiu keleyek]_{VP=ip} [natu ta-ng
 if IRR.3sg-collect turn=3pl child POSS-1sg.PERT

te-yo]_O

EMP-DEM.INT

‘If my children are handled by other people...’ (NP260511_0007)

It is questionable, however, if the third person plural pronoun in these cases has to be regarded as a bound pronoun, cliticised to the VP. As discussed in Section 5.2, free

pronouns are often used within the NP (preceding the noun) as a number marking device. This is also probably the case in (13) and (14) above. There are two reasons to assume this. First of all, we also find inanimate full NP O arguments which show a non-singular pronominal form, such as in (15) below.

- (15) *ipe ro akêp ip malet*
 yi_A=[pe to akêp]_{VP} [ip malet]_O
 3sg=PFV CONT pick.up 3pl rock
 ‘He was picking up rocks.’ (LM190611_0021)

In this case and similar ones, *ip* is better analysed as a strategy to mark non-singular number on the full NP referent. The second reason why cases like (13) and (14) probably do not contain object bound pronouns, is because there are no examples found of the 3sg singular object bound pronoun *-i* combined with a full NP. Thus, an animate O argument has to be cross-referenced on the VP *only* if the full NP referent has been elided, as is the case in e.g. (11) and (12). It is thus different from the S/A argument, which always needs to be cross-referenced (with the apparent exception of the cases discussed above), also when it is expressed as a full NP.

6.2 Aspect

Paluai has a variety of aspectual particles preceding and possibly also following the verb (an overview is given in Section 3.3.1.4). In this section, first preverbal “core aspectual” particles will be discussed, followed by preverbal particles indicating “secondary aspect”. It is not always easy to distinguish between tense, aspect and modality, and in fact some forms may carry features of two or more. After preverbal aspectual particles, the discussion will turn to postverbal aspectual particles.

Verbal aspect is defined as follows: ‘aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation’ (Holt (1943), quoted in Comrie (1976, p. 3)). Aspect defines the temporal flow (or lack thereof) of a given situation, a basic distinction being whether a situation is looked upon as bounded and possibly unitary, without reference to any flow of time during the situation, or non-bounded, with reference to the nature of the flow of time during the situation, but no reference to temporal bounds of the situation. The first is called perfective aspect, while the latter is

called imperfective aspect. In English, this opposition can be illustrated by the pair *I ate* vs. *I was eating*. Within imperfective, two sub-domains are usually distinguished: habitual and continuous/progressive (Bybee et al., 1994; Comrie, 1976).

Aspect is different from tense. Tense ‘relates the time of the situation referred to to some other time, usually the moment of speaking’ (Comrie, 1976, p. 2). Tense relates the here-and-now of the speech event to another time in the past, present or future. Aspect first and foremost refers to the internal composition and boundedness of a situation, rather than foregrounding a temporal relation. In Paluai, aspect is not obligatorily indicated, but it is in other languages. Since there is no category of tense, this means that when aspectual particles are absent, a clause is completely unmarked with regard to its temporal reference. In these cases, it has to be concluded from the discourse context whether the clause refers to past or present. In addition, some aspects lend themselves more to a past interpretation and others more to a present interpretation. A clause will, however, always be marked for reality status, either with *kV-* for irrealis (except for 2sg), or zero for realis (see Section 6.4 below). Because a clause referring to a future event is always marked for irrealis, absence of irrealis marking forces a past or present interpretation irrespective of aspectual marking (again, except for 2sg).

Below, core and secondary aspectual particles will be discussed. The discussion will focus predominantly on realis predicates. Discussion of how the particles function in irrealis predicates will be left until after reality status has been discussed in Section 6.4.

6.2.1 Preverbal aspectual particles

6.2.1.1 Core aspect

Three forms are analysed as having core aspectual meaning. They are mutually exclusive: there are no predicates found in the data using a combination of either. When occurring, they occupy the first slot in the VP, directly after the subject bound pronoun or irrealis prefix.³ The forms are as follows:

³ There is one more form which can occupy this slot and is mutually exclusive with the core aspectual particles: modal particle *sa*, which is discussed in Section 6.5.

Particle	Meaning	Lexical source
no	Imperfective	unknown
pe	Perfective	unknown
an	Perfect	unknown

Table 6.1 Core aspectual particles

They have in common that their lexical source is harder to establish than is the case with the particles representing secondary aspect discussed below, indicating that they may be further on the path of grammaticalisation. The remainder of this section will discuss the three forms in turn.

6.2.1.1.1 Imperfective *no*

The particle *no* is used frequently to indicate that there is a temporal flow during an event. The event can be either a state or an action; in the latter case, usually the continuative/habitual particle *to* (see Section 6.2.1.2.1) will also be present. Whether or not *no* is accompanied by continuative/habitual *to* may be dependent on the semantics of the verb and maybe also on the context. More discussion can be found below in Section 6.2.1.2.1. Below, two examples of the use of *no* are given.

(16) *i reo, ngano pwa i mui le i sa?*

yi te-yo nga=[no pwa]_{VP} yi mui le yi sa
 3sg EMP-DEM.INT 1sg=IPFV think 3sg dog or 3sg what
 ‘That there, I think it’s a dog, or what is it?’ (Game1_280812_0082)

(17) *numwai reo, ino ret liliu a ino la um tai*

numwai te-yo yi=[no [tet liliu]]_{VP} a yi=[no
 old.man EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=IPFV move return and 3sg=IPFV

la]_{VP} wumwa ta-i
 go.to house POSS-3sg

‘The old man, he returned and went home.’ (MS250311_0040)

The particle *no* can refer to events either happening at the moment of speaking, as in (16), or happening prior to the moment of speaking, and thus in the past, as in (17). This has to be inferred from the discourse context, however, since the particle itself is tense-neutral and only indicates that the event is viewed as unbounded, and that time passes during the event. Therefore, *no* is analysed as a marker of imperfective aspect.

Because imperfective refers to an event during which there is a temporal flow, it tends not to go together very well with verbs which are inherently punctual or imply reaching a limit (cf. Timberlake, 2007), such as *lot* ‘to fall’ or *angou* ‘to arrive’. With these verbs, the use of *no* and in particular *no to* implies iterative aspect (e.g. ‘fall down repeatedly’). An exception to this may be a use of *no* in complex clauses which implies simultaneousness or co-occurrence of events:

(18) *no re nganingning wot a ono lot*

no te nga=[ning.ning wot]_{VP} ya wo=[no lot]_{VP}
 when 1sg=REDUP.see go.level then 2sg=IPFV fall

‘Just as I was looking over (at you), you fell down [were in the process of falling down].’ (field notes 10/05/2012)

With verbs which inherently have ‘accomplishment’ in their meaning, such as ‘to write’, use of the imperfective with past time reference implies that the action was not completed:

(19) *mino reo, ngano rayei pas*

mino te-yo nga=[no tayeri]_{VP} pas
 yesterday EMP-DEM.INT 1sg=IPFV write letter

‘Yesterday, I wrote on a/the letter.’ [for a while; it is not completed yet]
 (elicitation 11/10/2012)

no can have overtones of doing something *instead of* something else, or doing something other than planned. Two examples are given below. The translation of (20) does not suggest an imperfective meaning, but in fact *akêp* means both ‘pick up’ and ‘hold’. Since the speaker picked up the picture and is still holding it, imperfective meaning does apply in this case.

(20) *ngamaakêp nganngan pwên, ma ngano akêp muyou*

nga=[ma=akêp]_{VP} nganngan pwên ma nga=[no akêp]_{VP} muyou
1sg=NEG₁=pick.up food NEG₂ but 1sg=IPFV pick.up snake

‘I didn’t pick up the food, but I picked up the snake instead.’

(Game1_021012_0510)

(21) *ngapwa kope kou, ma pwên, ngano yaya*

nga=pwa ko-pe kou ma pwên nga=[no yaya]_{VP}
1sg=want.to IRR.1sg-do fishing but NEG 1sg=IPFV swim

‘I wanted to go fishing, but no, I went swimming (instead).’ (elicitation

01/05/2011)

Combined with the irrealis marker, *no* may give a modal meaning to a clause. See Section 6.5.3.2 for more.

6.2.1.1.2 Perfective *pe*

pe is analysed as a marker of perfective aspect. Often, a “background” situation is described accompanied by an imperfective particle, and the event which is in focus or foregrounded is then introduced in the discourse accompanied by perfective *pe*. A clear example is the following:

(22) *ipno rok wot onga ippe yong tuktuk tou*

ip=[no tok wot]_{VP} onga ip=[pe yong]_{VP} tuktuk.tou
3pl=IPFV sit go.level and.so 3pl=PFV hear drum.beat

‘They were sitting around and they heard the drumbeat for calling people.’ [their chief was beating the drum in order to summon them] (LL300511_1_0017)

The first situation is viewed as extending in time, and the second is viewed without regard to the time passing while it is happening (this doesn’t imply that it is punctual). The first situation started before the second and continued until the second had already been terminated (but not for much longer, since the subjects decided to pack their belongings and answer the summoning). This is typical for the use of perfective and imperfective (Comrie, 1976; Dixon, 2012), in particular in narratives. The perfective (in

realis predicates) refers to an event which occurred prior to the here-and-now of the speech act, and thus to the past. In contrast to the imperfective discussed above, perfective does not lend itself well to an interpretation in which the event is happening in the present. This is because it is hard to conceptualise an event currently occurring as a bounded, unitary totality. Because Paluai does not have tense, perfective will often be used to refer unambiguously to past events, whereas the imperfective can have both past and present interpretation based on the discourse context. Perfective can, in combination with irrealis marking, also refer to future events; for this, see Section 6.5.3.1.

When used with verbs that have ‘accomplishment’ inherent in their semantics (such as ‘to write’), *pe* usually indicates that the event indeed has been completed:

(23) *mino reo, ngape rayei pas*

mino te-yo nga=[pe tayei]_{VP} pas
 yesterday EMP-DEM.INT 1sg=PFV write letter

‘Yesterday, I wrote a/the letter.’ [it is completed] (elicitation 11/05/2012)

In this case too, the use of perfective indicates that the event is viewed without respect to its duration, i.e. to the time that passed while the letter was being written, but as a bounded whole.

With stative verbs, *pe* indicates a change of state. In contrast to the perfect discussed in the next section, the perfective only indicates the inception of the state, and does not give information on whether the state is still on-going. Thus, it can be used for states that are no longer on-going at the narrative present.

(24) *ippe mapwai rai re imat*

ip=[pe mapwai]_{VP} ta-i te yi=mat
 3sg=PFV know POSS-3sg SUB 3sg=die

‘They got to know about him [‘became knowledgeable about him’], that he died.’ (MS250311_0060)

(25) *ippe yop touong a ngape kaêrêt*

ip=[pe yop.tou]_{VP}=ong a nga=[pe kaêrêt]_{VP}
 3pl=PFV chase=1sg and 1sg=PFV be.afraid

‘They chased me and I got frightened.’ (LL030611_0055)

6.2.1.1.3 Perfect *an*

The particle *an* indicates perfect. It is presumably at a late stage of grammaticalisation; indications for this are that it seems completely devoid of lexical meaning, and that its origins could not be traced. Although, strictly speaking, perfect is not an aspect (Comrie 1976), it is often discussed together with aspect. The perfect ‘indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation’ (Comrie, 1976, p. 52). It therefore expresses a relation between two time-points, ‘on the one hand the time of the state resulting from a prior situation, and on the other the time of that prior situation’ (*ibid.*). By its definition, the perfect is not compatible with irrealis, since it refers to a prior event which has in fact happened and therefore always to a realis situation. Since *an* cannot be combined with any other particles, it always directly follows the (bound) pronoun. For singular number, the clitic has partly fused with it, rendering the following surface forms:

- (26) 1sg: /ŋə=ən/ → [ŋən]
 2sg: /wo=ən/ → [ɔn]
 3sg: /yi=ən/ → [ɪn]

Some typical examples of the use of the perfect are the following sentences. The events described in each of these examples continue to have relevance for the here-and-now of the speech act. In (27), it means that the person referred to is actually at the place where the utterance took place at the moment of speaking. In (28), the fact that two pigs have already been eaten means that their meat cannot be shared out at the moment of speaking, with the rest of the pig meat. And in (29), the fact that the subject (a bush spirit) has been deceived means there will be repercussions for the people who did this. The perfect indicates a change in the state of affairs, which is still on-going at the moment of speaking, and which in the case of (28) and (29) also cannot be undone: the pigs cannot be un-eaten, and the spirit cannot be un-deceived.

(27) *Ponaun in si*

Ponaun yi=[an si]_{VP}
 P. 3sg=PRF come.down

‘Ponaun (already) has arrived [so he is here now].’ (ANK020995_0013)

(28) *arêan ngan yumou mino*

arê=[an ngan]_{VP} yumou mino

2pc=PRF eat two.ANIM yesterday

‘You have (already) eaten two (pigs) yesterday.’ (YK290411_2_0051)

(29) *apan sukong*

ap=[an suk]_{VP=ong}

2pl=PRF deceive=1sg

‘You (pl.) have deceived me.’ (PN100411_0025)

Thus, the perfect views events as states (cf. Timberlake, 2007). It refers to an event which has accomplished a change in the world that is still on-going, and thus relevant, at the narrative present. It is often used with stative verbs. The changed state, however, still has to be on-going for the perfect to be felicitous; otherwise the perfective aspect is more compatible. The distinction between imperfective, perfective and perfect for stative verbs is illustrated by the following examples:

(30a) *mino reo, niong no porok*

mino te-yo nia-ng [no porok]_{VP}

yesterday EMP-DEM.INT stomach-1sg.PERT IPFV be.painful

‘Yesterday, my stomach was (being) painful.’

(30b) *mino reo, niong pe porok*

mino te-yo nia-ng [pe porok]_{VP}

yesterday EMP-DEM.INT stomach-1sg.PERT PFV be.painful

‘Yesterday, my stomach became painful.’

(30c) *niong in porok*

nia-ng yi=[an porok]_{VP}

stomach-1sg.PERT 3sg=PRF be.painful

‘My stomach has become painful.’

Sentence (30a) indicates that some amount of time passed while the state of ‘being painful’ was going on and gives no information about its inception and cessation. Sentence (30b) gives information about the change of state from ‘not being painful’ to ‘being painful’ of the stomach, but gives no information about the duration of the state, and whether or not it is still on-going. Sentence (30c) also gives information about this same change of state, perhaps in the not-so-distant past, but at the same time links it to the present, indicating that the new state of ‘being painful’ which came about is still on-going. In the hypothetical event that my stomach became painful yesterday afternoon and ceased to be painful last night, both (30a) and (b) would be an accurate description of this state of affairs (either one looking at it from a different angle), but (30c) would not. In case my stomach became painful yesterday and is still painful today, (30c) would be an accurate description. However, it is more likely that in this case the adverb *pa* ‘yet, still’ would be used, in combination with a verb not marked for aspect, to indicate the (overly) long duration of the stomach ache.

The perfect is also used to indicate that a given situation has occurred before another situation described in the same clause. It then functions as an anterior (Bybee et al., 1994):

(31) *epkape pat ip sapon kei re epan san*

ep=ka-[pe pat]_{VP} ip sapo-n kei [te ep=[an
 1pl.EXCL=IRR.NS-PFV plant 3pl top-PERT herb REL 1pl.EXCL=PRF

san]_{VP}]_{RC}

cut

‘We will plant the herbs that we have (already) cut.’ (NP220611_1_0018)

The perfect appears to be similar to completive aspect, but actually the two are quite different. Completive aspect (indicated by the verb *nêm* ‘to be finished’ following the main verb – see Section 6.2.2.1) can only be used with active and not with stative verbs, and indicates that the action has taken up a stretch of time and is now finished. *an* does not necessarily imply this: it is similar to the perfective in that it disregards the internal composition of the event. Thus, *an* can be used with all verbs, whereas *nêm* is only compatible with active verbs, and within the active verb class only with non-punctual verbs. *nêm* can be used e.g. with *ngan* ‘to eat’, indicating completion of the

‘eating’ event which necessarily takes some time, but not with e.g. *angou* ‘to arrive’, which is punctual. In addition, *nêm* does not indicate a relation between two time-points, as the perfect does.

The perfect can be used to indicate completion (again an example is given with the verb ‘to write’), but this fact of completion has to have present relevance:

(32) *ngan tayei pas mino*

nga=[an tayei]_{VP} pas mino

1sg=PRF write letter yesterday

‘I have (already) written the/a letter yesterday.’ [so it is done, I need not worry about it anymore, etc.] (elicitation 11/10/2012)

When example (32) is compared to example (19) or (23), where the imperfective and perfective were used, the pragmatic difference between perfect and the other two aspects also becomes apparent. Sentence (19) and (23) could be an answer to e.g. the question *What did you do yesterday?*. Sentence (32), however, is most felicitous as an answer to the question *When will you write the letter?*. Thus, the perfect focuses on the change of state in the world, and the relevance this has for the current state of affairs. Also note that the referent of the O argument of a transitive verb such as *tayei*, when marked for perfect, is always definite, whereas it can have either definite or indefinite reference when marked for imperfective or perfective. This is because the perfect refers to an event of which the result is relevant, and thus should have definite or at least specific reference. See Sections 5.2 and 12.3 for more on definiteness and specificity.

6.2.1.2 *Secondary aspect*

In addition to the core aspectual particles as discussed in the previous section, there are a number of preverbal particles which are categorised under ‘secondary aspect’, because they can be combined with one of the core aspectual particles (but can also occur without them). They always occur in the slot left-adjacent to the main verb and are mutually exclusive with each other. The following forms are encountered:

Particle	Meaning	Lexical source
to	Continuative, Habitual, Iterative	‘to be, to stay (for a shorter duration)’
tu	Stative continuative	‘to be, to remain (for a longer duration)’
yen	Progressive	‘to lie’

Table 6.2 Secondary aspectual particles

The secondary aspectual particles have in common that they seem to be less grammaticalised: they are all attested as full lexical verbs. The lexical verb counterparts probably originate from posture verbs, but *to* and *tu* have developed into existential verbs ‘to be’, rather than posture verbs. Other Oceanic languages, e.g. Boumaa Fijian (Dixon, 1988) and Loniu (Hamel, 1994) also distinguish preverbal particles which have developed from posture verbs. Hamel (1994, p. 106) mentions the cognate forms *tɔ* ‘be in or at a place’, *sɔ* ‘be in/on a place; stand’, and *yɛ* ‘be in/on a place; sit’. It is possible that in Paluai, the first two have converged due to sound changes (see Chapter 2).

6.2.1.2.1 Continuative/habitual *to*

This verb form is attested as main verb heading a predicate in its full form *tok*, and as preverbal particle in a reduced form *to*. The preverbal form can refer either to habitual (Comrie, 1976, p. 28):

a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period.

Or, alternatively, it can refer to continuative: an event that is on-going for some duration at the time referred to. Typical of continuatives/progressives is that they are projected to continue in the immediate future, but could also easily change or cease (Timberlake, 2007). Sometimes it is, even in context, not really possible to decide whether a particular instance of *to* refers to habitual or continuative, indicating that they are two subtypes of imperfective whose meanings lie very closely together. Often, imperfectives develop out of progressives (Bybee et al., 1994; Timberlake, 2007). In the current

analysis, *no* rather than *to* is analysed as imperfective, since it is mutually exclusive with *pe*. *to*, on the other hand, occurs both in combination with *no* and with *pe*, as in the examples below:

(33) *ino ro lêp la um*

yi=[no to lêp]_{VP} la wumwa
 3sg=IPFV CONT take go.to house
 ‘He was taking (carrying) it home.’ (NP210511_1_0050)

(34) *ippe ro pul kasiék*

ip=[pe to pul kasiék]_{VP}
 3pl=PFV HAB say not.well
 ‘They used to tell (it) incorrectly.’ (MS250311_0083)

to is also used to indicate gnomic aspect, referring to a general truth. The example in (35) refers to all dogs and all possums, across all situations:

(35) *mui iro gat kamou ran ngoyai osa?*

[mui]_A yi=to gat [kamou]_O ta-n ngoyai osa
 dog 3sg=HAB have speech POSS-PERT possum TAG
 ‘After all, the dog has a conflict with the possum.’ (LL010711_0089)

When *to* follows *no*, continuative rather than habitual meaning is indicated; it can refer either to a past situation or a situation on-going at the here-and-now of the speech event. In combination with *pe*, *to* can either have habitual meaning, as in (34) above, or continuative meaning, which yields a predicate with an iterative interpretation as in (36) below: the action ‘pick up’ occurs over and over again. Combined with perfective, *to* refers to an (iterative) event in the past. In fact, (34) can be analysed as having iterative meaning in addition to habitual: it is likely that the story would have been told incorrectly many times over.

(36) *ipe ro akêp ip malet*

yi=[pe to akêp]_{VP} ip malet
3sg=PFV CONT pick.up 3pl rock

‘He was picking up the rocks.’ (LM190611_0021)

Continuative, in contrast to progressive (which is discussed in Section 6.2.1.2.3 below), is not incompatible with stative verbs, or with active verbs which represent states that can continue by inertia (such as sleeping, knowing, drifting, etc.). When a considerable amount of effort or energy is put into the action to keep it on-going, progressive *yen* (discussed in the next section) rather than *to* can be used, but *to* is not incompatible with active verbs. Thus, *to* has a more general use and is more frequent than *yen*.

Since many stative verbs are ambiguous between a stative reading ‘be X’ and a change-in-progress reading ‘become X’ (see Section 3.3.1.2), with these the use of the continuative indicates that a change of state, rather than a state, is on-going. This happens for instance with *kôk* ‘be hot/heat up’ or *piak* ‘be/become wet’. However, verbs which refer to a state that can only change in a more or less punctual fashion, such as *mat* ‘to die, be dead’ or *mari* ‘to sleep, be asleep’, can also occur with a continuative marker, as below:

(37) *ngaro mat tepwo-om*

nga=[to mat]_{VP} tepwo-om
1sg=CONT die right.now

‘I am dying right now.’ (elicitation 08/05/2011)

(38) *ila ro mari*

yi=[la to mari]_{VP}
3sg=go.to CONT sleep

‘He is sleeping.’ [right now, at a distance removed from the DC]

With non-stative verbs that have punctual semantics, use of *to* without any other aspectual marking yields a predicate with habitual meaning:

- (39) *wut panu ro angou a la ro ningning ai*
 wut panu [to angou]_{VP} a [la to ning.ning]_{VP} a-yi
 every land HAB arrive and go.to HAB REDUP.see at-3sg
 ‘Everybody used to come here and go look at it.’ (MS250311_0081)
 *‘Everybody was arriving and looking at it.’

Sentence (39) cannot have a continuative or durative interpretation in the strict sense, since the verb *angou* ‘arrive’ is punctual: *He was arriving for several hours* is strange. It thus necessarily has a habitual interpretation. There is, however, a durative sense in the habitual, because the individuated occasions of ‘arriving’ take place over a longer stretch of time. This, again, shows the close connection between continuative, iterative and habitual.

6.2.1.2.2 Stative continuative *tu*

Because of its semantic and formal similarity to *to(k)*, it is hard to tell whether *tu* is in fact a different particle with different meanings and functions, or an allomorph of *to*. Based on the data, it appears that the two are different, and have grammaticalised from different sources, but that they may be converging. This is supported by the fact that many speakers uphold that they are ‘the same’. Other Oceanic languages have maintained a cognate of *tu* as a posture verb, contrastive in meaning to a *to* cognate. Boumaa Fijian, for instance, has *tuu* ‘stand; (i.e. exist) at a place (of tall things)’ and *to’a* ‘sit on the heels; squat; be (i.e. exist) at a place’. As aspectual modifier, *tuu* refers to a condition which is permanent or something happening over an extended period, and *to’a* refers to something ‘happening continuously during *this* period of time, but not necessarily before or afterwards’ (Dixon, 1988, p. 76; italics in original). Although in Paluai *to* and *tu* are encountered much more often as existential verbs and aspectual particles than as posture verbs, they seem to have retained the semantic difference which relates to the permanence of the situation they refer to.

tu is attested (as is *tok*, the full form of *to*) as a main verb, heading a predicate.⁴ As a full verb, *tu* has a more stative meaning of ‘remain, be in a place/state’ whereas *tok* has more dynamic or active overtones of ‘reside, dwell; sit’. *tu* also seems to refer to

⁴ There is no counterpart *tuk* to *tu* as there is *tok* to *to*, another indication that the two are different morphemes and not allomorphs.

longer durations of time than *to*. Still, both as particle and as full verb, *to(k)* is also used for stative situations (as described above) and *tu* is also used for dynamic ones. The following sentences give some examples of how *tu* is used: as a main verb in (40) and as preverbal particle in (41) and (42).

(40) *ino ru re onga ililiu la um*

yi=[no tu]_{VP} te onga yi=[liliu]_{VP} la wumwa
 3sg=IPFV stay SUB and.so 3sg=return go.to house

‘He remained there (for a while) and then he returned home.’

(WL020711_0080)

(41) *ngamaru mapwai pwên itarak ai kerin samnon*

nga=[ma=tu mapwai]_{VP} pwên yi=tarak a-yi kerin samnon
 1sg=NEG₁=stay know NEG₂ 3sg=climb at-3sg year how.many

‘I don’t know for how many years he climbed.’ (NS220511_1_0017)

(42) *kono ru kolkol lai rea*

ko-[no tu kol.kol]_{VP} la a-yi te-ya
 IRR.1sg-IPFV stay REDUP.wait go.to at-3sg EMP-then

‘Then, I will be waiting for that.’ (MK050311_0030)

It is possible that *tu* is more often used to refer to situations in the past and the future, than to situations presently happening. This is a tendency at best, however, since e.g. example (41) refers to the here-and-now of the speech act. In all cases where *tu* may be used, it seems that *to* could be used instead. The reverse is not the case, since *tu* never has habitual meaning. In addition, *to* is overwhelmingly more frequent, with a total of 2,600 instances of *to* encountered in the data compared to 185 of *tu* (across all meanings and functions in both cases).

6.2.1.2.3 Progressive *yen*

Progressive *yen* has roughly the same meaning as continuative *to*, but it is not as common. *yen* is used mostly when a considerable amount of effort or energy has to be put into the action to keep it on-going. Examples are e.g. stirring (43) and squeezing

(44). This puts *yen* in contrast with the more general continuative particle *to*, which can also be used for situations where this is not the case: knowing, sleeping, waiting, drifting, etc., of which some examples were given above.

(43) *wono yen yet*

wo=[no yen yet]_{VP}

2sg=IPFV PROG stir

‘You keep on stirring (it).’ (CA120211_2_0025)

(44) *ope yen piy me ai yapi*

wo=[pe yen piy]_{VP} me a-yi yapi

2sg=PFV PROG squeeze come at-3sg sago

‘You keep on squeezing (it) into the sago.’ (CA120211_1_0036)

6.2.2 *Postverbal aspectual particles*

In contrast to the preverbal particles (indicating aspect or otherwise), of which there can be a sequence, it seems that only one element can occur after the main verb inside the VP. In addition, as already mentioned, it is often difficult to determine the status of the element following the main verb. It could be analysed as another verb, a coverb or an adverb; this has of course implications for how the entire construction should be analysed. Typical of elements following the main verb is that they give information about the manner in which the action described by the main verb is carried out. In what follows, two elements are discussed which can occur as main verbs but also following the main verb, and which can take on aspectual meaning. There are other verb-like forms which can follow a main verb within the VP, but many of them do not occur by themselves as main verb and are thus better analysed as adverbs. In other cases, the combination of two verbs leads to unpredictable changes in meaning, and these combinations are better analysed as (semi-)lexicalised SVCs (see Chapter 9). The forms discussed here are shown in the table below.

Element	‘Manner aspect’ meaning	Lexical source
nêm	Completive	‘to be finished’
wot	Durative, Iterative	‘to go on a level, away from the DC’

Table 6.3 Postverbal aspectual particles

6.2.2.1 Completive nêm

Completive aspect means that an activity is done completely and thoroughly. This implies that the activity that is described has taken up some time and, possibly, effort to complete, and therefore completive aspect cannot be used with all verbs. It is, for instance, not found with stative verbs, or with punctual verbs (e.g. *angou* ‘to arrive’). *nêm* always follows the main verb, as in (45). In (46) and (47), *nêm* appears between the main verb and the object. If the O argument of a transitive verb is cross-referenced by a bound pronoun, this cliticises on *nêm*, as in (46). *nêm* is also attested as a (stative) main verb, as in (48).

(45) *epla rok si onga ep nganngan nêm*

eps=[la tok.si]_{VP} onga eps=[ngan.ngan nêm]_{VP}
 1pl.EXCL=go.to sit.down and.so 1pl.EXCL=REDUP.eat be.finished

‘We went to sit down / we sat down, and we finished eating.’

(KM060111_0073)

(46) *ingan mat nêmip*

yi=[[ngan mat]_{SVC} nêm]_{VP}=ip
 3sg=eat die be.finished=3pl

‘He killed and ate them all.’ [*lit.* ‘he eat die finish them’] (KW290611_0057)

(47) *kala wurut nêm kanum...*

ka_A-[la wurut nêm]_{VP} [kanum]_O
 IRR.NS-go.to make.mounds be.finished garden

‘When they finish making mounds in the garden...’ (KM190211_0029)

(48) *pian te irok o, inêm*

pian te yi=tok yo yi=[nêm]_{VP}
 good REL 3sg=stay DEM.INT 3sg=be.finished

‘The goodness that was there, it is finished.’ (PK290411_3_0046)

The use of *nêm* with verbs that have plural countable objects indicates that the action was done to all individuated items or persons, as in (46). Thus, *nêm* often most of all refers to a property of the object of a transitive verb, i.e. that it is completed or finished. In fact, sequences of *nêm* and a main verb have much in common with cause-effect/resultative SVCs in which a stative V2 describes the effect or result (to the object) of the action described by V1 (these constructions are discussed in Section 9.1.2). This is another indication that it is hard to draw the line between different types of verbal sequences.

6.2.2.2 *Durative wot*

The directional *wot* ‘to go on the same level, away from DC’ is frequently used in postverbal position to indicate that an activity is continuing for a stretch of time. It is comparable to (and may be a calque of) Tok Pisin constructions such as *Em i wokabaut i go i go (i go)* ‘He’s walking and walking (and walking)’. *wot* has grammaticalised to such an extent that it can also be used with activities that do not involve motion. A few examples are given.

(49) *kino yen pe wot a poyen teo kipe som*

ki_A-[no yen pe wot]_{VP} a poye-n teyo
 IRR.3SG-IPFV PROG do go.level and residue-PERT DEM.INT

ki-[pe som]_{VP}
 IRR.3SG-PFV form

‘It will keep on doing (that) for a while and its residue will form.’

(CA120211_2_0029)

(50) *uno rok wot*

u_S=[no tok wot]_{VP}

3du=IPFV sit go.level

‘They lived (together) for an extended time.’ (LL10711_0011)

wot seems to differ from other postverbal elements in one respect, though: it can occur following the O argument, as in (51) below.

(51) *uno ro pe mangat wot wot wot*

u_A=[no to pe]_{VP} [mangat]_O wot wot wot

3du=IPFV CONT do work go.level go.level go.level

‘They were working for a long time.’ (LM190611_0005)

There are no examples in which *wot* precedes an object bound pronoun, and thus it may in fact not be part of the VP, but this construction may be more similar to switch-subject SVCs with a directional as V2 which are discussed in Section 9.1.6. It is likely that *wot* rather than *la* (also indicating ‘motion away from DC’, see below), has grammaticalised in this way because *wot* is atelic, whereas *la* is telic and necessitates an endpoint of the action. The semantics of the verb *wot* were more in accordance with the durative meaning to begin with and thus it was this verb that grammaticalised in this direction.

6.3 Directionals

Directionals, in particular the most common forms *la* ‘to go (away from DC), thither’, and *me* ‘to come (towards DC), hither’ are also found in a preverbal slot. They follow core aspectual particles, but precede secondary aspectual forms. The directional paradigm and the semantic distinctions made within it are discussed in Section 3.3.1.3. Mostly, preverbal directionals indicate deictically anchored motion prior to the event described by the main verb (‘go/come and do X’), but they seem to have grammaticalised and acquired an overtone of ‘purposive’ (sometimes: ‘unintentional result’), in particular the most frequently used directional *la*.

In other cases, the motion indicated by the directional and the action of the main verb seem to be occurring simultaneously. The directional then indicates the direction of the action referred to by the main verb, and has roughly the same function as when it

follows an intransitive verb, but probably with less emphasis on the destination of the motion. This is the way to specify direction for a transitive motion event, when the motion represented does not entail a Locative Goal. In other words, this movement in a particular direction occurs *while* the action described by the main verb is carried out, and is not the movement the *object* makes while undergoing the action described by the main verb. Grammatical relations will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, and SVCs in Chapter 9. Preverbal *la* with a simultaneity interpretation has lost all motion semantics, but rather indicates that an event takes place at a distance removed from the DC.

Preverbal instances of directionals are currently not analysed as SVCs, because it is not certain that they form a single predicate consisting of two verbs. Clauses in which a directional occurs preverbally and where there is a sequential/purposive meaning, could also be analysed as two juxtaposed predicates without an intervening connective. The cases in which the movement occurs simultaneously are a bit more problematic. These can be analysed as SVCs or as compound verbs, or the directionals could be grammaticalised preverbal particles, on a par with, for instance, *to* ‘to be’ for habitual/continuative aspect (see Section 6.2.1.2.1). The following sections give some examples found with various directionals. For a detailed overview of the semantics of directionals and their grammaticalisation paths, see also Schokkin (2013a).

6.3.1 *la* ‘go to’

Sentence (52) indicates a sequence of events: a movement away from the DC and an action. In addition, it has purposive overtones: the speaker is moving away from her current location with the purpose of seeing someone. Cases of preverbal *la* where there is simultaneity with the main verb have acquired another meaning: that the action referred to by the main verb is taking place at a distance removed from the DC (usually the speaker). Cognates of *la* with this function are found in other Oceanic languages (Lichtenberk, 1991); Paluai examples are given in (53) and (54). These cases usually show a secondary aspectual particle following the directional indicating that the event is in progress. There is no sense of motion in these clauses, in contrast to purposive uses of *la* such as (52). When there are no core aspectual and/or irrealis markers present (as is usually the case), the event is understood as in progress at the here-and-now of the speech event.

(52) *ngapwa kola ning Ponaun*

nga=pwa ko-[la ning]_{VP} Ponaun
1sg=want.to IRR.1sg-go.to see P.

‘I want to go (in order to) see Ponaun.’ (ANK020995_0008)

(53) *ila ro nu*

yi=[la to nu]_{VP}
3sg=go.to CONT bathe

‘He is bathing (right now, at a place removed from the DC).’ (052b_0211)

(54) *urêro pe yong yamat te ila ro pe kolon wat*

wurê=to pe yong yamat te yi=[la to pe]_{VP}
1pc.EXCL=CONT PFV hear person REL 3sg=go.to CONT make

kolo-n wat

voice-PERT up.high

‘We were hearing a person who was shouting [*lit.* ‘making voice’] up high.’

(NP210511_2_0024)

6.3.2 *me* ‘come to’

The following example shows a purposive use of *me*, which involves a movement towards the DC. Used like this, *la* and *me* form a pair of antonyms.

(55) *ipkame ning Maiau*

ip=ka-[me ning]_{VP} Maiau
3pl=IRR.NS-come.to see M.

‘They will come (in order to) see Maiau.’ (KM060111_0046)

6.3.3 *wot* ‘go horizontally, away from DC’

Preverbal *wot* means ‘go ahead (and)’, again indicating a sequence of events. When *wot* follows the main verb, the predicate obtains a different aspectual meaning: ‘do for an extended period of time’ (see Section 6.2.2.3 above).

(56) *epe wot lêpi ran mwanen Parugui*

ep=[pe wot lêp]_{VP=i} ta-n mwane-n Parugui
1pl.EXCL=PFV go.level take=3sg POSS-PERT brother-PERT P.

‘We went ahead (and) took her of/from her brother Parugui.’

(KM060111_0035)

6.3.4 *sot* ‘go upwards’

Sentence (57) shows again a sequential and possibly purposive use of a directional verb.

(57) *eppwa kasot yik ngoyai*

ep=pwa ka-[sot yik]_{VP} ngoyai
1pl.EXCL=want.to IRR.NS-go.up search.for possum

‘We were about to go uphill (in order to) search for possums.’

(NP210511_2_0011)

Sentence (58) below is interesting, because here the actions described by *sot* and *pe* (the main verb) happen simultaneously. The speaker talks about weaving a particular kind of basket for which one starts with the bottom and then works upwards, weaving the opening (called the ‘mouth’) last. Example (58) describes this process.

(58) *kosot pe kolon*

ko-[sot pe]_{VP} kolo-n
IRR.1sg-go.up make mouth-PERT

‘I will make the mouth (of the basket).’ [*lit.* ‘I will go up make its mouth.’]

(MK050311_0021)

6.3.5 *sa* ‘come upwards’

In sentence (59), we see again a directional verb used in a purposive sequence.

(59) *wuipe sa lêpi*

wui=[pe sa lêp]_{VP=i}
1du.EXCL=PFV come.up take=3sg

‘We came up (in order to) get her.’ (MK060211_0044)

6.3.6 *suwot* ‘go downwards’

Sentence (60) describes the making of another kind of basket. With this kind, one starts with the rim and works downwards towards the bottom. As a result, (60) is the exact opposite of sentence (58) above.

(60) *kosuwot tik nupun*

ko-[suwot tik]_{VP} nupu-n
IRR.1sg-go.down weave bottom-PERT

‘I will weave its bottom.’ [*lit.* ‘I will go down weave its bottom.’]

(AK160411_2_0023)

(61) *osuwot ilili la pulen kone areo*

wo=[suwot ilili]_{VP} la pulen.kone a-te-yo
2sg=go.down stand.up go.to beach at-EMP-DEM.INT

‘You go down (in order to) stand up on the beach there.’ (LL030611_0051)

6.3.7 *si* ‘come downwards’

Sentence (62) shows a purposive sequence again. Sentence (63) on the other hand, indicates simultaneous actions of walking, coming down (towards the shore) and carrying the bed.

(62) *kisi wut kem a...*

ki-[si wut]_{VP} kem ya
IRR.3sg-come.down fetch salt.water then

‘When she will come down to the shore (in order to) fetch sea water, then...’

(LK100411_0090)

(63) *ip silal leo ipno si wau lêp pat teo*

ip	silal	te-yo	ip=[no	si	[wau lêp]] _{VP}	pat
3pl	spirit	EMP-DEM.INT	3pl=IPFV	come.down	move take	bed

te-yo

EMP-DEM.INT

‘The spirits, they were walking down to the shore carrying the bed.’

(LM190611_0026)

6.3.8 *wen* ‘move horizontally’

The three directionals indicating motion that is not deictically anchored (*sen*, *wen* and *suwen*) are relatively rare, and therefore few representative instances were found in the data of their preverbal use (in the case of *sen* ‘move upwards’ none at all). *wen* indicates motion along the shore which is not deictically anchored. In sentence (64), there is a simultaneous action of moving and getting closer together, which is hard to express in English. The second instance of *wen*, in addition, refers to a location rather than a movement.

(64) *apkawen pir ai pulen kone re iwen telo*

ap=ka-[wen	pit] _{VP}	a-yi	pulen.kone	te
2pl=IRR.NS-move.level	be.close	at-3sg	beach	REL

yi=wen
 te-lo |

3SG=move.level
 EMP-DEM.DIST |

‘You will gather together on the sand beach that is over there.’

(NP210511_2_0009)

6.3.9 *suwen* ‘move downwards’

In (65), *suwen* is used in an imperative construction (in a direct quotation from a narrative). It is interesting that the non-deictic directional is used in this case. When someone is told to go away, this usually implies motion away from the DC, the speaker who utters the imperative. It is possible that because the imperative already implies this motion from DC, it is not necessary to use a deictic directional.

(65) *ipwa*, “*suwen tet la paye!*”

yi=pwa [suwen tet]_{VP} la paye
 3sg=say move.down move go.to down.below

‘She said, “Go down!”’ [i.e. get out of the house] (WL020711_0062)

6.4 Reality status

A fundamental distinction in Paluai grammar is made between realis and irrealis clauses. Realis is formally unmarked and refers to actions that have been taking place or are taking place right now. Irrealis is formally marked by the prefix *kV-* (except for second person sg, which receives zero marking), which attaches to the first verb or particle in the VP. Irrealis refers to actions that have not yet taken place, or that could have taken place but didn’t. Mithun (1999, p. 173) defines reality status as follows: ‘The realis portrays situations as actualised, as having occurred or actually occurring, knowable through direct perception. The irrealis portrays situations as purely within the realm of thought, knowable only to imagination.’ Irrealis statements would in English be expressed by modal auxiliaries such as *will*, *can*, *could*, *should*, etc. The Paluai *kV-* prefix makes no distinction between different kinds of modality, and these meanings are generally expressed by combining the irrealis marker with one or more aspectual/modal particles or, alternatively, by modal adverbs. These issues will be discussed below in Section 6.5.

6.4.1 Forms of the irrealis marker

The irrealis is formally expressed as follows:

<i>ko-</i>	first person singular
∅	second person singular
<i>ki-</i>	third person singular
<i>ka-</i>	all non-singular persons (first, second and third person dual, paucal and plural)

Table 6.4 Forms of irrealis prefixes

Second person is never formally marked for irrealis in the singular, although it is in other numbers. In addition, there is syncretism in persons and numbers for all the non-singular forms; thus there is no distinction between dual, paucal and plural, as in the pronominal system.

The irrealis marker is the only verbal category (in addition to the bound pronouns) which makes a person/number distinction. This gives rise to the notion that it may consist of a *k-* formative plus a person/number morpheme (maybe an earlier version of the bound subject pronoun) which fused together. Synchronically, however, the markers are not analysable. This fact is also interesting since the irrealis marker makes no distinction within non-singular number, indicating that dual and paucal number in the pronominal system may be a relatively recent innovation.

6.4.2 *Functions of the irrealis*

Paluai utilises the irrealis marker much more frequently than, for instance, Indo-European languages their modals. For Loni, a cognate *k-* marker is analysed as indicating ‘potential aspect’ (Hamel, 1994). It is possible that this is its most basic meaning in Paluai as well. In daily conversation, *kV-* is most frequently used to refer to the immediate future. A representative example of a direct quotation from a narrative is sentence (66).

(66) *wono rok a ong kola panu menengan*

wo=[no tok]_{VP} a wong ko-[la]_{VP} panu menengan
 2sg=IPFV stay and 1sg.FREE IRR.1sg-go.to land big
 ‘You stay, and I will go to Manus mainland.’ (KW290611_0039)

When asked, consultants indicated that the use of a *kV-* prefix means that the person producing the utterance has just made up his or her mind and is about to carry out the action described by the verb, on the verge of carrying out his or her intention (indeed, at the moment of speaking, the proposition is still only within the realm of thought). The desiderative particle *pwa* can be used to emphasise this meaning (see Section 6.5.1). Related to this is the use of the irrealis marker with inclusive pronouns for hortative meanings:

(67) *ngapwa, “kay, tau kaaluk”*

nga=pwa kay tau ka-[aluk]_{VP}
1sg=say okay 1du.INCL IRR.NS-paddle
‘I said, “Okay, let’s paddle.”’ (MK060211_0039)

However, the use of *kV-* suggests that its meaning is broader than this and therefore it will be analysed as irrealis, rather than referring to just the immediate future. The use of the non-singular irrealis prefix *ka-* without a subject bound pronoun in (68) is typical for impersonal, generic clauses for which it is not very relevant who exactly the agent is (comparable to English indefinite ‘one’).⁵ This construction is quite often used in instructional texts, in which a hypothetical agent carries out certain actions. What is interesting is that when the reference is to a non-specific individual from within a group, apparently the non-singular irrealis particle is chosen over the third person singular one.

(68) *kayei lai sip purukei a kirok*

ka-[yei]_{VP} la a-yi sip purukei a ki-tok
IRR.NS-scrape go.to at-3sg one.INANIMbowl and IRR.3sg-stay
‘(One) will grate (it) into a bowl and it will stay there.’ (CA120211_1_0019)

Irrealis (without any additional aspectual marking) is often encountered in dependent clauses, marking the protasis of a conditional construction. This section will focus exclusively on the use of irrealis in main clauses; a more detailed discussion of the use of irrealis in conditional clauses can be found in Section 11.1.3.

6.4.3 *Dependencies between reality status and other verbal categories*

If the irrealis prefix is present, a subject bound pronoun is, in principle, optional; see for instance examples (62) above and (69) below.⁶ This seems to be the only situation where the subject bound pronoun can be left out. Undoubtedly, this is due to the fact that the irrealis marker contains person and number information.

⁵ The Dutch indefinite pronoun *men* (or its German cognate *man*) would be a better approximation, since it is much less individuated than English ‘one’ (even though it takes singular agreement).

⁶ A bound pronoun is still needed, however, in order to specify for dual, paucal or plural within the non-singular number, since the irrealis prefix does not make this distinction.

(69) *koyektou lai sin*

ko-[yek.tou]_{VP} la a-yi sin
IRR.1sg-put go.to at-3sg sun

‘I will put (them) into the sun (to stay there).’ (AK160411_2_0012)

The irrealis marker cannot be used in combination with the perfect, discussed in Section 6.2.1.1.3 above. Perfect, by default, cannot be combined with irrealis, because its use indicates that a certain action has already happened, and the resulting predicate can thus never have irrealis status. *pwa*, on the other hand, has to take a complement clause with irrealis status in order to obtain desiderative meaning: to indicate that someone is intending to do something, or about to do something (see Section 6.5.1 below). Moreover, a clause modified by *kV-* cannot be negated in the usual way with the preverbal particle *ma-* and the postverbal negator *pwên*, but usually takes the modal particle *sa* in addition to *pwên*. “Regular” negation is discussed in Section 9.2, whereas negation of *sa* clauses is discussed in Section 6.5.2.2 below.

The meaning difference between a main clause that is only marked for irrealis and a main clause that is marked for irrealis and aspect is not always clear-cut.⁷ Irrealis-only clauses, as already mentioned above, often refer to the immediate future, whereas clauses additionally marked for perfective or imperfective aspect can seemingly also refer to a more distant future. What is more important to note, however, is that irrealis is “a-temporal” whereas aspect is not fully so. In principle, a reality status distinction does not make a statement about the temporality of the proposition; as explained above, it pivots around a distinction between a real, actualised world and a hypothetical, non-actualised world and temporality is irrelevant. However, because in our lived reality we cannot place ourselves outside time, in many pragmatic circumstances an irrealis situation has to be interpreted as unrealised with relevance to a moment in relation to the here-and-now of the communicative situation. Thus, temporality once again becomes relevant on a pragmatic plane. When there are aspectual particles present, they can give more information about the temporal boundedness or unboundedness of the event; see Section 6.5 below for discussion.

An interesting question is why irrealis is not formally expressed for 2sg. This leads to the remarkable situation that the perfective particle *pe* (discussed in Section

⁷ Dependent clauses are only marked for irrealis, but not aspect, when they form the protasis of a conditional construction. These matters will be discussed in full in Section 11.1.3.

6.2.1.1.1 above), which for all other persons can only refer to a past event when not combined with an irrealis prefix, can only refer to a future event when it is used for 2sg (necessarily without a prefix). For all other persons, *pe* will be combined with an irrealis prefix when referring to a future event. The same is true for other aspectual particles, although to a lesser degree, since for instance the imperfective particle *no* can also refer to an event happening at the here-and-now of the speech event.

Thus, while the irrealis category is not formally expressed, it is nevertheless potentially present in all predicates with 2sg. Therefore, all predicates with a 2sg subject, except those marked for perfect (which is, as explained above, incompatible with irrealis) or perfective (which has to refer to the future when used combined with 2sg), are ambiguous between a realis and an irrealis reading, as the aspectual particles themselves carry no overtones of future or unrealised situations. Disambiguation between both readings is only possible based on the discourse context. The following example, from an instructional text about frying sago, is probably irrealis, because it describes a hypothetical situation – in addition, the complement clause of *ning*, which has a 3sg subject, is marked for irrealis.

(70) *wono ro sui lak a ope ning de kipe la mwat*

wo=[no to sui]_{VP} lak a wo=[pe ning]_{VP} [te
 2sg=IPFV CONT fry go and 2sg=PFV see COMP

ki-pe la mwat]_{Compl:O}
 IRR.3SG-PFV go.to be.cooked

‘You will be frying (it) and you will see that it will become cooked.’

(CA120211_1_0027)

As mentioned above, a typical feature of instructional texts is that they revolve around a hypothetical event of doing or making something, and are thus generally cast in irrealis. The use of the second person, as in the example above, may be a relatively new phenomenon under influence of Tok Pisin. A more “traditional” way of expression would be an impersonal non-singular irrealis such as example (68) above.

The example below, on the other hand, has realis interpretation and refers to an event which is currently happening. It may be the case that the continuative particle *to* is added to reinforce this interpretation.

(71) *woro ning naêmwan le pwên?*

wo=[to ning]_{VP} naêmwa-n le pwên

2sg=CONT see back-PERT or NEG

‘Can you see [*lit.* ‘are you seeing’] his back or not?’ (Game2_280812_0052)

Example (71) is a question, however, and interrogative mood is linked to epistemic modality since ‘the speaker concedes lack of complete authority’ (Timberlake, 2007, p. 317).

This ambiguity within 2sg which is not there for other persons has two explanations (which do not necessarily exclude each other). One is connected to pragmatics. Because it is referring to the addressee, second person singular will be used much more often in a question or a command than in a statement. You will be more frequently asking your interlocutor something (‘Are you hungry?’) or command them to do something (‘Go get some food!’) than making a statement about them (‘You’re bleeding.’). Speech act goes together with mood, and thus imperative and interrogative mood will be much more common for second person than declarative. Mood, in its turn, interrelates with other verbal categories (see Chapter 10 for a discussion of mood).

The second reason is a historical linguistic one: it may be the case that the *kV*-prefix started off as purely a marker of intention which later grammaticalised to an irrealis marker. It is impossible to know another person’s mind and thus intention; this may be the reason why this marker from the start was incompatible with second person singular in declarative sentences, and stayed that way once its use was extended. Thus, irrealis is not overtly marked for 2sg predicates and can only be established on a pragmatic basis.

6.5 Modality

Modality deals with alternatives, with different possible worlds. The alternatives ‘are sorted out and evaluated by some sort of authority, often the speaker, or if not the speaker, some other participant or even another situation’ (Timberlake, 2007, p. 315). Because modality deals with possible, unrealised worlds and not with the actual world, it is tied in with reality status, discussed in Section 6.4 above. Whereas for the real world there is just one alternative (the state of affairs as it is now), for possible worlds

there are a great number of alternatives, and much can be said about their likelihood or probability, their necessity or inevitability, their desirability or expediency, and so forth (cf. Elliot, 2000). The authority over these possible worlds can lie with the speaker (for instance when uttering a command or a wish), with another participant (for instance, whether or not someone is able or willing to carry out a certain action) or another situation (in case of a conditional, when one situation is a prerequisite for another situation to occur). Timberlake (2007) distinguishes three realms of modality: epistemology, obligation, and contingency. Epistemology ‘has to do with knowledge about events and the world’ (Timberlake, 2007, p. 316). Uncertainty of knowledge (whether a possible world is or is not true) can lead a sentence to be marked by irrealis. The second realm of modality is described as ‘directive’ or ‘jussive’, in which ‘the responsibility for the state of the world is transferred from one authority to another’ (*ibid.*). Obligation is one part of this, but also desiderative, directive, purposive, permission, ability, etc. The authority can be an individual, but can also be impersonal and generalised. In the third realm of modality, causation and contingency, ‘[r]esponsibility for one situation in the world is assigned to another situation’ (Timberlake, 2007, p. 321). Since causal/contingent and conditional constructions are usually multi-clausal, a fuller discussion of them can be found in Chapter 11.

Irrealis in Paluai, by itself, is neutral with respect to all of the above. When a predicate is marked for irrealis, this just marks it as unrealised. Thus, the assertion from Timberlake above about uncertainty of knowledge that leads to a sentence being marked for irrealis is only partly true. Irrealis, also in Paluai, can indeed be used to mark information as less than certain, but there are no meaning shades within it as is for instance the case with English modals, where the use of *may* versus *might* indicates a difference in degree of certainty, or *must* in its epistemic sense to refer to knowledge which has been inferred. Whether or not a modal meaning is also intended when a Paluai irrealis form is used, and which meaning is intended, depends on the context and sometimes in part on the aspectual particles used. Particular combinations of the irrealis prefix with aspectual particles may have modal overtones. In addition, there are several modal and/or epistemic adverbs which can modify a clause; these are discussed in Section 3.6.1.5. Thus, although reality status cannot be separated entirely from modality, in the language under discussion they do form clearly distinctive realms.

In addition, there are two particles which express modality. *pwa*, which takes an irrealis complement clause, expresses desire, intention and imminent action, and *sa*,

which occupies the same functional slot as the Core aspectual particles, does double duty as a marker of apprehensive (with positive polarity) or ability/permission (only with negative polarity).

6.5.1 *Desiderative/intentional pwa*

In addition to its use as a full lexical verb ‘to say, to think’, *pwa* is also used as a particle expressing desire, intention and imminent action. The possible world in which the action is carried out is regarded as favourable by the speaker, and thus *pwa* can be regarded as an attitudinal modal operator (Timberlake, 2007, p. 329), which belongs to the realm of jussive modality.

Speakers indicate that *pwa* refers to a (mental) decision just made that the action is going to be carried out. This can possibly explain its use as a marker of imminent action: when a decision has been made to carry out an action, often this will happen in the immediate future. *pwa* can usually be translated with ‘to be about to’ as well as with ‘to want/intend to’, and in the former sense, can also refer to subjects which have no agency or volition. When used as a modal marker, *pwa* occurs in a realis predicate and takes a Potential complement clause (there is no dependent clause marker *te* to mark the complement clause as with other verbs, cf. Section 11.1.2). The S/A argument of the complement clause is almost always coreferential with the A argument of *pwa* (but see below for a counterexample), and the complement clause is always irrealis. It does not show any core aspectual marking, and can be regarded as a pure unrealised state of affairs, perhaps comparable to an infinitive construction. Below, examples are given of *pwa* constructions with a volitional subject and a clear desiderative/intentional meaning.

(72) *opwa ola pe sa?*

wo_i=pwa [wo_i=la pe sa]_{Compl:Pot}

2sg=want.to 2gs=go.to do what

‘What do you intend to do?’ / ‘What are you going to do?’ [*lit.* ‘You say you go do what?’] (052b_0296)

(73) *eppwa karet*

ep_i=pwa [ka_i-tet]_{Compl:Pot}

1pl.EXCL=want.to IRR.NS-move

‘We want to go.’ / ‘We are going to / about to go.’ (052b_0091)

(74) *ngapwa kope sê nayeri*

nga_i=pwa [ko_i-pe sê nayeri]_{Compl:Pot}

1sg=want.to irr.1sg-do small lie

‘I am going to / about to tell a little lie.’ (PK290411_1_0038)

(75) *ipwa kiyokat*

yi_i=pwa [ki_i-yokat]_{Compl:Pot}

3sg=want.to IRR.3sg-carry

‘He wanted to / was going to carry (it).’ (KW290611_0042)

A limited amount of raising seems to be possible for *pwa* Potential complement clauses, although this is only attested in a small number of utterances. In (76) below, the S argument of the complement clause is not coreferential with the A argument of *pwa*. However, since *pwa* can also mean ‘to say’, this construction could also be analysed as an indirect quotation: ‘Kileai_i said that he_j should become his_i son.’ There is no grammatical means of distinguishing between the two interpretations. It is not an example of direct quotation, or otherwise *natu-* ‘son’ would carry first person pertensive marking.

(76) *Kileai ipwa ikila narun*

Kileai_i yi=pwa [yi_j=ki-la natu-n_i]_{Compl:Pot}

K. 3sg=want.to 3sg=IRR.3sg-go.to son-PERT

‘Kileai wanted him to become his son.’ / ‘Kileai wished for him to become his son.’ (OL20011_0045)

For *pwa* to have desiderative meaning, it has to take a complement clause which is irrealis. The irrealis marker also has to be present when the action it modifies took place in the past, as in (75). This sentence is from a legend about a snake and an eagle; the subject of sentence (75) is the eagle, who is intending to steal sago from another village. While he succeeds in doing this (although he gets killed for it), at the moment in time that sentence (75) refers to, it is still only his intention and thus not “real”; the action itself is still located in an unrealised world and thus the use of irrealis is

appropriate. When there is no irrealis marking present in a complement clause of *pwa*, the sentence can only be understood literally, with *pwa* meaning ‘to say’ or ‘to think’ and the complement clause representing a direct quotation. Also note that in sentence (72) there is no irrealis prefix, because the subject is second person singular which is not marked for irrealis (see Section 6.4 above). Instead, the subject bound pronoun has to be repeated. In fast speech, the second instance of the 2sg pronoun often fuses with *pwa*, rendering a surface form [po].

The examples given above all have subjects with human referents and thus are ambiguous between a desiderative/intentional and an ‘imminent action’ meaning. When the subject of a *pwa* construction has inanimate reference, however, it can only have the latter meaning:

(77) *maran teo ipwa kilot*

mata-n	te-yo	yi _i =pwa	[ki _i -lot] _{COMP}
eye-PERT	EMP-DEM.INT	3sg=want.to	IRR.3sg-fall

‘The lid [*lit.* ‘eye’], it is about to fall off.’ (Game1_280812_0067)

6.5.2 *The particle sa*

sa is used as a modal particle referring either to apprehensive stance with positive polarity or to ability and permission with negative polarity. Lichtenberk (1995) discusses a similar (and maybe cognate) particle *ada* in the Oceanic language To’aba’ita, which he analyses as a grammaticalisation of a lexical verb meaning ‘to see, to look (at)’. The Paluai verb *tai* ‘to observe, to watch (upwards)’, may be the lexical source for *sa*, but apart from the similar development in a number of other Oceanic languages, all spoken on the Solomon Islands and closely related to To’aba’ita (Lichtenberk, 1995, p. 303), there is no evidence which supports this assumption. First, the use of *sa* as a marker of apprehensive will be discussed, followed by its use to indicate ability and permission.

6.5.2.1 *Apprehensive sa*

Apprehensive *sa* gives information about the stance of a speaker towards a possible state of affairs. This possible world has not yet come to be, but it might, and this would

be unfavourable to the speaker. Thus, *sa* (in this sense) can be regarded as an attitudinal modal operator. *sa* can be used in a main clause, as a warning:

(78) *osa lot!*

wo=[sa lot]_{VP}

2sg=MOD fall

‘(Look out,) you may fall!’

Alternatively, it can be used in dependent clause; in this sense, it is similar in meaning to English *lest*. The matrix clause in these cases can be marked as either realis or irrealis, and the dependent clause is marked as realis. These constructions are basically conditional, and say: ‘if/when X (the protasis or condition) is not met, then Y (the apodosis or consequence) will very likely come to pass, and this will be bad’. More about dependency relations between clauses can be found in Chapter 11. These dependent clause constructions with *sa* in a realis predicate are very strong assertions: they are almost certain to come true if the condition is not met. In (79), the condition is ‘I cannot tell him’, where ‘him’ refers to the speaker’s brother. If this condition is not met, i.e. if the speaker *would* tell him, this would lead to the undesired situation that the brother would beat his wife.

(79) *ngasa pul la rai pwên, te isa yeki*

nga=[sa pul]_{VP} la ta-i pwên te yi=[sa yek]_{VP=i}

1sg=MOD speak go.to POSS-3sg NEG SUB 3sg=MOD hit=3sg

‘I cannot tell him, lest he beat her.’ (WL020711_0056)

In (80), the condition is ‘I cannot go near the fish’. If this condition is not met, i.e. when the speaker *would* go near the fish, this would lead to the undesirable situation that the fish would spoil.

(80) *kapwa karapot nik, napunan kowau la kason nik, te isa poyak*

kapwa ka-tapot nik napunan ko-[wau la]_{VP}

if IRR.NS-smoke fish NEG.IMP IRR.1sg-move go.to

kaso-n nik te yi=[sa poyak]_{VP}
 near-PERT fish SUB 3sg=MOD be.rotten

‘If they would smoke fish, it would be forbidden for me to go near the fish, lest it spoil.’ (LL030611_0026)

sa may also be used in a coordinated construction of two main clauses; then it can be marked either realis or irrealis. These constructions can also be regarded as conditional/contingent modal constructions, but with the opposite effect to the ones above: ‘if X is met, then Y may happen (and this is not good)’. In addition, the contingency relation between the two clauses appears to be less strong: if X comes to pass, then Y may happen but it is not as nearly certain as in the abovementioned dependent clause constructions. In (81), the ‘reason’ X is ‘I turn into something out in the open’.⁸ If this happens, it is possible that it leads to consequence Y ‘They find me’ and this is undesirable to the speaker.

(81) *ngasa ro pei rare masayen, a ukasa kam kel a ukasa pwak tang*

nga=[sa to pei]_{VP} ta-te-yo masayen ya
 1sg=MOD CONT come DEF-EMP-DEM.INT outside then

u=ka-[sa kam]_{VP} kele a u=ka-[sa pwak]_{VP}
 3du=IRR.NS-MOD catch canoe and 3du=IRR.NS-MOD meet

ta-ng

POSS-1sg

‘I may turn into something out in the open. Then they may catch a canoe and find me.’ (WL020711_0087)

In (82), the ‘cause’ X is ‘They go there’. If this happens, it is possible that it leads to consequence Y ‘Spirits take them, and people kill them’ which is undesirable.

⁸ The example is from a story where a little boy encounters a bush spirit and decides he wants to be turned into a fish, because he is treated badly by his brother’s wife. He then wants to become a deep-sea fish, because this will make it harder for the brother and his wife to find him.

(82) *ipkasa lak, silalen sa lêpip, le ip yamat kasa la pamarip*

ip=ka-[sa lak]_{VP} silale-n [sa lêp]_{VP=ip}
 3pl=IRR.NS-MOD go spirit-PERT MOD take=3pl

le ip yamat ka-[sa la pe-mat]_{VP=ip}
 or 3pl person IRR.NS-MOD go.to CAUS-die=3pl

‘When they go there, bush spirits may take them, or people might kill them.’
 (MS250311_0046)

sa has affinities with irrealis, since predicates with *sa* are also less than fully actualised. They refer to a situation which is possible, but not yet realised. The situation they refer to still belongs to the realm of thought, and the speaker is apprehensive that it might come true. Because of this “subjective” stance, *sa* is categorised as a modal particle and not as a marker of irrealis, but even when it is used in realis predicates as shown above (that is, predicates that are not marked with *kV-*), it still refers to a possible world that may, but has not yet come about. Therefore, these predicates do not strictly speaking classify as realis, since they are not actualised.

6.5.2.2 *Negated sa as deontic modal operator*

When *sa* is encountered in a negated clause it refers to ability and/or permission (which falls under deontic modality), or better, the absence thereof, prohibition. In Section 9.2, clausal negation is discussed in more detail, but ordinarily it is marked by two particles: *ma-*, which occupies the first slot in the VP following the subject bound pronoun, and *pwên*, which follows the last element that is in the scope of the negation. When a clause with *sa* is negated, it does not receive the marker *ma-*, but is only marked by *pwên*, in its usual position. These *sa* clauses indicate that the subject is not able to, or not allowed to, carry out the action represented by the predicate.

(83) *ip lau kasa ro ning muyom pwên*

[ip lau]_A ka-[sa to ning]_{VP} [muya-m]_O pwên
 3pl people IRR.NS-MOD CONT see skin-2sg.PERT neg

‘The people will not be able to see your skin.’ (LK250111_0073)

(84) *ngasa ruk pal tamong pwên*

nga_A=[sa tuk pal]_{VP} [tama-ng]_O pwên
1sg=MOD beat break father-1sg.PERT NEG

‘I cannot do the ‘tuk pal’ ceremony for my father.’ (PK290411_1_0041)

(85) *osa lêpi pwên*

wo=[sa lêp]_{VP=i} pwên
2sg=MOD take=3sg NEG

‘You cannot take [= adopt] him [I won’t allow it].’ (LM240611_0046)

In these cases, *sa* functions as a deontic modal operator (Timberlake, 2007, p. 329). The authority can vary. With ability, it can either be the participant designated to carry out the action, who does not have the (physical) ability to do it, or the participant may not be able to do it due to external circumstances, as in (83). With prohibition, it can be the speaker that acts as authority and prohibits an action of the addressee, as in (85), or it can be an external authority, as in (86) below.

(86) *osa yuai naluai pwên*

wo=[sa yuai]_{VP} naluai pwên
2sg=MOD call garden.food NEG

‘You cannot/should not call out for a tuber to plant.’ (NP220611_1_0024)

(87) *kasa yektou la net pwên*

ka-[sa yek.tou]_{VP} la net pwên
IRR.NS-MOD put go.to sea NEG

‘We should not give (it) [= our tradition] away.’ (OBK040311_0126)

Ability and permission shade into each other and are in addition linked to cultural notions. The fact that people are not allowed to make noise when planting yams (this is what sentence (86) refers to) relates to specific taboos around gardening. In this case, one can say that the authority is formed by cultural and societal norms. In (87), the modal operator reflects more the personal opinion of the speaker. Expressing prohibition with *sa* may be less forceful than using the negative imperative or prohibitive adverb *napunan* (*lit.* ‘it is forbidden’) and may therefore be preferred in

many situations for social and politeness reasons (cf. Lichtenberk (1995) on the relation between irrealis and polite imperatives, and Chapter 10 for more on Paluai imperative mood in general).

6.5.2.3 Negated *sa* as a marker of negative polarity in future

In order to express negative polarity with future reference, *sa* is prefixed with the irrealis marker *kV-*. One remarkable feature of predicates marked for irrealis is that they cannot be negated with the preverbal negation particle *ma-* (combined with *pwên*). Only when *sa* is present can a clause modified by *kV-* obtain negative polarity. Examples are sentence (87) above and (88) below.

(88) *ikisa ningong ai kunawayen pwên*

yi=ki-[sa	ning	an-sê] _{VP=ong}	a-yi
3sg=IRR.3sg-MOD	see	piece-small=1sg	at-3sg

kunawaye-n	pwên
life-PERT	NEG

‘She should/ought not (be able to) see me again for the rest of her life.’

(WL020711_0078)

This raises an interesting question: since *sa* has deontic modal overtones, there is no means to express negative prediction. A counterpart of *will not*, to come up with an expression like ‘She will not see me again’ comparable to (88) above, is not encountered. The question is whether this is just some idiosyncrasy of the grammar, or whether it is connected to what people believe can be inferred about the future. When the subject is not able to carry out a certain action, then it necessarily follows that this action will not be carried out. But maybe in some cultures, there are inhibitions against predicting the future with such certainty, and therefore people resort to a less definitive way of referring to an event which may not happen (cf. Burridge, 2002).

In (84) above, there is another factor. This sentence is from a public speech, and thus a rhetoric element probably plays a role. The speaker has decided not to carry out a certain mortuary ceremony for his father, on the grounds that it has already been done in the past, as he claims. Instead of saying that he has made up his mind and it won’t

happen, he hedges this very direct statement by claiming that he is not able to do it, as if circumstances prevent him from doing it. Thus, the responsibility for not doing the ceremony has seemingly come to lie outside of the speaker. In this way, it may be less likely that people will (publicly) condemn him for not doing the ceremony.

6.5.3 *Irrealis and aspectual particles with modal overtones*

Preverbal aspectual or directional particles prefixed by the *kV*- irrealis marker may get additional modal overtones. This seems to be the case for perfective *pe*, imperfective *no* and continuative/habitual *to*. Directional *la* is also attested with modal overtones in irrealis predicates, but only as a main copula verb.

6.5.3.1 *Irrealis and perfective pe*

Perfective *pe* (see Section 6.2.1.1.2) is very often used in combination with an irrealis prefix. It places the event further into the future, in contrast to a “plain” irrealis which usually refers to the immediate future. As with perfective used for past time reference, it indicates that the future event is seen as a bounded unity, without regard to the time that will pass during the event. It appears that *kV-pe* is used predominantly for events with future reference, and not so much for predicates which refer to hypothetical events. Below, some examples are given.

(89) *urêkabe lêpo la panu liliu*

wurê=ka-[pe lêp]_{VP=O} la panua liliu
 1pc.EXCL=IRR.NS-PFV take=2sg go.to home again
 ‘We will take you back home again.’ (NP210511_2_0058)

(90) *ope la lopwan te lumlum kipe nengo*

wo=[pe la]_{VP} lopwa-n te lumlum ki-pe neng=o
 2sg=PFV go.to place-PERT REL moss 3sg.IRR-PFV climb=2sg
 ‘You will turn into a place where moss will grow on you.’ [*lit.* ‘climb you’]
 (LK250111_0073)

6.5.3.2 *Irrealis and imperfective no*

With irrealis marking, imperfective *no* (see Section 6.2.1.1.1) is used in the same way as in realis predicates: it refers to an event which is viewed as unbounded, with respect to the time that passes while the event unfolds. With irrealis marking, that event is located in the future rather than in the past or present. Often, a secondary aspectual particle *to* or *tu* will be present in addition to the imperfective *no* (as in (91)), or a verb will be reduplicated to indicate iterative action (as in (92)).

(91) *kono ru kolkol ai rea*

ko-[no tu kol.kol]_{VP} a-yi te-ya
IRR.1sg-IPFV stay REDUP.wait at-3sg EMP-then

‘Then, I will be waiting for that.’ (MK050311_0030)

(92) *kino pungpung nupun le kino pungpung youn teo*

ki-[no pung.pung]_{VP} nupu-n le [ki-no
IRR.3sg-IPFV REDUP.smell bottom-PERT or IRR.3sg-IPFV

pung.pung]_{VP} you-n te-yo
REDUP.smell tail-PERT EMP-DEM.INT

‘He will be sniffing at his bottom, or he will be sniffing at his tail.’

(LL300511_1_0084)

no can also get modal overtones, which seem to have to do with ability and possibility (the fact that a particular event could potentially happen in the future).

(93) *ngagat porok te ong kono yipek môsôkei*

nga=gat porok te wong ko-[no yipek]_{VP} môsôkei
1sg=have strength SUB 1sg.FREE IRR.1sg-IPFV blow conch

‘I have strength that enables me to blow the conch shell.’ (LM260511_2_0019)

(94) *kipat sap kain te kino pat ai*

ki-pat sap kain te ki-[no pat]_{VP} a-yi
 IRR.3sg-plant any kind REL IRR.3sg-IPFV plant at-3sg

‘He is going to plant any kind (of thing) that he could plant in it.’

(KM190211_0032)

(95) *pian te igat naluai re ipkano ret lak, kano la yil, a kano si a kano apui ngan*

pian te yi=gat naluai te ip=ka-[no tet lak]_{VP}
 good SUB 3sg=have garden.food REL 3pl=IRR.NS-IPFV move go

ka-[no la yil]_{VP} a ka-[no si]_{VP}
 IRR.NS-IPFV go.to dig and IRR.NS-IPFV come.down

a ka-[no [apui ngan]]_{VP}
 and IRR.NS-IPFV cook eat

‘It is good that there is garden food that they could go and dig up, and (they) could come down, cook and eat (it).’ (WL020611_0067)

There are modal overtones in the examples above, but the use of *kV-no* is not essentially modal, as examples (91) and (92) show. When a durative meaning is intended, however, there will usually be some other indication of this, such as a continuative particle or reduplication of the verb. In Section 6.5.2.2 above, the use of the modal particle *sa* for deontic modality (ability and permission) has been discussed. *sa* can only refer to deontic modality with negative polarity. The use of *no* as in the examples above may be similar to that of *sa*, but with positive polarity. *kV-no*, however, lacks the permissive dimension and only indicates that a certain possible world may come to pass, without reference to an authority. It rather indicates one of a number of alternatives.

6.5.3.3 *Irrealis and continuative/habitual to*

The particle *to* (see Section 6.2.1.2.1) can be combined with irrealis in order to indicate continuative and habitual aspect with future reference:

(96) *ip lau karo wau kasông*

ip laue ka-[to wau]_{VP} kaso-ng
3pl people IRR.NS-HAB move near-1sg.PERT
'The people will be walking near to me.' (LK250111_0075)

It seems that *to* can also indicate habitual obligation. A few examples are given below. Example (97) is from a text explaining the customary ceremonies around a death, and what each party ought to do. Sentence (98) is from a text about the time that a girl would get her first menstrual period. In earlier days, the custom was that she would be hidden inside the house because men were not allowed to look upon her. In these cases, *kV-to* appears to function as a deontic modal operator; the authority could be characterised as “cultural norms”.

(97) *ip punpot pulek, ipkaro pe kui*

ip pun.pot pulêek ip=ka-[to pe]_{VP} kui
3pl relatives.of.mother too 3pl=IRR.NS-HAB make pot
'The side of the mother too, they should/must cook.' (SP190311_0032)

(98) *kiro roktoai lalon kalal lai*

ki-[to tok.to.ai]_{VP} lalo-n kalal ta-i
IRR.3sg-HAB stay.put inside-PERT wall POSS-3sg
'She must/should stay inside her fenced-off area.' (NK290311_2_0014)

It is possible that the deontic meaning is acquired from context alone, since in both cases it is clear from the narrative that the speaker refers to a prescriptive state of affairs. This is often the case in narratives where the procedure for a particular traditional custom is described. An indication, however, that *to* indeed has deontic modal overtones in these cases, is the fact that it does not occur with a modal sense combined with the first person singular prefix *ko-*. Another indication may be that *kV-to* can be used as a command, as in (99) below (although note that in this example, *to* is a main verb meaning ‘to be’).

(99) *ikiro lalon kel*

yi=ki-[to]_{VP} lalo-n kele
3sg=IRR.3sg-be inside-PERT canoe

‘He must stay in the canoe.’ / ‘Let him stay in the canoe.’ (MK060211_0026)

This sentence is from an anecdote in which a fishing trip takes an unexpected turn because a dog brought on the expedition gets seasick and vomits inside the canoe. Someone wants to throw the dog overboard, but someone else (being the author of this work) objects and insists that the dog should stay on board. Example (99) is how my objection is rendered in Paluai when the episode is recounted later.

6.5.3.4 *Irrealis and the directional la*

The directional *la* (see Section 6.3.1) is quite often used in combination with the 3sg irrealis prefix *ki-*, sometimes with perfective *pe* also present. *la* functions as a main copula verb in these cases, and introduces an adjective or a NP constituent (see Section 7.7.2 for more on *la* as a copula). A number of examples are given below.

(100) *kanen tasom nê̄m kila yamyaman...*

kane-n ta-som nê̄m ki-[la]_{VP} yamyaman
meat-PERT DEF-one.ANIM be.finished IRR.3sg-go.to red

‘Its whole body is like as if it’s red...’ (Game1_021012_0532)

(101) *i o irok tepwo, ikipe la nganngan taip kurun not*

yi yo yi=tok te-pwo yi=ki-[pe la]_{VP}
3sg DEM.INT 3sg=sit EMP-DEM.PROX 3sg=IRR.3SG-PFV go.to

[nganngan ta-ip kutun natu]
food POSS-3pl small child

‘This here, it must be food for small children.’ (Game1_021012_0622)

(102) *naman kipe la remenin teo*

naman	ki-[pe	la] _{VP}	[temenin	te-yo]
perhaps	IRR.3sg-PFV	go.to	like	EMP-DEM.INT

‘Perhaps it will be like this...’ (Game1_021012_0393)

It seems that these instances of the irrealis plus copula *la* are used for information that the speaker cannot vouch for. The speaker may be guessing, or inventing a story, or try to make an assertion based on inference or visual clues, as in (101). The main reason for using irrealis in these cases seems to be that the speaker is unsure about the truth value of the information. Thus, in these cases use of the irrealis ties in with epistemology and epistemic modality. Many of these instances come from a recording of Game 1 of the *Man and Tree* game (Levinson et al., 1992). In this recording, the game was played by two male speakers who bent the rules a little bit: one of the players had to guess what was on the photograph that the other one was holding. This led to a high incidence of *kipe la* phrases. In addition, the players came up with a little story that would fit the scene in each photograph; these, too, would be introduced by a sentence such as example (102).

6.6 Structural properties of the Verb Phrase

Minimally, a VP exists of just a bare verb form. This is the case in imperative mood (see Section 10.1.2):

(103) *toksi!*

tok.si
sit.down

‘Sit down!’

In declarative and interrogative mood, person/number information of the subject has to be obligatorily expressed. The subject is cross-referenced on the verb by a bound pronoun and/or, for irrealis, indicated by the *kV-* prefix. The object is only cross-referenced on the verb when it is animate.

When main clauses are coordinated, as in (104), the subject has to be cross-referenced on each verb, even if the verbs share the same subject. In this sense, Paluai

differs from languages such as English, in which the subject of the second clause can be elided under these circumstances: *I got afraid and Φ fell into the sea*. In Paluai, however, TAM particles can be left out when coordinated clauses share the same subject. It is a striking feature of Paluai narratives that clauses often are repeated at least once, whereby only the first clause shows the TAM particles and in subsequent clauses these are elided. In example (104) below, the subject bound pronoun is repeated in the coordinated clause, but the perfective particle is not. More on clause coordination can be found in Chapter 11.

(104) *wurêpe suwen suk. wurêsuwen suk a...*

wurê=pe	suwen	suk	wurê=suwen	suk	a
1pc.EXCL=PFV	move.down	shore	1pc.EXCL=move.down	shore	and

‘We went down to the shore. We went down to the shore and...’

(MK060211_0006)

The verb phrase of a declarative clause is schematically represented as (105). There are three preverbal TAM slots: 1) core aspect and *sa*, 2) directional, and 3) secondary aspect, which are preceded by a subject bound pronoun and/or irrealis prefix. There appears to be only one postverbal TAM/adverbial slot. Slot 1 may also be filled with the first element of discontinuous predicative negation *ma-*, to the exclusion of all core aspectual particles and *sa* (see Section 10.2 for more).

(105)	(ProSubj)= ^o (IRR)	(CoreAsp)	(DIR)	(SecAsp)	VERB**	(PV) (=ProObj) [†]
	<i>kV-</i>	<i>pe</i>		<i>to</i>		<i>nêm</i>
		<i>no</i>		<i>tu</i>		<i>wot</i>
		<i>an*</i>		<i>yen</i>		Manner Adv
		<i>sa</i>				

^o The subject bound pronoun is obligatory for realis clauses and 2sg irrealis clauses but not for other persons in irrealis.

* When *an* is present, no other preverbal matter except for DIR is allowed.

** The main verb (head of the VP) can consist of a SVC.

[†] The object bound pronoun is only obligatory when the full NP O argument is elided and refers to an animate being.

Table 3.3 shows the various combinations that are possible for the three preverbal slots in realis and in irrealis, plus an indication of their meanings. It has to be kept in mind that the instances of irrealis referred to in this table occur in main clauses. In dependent clauses, irrealis has other functions. In addition, this table refers to clauses with positive polarity. Many TAM distinctions for positive clauses are neutralised under negation (see Section 10.2). Other forms, such as the apprehensive modal particle *sa*, take on other meanings under negation. The directional slot will be filled with *la* when ‘remoteness from DC’ is indicated, but it can be filled with any directional when a purposive/sequential meaning is indicated. For Slot 3, Secondary aspect, only the form *to* is represented in the table, but could be substituted with *tu* or *yen*, except for habitual meanings.

Slot				Meaning
IRR	1	2	3	
<i>kV-</i>	-	-	-	Immediate future, imminent action
-	pe	-	-	Perfective (past reference)
-	pe	DIR	-	Perfective purposive (past reference)
-	pe	la	to	Iterative (past reference, remoteness from DC)
-	pe	-	to	Iterative (past reference)
<i>kV-</i>	pe	-	-	Perfective (future reference)
<i>kV-</i>	pe	DIR	-	Purposive (future reference)
<i>kV-</i>	pe	la	to	Iterative (future reference, remoteness from DC)
<i>kV-</i>	pe	-	to	Iterative (future reference)
-	no	-	-	Imperfective (past or present reference)
-	no	la	-	Imperfective (past or present reference, remoteness from DC) [<i>rare</i>]
-	no	la	to	Imperfective + continuative (past or present reference, remoteness from DC) [<i>rare</i>]
-	no	-	to	Imperfective + continuative (past or present reference)
<i>kV-</i>	no	-	-	Imperfective (future reference) or Modal
<i>kV-</i>	no	la	-	Imperfective (future reference, remoteness from DC) [<i>rare</i>]
<i>kV-</i>	no	la	to	Imperfective + continuative (future reference, remoteness from DC)? [not attested in data]
<i>kV-</i>	no	-	to	Imperfective + continuative (future reference)
-	an	-	-	Perfect
-	sa	-	-	Apprehensive modality (present/future reference)
<i>kV-</i>	sa	-	-	Apprehensive modality (future reference)
<i>kV-</i>	sa	la	-	Apprehensive modality with remoteness

				from DC (future reference)
-	-	DIR	-	Purposive/sequential
-	-	la	to	Remoteness from DC
<i>kV</i> -	-	DIR	-	Purposive (future reference)
<i>kV</i> -	-	la	to	Remoteness from DC (future reference)
-	-	-	to	Habitual (past/present reference)
<i>kV</i> -	-	-	to	Habitual (future reference) or Modal

Table 6.5 Overview of possible TAM combinations and meanings

Chapter 7 Predicates II: non-verbal and copula predicates

As the name suggests, a non-verbal predicate does not contain a verb, but takes an element from another word class as head. Nouns, adjectives, numerals, several of the question markers, the possessive particle *ta-*, the possessive classifier *ka-* and the preposition *pari* ‘from, belonging to’, can function as head of a non-verbal predicate.¹ In contrast to verbs, members of other word classes cannot take bound pronouns when functioning as head of a predicate, nor will non-verbal predicates be marked by TAM particles. Non-verbal predicates are always intransitive, in contrast to verbal predicates which can be either transitive or intransitive. Non-verbal predicates cannot form a command. Negation, however, is done by the same operation that is used for verbal predicates (see Section 10.2.2.1).

A non-verbal predicate is the nucleus of what is called a ‘verbless clause’ by Dixon (2010a). A verbless clause consists of a Verbless Clause Subject (VCS) followed by a Verbless Clause Complement (VCC), which contains the non-verbal predicate. Verbless clauses have a relational rather than referential meaning, indicating a relation of identity or attribution between the VCS and the VCC. They are in many ways similar to copula clauses.

The existential/posture verb *to(k)* ‘to be; to stay, to remain’ sometimes crops up in what appear to be “relational” (i.e. copula-like, non-referential) clauses, but may not be a genuine copula. The directional verb *la* ‘to go (to)’, however, clearly developed into a change-of-state marking copula ‘become’. In what follows, the formal features of several types of verbless clauses will be discussed, followed by the meanings they can express. Next, a discussion will follow about the presence or absence of a copula in Paluai. Because comparative constructions are always verbless predicates, they will also be discussed in this chapter.

7.1 Clauses with a NP predicate as nucleus

The following sentences are examples of clauses which contain a nominal predicate (a predicate with a NP as head):

¹ A pronominal suffix indicating person and number needs to be added to *ta-* and *ka-*, and *pari* needs to be followed by a NP. The possessive forms are also often modified by a NP. Thus, these forms do not make up a non-verbal predicate on their own; see Sections 7.4 and 7.5.

(1) *wong yamtan*

[wong]_{VCS} [yamta-n]_{VCC}

1sg.FREE owner-PERT

‘I am its owner.’ (LM260511_1_0063)

(2) *wong maêwen*

[wong]_{VCS} [maêwe-n]_{VCC}

1sg.FREE grandchild-PERT

‘I am his grandchild.’ (KW290611_0064)

(3) *ma rapo, i reo i pein silal*

ma tapo [yi te-yo]_{VCS} yi [pein silal]_{VCC}

but actually 3sg EMP-DEM.INT 3sg woman spirit

‘But in fact, she was a spirit woman.’ (PN100411_0021)

(4) *not teo i mwen*

[natu te-yo]_{VCS} yi [mwen]_{VCC}

child EMP-DEM.INT 3sg man

‘The child was a boy.’ (OL200111_0042)

Verbless clauses containing a nominal predicate usually express a relation of identity or class membership between the subject and the NP predicate that forms the head of the clause. The subject usually involves a human referent, and the head noun is usually a personal noun, a kinship term or another noun that typically refers to a human being. When the VCS is a full NP that contains a longer phrase and/or ends with a demonstrative, there is usually a pronoun copy directly preceding the VCC, similar to the situation for verbal predicates. The only difference consists of the fact that non-verbal predicates will always be preceded by a free pronoun and never by a bound one.

Verbless clauses can be used in a deictic way, together with a deictic demonstrative, to point at something. Examples (5) and (6) would be appropriate answers to the question ‘What’s this/that?’. In this case, there is no pronoun copy preceding the VCC.

(5) *i repwo pou*

[yi te-pwo]_{vcs} [pou]_{vcc}

3sg EMP-DEM.PROX pig

‘This is a pig.’ (052b_0138)

(6) *i relo mui*

[yi te-lo]_{vcs} [mui]_{vcc}

3sg EMP-DEM.DIST dog

‘That (over there) is a dog.’ (052b_0142)

7.2 Clauses with an adjectival predicate as nucleus

The following examples show verbless clauses with a predicate that has an adjective as its head.

(7) *taim te wong pa namwi...*

taim te [wong]_{vcs} pa [namwi]_{vcc}

when SUB 1sg.FREE yet small

‘When I was still small (a little child)...’ (SY100411_0005)

(8) *pusok sê reo i somwai*

[pusok sê te-yo]_{vcs} yi [somwai]_{vcc}

island small EMP-DEM.INT 3sg great

‘That little island is great.’ (LL030611_0008)

(9) *maran sip namwi a maran sip menengan*

[mata-n sip]_{vcs} [namwi]_{vcc}

eye-PERT one.INANIM small

a [mata-n sip]_{vcs} [menengan]_{vcc}

and eye-PERT one.INANIM big

‘One eye is small and one eye is big.’ (Game1_021012_0460)

Verbless clauses containing a predicate headed by an adjective usually express an attributive relation: the adjective describes an attribute of the VCS. When the VCS is represented by a full NP, it could be argued that a verbless clause is not in fact a clause but a NP, with a modifier following the head noun. That this is not the case is demonstrated by two things. First of all, this type of construction does not have to contain a full NP, but can have a free pronoun as VCS (cf. example (7)). Secondly, elements that modify the VCC can occur between the subject NP and the predicate, just as with a clause containing a verb. Example (7), for instance, contains a temporal adverb which is placed between the VCS and VCC.

7.3 Clauses with a predicate containing a numeral

As mentioned in Section 4.5.3.2, numerals can form the head of a non-verbal predicate. The examples shown there are repeated below.

(10) *urê ramwen urê ngonomou, a irê rapein, irê ngunan*

[wurê ta-mwen]_{VCS} wurê [ngonomou]_{VCC}
 1pc.EXCL DEF-man 1pc.EXCL six.ANIM

a [irê ta-pein]_{VCS} irê [ngunan]_{VCC}
 and 3pc DEF-woman 3pc five

‘We men, we are six, and them women, they are five.’ (OL201210_0042)

(11) *pou re kope yiuék kup tan tamong nganoyumou*

[pou te ko-pe yiu-ek kup
 pig REL IRR.1sg-FUT pull-APPL pigs.lined.up

ta-n tama-ng]_{VCS} [nganoyumou]_{VCC}
 POSS-PERT father-1sg.PERT eight.ANIM

‘The pigs with which I will pull the rope for my father (as part of a traditional ceremony) are [i.e. number] eight.’ (YK290411_2_0049)

(12) *Ngat i no nantasom o*

[Ngat]_{vcs} yi [no nan-ta-som yo]_{vcc}

N. 3sg only piece-DEF-one.ANIM DEM.INT

‘Ngat is the only one [i.e. an only child].’ (LM240611_0045)

A verbless clause headed by a numeral represents an attributive relation, in a similar manner to adjectival predicates.

7.4 Clauses with a predicate containing *ta-* or *ka-*

There is no verb expressing possession in Paluai, although Tok Pisin *gat* ‘have’ has been borrowed to fill this gap. Possession is usually expressed within the NP (see Section 5.5). Direct possession can be expressed by a verbless clause with the Possessee NP functioning as head; sentences (1) and (2) show examples of this. Indirect possession is expressed by means of the particle *ta-*, which always receives a suffix (see Section 4.2.3.1). *ta-* usually follows the head noun (the Possessee) within the NP, but it occasionally is found as head of a non-verbal predicate:

(13) *pwapwa repwo i ran Nulik*

[pwapwae te-pwo]_{vcs} yi [ta-n Nulik]_{vcc}

story EMP-DEM.PROX 3sg POSS-PERT N.

‘This story is about Nulik.’ (WL020611_0002)

(14) *môsôkei i ran tupung ta Ngat Porambeï*

[môsôkei]_{vcs} yi [ta-n tupu-ng ta-Ngat Porambeï]_{vcc}

conch 3sg POSS-PERT grandparent-1sg.PERT DEF-N.P.

‘(Blowing) the conch shell belongs to my grandfather, Ngat Porambeï.’

(LM260511_2_0002)

(15) *i repwo i raip pein*

[yi te-pwo]_{vcs} yi [ta-ip pein]_{vcc}

3sg EMP-DEM.PROX 3sg POSS-3pl woman

‘This here is for women.’ (Game1_021012_0133)

The possessive classifier for edible objects, *ka-* can be used in the same way as *ta-*:

(16) *i repwo kom*

[*yi te-pwo*]_{VCS} [*ka-m*]_{VCC}
3sg EMP-DEM.INT CLF.food-2sg
'This is yours.' [food, to eat]

A verbless clause with the particles *ta-* or *ka-* indicates an attributive relation between VCS and VCC. It describes a feature of the VCS, namely that it belongs to the VCC. In most cases, these clauses do not refer to possession in the strict sense, i.e. ownership, but rather that there is a close connection between VCS and VCC. Sentence (15), for example, is about a necklace shown in a picture. The speaker comments that this necklace is meant to be worn by women, rather than men.

7.5 Clauses with a predicate containing *pari*

There is one form heading relational clauses of which word class membership is not entirely clear. This form is *pari* 'from, belonging to'. It could be analysed as a verb (in which case it should be categorised as a copula), except for the fact that it is not able to take a bound pronoun: *wong pari X* 'I am from X' is attested, in contrast to **nga=pari X*. In addition, *pari* can introduce a prepositional phrase that can modify a noun within a NP (see Sections 4.4.2 and 5.6). The most obvious analysis for *pari* would be as a preposition, but this means that there is a preposition which can head a verbless clause. This notion does not seem so alien, though, when semantic relations expressed by copula constructions, as set out by Dixon (2010b, p. 159) are taken into account. He mentions both Benefaction and Location as a possible relation expressed by a copula plus 'appropriate adposition'. If "adpositional" relations can be expressed by a copula clause, it could be argued they can also be represented by a verbless clause.

The following sentences provide some examples. *pari* is followed directly by a NP in case this is headed by a local noun, otherwise the preposition *a-* (prefixed to the 3sg pronoun *yi*) needs to be present. In (17) and (18), *pari* refers to origin. In (19), it refers to both origin and ownership, and in (20) it refers to content.

(17) *wong pari Lipan*

[wong]_{VCS} [pari Lipan]_{VCC}
1sg.FREE belonging.to L.
'I am from Lipan.' (KM060111_0003)

(18) *ipan pwa, "naman pein teo i pari Lou"*

ip_A=an pwa [naman [pein te-yo]_{VCS} yi [pari
3pl=PRF think perhaps woman EMP-DEM.INT 3sg belonging.to

Lou]_{VCC}]_{Comp:O}
Lou
'They had thought, "Perhaps this woman is from Lou."' [i.e. that she was a living
person, but she turned out to be a spirit] (PN100411_0020)

(19) *pwapwa repwo i pari Marako*

[pwapwa te-pwo]_{VCS} yi [pari Marako]_{VCC}
story emp-dem.prox 3sg belonging.to M.
'This story belongs to Marako.' (WL020611_0060)

(20) *pwapwa repwo i pari ai mwamwanget*

[pwapwae te-pwo]_{VCS} yi [pari a-yi
story EMP-DEM.PROX 3sg belonging.to at-3sg

mwamwanget]_{VCC}
be.lazy
'This story is about indolence.' (WL020611_0059)

Verbless clauses with *pari* are rather similar to those with *ta-* described above. They also indicate an attributive relation between VCS and VCC. Mostly, *pari* refers to origin, but it can also be ambiguous between origin and ownership (as in (19)), and its use has been metaphorically extended to include content/meaning and purpose. It is not entirely clear if there is a meaning difference between, for example, sentences (13) and (20), which are roughly equivalent in English translation. Probably *pari* can only refer

to inanimate entities and not to people, which may be a reason why *ta-* is used in (13), and also (14), instead.

7.6 Clauses headed by a predicate containing a question marker

Several question markers which query identity or attribution can appear as head of a non-verbal predicate in a verbless clause. An overview of them is given in the table below. The expected answer to a question with either of these question markers would also be a verbless clause. They are each related to a specific word class which can be head of a non-verbal predicate. For more on interrogative constructions, see Section 10.1.1.

Form	Translation	Questions	Word class
sa	what	Identity of object	Noun
sê	who	Identity of person	Noun
samnon	how many	Quantity	Numeral
samai-	what of	Direct possession relation (part-whole or kinship)	Noun
tenepa	how	Quality, Attribute	Adjective

Table 7.1 Question markers which can be head of a non-verbal predicate

Below, examples are given of verbless predicates with the question markers listed in the table as head.

(21) *ngayom sa?*

[ngaya-m]vcs [sa]vcc
 name-2sg.PERT what
 ‘What’s your name?’

(22) *i reo i sê?*

[yi te-yo]vcs yi [sê]vcc
 3sg EMP-DEM.INT 3sg who
 ‘Who is this?’

(23) *kerin tao samnon?*

[kerin ta-o]_{VCS} [samnon]_{VCC}

year POSS-2sg how.many

‘How old are you?’ [*lit.* ‘Your years (are) how many?’]

(24) *Pokut i samaim?*

[Pokut]_{VCS} yi [samai-m]_{VCC}

P. 3sg what.of-2sg.PERT

‘How is Pokut related to you?’ (052b_0015)

(25) *tare kanopa kaywun le i reneba?*

[ta-te-yo]_{VCS} kanopa [kaywun]_{VCC} le yi [tenepa]_{VCC}

DEF-EMP-DEM.INT like white or 3sg how

‘This thing, it is like white or how (does it look)?’ (Game2_280812_0142)

7.7 Potential copula clauses

As mentioned above, there are predicates that are headed by the posture/existential verb *to* ‘to be; to stay, to remain’, or the directional verb *la* ‘to go to’, that can be considered relational rather than locational (i.e. the (copula) verb expresses a relationship between a CS and CC, such as identity or attribute). Thus, even though these clauses are strictly speaking verbal, they will be discussed here.

7.7.1 With *to* ‘to be’

The following types of constructions are encountered with *to*:

1. *to* followed by an adjective
2. *to* followed by the possessive particle *ta-* plus pronoun suffix

Below, examples of *to* followed by an adjective are given in (26) and (27), and of *to* followed by the particle *ta-* are given in (28) and (29).

(26) *kola sayek net are kiro mwanen*

ko-la sayek net a-te ki_{CS}-to [mwanenen]_{CC}
IRR.1sg-go.to rub.with salt.water at-SUB IRR.1sg-be straight
'I will rub it with salt water so that it will be straight.' (AK160411_1_0007)

(27) *i sê kiro yauron teo*

yi_{VCS} [sê ki_{CS}-to [yauron]_{CC} te-yo]_{VCC}
3sg who IRR.3sg-be short EMP-DEM.INT
'It is one that will be short.' (KW290311_0029)

(28) *Korup iro rang*

[Korup]_S yi=to ta-ng
K. 3sg=be POSS-1sg
'Korup is mine.' [i.e. he belongs to my lineage] (ANK020995_0010)

(29) *pwapwaen iro rang*

[pwapwae-n]_S yi=to ta-ng
story-PERT 3sg=be POSS-1sg
'The story is mine/belongs to me.' (YK290411_1_0030)

The combination of *to* with an adjective is encountered very infrequently, and only with irrealis predicates, which refer to hypothetical or future events or states (see Section 6.4). The irrealis marker *kV-* can only attach to a verb and not to a member of another word class, which is probably the reason why *to* is attested in these cases.

In cases like (28) and (29), *to* is most likely not a copula. *ta-* is not only attested as a possessive particle, but also as a locative particle (for instance, it marks the Goal argument of a ditransitive clause in case this is animate; see Sections 4.4.3 and 8.1). This use of *to* plus the possessive particle can be interpreted as an abstraction from the locative sense of *ta-*. Another indication for this may be that the form *ka-*, which functions as a possessive classifier for edible objects (see Section 7.4 above), is not encountered in combination with *to*.

When combined with *to*, *ta-* has comitative overtones; it could also be translated with 'with'. It is not entirely clear why in some cases *to* is present; as we have seen in Section 7.4, *ta-* can also be head to a verbless predicate.

7.7.2 With *la* ‘to go’

More often than *to*, the directional *la* ‘to go to’, which grammaticalised into a change-of-state marker ‘become’, will be used to express an attributive relation. The resulting clause can be analysed as a copula predicate; examples are given below. The copula complement can be either an adjective, as in (30) and (32), or a noun, as in (31).

(30) *muyan kipe la pian*

[muya-n]_{CS} ki-pe la [pian]_{CC}
skin-PERT IRR.3SG-PFV go.to good
‘His skin will become nice.’ (NP260511_0021)

(31) *uwot wum, are ila poyep*

u_S=wot wumwa a-te yi_{CS}=la [poyep]_{CC}
3du=go.level house at-SUB 3sg=go.to afternoon
‘They went home, for it had become afternoon.’ (MS250311_0041)

(32) *wong kola paiwon*

[wong]_{CS} ko-la [paiwon]_{CC}
1sg.FREE IRR.1sg-go.to strong
‘I will become strong.’ (SY100411_0013)

In addition, a copula-like *la* can follow a main verb in a sequence. This construction may have originated as a SVC (see Chapter 9), but has probably led to reanalysis of *la* as a periphrastic marker of adverbial phrases made out of adjectives (see also Section 3.6.2.2). The *la* phrase now functions as a postverbal manner adverbial modifier, indicating ‘in the state of’. Whether or not the construction, in its entirety, has change-of-state semantics depends on the semantics of the main verb. Compare for instance examples (33) and (35). In (33), clearly a change of state is indicated, whereas (35) refers to a stative state of affairs. This is probably due to the difference in meaning between *pei* ‘to appear’ and *tok* ‘to be, to stay’. The development of *la* as an adverbial marker also probably gave rise to constructions such as in (36), with *la pwên* as an adverbial negator (see Section 10.2.3.1). Also when following a main verb, *la* can have

a noun as complement, as in (34). For more on the grammaticalisation of *la*, see also Schokkin (2014b).

(33) *muyan kipe pei la pian*

[muya-n]_{CS} ki-pe pei [la pian]_{Adv}
 skin-PERT IRR.3sg-PFV appear go.to good
 ‘His skin will become nice.’ (NP260511_0023)

(34) *samin teo, koripêl la kalomwen*

[samin teyo]_{TopO} ko_A-tipêl=Ø [la kalomwen]_{Adv}
 end.of.rope DEM.INT IRR.1sg-braid=3sg.ZERO go.to handle
 ‘The ends of the twines I will braid into the handles [of the basket].’
 (AK160411_2_0024)

(35) *uro rok la pian palsi*

u_S=to tok [la pian] palosi
 3du=HAB stay go.to good past
 ‘They used to live [together] well in the past.’ (LL010711_0092)

(36) *iyik lêp tinan la pwên*

yi_A=yik lêp [tina-n]_O [la pwên]
 3sg=search.for take mother-PERT go.to NEG
 ‘He searched in vain for his mother.’ (KW290611_0054)

7.8 Comparative constructions

Comparative constructions are formed by verbless clauses which have an adjectival predicate as head, modified by an adjunct phrase introduced with the general prepositional prefix *a-*. This Oblique constituent contains the Standard of comparison; the Comparee (that which is being compared) is referred to by the VCS and the Parameter of comparison is formed by the adjective in the VCC (for terminology, cf. Dixon (2010b)). It appears that only adjectives, and not (stative) verbs, can be Parameter of comparison. The adjective will often be modified by the adverb of degree *pun* which functions as a general intensifier and can in this case be translated with

‘much’. The adverb of degree *paran* ‘very’ is not encountered with comparative constructions. A number of examples are given below.

(37) *naman i pian pun ai aronan toktoai ran musau pari tepwo*

naman [yi]_{VCS} [pian pun]_{VCC} a-yi [arona-n toktoai
perhaps 3sg good INTF at-3sg way-PERT live

ta-n musau pari te-pwo]_{STANDARD}
POSS-PERT foreign.place belonging.to EMP-DEM.PROX

‘Perhaps it [the way of life of our ancestors] is much better than the Westernised lifestyle of today.’ (BK040311_0043)

(38) *i menengan ai i rayamyaman*

[yi]_{VCS} [menengan]_{VCC} a-yi [yi ta-yamyaman]_{STANDARD}
3sg big at-3sg 3sg DEF-red

‘It [the yellow one] is bigger than the red one.’ (Game2_021012_0261)

When the head adjective is both preceded and followed by the intensifier *pun*, the construction could be analysed as a superlative. In this case, there is no Standard of comparison. This construction is rare, however; moreover, the only representative example found in the data is a copula construction with *la* and it is likely that the first instance of *pun* modifies *la* rather than *pian*.

(39) *naman kape la pun pian pun*

naman ka_{CS}-pe [la pun [pian pun]_{CC}]
perhaps IRR.NS-PFV go.to INTF good INTF

‘Perhaps, this will be the best for us.’ [*lit.* ‘we will be the best’]

(BK040311_0036)

Comparative and in particular superlative constructions are not at all common in spontaneous speech, although they can easily be elicited. Normally, speakers have a preference to compare two entities in coordinated verbless clauses with two gradable adjectives which form a pair of antonyms, for example *menengan* ‘big’ and *namwi* ‘small’:

(40) *i rakaywun i menengan, ma i re i rayamyaman kayan telo i namwi*

[yi ta-kaywun]_{VCS} yi [menengan]_{VCC} ma i te [yi ta-yamyaman
3sg DEF-white 3sg big but 3sg DEF-red

kayan te-lo]_{VCS} yi [namwi]_{VCC}
black EMP-DEM.DIST 3sg small

‘The white one is big, but the dark red one is small.’ (Game1_021012_0581)

Comparatives of equality are usually formed by either the verb (*pe*) *ngonomek* ‘be corresponding, be the same’ or by a non-verbal predicate headed by *no sip* ‘the same (*lit.* ‘only one’).

(41) *taywêp ino pe ngonomek*

[ta-yuêp]_s yi=no pe ngomomek
DEF-two.INANIM 3sg=IPFV do be.corresponding

‘The two are just the same.’ (Game2_021012_0156)

(42) *menenganan taywêp nê m no sip*

[menengan-an ta-yuêp nê m]_{VCS} [no sip]_{VCC}
big-NOM DEF-two.INANIM be.finished only one.INANIM

‘The size of the two (balls) is the same.’ (Game2_280812_0201)

Chapter 8 Grammatical relations and valency

In this chapter, grammatical relations in the clause and the valency of verbs will be discussed. Before discussing the situation for Paluai, a number of definitions which have to do with argument structure and valency will be discussed. After that, it will be shown how different grammatical relations are formally represented in Paluai. Next, some strategies to either increase or reduce the valency of a verb will be discussed. It will turn out that Paluai has lost many of the morphological means for altering valency of a verb that are attested for Proto-Oceanic, but SVCs have partly taken over this task. SVCs are discussed in more detail in Chapter 9.

8.1 Alignment of core and peripheral arguments

8.1.1 Core arguments S, A and O

In every language, each predicate has one or more arguments which are obligatorily expressed. These are called core arguments. When a predicate has only one core argument, it is intransitive. When a predicate has two core arguments, it is transitive. The core argument of an intransitive verb, the intransitive subject, is represented by S, whereas the two core arguments of a transitive predicate are called ‘transitive subject’ (expressed by A) and object (O). There has been much discussion about which semantic notions are covered by S, A and O, but what can be agreed upon is that S or A is the most prominent or salient constituent in the clause, regardless of the semantic notion it represents (e.g. Actor, Cause, Undergoer or Experiencer). Thus, S (and to a lesser extent, A) is defined more in terms of its grammatical status than its semantics, which can vary immensely. O, by contrast, is the less salient or prominent position, and thus in many languages mechanisms are found by which O can be promoted to S position (such as passive).

Languages differ in how the S argument of an intransitive predicate is aligned with the A and O arguments of a transitive predicate. In short, when the intransitive S and transitive A are expressed in the same way, this is called nominative-accusative alignment. When the intransitive S is expressed in the same way as the transitive O, this is called absolutive-ergative alignment. This expression can take different forms, the

most frequent ones being (case or adpositional) marking of the NPs that represent the various core arguments, and constituent order (the order in which the predicate and its arguments appear in the clause). Paluai has nominative-accusative alignment, because both S and A precede the verb complex, and are usually cross-referenced by a bound pronoun which forms a proclitic to the verb complex.¹ Thus, they are both in the grammatical position of subject (with lower case). Cases in which the subject is not cross-referenced on the verb are discussed in Section 6.1. The transitive O, in contrast, immediately follows the verb complex and, when animate and not expressed by a full NP, is cross-referenced by an enclitic bound pronoun (compare the intransitive clause in (1) with the transitive clause in (2)). Thus, unmarked constituent order in Paluai is AVO, as is the case for the majority of Oceanic languages which have not been in extensive contact with (mostly AOV) non-Austronesian languages.

(1) *kamoun pe ret*

[kamou-n]_S pe tet
 speech-PERT PFV spread

‘Word of it has spread.’ (KM060111_0045)

(2) *Namwai wutantek mumura rai*

[Namwai]_A wut.antek [mumura ta-i]_O
 N. bail.out vomit POSS-PERT

‘Namwai bailed out his vomit.’ (MK060211_0024)

The subject position, either filled by a S or an A argument, always has to be overtly expressed, either by a full NP or free pronoun, a bound pronoun, or both. Thus, there are no predicates for which the subject is elided.² Similarly, each verb is subcategorised for at least one argument, as mentioned above, and always needs to take a S or A argument at the least. For the transitive O, the situation is a bit different. When an O argument is retrievable from the discourse context, it will be elided. If it refers to an animate being, it will still be cross-referenced on the verb complex by a bound pronoun, but if it is inanimate, this is not the case. Therefore, it is difficult to establish from texts whether a

¹ The term ‘verb complex’ is used to refer to the conglomerate of the main verb, its preceding TAM and/or directional particles and its postverbal adverbials (if present), as discussed in Chapter 6.

² This holds for declarative predicates. In imperative predicates, the S argument can be left implicit (see Section 10.1.2).

particular verb is subcategorised for an O argument (and thus transitive) which was elided, or whether a verb is ambitransitive. This issue will be discussed below in Section 8.2.

8.1.2 *The E argument*

8.1.2.1 *E argument of intransitive verbs*

Both transitive and intransitive verbs may be subcategorised for an additional E ('extended') argument that has to be obligatorily expressed and thus can also be regarded as a core argument (Dixon 2010a,b). It has to be pointed out, though, that the distinction between core and peripheral arguments 'is never a hard and fast one' (Dixon 2010a, p. 101). The E argument can occur with an intransitive verb, yielding an extended intransitive clause with S and E arguments, or with a transitive verb, yielding an extended transitive (or ditransitive) clause with A, O and E arguments.

There is a subclass of intransitive verbs in Paluai which subcategorise for an E argument; an overview of them is given in Tables 8.1 and 8.2. The E argument, however, is never obligatorily expressed, and thus may not, strictly speaking, classify as a core argument. The reason why these verbs are set apart from other intransitive verbs that take optional Oblique constituents, however, is that the Oblique marker can take both the form of the preposition *a-* and the locative/possessive particle *ta-*. *a-* is prefixed to the 3sg pronoun *yi*, yielding the surface form *ai*, while *ta-* is always suffixed by a form from the indirect possession paradigm (see Section 4.2.3.1). With "ordinary" Obliques, such as locatives or instrumentals, the Oblique can only be marked by *a-*.

Furthermore, there seems to be a semantic basis to the classification. The verbs in question tend to express states rather than actions, there is low volition and control on the part of the subject argument, and the argument marked as Oblique is not very much affected. They can quite neatly be divided into two semantic subclasses. The majority, shown in Table 8.1, refer to emotional or physical sensations. They take an Experiencer subject and a Stimulus argument, which is expressed by an Oblique constituent marked by *a-* for inanimates and *ta-* for animates. When there is no overtly expressed E argument, however, still there is an entity that has to be regarded as the stimulus or cause of the sensation. In the words of a consultant: 'you cannot just be afraid; you have to be afraid of *something*.'

kaêrêt	to be afraid (of)
kolu- sosol	to mourn, to be sad (about) (<i>lit.</i> ‘inside mourns’)
maloa- wop	to take fright (of) (<i>lit.</i> ‘spirit flies’)
mwamwanget	to be tired (of), fed up (with)
mwamwasêk	to be ashamed (of)
nayet	to be happy (about)
nia- palak	to be angry (with) (<i>lit.</i> ‘stomach is bad’)
nopnop	to be jealous (of)
nunuau	to be energetic, keen (on)
pilel	to laugh (about)
tou put	to regret, to have regrets (about)
wayêt	to be sorry, feel sadness (for)
yangyang	to like, to love
teyeng	to cry (for)

Table 8.1 Verbs of emotion, belonging to extended intransitive subclass

Below, two examples of the verb *kaêrêt* are given with an animate and an inanimate E argument, respectively.³

(3) *ngaru kaêrêt tan muyou*

[nga]_S=tu kaêrêt ta-n [muyou]_E

1sg=stay be.afraid POSS-PERT snake

‘I was afraid of the snake.’ (Game1_021012_0562)

(4) *ipto kaêrêt ai aronan kauwat taip*

[ip]_S=to kaêrêt a-yi [arona-n kauwat ta-ip]_E

3pl=HAB be.afraid at-3sg way-PERT tradespartner POSS-3pl

‘They used to be afraid of the ways of their tradespartners.’ (MS250311_0046)

Some of the remainder of verbs in this subclass (shown in Table 8.2) are verbs of cognition. *mapwai* ‘know’ and *masai* ‘be clear’ take a Cogitator subject, with the thing

³ The constituent which forms the E argument is headed by the inanimate abstract noun *arona-*; therefore the entity represented by the argument is considered to be inanimate.

or person that s/he has knowledge about expressed as an Oblique.⁴ *pangai* at first sight seems to be a regular transitive verb taking A and O arguments, but it ends in *-ai*, which suggests that the Oblique marker may have fused onto it. The status of *mêpmêp* is a bit uncertain, since its only occurrence in the data is with an applicative suffix (see Section 8.3.2 below). *pwak* has many meanings. It can refer to finding a person or object one has been looking for, to meeting a person (both situations could be most aptly translated with ‘encounter’), but also to being related to a certain thing or person, or being stuck, for instance of a door. In any case, again we see low control and volition of the subject. The same goes for *inap* ‘be sufficient’. The verbs *song wum* ‘marry’ and *tenten* ‘pray’ on the other hand, are probably more similar to extended transitive verbs discussed below. They represent situations similar to those expressed by verbs of GIVING and SPEAKING (see below), but are not subcategorised for the object (or the speech) that is transferred in this situation.

<i>inap</i> (Tok Pisin loan)	to be sufficient (for)
<i>mapwai</i>	to know (about)
<i>masai</i>	to be clear (about)
<i>mêpmêp</i>	to dream (about)?
<i>pangai</i>	to think (about/of)
<i>pwak</i>	to meet (with), to encounter; to find; to be related to
<i>song wum</i>	to marry (with) (<i>lit.</i> ‘to flee house’)
<i>tenten</i>	to speak to an ancestor; to pray (to)

Table 8.2 Remainder of verbs belonging to extended intransitive subclass

There is variation with *mapwai*, as it seemingly can take either an overt O or an E argument to express the semantic role of Theme related to the ‘knowing’ situation. Below, two examples of the verb *mapwai* are given with an animate and inanimate E argument, respectively, followed by an example where *mapwai* takes an O argument.

(5) *ila ro mapwai rurê a urêro mapwai rai*

[yi]_S=la to mapwai [ta-urê]_E a [wurê]_S=to mapwai
 3sg=go.to CONT know POSS-1pc.EXCL and 1pc.EXCL=CONT know

⁴ The term ‘Cogitator’ is from Dixon (2010a,b).

[ta-i]_E

POSS-3sg

‘She knows about us and we know about her.’ (OL201210_0153)

(6) *epmaru mapwai liliu ai pwên*

[ep]_S=ma=tu mapwai liliu [a-yi]_E pwên

1pl.EXCL=NEG₁=stay know again at-3sg NEG₂

‘We do not know about it anymore.’ (NP190511_2_0032)

(7) *ngasa mapwai puyamat tang pwên*

[nga]_A=sa mapwai [pun.yamat ta-ng]_O pwên

1sg=MOD know genealogy POSS-1sg.PERT NEG

‘I would not be able to know my genealogy.’ (OBK040311_0078)

One possible explanation for this variation with *mapwai* is that the Oblique marker has fused with it, similar to *pangai* discussed above. An indication for this is that the *a-yi* marker is only clearly distinguishable in cases like (6), where an adverb intervenes between the verb and the Oblique marker.

Another explanation is that *mapwai* can take two types of objects: a “close” one, marked as O, or a “remote” one, marked as E. This is reminiscent of the situation with the English verb ‘to know’, which can also take either a direct object or a prepositional phrase with ‘about’. In the Paluai case, there seems to be a restriction on the O argument of *mapwai* which is not there for O arguments of other verbs: it seems that the O argument has to be expressed by a full NP and cannot be pronominal. Pronominal arguments to *mapwai* are always Obliques, i.e. introduced with *a-* or *ta-*.

The distinction between Oblique arguments with *a-* and those with *ta-* is purely semantically based: it depends on animacy only. Inanimate referents are marked with *a-* whereas animate referents are marked with *ta-*. Thus, one can argue that it is logical that a locative or instrumental Oblique is not marked with *ta-*, since this type of Oblique does not generally refer to animate beings, and thus that there is no real reason to regard the subclass of verbs under consideration as special. This is a valid argument. However, there are a number of arguments in favour of the current analysis. The first one is that these verbs all represent transitive situations, in which two arguments are involved and

one is affected by the other, but in contrast to many other transitive situations which are expressed by regular transitive verbs, one of the arguments is not simply O, but gets a different marking. Thus, there is a formal difference between these and regular transitive clauses. Secondly, and related to this, the fact that one of the arguments is marked differently from a regular O suggests that the relationship between the subject and other argument somehow deviates from the prototypical transitive situation. This is indeed the case: as mentioned above, these verbs characteristically involve low control and volition on the part of the subject, and the second argument (marked as Oblique) is not really affected. This is different from a typical transitive situation (e.g. with the verb ‘to eat’), where the A argument is in control of the action and the O argument (usually in the semantic role of Patient) is highly affected.

The affectedness/non-affectedness dimension of the non-subject argument may interrelate with the animacy dimension. After all, the higher the non-subject argument is on the animacy scale and the less affected it is, the more likely it is that the subject argument is less in control and more affected, and vice versa. This does not mean that animate referents cannot function as Patients. They surely can, but when they do, they will be expressed as regular O arguments and be cross-referenced on the verb with a bound pronoun.

A third argument why the second arguments of the verbs discussed above are not regular Obliques, even though they are not obligatorily present, is the fact that, when absent, they are somehow central to the event described by the verb and will be understood from the context. Thus they are in contrast with Obliques, which can be added to any clause regardless of its number of core arguments, and which can usually be substituted by adverbial phrases.

8.1.2.2 E argument of transitive verbs

Also some transitive verbs may be subcategorised for an E argument (they are shown in Table 8.3). These verbs take an A argument and an O argument, and also quite often an E argument which is in many cases obligatorily preceded by a directional which is serialised with the main verb. These constructions are discussed in more detail in Section 9.1.6.

apek	to hit, to shoot X at
asuek	to rub X on
ayek	to keep, to withhold X (from)?
lêp	to receive, to take X (from)
puk mapia-	to inform (<i>lit.</i> ‘to open the knowledge to’)
pul	to speak, to say X (to)
tou	to give X (to)
touek	to show X (to)
sip	to buy X (from)?
yuêt	to ask X (about)

Table 8.3 Verbs belonging to the extended transitive subclass

All of the extended transitive verbs (except *apek* and *asuek*, discussed below) belong to the classes Dixon (2010a, p. 104) identifies as GIVING and SPEAKING. They typically refer to an interpersonal event in which an object or speech (represented by the O argument) is transferred from one person to another. Thus, the A and the E argument typically refer to animate beings. An exception is *yuêt* ‘ask’, where the Asker is represented by the A argument and the Asked (generally a human being) by the O argument. The Question, what the person is asked about, is represented by an Oblique introduced with *a-*, if overtly present. *puk mapia-* ‘inform’ is also a bit irregular, because it has a “fixed” O argument, the directly possessed noun *mapia-* ‘knowledge’. This noun can be suffixed depending on whose knowledge it is the subject is transmitting. The person who receives the message is represented as the E argument, obligatorily preceded by a directional (as is usually the case for verbs in the extended transitive subclass – for more discussion see Section 9.1.6). Examples of the use of *yuêt* and *puk mapia* are given below.

(8) *ngoyai ipul la ran mui a iyuêri ai pangpangai rai*

[ngoyai]_A yi=pul la ta-n mui a yi=yuêt=[i]_O a-yi
 possum 3sg=speak go.to POSS-PERT dog and 3sg=ask=3sg at-3sg

[pangpangai ta-i]_E
 thought POSS-PERT

‘The possum talked to the dog and asked him about his opinion.’
 (LL010711_0012)

(9) *ipe la puk mapian la ran asoan*

[yi]_{A=pe} la puk [mapia-n]_O la [ta-n asoa- n]_E
 3SG=PFV go.to open knowledge-PERT go.to POSS-PERT husband-PERT

‘She went to inform her husband.’ [*lit.* ‘open the knowledge of it to her husband’] (LK100411_0098)

As mentioned above, *apek* ‘hit, shoot’ and *asuek* are the odd ones out in this subclass. They fall in the semantic category of AFFECT verbs, which typically take an Agent, a Target and a Manip argument (Dixon, 2010a, p. 104), referring to the person doing the action, the thing or person being affected by the action, and the implement the action is carried out with, respectively. What makes *apek* and *asuek* special among Paluai AFFECT verbs is that they take the Manip, the thing with which the action is carried out, as their O argument (which can be elided), and the Target as an obligatory E argument. The Target can be either animate or inanimate; the Manip argument is typically inanimate. Most likely, these two verbs are frozen applicatives, since they both end in *-ek*, which is also attested as a suffix productively forming applicatives (see Section 8.3.2 below). No non-applicative counterparts of the two verbs (i.e. formally similar but not ending in *-ek*) are attested in the present-day language. There are several other verbs ‘hit’ and ‘shoot’ which take the Target as O argument and the Manip as optional instrumental Oblique. For ‘rub’, however, there are no other verbs attested. Below, some examples of the use of *apek* and *asuek* are given.

(10) *ipto apek ip payanpôl leo suwot tang*

[ip]_{A=to} apek [ip payan.pôl teyo]_O suwot
 3pl=CONT hit 3pl dry.coconut EMP-DEM.INT go.down

[ta-ng]_E
 POSS-1sg.PERT

‘They were hitting me with the dry coconuts.’ [*lit.* ‘They were hitting the dry coconuts downwards at me.’] (LL030611_0055)

(11) *on asuek pau rao?*

[wo]_A=an asuek [pau]_O [ta-o]_E
 2sg=PRF rub coconut.oil POSS-2sg

‘Have you rubbed coconut oil onto yourself?’ (field notes 21/03/2011)

8.1.3 *Peripheral arguments*

In addition to core arguments, a predicate may have one or more peripheral arguments. These arguments are not obligatory and can refer to, among others, location, time, instrument or reason. Section 4.4.1 gives examples of the semantic range of prepositional phrases that can occur with *a-*. When a locative Oblique is formed by a local noun or a directly possessed noun, it does not have to be introduced by the preposition *a-* (see Section 3.2.1. for the distinction between local, common and personal nouns). A directly possessed noun will usually be a spatial noun, but it can also be, for instance, a directly possessed body part (sometimes, a noun can do double duty as body part and spatial noun). All of these cases do not need to be introduced by the preposition *a-*. Examples are given below of local nouns (in (12) and (13)), and spatial nouns (in (14), (15) and (16)).

(12) *wuikala au nayek ansê alilêt*

[wui]_S=ka-la wau nayek an-sê [alilêt]_{LOC}
 1du.EXCL=IRR.NS-go.to move about piece-small bush

‘We would go and walk around a bit in the bush.’ (KM050995_0003)

(13) *ila lot Pityilu*

[yi]_S=la lot [Pityilu]_{LOC}
 3sg=go.to fall P.

‘He fell from the sky on Pityilu (small island to the north of Manus mainland).’
 (KW290611_0046)

(14) *pang nu ru nganui lalon kanum areo*

[pang]_A no tu ngan=[ui]_O [lalo-n kanum]_{LOC}
rain IPFV stay eat=1du.EXCL inside-PERT garden

a-te-yo

at-EMP-DEM.INT

‘We were drenched by rain [*lit.* ‘rain ate us’] inside the garden there.’

(KM050995_0026)

(15) *ilaro ilili maranu pou reo*

[yi]_S=la to ilili [mata-n-u pou te-yo]_{LOC}
3sg=go.to CONT stand.up in.front-PERT-3du pig EMP-DEM.INT

‘He is standing in front of the two pigs.’ (Game2_021012_0245)

(16) *sap pulen sê iro wot to pe nangin naêmwan um*

[sap pulen sê]_S yi=to wot to pe [nangin]_O
which thing small 3sg=CONT go.level CONT make smell

[naêmwa-n wumwa]_{LOC}

backside-PERT house

‘[He went to see] what kind of thing was causing a smell behind the house.’

(LL300511_1_0051)

Instrumental Obliques, on the other hand, are obligatorily marked by *a-* regardless of the semantics of the head noun. The difference between a locative and an instrumental Oblique formed by the body part noun *mina-* ‘hand’ is shown in (17a-b) below (in (17b), the O argument is topicalised and thus fronted – see Section 12.3.3 for more).

(17a) *kei ilaro minan*

[kei]_S yi=la to [mina-n]_{LOC}
tree 3sg=go.to be hand-PERT

‘The stick is in his hand.’ (Game2_280812_0039)

(17b) *kei rai reo ilaro nêktou ai minan i raalmaru*

[kei ta-i te-yo]_O [yi]_A=la to nêk.tou=∅ a-yi
tree POSS-3sg EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=go.to CONT hold=3sg.ZERO at-3sg

[mina-n yi ta-almaru]_{INSTR}
hand-PERT 3sg DEF-right

‘His stick, he is holding (it) with his right hand.’ (Game2_280812_0019)

A peripheral argument may be added to a clause regardless of the verb’s valency, and so it can potentially occur with intransitive, transitive, extended intransitive and extended transitive clauses. It does, however, occur most often with intransitive clauses. When the main verb involves motion, a locative peripheral argument will often be introduced by a directional verb serialised with the main verb. This will be discussed in much more detail in Section 9.1.6.

Peripheral arguments may be promoted to O with an applicative operation. The applicative mainly has a valency-rearranging function: the former O argument will usually be demoted and form a peripheral argument. Applicatives are discussed in more detail in Section 8.3.2 below.

8.2 Valency

Transitivity and the number of core arguments are features of a clause; the clause consisting of a predicate and its accompanying core and peripheral arguments. Whether a clause is transitive or intransitive is determined by the valency of the verb which makes up the predicate. Verbs can have a valency of one, which means they are subcategorised to take one core argument and make up an intransitive clause, or a valency of two, which means are subcategorised to take two core arguments and make up a transitive clause. In addition, verbs may be ambitransitive: they have a valency of either one or two. Ambitransitive verbs are of two types: $S = A$, with the S of the intransitive use corresponding to the A of the transitive use, or $S = O$, with the S of the intransitive use corresponding to the O of the transitive use. Examples from English are *knit* ($S = A$) and *trip* ($S = O$) (Dixon, 2010b, p. 124).

In Paluai, most verbs are strictly only forming either intransitive or transitive clauses, and thus can be said to have a valency of one or two, respectively. Their

valency can only be changed by morphological derivations, which will be discussed in the next section, or by means of a SVC, which will be discussed in Section 9.1.4. It is, however, rather tricky to establish valency for verbs. As mentioned in Section 8.1, the O argument is usually elided when it is inanimate and can be retrieved from the discourse context. Animate O arguments, on the other hand, always have to be cross-referenced on the verb complex. Thus, whether or not a verb is ambitransitive can only be established with certainty for those verbs for which it makes sense to have an animate O argument. In that case, it would be ungrammatical to leave out the object bound pronoun for strictly transitive verbs. This turns out to be the case for all verbs encountered for which it makes sense to have an animate O. The object is, in these cases, always cross-referenced on the verb complex, and thus these verbs can be considered strictly transitive. This is the case with for instance the verbs *ngan* ‘to eat’, *tapôn* ‘to hide (tr.)’, *pul* ‘to say, to talk’ and *pwapwasek* ‘to speak about’. The latter two verbs are interesting, because their O argument is usually the message, either represented by the noun *kamou* ‘speech, words’ or by direct quotation. A direct quotation is introduced by another verb of cognition/communication *pwa* ‘to say, to think’, which can only have a direct quote as its object (in the form of a complement clause – see Section 11.1.2). *pwa* appears in a separate clause coordinated with the *pul* clause, and their S/A arguments are coreferential. Thus direct quotations are introduced as follows:

(18) *aso-ong ino pul la rang a ipwa “si ret la pulen kone areo”*

[*asoa-ng*]_{S/A?} *yi=no* *pul la* [*ta-ng*]_E *a* *yi=pwa*
 husband-1sg.PERT 3sg=IPFV speak go.to POSS-1sg and 3sg=say

[*si* *tet la pulen.kone a-te-yo*]_{Compl:O}
 come.down move go.to beach at-EMP.DEM.INT

‘My husband spoke to me and he said, “Come down to the beach there.”’

(LL030611_0045)

At first sight, *pul* appears to be an intransitive verb which takes an obligatory E argument, the person spoken to (Receiver); the O (Message) is represented by the O argument of a separate verb *pwa*. However, it turns out that *pul* can in fact take an O

argument, and what is more, if this refers to an animate being, it has to be cross-referenced.

(19) *ngapwa kopul kamoun kun*

[nga]_A=pwa ko-pul [kamou-n kun]_O
 1sg=want.to IRR.1sg-say speech-PERT basket
 ‘I’m going to tell a story about baskets.’ (MK050311_0001)

(20) *woning pou i re inian teo, te rau puli reo?*

wo=ning [pou_i yi te yi=nia-n te-yo]_O
 2sg=see pig 3sg REL 3sg=stomach-PERT EMP-DEM.DIST

 te [tau]_A pul=[i]_{O_i} te-yo
 REL 1du.INCL say=3sg EMP-DEM.INT
 ‘Do you see the pig that is pregnant, that we were talking about?’
 (Game4_280812_0192-0193)

In (20), the O argument of the verb *pul* is *pou*, an animate referent which is represented as a full NP in the preceding (matrix) clause. The clause in which *pul* is used is a relative clause; the common argument is the O (see Section 11.1.1 for more on relative clauses). Because the O argument of *pul* is animate it cannot be zero, but has to be cross-referenced on the verb by a bound pronoun. Thus, it turns out that *pul* is in fact strictly transitive.

There are, however, a number of verbs which may be ambitransitive. First of all, there are a number of verbs which seem to appear as transitive form when used by themselves, but as intransitive root in a SVC. These verbs are usually S = A ambitransitives. One example is *neng*, which means ‘to climb (tr.)’ when used by itself, but ‘to step (intr.)’ when used in a SVC. These cases will be discussed in Chapter 9. There may be one “genuine” ambitransitive, of the S = O type: *siei* ‘to tear’:

(21a) *wosiei tiap tang*

[wo]_A=siei [tiap ta-ng]_O
 2sg=tear sarong POSS-1sg
 ‘You tore my sarong.’ (elicitation 14/09/2012)

(21b) *pulêng tu siei rea*

[pulêng]_s tu siei te-ya
dawn stay tear EMP-then

‘The dawn was breaking then.’ (LM190611_0047)

However, in its intransitive variant *siei* only occurs with *pulêng* ‘dawn’ as its subject, and is thus quite restricted in its use. Since the verb form ends in /i/, it may even be the case that it carries an *-i* bound pronoun which is not discernible. This would be possible if the dawn was somehow perceived as an animate being; in that case *siei* would be strictly transitive and (21b) (plus an *-i* bound pronoun) would be a reflexive construction.

8.3 Valency-changing derivations

Paluai has a number of valency-changing derivations, although not nearly as many as Proto-Oceanic originally seems to have had (cf. Evans, 2003). The transitivising suffix **-i* for instance, which has reflexes in a great number of Oceanic languages, is not attested as a productive suffix in present-day Paluai. A reflex of the transitivising suffix **-akin[i]* is found, however, as well a potential reflex of the causative prefix **pa[ka]-*. With regard to valency-reducing devices, there is productive reduplication to derive an intransitive verb from a transitive one. There are also potential reflexes of the detransitivising prefixes *ma-* and *ta-*, but these are not productive.

Increase of valency has been taken over largely by SVCs. Since this is an important topic which needs discussion in its own right, valency-increasing verb serialisation will not be discussed here but in the next chapter, which is devoted to SVCs. In what follows, operations to increase (and rearrange) valency are discussed first, followed by valency-reducing operations.

8.3.1 Causative *pe-*

Only intransitive stative verbs can be transitivised by means of a causative derivation. This is one of the criteria based on which stative verbs are distinguished as a separate word class (see Chapter 3). When a causative operation is applied, the S argument of the intransitive verb moves into the O slot, and an additional A argument is introduced, the

Causer. A causative is formed by means of the form *pe-*, which is prefixed to the verb. There are two possible sources for this form: it could be an instance of the full verb *pe* ‘to make, to do’, thereby yielding a periphrastic causative, or it could be a reflex of the abovementioned causative prefix **pa[ka]-*. Evans (2003) notes that the POc prefix only derived causatives from stative verbs, which is an indication that *pe-* is a reflex of it.⁵ Another indication for prefix status of *pe-* is that the derived form is regarded as one whole and can, for instance, be nominalised. A causative *pemat* ‘to kill’ can be formed from the stative verb *mat* ‘to die, be dead’, which is nominalised as *pemat-an* (*yamat*) ‘murder’ (*lit.* ‘CAUS-die-NOM (person)’). In this regard, causatives differ from V + N compounds such as *pe kui* ‘to cook’ (*lit.* ‘make pot’). With the latter, the nominalising suffix immediately follows *pe* (plus an *-i-* formative): *pe-i-nan kui* ‘cooking’ (*lit.* ‘make-NOM pot’). In the case of causatives, *pe-* is a preverbal formative, whereas in the case of V + N compounds, *pe* is a full verb.

The following examples show the use of the causative. The additional A, expressing the Causer role of a causative, does not have to refer to an animate being with a high degree of volition and control, but can also refer to a weather phenomenon or other natural force, as in (23), (25) and (26).

(22a) *imat*

[yi]_S=mat

3sg=die

‘He is dead.’

(22b) *ippe pemari*

[ip]_A=pe pe-mat=[i]_O

3sg=PFV CAUS-die=3sg

‘They killed him.’ (KW290611_0046)

⁵ In fact, POc probably had two variants: **pa-*, which derived causatives from Actor subject verbs, and **paka-* which derived causative from Undergoer subject verbs. In many Oceanic languages, intervocalic [k] has been lost, so the two prefixes became formally the same (cf. Evans 2003). The Paluai prefix is a reflex of the latter, since as we will see below it only derives causatives from Undergoer subject (stative) verbs.

(26a) *ponat in kôk*

[ponat]_S yi=an kôk
soil 3sg=PRF be.hot
'The soil has heated up.'

(26b) *sin kipe pekôk ponat*

[sin]_A ki-pe pe-kôk [ponat]_O
sun IRR.3SG-PFV CAUS-be.hot soil
'The sun will heat up the soil.' (elicitation 12/09/2012)

The reason why only stative verbs can enter into a causative construction is because they take an Undergoer subject. The distinction between Actor and Undergoer subjects is well established within Oceanic linguistics and was first made by Pawley (1973). It can be defined as follows:

Verbs in Oceanic languages can be divided into two groups on the basis of the macrorole of the S argument of their intransitive form. [...] Actor and Undergoer, as used here, do not refer directly to semantic roles, but rather represent the interface between semantic roles and the morphosyntax. That is, they are a conglomeration of semantic roles into two categories, each category behaving differently in terms of morphosyntax (Evans, 2003, p. 25).

Thus, the morphosyntactic behaviour of stative verbs differs from that of active verbs because their subjects have a different macrorole. This is borne out for Paluai stative verbs as well: they can enter into a causative operation that active verbs cannot enter into. Only the S argument of a stative verb can be demoted to an O argument through a causative construction, because it is underlyingly an Undergoer, a semantic role that is consistent with the O argument position.

There is a way to form a periphrastic construction with active verbs which is reminiscent of a causative construction. It looks as follows:

(27a) *ngapei a ipe ilili*

[nga]_A=pe=[i]_O a [yi]_S=pe ilili

1sg=make=3sg and 3sg=PFV stand.up

‘I made him stand up.’ [*lit.* ‘I made him and he stood up.’] (elicitation

12/09/2012)

(27b) **ngapeilili*

*nga=pe-ilili=i

1sg=CAUS-stand.up=3sg

Intended: ‘I made him stand up.’

This type of construction was only produced during elicitation sessions and not in spontaneous speech.⁶ The S of the active verb is not demoted to O, but stays as S of the verb in an additional clause. The “causative” notion is expressed by the transitive dummy verb *pe* ‘to make, to do’, which takes an object enclitic which is coreferential with the subject of the active verb. There are two reasons why this construction is not a real causative: firstly, it does not form one predicate but is made up of two coordinated clauses, and secondly, the S of the intransitive verb does not become the O of the transitive verb. The reason why verbs such as *ilili* cannot enter into a causative is because their semantics do not allow them. They have an Actor subject which is not in accordance with the O argument position.

It has to be noted that many causatives of stative verbs have lexical counterparts which would be preferred by speakers in everyday language use. For instance, instead of the causative *pekôk* ‘heat up, make hot’ (from the stative verb *kôk* ‘be hot’), speakers prefer to use a more specific transitive verb such as *apin* ‘to heat up (food)’, *nan* ‘to heat up (leaves)’, *tun* ‘to boil (e.g. water)’ etcetera. Overuse of the causative is seen as a sign of “childish” language use. Therefore, many instances of causatives were only found under elicitation, and not in spontaneous language use. None of these are ungrammatical, just less preferred.

There are a number of stative verbs for which it is infelicitous to form a causative with *pe-*, but which satisfy other criteria for stative verbs. An example is *nanet* ‘to ripen, be ripe’, which can be modified by the adverb of degree *paran* ‘very’ and has a derived

⁶ It may thus very well be a result of translation from Tok Pisin or perhaps English; it is therefore analysed as having marginal status in the grammar.

adjective (*n*)*antenen* ‘ripe’ (both are criteria for stative verbs). However, a derived causative **penanet* ‘make ripe’ was rejected by native speakers. This causative would necessarily have an inanimate causer such as *sin* ‘sun’, but this appears not to be a problem for other causatives; compare for instance (23b) and (25b) above, which both show an inanimate causer. There are two possible explanations. Either, verbs that cannot take a *pe*- causative do not have Undergoer subjects, but Actor subjects. Or, alternatively, in cases such as *nanet* a causative relation is deemed too tentative by speakers. It is possible that a cause-effect relation has to be rather direct for the causative construction to be felicitous. Thus, a fire or the sun heating something up would be fine, because there is a direct and perceptible relation between the two events of heating and becoming hot. However, the sun causing fruit to ripen is seen as too distant a relation to be represented by a causative construction, because it is not perceptible.

Because they satisfy other criteria to distinguish them as stative verbs, the verbs in this class for which a causative cannot be derived are still analysed as such, and not as active verbs with Actor subjects. The impossibility of the causative derivation is based on semantic, rather than syntactic grounds. When it is not possible to derive a morphological causative, this is because the relation between the causing event and the resulting event is deemed too obscure.

8.3.2 *Applicative* -(C)ek

Applicatives and pseudo-applicatives (cf. Dixon, 2012) come in various flavours. In what follows, applicatives which are productively derived from verbs are discussed first, followed by ‘frozen’ pseudo-applicatives. Productive applicatives can mainly be classified as Instrumental, but there appear to be a handful of examples with other semantic functions. More general discussion on types of applicatives encountered cross-linguistically can be found, for instance, in Mithun (2001) or Dixon (2012).

8.3.2.1 *The productive applicative*

8.3.2.1.1 Form and function of the productive applicative

The *-ek* suffix can productively derive an instrumental applicative with transitive verbs.⁷ It is not strictly speaking a valency-increasing device, but rather a valency-rearranging one. An instrumental Oblique constituent of a verb (normally a peripheral argument marked with *a-*) will be promoted to O position. It functions as a “proper” O argument, because it will be elided if retrievable from the discourse context. This is usually the case. The original O is not demoted to an Oblique position, because it does not receive marking with *a-* or *ta-* like any other Oblique would, but it always follows the promoted constituent. Based on the currently available data, these constructions are best analysed as double object constructions. The only difference between the two objects is that one of them directly follows the verbal form (and its suffix), and can be elided. This one, therefore, behaves more like a prototypical O argument than the second one does.⁸

The applicative is typically encountered in one specific discourse/information structure context. It is used as an anaphorical device to refer back to an item mentioned just before, usually in the previous clause. This use of a reflex of the POC form **akin[i]* as a ‘trace element’ is attested for at least two other Oceanic languages: Bauan Fijian and Tongan (Evans, 2003, p. 149). A few examples of the use of the applicative are given below. Examples (27), (28) and (29) show cases where an instrument is mentioned (often introduced for the first time) in one clause and its use is described in a coordinated clause. The A argument of the first and second clause and the O argument of the first and O1 argument of the second clause in each of these examples are coreferential with each other.

(28) *ope lêp suep a ope yilek ponat*

[wo]_{A=pe} lêp [suep]_O a [wo]_{A=pe} yil-ek= \emptyset _{O1} [ponat]_{O2}
 2sg=PFV take hoe and 2sg=PFV dig-APPL=3sg.ZERO soil

‘You will take a hoe and you will dig the ground with it.’ [*lit.* ‘dig-with (it) the ground’] (KS030611_1_0015)

⁷ The frozen applicative forms discussed below may have retained thematic consonants, hence the use of *-(C)ek* in the title. The productive applicative, however, is never attested with a thematic consonant.

⁸ It is not entirely clear, based on the current data, to what extent the applicative construction is a “true” double object construction. There may be other subtle ways in which the two O arguments behave differently. This requires further testing.

(32) *kope lêp yon a kope wasimek pelet tepwo*

[ko]_A-pe lêp [yanu]_O a ko-pe wasim-ek=Ø_{O1}
 IRR.1sg-PFV take water and IRR.1sg-PFV wash-APPL=3sg.ZERO

[pelet te-pwo]_{O2}
 plate EMP-DEM.PROX

‘I’m going to get water and wash these plates with it.’ (field notes 28/10/2012)

The reason why an applicative derivation is used in the cases above has to do with *pivot*, i.e. which grammatical constituents are allowed to be coreferential with each other (Dixon, 2012). A peripheral argument is not allowed to be coreferential with the O argument of a preceding coordinated clause. Along the same lines, a peripheral argument of a relative clause is not allowed to be coreferential with the S/A argument of the matrix clause. Therefore, these arguments have to be promoted through use of an applicative derivation. They are promoted to O arguments, which are elided due to coreferentiality; in case this argument is animate (which does not happen very often) it will be cross-referenced on the verb by a bound pronoun. The original O argument is not demoted to a peripheral argument (because it does not get Oblique marking), but remains as a second object. It does not get elided.

8.3.2.1.2 Semantics of the productive applicative

The main semantic function of the productive applicative is Instrumental: it promotes an instrumental Oblique to O function. There are only a handful of examples where an applicative appears to have another semantic function. One is shown below:

(33) *ippei lêp si masayen a ipno rabuiek la nupunip*

[ip]_A=pei lêp si masayen a [ip]_A=no tabui-ek=Ø_{O1}
 3pl=come take come.downoutside and 3pl=IPFV shoot-APPL=3sg.ZERO

[la nupu-n-ip]_{LOC}
 go.to bottom-PERT-3pl

‘They came outside taking [their tails] and they put them onto their bottoms.’

[*lit.* they shoot-on (them) to their bottoms’] (LL300511_1_0064)

This rather strange example comes from a children’s story about a tribe of dogs, where the chief one day decides that all of them have to take off their tails and put them into a specially built house. However, the house catches fire and the dogs go in haste to rescue the tails. They put them randomly back onto their bottoms and thus each dog ends up with the wrong tail. The NP *youn ip* ‘their tails’ is the elided O argument from the first sentence. The AFFECT verb *tapui* ‘to shoot’ (normally) takes the Target as its O (in this case, *nupunip* ‘their bottoms’) and the Manip as an optional Oblique (in this case, *younip* ‘their tails’). However, because the Oblique argument is coreferential with the O of the preceding clause, it has to be promoted to O, and thus we have an applicative operation. Strictly speaking, it is still an Instrumental applicative, but in this case it has a more Locative interpretation (‘put X onto Y’). This is also evidenced by the use of the directional *la*, which is absent from the examples above (the Locative NP is not marked by *a-* because *nupu-* is a directly possessed noun).

An interesting use of the applicative operation is its use to mark reciprocal constructions. This use is attested for a few other Oceanic languages as well (Evans, 2003). More information about reflexive and reciprocal constructions can be found in Section 8.3.4 below. The “reciprocal applicative” is attested for both transitive and extended intransitive verbs; an example of each is given below.

(34) *upe mwangeku*

$u_A=pe$ $mwang-ek=u_O$

3du=PFV watch-APPL=3du

‘The two of them looked at each other.’ (LL010711_0011)

(35) *wui Maiiau pe yangyangek tui*

[wui Maiiau]_A pe yangyang-ek [ta-ui]_E

1du.EXCL M. PFV love-APPL POSS-1du.EXCL

‘Maiiau and I fell in love with each other.’ (KM060111_0009)

It is possible that the applicative, in these cases, denotes coreferentiality of the subject and object dual bound pronouns, and thus reciprocity. If the applicative suffix would be left out, the sentence would be ambiguous between a reciprocal interpretation and a

non-reciprocal one, for instance ‘They_i looked at them_j’. With reflexives, however, the applicative suffix is not found.

Thus, it can be concluded that productive applicatives can mainly be characterised as Instrumental, with a few that have Locative overtones. They further developed into a marker of reciprocal constructions.

8.3.2.2 *Frozen applicatives with two core arguments*

The verbs *apek* ‘to hit, to shoot’ and *asuek* ‘to rub’ were discussed above in Section 8.1.2.1, where some examples can also be found. They fall in the semantic category of AFFECT verbs and take the Manip, the thing with which the action is carried out, as their O argument (which can be elided), and the Target as an obligatory E argument. The Target can be either animate or inanimate; the Manip argument is typically inanimate. No non-applicative counterparts of the two verbs (i.e. formally similar but not ending in *-ek*) are attested in the present-day language. They also differ from productive applicatives because the second argument (the “demoted” O) is always marked as an Oblique, with *a-* or *ta-*. One can say that these two verbs form more typical applicatives than the productive ones. It is likely that the applicative operation was much more productive in the past, and had more uses than only the Instrumental one discussed above in Section 8.3.2.1. This is also evident from the large number of other frozen forms, discussed below. The semantics of the “ditransitive applicatives” can be characterised as Instrumental as well.

8.3.2.3 *Other frozen applicatives*

There are a large number of verbs which have been lexicalised including the applicative suffix. Either, they have a form which ends in *-(C)ek* and a form which doesn’t, with the difference in meaning between the two not always predictable. Or, alternatively, the verb only comes in a form ending in *-(C)ek* and the non-applicative counterpart has become obsolete.

A number of the verbs ending in *-(C)ek* can more appropriately be classified as adverbs. They differ from verbal *-(C)ek* forms because they often have a nominal counterpart, and are not attested as head of a predicate but only following a verbal form. These forms are discussed briefly in Section 3.2.4.4. The boundary between verbal and adverbial forms, however, is fuzzy. For instance, there are clearly verbal forms that

have a nominal counterpart, such as the transitive *moleyek* ‘to decorate’ which is related to *molea-* ‘colour’. On the other hand, there are forms that are predominantly attested following a main verb, but are also occasionally found heading a predicate, such as *ngonomek* ‘to correspond to, (be) corresponding’. These forms usually do not have a nominal counterpart.

Most of the forms that are unambiguously verbs are transitive, but there are a few intransitive forms. Many of these seem to be inherently fully or partly reduplicated, and none of them have an unambiguous counterpart which does not show the suffix. They are shown in Table 8.4.

Form	Meaning	Optional Oblique
kumkulumuek	‘to rinse the mouth’	–
(mot)moreyek	‘to joke’	–
ngulnguluek	‘to hang’	Locative, where S hangs onto
parek	‘to be hidden’	Locative, where S is hidden
pekpek	‘to sit still, be quiet’	–
pepek*	‘to defecate’	Locative, where S is defecating on
peruruek	‘to be ignorant’	Stimulus, what S is ignorant about
terepelek	‘to run’	Locative, where S is running to

Table 8.4 Intransitive “frozen applicative” verbs

* *pepek* is possibly a Tok Pisin loan, from the form *pekpek* ‘to defecate’

As can be seen, most of the intransitive verbs do have an optional Oblique argument. Thus, the presence of the *-(C)ek* suffix is hard to explain, because one would expect these verbs to take the Oblique argument as an O argument instead, due to the presence of the suffix. One possibility is that *-ek* refers to a reflexive meaning (cf. use of the applicative for reciprocals discussed above). The semantics of several of the verbs, such as ‘hide oneself’ (*parek*) or ‘relieve oneself’ (*pepek*), are in line with this. However, reflexives are usually formed by adding the object bound pronoun (making the clause ambiguous between a reflexive and a non-reflexive reading), and a reflexive reading seems a bit far-fetched for some of the other verbs. These forms appear to be a remainder of a process that may once have been productive but is obscure in the present-day language.

The remainder of the frozen pseudo-applicatives are transitive; some do have a non-applicative counterpart but many don't. Many of them have a thematic consonant: in addition to *-ek* we also find *-sek*, *-tek*, *-ngek*, *-pek*, *-nek* and *-lek*. It is possible that some or all of these thematic consonants have a semantic basis. This suggestion has been made for a number of other Oceanic languages, such as Bauan Fijian and Manam, but is controversial (Evans, 2003, p. 213). Below, the semantics of each of the possible varieties of the suffix will be discussed. Some items in the tables do not have a non-suffixed counterpart, but are included because of formal similarity with the other items. It is, however, not possible to say with certainty that these forms are pseudo-applicatives unless a non-suffixed counterpart would be encountered in the data.

8.3.2.3.1 Frozen applicatives with no thematic consonant

Below, some forms which are attested with the *-ek* suffix without a thematic consonant are given. Verbs are chosen which have an applicative and non-applicative version, but with a slightly unpredictable change in meaning, in order to try and understand the semantic extensions.⁹

With *iliek* and *lomêek*, the *-ek* suffix seems to have a causative-like function, deriving a transitive verb from an intransitive one. With *keleyek*, however, kind of the reverse thing seems to be the case: *-ek* derives a non-verbal form from a transitive verb. With the other verbs, *-ek* derives another transitive verb from a transitive verb, altering its meaning. It seems to mainly intensify the meaning of the verb it is derived from.

⁹ The suffixed verb forms sometimes have retained a final vowel which has been lost in the non-suffixed form. This is a process similar to that for suffixed and non-suffixed nouns described in Chapter 3.

Form	Related form	Valency	Arguments
iliek ‘to stretch’	ilili ‘to stand’ (intr.)	Tr	A ‘stretcher’ and O ‘thing stretched’
keleyek ‘turning around’	kel ‘to mix’ (tr.)	Adv	–
koloek ‘to wait for, to expect’	kol ‘to wait for’ (tr.)	Tr	A ‘waiter’ and O ‘thing waited for’
lomêek ‘to plant (yam and mami)’	lom ‘to be ready for harvesting’ (intr.)	Tr	A ‘planter and O ‘thing (or garden) planted’ (Obl: place where O is planted)
memeyek ‘to spoil, ruin’	memeyeng ‘to make trouble’ (intr.)	Tr	A ‘spoiler’ and O ‘thing spoiled’
sisiek ‘to sweep out/away’	sisi ‘to sweep (tr.)’	Tr	A ‘sweeper’ and O ‘thing swept’ (Obl: where O is swept into)
touek ‘to show, to teach’	tou ‘to give’ (tr.)	Tr	A ‘teacher’ and O ‘thing taught’ (Obl: person O is taught to)
weiek ‘to coil’	wei ‘to wipe’ (tr.)	Tr	A ‘coiler’ and O ‘thing coiled’ (Obl: thing O is coiled on)

Table 8.5 Some frozen applicative forms with *-ek*

8.3.2.3.2 Frozen applicatives with thematic consonant *-s-*

In the table below, some examples of applicatives with the *-sek* suffix are given. Many of the forms with *-sek* have a non-suffixed counterpart, and in particular with emotive and cognitive verbs (laugh, cry, speak), the relation and meaning difference between the two is very transparent. The intransitive verbs *pilel* ‘laugh’, *teng* ‘cry’ and *wayêt* ‘worry’ can take an optional Oblique expressing the Stimulus argument (see Section 8.1.2.1 above). The Stimulus, however, can also be promoted to O argument by means of the *-sek* suffix. This also means that the action is more controlled and volitional on the part of the subject. With other verbs, the *-sek* suffix seems to denote repetition or intensification of the action described by the verb.

Form	Related form	Valency	Arguments
apsek 'to sprinkle'	apek 'to hit' (tr.) ?	Tr	A 'sprinkler' and O 'thing which is sprinkled' (Obl: place where O is put)
lilisek 'to forget about, to ignore'	–	Adv	–
nesek 'to reveal'	–	Tr	A 'revealer' and O 'thing revealed' (maybe Obl: person O is revealed to)
pilesek 'to laugh at/about'	pilel 'to laugh' (intr.)	Tr	A 'laugher' and O 'thing/person laughed at'
piysek 'to squeeze out'	piy 'to squeeze' (tr.)	Tr	A 'squeezer' and O 'thing squeezed out' (Obl: place where O is squeezed into)
pwapwasek 'to speak about'	pwa 'to say' (tr.)	Tr	A 'speaker' and O 'thing spoken about' (Obl: person spoken to)
tengsek 'to cry about, to mourn'	teng 'to cry' (intr.)	Tr	A 'mourner' and O 'thing/person mourned'
wayêsek 'to worry about'	wayêt 'to worry' (intr.)	Tr	A 'worrier' and O 'person worried about' (Obl: reason for worry)
yokosek 'to mix'	yok 'grab together' (tr.) ?	Tr	A 'mixer' and O 'thing mixed' (Obl: thing O is mixed into)

Table 8.6 Some frozen applicative forms with *-sek*

8.3.2.3.3 Frozen applicatives with thematic consonant *-t-*

In the table below, some examples of the *-tek* suffix are given.

Form	Related form	Valency	Arguments
langtek ‘to speak ill of a deceased person’	lang ‘to lift up’ (tr.)	?	?
lirek ‘to explain; to sort out’	–	Tr	A ‘sorter’ and O ‘thing sorted out’
porek ‘to attach (to s.t. strong)’	porok ‘strength’ (N)	Tr	A ‘attacher’ and O ‘thing attached’ (Obl: thing O is attached to)
sarek ₁ ‘to wear (clothes)’	–	Tr	A ‘wearer’ and O ‘thing worn’
sarek ₂ ‘to put into, to insert’	–	Tr	A ‘inserter’ and O ‘thing inserted’ (Obl: where O is inserted into)
yektek ‘to arrange’	yek ‘to hit’ (tr.) ?	Tr	A ‘arranger’ and O ‘thing being arranged’

Table 8.7 Some frozen applicative forms with *-tek*

Between vowels, /t/ is realised as [r]. *-tek* seems to indicate inward motion and objects that are brought into contact for an extended amount of time, although some of its uses appear to be quite idiosyncratic.

8.3.2.3.4 Frozen applicatives with thematic consonant *-ng-*

This consonant is only attested in three verb forms, shown below. It seems to denote outward motion.

Form	Related form	Valency	Arguments
anged 'to spread out'	–	Tr	A 'spreader' and O 'thing spread out' (Obl: place where O is put)
sulnged 'to send (a person)'	–	Tr	A 'sender' and O 'person sent' (Obl: what O is sent for/where O is sent)
tamnged 'to invite'	–	Tr	A 'inviter' and O 'person invited' (Obl: reason for invitation)

Table 8.8 Frozen applicative forms with *-nged*

8.3.2.3.5 Frozen applicatives with thematic consonant *-p-*

The suffix *-pek* is attested in the forms below. It seems to refer to items brought into contact for a short duration of time.

Form	Related form	Valency	Arguments
aped 'to hit, shoot, beat'	–	Ext Tr	A 'hitter', O 'thing which is wielded' and Obl 'target'
laped 'to overlap'	–	?	?
yiped 'to blow (on)'	–	Tr	A 'blower' and O 'thing blown' (Obl: place where O is blown into)

Table 8.9 Frozen applicative forms with *-pek*

8.3.2.3.6 Frozen applicatives with thematic consonant *-n-*

The suffix *-nek* is attested in the forms shown below. It seems to denote downward motion, although it also has several idiosyncratic appearances.

Form	Related form	Valency	Arguments
monek ‘to spy on’	–	Tr	A ‘spyer’ and O ‘person spied on’
pitnek ‘to (suddenly) think of s.o.’	pit ‘to be close’ (intr.) ?	?	?
samnek ‘to chew; to guzzle down’	–	Tr	A ‘chewer’ and O ‘thing chewed’
soknek ‘to dispense with (liquid)’	sok ‘to hit with thrown implement’	Tr	A ‘dispenser’ and O ‘thing dispensed’ (Obl: where O is put)
tanek ‘to create, to design’	–	Tr	A ‘creator’ and O ‘thing created’
wunek ‘to fill up (a basket) with’	wun ‘to lace, string’ (tr.) ?	Tr	A ‘filler’ and O ‘thing with which filling is done’ (Obl: place O goes)

Table 8.10 Frozen applicative forms with *-nek*

8.3.2.3.7 Frozen applicatives with thematic consonant *-l-*

The suffix *-lek* is attested in the forms shown below. It seems to denote upward motion, although it also has several idiosyncratic appearances.

Form	Related form	Valency	Arguments
pipilek ‘to defame, to slander’	–	Tr	A ‘defamer’ and O ‘person defamed’
sapolek ‘to throw over (with arc)’	sapo- ‘top’ (N) ?	Tr	A ‘thrower’ and O ‘thing thrown’ (Obl: place where O is thrown)
sulek ‘to raise’	sulu ‘to tighten’ ?	Tr	A ‘raiser’ and O ‘thing raised’ (Obl: where O is raised to?)
wolek ‘to ordain, bless’	–	Tr	?

Table 8.11 Frozen applicative forms with *-lek*

8.3.2.4 *Applicatives: overview and conclusions*

Evans (2003, p. 199) identifies five different role-marking functions of **akin[i]* in POC, depending on the semantics of the verb. These are shown in Table 8.12 below.

Type of verb	Role marked by <i>*akin[i]</i>
motion verbs	concomitant
psychological / emotional states	cause / stimulus
speech and cognition	content
excretion / secretion	product
process-action verbs	instrument, benefactive

Table 8.12 Participant role-marking functions of **akin[i]*

Can these role-marking functions be recognised for the Paluai reflex as well? It seems that they partly can. The concomitant function of the suffix may have led to grammaticalisation into a marker of reciprocal constructions, but as such, a concomitant function of *-(C)ek* is not found in present-day Paluai. The suffix *-sek*, with a thematic consonant, is very clearly reserved for emotive verbs and speech/cognition verbs, to indicate the role of stimulus and content, respectively. The applicative suffix is not attested as a marker of the product of verbs of excretion and secretion. We have the form *pepek* ‘to defecate’, but this is only attested as an intransitive verb, and never with

an (overt) O argument. This may be the case because the product of a secretion verb is usually inanimate, and as mentioned, inanimate O tends to be elided. Finally, the applicative is frequently attested marking an Instrument of a process-action verb (typical transitive verbs such as ‘cut’, ‘dig’, ‘wash’, etc. can be regarded as process-actions verbs). Applicative as a marker of Benefactive, however, is not attested. This type of semantic role is marked by a SVC and *ta-/ka-*; this process will be discussed in Chapter 9.

8.3.3 *Valency-reducing operations*

8.3.3.1 *Reduplication*

As mentioned before, Paluai has reduplication as a valency-reducing operation. Full or partial reduplication of a base transitive verb makes it intransitive, with the A argument of the transitive construction becoming the S of the intransitive construction. This operation is discussed and in Section 3.3.2.1.2.1; examples given there are repeated here.

(36a) *epngan yapi*

[ep]_A=ngan [yapi]_O
 1pl.EXCL=eat sago
 ‘We ate sago.’

(36b) *epnganngan nễm*

[ep]_S=ngan.ngan nễm
 1pl.EXCL=REDUP.eat be.finished
 ‘We finished eating.’ (KM060111_0075)

(37) *ipkalomễek suei le mwayen, kalolomễek nễm...*

[ip]_A=ka-lomễek [suei le mwayen]_O
 3pl=IRR.NS-plant mami or yam

 [ka]_S-lo.lomễek nễm
 IRR.NS-REDUP.plant be.finished

‘They will plant mami or yam. (When) they finish planting...
(KM190211_0035)

8.3.3.2 Fossilised prefixes *ma-* and *ta-*

Paluai does not seem to have any productive mechanisms which change the status of the O of a transitive verb, such as a passive (promotion of O to intransitive S). It may have had such operations in the past. Evans (2003) discusses two POC prefixes, **ma-* and **ta-*, which are defined as ‘stative verb derivatives’ (Evans, 2003, p. 267). **ta-* furthermore indicated that the state came about spontaneously. In present-day Paluai, many stative verbs (and some active intransitive verbs) start with the sequence *ma-* or *ta-* and were thus very likely derived by one of the prefixes. A number still have a transitive counterpart attested. The tables below show some examples of these verbs.

Form	Valency	Related form
makap ‘be thin’	Stat	–
maleu ‘be quick’	Stat	–
maling ‘be lost’	Stat	–
malo ‘disappear’	Intr	–
mamat ‘be awake’	Stat	–
mapông ‘be cracked, popped open (of fruit)’	Stat	pông ₁ ‘wake s.b. up by poking gently’ (tr.) pông ₂ ‘popping sound’
mapwai ‘know’	Intr	pwa ‘to say, to think’ (tr.)
mari ‘be asleep’	Stat	–
masai ‘be clear’	Stat	–
maut ‘sink’	Stat	–
mayai ‘be quick’	Stat	–
mayeng ‘be cracked, be split’	Stat	yeng ‘to slice’ (tr.)

Table 8.13 Intransitive verbs derived with *ma-*

Form	Valency	Related form
takau ‘(go) directly’	Intr	–
tangalau ‘be tall (humans)’	Stat	alau ‘grow’ (intr.)
tak ‘rise, point upwards’	Stat	–
taoy ‘to burp’	Intr	–
tap ‘to shine strong (of sun)’	Stat	–
tapal ‘be broken’	Stat	pal ‘to break’ (stat.)
tapoy ‘be loose, loosened’	Stat	–
tapôn ‘to hide’	Tr	pwon ‘be covered’ (stat.) ?
tapwak ‘be peeled off’	Stat	pwak ‘be stuck’ (stat.)
tarak ‘climb, ascend’	Intr	–
tasil ‘be peeled off’	Stat	sil ‘split, divide’ (tr.)

Table 8.14 Intransitive verbs derived with *ta-*

The *ta-* and *ma-* prefixes functioned as an intransitivising device which can be characterised as an anticausative derivation. The O argument of the transitive verb became the S argument of the derived intransitive verb, and the A argument was deleted. Because the resulting intransitive verb has an Undergoer subject, it functions as a stative verb. An example is given below. However, the process has probably long ago ceased to be productive, as is also evident from a lot of irregularity in the present-day forms. *pal* ‘break’, for instance, is currently only attested as stative verb and not as a transitive one.

(38) *ong kope sil antek kunuan*

[wong]_A ko-pe sil antek [kunua-n]_O
 1sg.FREE IRR.1sg-PFV split put.away bark-PERT

‘I’m going to take off the (outer layer of the) bark.’ (MK050311_0006)

(39) *asilon lopwan ilili rai relo in tasil*

[asilo-n lopwa-n ilili ta-i te-lo]_S yi=an
 side-PERT place-PERT stand.up POSS-3sg EMP.DEM.DIST 3sg=PRF

tasil

peeled.off

‘The (paint at the) side of the thing he is standing on has peeled off.’

(Game4_280812_0345)

Not for all verbs starting with *ma-* or *ta-* does it make sense to have a transitive counterpart (e.g. *mari* ‘be asleep’) and thus it is quite likely that there never has been such a verb. For others, a transitive counterpart probably has existed but has become obsolete. The tables show that *ma-* is more regular and transparent than *ta-*. There are two verbs starting with *ma-* (*malo* ‘disappear’ and *mapwai* ‘know’) which are not stative, i.e. they have Actor subjects. With *ta-* even more active intransitive verbs are attested and also many transitive verbs, of which only one (*tapôn* ‘to hide’) is listed in the table.

8.3.3.3 Verb-noun compounds

The “verb + noun compounds” mentioned briefly in Section 3.3.2.2.3.2 could be a case of noun incorporation (Mithun, 1984). This type of compound formation is only possible with the verb *pe* ‘to make, to do’ and renders results which can be regarded semantically as “name-worthy activities” (compare e.g. English ‘rock-climbing’). In these cases, the noun representing the O argument may be incorporated into the verb, rendering it intransitive. The A argument is retained as S of the new intransitive verb. Table 8.15 gives an overview of some forms which could be instances of noun incorporation.

pe net / pe kou	to fish (<i>lit.</i> ‘make ocean’ / ‘make hook’)
pe kui	to cook (<i>lit.</i> ‘make pot’)
pe kanum	to work in the garden (<i>lit.</i> ‘make garden’)
pe nin	to fight (<i>lit.</i> ‘make fight’)
pe yep	to make fire, light a fire
pe lik / pe kun	to make a basket
pe mangat	to do work
pe nayeï	to lie (<i>lit.</i> ‘make/do lie’)

Table 8.15 Examples of the lexical verb *pe* in combination with a noun

However, based on grammatical and semantic criteria it is not very likely that this construction is indeed an example of noun incorporation. Most importantly, another element such as an adverb can intervene between its two components, just as in a regular verb-object sequence. This is shown in the examples below.

(40) *kipe pe ansê kui*

ki _A -pe	pe	an-sê	[kui] _O	
IRR.3sg-PFV	make	piece-small	pot	
'He will do a bit of cooking.' (SP190311_0046)				

(41) *urêno ro pe liliu kou wot*

wurê _A =no	to	pe	liliu	[kou] _O	wot
1pc.EXCL=IPFV	CONT	make	again	fishing	go.level
'We were fishing again.' (MK060211_0017)					

Secondly, these verb + noun combinations are not nominalised as complete entities. Instead, only the verb is nominalised and we get, for instance, *pe-i-nan kui* (make-3sg=NOM pot – ‘cooking’). Finally, the verb *pe* is encountered with a plethora of different nouns and also with nominalisations; the selection in Table 8.15 is only very minor. It seems more likely that *pe* is a dummy verb with very general semantics which can be used as a transitive verb on many occasions, instead of another more specific verb, and the abovementioned combinations are regular VO sequences.

8.3.4 Reflexive and reciprocal constructions

8.3.4.1 Reflexives

Several verbs can take an O argument that is coreferential with the A argument. Such a construction is called a reflexive construction (Dixon, 2012). Reflexive constructions do not receive any special marking on either the A or O argument; the A argument is the controller and can be stated in full, whereas the O argument always has pronominal representation: the A will often be expressed by a full NP and be cross-referenced on the verb complex by a subject bound pronoun proclitic, and the O argument will be cross-referenced on the verb complex by an object bound pronoun enclitic, which takes

the same form as a regular object enclitic. Thus, a reflexive meaning is only evident from the semantics of the verb and the discourse context. Out of context, certain utterances with third person reference may be ambiguous between a reflexive and non-reflexive reading; example (42) below could indicate either *He_i looked at himself_i* or *He_i looked at him_j*. Since reflexive constructions usually have an animate A argument, the coreferential O argument will be shown by a bound pronoun enclitic on the verb, as all O arguments with animate reference are. If one of the arguments is stated as a full NP, it is always the A argument, as in (43) and (44) below.

(42) *imaru riyi ai sesap pwên*

yi_i=ma-tu tiy=i_i la a-yi sesap pwên
 3sg=NEG₁-stay observe=3sg go.to at-3sg something NEG₂
 ‘He didn’t look at himself with anything.’ (LL010711_0043)

(43) *muyou reo iweieki la ro patan yoy*

[muyou te-yo]_A yi_i=weiek=i_i la to pata-n yoy
 snake EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=coil=3sg go.to be top-PERT stone
 ‘The snake has coiled itself on top of the stone.’ (Game1_280812_0008)

(44) *pulei iro asueki rang*

[pulei]_A yi_i=to asuek=i_i ta-ng
 cat 3sg=CONT rub=3sg POSS-1sg
 ‘The cat is rubbing itself against me.’ (field notes 30/04/2011)

(45) *ngano rayenong pun lalon net teo*

nga_i=no tayen=ong_i pun lalo-n net te-yo
 1sg=IPFV submerge=1sg INTF inside-PERT sea EMP-DEM.INT
 ‘I submerged myself fully into the sea.’ (LL030611_0056)

As is evident from the examples above, the controller does not have to be human, but it seems it has to be at least animate. There seem to be no inherently reflexive verbs, i.e. verbs that always have to occur in a reflexive construction. It seems that the verb *tiy* ‘to observe’, rather than *ning* ‘to see’ is preferred for the action of looking at oneself, as in (42).

Occasionally, a reflexive construction is found with a coreferential Oblique, rather than an O argument:

(46) *on asuek pau rao?*

[wo_i]_A=an asuek [pau]_O [ta-o_i]_E
 2sg=PRF rub coconut.oil POSS-2sg

‘Have you rubbed coconut oil onto yourself?’ (field notes 21/03/2011)

Sometimes, a reflexive construction seems to be used in order to satisfy the requirements of the verb’s argument structure, as in the examples below. Because *top* ‘to drop’ and *yêk* ‘to feel’ are transitive verbs, there needs to be an O argument. Since the O argument is coreferential with the A argument of the verb, it is animate and has to be cross-referenced on the verb complex by an enclitic. Because the Activity complement clause in (48) functions as an Oblique to the verb (it is marked by the preposition *a-*; see also Section 11.1.2), there has to be a dummy O argument present.

(47) *ipe ropi la net a ipe yaya*

yi_i=pe top=i_i la net a yi=pe yaya
 3sg=PFV drop=3sg go.to sea and 3sg=PFV swim

‘He let himself fall [*lit.* ‘dropped himself’] into the sea and swam.’

(KW290611_0055)

(48) *iyêki are sông iraii*

yi_i=yêk=i_i a-te sông yi=tai=i_i
 3sg=feel=3sg at-COMP hunger 3sg=take.possession.of=3sg

‘He felt himself getting hungry.’ [*lit.* ‘He felt hunger taking possession of him.’]

(WL020611_0018)

Possibly, there is one inherently reflexive verb: *parek* ‘to hide oneself, to be hidden’. It ends in *-ek*, which gives rise to the assumption that it is a (pseudo-)applicative and thus a transitive form. *parek* is an intransitive, possibly stative verb, however, and thus never takes an O argument. An example of the use of *parek* is given below.

(49) *sin ila parek nau-n net*

sin yi=la parek nau-n net
sun 3sg=go.to be.hidden surface-PERT sea

‘The sun had become hidden / hid itself in the sea.’ [i.e. the sun set]

(NP210511_2_0023)

8.3.4.2 *Reciprocals*

Reciprocal constructions also include coreference of participants, but in a slightly different way: a participant X acts in a certain way towards Y and Y acts in the same way towards X. This is the case at least for two-participant reciprocals, which are the only reciprocals attested in the data. There is no reciprocal pronoun or another form used specifically to mark reciprocal constructions, but as mentioned in Section 8.3.2.1, it seems that the applicative suffix is occasionally used to imply a reciprocal meaning. The “reciprocal applicative” is attested for both transitive and extended intransitive verbs; an example of each is given below. Two-participant reciprocals will be indicated by dual pronouns, which are coreferential with each other. The applicative suffix may be added to indicate that the pronoun representing the O or Oblique argument refers to the same two people as the pronoun representing the A argument. Again, if one of the arguments is stated (partly) as a full NP, it is always the A argument, as in (51).¹⁰

(50) *upe mwangeku*

u_i=pe mwang-ek=u_i
3du=PFV watch-APPL=3du

‘The two of them looked at each other.’ (LL010711_0011)

(51) *wui Maiau pe yangyangek tui*

[wui Maiau]_i pe yangyang-ek ta-u_i
1du.EXCL M. PFV love-APPL POSS-1du.EXCL

‘Maiau and I fell in love with each other.’ (KM060111_0009)

¹⁰ The use of the dual pronoun together with a full NP as in (51) is very typical for Paluai and other Oceanic languages. See Section 5.2 and Lichtenberk (2000) on ‘inclusory pronominals’ for a more detailed discussion.

Example (52) below is a slight variation on the ones given above, since here it is a Possessor suffix that is coreferential with the proclitic referring to the A argument. Again, however, there is an applicative suffix on the verb.

(52) *upe yek keleyek-ek maranu la sip*

u_i=pe yek keleyek-ek mata-n-u_i la sip
 2du=PFV hit turn-APPL face-PERT-3du go.to one.INANIM
 ‘They have turned facing each other.’ (Game4_280812_0121)

Reciprocal constructions are quite rare in spontaneous speech. Sometimes, a reduplicated form of a transitive verb is used to refer to a reciprocal action. In (53) below, a nominalisation of the transitive verb *kam* ‘to hug’ is shown.

(53) *taukaro pe kamkam*

tau=ka-to pe kam.kam
 1du.INCL=IRR.NS-HAB make REDUP.hug
 ‘The two of us should hug (each other).’ [*lit.* ‘The two of us should do hugging.’]
 (PK290411_3_0025)

In addition, there is a verb *ngonomek* with a very general meaning ‘be corresponding, be the same’ which could be said to have inherently reciprocal semantics.

(54) *umape ngonomek pwên*

u=ma=pe ngonomek pwên
 3du=NEG₁=make be.corresponding NEG₂
 ‘They do not resemble each other.’ (Game3_280812_0009)

Chapter 9 Serial verb constructions

Paluai has a large number of multi-verb constructions (MVC), which all have in common the presence of more than one verbal element within a single predicate. It is, however, important to note that MVCs do not form a homogeneous group within this, and probably any, language. The boundaries between genuine serial verb constructions (SVC) and, on the one hand, the morphological process of compounding and, on the other, the syntactic operations of coordination and subordination must be established. Diachronically, it is possible that adverbial forms or prepositions have developed out of full verbs in SVCs.

It is widely agreed that a sequence of verbs must comply with the following criteria to be regarded as a SVC (based on Aikhenvald (2006a) and references there):

1. Form a single predicate, without any overt marking of coordination, subordination or syntactic dependency
2. Describe what is conceptualised as a single event
3. Have intonation properties that are the same as those of a monoverbal clause
4. Have one tense, aspect and polarity value
5. Each component must be able to appear on its own

For Paluai SVCs, all of the criteria apply. One important distinction with regard to SVCs is the one made between symmetrical and asymmetrical SVCs (Aikhenvald, 2006a). Symmetrical SVCs obtain all their elements from the open, unrestricted class of lexical verbs, whereas asymmetrical SVCs recruit one element from a semantically and/or grammatically restricted set of verbs. The other element is typically a lexical verb. Symmetrical SVCs (as entities) are prone to lexicalisation, whereas the components from restricted subclasses in asymmetrical SVCs are prone to losing verbal status and grammaticalisation into adpositions, adverbs, or case markers.

Another important distinction that is made concerning SVCs relates to the arguments that the serialised verbs can share in common. Because Paluai does not have SVCs of more than two verbs, the elements of a SVC will be referred to with V1 and V2. The following structural types of SVCs can then be distinguished (Crowley, 2002):

1. Same-subject serialisation: V1 and V2 have the same subject.
2. Switch-subject (or switch-function) serialisation: the object of V1 is the subject of V2.
3. Inclusory serialisation: the subject of V2 consists of both the subject and object of V1.
4. Multiple-object serialisation: ‘there may be same-subject or switch-subject relationships between the subjects of serialised verbs, each of which is transitive, and each of which has its own object’ (Crowley, 2002, p. 41).
5. Ambient (or event-argument (cf. Aikhenvald, 2006a)) serialisation: V2 makes a qualification about the manner in which an action is performed, without V1 and V2 sharing arguments.

In Paluai, only types (1) and (2) are found, which is in line with general typological tendencies for SVCs. In what follows, the discussion will turn to asymmetrical SVCs first, followed by symmetrical SVCs. It is doubtful whether symmetrical serialisation is a productive process in the present-day language. Symmetrical SVCs are contiguous (i.e. no elements are allowed to occur between V1 and V2), but this is also the case for some types of asymmetrical SVCs.

9.1 Asymmetrical SVCs

Asymmetrical SVCs have in common that one of their components is picked from a restricted subset of verbs. The other verb is generally chosen from the unrestricted class of lexical verbs. In Paluai, asymmetrical SVCs are much more common than symmetrical ones, which is in line with cross-linguistic typology. Aikhenvald (2006a) states that if a language has limited serialisation, it generally only has asymmetrical SVCs. The restricted members of asymmetrical SVCs are prone to grammaticalisation: they often develop into adpositions, case markers, TAM markers, etc.

Asymmetrical SVCs in any given language can usually be divided into a number of different types based on their semantics and/or grammatical functions. What exactly is considered an asymmetrical SVC is a matter for discussion, with quite far-reaching implications for Paluai. As discussed in Chapter 6, preverbal secondary aspect particles and directionals still have full verb counterparts that can head a predicate on their own.

Since Paluai has no obligatory verbal inflection, it is not possible to make a distinction between verb and particle based on formal grounds. Every construction these forms appear in could thus potentially be analysed as a SVC. Since they are very common, this analysis would greatly increase the frequency of asymmetrical SVCs (which are already very frequent even following a very conservative approach). In fact, there would hardly be any predicate (save non-verbal relational predicates) not containing a SVC. Most likely, there is a grammaticalisation continuum of verb → particle, with many forms sitting somewhere along the continuum. Leaving aside the preverbal TAM particles for now, which were discussed at length in Chapter 6, the following semantic and grammatical types of asymmetrical SVCs can be distinguished:

1. Cause-effect/resultative
2. Adverbial
3. Valency-increasing
4. Posture verb as V2 – may be biclausal
5. Directional as V2
 - a. Specifying Goal of ditransitive clause
 - b. Specifying Oblique of intransitive clause
6. Directional as V1 (path of motion) – may be biclausal

Paluai asymmetrical SVCs are usually productive or semi-productive, but there are also semi-lexicalised combinations attested. In addition, the restricted members of types (1) and (2) of asymmetrical SVCs are prone to develop into adverbs (i.e. forms that do not occur as head of a predicate) and the restricted members of types (4), (5) and (6) may develop into preposition-like items and lose verbal status. In the next section, a short detour is made to discuss some striking lexicalisation phenomena related to sequences which contain a form *tou*. This is followed by a discussion of asymmetrical serialisation divided with regard to the various types specified above.

9.1.1 *Lexicalised combinations with tou*

There is a large amount of sequences which *as a whole* have verbal status and which have *tou* as the second member. Keep in mind that none of these are regarded as SVCs, because *tou* is not attested as an independent verb. However, they give a good insight in

how lexicalisation processes may work for Paluai SVCs. An overview of *tou* sequences found in the data is given in Table 9.1. *tou* is synchronically not attested as predicate head, so it can probably be considered an adverbial with the general meaning of ‘be fastened’.¹ In many cases, but not always, it has resultative overtones. It may have developed out of a productive SVC with a (stative) full verb form which has become obsolete. It is unclear how productive and widely used *tou* is synchronically. There may be more combinations with *tou* as second part than currently attested, but it is probably not fully productive. As mentioned, because *tou* is not a verb, the sequences with *tou* are not SVCs. But what are they?

What is interesting is that combinations with *tou* seem to be in different stages of lexicalisation. Of some sequences, such as *nêk tou* or *pulu tou*, the first part is not found anywhere else at all. In other cases, such as *neng tou* or *souek tou*, the first part is attested as an independent verb, but with a different valency than in the combination with *tou*. *neng*, for instance, is a transitive verb meaning ‘to climb (a tree)’. However, when *neng* is combined with *tou*, the entire combination is intransitive and means ‘to halt, to stop walking’. *tou* is not an intransitivising device, however, since in other cases it does not affect the valency of V1 (e.g. *pang tou*, *wei tou*). Similar to, for instance, *ayit* discussed below in Section 9.2, *neng* may have two lexical entries, one as independent verb and one as part of a lexicalised verb sequence. Sometimes, the meaning of the *tou* construction can be straightforwardly derived from the meaning of the first part, but in other cases the meaning of the combination is unpredictable.

¹ The transitive verb *tou* ‘to put, to give’, which can head a predicate and also occurs as V2 in valency-increasing SVCs, is probably unrelated.

Combination	Meaning	Transparent?	First part attested as independent verb?
sok tou	to tie (tr.)	no	yes, ‘shoot’ (tr.)
neng tou	to stop walking (intr.)	no	yes, ‘climb’ (tr.)
yek tou	to put (s.t. to stay) (tr.)	no	yes, ‘hit’ (tr.)
lêp tou	to imitate (tr.)	no	yes, ‘take’ (tr.)
tuk tou	to summon ppl. by garamut beat (tr.)	no	yes, ‘beat’ (tr.)
san tou	to end a story (intr.)	no	yes, ‘cut’ (tr.)
tik tou	to withhold (tr.)	no	yes, ‘carry’ (tr.)
arei tou	to hold with teeth (tr.)	yes	yes, ‘bite’ (tr.)
kap tou	to tie, to bundle (tr.)	n/a	<i>kap</i> only attested as 1 st part of other lexicalised SVC, <i>kap tep</i>
têk tou	to put, build? (tr.)	maybe	yes, ‘build’ (tr.)
sang tou	to cross over (tr.)	n/a	<i>sang</i> only attested as 1 st part of other lexicalised SVCs
sum tou	to catch (tr.)	no	yes, ‘to cover’ (tr.)
pang tou	to adopt (tr.)	no	yes, ‘feed’ (tr.)
kum tou	to store in the mouth (tr.)	yes	yes ‘hold in mouth’ (tr.)
wei tou	to bundle, tie together (tr.)	yes	yes ‘to coil’ (tr.)
souek tou	to stop punting a canoe (intr.)	no	yes, ‘push’ (tr.)
samsam tou	to ease (rain) (intr.)	n/a	no
tat tou	to tighten (tr.)	no	yes, ‘pull up’ (tr.)
nêk tou	to grab (tr.)	n/a	no
pulu tou	to stick (intr.)	n/a	no

Table 9.1 A selection of combinations with *tou*

In yet other cases, such as *kap tou* ‘to tie up’ and *sang tou* ‘to cross’, the first part of the combination is attested only as first part of a limited number of verb sequences and not as an independent form. The only other instance of *kap* is in *kap tep* (which has a meaning similar to *kap tou*), and one other instance of *sang* is in *sang mwal* ‘to step over (something bad)’, where *mwal* too is not attested as an independent form. Thus, it seems that the first part of a sequence can also be affected by a process of losing its status as an independent form, although to a lesser degree than the second part. Historically, what may have happened in such cases is the following:

Stage 1	Verb – Verb	Productive asymmetrical SVC
Stage 2	Verb – Adverb	Element 2 loses independent status
Stage 3	Semi-verb – Adverb	Element 1 loses independent status and becomes disconnected from its independent counterpart (i.e. the form becomes polysemous)
Stage 4	Idiomatic collocation	Element 1 has become obsolete as independent form and is only found in one or more lexicalised sequences. Element 2 may have ceased to be productive as adverb

Table 9.2 Potential historical stages of SVC lexicalisation

This table explains why there are many more combinations where the second part is not attested as full verb, than combinations where this is the case for the first part. The variation in verb-like sequences in Paluai is explained because most combinations will be at a different stage along the historical cline. What makes things complicated is that the same form is encountered in combinations that are on different stages on the cline. *tou*, as shown above, is attested as second element in combinations which are either in Stage 2 (*souek tou*), Stage 3 (*neng tou*) and Stage 4 (*nêk tou*, *kap tou*). For forms attested as Part 1, this may also be the case. *neng*, for instance, can occur together with independent stative verbs *mat* ‘to die’ and *pui(pui)* ‘be soft’; the resulting combinations *neng mat* and *neng pui* are transitive and have the meaning ‘kill by standing on’ and ‘crush with foot; trample’ respectively. They are in Stage 1. In addition, *neng* occurs together with *tou* as described above; this combination is in Stage 2. Transitivity of the

two combinations in Stage 1 on the one hand, and the one in Stage 2 on the other differs, and this is not caused by the second elements they take (*mat*, *pui* or *tou*) since these are all intransitive or non-valency changing. Thus, as already mentioned above, *neng* may have two lexical entries, an independent verb and a dependent form which needs a second element. It is thus polysemous. The two lexical entries may be in the process of becoming disconnected from each other.

The examples with *tou* are instructive because this form is so common, but the process is most likely much more wide-spread. It shows that lexicalisation of Paluai SVCs is not a straightforward matter, because asymmetrical SVCs do not lexicalise as units, in contrast to symmetrical SVCs. The question is also whether lexicalisation or grammaticalisation would be a more adequate label for the process described above. Meanings of parts and combinations become more conventionalised and unpredictable, which is a hallmark of lexicalisation. However, while there is no change from a lexical item into a grammatical item, items do get more restricted in their use, which is usually seen as a criterion for grammaticalisation. Although still belonging to an open word class, adverbs can be seen as more grammaticalised than verbs, because they are dependent on other forms for their use.

9.1.2 Cause-effect/resultative SVCs

After a small detour discussing combinations which do not classify as SVCs, we will now turn to MVCs that do. First of all, in cause-effect/resultative SVCs, V2 represents an effect of which the action described by V1 is the cause, or V2 describes a result of the action described by V1. In the majority of cases, V1 is a transitive AFFECT verb (see Section 8.1.2.2). V2 is always a stative verb, and most often a BREAKING verb. Which combination of verbs is most appropriate depends on the action and the material involved. Thus, although these SVCs seem to be rather productive, their occurrence is bound by semantic constraints. A number of examples are given in the table below.

Verb combination	Meaning	Meaning V1	Meaning V2
arei mat	to bite dead	bite	die
neng pui	to crush with foot (fruit etc.)	step on	be soft
pêl pwon	to cover by rolling s.t. on	roll	be covered
sok mut	to tear (cloth etc.)	hit with implement	tear, snap (of rope or cloth)
sok pal	to break into halves (by slamming)	hit with implement	burst, break, crack (in half)

Table 9.3 Some cause-effect/resultative SVCs

These SVCs are of the switch-subject type: the O argument of V1 is the S argument of V2. Since stative verbs have Undergoer subjects (see Section 8.3.1), they can lend themselves to this type of construction. The resulting SVC is always contiguous: no elements can occur between V1 and V2. The O argument of the SVC will always follow it. The following sentences give some examples of how the cause-effect/resultative type of SVC is used.

(1) *ipkapêl pwon yep teo*

ip_A=ka-[pêl pwon]_{SVC} [yep te-yo]_O
 3pl=IRR.NS-roll be.covered fire EMP-DEM.INT

‘They will cover up the fire by rolling stones onto it.’ [*lit.* ‘roll-cover the fire’]

(MS250311_0065)

(2) *kowom mut poyengom teo*

ko_A-[wom mut]_{SVC} [poyenga-m te-yo]_O
 IRR.1sg-chop break throat-2sg.PERT EMP-DEM.INT

‘I will chop off your head.’ [*lit.* ‘chop-break your throat’] (NS220511_1_0027)

(3) *Komou reo isok sau Parulabei sopwol*

[Komou te-yo]_A yi=[sok sau]_{SVC} [Parulabei sopwol]_O
 K. EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=hit split P. one.half.round

‘Komou cut off one half of Parulabei.’ [*lit.* ‘hit-cut one half’]
(LK250111_0069)

(4) *kino arei mari*

ki_A-no [arei mat]_{SVC=i}_O
IRR.3sg-IPFV bite die=3sg

‘He may bite him to death.’ (LL010711_0090)

Cause-effect SVCs are closely related to causative constructions (see Section 8.3.1). In fact, the causative construction could have developed out of a SVC with *pe* ‘to make’ as V1. It seems that the causative construction can be used as a more ‘general’ means to describe the accomplishment and causation of a result, whereas a cause-effect SVC is more specific as to exactly how this result was achieved. Thus, the causative *pemat* ‘kill’ mainly refers to the act of ‘killing’, whereas *arei mat* ‘bite dead’ and *neng mat* ‘kill by standing on’ specify the manner of killing. *pemut* ‘tear, rip’ mainly refers to the act of ‘breaking’, whereas *san mut* ‘cut’, *wom mut* ‘chop’ or *neng mut* ‘tear by standing on’ refer to what kind of action, specifically, caused the material to separate. In addition, in sentence (1) the original O argument of *pêl* ‘to roll’ is suppressed. It is ousted by the S argument of *pwon* ‘be covered’, which takes the place of the O argument of the SVC. The original O of *pêl*, ‘stones’ is deleted and has to be inferred from the context.

9.1.2.1 Cause-effect SVCs with intransitive VI

There is a subtype of cause-effect SVC that has no arguments in common. It appears to be quite rare, but some examples are given below.

(5) *iro yen pwon sal*

yi_A=to [yen pwon]_{SVC} [sal]_O
3sg=CONT lie block road

‘He is blocking the road by lying in the way.’ [*lit.* ‘lie-cover the road’] (field notes 01/11/2012)

(6) *leut kipe ret pwono*

[leut]_A ki-pe [tet pwon]_{SVC=O_O}

weed IRR.3sg-PFV grow be.covered=2sg

‘Weeds will grow so as to cover you.’ [*lit.* ‘grow-cover you’]

(LK250111_0073)

Both these examples describe a single-participant event (‘lying’ and ‘growing’, respectively), the result of which leads to another participant being blocked or covered. The SVC as a whole is transitive, just as with regular cause-effect SVCs. The difference is that V1 and V2 do not share arguments, since V1 does not have an O argument. The S of V1 becomes the A argument of the SVC, and the S argument of V2 becomes the O argument.

9.1.3 Adverbial SVCs

In adverbial SVCs, V2 gives a description of the action indicated by V1 rather than its effect or result. Adverbial SVCs are very similar to verb-adverb sequences, and it is quite likely that the latter have developed out of adverbial SVCs. The difference between them is that with adverbial SVCs, the second element can still function as an independent verb.

V1 of an adverbial SVC can be either transitive or intransitive; V2 is always a stative verb.² Adverbial SVCs are of the same-subject type: the S or A argument of V1 corresponds to the S argument of V2. Some examples of forms which are often encountered in V2 position are *maleu* ‘to hurry’ and *parek* ‘to be hidden’. Adverbial SVCs are always contiguous. A number of examples are given below.

(7) *ong koret parek monok tai*

wongs ko-[tet parek]_{SVC} monok ta-i

1sg.FREE IRR.1sg-move be.hidden behind POSS-3sg

‘I will go stealthily after her.’ (KS030611_1_0029)

² This is the reason why *liliu* ‘to return; again’ is not discussed here but in Section 9.2. *liliu* is attested both as independent (active) verb and as adverb, and thus occurs in both symmetrical SVCs and verb-adverb sequences.

(8) *ipwa kingan maleu*

yi=pwa ki_A-[ngan maleu]_{SVC}

3sg=want.to IRR.3sg-eat hurry

‘He wanted to eat (it) quickly.’ (Game1_021012_0404)

Some stative verbs, such as *pit* ‘be close’ may yield either a cause-effect/resultative SVC or an adverbial SVC depending on the transitivity of V1. In (9), with an intransitive V1, the S of V1 and V2 is the same. When *pit* is used with a transitive V1, however, its S argument will correspond to the O argument of V1, for example in *tou pit* ‘bring together’, *soyek pit* ‘heap together’ or *yuai pit* ‘call together’. These constructions look the same as other cause-effect/resultative SVCs, as shown for instance in example (4).

(9) *onga ippe reyeng pit*

onga ips=pe [teyeng pit]_{SVC}

and.so 3pl=PFV cry be.close

‘And so, they came together to cry.’ (NP210511_2_0079)

Sentence (10) below shows that also stative verbs which are frequently used as independent verbs, such as *lot* ‘to fall’, can be used adverbially in a SVC. The sentence was used to describe the first attempts at walking of little kittens.

(10) *ipto wauwau lot*

ips=to [wau.wau lot]_{SVC}

3pl=CONT REDUP.move fall

‘They are walking about in a falling manner.’ (field notes 19/10/2012)

Eventually, when used infrequently on its own the second element of adverbial SVCs is likely to develop into an adverb. This can happen regardless of semantics, as is shown, for example, by the form *panak* ‘steal’. This form may have been verbal at some point, but in the present-day language it only occurs following a lexical verb such as *neng* ‘climb’, *lêp* ‘take’ or *pe* ‘do’ to refer to the act of stealing (again, sequences with *panak* do not classify as SVCs, since *panak* does not occur independently).

(11) *ipe la lêp panak narunpein som Us*

yi_A=pe la [lêp panak]_{SVC} [narun.pein som]_O Us
 3sg=PFV go.to take steal young.woman one.ANIM Hus Island
 ‘He went and stole a young woman from Hus Island.’ (KW290611_0034)

9.1.4 Valency-increasing SVCs with *tou* or *lêp*

Paluai has two types of asymmetrical SVCs which increase the valency of an intransitive verb, making it transitive.³ The original S argument becomes the A of the construction, and a new O argument is added. These constructions are formed with either *tou* ‘give’ or *lêp* ‘take’ as V2. The meaning difference between them is as follows:

- (12) V2 *tou* ‘V1 after X’, ‘V1 while following X’
 V2 *lêp* ‘V1 with X’, ‘V1 while taking X’ (comitative)

Even though in these cases V2 is a lexical verb, these SVCs are analysed as asymmetrical because V2 can only be one of two choices. This type of SVC is always contiguous, with the O argument of the construction following V2. The shared argument is S of V1 and A of V2. The following sentences give a few examples.

(13) *iro reyeng touu*

yi_A=to [teyeng tou]_{SVC=U_O}
 3sg=CONT cry give=3du
 ‘He was crying after them (two).’ [*lit.* ‘cry-give’] (MS250311_0017)

(14) *ipe ngui rou ngoyai*

yi_A=pe [ngui tou]_{SVC} [ngoyai]_O
 3sg=PFV snarl give possum
 ‘He snarled after the possum / he went after the possum while snarling at him.’
 [*lit.* ‘snarl-give’] (LL010711_0069)

³ In addition, there are SVCs where *lêp* follows a transitive verb. These are rare and only occur with the adverbial phrase *la pwên*, which is discussed in Section 10.2.3.1.

(15) *ipe wop lêp la kau rinan*

yi_A=pe [wop lêp]_{SVC} la ka-u tina-n
3sg=PFV fly take go.to CLF.FOOD-3du mother-PERT
'He flew (and) took (it) for him and his mother to eat.' [*lit.* 'fly-take']
(KW290611_0038)

(16) *numwai re iangou lêp mangat tai...*

numwai te yi_A=[iangou lêp]_{SVC} [mangat ta-i]_O
old.man REL 3sg=arrive take work poss-3sg
'The old man, who brought his work to us...' [*lit.* 'arrive-take']
(BK040311_0007)

9.1.5 SVCs with a posture verb

The forms *to* and in particular *tu* (both meaning 'stay') are occasionally encountered following lexical verbs. They derive from posture verbs, but are most common as preverbal particles indicating secondary aspect. Their semantics and use as aspectual particles is discussed in detail in Section 6.2.1.2. *tu* seems to be used when a change of state referred to by the main verb is permanent. Two examples are given below.

(17) *kamou rang ime nê m tu areo*

[kamou ta-ng]_S yi=me [nê m tu]_{SVC} a-te-yo
speech POSS-1sg 3sg=come be.finished stay at-EMP-DEM.INT
'My talk has come to an end at this point.' [*lit.* 'come be finished-stay there']
(KM060111_0104)

(18) *tinan no mat tu nii*

[tina-n]_A no [mat tu]_{SVC} ni=i_O
mother-PERT IPFV die stay away=3sg
'Her mother died and left her.' [*lit.* 'die-stay away from her.']
(OL201210_0146)

to is encountered following directionals, and indicates that something has moved and come to rest at a certain point. Only with *lak* 'go' and *sak* 'come up' it can be made sure

that the posture verb follows the directional, since only these directionals have a different form when used as main verb heading a predicate and not introducing any constituents (see Section 3.3.1.3). In other cases, the SVC could also be analysed as a directional preceding a main posture verb. A few examples are given below.

(19) *tapan lak to ai nurunan musau*

tap_S=an [lak to]_{SVC} a-yi nuruna-n musau
 1pl.INCL=PRF go be at-3sg belongings-PERT foreign.place

‘We have started to use [*lit.* ‘have gone to be at’] Western goods.’

(SP190311_0071)

(20) *net teo in sak to poyengan*

[net]_Ste-yo yi=an [sak to]_{SVC} poyenga-n
 sea EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=PRF come.up be throat-PERT

‘The sea had come up to his throat.’ (WL020711_0117)

With either *tu* or *to* as a second verb, it is possible that these combinations are in fact not SVCs but biclausal constructions lacking a connective. The events represented by the main verb and the posture verb are quite easily conceptualised as occurring separately from each other. This type of potential SVC is usually contiguous, and both V1 and V2 are usually intransitive. There is, however, one example with a transitive V1 and an object bound pronoun occurring between V1 and V2. This example is from a procedural text about planting yam. Yam vines are referred to with the numerals for animates and are accordingly cross-referenced with bound pronouns. In (21), the speaker explains how a yam vine should be tied to a beanstalk-like device to prevent it from growing on the soil and getting burned by the sun.

(21) *woroui ro wat*

wo_A=[tou=i_O to]_{SVC} wat
 2sg=put=3sg be up.high

‘You put it to be up high.’ (NK290311_1_0035)

9.1.6 SVCs with a directional

Directionals are used as V2 in SVCs to indicate the direction of a path with main verbs, most typically but not limited to verbs of motion. More about their semantics can be found in Section 3.3.1.3. Any verb describing an action which has motion inherent in it can be (and preferably is) accompanied by a directional; this type of serialisation is very common for Oceanic languages (Durie, 1988; Crowley, 2002). Directionals can be serialised with either transitive or intransitive verbs. Each will be discussed in turn. Next, directionals as V1 in SVCs will be discussed briefly.

9.1.6.1 Specifying Oblique to an intransitive verb

When the directional introduces an Oblique constituent to an intransitive clause, it governs a local or common noun in a construction similar to a prepositional phrase, indicating a Locative Oblique to an intransitive predicate (see below). Otherwise it is often followed by a spatial adverbial or demonstrative. When the directional is serialised as V2 with the main verb and not introducing a constituent, it modifies the main verb for direction; the destination or goal of the movement is left unspecified, but it will be retrievable from the discourse context.⁴ This SVC is of the same-subject type. It does not have to be contiguous: an adverb can be inserted between the main verb and the serialised directional. Table 9.4 shows a number of intransitive motion verbs which are frequently followed by a directional in a SVC.

tet	to move along a path, a relatively short distance; to grow, to spread – not used for movement on water
wau	to move along a path, a relatively long distance (longer than what is indicated by <i>tet</i>) – used for movement on both land and water
liliu	to return
terepelek	to run
tarak	to climb upward, to ascend (on hill, ladder, tree etc.)
worup	to climb downward, to descend (on hill, ladder, tree etc.)

Table 9.4 A selection of motion verbs frequently followed by directionals in SVCs

⁴ If emphasis is purely on the direction of the motion and not on its destination, the directional tends to precede the main verb – see below.

The following sentences are examples of directionals modifying the main verb without introducing a Locative constituent, but the destination of the motion can usually be inferred from the discourse context. In (22), the inherent endpoint can be understood to be the current location of the speaker (the deictic centre).

(22) *ong kope liliu me*

wong_s ko-pe [liliu me]_{svc}
 1sg.FREE IRR.1sg-PFV return come.to
 ‘I will come back (here).’ (KW290311_0007)

(23) *uno ro wau sot*

u_s=no to [wau sot]_{svc}
 3du=IPFV CONT move go.up
 ‘They (2) were going uphill / inland.’ (LK100411_0059)

The following sentences give a few examples of directionals introducing a Locative constituent of an intransitive predicate, expressed by a local noun.

(24) *uro aluk liliu me panu*

u_s=to [[aluk liliu]_{svc} me]_{svc} [panu]_{loc}
 3du=CONT paddle return come.to place
 ‘They were paddling back home.’ (NP210511_1_0021)

(25) *imumut sot net a pian*

yi_s=[mumut sot]_{svc} [net]_{loc} a pian
 3sg=vomit go.up sea and good
 ‘He vomited into the sea and (it was) fine.’ (MK060211_0016)

Sentence (25) seems, at first sight, to be paradoxical. What *sot* here means, however, is not that the vomiting was done upwards, but that the vomiting was done at the side of the canoe which faced towards the shore (the incident happened at sea). The speaker and thus the deictic centre were located inside the canoe, and the vomiting was done with a direction away from the speaker, towards the shore and therefore in inland direction. Hence the use of *sot* is appropriate.

In sentences (26)-(28) a directional, serialised with an intransitive verb, introduces a spatial adverb. Again, which directional is used depends on the position of the speaker and thus the deictic centre. In (26), the meat of the yam is supposed to grow downwards into the ground, away from the speaker. In (27), the action referred to is falling out of a tree, and thus towards the position of the speaker. Sentence (28) describes the growth of the sprout of a yam plant, upwards from the ground towards the speaker, and then up into the air, away from the speaker. It is possible that the instance of *la* here is bleached of all motion meaning, as is the case with a number of other grammaticalisations of *la*, and the entire phrase *la wat* merely functions as an adverbial adjunct.

(26) *kanen kipe ret suwot paye*

[kane-n]_S ki-pe [tet suwot]_{SVC} [paye]_{LOC}
 meat-PERT IRR.3sg-PFV grow go.down down.below
 ‘Its meat [i.e. of the yam] will grow in a downwards direction.’
 (NK290311_1_0022)

(27) *upe lot si paye*

u_S=pe [lot si]_{SVC} [paye]_{LOC}
 3du=PFV fall come.down down.below
 ‘They fell down (to the ground).’ (KW290611_0053)

(28) *kumun teo kipe sa wau la wat*

[kumun te-yo]_S ki-pe sa [wau la]_{SVC}
 sprout EMP-DEM.INT IRR.3sg-PFV come.up move go.to

 [wat]_{LOC}
 up.high
 ‘The sprout will come up high.’ (NK290311_1_0028)

In (29), an intransitive V1 is followed by an adverb, which in turn is followed by a directional as V2.

(29) *ila ro mwangmwang pulek la almaru*

yi_S=la to [mwang.mwang pulêek la]_{SVC} almaru
 3sg=go.to CONT REDUP.watch too go.to right
 ‘He is also looking to the right.’ (Game2_021012_0177)

Occasionally, a spatial adverbial demonstrative is following a directional. In the sentence below, it seems a bit redundant, because *me* already implies movement to the current deictic centre. The demonstrative, however, specifies the current location as ‘this place’ in addition to ‘where I am’ specified by the deictic directional.

(30) *ngawau me arepwo*
 nga_S=[wau me]_{SVC} [a-te-pwo]_{LOC}
 1sg=move come.to at-EMP-DEM.PROX
 ‘I came here (to this place).’ (OL201210_0009)

9.1.6.2 *Specifying Locative or Animate Goal argument*

As mentioned before, directionals are also used to introduce a Goal argument of a ditransitive clause. This function is typically the domain of prepositions, but in Paluai it is done by serialisation. The directional is serialised with a transitive verb, yielding a ditransitive construction. The SVC is of the switch-subject type, with the O of V1 functioning as the S of V2. This type of SVC is always discontinuous: V2 follows the shared argument if this is overtly expressed.⁵ The types of Oblique argument specified by this type of SVC are Locative Goal and Animate Goal (which includes Recipient and Beneficiary). See Chapter 8 for a detailed discussion of grammatical relations.

9.1.6.2.1 Locative Goal

A Locative Goal (LG) argument typically occurs with verbs such as ‘put’ or ‘lay’, which encompass movement of a (usually inanimate) object from a source to a goal. This goal location is generally inanimate, but see sentence (38) in the next section for a counterexample. The form the construction takes depends on whether the location is expressed by a local or a common noun. When it is expressed by a local noun or a spatial adverbial (*wat* ‘high’ or *paye* ‘low’) just the directional suffices. When it is

⁵ When the O argument is not overtly expressed, as is usually the case when it refers to an inanimate O (cf. Chapter 8), it is still assumed that there is a zero trace of the O argument between V1 and V2.

expressed by a common noun, however, this needs to be modified by a general preposition *a-*, which is prefixed to the 3sg free pronoun *yi*. The following sentences give an indication of how a LG is expressed; an inanimate O argument is usually elided when it refers to the discourse topic, which is the case in these sentences (the discourse topic is *yapi* ‘sago’ in (31) and (32) and *kasun* ‘coconut cream’ in (33)).

(31) *orou si ai nisip purukei liliu*

wo_A=[tou si]_{SVC} a-yi [nisip purukei]_{LG} liliu
 2sg=put come.down at-3sg other.INANIM bowl again
 ‘You put (it) into yet another bowl.’ (CA120211_1_0028)

(32) *orou liliu sor ai kapol leo*

wo_A=[[tou liliu]_{SVC} sot]_{SVC} a-yi [kapol te-yo]_{LG}
 2sg=put again go.up at-3sg dish EMP-DEM.INT
 ‘You put (it) back into the frying dish.’ (CA120211_1_0030)

(33) *ope rou lai yapi*

wo_A=pe [tou la]_{SVC} a-yi [yapi]_{LG}
 2sg=PFV put go.to at-3sg sago
 ‘You will put (it) into the sago.’ (CA120211_1_0036)

The sentences above are all from the same recording about the procedure of frying sago. (31) Indicates a movement towards the speaker; she puts the sago into another bowl which is closer to her than the one it comes from. (32) entails an upward movement (and thus triggers the use of *sot*) because the sago is put into a frying dish which is located above the fire. In (33), once again the fact that there is motion, and its goal, are probably considered more important than the exact direction, so here once again *la* is used based on pragmatic grounds. The examples give an idea how directionals are used with small-scale motion. When ‘canonical’ motion towards or from the shore is indicated, usually *si* is used for movement towards the shore and *sot* for motion away from it, since most recordings were made at people’s houses near the shore and thus the deictic centre was located there. Below, some more examples of directionals introducing a LG are given.

(34) *ilêp payanpôl leo onga isoyek sen parung*

yi_A=lêp [payan.pôl]_O te-yo onga yi=[soyek sen]_{SVC}
 3sg=take dry.coconut EMP-DEM.INT and.so 3sg=move move.up

[patu-ng]_{LG}

head-1sg.PERT

‘He took the dry coconuts and hung (them) around my neck.’ (LL030611_0048)

(35) *urê yokari si suk*

wurê_A [yokat=[i]_O si]_{SVC} [suk]_{LG}
 1pc.EXCL carry=3sg come.down shore

‘We carried him down to the shore.’ (NP210511_2_0063)

(36) *iriy maloan suwor ai laliyon*

yi_A=[tiy [maloa-n]_O suwor]_{SVC} a-yi [laliyon]_{LOC}
 3sg=observe reflection-PERT go.down at-3sg pool

‘He saw his reflection in the pool.’ (LL010711_0052)

Sentence (37) below shows that both an adverbial form and an object bound pronoun can intervene between V1 and V2. The adverb always precedes the O argument.

(37) *irou liliuip la panu*

yi_A=[[tou liliu]_{SVC}=ip_O la]_{SVC} panu
 3sg=bring return=3pl go.to place

‘He sent them back to their village.’ (LL300511_1_0022)

Sentences (38) and (39) below come from the same story. They show that a directional is not always obligatory in a Locative Goal construction, at least not with all verbs (the Tok Pisin loan *pris* ‘jetty’ is regarded as a local noun by the speaker, and thus is not marked with the preposition *a-*). The semantics of many verbs, as shown by the various examples above such as *tou* ‘give, put’ and *yokat* ‘carry’, encompass motion on a horizontal plane and thus they have to be accompanied by a directional. The semantics of *top* ‘drop’, on the other hand, seem not to cover this and so the verb can do without.

Thus, whether or not a directional is used depends on the semantics of the main verb as well.

(38) *ipe roui sa patan pris*

yi_A=pe [tou=[i]_O sa]_{SVC} pata-n [pris]_{LG}
 3sg=PFV put=3sg come.up on.top-PERT jetty
 ‘She put him on top of the jetty.’ (MK060211_0047)

(39) *tarêkala ropirê pris*

tarê_A=ka-la⁶ top=[irê]_O [pris]_{LG}
 1pc.INCL=IRR.NS-go.to drop=3pc jetty
 ‘We will go drop them off at the jetty.’ (MK060211_0045)

9.1.6.2.2 Animate Goal

An Oblique argument which indicates Animate Goal, Recipient or Beneficiary (traditionally often called ‘indirect object’) is obligatorily preceded by the possessive/locative particle *ta-* (which takes a pronominal suffix specifying number and person of the NP it modifies), or, alternatively, by the possessive classifier *ka-* (also taking a suffix) when the O argument is intended to be eaten by the receiver (see Section 4.2 and Chapter 8 for a more detailed discussion). Usually, a Goal or Recipient argument represents an animate individual. When it happens to refer to an inanimate O, it receives the same marking as a Locative Goal and is not marked by *ta-*. This kind of Oblique argument is typically encountered with transitive verbs, for instance ‘give’, specifying the goal or recipient of the Theme argument. In some cases, a beneficial or maleficial overtone is clearly indicated (‘do X for the benefit/to the detriment of Y’) but this can be regarded as a subtype of Recipient.

Thus, the Animate Goal argument receives two types of marking: a directional verb indicating the path of the motion, and either the particle *ta-* or the classifier *ka-* to indicate its Animate Goal status. Below, some examples are given.

(40) *ipe sui yapi reo la kau rinan*

⁶ Preverbal *la* has a status different from postverbal *la* (see Chapter 6).

yi_A=pe [sui [yapi te-yo]_O la]_{SVC} [ka-u
 3sg=PFV fry sago EMP-DEM.INT go.to CLF.food-3du

tina-n]_{AG/BEN}

mother-PERT

‘She fried the sago for him and his mother (to eat).’ (KW290611_0036)

(41) *ipe la puk mapian la ran asoan*

yi_A=pe la [puk [mapia-n]_O la]_{SVC}[ta-n asoa- n]_{AG/BEN}
 3sg=PFV go.to open knowledge-PERT go.to of-PERT husband-PERT

‘She went to inform her husband.’ [*lit.* ‘open the knowledge of it to her husband’] (LK100411_0098)

(42) *ikipe si rou kokon la rararê*

yi_A=ki-pe si [tou [kokoni]_O la]_{SVC}[ta-tarê]_{AG/BEN}
 3sg=IRR.3sg-PFV come.down give money go.to POSS-1pc.INCL

‘He should come here (and) give money to us.’ (OBK040311_0193)

The directional *la* is attested most frequently, but occasionally another directional is found expressing an Animate Goal argument.

(43) *ngapwa kopul sot tao la remenin telo*

nga_A=pwa ko-[pul sot]_{SVC} [ta-o]_{AG} la temenin
 1sg=want IRR.1sg-speak go.up POSS-2sg go.to like

te-lo

EMP-DEM.DIST

‘I am going to speak to you as follows.’ (PK290411_3_0076)

(44) *ngasong um me raip Mabut*

nga=[song [wumwa]_O me]_{SVC} [ta-ip Maput]_{AG}
 1sg=run.away house come.to POSS-3pl M.

‘I married into the Titan people.’ [*lit.* ‘I married came to the Titan people.’]⁷
 (LL030611_0007)

(45) *ipto apekip payanpôl leo suwot tang*

ip_A=to [apek [ip payan.pôl te-yo]_O suwot]_{SVC}
 3pl=CONT hit 3pl dry.coconut EMP-DEM.INT go.down

[ta-ŋg]_{AG/MAL}

POSS-1sg

‘They were hitting me with the dry coconuts.’ [*lit.* ‘they were hitting the dry coconuts downwards at me’] (LL030611_0055)

Most cases of directionals other than *la* are attested with the verb *pul* ‘to speak’. The speaker of sentence (43), which was uttered during a public ceremony, stands on a lower level than his addressee, and thus it is more appropriate to use the directional *sot*, specified for the absolute Frame of Reference (see Section 3.3.1.3), instead of the unspecified *la*. Sentence (44) was uttered by a Paluai woman who married a Titan man and is now living in Mouk (the only Titan-speaking village on Baluan), called *Maput* in Paluai. The recording was made at her home in Mouk and thus the deictic reference point is located there. Because the “movement” of marrying was towards the deictic centre, she uses *me* ‘come to’ rather than *la* ‘go to’ to introduce the Goal argument.

Thus, when the direction of the motion indicated by the main verb is known, an appropriate directional has to be used. However, when the direction of the action relative to the deictic centre is unknown or backgrounded, *me* or *la* will be used, since these are only deictic and not specified for the absolute FoR. Thus, whether a directional specified for absolute FoR is used or not, seems to be in part dependent on pragmatic factors, on which information a speaker wishes to bring to the fore.

9.1.6.3 Directional preceding the main verb

Preverbal directionals were discussed at some length in Section 6.3 and therefore will only be briefly mentioned here. A sequence of a directional and a main verb can have

⁷ *song um* ‘to marry’ literally means ‘run away house’ (*um* is the short form of *wumwa*). The reason for this expression, as people told me, is that the woman leaves her own house and moves in with her husband’s family (patrilocal system), and thus literally ‘runs away from’ her house.

two different interpretations. Either it is a biclausal construction indicating a purposive ‘go/come and do X’, or it is a monoclausal construction which represents the motion represented by the directional and the event represented by the main verb as happening simultaneously. The reason why, in these cases, the directional precedes and not follows the verb is probably the following. All these cases have in common that they show a transitive main verb which is directly followed by its O argument, and there is no LG constituent. Inserting the directional between the main verb and its O would alter the meaning of the utterance, because the O argument would have to be reinterpreted as a LG (Oblique) argument. Example (46) shows a typical case of a directional which precedes the main verb (which is in turn a SVC). What is indicated is that the event ‘carrying the bed’ is done in downwards direction, towards the deictic centre. There is no goal or locative of the motion specified.

(46) *ip silal leo, ipno si wau lêp pat teo*

[ip	silal	te-yo] _A	ip=no	[si	[wau lêp]] _{SVC}	[pat
3pl	spirit	EMP-DEM.INT	3pl=IPFV	come.down	move take	bed

te-yo]_O

EMP-DEM.INT

‘The spirits, they were walking down to the shore carrying the bed.’

(LM190611_0026)

What would happen if *si* ‘come down’ would be following the main verb *wau lêp* instead of preceding it, similar to, for instance, *si* in sentence (35) above? Sentence (46) would have to be reinterpreted as (46’) below:

(46’)	[ip	silal	teyo] _A	ip=no	[[wau lêp] si] _{SVC}	[pat] _{LG}
	3pl	spirit	EMP-DEM.INT	3pl=IPFV	move take come.down	bed

te-yo

EMP-DEM.INT

? ‘The spirits, they carried (it) down to the bed.’

Because *pat* is now following the directional in a SVC, it has to be interpreted as the LG of a clause with an elided O argument. Thus, the meaning of the clause has changed. Apparently, in cases like (46) there is a preference to put the directional in preverbal position, rather than let it follow the O argument. Probably the directional cannot follow the O argument in cases such as (46) because there is no LG specified. In these cases, the directional will be used preverbally, to distinguish it from its use as a marker of Oblique argument (such as LG) when used postverbally as V2 in a SVC. It reflects the direction of the motion of the A argument while VERBing; it makes therefore sense that it appears closer to A than to O. Also for intransitive predicates, there may be a difference in emphasis between the use of a preverbal and a postverbal directional. SVCs with a directional as V1 are generally contiguous, although a secondary aspectual particle can occur between the directional and the main verb, in particular with *la* ‘to go (motion away from deictic centre)’. *la* as preverbal particle, however, has gained the additional meaning of indicating remoteness from the deictic centre, in contrast to the other directionals, and thus has a special status (for more, see Schokkin (2014b)).

9.2 Symmetrical SVCs

In symmetrical SVCs, both members come from the open class of lexical verbs and not from a closed subclass such as stative verbs or directionals. Symmetrical SVCs are therefore defined only based on negative criteria: each SVC that does not have a stative verb or directional as one of its members is necessarily symmetrical. Some of the combinations encountered have been lexicalised to such an extent that their meaning cannot transparently be deduced from the sum of their parts, and they may involve metaphorical extension. Other combinations are less idiomatic, but their use may get more and more conventionalised and may get extended to a point where the meaning of the whole can no longer be compositionally derived from the meanings of the parts. Some examples of symmetrical SVCs are given in the table below. All examples in the table, except the first one, show some degree of metaphorical extension. The first example *apui ngan*, may in fact not be a SVC at all. There is only one example of this sequence in the data, and a connective *a* ‘and’ may have been deleted due to fast speech. In addition, the sequence *apui ngan* does not represent a single event, but two events which are necessarily quite separated, and thus does not fulfil all the criteria for SVCs.

Verb combination	Meaning	Meaning V1	Meaning V2	Argument sharing
apui ngan	to cook and eat (tr.)	cook (tr.)	eat (tr.)	share A and O
antek yut	to collect branches after burning a garden (tr.)	start (tr.)	split (tr.)	share A and O
lang saui	to revive (tr.)	lift up (tr.)	lift up (tr.)	share A and O
soksok yit	to hatch, of egg (intr.)	hit with implement (tr.)	chip off (tr.)	share S
song yik	to hunt (tr.)	run away (intr.)	search for (tr.)	share A and O
sungêek lêp	to collect	heap together (tr.)	take (tr.)	share A and O
tiu sungêek	to gather	collect (tr.)	heap together (tr.)	share A and O
yop ayit	to slide, to slip (intr.)	jump up (intr.)	separate bark from wood (tr.)	share S
yop lêp	to hang on to, grow along a branch, of a vine (tr.)	jump up (intr.)	take (tr.)	S of V1 = A of V2

Table 9.5 Some symmetrical SVCs

The sequences *soksok yit* ‘to hatch’ and *yop ayit* ‘to slip’ are interesting, because the combination with two verbs is intransitive, while V2 in both cases is transitive when occurring on its own. The meaning of both sequences is furthermore unpredictable. These sequences have been lexicalised, and one can perhaps say that there are two lexical entries for cases such as *ayit*: one as independent transitive verb and one as intransitive root that can only occur in combination with another verbal form. As shown above, there are other verb forms that show similar properties. The difference between these and cases such as *ayit* is that the former occur in semi-lexicalised asymmetrical SVCs, or in verb-adverb sequences.

In the case of *lang saui* ‘to revive’ and other combinations encountered, two verbs which are (almost) synonymous have been serialised. This is an instance of symmetrical serialisation which is encountered in several other languages (Aikhenvald, 2006a). Sometimes, the combination will have an unpredictable meaning, but in other cases the two verbs combined may just reinforce each other’s meaning.

The main properties of symmetrical SVCs are that they are always contiguous, and that the two verbs involved always share all their arguments. When both verbs are transitive, they share the A and O argument. When one verb is transitive and one is intransitive, the S argument of the intransitive verb is the A argument of the transitive verb.

Across the board, it can be concluded that although it seems to be quite productive, symmetrical verb serialisation is a rather marginal phenomenon in Paluai. Even when it comes to lexicalised combinations, it turns out that asymmetrical constructions are in the majority. In addition, there is no symmetrical verb serialisation that serves a grammatical purpose (except, perhaps, with *liliu*), in contrast to asymmetrical serialisation.

9.2.1 Sequences with *liliu* ‘return; again’

Sequences with *liliu* form a special case. *liliu* has two lexical entries: one as independent motion verb ‘move back; return’ (entailing motion away from a point followed by motion back to the same point) and one as adverb ‘again’. It is often encountered twice in the same sentence, as in (47).

(47) *taukaaluk liliu la panu liliu*

tau _S =ka-[aluk	liliu] _{SVC}	la	panua	liliu
1pl.INCL=IRR.NS-paddle	return	go.to	place	again
‘Let’s paddle back home again.’ (NP210511_1_0020)				

In (47), the first instance of *liliu* modifies the verb *aluk* ‘paddle’ in a symmetrical SVC. The two verbs share the same S argument. The second instance of *liliu* modifies the entire event ‘paddle back home’ and functions as a sentential adverb. As adverb, *liliu* can also modify verbless clauses:

(48) *i ranisip telo, not sê reo liliu*

[yi ta-nisip te-lo]_{VCS}
3sg DEF-other.INANIM EMP-DEM.DIST

[natu sê te-yo liliu]_{VCC}
child small EMP-DEM.INT again

‘The next one, (it’s) the small child again.’ (Game4_280812_0154-55)

When *liliu*, in its capacity as a verb, is serialised with another verb, the transitivity of V1 determines the type of SVC this results in. When V1 is intransitive, the entire construction can be analysed as a same-subject SVC, similar to the adverbial type. An example would be (47) above. Both the ‘paddling’ and the ‘returning’ action are carried out by the same participant. When *liliu* is serialised with a transitive V1, the O argument of V1 corresponds to the S argument of V2. In (49), it is the O argument of *tou* who is returning to Lorengau, and in (50), it is the O argument of *tou* (the food) which is returning to group of people to which the speaker belongs.

(49) *ngala rou liliui Lorengau*

nga_A=la [tou liliu]_{SVC=i_O} Lorengau
1sg=go.to bring return=3sg L.

‘I went and brought him back to Lorengau.’ (ANK020995_0011)

(50) *ippe me rou liliu la kep*

ip_A=pe me [tou liliu]_{SVC} la ka-ep
3pl=PFV come give return go.to CLF.food-1pl.EXCL

‘They came and gave (it) back to us.’ (KM060111_0087)

However, *liliu* can also directly follow a (transitive or intransitive) verb as adverb. Since, in those cases, it takes no arguments, there is no argument sharing between *liliu* and the verb that precedes it. These instances are also not SVCs. An example is given below.

(51) *urêno ro pe liliu kou wot*

wurê_A=no to pe liliu [kou]_O wot
1pc.EXCL=IPFV CONT do again fishing go.level

‘We were fishing again for a while.’ (MK060211_0017)

Generally speaking, *liliu* may form a symmetrical SVC when V1 is a verb that entails motion. This can be an intransitive motion verb such as *tet* ‘move; walk’ or *aluk* ‘paddle’, but also a transitive verb that represents a ‘giving’ event (and thus motion of a Theme argument) such as *tou* ‘give, bring’. Alternatively, it may be an adverb. With a verb that does not entail motion in V1 position, *liliu* can only function as an adverb.

9.3 SVCs: conclusions

In what follows, the main conclusions with respect to SVCs will be put forward. This discussion will focus on asymmetrical SVCs, since these are much more common and come in a variety of types.

9.3.1 Formal properties of asymmetrical SVCs

Table 9.6 gives an overview of the types of asymmetrical SVCs encountered and their formal properties. There are some interesting differences between SVCs with directionals on the one hand, and other types of SVCs on the other.

With cause-effect SVCs, the order is iconic, since V1 always represents the cause and V2 the effect. With adverbial SVCs, the modifying V2 always follows V1 which indicates the action. With all asymmetrical SVCs, except the ones with preverbal directionals, the more restricted member always follows the less restricted one. Cause-

Type of SVC	Shared arguments	Valency of components	Transitivity of construction	Constituent order	Contiguous?	Semantics	Productivity	Gramm. word	Phon. word
1a. Cause-effect / resultative	O of V1 = S of V2	V1 transitive V2 stative intr.	transitive	iconic (V1 = cause, V2 = effect)	yes	cause-effect, resultative	semi-productive	yes	no
2. Adverbial	S of V1 = S of V2	V1 transitive or intransitive, V2 intransitive	depends on valency of V1	modifying verb follows	yes	adverbial (in particular manner)	productive	yes	no
3. Increasing valency	S of V1 = A of V2 (new O introduced)	V1 intransitive, V2 transitive	transitive	transitivising verb follows	yes	transitivising	productive	yes	no
4. Posture verb as V2	S of V1 = S of V2	V1 intransitive, V2 intransitive	intransitive	posture verb follows	no	event and permanence; motion and rest	restricted	no	no
5a. Specifying Oblique of intransitive clause	S of V1 = S of V2	V1 intransitive, V2 directional	intransitive	directional follows	no	locative; path	productive	no	no
5b. Specifying Goal of ditransitive clause	O of V1 = S of V2	V1 transitive, V2 directional (intr.)	ditransitive	directional follows	no	animate goal; locative goal	productive	no	no
6. Path of motion of V2	S of V1 = S of V2	V1 directional, V2 transitive or intransitive	depends on valency of V2	directional precedes	no	path	semi?-productive	no	no

Table 9.6 Asymmetrical SVCs

effect, adverbial and valency-increasing SVCs are always contiguous: bound object pronouns always follow V2, and no adverbs or other elements can be situated between them.

Cause-effect SVCs and SVCs specifying an Oblique argument in a ditransitive clause are of the switch-subject type, whereas all other SVCs are of the same-subject type. The difference between the two switch-subject types is the position of the O argument. With the former, the O argument always follows V2, whereas with the latter type, it is placed between V1 and V2. SVCs with directionals are set apart from other types of SVC because they do not need to be contiguous and their restricted elements are subjected to grammaticalisation rather than lexicalisation. As shown below, they may also behave differently when it comes to nesting of SVCs and derivational processes.

Members of SVCs cannot be negated or questioned separately. If this is attempted, a biclausal construction, with sometimes a different meaning, is the result (cf. (52e)). In that case, the subject needs to be cross-referenced on each verb and the construction is no longer a SVC. Below, an example is given with a cause-effect SVC, but this condition applies to all SVC types.

(52a) *nganeng pui pwayap*

nga_A=[neng pui]_{SVC} [pwayap]_O
 1sg=step.on be.soft pawpaw
 ‘I stood on the pawpaw, thereby crushing it.’

(52b) *ngamaneng pui pwayap pwên*

nga_A=ma=[neng pui]_{SVC} [pwayap]_O pwên
 1sg=NEG₁=step.on be.soft pawpaw NEG₂
 ‘I did not stand on the pawpaw and crush it.’ [i.e. the entire action ‘stand-crush’ did not take place]

(52c) **nganeng mapui pwayap pwên*

*nga_A=[neng ma=pui]_{SVC} [pwayap]_O pwên
 1sg=step.on NEG₁=be.soft pawpaw NEG₂
 Intended: ‘I stood on the pawpaw without crushing it.’

(52d) *ngamaneng pwên pui pwayap

*nga_A=ma=[neng pwên pui]_{SVC} [pwayap]_O

1sg=NEG₁=step.on NEG₂ be.soft pawpaw

Intended: 'I crushed the pawpaw, not by standing on it.'

(52e) nganeng pwayap a imapui pwên

nga_A=neng [pwayap]_O a yi=ma=pui pwên

1sg=step.on pawpaw and 3sg=NEG₁=be.soft NEG₂

? 'I stood on the pawpaw/climbed the pawpaw tree and it was not soft.'

(52f) *woneng pui le pal pwayap?

*wo=[neng pui]_{SVC} le pal pwayap

2sg=step.on be.soft or break pawpaw

Intended: 'Did you step on and crush, or crack the pawpaw?'

(52g) *woneng le yek pui pwayap?

*wo=neng le [yek pui]_{SVC} pwayap

2sg=step.on or hit be.soft pawpaw

Intended: 'Did you step on, or hit and crush the pawpaw?'

The following sentence shows a good example of the difference between juxtaposed and coordinated predicates on the one hand, and SVCs on the other. The clause consists of two subordinate clauses within the first main clause, which is coordinated with two other main clauses. Each predicate has to be preceded by a separate instance of the irrealis prefix. The serialised verbs, within a single predicate, do not each receive a prefix.

(53) pian te igat naluai re ipkano ret lak, kano la yil, a kano si a kano apui ngan

[pian te yi=gat naluai [te ip=ka-no [tet lak]_{SVC}]_{SC1}

good SUB 3sg=have garden.food SUB 3pl=IRR.NS-IPFV move go

[ka-no [la yil=Ø]_{SVC}]_{SC2}]_{MC1} a [ka-no si]_{MC2}

IRR.NS-IPFV go.to dig=3sg.ZERO and IRR.NS-IPFV come.down

a [ka-no [apui=Ø nganØ]_{SVC}]_{MC3}
 and IRR.NS-IPFV cook=3sg.ZERO eat=3sg.ZERO

‘It is good that there is garden food, for they could go and dig (it) up, and (they) could come down, cook (it) and eat (it).’ (WL020611_0067)

9.3.2 Combinations of more than two verbs

Occasionally, a sequence of three or more verbs is attested. These sequences can in fact always be analysed as one SVC (of two verbs) which is nested inside another SVC, i.e. a SVC which is serialised with a third verb. In other cases, a semi-lexicalised collocation (see Section 9.1.1) is serialised with another verb. The following sentences show some examples:

(54) *imainap yamat kipe yop sangtou pwên*

yi=ma=inap yamat ki-pe [yop sang.tou]_{SVC} pwên
 3sg=NEG₁=able person IRR.3SG-PFV jump cross NEG₂

‘It was not possible that people could jump over them.’ (LM190611_0016)

(55) *ip silal leo ipno si wau lêp pat teo*

[ip silal te-yo]_A ip=no [si [wau lêp]_{SVC}]_{SVC}
 3pl spirit EMP-DEM.INT 3pl=IPFV come.down move take

[pat te-yo]_O

bed EMP-DEM.INT

‘The spirits, they were walking down to the shore carrying the bed.’

(LM190611_0026)

In example (54), *sang tou* is a lexicalised idiom with *tou*. This in turn is serialised with the main verb *yop* ‘jump’. *yop* most often occurs with another verb following it in a symmetrical SVC, but it is attested by itself. The external SVC can be regarded as an adverbial SVC with *yop* as V1 and *sang tou* as V2. The internal hierarchy of *yop sang tou* shows that sequences with *tou* (see Section 9.1.1) are indeed more compound-like, and can function on a par with single verbs in SVCs. In example (55), *wau lêp* is a valency-increasing SVC as discussed in Section 9.1.4. This productive SVC is in its

turn serialised with a directional. Again, there appears to be a hierarchy, since *si* could not, for instance, occur between the two components *wau* and *lêp*. Within productive SVCs, there is a difference between SVCs that have to be contiguous and SVCs that do not. The former will be nested inside the latter (i.e. the valency-increasing SVC is nested inside the directional SVC). More lexicalised and more iconic combinations will be nested inside more grammaticalised combinations, and not the other way around.

9.3.3 Grammaticalisation of SVC components

Although we have seen mainly lexicalisation of SVCs or their components in the above, parts of asymmetrical SVCs may also be the subject of grammaticalisation, in particular if they are from a small restricted class. In time, the meaning of some verbs used as V2 in cause-effect/resultative or adverbial SVCs may have been extended and may have obtained a more aspectual meaning, i.e. the second verb of such a SVC may grammaticalise into an aspect marker (cf. *nêm* discussed in Section 6.2.2.1).

From Section 9.1.6.2, it is clear that with regard to the marking of Oblique and Goal constituents, Paluai directionals are used in much the same way as adpositions are used in many other languages. The question is whether the directionals are on a grammaticalisation cline towards full-fledged prepositions. There are a number of facts in opposition to this, however, such as the fact that they can still be used as main verbs. Durie (1988, p. 5) mentions that if a verb is used independently, this ‘inhibits semantic bleaching and subsequent reanalysis’. Another indication that directionals are still verbs is the fact that the Oblique or Goal argument they introduce still needs to be marked by *a-*, *ta-* or *ka-*, like any other Oblique.

When a directional is serialised with an intransitive verb without governing a constituent, it merely modifies the verb like an adverbial would do (but, with the destination of the motion understood), and when it is serialised with a transitive verb, there is a switch-subject SVC, with the O argument of V1 functioning as the S of V2. Moreover, it seems that the directionals are still predominantly used as V2 in serialisations when a genuine sense of motion on a horizontal plane is present. A case in point is the contrast between (38) and (39), where the semantics of the main verb *tou* ‘put’ entail motion on a horizontal plane, but the semantics of the main verb *top* ‘drop’ may not.

An argument in favour of grammaticalisation is that directionals are currently not only used for large-scale motion events which are clearly either directed towards, parallel to, or away from the shore and can thus be related to the cardinal directions quite easily, but also for small-scale motion events, where the ‘level’ component of their meaning mainly refers to movement up or down a vertical cline, as is the case in sentences (37) and (38). It could be argued that this is an example of semantic bleaching and extension/context generalisation, two principal mechanisms involved in grammaticalisation (Heine & Kuteva, 2002, p. 2). It is likely that each directional has two lexical entries: one as full verb, with the full lexical semantics of ‘to move uphill away from deictic centre’ etc., and one as grammaticalised directional particle, with a more generalised meaning ‘upwards away from deictic centre’ etc. This is very common cross-linguistically. There is, however, no formal difference apparent between two varieties of the same directional, except for the pairs *la/lak* and *sa/sak* mentioned previously. And to be precise, this is not a formal difference between a main verb and a particle: also when used as full verbs, these items have a short form when they introduce a constituent, such as in *yi=la panu* ‘he went home’. The crucial matter is whether or not the directional introduces another element, and not whether or not it is a main verb. In addition, sentences like (25), where *sot* ‘go up’ is used to indicate landward direction for the downwards motion of vomiting, indicate that the absolute dimension can still be relevant even for small-scale movements.

Another argument that may support the claim that directionals are grammaticalising towards prepositions is the fact that they are not obligatorily cross-referenced by subject bound pronouns, and thus generally carry no verbal morphology. This would be in line with a third principle of grammaticalisation: decategorialisation. Verbal categories such as the subject bound pronoun and TAM and irrealis marking are usually expressed only once per VP, and do not have to be repeated on each verb, as in some other Oceanic languages. With switch-subject directional SVCs, however (type 5b in Table 9.6), the directional V2 is considered to be placed outside of the VP because it follows the O argument in case this is overtly expressed. In these cases, one may expect a subject bound pronoun, since the serialised verb forms a new VP. The fact that there is no bound pronoun indicates that the directional may have grammaticalised into a more preposition-like form, as is the case in other Oceanic languages. However, if a subject bound pronoun would be present, the sequence would have to be analysed as biclausal and would not classify as a SVC.

An exception to the general claim that directionals have not fully grammaticalised towards prepositions may be the use of *la* as a marker of adverbial phrases, discussed in Section 3.6.2.2. This use of *la* could have developed from its use as a change-of-state marking copula ‘become’ (see Section 7.7.2). It is quite possible that in these cases, *la* is reanalysed as a non-verbal form, and thus is not part of a SVC. For more about *la* and its grammaticalisation paths, see also Schokkin (2014b).

9.3.4 SVCs as grammatical and phonological words

Grammatical wordhood of SVCs is relatively straightforward. When a SVC can be replaced in the same slot by another (single) verb, this indicates that it is a grammatical word. This is the case for valency-increasing SVCs (*wau lêp* could e.g. be replaced by *yokat* ‘carry’) and cause-effect SVCs, which could be replaced by a causative construction. With adverbial SVCs, grammatical wordhood is not certain; in any case, the adverbial V2 could be left out and the sentence would still be grammatical. The remaining types of SVC do not form grammatical words: they cannot be replaced by a single verb.

SVCs do not form phonological words, except for the most lexicalised instances. From *nêk tou* ‘to grab’, discussed in Section 9.1.1, the nominalisation *nêktouan* can be derived with the suffix *-an*. Since it is nominalised as an entity, it probably forms one phonological word. As was explained, however, *nêk tou* does not classify as a SVC, since neither of the parts is attested independently. There is limited evidence of derivation from other semi-lexicalised SVCs, such as the adjective *yopayison* ‘slippery’ derived from *yop ayit* ‘to slip’. These processes are very marginal, however, and not productive. Most importantly, they only occur with verb sequences that are far on the lexicalisation cline, such as *nêk tou* and *yop ayit*.

Reduplication always affects only one element of a SVC. Reduplication of V1 has either a durative or a nominalising function, just as ‘regular’ reduplication of a single verb (see Section 3.3.2.1.2.2). Reduplication of V2, on the other hand, appears to have an intensifying function. Below, some examples of SVCs with one of their elements reduplicated are given.

- (56) *sok tou* ‘to tie’ → *soksok tou* ‘be tangled’
 tok si ‘sit down’ → *toktok si* ‘sitting’ (N)

wau pit ‘gather’ → *wauwau pit* ‘gathering’ (N)
yek pui ‘crush’ → *yek puipui* ‘beat to a pulp’
arei mat ‘bite dead’ → *arei matmat* ‘mangle’

Because derivational processes do not affect SVCs as a whole, it can be concluded that SVCs do not form phonological words. Cause-effect, adverbial and valency-increasing SVCs therefore are a part of the language where the phonological and the grammatical word do not coincide: in these cases, one grammatical word is made up of two different phonological words.

Chapter 10 Speech act distinctions and polarity

In this chapter, two categories which do not relate only to the VP, but to a higher level of organisation such as the clause or the sentence, will be discussed. These are mood (the grammatical expression of a particular kind of speech act) and polarity (positive or negative value of a proposition).

10.1 Mood

Three moods can be distinguished: declarative, imperative and interrogative. Each type of mood is connected to a type of speech act: declarative mood for a statement, imperative mood for a command, and interrogative mood for a question (cf. Dixon, 2012). Paluai does not have morphological marking of either type of mood, nor is mood distinguished by grammatical means such as constituent order. Mood is mainly indicated by means of prosody, with different intonation patterns for a question, a command or a statement. In addition, grammatical criteria for declarative and imperative clauses are slightly different, and content questions can be recognised by the presence of a question word. In what follows, features of declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences will be discussed, with special attention to the latter two and where they diverge from declarative ones, which can be considered the unmarked or default option.

10.1.1 Interrogative mood

Interrogative mood applies to the speech act ‘question’, which is an information-seeking speech act. Three types of questions can be distinguished: content questions, polar questions and tag questions. These will be discussed in turn.

10.1.1.1 Content questions

Content questions contain an interrogative word (a question marker) which inquires about a particular object or proposition (see Section 4.7 for an overview of question markers and what type of element they query). The interrogative word remains in situ, i.e. it occupies the same syntactic slot as the constituent inquired about would in the

declarative counterpart of the question. Content questions are thus recognisable by the presence of an interrogative word, and also by a specific intonation contour which differs from declarative statements (see also Section 2.3.2 on intonation). In short, pitch rises and falls sharply on the penultimate or final element of the interrogative prosodic unit. The part of the prosodic unit on which the pitch rises and falls seems to be dependent on the element the query focuses on. As in other languages, such as English, the focused element will be stressed. The question ‘What are you doing?’ can be realised in two ways (with the stressed element printed in boldface):

- (1) *oro pe sa?*
 wo_A=to pe [sa]_O
 2sg=CONT do/make what
 (a) [oro pe **sə**] ‘**What** are you doing?’
 (b) [oro **pɛ** sə] ‘What are you **doing**?’

Thus, although (1a) and (1b) query the same thing (the object of the V *pe* ‘to do’), in (1a) the focus lies on the nature or result of the action, while in (1b) the focus lies on the action itself (see Section 12.3.4 for more on the pragmatic category ‘focus’). Since *pe* is ambiguous between ‘do’ and ‘make’, (1a) is more likely to be interpreted as questioning the identity of an object that the addressee is producing, rather than questioning an action of the addressee. In more familiar languages like English, a sentence like (1b) could for instance be uttered when the speaker is dismayed about seeing the addressee doing something s/he doesn’t agree with. This doesn’t seem to be the case in Paluai: whether the pitch rise and fall is located on the interrogative word (which is usually sentence-final) or the element preceding it seems not to be dependent on speaker attitude, but may have to do with the pragmatic context.

The sentences below give a number of examples of content questions with *sê* ‘who’. The type of interrogative word determines the type of clause it is usually found in. *sa* ‘what’ and *sê* ‘who’, which question identity of objects or persons respectively, will usually be found in a non-verbal predicate (see Chapter 7 for a discussion). They query the identity of a NP, which will form the VCC of the verbless clause that provides the answer to the content question. The NP referring to the queried entity will be represented as VCS, and is often topicalised and thus left-dislocated, as in (2) (see

Section 12.3.3 for more on this). In that case, a pronoun copy is often preceding the interrogative word, which forms the predicate head in the VCC.

(2) *i reo, i sê?*

[yi te-yo]_{VCS} yi [sê]_{VCC}
 3sg EMP-DEM.INT 3sg who
 ‘She there, who is she?’ (052b_0009)

(3) *tarepwo ran sê?*

[ta-te-pwo]_{VCS} [ta-n sê]_{VCC}
 DEF-EMP-DEM.PROX POSS-PERT who
 ‘Whose is this?’ (WL020611_0044)

(4) *puyunum teo ran sê?*

[puyunum te-yo]_{VCS} [ta-n sê]_{VCC}
 toilet EMP-DEM.INT POSS-PERT who
 ‘The toilet, whose is it?’ (052b_0268)

samai- ‘what of’, questioning part-whole and kinship relations, and *samnon* ‘how many’, questioning quantities, also usually form the predicate of a verbless clause. Two examples are given below. The answer to questions with these will be a (directly possessed) kinship or body part term or a numeral respectively, and will also form the VCC of a verbless clause.

(5) *Pokut i samaim?*

[Pokut]_{VCS} yi [samai-m]_{VCC}
 P. 3sg what.of-2sg.PERT
 ‘How is Pokut related to you?’ [*lit.* ‘What is Pokut of you?’] (052b_0015)

(6) *kerin tao samnon?*

[kerin ta-o]_{VCS} [samnon]_{VCC}
 year POSS-2sg how.many
 ‘How old are you?’ [*lit.* ‘How many (are) your years?’]

pari ai sa and *tenepa* question relations between propositions: *pari ai sa* questions purpose (see (7)), and *tenepa* questions manner (see (8)). They are not verbal forms, since they cannot take subject bound pronouns or TAM particles, and thus form the predicate head of a verbless clause. Since they are not questioning entities but propositions, the answer to this type of content question will not be the VCC of a relational verbless clause, but an entire (verbal) predicate. *tenepa* can also question manner of an action (introduced by *la*).

(7) *tareo pari ai sa?*

[ta-te-yo]_{vcs} [pari a-i sa]_{vcc}
 DEF-EMP-DEM.INT belonging.to at-3sg what

‘What is all this for?’ / ‘What’s the purpose of this?’ (LL030611_0043)

(8) *tarepwo renepa?*

[ta-te-pwo]_{vcs} [tenepa]_{vcc}
 DEF-EMP-DEM.PROX how

‘How/why is this (happening)?’ (LK100411_0094)

For more about the meaning difference between (*la*) *tenepa* and *la sa*, see Section 4.7.5. *la sa* ‘how’ questions manner of an action described by a verb, and will occur as an adverbial phrase modifying this verb, as in (9). *pa* ‘where’ and *kapi* ‘when’ question place and time, respectively, and will also occur as adverbial modifiers to verbal predicates (see (10) and (11)), unless they are used in an elliptical question ‘When?’ or ‘Where?’, *pa* will usually occur with either *la* ‘to go’ or *to* ‘to be’, whereas *kapi* will be modifying a verb describing an event of which the speaker wants to know when it happened or will happen.

(9) *auro pangai la sa?*

au_s=to [pangai]_{vp} [la sa]
 2du=CONT think how

‘What do you (2) think?’ (OBK040311_0106)

(10) *pwai rao ra Ngi tepwo, ila pa?*

[pwai ta-o ta-Ngi te-pwo]_S yi=[la]_{VP} a-pa
 cousin POSS-2sg DEF-Ngi EMP-DEM.PROX 3sg=go.to at-where
 ‘Your cousin Ngi, where did he go?’ (052b_0313)

(11) *Ponaun kipe angou kapi?*

[Ponaun]_S ki-[pe angou]_{VP} kapi
 P. IRR.3sg-PFV arrive when
 ‘When will Ponaun arrive?’

10.1.1.2 Polar questions

A polar question essentially contains a proposition for which the speaker seeks confirmation or rejection. This type of question is often called ‘yes/no question’, because it can be answered with ‘yes’ or ‘no’, but in reality it is often answered by a positive or negative (or neutral/undecided) response in another form; therefore the term ‘polar’ is more suitable (cf. Dixon, 2012). In Paluai, constituent order of polar questions is no different from that of statements, nor are they morphologically marked. The only way to distinguish them from statements is by prosodic cues: polar questions have a sharp rise and fall in pitch on the final element, in contrast to statements, which show gradually falling pitch (see Section 2.3.2 for more). Below, a few examples of polar questions are given.

(12) *ogat kel?*

wo_A=gat [kel]_O
 2sg=have canoe
 ‘Do you have a canoe?’ (052b_0302)

(13) *igat nik laro net pulek?*

yi_A=gat [nik]_O la to net pulêek
 3sg=have fish go.to be sea too
 ‘Is there fish in the sea too?’ (052b_0308)

A variety of the polar question is the ‘alternative question’, where the two possible answers are already given by a coordinated clause *le pwên* ‘or not’ or *le papwên* ‘or not yet’.

(14) *au_A kanesek tultul sesap le pwên?*

au_A=pwa ka-nesek tultul [sesap]_o le pwên
 2du=want.to IRR.NS-reveal advice something or NEG
 ‘Do you (2) want to give some advice, or not?’ (OBK040311_0162)

(15) *tinang, ngainap ai songan um le papwên?*

tina-ng ngas=inap a-yi song-an wumwa le
 mother-1sg.PERT 1sg=able at-3sg run.away-NOM house or

 papwên
 not.yet
 ‘Mother, am I ready for marriage or not yet?’ (KW290611_0031)¹

It is possible that for alternative questions, the prosodic rules are less strict, since it is clear from the coordinated clause with *le* ‘or’ that an interrogative meaning is indicated.

10.1.1.3 Tag questions

A tag question is in fact not a question, but rather a statement for which the speaker seeks confirmation (and expects that this confirmation will be given). Tag questions in Paluai end with the tag particle *e* [ɛ] and have an intonation pattern which differs markedly from “regular” questions, both content and polar. On the tag, there is a dip in the pitch contour: it falls sharply and then rises again. Thus, only the actual interrogative part, the tag, has a pitch contour which differs from that of statements. There is also a slight pause between the statement and the tag. The tag can be translated with English ‘right?’ or ‘isn’t it?’ or Tok Pisin *laka*. The following sentence gives an example.

¹ The V + N collocation *song wumwa* (lit. ‘run away house’) is used to refer to getting married. The reason for this expression, as people told me, is that the woman leaves her own house and moves in with her husband’s family (patrilocal system), and thus literally ‘runs away from’ her house.

(16) *arêan yong, e?*

arê_A=an yong e
2pc=PRF hear TAG

‘You have heard (it), right?’ (PK290411_1_0049)

In addition, a particle *osa* is sometimes found at the end of statements. Since it contains the element *sa*, it probably has an interrogative-like function. It seems to be used as a discourse particle similar to a tag, but with a strong rhetorical function, as in the examples below.

(17) *iro pwa, “parian osa?”*

yi_A=to pwa [paria-n osa]_{Compl:O}
3sg=HAB think wife-PERT TAG

‘He used to think, “She is his wife, after all.”’ (WL020711_0055)

(18) *mui iro gat kamou ran ngoyai osa?*

[mui]_A yi=to gat [kamou]_O ta-n ngoyai osa
dog 3sg=HAB have speech POSS-PERT possum TAG

‘After all, the dog has a conflict with the possum.’ (LL010711_0089)

It seems that *osa* is used to mark information that is self-evident and beyond any doubt, and thus marks a strong rhetorical question: a question that cannot be answered negatively and is used to reinforce the point of view of the speaker. Examples (17) and (18) indicate that all things considered, it is evident that siblings’ spouses have to be respected, and that dogs and possums are in an antagonistic relationship with each other.

10.1.2 Imperative mood

Imperative mood pertains to the speech act type ‘command’. As with interrogative mood, there is no morphological or periphrastic marking of imperative mood (except for negative imperative, which is expressed either by the marker *napunan* or the modal particle *sa* and negative polarity – see below). Second person imperatives are most frequent. There are no examples of any first person imperatives in the data (although

there are a few examples of first person negative imperatives). There may be a number of constructions which can be analysed as third person imperatives, but these are rare.

10.1.2.1 Regular second person imperatives: commands and requests

Context (which can contain non-linguistic cues such as hand gestures) and prosodic cues (such as tone of voice, loudness, possibly pitch) are usually the only means of distinguishing imperative from declarative mood. There are two exceptions to this. Firstly, in second person singular imperatives the subject bound pronoun can be omitted, which is not the case for declaratives.² Some examples:

(19) *toksi!*

tok.si

sit.down

‘Sit down!’

(20) *ipwa, “mwêk.” tareo ipul me rang*

yi _A =pwa	[mwêk] _{Comp:O}	[ta-te-yo] _O	yi _A =pul=Ø	me
3sg=say	be.quiet	DEF-EMP-DEM.INT	3sg=say=3sg.ZERO	come

[ta-ng]_E

POSS-1sg

‘He said, “Be quiet.” That, he told me.’ (LL030611_0044)

Often, though, the bound pronoun is included in the imperative, as in the following example:³

(21) *wola lêp kong payanpôl sip te ila ro arelo me*

wo _A =la	lêp	[ka-ng	payan.pôl	sip
2sg=go.to	take	CLF.food-1sg	dry.coconut	one.INANIM

² For other numbers within second person, a bound pronoun has to be added in order to specify number reference.

³ Since reality status is not marked for 2sg, this sentence is ambiguous between a realis and irrealis reading. Since it refers to an unrealised event, it is probably irrealis.

[te yi=la to a-te-lo]_{RC}]_O me
REL 3sg=go.to be at-EMP-DEM.DIST come
‘You go and take my dry coconut (for me to eat) that is over there (and) bring
it here.’ (LK 100411_0063)

Secondly, in imperatives which contain a directional SVC (see Section 9.1.6), V1 is often elided, something which would not be acceptable for a declarative sentence. Examples are given below.⁴

(22) *sip pame me!*

[sip pame]_O me
one.INANIM betel.nut come
‘Give me one betel nut!’ [*lit.* ‘one betel nut come’]

(23) *samel me!*

[samel]_O me
knife come
‘Give me the knife!’

These instances of imperatives can be considered requests, but they are uttered with the same intonation contour as declaratives. Therefore they are analysed as imperatives rather than interrogatives (in any case, a request can often be regarded as a polite command). The elided verb could possibly be *tou* ‘give’, but this is not certain, since the abovementioned constructions are much more commonly produced than their more elaborate counterparts.

Paluai does not seem to distinguish different politeness levels for imperatives. Commands like the above seem to be quite brusquely stated when they are translated in English, but this is probably not perceived as such by native speakers. It is just that the language doesn’t provide a means to mitigate a direct command by using, for example, a modal and so the structures above are probably perceived as neutral, rather than impolite, by speakers.

⁴ Verb elision is assumed here because the objects requested are inanimate and thus not expected to move by their own volition. Therefore it seems logical to assume an implicit instigator of the action and thus an implicit transitive main verb.

Irrealis clauses, referring to unrealised events, can also have an imperative interpretation, but strictly speaking they are always ambiguous between a declarative and imperative reading. What makes matters more complicated is that reality status is formally unmarked for 2sg. In the following examples, marked for paucal and dual person and thus showing an overt irrealis marker, it is relatively certain that an imperative meaning is intended:

(24) *kay, arê not te arê manak teo, arêkaret la wat liliu; arêkala yikyik*

kay [arê natu te arê manak te-yo]_s arê=ka-tet
 okay 2pc child REL 2pc elder EMP-DEM.INT 2pc=IRR.NS-move

la wat liliu arê=ka-la yik.yik
 go.to up.high again 2pc=IRR.NS-go.to REDUP.search.for

‘Okay, you boys that are grown up, you (will) go up again; you (will) go (in order to) search.’ (NP210511_2_0019)

(25) *auka la liliu um tau*

au_s=ka-la liliu wumwa ta-au
 2du=IRR.NS-go.to return house POSS-2du

‘You two (have to) return to your own house.’ (KM060111_0027)

There do not seem to be grammatical restrictions on the type of verb that is allowed to occur in an imperative clause. Example (20), for instance, shows a stative verb. Semantically and pragmatically, such restrictions are probably there. For example, the stative verb *lot* ‘to fall’ will not generally occur in an imperative clause, but a discourse context is conceivable in which a speaker orders someone to fall on purpose. The stative verb *tet* ‘to grow’ on the other hand, is unlikely to occur in an imperative clause, since things cannot grow on command. (However, this does not necessarily stop speakers from using an imperative, which would be comparable to someone telling his kettle: ‘Boil!’).

10.1.2.2 Negative imperatives

Negative imperatives or prohibitives are accompanied by the marker *napunan* (lit. ‘(it is) forbidden to’), which is related to the noun *napu-* ‘(food) taboo’ (unpossessed form). *napunan* is always clause-initial and the predicate following it is always marked for irrealis. Below, a number of examples are given for second person, first person and third person singular, respectively.

(26) *napunan wosui nik a woyektou to pulen kone*

napunan wo_A=sui [nik]_O a wo=yek.tou to pulen.kone
 NEG.IMP 2sg=catch fish and 2sg=put be sand.beach

‘You are not allowed to catch fish with a line and put it (to stay) on the beach.’

(LL030611_0022)

(27) *napunan kowau la kason nik*

napunan ko_S-wau la kaso-n nik
 NEG.IMP IRR.1sg-move go.to near-PERT fish

‘It was forbidden for me to go near the fish.’ (LL030611_0026)

(28) *napunan aso-om kiro ret touo*

napunan [asoa-m]_A ki-to tet tou=o_O
 NEG.IMP husband-2sg IRR.3sg-CONT move give=2sg

‘Your husband cannot follow you.’ (KS030611_1_0027)

Another way to express a negative imperative is by negation of a *sa* clause. *sa* normally refers to ability, but when negated, the clause can get prohibitive overtones (see also Section 6.5.2.2) and thus the use of *sa* can be regarded a negative imperative strategy. Two examples given in Section 6.5.2.2 are repeated below.

(29) *osa lêpi pwên* [=85]

wo_A=sa lêp=i_O pwên
 2sg=MOD take=3sg NEG

‘You cannot take (= adopt) him [I won’t allow it].’ (LM240611_0046)

(30) *osa yuai naluai pwên* [=86]

wo_A=sa yuai [naluai]_O pwên
 2sg=MOD call garden.food NEG

‘You cannot/should not call out for a tuber to plant.’ (NP220611_1_0024)

This way of phrasing a negative imperative may be a little milder and thus more polite than using *napunan*. However, in the stories that (29) and (30) are taken from, clauses with *napunan* are also used to refer to the same phenomena. Thus, the distinction between the two may be stylistic more than anything else.

10.1.2.3 Wishes and desires as (third person) imperatives?

Wishes and desires can be expressed as a so-called ‘third person imperative’ (Aikhenvald, 2010). Sometimes they have a special grammatical form. In Paluai, some cases of desiderative *pwa* (see Section 6.5.1) could be analysed as third person imperatives. Alternatively, they could be analysed as examples of indirect quotation, as was discussed in Section 6.5.1.

(31) *Kileai ipwa ikila narun* [=76]

Kileai_i yis=pwa [yij=ki-la natu-n_i]_{Compl:Pot}
 K. 3sg=want.to 3sg=IRR.3sg-go.to son-PERT

‘Kileai wanted him to become his son.’ / ‘Kileai wished for him to become his son.’ (OL20011_0045)

(32) *ipwa pulêng kipu maleu*

yis=pwa [pulêng ki-pu maleu]_{Compl:Pot}
 3sg=want.to dawn IRR.3sg-break hurry

‘He wanted the dawn to break soon.’ / ‘He said the dawn should break soon.’

(LM190611_0044)

10.1.3 Dependencies between mood and verbal categories

There are a number of dependencies between mood (a category that relates to the clause) and verbal categories such as aspect, reality status and modality (see Chapter 6). There seem to be no restrictions as to which grammatical categories can be combined with interrogative mood: there are questions attested with marking for irrealis,

imperfective, perfective, perfect, secondary aspect and agentive modality (ability). Interrogative mood is also attested with negative polarity (see Section 10.2.2.4 below).

As mentioned above, content questions are often verbless clauses and will thus not contain any TAM marking. In general, questions seem to be less often marked for perfective or imperfective aspect than statements. This could be explained because a question seeks information about the nature of an event and thus aspect tends to be neutral. An exception are questions about an event which is unfolding in the present, for example ‘What are you doing?’ shown in (1), or (33) shown below. These questions generally carry continuative marking, to indicate that the speaker is seeking information about an action that is ongoing at the here-and-now of the speech event.

(33) *woro ning naêmwan le pwên?*

wo_A=to ning [naêmwa-n]_O le pwên
2sg=CONT see back-PERT or NEG

‘Can you see [*lit.* ‘are you seeing’] his back or not?’ (Game2_280812_0052)

True commands (such as the one shown in (19)) do not show any marking on the verb and thus are not marked for TAM or any other categories. In addition to this, there are clauses marked for irrealis which are ambiguous between a declarative and an imperative reading, such as (24) and (25). These clauses, and utterances which are marked for negative imperative, are always irrealis. Whether the event referred to should or should not happen, for either polarity of imperative it is for certain that it has not been actualised yet and thus still belongs to the realm of thought. Hence, irrealis marking is appropriate. For second person singular, which will be most often used with imperative, irrealis is zero-marked. This means that in these cases the formal difference between a declarative and an imperative is only evident by presence or absence of the bound pronoun (apart from intonation and non-linguistic clues).

10.2 Polarity

Polarity refers to the positive (affirmative) or negative status of a constituent, which can be a phrase, a predicate or an entire clause. A positive realis predicate can be negated by means of the discontinuous particles *ma-* ... *pwên* (see below for details). An irrealis predicate cannot be negated by *ma-*. Instead it takes a modal particle *sa*, with *pwên*

added to the end of the clause. The negation has scope over the material that is located between the two particles *ma-* ... *pwên* or *sa* ... *pwên*. In some cases, only *pwên* is used to negate a non-verbal constituent. *pwên* can also be used by itself as answer to a question.

Negation touches upon every aspect of the grammar, since (in theory) any construction has a potential negative counterpart. In what follows, negative and affirmative answers to polar questions will be discussed first, followed by negation of realis and irrealis predicates, respectively. Existential (and possessive) predicates and their negation will be discussed briefly, followed by the interrelation between negation and verbal categories. Next, non-predicative negation and its peculiarities will be discussed.

10.2.1 Answer to a polar question

pwên can be used as a negative answer to a polar question (see Section 10.1.1.2). It can be translated with English ‘no’, but also with ‘nothing’:

- (34) *woro pe sa?* – *pwên*
 wo_A=to pe [sa]_O pwên
 2sg=CONT do what NEG
 ‘What are you doing?’ – ‘Nothing.’

There is no lexical item to answer a polar question affirmatively (like English ‘yes’), except perhaps the interjection *uu*. An affirmative answer can be given by means of an affirmative sentence, the interjections *ah* [ɛ:], *uu* [u:] or *mmhm* [mhm] together with prosodic cues, or non-linguistic cues such as nodding the head. Increasingly, the Tok Pisin loan *yes* is used as well.

10.2.2 Predicative negation

10.2.2.1 Negation of realis and verbless predicates

Predicative negation in Paluai is discontinuous. With verbal predicates, the bound form *ma-* directly follows the subject bound pronoun, preceding the verb complex, and the particle *pwên* follows the negated predicate. See Chapter 6 for a discussion of verbal

categories and the structure of the affirmative verb phrase. Which exact slot in the VP is filled by *ma-* is not entirely clear. Two analyses are plausible: it either occupies the slot that can also be taken by the irrealis prefix, or it takes the first preverbal TAM slot. An argument for the first analysis is that *ma-* never occurs together with the irrealis prefix. An argument for the second analysis is that *ma-* interferes with the TAM possibilities of the clause: it cannot co-occur with any of the particles that can fill this slot in an affirmative clause, and thus a negated clause cannot be marked for core aspect.⁵ However, *ma-* can also occur with non-verbal predicates, which may indicate that it actually occupies neither of the slots in the VP, but is a component of a different order.

Elements following the verbal predicate, such as objects, complement clauses, adverbial phrases and oblique constituents, occur before *pwên*. It is very easy to determine over precisely which part of the sentence the negation has scope: it is always the material occurring between *ma-* and *pwên*. A non-verbal predicate is negated in the same way, with *ma-* placed between the VCS and VCC and *pwên* following the VCC (see Chapter 7 for more on non-verbal predicates). Any modifiers to the head noun or adjective, such as intensifiers, appear between *ma-* and *pwên*. The following two sentences give examples of a negated verbal and verbless clause, respectively.

(35) *tapmaro ning muyan pwên*

tap_A=**ma**=to ning [muya-n]_O **pwên**

1pl.INCL=NEG₁=HAB see skin-PERT NEG₂

‘We are not seeing (cannot see) his skin.’ (LK250111_0087)

(36) *naman i maaloen pun pwên*

naman yi_S **ma**=aloen pun **pwên**

perhaps 3sg NEG₁=long INTF NEG₂

‘Perhaps it is not very long.’ (KW290311_0029)

In the sentence below, *pwên* appears at the end of the complement clause to *inap* ‘to be able’; the negation thus has scope over the entire predicate including the complement

⁵ The modal particle *sa*, which can also occupy this slot, can function in a negative predicate with just *pwên*. Since *sa* never co-occurs with *ma* this is further evidence that they may occupy the same slot in the VP.

clause. In (38), *pwên* appears at the end of a very long object NP, including several relative clauses. The whole sequence is in the scope of the negation.

(37) *ipmainap kape roui la ai pwên*

ip_A=**ma**=inap [ka-pe tou=i la a-yi]_{Compl:O} **pwên**
 3pl=NEG₁=able IRR.NS-PFV put=3sg go.to at-3sg NEG₂
 ‘They were not able to put him into it.’ (Game1_021012_0490)

(38) *imagat sesap te iro kason te koning wen te kipe ngan pwên*

yi_A=**ma**=gat [sesap [te yi=to kaso-n [te ko-ning
 3sg=NEG₁=have anything REL 3sg=be near-PERT REL IRR.1sg-see

 wen [te ki-pe ngan]]]]_O **pwên**
 move.level REL IRR.3sg-PFV eat NEG₂
 ‘There isn’t anything near to him that I could see that he could eat.’
 (Game1_021012_0074)

In addition, an entire subordinate clause can be in the scope of a negation. In (39), the clause *yi mate kapwa yi pwapwa mangsilan pwên* forms a complement clause to the verb *ning*. In turn, it contains a subordinate clause modifying *ma-*. This type of construction is very rare, however.

(39) *ining pun te i mare kapwa i pwapwa mangsilan pwên*

yi_A=ning pun [te yi=**ma**=[te kapwa yi pwapwa
 3sg=see INTF COMP 3sg=NEG₁=SUB as.if 3sg story

 mangsilan]]_{Compl:O} **pwên**
 meaningless NEG₂
 ‘He truly saw that it was not as if this was a meaningless story.’
 (LK250111_0082)

10.2.2.2 Negation of irrealis predicates

Irrealis predicates can never be negated by the particle *ma-*. Instead, an irrealis clause takes the modal particle *sa*, combined with *pwên* which follows the negated elements. This expresses the meaning that something may not happen in the future. This kind of clause is discussed in Section 6.5.2.3. Negated *sa* predicates (whether marked with irrealis *kV-* or not) do not just get a “neutral” negative meaning but have modal overtones such as ‘not able to’ or ‘not allowed to’.⁶ Below, two examples from Chapter 6 are repeated.

- (40) *ip lau kasa ro ning muyom pwên* [= (83)]
 [ip lau]_A ka-**sa** to ning [muya-m]_O **pwên**
 3pl people IRR.NS-MOD CONT see skin-2sg.PERT NEG
 ‘The people will not be able to see your skin.’ (LK250111_0073)

- (41) *ikisa ningong ai kunawayen pwên* [= (88)]
 yi_A=ki-**sa** ning an-sê=ong_O a-yi
 3sg=IRR.3sg-MOD see piece-small=1sg at-3sg

 kunawaye-n **pwên**
 life-PERT NEG
 ‘She should/ought not (be able to) see me again for the rest of her life.’
 (WL020711_0078)

10.2.2.3 Negation of existential predicates

Existential predicates are discussed in more detail in Section 3.3.1.5. An affirmative existential predicate will often contain the existential verb *tok* ‘to be, to stay, to exist; to sit’. However, these predicates do not seem to be negated by *ma-* ... *pwên*. Rather, to express predicatively that something is *not* there, speakers seem to prefer the Tok Pisin

⁶ In the present-day language, the Tok Pisin loan *inap* ‘be able to’ is frequently used instead of *sa*. *inap*, however, is marked by *ma* and takes a complement clause which is always irrealis (for an example, see (37)). Complement clauses with *inap* are discussed in more detail in Section 11.1.2.5.

loan *yigat* ‘there is’ (often pronounced [ikət] which is more adhering to Paluai phonology) with a 3sg dummy subject *yi-*, which is then negated.⁷

(42) *imagat yon pwên*

*yi*_A=**ma**=gat [yanu]_O **pwên**
 3sg=NEG₁=have water NEG₂
 ‘There was no water.’ (NS220511_1_0032)

(43) *imagat som yamat te iro pwalinganip pwên*

*yi*_A=**ma**=gat [som yamat [te yi=to pwalinga-n-ip]_{RC}]_O
 3sg=NEG₁=have one.ANIM person REL 3sg=be with-PERT-3pl

pwên

NEG₂

‘There was not a single human being who lived among them.’

(LL300511_1_0005)

Alternatively, negation of non-verbal existential predicates can take an elliptical form with only *pwên*. This is discussed below in Section 10.2.3.3.

10.2.2.4 Dependencies between negation and verbal categories

As already mentioned, predicative negation interrelates with several verbal categories. This is mainly due to the particle *ma-*. First of all, *ma-* is incompatible with the irrealis prefix *kV-* and is thus only found with realis predicates. *ma-* can be used to negate verbless predicates, as sentence (36) shows. Secondly, since *ma-* occupies the first slot in the VP, it cannot occur together with the modal particle *sa* or with core aspectual particles *no* (imperfective), *pe* (perfective) and *an* (perfect). Thus, negated predicates are neutralised with respect to core aspect. *ma-* does occur together with the secondary aspectual particles *to* and *tu* (it is not attested in the data together with *yen*, which is much rarer than *tu* and *to*). Since *ma-* occupies the same slot in the VP and interrelates with modality, aspect and reality status, it can be considered part of the TAM system.

⁷ *gat* means ‘to have’ and is also used in this meaning by speakers of Paluai. This section focuses only on the existential *yigat* construction.

pwên, on the other hand, shows no relation to the TAM paradigm or other verbal categories. As we will see below, *pwên* is used, by itself, for non-predicative negation.

Interrogative mood and negative polarity can occur together, as example (44) below shows. This sentence, with interrogative intonation, was used when discussing a picture showing a toy cow positioned on top of the cabin of a toy truck. I assume the speaker tries to express his conviction that in a natural state of affairs, the cow ought to fall off once the truck starts moving, since it is not tied up. Thus, pragmatically this utterance is somewhat marked, since the speaker is mainly expressing surprise at the unusual situation represented in the picture. Questions with negative polarity do not occur very often; usually an alternative question will be used, such as example (14) above.

(44) *ipkaru ret lêpi a isa lot pwên?*

ip_A=ka-tu [tet lêp]=i_O ya yi_S=sa lot pwên
 3pl=IRR.NS-stay move take=3sg then 3sg=MOD fall NEG
 ‘When they are taking him he won’t fall off?!’ (Game1_021012_0485)

An interesting difference between Paluai and related languages on the one hand, and Indo-European languages on the other, is how a question with negative polarity is answered. Answering a negative question affirmatively indicates that the content of the question, the negative proposition, is indeed true. Answering it negatively indicates that the negative proposition is not true. This is exemplified below.

(45a) *tepwo omalai skul pwên? – uu*

te-pwo wo_S=ma=la a-yi skul pwên uu
 EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=NEG₁=go.to at-3sg school NEG₂ yes
 ‘You didn’t go to school today?’ – ‘Yes (indeed, I didn’t go to school).’

(45b) *tepwo omalai skul pwên? – pwên*

te-pwo wo_S=ma=la a-yi skul pwên pwên
 EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=NEG₁=go.to at-3sg school NEG₂ NEG
 ‘You didn’t go to school today?’ – ‘No (I did go to school).’

10.2.3 Non-predicative negation

For non-predicative negation, the particle *ma-* is not used. First, a negative adverbial phrase which can modify a verb will be discussed. After that, the discussion will turn to negation of possessive constructions and nominal phrases.

10.2.3.1 Negative adverbial phrase *la pwên*

The phrase *la pwên* means ‘in vain’. In the data, this phrase is only attested in combination with SVCs which have a transitive V1 and *lêp* as V2. In its turn, this SVC is only attested modified by *la pwên*. The directional *la* ‘go to’ is used to form adverbial phrases from adjectives (see Section 3.6.2.2); the phrase *la pwên* may be comparable to these adverbial phrases. Its English counterpart, after all, also contains an adverbial.

(46) *iyik lêp tina la pwên*

yi_A=[yik lêp] [tina-n]_O [la pwên]

3sg=search.for take mother-PERT go.to NEG

‘He searched in vain for his mother.’ [*lit.* ‘He did not search-get his mother.’]

(KW290611_0054)

(47) *ma urêkol lêpi la pwên pun*

ma wurê_A=kol lêp=i_O [la pwên] pun

but 1pc.EXCL=wait.for take=3sg go.to NEG INTF

‘But we waited for him in vain.’ [*lit.* ‘But we did not wait-get him at all.’]

(NP210511_2_0025)

Importantly, the phrase *la pwên* only negates the second part of the SVC, *lêp*: what the sentences mean is that searching or waiting was done, but that it was without result. As discussed in Chapter 9, elements of SVCs cannot be negated separately in the usual way, with *ma-* ... *pwên*. It seems that this construction is a means to circumnavigate this restriction.

10.2.3.2 Negation of possessive constructions

Alienable possession is often expressed by a verbless clause which contains the possessive particle *ta-*, suffixed for person and number of the possessor (see Section

4.2.3.1). A verbless clause can be negated in the same way as a verbal predicate, with *ma-* ... *pwên*, as is shown in (36) above for a relational clause that does not relate to possession. Below, an example of a negated possessive verbless clause is given.

- (48) *panu repwo marao pwên*
 [panua te-pwo]_{VCS} ma=[ta-o]_{VCC} pwên
 place EMP-DEM.INT NEG₁=POSS-2sg NEG₂
 ‘This place is not yours.’ (NP210511_2_0057)

However, possessive constructions with *ta-* are sometimes negated slightly differently, without *ma-* present. Here, *pwên* seems to negate the NP that forms either the VCS or the VCC. A number of examples of negated possessive phrases in the data are shown below.

- (49) *som not mwen pwên tai*
 [som natu mwen]_{VCS} pwên [ta-i]_{VCC}
 one.ANIM child man NEG POSS-3sg
 ‘He didn’t have any sons.’ [*lit.* ‘no male child (was) his’] (LM240611_0029)

- (50) *i reo pwên tararap tole*
 [yi te-yo]_{VCS} pwên [ta-tap]_{VCC} tole
 3sg EMP-DEM.INT NEG POSS-1pl.INCL EMP
 ‘This (snake) does not exist here [*lit.* ‘is not ours’] for sure.’
 (Game1_021012_0090)

In (49), it seems that *pwên* modifies the NP *som not mwen* that forms the VCS, since the net meaning is ‘he has no male child’. In (50), however, it appears that *pwên* modifies the VCC. It is unclear why *pwên* follows the VCS, but precedes the VCC. It is possible that (50) is an elliptical existential construction, and *pwên* would be modifying a main verb *tok* ‘to be; to exist’. In any case, these constructions are rather marginal in the present-day language, since expression of both possessive and existential meanings has largely been taken over by the Tok Pisin loan *gat*, which is negated in the “regular” way with *ma-* ... *pwên*. For an example of a negated existential use of *gat*, see (42) and (43)

above. A possessive example, in the form of an often-heard complaint, can be found below.

(51) *ngamagat pame pwên*

nga_A=ma=gat [pame]_O pwên
 1sg=NEG₁=have betel.nut NEG₂
 ‘I don’t have any betel nut.’

10.2.3.3 Negated noun phrases

NPs are negated without *ma-* preceding them, but only modified by *pwên*. As such, they can form a core argument in an elliptic predicate, or a truncated relative clause (i.e. a relative clause that does not contain a verb). Below, some examples are given. Sentences (52), (53) and (54) show negated NPs that function as S argument in a truncated relative clause. (55) and (56) show negated NPs that function as S argument in clauses from which the verb is elided.

(52) *...sômsômu re kanen pwên?*

[sômsômu_i [te [kane-n_i pwên]_{S?}]_{RC}
 plate REL meat-PERT NEG
 ‘(Is it) the plate (on) which (there is) no food [*lit.* ‘meat’]?’
 (Game1_021012_0281)

(53) *kapwa owot tou mwal sip nop te naluai pwên ai...*

kapwa wo_A=wot [tou mwal] [sip nop_i [te
 if 2sg=go.level give move.over one.INANIM mound REL

[naluai pwên]_S a-yi_i]_{RC}]_O
 garden.food NEG at-3sg

‘If you cross a mound (on) which (there is) no tuber...’ (NP220611_1_0024)

(54) *a i re nganngan pwên ai...*

a yi_i [te [nganngan pwên]_S a-yi_i]_{RC}
 and 3sg REL food NEG at-3sg

‘And the one (in) which (there is) no food...’ (Game1_021012_0319)

(55) ...*ma i re maran pwên ai*

ma i te [mata-n pwên]_s a-yi
but eye-PERT NEG at-3sg

‘...but (there is) no lid [*lit.* ‘eye’] on it.’ (Game1_021012_0313)

(56) *sesap pwên lalon*

[sesap pwên]_s lalo-n
anything NEG inside-PERT

‘(There’s) nothing inside it.’ (Game1_021012_0316)

It is possible that these examples are all negative existentials, and the fact that there is no verb elision is because this is how negative existentials are structured (or, alternatively, *pwên* could be a verb in this type of construction). As explained above, however, these constructions are now marginal and the Tok Pisin loan *gat* (a verb) is used to construct negative existentials. Because of the lack of data, there is no conclusive evidence based on which the structure of Paluai negative existentials can be determined.

Sometimes, negated NPs become lexicalised; examples of this are shown in the table below. These phrases are most commonly used predicatively, and not as noun modifiers. They can be used next to a generic noun to make a further specification, for example in *muyou ken pwên* ‘death adder’ (*lit.* ‘snake leg-PERT NEG’).

mara-n pwên	blind; blunt (eye-PERT NEG)
layenga-n pwên	deaf (ear-PERT NEG)
kolo-n pwên	mute (mouth-PERT NEG)
ke-n pwên	legless (<i>lit.</i> ‘leg-PERT NEG’)
tama-n pwên	(eldest) son of deceased person during mourning (<i>lit.</i> ‘father-PERT NEG’)

Table 10.1 Some lexicalised negative phrases

It is quite likely that *pwên* has verbal origins. There is a lexical verb *pepwên* which means ‘to be finished, be empty’ which may be related to *pwên*. This may be the reason why there is no existential or posture verb present in examples (52)-(56) above. Although a NP can function as head of a relational verbless predicate, the examples above are locational rather than relational (as is evident from the locative preposition *a-* being present in some of them), and therefore would normally require the presence of *to(k)* ‘to be, to exist’. *pwên* may have formed a SVC with a main lexical verb. The preverbal negation marker *ma-*, on the other hand, is probably not verbal in origin, but may be related to the contrastive clause connector ‘but’ (see Chapter 11 for more).

10.2.4 Inherently negative lexemes

Paluai does not have any morphological means to derive a negative lexeme from a positive one, such as English prefixes *un-* and *in-* which derive “negated” adjectival meanings (*un-friendly* (‘not friendly’), *in-sane* (‘not sane’) etc.) and *dis-* which derives negated verbal meanings (*dis-like* (‘not like’)). Negation of an adjectival form can only be done periphrastically when the adjective is used predicatively, as for example in *ma-pian pwên* ‘not good’. There are a small number of lexemes which could be considered inherently negative. A number of examples are given below. In most cases, it can be argued whether they are in fact inherently negative. Some, such as *palak*, *papui* and *pamat*, do have antonyms, which in the case of the latter two also seem to be morphologically related. But often it seems to be a bit arbitrary to name one of a pair of lexical antonyms ‘positive’ and the other ‘negative’. For instance, *alive* could be considered ‘positive’ and *dead* ‘negative’, when LIVING is seen as the defining criterion. However, this reasoning could also be turned around easily with DEAD as the defining criterion. The decision which criterion is more important or valid is arbitrary. And even with more straightforward morphological means such as English *un-* mentioned above, things don’t always work out: an “undead” person is most definitely not considered to be alive, in the usual sense.

Form	Word class	Meaning	Comments
kasiek	Adv	incorrectly	
mangsilan	A	meaningless	
pamat	A	raw; uncooked	cf. <i>mwat</i> ‘cooked’
palak	A, N, V	(be) bad, wrong, rotten; evil	
papui	A	unripe	cf. <i>pui</i> ‘soft, ripe’
pokon	A	undeveloped, not grown (of coconut)	
puleau	A	unusual	
sapeyek	Adv	not in a straight line	

Table 10.2 Some possible ‘inherently negative’ lexemes

10.2.5 Intensification and moderation of negated clauses

Negation can be intensified by the general intensifier *pun* placed outside the scope of the negation, following the negated elements. This yields the meaning ‘not at all’:

(57) *ma urêkol lêpi la pwên pun*

ma wurê_A=[kol lêp]=i_O [[la pwên] pun]
 but 1pc.EXCL=wait.for take=3sg go.to NEG INTF

‘But we waited for him in vain.’ [*lit.* ‘But we did not wait-get him at all.’]

(NP210511_2_0025)

Another way to intensify negation is to modify the negated element with a diminutive marker (*n*)*ansê*, inside the scope of the negation, which has intensification as its net result. This type of verbal modifier is only attested in clauses with negative polarity. (*n*)*ansê* occurs in negated clauses with and without *ma*-.

(58) *imaro worup nansê si paye pwên o*

y_{IS}=**ma**=to worup nan-sê si paye **pwên**
 3sg=NEG₁=HAB descend piece-bit come.down down NEG₂

yo

DEM.INT

‘He never climbed down anymore at all.’ (LL010711_0081)

(59) *ngamalêp nansê masiom pwên*

nga_A=**ma**=lêp [nan-sê masia-m]_O **pwên**

1sg=NEG₁=take piece-small appreciation-2sg.PERT NEG₂

‘I don’t appreciate what you did at all.’ [*lit.* ‘I do not take a bit of your appreciation.’] (LL010711_0062)

(60) *ningong nansê pian pwên*

[ninga-ng]_{VCS} [nan-sê pian pwên]_{VCC}

look-1sg.PERT piece-small good NEG

‘I don’t look good at all.’ [*lit.* ‘My looks (are) not a bit good’]
(LL010711_0052)

Conversely, when the negated element is modified by the intensifier *pun*, inside the scope of the negation, the negation is moderated, and the net meaning is ‘not very’.

(61) *naman i maaloen pun pwên*

naman y_{VCS} [**ma**=[aloen pun]_{VCC} **pwên**

perhaps 3sg [NEG₁=long INTF NEG₂

‘Perhaps it is not very long.’ (KW290311_0029)

10.2.6 Ellipsis of *ma-*

The particle *ma-* does not have to be present in elliptical coordinated clauses. Below, two examples are given.

(62) *no Ngi reo ila university; wong tepwo pwên*

no Ngi te-yo y_S=la university

only N. EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=go.to university

wong te-pwo pwên
 1sg.FREE EMP-DEM.PROX NEG
 ‘Only Ngi went to university; I didn’t.’ (OL201210_0127)

(63) *a kei sei re iro minan teo, nansêk to pei a nansêk pwên?*

a kei sei [te yi=to mina-n te-yo]_{RC}
 and tree one.long REL 3sg=be hand-PERT EMP-DEM.INT

[nan-sêk]_S to pei a nan-sêk pwên
 piece-half.long CONT appear and piece-half.long NEG

‘And the stick that is in his hand, one end (of it) is showing and one end isn’t?’
 (Game2_280812_0113)

Because the second part of sentence (62) is an elliptical sentence (the predicate *la university* ‘go to university’ is deleted because it is identical to the predicate of the preceding clause), the particle *ma-* is not present, but *pwên* suffices. This is also the case in (63), where *to pei* is deleted because it is identical to the predicate of the preceding clause. It appears that the use of *ma-* is closely connected to the (realis) predicate, whether this is verbal or non-verbal.

Chapter 11 Clausal relations and clause combining

A clause is the linguistic unit which consists of a predicate plus its core and peripheral arguments. A predicate is most often headed by one or more verbs, but its head can also be a noun, adjective, numeral, preposition or question marker. See Chapter 6 for a discussion of verbal predicates and Chapter 7 for a discussion of non-verbal ones, and see Chapter 8 for a discussion of grammatical relations and alignment of arguments within the clause.

A main clause is a clause which can stand alone, whereas a dependent clause usually does not make sense by itself and needs to be embedded within a main clause (this is the case with relative clauses and complement clauses, with the exception of complement clauses to *pwa* 'to say'), or be linked to a main clause by means of a subordinating conjunction. In addition, two main clauses can be linked to each other by means of a coordinating conjunction. In what follows, relations between main and dependent clauses will be discussed first, followed by relations between main clauses.

11.1 Dependent clauses

A dependent clause cannot stand by itself as a complete sentence, but instead modifies or specifies a constituent in a main clause. The following types of dependent clauses can be distinguished:

1. Relative clause, modifying a noun
2. Complement clause, functioning as a core or peripheral argument to a verb, or as a modifier to an adjective functioning as predicate head in a non-verbal predicate
3. Conditional subordinate clause
4. Adverbial subordinate clause
 - a. Temporal (simultaneous and successive)
 - b. Manner
 - c. (Possible) consequence
 - d. Concessive

All dependent clauses are introduced by the marker *te*. Very generally said, *te* marks the fact that a particular constituent slot is filled by a clause rather than a by phrase. This marker may have the same historical origin as the formative *te-* which is encountered in morphologically complex demonstratives (see Section 4.3), but the relationship is tenuous. The various types of dependent clauses and their grammatical features will be discussed in turn.

11.1.1 Relative clauses

A relative clause (RC) functions as a modifier to a NP, and has an argument which is coreferential with the head of the NP it is modifying (the common argument or CA). In what follows, the formal properties of relative clauses are discussed, followed by the syntactic functions the CA can have in the main and relative clause.

A relative clause immediately follows the noun it is modifying, and is introduced by the marker *te*. A relative clause can contain either a verbal or a verbless predicate. Relative clauses are very common in Paluai, and it seems that there are virtually no restrictions on which type of NP can be modified by a relative clause: relativisation of NPs with a pronoun, a local, common or personal noun or a numeral as head is attested. Apart from the marker *te*, there is no special marking on relative clauses. However, each type of relative clause looks slightly different depending on the combination of functions of the common argument (CA). Therefore, the formal properties of the various types of relative clause will be discussed in more detail below. The fullest realisation of the CA is almost always in the main clause (MC); in the RC the CA is often only expressed by a bound pronoun (in the case of a S/A or animate O argument) or a suffix (in the case of an Oblique or Possessor). Inanimate O arguments are not cross-referenced at all.

There are quite a large number of main clauses which contain two relative clauses. These are sometimes difficult to analyse, since it is not always clear whether the second RC is embedded within the first, or whether the second RC also shares an argument with the MC, rather than with the first RC.

Relative clauses in Paluai can be both restrictive and non-restrictive (cf. Dixon, 2010b). A restrictive relative clause gives the noun it modifies specific reference, whereas a non-restrictive relative clause modifies a noun which already has specific reference. There is no formal difference between restrictive and non-restrictive relative

clauses and there also seems to be not much of a prosodic difference. Most of the relative clauses encountered are restrictive; non-restrictive ones are generally encountered when a name or other more specific information about a discourse participant is given. The discourse context should suffice to disambiguate between the two types of relative clauses. Whenever an example given below is non-restrictive, this is indicated.

11.1.1.1 Possible syntactic functions of the common argument

The common argument can have a range of functions both in the MC and RC. Verbless clauses of which either the VCS or the VCC is modified by a relative clause are also commonly encountered. In a relative clause, however, the CA can only have the function of VCS, never VCC. Interestingly, with most combinations, the function of Possessor is only found in RCs in direct, and not in indirect possessive constructions (see Sections 3.3.2 and 5.5 for more on possessives). Only when the CA is Oblique in the MC, it is encountered in an indirect possessive construction in the RC. The combinations encountered are shown in Table 11.1. CA functioning as S/A or O in the RC is frequently found in the data, regardless of the function of the CA in the MC. However, combinations which are not allowed are the following:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|------------------------|
| 1. S/A in MC | – | Oblique in RC |
| 2. VCS in MC | – | VCS or Possessor in RC |
| 3. Any function in MC | – | VCC in RC |

In the sections below, examples of each combination are given, with a discussion of their formal properties.

Function in MC	Possible function in RC
Intransitive / transitive subject (S/A)	S/A
	O
	Verbless Clause Subject (VCS)
	Possessor in direct possessive construction
Transitive object (O)	S/A
	O
	Oblique
	VCS
	Possessor in direct possessive construction
Oblique	S/A
	O
	Oblique
	VCS
	Possessor (both direct and indirect)
VCS	S/A
	O
	Oblique
VCC	S/A
	O
	Oblique
	VCS
	Possessor in direct possessive construction
Possessor (in indirect possessive construction)	S/A
	VCS
	Possessor in direct possessive construction

Table 11.1 Possible functions of CA in MC and RC

11.1.1.1.1 Common argument is S/A in MC

Within this type of RC, four subtypes are to be distinguished.

11.1.1.1.1.1 Common argument is S/A in RC

When the CA is the S/A of the RC, a subject bound pronoun which is coreferential with the subject of the MC and agrees with it in person and number has to be present. Only when the RC contains an irrealis predicate, it suffices to just use the irrealis prefix, since this also contains person/number information. This situation is identical to the one for main clauses. Usually, also in the main clause, a subject bound pronoun coreferential with the subject NP is attested as a proclitic to the verbal element, like in a ‘regular’ main clause. In general, the RC is immediately followed by the intermediate demonstrative (*te*)*yo*. When a demonstrative form is present, it always occupies the final position in the NP (see also Chapter 5). Thus, a demonstrative which follows a RC indicates that it should be considered a modifier to the head noun. A number of examples of RCs with the CA as S/A are given below. The CA is printed in bold in both MC and RC.

- (1) *yamat te iro wau panuan teo iwop pal sapon ai parei*

[**yamat** [te **yi**_S=to wau panua-n]_{RC} te-yo]_A
 person REL 3sg=CONT move front-PERT EMP-DEM.INT

yi=wop pal [sapo-n]_O a-yi parei
 3sg=fly break top-PERT at-3sg pole

‘The person who was going in front of her hit the top of her head with a pole.’

(KW290611_0012)

- (2) *a manuai te iru riki reo kipe nê*

a [**manuai** [te **yi**_S=tu tik=i]_{RC} te-yo]_S
 and eagle REL 3sg=stay creep.on=3sg EMP-DEM.INT

ki-pe nê
 IRR.3sg-PFV be.finished

‘And (the rash from) the eagle (food taboo) that was covering him will be

finished.¹ (NP260511_0022)

(3) *pau re kime pei reo kipe piy piy*

[**pau** [te **ki**_S-me pei]_{RC} te-yo]_S
coconut.oil REL IRR.3sg-come.to appear EMP-DEM.INT

ki-pe piy.piy
IRR.3sg-PFV REDUP.splash

‘The coconut oil that will come up will spatter.’ (CA120211_2_0027)

11.1.1.1.2 Common argument is O in RC

When the CA is the S/A of the MC and the object of the RC, it is generally not overtly expressed in the RC. There is also no bound pronoun coreferential with it in the postverbal object slot of the RC. Again, the RC is followed by the intermediate demonstrative (*te*)*yo*, and in the MC there is often a subject bound pronoun present which is coreferential with the subject NP of the MC.

(4) *kapol le worou sot yep teo kikôk*

[**kapol** [te wo_A=**tou=Ø**_O sot yep]_{RC} te-yo]_S
dish REL 2sg=put=3sg.ZERO go.up fire EMP-DEM.INT

ki-kôk
IRR.3sg-heat.up

‘The dish that you put on the fire will heat up.’ (CA120211_1_0024)

(5) *...te mangat te taupwa kape reo inêm o*

te [mangat [te tau_A=pwa ka-pe=**Ø**]_{RC}
SUB work REL 1du.INCL=want.to IRR.NS-do=3sg.ZERO

te-yo]_S yi=nêm yo
EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=be.finished DEM.INT

¹ Paluai believe that each individual has a particular animal as food taboo, which is inherited from the mother. If a food taboo is broken, the person will feel unwell and develop skin rashes, sores and itches. The taboo can be eliminated by applying certain herbs specific for that particular food taboo.

‘For the work that the two of us were going to do is finished.’
(LL010711_0068)

11.1.1.1.3 Common argument is VCS in RC

Common arguments which are VCS in the RC are quite common in Paluai, although there are not many straightforward examples where the CA is the subject of the MC. The following sentence may be one; the relative clause is non-restrictive, since reference to *wong* is already specific.

(6) *wong te wong poyon tepwo, ngamainap kope sot liliu kôlôloi pwên*

[**wong** [te [**wong**]_{VCS} poyo-n]_{RC} te-pwo]_S
1sg.FREE REL 1sg.FREE under-PERT EMP-DEM.PROX

nga=ma=inap ko-pe sot liliu kôlôloi pwên
1sg=NEG₁=able IRR.1SG-PFV go.up again gathering.place NEG₂

‘Me, who is “underneath” [i.e. a person of lower status], I will not be able to go and stand in front of a crowd (to speak publicly).’ (OBK040311_0037)

This type of relativisation may be used to put special emphasis on additional information about a discourse participant. For more on this, see Chapter 12 on discourse practices.

11.1.1.1.4 Common argument is Possessor in RC

This type of RC is particularly common with the directly possessed noun *ngaya-* ‘name’ (a somewhat special type of RC which is discussed below in Section 11.1.1.2.3), but is also occasionally encountered with another directly possessed noun. Below, two examples are given; (7) is non-restrictive. There are no examples of a RC where the CA is found in an indirect possessive construction.

(7) *pein lapanum te ngayan Alup Kasinaman teo...*

[**pein** **lapanum** [te *ngaya-n* Alup Kasinaman]_{RC}
woman first.marriage REL name-PERT Alup Kasinaman

te-yo]s

EMP-DEM.INT

‘His first wife, whose name was Alup Kasinaman...’ (LK100411_0103)

(8) ...sômsômu re kanen pwên?

[sômsômu [te [kane-n pwên]s?]RC

plate REL meat-PERT NEG

‘(Is it) the plate (on) which (there is) no food [*lit.* ‘the plate of which meat (is) not’]?’ (Game1_021012_0281)

11.1.1.1.2 Common argument is Object in MC

This type of relative clause has five subtypes, which will be discussed in turn.

11.1.1.1.2.1 Common argument is S/A in RC

This type of relative clause is very common. As with other relative clauses where the CA is the subject of the RC, there is an overt subject bound pronoun which is coreferential with the subject of the MC. What is different, and striking, however, is that the bound pronoun in the RC often does not agree in number with the subject of the matrix clause, but is almost invariably the 3sg subject bound pronoun *yi*.

(9) *owom antek ip kurun kei namwi re iro lalon*

w_A=[wom antek] [ip kutun kei namwi

2sg=chop put.away 3pl small tree small

[te y_S=to lalo-n]RC]O

REL 3sg=be inside-PERT

‘You chop away the small trees which are inside.’ (KM190211_0011)

(10) *manuai re iriki reo, ngan pe andek ai sapon kein pari ai manuai*

[manuai [te y_A=tik=i]RC te-yo]TopO nga_A=an pe

eagle REL 3sg=creep.on=3sg EMP-DEM.INT 1sg=PRF do

antek= \emptyset _O a-yi sapo-n kei-n
 put.away=3sg.ZERO at-3sg top-PERT herb-PERT
 ‘The rash (from the eagle food taboo) that covered him, I have removed (it)
 with herbs.’ (NP260511_0024)

In sentence (10), the object is also fronted, something that is a regular feature of Paluai discourse (for more on this, see Section 12.3.3). It does not leave a trace element in its original position (directly following the verb), because it is inanimate. Because there is no Passive construction, this is the only way to ‘promote’ an O argument to preverbal position.

11.1.1.1.2.2 Common argument is O in RC

This type of clause looks much the same as the O relative clauses discussed in Section 11.1.1.1.2 above, except that the CA is also O in the MC. Again, often this type of relative clause is followed by the intermediate demonstrative (*te*)*yo*.

- (11) *ippe lêp poyan nganngan te epmangan nêmpwên teo*
 ip_A=pe lêp [**poyan nganngan** [te ep_A=ma ngan
 3pl=PFV take left.over food REL 1pl.EXCL=NEG₁ eat

 nêmpwên= \emptyset _O pwên]_{RC} te-yo]_O
 be.finished=3sg.ZERO NEG₂ EMP-DEM.INT
 ‘They received the leftover food that we did not eat up.’ (KM060111_0086)

11.1.1.1.2.3 Common argument is Oblique in RC

The O argument of a MC can function as an Oblique argument, such as instrument or path, in a RC (in contrast to the S/A argument of a MC). In the RC, it is always cross-referenced by the *yi* marker on the preposition *a-*.

- (12) *ipto yik sal le ipkayop ai rea*
 ip_A=to yik [**sale** [te ip=ka-yop a-**yi**]_{RC}]_O
 3sg=CONT search.for road REL 3pl=IRR.NS-break.out at-3sg

te-ya

EMP-then

‘Then they were searching for a way to escape.’ [*lit.* ‘a road on which they could break out’] (LM190611_0051)

11.1.1.1.2.4 Common argument is VCS in RC

A constituent which functions as O in the MC can also be VCS in the RC. An example:

(13) *ipkalêp tut ip sapon kei re nangin o*

ip_A=ka-lêp tut [ip sapon-n kei
3pl=IRR.NS-take completely 3pl top-PERT tree

[te Ø nangin]_{RC} yo]_O

REL 3sg.ZERO scent DEM.INT

‘They will take all the herbs that have a (nice) scent.’ (NP220611_1_0011)

It seems that in the RC, a VCS is often not cross-referenced by a pronoun, especially when it is third person. In this regard, verbless clause subjects differ from subjects of verbal predicates, which have to be expressed by a bound pronoun. The reason for this difference is the fact that only verbs can take bound pronouns, and thus verbless clauses take free pronouns. These are not obligatory, in contrast to their bound counterparts.

11.1.1.1.2.5 Common argument is Possessor in RC

Below, an example is given where the CA functions as O in the MC and as Possessor (only expressed by a suffix) in a direct possessive construction in the RC.

(14) *ipto pe pun kaye sê re ngaro rêk pwapwaen tepwo*

ip_A=to pe pun [kaye sê [te nga=to têk
3pl=HAB do INTF habit small REL 1sg=CONT tell

pwapwae-n]_{RC} te-pwo]_O

story-PERT EMP-DEM.PROX

‘They really show this behaviour the story of which I was telling today.’
(LL300511_1_0091)

11.1.1.1.3 Common argument is Oblique in MC

There are again five subtypes when the CA functions as an Oblique in the MC.

11.1.1.1.3.1 Common argument is S/A in RC

This type of RC is also quite common. The subject is, again, obligatorily expressed by a bound pronoun, unless the RC contains an irrealis predicate. The subject of the RC generally agrees in number with the subject of the MC. Some examples:

(15) *isuwot ai peilêp te iro poyon pirou reo*

yis=suwot	a-yi	[peilêp	[te	yis=to	poyo-n
3sg=go.down	at-3sg	canoe	REL	3sg=be	under-PERT

pirou]RC	te-yo]Obi
callophyllum	EMP-DEM.INT

‘He went down to the canoe that was underneath the callophyllum tree.’
(LK100411_0039)

(16) *i reo i stori pari ai naluai re iangou Paluai*

[yi	te-yo]VCS	yi	[stori pari	a-yi	[naluai
3sg	EMP-DEM.INT	3sg	story belonging.to	at-3sg	garden.food

[te	yis=angou Paluai]RC]Obi]VCC
REL	3sg=arrive P.

‘That is the story of the garden food which arrived on Baluan.’
(KS030611_1_0050)

11.1.1.1.3.2 Common argument is O in RC

A CA that functions as Oblique in the MC and as O in the RC is not overtly shown in the RC.

(17) *ngapwa kotok sori ai nayeï re ngan pe*

nga_S=pwa ko-tok.sori a-yi [**nayeï**
1sg=want.to IRR.3sg-apologise at-3sg lie

[te nga_A=an pe= \emptyset _O]_{RC}]_{Obi}

REL 1sg=PRF make=3sg.ZERO

‘I want to apologise for the lies that I have told.’ (PK290411_1_0039)

11.1.1.1.3.3 Common argument is Oblique in RC

Generally, when the CA is functioning as an Oblique in the RC, it is marked by *a-* suffixed with the 3sg pronoun *yi*, in the same way as other Oblique RCs discussed before. Mostly, a CA that is Oblique in both the MC and RC refers to a Locative in both.

(18) *upe la lopwan te ukala yektou lau rau ai*

u=pe la [**lopwa-n** [te u_A=ka-la yek.tou
3du=PFV go.to place-PERT REL 3du=IRR.NS-go.to put

[lau ta-u]_O a-**yi**]_{RC}]_{Obi}

fishing.net POSS-3du at-3sg

‘They went to the place where they were going to throw out their fishing net.’

(NP210511_1_0011)

(19) *i pari ai sipen ponat sê re Koleyep sen to ai repwo*

yi pari a-yi [**sipen pwonat sê** [te [Koleyep]_S
3sg belonging.to at-3sg part.of soil small REL K.

sen to a-**yi**]_{RC} te-pwo]_{Obi}

move.up be at-3sg EMP-DEM.PROX

‘He was from the small bit of land where the fire Koleyep is located now.’

(MS250311_0012)

ta-i]s yi=la to teng.teng Lêp]RC]obi
 POSS-3sg 3sg=go.to CONT REDUP.cry Lêp

‘You will go to Toung Kulupwe, whose lime gourd is making noise in Lêp.’
 (LalauKanau100411_0014)

11.1.1.1.4 Common argument is VCS in MC

Not only a ‘regular’ subject, but also a VCS can be relativised in Paluai. There are three subtypes.

11.1.1.1.4.1 Common argument is S/A in RC

In particular this kind of RC is common. The RC immediately follows the VCS, which is repeated as a bound pronoun in the RC. The VCC then follows the relative clause. Example (23) shows a non-restrictive relative clause. Example (24) may be analysed as such as well, but it could also be restrictive. A person can have several classificatory mothers according to the kinship system (see Section 3.2.2.1), and could also be adopted. The relative clause in (24) limits reference to only one person, the biological mother. It thus is probably restrictive.

(23) *younip te iro rok taip teo i molmolean kanenip o*

[**you-n-ip** [te **yi**s=to tok taip]RC te-yo]VCS
 tail-PERT-3pl REL 3sg=CONT stay POSS-3pl EMP-DEM.INT

yi [molmolea-n kane-n-ip yo]VCC
 3sg decoration-PERT body-PERT-3pl DEM.INT

‘Their tail, that is with them, it is a decoration of their bodies.’
 (LL300511_1_0079)

(24) *tinan te iroui o, i reo i punpot tai rea*

[**tina-n** [te **yi**s=tou=i]RC yo]VCS **yi** te-yo
 mother-PERT REL 3sg=give.birth=3sg DEM.INT 3sg EMP-DEM.INT

yi [punpot taip]VCC te-ya
 3sg side.of.mother POSS-3sg EMP-then

‘His mother who gave birth to him, she [i.e. her relatives] is his *punpot* [receiving side in mortuary payments].’ (SP190311_0022)

11.1.1.1.4.2 Common argument is O in RC

This kind of relative clause is much rarer. An example would be:

(25) *mangat te kope pe repwo i mangat pari ai matmat tan tamong*

[**mangat** [te ko_A-pe pe=Ø]_{RC} te-pwo]_{VCS} yi
work REL IRR.1sg-PFV do=3ss.ZERO EMP-DEM.PROX 3sg

[mangat pari a-yi matmat ta-n tama-ng]_{VCC}
work belonging.to at-3sg grave POSS-PERT father-1sg.PERT

‘This work that I will do, (it) is the work belonging to the grave of my father.’
(SY100411_0003)

11.1.1.1.4.3 Common argument is Oblique in RC

There are only a few examples of this kind of relative clause. The following is one:

(26) *pusungop te ngaru rêk pwapwa pari ai repwo, i pusungop sip te i pari Lipan teo*

[**pusungop** [te nga_A=tu têk [pwapwae pari a-yi]_O te-pwo]_{RC}]_{VCS}
clan REL 1sg=stay tell story from at-3sg EMP-DEM.INT

yi [pusungop sip [te yi pari Lipan te-yo]_{RC}]_{VCC}
3sg clan one.INANIM REL 3sg from L. EMP-DEM.INT

‘The clan of which I told the story today is a clan which is from Lipan.’
(NS220511_1_0055)

11.1.1.1.5 Common argument is VCC in MC

When the MC is a verbless clause, not only the VCS but also the VCC can be relativised. This phenomenon is more common than relativisation of the VCS. There are four different subtypes.

11.1.1.1.5.1 Common argument is S/A in RC

This type of RC looks again much the same as the types discussed above, with the RC subject cross-referenced by a bound pronoun.

(27) *i reo i panu nuanan te irok*

[yi te-yo]_{VCS} yi [panua nuanan [te yi_{S=tok}]_{RC}]_{VCC}
 3sg EMP-DEM.INT 3sg place true REL 3sg=be
 ‘This was a real place that (truly) existed.’ (LK100411_0132)

11.1.1.1.5.2 Common argument is O in RC

This type of RC looks the same as other relative clauses in which the CA is the object. In (28), the O argument is cross-referenced on the verb complex, because it is animate. The relative clause is non-restrictive.

(28) *koropunan tareo i ran Memelan, te ip silal ipyokari reo*

[koropunan ta-te-yo]_{VCS} yi ta-n [Memelam
 origin.of DEF-EMP-DEM.INT 3sg POSS-PERT M.

[te ip silal ip=yokat=i_O]_{RC} te-yo]_{VCC}
 REL 3pl spirit 3pl=carry=3sg EMP-DEM.INT

‘The origin of that [i.e. of small creeping creatures] lies with Memelam, who was carried away by spirits.’ (LM190611_0057)

11.1.1.1.5.3 Common argument is Oblique in RC

The example below shows a case in which the CA is an Oblique argument in the RC. It is always overtly shown by a 3sg pronoun which is prefixed by *a-*.

(29) *Koleyep i lopwan te ipto pemat yamat ai*

[Koleyep]_{VCS} yi [lopwa-n [te ip_{A=to} pe-mat
 K. 3sg place-PERT REL 3sg=HAB CAUS-die

[yamat]_O a-yi]_{RC}]_{VCC}
 person at-3sg

11.1.1.1.6.2 *Common argument is VCS in RC*

The shared argument can also function as VCS in the RC. Again, only indirect possessive constructions are encountered. In the example below, the RC is only modifying the Possessor of the construction, the proper noun *Pwekei*, and not the entire O NP of the MC. The relative clause is non-restrictive.

(32) *ngapwa korêk pwapwa ran Pwekei re i kôn panu pari Nengpul*

nga_A=pwa ko-têk [pwapwae ta-n **Pwekei**]_O
 1sg=want.to IRR.1sg-tell story POSS-PERT P.

[te **yi** kôn panua pari Nengpul]_{RC}
 REL 3sg spirit place belonging.to N.

‘I am going to tell the story of Pwekei, who (was) a bush spirit from Nengpul.’
 (PN100411_0003)

11.1.1.1.6.3 *Common argument is Possessor in RC*

Occasionally, the CA can be Possessor in both the MC and the RC: in the examples found, it is indirect possessor in the MC and direct possessor in the RC. Example (33) is one long A argument which introduces a specific person. The two relative clauses it contains are both non-restrictive. The proper name *Ngat Kanawi* refers to the Possessor in the first relative clause, which relativises the proper name *Alup Kisawin Pwaril*. In its turn *Ngat Kanawi* is relativised and is cross-referenced as a pertensive suffix on the NP that forms the A argument of the relative clause.

(33) *Alup Kisawin Pwaril, te i pêñ tan Ngat Kanawi re taman ining yoy reo*

[Alup Kisawin Pwaril [te yi_{VCS} [pêñ ta-n **Ngat Kanawi**]_{VCC}
 A.K.P. REL 3sg daughter POSS-PERT N.K.

[te [tama-n]_A yi=ning [yoy te-yo]_O]_{RC}]_{RC}_A
 REL father-PERT 3sg=see stone EMP-DEM.INT

‘Alup Kisawin Pwaril, who is the daughter of Ngat Kanawi, whose father has seen the stones.’ (LK250111_0094)

11.1.1.2 'Special' types of relative clauses

There are a number of types of relative clauses which form more or less 'special' cases. These include:

- Relative clauses with an interrogative word or indefinite quantifier in the main clause.
- Relative clauses which contain the phrase *te ipto pwa*.

11.1.1.2.1 MC with an interrogative word or indefinite quantifier

There are a few cases where a MC contains an interrogative word or indefinite quantifier which is relativised. The semantics are the same as those of, say, English relative or indefinite pronouns, but the difference is that in Paluai, the relative clause marker *te* always has to be present. An interrogative or personal pronoun by itself cannot function as a relative pronoun. The following examples serve to illustrate.

(34) *i sê re ila ru pe kotkot ai um tang?*

[yi sê [te y_A=la tu pe [kotkot]_O]_{RC}]_S
 3sg who REL 3sg=go.to stay make smoke

[a-yi wumwa ta-ng]_{Obi}
 at-3sg house POSS-1sg

'Who is it that is making smoke at my house?' (KS030611_1_0021)

(35) *i sê re i polam tao?*

y_{IVCS} [sê [te y_{IVCS} [polam ta-o]_{VCC}]_{RC}]_{VCC}
 3sg who REL 3sg in-law POSS-2sg

'Who is your in-law?' (052b_0062)

(36) *imagat sesom te kipe ro awênong pwên*

y_A=ma=gat [sesom [te k_A-pe to awên=ong]_{RC}]_O
 3sg=NEG_I=have anyone REL IRR.3SG-PFV HAB help=1sg

pwên

NEG₂

‘There wasn’t anyone who would be helping me.’ (KM060111_0016)

(37) *kipat sap kain te kino pat ai*

ki_A-pat [sap **kain** [te ki-no pat=Ø_O
IRR.3sg-plant which kind REL IRR.3sg-IPFV plant =3sg.ZERO

a-yi]_{RC}]o

at-3sg

‘He will plant whichever kind (of plants) he can plant in there.’

(KM190211_0038)

(38) *wong kope pul sap kain mangat te ngapwa kope*

wong_A ko-pe pul [sap **kain mangat** [te
1sg.FREE IRR.1sg-PFV tell which kind work REL

nga=pwa ko-pe=Ø_O]_{RC}]o

1sg=want.to IRR.1sg-do=3sg.ZERO

‘I will tell (you) which kind of work I am planning to do.’ (PK290411_1_0028)

In the data set, *sap* is in fact more frequently used to introduce as a relative clause than as an interrogative. Apart from *sê* ‘who’ and *sap* ‘which’ there are no other interrogatives attested which are modified by a relative clause.

11.1.1.2.2 RC which contains the phrase *te iptō pwa*

Relative clauses which contain the phrase *te iptō pwa* (*lit.* REL they=HAB say) are very common in Paluai. The phrase can be translated with English ‘(which is) called...’. This type of RC is an exception to the tendency that the CA is more fully expressed in the MC, since the CA is expressed mostly as a full NP in both the MC and RC, with the one in the RC mostly containing a proper noun. The CA either functions as an O argument

to the verb *pwa* or as O complement to it.² Below are some examples. Relative clauses with *te iptō pwa* are usually of the non-restrictive kind, but for instance in example (39) a restrictive interpretation is more likely.

(39) *tepwo pun igat yuêp kain mun te iptō pwa panuatu*

te-pwo pun yi_A=gat [yuêp **kain mun**
 EMP-DEM.PROX INTF 3sg=have two.INANIM kind banana

[te ip_A=to pwa [panuatu]_O]_{RC}_O
 REL 3pl=HAB say Vanuatu

‘Nowadays, there are two kinds of banana that are called “Vanuatu”.’

(KS030611_1_0044)

(40) *lapananip Maput, te iptō pwa Pobei...*

lapanan-ip Maput [te ip_A=to pwa [Pobei]_O]_{RC}
 chief-PERT-3pl M. REL 3pl=HAB say P.

‘The chief of the Titan people, who was called Pobei...’ (MS250311_0056)

11.1.1.3 Relative clauses: conclusions

With regard to relativisation possibilities, there is an accessibility hierarchy which is quite well established cross-linguistically, first discussed by Keenan and Comrie (1977; 1979). It looks as follows:

(43) Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of comparative

The hierarchy implies that if in a given language, say, Obliques can be relativised (i.e. if the CA can function as Oblique in the MC), any type of argument higher up in the hierarchy can also be relativised. This implication is partly borne out for Paluai. All types of arguments in the hierarchy, except Object of comparative, are found modified by a RC. The fact that Object of comparison is not found may be due to the infrequent

² The verb *pwa* is unusual, since it takes a full clause as a complement without any further marking. It is also used to mark direct quotation.

use of comparative constructions in the language.

However, the possibilities for the functions of the CA in the RC are more limited when the CA functions in subject position in the MC (S/A and VCS), compared to when the CA functions as O, Oblique or VCC argument. This is interesting, because the subject position is higher up in the hierarchy shown above. Common arguments which are S/A in the MC cannot function as Oblique in the RC, and common arguments which are VCS in the MC are not encountered as VCS or Possessor in the RC.

There are also limitations on Possessors, and there seems to be a difference between direct and indirect possession. In the MC, only indirect Possessors are encountered as CA, and in the RC only direct Possessors (with a small number of exceptions). What makes Possessors different as well is that they generally do not form an entire argument, but only part of it, which makes analysis of the constructions they occur in quite difficult.

11.1.2 Complement clauses

A complement clause functions as an argument to a verb. Similarly to a relative clause, it is introduced by the general subordinate clause marker *te*. It appears that a complement clause can only function as O or Oblique argument of a verb, not as S or A argument.

All complement clauses, whether O or Oblique, always immediately follow the verb. In this way they can be distinguished from relative clauses, which always follow a noun. O complement clauses take only the dependent clause marker *te*, whereas with Oblique complement clauses, *te* is prefixed by the general preposition *a-*. The distinction between O and Oblique complement clauses appears to reflect a semantic distinction between Fact and Activity complement clauses (cf. Dixon, 2010b), although this is not always borne out. A third type of complement clause, Potential, is marked by irrealis. The verb *pwa* ‘to say, to think’ (which also grammaticalised into a desiderative marker ‘to want to’) is unusual because it never takes the marker *te* with a complement clause.

Verbs which are able to take complement clauses fall into several semantic subclasses; this has implications for the form of the complement clause. An overview of semantic subclasses is given in Table 11.2.

Subclass	Examples	Type of Complement Clause	Marking
Attention	<i>ning</i> ‘see’, <i>yong</i> ‘hear’, <i>yêk</i> ‘feel’	Object or Oblique	<i>te</i> or <i>a-te</i>
Thinking/speaking general	<i>pangai</i> ‘think’, <i>mapwai</i> ‘know’; <i>pul</i> ‘say’; <i>pwapwasek</i> ‘tell’	Object	<i>te</i>
Quotation	<i>pwa</i> ‘say, think’	Object	-
Liking	<i>yangyang</i> ‘like’, <i>kaêrêt</i> ‘fear’	Oblique	<i>a-te</i>
Modal	<i>pwa</i> ‘want to, be about to’	Potential	Irrealis
	<i>inap</i> ‘be able to’	Object or Oblique	<i>te</i> or <i>a-te</i> plus irrealis

Table 11.2 Semantic subtypes of complement-taking verbs

Below, each of the semantic subtypes of verbs and the forms of the complement clauses they take will be discussed in turn.

Occasionally, a complement clause is found modifying an adjective that functions as predicate head of a non-verbal predicate (see Section 7.2). This type of dependent clause is never found modifying an adjective that functions as noun modifier. In addition, a dependent clause modifying a noun functioning as head to a non-verbal predicate is always analysed as a relative clause, and not as a complement clause. After discussion of the various complement-taking verbs, some examples of complement clauses modifying adjectives will be discussed.

11.1.2.1 Verbs of Attention

Below are a number of examples of complement clauses that function as O argument to a transitive verb of Attention.

(44) *woning te pau reo in mwat*

wo_A=ning [te [pau te-yo]_S yi=an mwat]_{Compl:O}
2sg=see COMP coconut.oil EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=PRF be.cooked
'You see that the coconut oil is ready.' (CA120211_2_0039)

(45) *ila yêk te pat teo ila konun*

yi_A=la yêk [te [pat te-yo]_S yi=la konun]_{Compl:O}
3sg=go.to feel COMPbed EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=go.to heavy
'He felt that the bed had become heavy.' (LM190611_0026)

These instances of complement clauses to Attention verbs can be considered Fact complement clauses. They refer to the factual result of a change of state which occurred prior to the time the event expressed by the complement-taking verb occurred. Perfect aspect is often used in this type of complement clause, although the directional *la* 'go to' as a copula marking change of state (see Section 7.7.2) is also encountered.

Attention verbs can also take Oblique complement clauses. They can often be analysed as Activity complement clauses, referring to an activity that is still ongoing at the time the action represented by the complement-taking verb takes place.

(46) *urêpe yong are yamat teo ipe kolon wat*

wurê_A=pe yong [a-te [yamat te-yo]_A yi=pe
1pc.EXCL=PFV hear at-COMP person DEM.INT 3sg=make

[kolo-n]_O wat]_{Compl:Obl}

voice-PERT up.high

'We heard somebody shouting up high.' (NP210511_2_0024)

(47) *ipto ning are panu ro masai*

ip_A=to ning [a-te [panua]_S to masai]_{Compl:Obl}
3pl=CONT see at-COMP place CONT become.clear

'They saw the place getting clear [i.e. the dawn break].' (LM190611_0050)

The complement clause of Attention verbs can be marked for irrealis, but only if the main clause is also irrealis; see the examples below. This is different from the situation

for Modal complement-taking verbs (see Section 11.1.2.5).

(48) *no re kining are mui nisom kime ret*

no te ki_A-ning [a-te [mui nisom]_S ki-me
when IRR.3sg-see at-COMP dog other.ANIM IRR.3sg-come

tet]_{Compl:Obl}

move

‘When it will see another dog coming...’ (LL300511_1_0083)

(49) *ope ning are pau reo kime pei*

wo_A=pe ning [a-te [pau te-yo]_S ki-me
2sg=PFV see at-COMP coconut.oil EMP-DEM.INT IRR.3sg-come

pei]_{Compl:Obl}

appear

‘You will see coconut oil appearing.’ (CA120211_2_0026)

However, Perfect aspect is also encountered within Oblique complement clauses. This indicates that the semantic distinction does not map one-to-one onto the formal distinction, since these clauses are better analysed as Fact complement clauses.

(50) *ining are kumun teo in sa pei*

yi_A=ning [a-te [kumun te-yo]_S yi=an sa
3sg=see at-comp sprout EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=PRF come.up

pei]_{Compl:Obl}

appear

‘He saw that the sprout had appeared.’ (NP210511_1_0061)

11.1.2.2 Verbs of Thinking/Speaking

Verbs of Thinking and Speaking only take Object complement clauses, which correspond to Fact complement clauses in the semantic classification. Fact complement

clauses are usually marked for realis, even if the main clause is marked for irrealis (as in (52)). They can also be marked irrealis when the main clause is marked realis, however, indicating a future intention. In (51), the complement clause to *pangpangai* is realis and in its turn contains another complement clause to *pwa*, which is irrealis.

(51) *ngaro pangpangai re ngapwa korou mosapen*

nga_A=to pang.pangai [te nga_A=pwa [ko_A-tou
 1sg=CONT REDUP.think COMP 1sg=want.to IRR.1sg-give

mosape-n]_{Compl:Pot}]_{Compl:O}

bride.price-PERT

‘I was thinking that I wanted to give her bride price.’ (KM060111_0043)

(52) *kapwa ipto mapwai re ngagat, a ipkape me lêp*

kapwa ip_A=to mapwai [te nga_A=gat]_{Compl:O} ya ip=ka-pe
 if 3pl=CONT know COMP 1sg=have then 3pl=IRR.NS-PFV

me lêp

come take

‘If they know that I have (them), they will come to get (them).’

(AK160411_2_0029)

Complement clauses to verbs of Thinking or Speaking can contain an interrogative, as in (53), but this stays in situ and the complement marker *te* has to be used.

(53) *ngape mapwai re tinang iwau apa*

nga_A=pe mapwai [te [tina-ng]_s yi=wau a-pa]_{Compl:O}
 1sg=PFV know COMP mother-1sg.PERT 3sg=move at-where

‘I knew where my mother was from [i.e. which family].’ (OBK040311_0083)

11.1.2.3 Verbs of Quotation

The only complement-taking verb in this semantic subclass is *pwa*, which was already discussed in Section 8.2, where examples can also be found. A complement clause to

pwa is never marked with *te*; in addition, this clause could occur by itself, as a main clause. When the complement clause to *pwa* is irrealis and the subject of the complement clause is coreferent with that of the main clause, it has a Potential interpretation and *pwa* functions as a modal verb. When the complement clause to *pwa* is realis, it functions as a direct quotation complement clause. Indirect speech reports are rare, but see Sections 6.5.1 and 10.1.2.3 for a number of examples of utterances which can be interpreted as such.

11.1.2.4 Verbs of Liking

This type of verb takes an Experiencer subject and an optional oblique Stimulus argument (see Section 8.1.2.1). The Stimulus argument can be represented by a complement clause, which is always marked for Oblique. Below, some examples are given with the verbs *yangyang* ‘to like, to love’, *mwamwasêk* ‘to be ashamed’ and *sosol* ‘to be sad’.

(54) *epmaro yangyang are woru pe songe pwalinganep pwên*

ep_S=ma=to yangyang [a-te wo_S=tu pe songe
1pl.EXCL=NEG₁=CONT like at-COMP 2sg=stay make play

pwalinga-n-ep]_{Compl:Obl} pwên
with-PERT-1pl.EXCL NEG₂

‘We don’t like you playing with us.’ (WL020711_0037)

(55) *iro mwamwasêk are i mayoun pwên*

yi=to mwamwasêk [a-te yi ma=you-n pwên]_{Compl:Obl}
3sg=CONT be.ashamed at-COMP 3sg NEG₁=tail-PERT NEG₂

‘He was ashamed of it not being his tail.’ (LL300511_1_0086)

(56) *kolun teo ipe ro sosol are iro yongip*

[kolu-n te-yo]_S yi=pe to sosol [a-te
inside-PERT EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=PFV CONT be.sad at-COMP

yi_A=to yong=ip_O]Compl:Obl

3sg=CONT hear=3sg

‘He [*lit.* ‘his inside’] was feeling sad at hearing them.’ (WL020711_0040)

The Oblique complement clause to some Liking verbs can be irrealis, to express a future intention or wish:

(57) *pian tau o, ngayangyang are taukaret tou*

[pian ta-u yo]_O ngas=yangyang [a-te tau_A=ka-tet

good POSS-3du DEM.INT 1sg=like at-COMP 1du.INCL=IRR.NS-move

tou=∅]Compl:Obl

give=3sg.ZERO

‘The goodness of them (two), I wish for the two of us to follow (it).’

(PK290411_3_0026)

11.1.2.5 Modal verbs

There are two modal verbs that can take a complement clause: *pwa*, discussed in Section 6.5.1, and the Tok Pisin loan *inap* ‘be able to’, which is used to express ability and possibility. *inap* always takes an irrealis complement clause, which can thus be analysed as Potential. In addition, *inap* complement clauses with both O and Oblique syntactic function are attested. The difference between them seems to be once again that Oblique complement clauses refer to Activity clauses and Object complement clauses to Fact clauses, but this distinction is a bit tentative. Below, two examples of *inap* are given with an O complement clause, followed by two examples of *inap* with an Oblique complement clause.

(58) *kapwa inap te no wo ono aput, ya woaput*

kapwa inap [te no wo wo_A=no aput]Compl:O

if able COMP only you 2sg=IPFV clear.bush

ya wo=aput

then 2sg=clear.bush

‘If it is possible that you clear the bush (for a garden) by yourself, alright then you will clear the bush.’ (KM190211_0007)

(59) *imainap te muyan kipe palak liliu pwên*

yi=ma=inap [te [muya-n]_S ki-pe palak liliu]_{Compl:O} pwên
 3sg=NEG₁=able COMP skin-PERT IRR.3sg-PFV bad again NEG
 ‘It is not possible that his skin will go bad again.’ (NP260511_0024)

(60) *woning te inap are yep kino rer ai*

wo_A=ning [te inap [a-te [yep_S ki-no tet
 2sg=see COMP able at-3sg fire IRR.3sg-IPFV spread

a-yi]_{Compl:Obl}]_{Compl:O}
 at-3sg

‘You see that fire will be able to spread through it.’ (KM190211_0017)

(61) *imainap are ip silal kape wau tarak toui a kape lêpi pwên*

yi=ma=inap [a-te [ip silal]_A ka-pe wau tarak tou=i_O
 3sg=NEG₁=able at-COMP 3pl spirit IRR.NS-PFV move climb give=3sg

a ka-pe lêp=i]_{Compl:Obl} pwên
 and IRR.NS-PFV take=3sg NEG

‘It was not possible that the spirits would follow him into the tree and get him.’
 (LM190611_0041)

There is often a ‘dummy subject’ in the main clause of *inap* complement clauses, in particular when the entire construction has negative polarity. Occasionally, *inap* is encountered without *te* marking the complement clause; an example is given below.

(62) *ngamainap kope pe pwên*

nga_A=ma=inap [ko_A-pe pe=Ø pwên]_{Compl:O}
 1sg=NEG₁=able IRR.1sg-PFV do=3sg.ZERO NEG₂

‘I am not able to do (it).’ (LL030611_0033)

It is possible that *inap* complement clauses are not always marked by *(a-)te* because they always form Potential complement clauses, which are already marked by irrealis, and which are not marked by *(a-)te* for the other Potential complement clause-taking verb, *pwa* (see Section 6.5.1). Another reason why there is so much variation with regard to *inap* could be that, as a relatively recent loan, it is not yet fully integrated into Paluai syntax.

In the abovementioned cases, *inap* functions as a deontic modal operator (Timberlake, 2007, p. 329) indicating ability and/or possibility. The authority can either be the participant designated to carry out the action, who does not have the (physical) ability to do it (as in (61)), or the participant may not be able to do it due to external circumstances, as in (59).

11.1.2.6 Complement clause modifying adjective

The sentences below give some examples of complement clauses modifying adjectives that function as head of a non-verbal predicate.

(63) *ma kapwa i menmenengan de wope lêp ip yamat ai...*

ma	kapwa	yi _{VCS}	[men.menengan	[te	wo _{A=pe}	lêp	[ip
but	if	3sg	REDUP.big	COMP	2sg=PFV	take	3pl

yamat]_O a-yi]_{Compl:O}]VCC

person at-3sg

‘But if it [garden] is of such a size that you should take people to it [to help you ...]’ (KM190211_0007)

(64) *pian te ngape mapwai pun yamat tang*

pian	[te	nga=pe	mapwai	pun.yamat	ta-ng] _{Compl:O}
good	COMP	1sg=PFV	know	genealogy	POSS-1sg

‘It’s good that I know my genealogy.’ (OBK040311_0088)

(65) *ngapwa, “pian are korou ansê mosapen pariong”*

nga _{A=pwa}	[pian	[a-te	ko _{A=tou}	an-sê	[mosape-n
1sg=think	good	at-COMP	IRR.1sg-give	piece-small	bride.price-PERT

paria-ng]O]Compl:Obl]Compl:O

wife-1sg.PERT

‘I thought, “It’s good if I were to pay the bride price for my wife.”’

(KM060111_0041)

Complement clauses to adjectives are usually of the Fact type, but they can also be of the Potential type, as in (65). In the former case, the complement clause is marked by *te*, whereas in the latter, it is marked by *a-te* (plus irrealis). The modified adjective functions as predicate head to a non-verbal predicate which forms the VCC of a verbless clause. In particular with *pian*, the VCS is often not overtly stated. It shows as a ‘dummy’ 3sg pronoun in case it is.

11.1.2.7 Complement clauses: conclusions

As we have seen, complement clauses come in a number of varieties. This embedded clause type is relatively rare in Paluai, so it is not certain whether complement clauses in spontaneous language use can show all the possibilities (relating to argument structure and TAM distinctions) that main clauses show. All the TAM particles are attested in complement clauses, and they are also encountered with O arguments, although not with Obliques.

11.1.3 Conditional subordinate clause

A conditional subordinate clause refers to a future or hypothetical event that forms the condition for another event to happen. The table below shows the different possibilities for conditional clauses.

Type	Ordering	Form of SC marker	Form of FC marker
“Plain” conditional clause	SC (protasis) precedes FC (apodosis)	Irrealis	ya ‘then/FOC’
<i>((a-)te) kapwa</i> conditional clause	SC (protasis) precedes or follows FC (apodosis)	<i>kapwa</i>	ya ‘then/FOC’
Counterfactual conditional clause	SC (protasis) precedes FC (apodosis)	<i>kanopwên</i>	ya ‘then/FOC’

Table 11.3 Types of conditional clauses

11.1.3.1 “Plain irrealis” conditional clauses

The condition (or protasis) is always irrealis, while the consequence (or apodosis) can be either realis or irrealis. The protasis is never marked by any aspectual particles and only shows “plain” irrealis; it always precedes the apodosis. The apodosis is often, but not always, marked with *ya* ‘then’. When there is a linked main and subordinate clause, one clause can be regarded the ‘Focal clause’ (FC), referring to the central activity or state of the biclausal linking, and the other the ‘Supporting clause’ (SC) (cf. Dixon, 2009), giving information about that state or activity. With conditional clauses, the protasis forms the SC and the apodosis the FC. Both are marked: SC by irrealis and FC by *ya*. Conditional subordinate clauses marked by irrealis and *ya* do not form very ‘strong’ conditionals, and can often also be translated starting with ‘when’, rather than ‘if’.

When the apodosis is irrealis, we get a potential conditional, as in (66) to (68). Potential conditionals ‘have a strong affinity with the future’ (Timberlake, 2007, p. 323).

(66) *som kime wop a wopwa*, “*worou som numum si rang*”

[som	ki-me	wop] _{Pro}	[ya	wo=pwa	wo=tou
one.ANIM	IRR.3sg-come	fly	then	2sg=say	2sg=give

numu-m si ta-ng]_{Apo}
 feather-2sg.PERT come.down POSS-1sg

‘If/when one comes flying, you say, “Give me one of your feathers.”’
 (WL020711_0151)

(67) *urêkala renten, pang kipe rut*

[wurê=ka-la tenten]_{Pro} [pang ki-pe
 1pc.EXCL=IRR.NS-go.to speak.to.ancestor rain IRR.3sg-PFV

tut]_{Apo}

fall

‘If/when we go and speak (to this stone), rain will fall.’ (NS220511_1_0070)

(68) *koliliu me poyep a taukape ret*

[ko-liliu me poyep]_{Pro} [ya tau=ka-pe tet]_{Apo}
 IRR.1sg-return come afternoon then 1du.INCL=IRR.NS-PFV move

‘When I return in the afternoon, we will go.’ (KM050995_0007)

When the apodosis is realis, we get a general or iterative conditional (cf. Timberlake, 2007): each time the condition in the protasis is met, the event represented in the apodosis will come to pass. In example (69), the apodosis is also marked for habitual aspect.

(69) *mare kila pei raip a ipto liliu si, a ip saênip teo, ipto renten taip*

[mare ki-la pei ta-ip]_{Pro} [ya
 sickness IRR.3sg-go.to appear POSS-3pl then

ip=to liliu si a ip saên-ip
 3pl=HAB return come.down and 3pl father’s.sister-PERT-3pl

te-yo ip=to tenten ta-ip]_{Apo}
 EMP-DEM.INT 3pl=HAB speak.to.ancestor POSS-3pl

‘When(ever) they fall sick, they return home and pray to their father’s sisters.’

11.1.3.2 Conditional clause marked by *kapwa* ‘if’

Conditionals can also be formed by marking the protasis with *kapwa* ‘if; supposedly’.⁴ This may be due to influence from Tok Pisin, which also has a periphrastic means to mark conditional clauses. The protasis usually precedes the apodosis. Again, it seems that with an apodosis marked for irrealis, the conditional clause refers to the future (potential), as in (70), and with an apodosis marked for realis, it refers to a general or iterative state of affairs, as in (71).

(70) *kapwa ip̄to mapwai re ngagat, a ip̄kape me l̄p*

[kapwa ip_A=to mapwai te [nga_A=gat]_O]_{Pro} [ya ip=ka-pe
if 3pl=CONT know COMP 1sg=have then 3pl=IRR.NS-PFV

me l̄p]_{Apo}

come take

‘If they know that I have (them), they will come to get (them).’

(AK160411_2_0029)

(71) *ma kapwa i pein te imat, igat sanei reloan*

[ma kapwa yi pein te yi=mat]_{Pro} [yi=gat sanei
but if 3sg woman REL 3sg=die 3sg=have brother

teloan]_{Apo}

right.now

‘But if/when it is a woman that died, there is a widower.’⁵ (SP190311_0039)

Occasionally, a relative or complement clause is marked by *kapwa*. In (72), the relative clause is marked with *kapwa* in addition to being marked with irrealis.

³ Father’s sisters and their descendants are believed to have power over people’s health and fertility.

⁴ *kapwa* may be a complex form consisting of the third person non-singular irrealis marker *ka-* prefixed to the verb *pwa* ‘to say, to think’.

⁵ *sanei* is the official term to refer to the brothers of a deceased man during mortuary ceremonies.

However, what is probably indicated here is that the widower of a deceased woman will be grouped together with her brothers during the mortuary exchange ceremonies.

- (72) *wosuput luek palak te kapwa kilêpi*
 wo_A=suput luek [palak [te kapwa ki_A-lêp=i_o]_{RC}]_o
 2sg=send.away come.out evil REL if IRR.3sg-take=3sg
 ‘You will send away (the) evil that may find him.’ (YK290411_2_0007)

In (73), a complement clause is marked with *kapwa*.

- (73) *ngamaro mapwai re kapwa i re i kulusun kei re ipan san pwên*
 nga_A=ma=to mapwai [te kapwa yi te-yo
 1sg=NEG₁=CONT know COMP if 3sg EMP-DEM.INT

 yi kulusu-n kei [te ip=an san]_{RC}]_{Compl:O} pwên
 3sg rubbish-PERT tree REL 3pl=PRF cut NEG2
 ‘I’m not sure whether this is sawdust [*lit.* ‘rubbish of a tree that they sawed].’
 (Game1_021012_0324)

Sometimes, the protasis follows the apodosis in a subordinate clause, marked by either *te* or *a-te* and *kapwa*. This seems to have the meaning ‘in case’ and refers to a ‘possible reason/condition’ clause. It is not clear whether there is any difference in meaning between the use of *te* and *a-te*. The entire construction has strong hypothetical/potential semantics. The clause marked by (*a-*)*te kapwa* functions as SC, and indicates that the state of affairs represented in it might come to pass, and this will lead to the events represented in the apodosis.

- (74) *kiro apek tai, are kapwa kinu*
 [ki-to apek ta-i]_{Apo} [a-te kapwa ki-nu]_{Pro}
 IRR.3sg-HAB hit POSS-3sg at-SUB if IRR.3sg-bathe
 ‘She will rub it on herself, in case she will bathe.’ (NK290311_2_0023)

- (75) *wolak, te kapwa wopwa wola ning panu reo...*
 [wo=lak]_{Apo} [te kapwa wo=pwa wo=la ning panua
 2sg=go SUB if 2sg=want.to 2sg=go.to see place

te-yo]Pro

EMP-DEM.INT

‘(When) you will go, in case you want to go and see this place...’

(LL030611_0012)

kapwa is used with particular frequency for second person singular in order to indicate hypothetical events, probably because 2sg is not overtly marked for irrealis. In whichever way it is used, it marks information that the speaker is not entirely sure of or cannot vouch for. Thus, in (72) it is inserted in the relative clause because the speaker is not certain that the evil will occur, and the action referred to by the main clause has to be carried out *only* if the events described in the dependent clause will come to pass. Thus, there are conditional overtones in this sentence. In (73), there are no such overtones and the use of *kapwa* indicates that the speaker cannot vouch for the information given.

11.1.3.3 Counterfactual conditionals

Counterfactual conditionals are strongly linked to the past. They indicate that if event X would have come to pass, this would have led to event Y, but since X did not happen, Y also did not happen. Thus, the speaker asserts that the protasis of this type of conditional is not true (and, as a result, the apodosis isn't either). Counterfactuals are very rare, but if they are used, they seem to take the marker *kanopwên*.

(76) *kanopwên ipkano rok, a ip tamanep a ip tupunep ipkano sa ningip*

[kanopwên ip=ka-no tok]Pro [ya ip tama-n-ep
CNTF.COND 3pl=IRR.NS-IPFV stay then 3pl father-PERT-1pl.EXCL

a ip tupu-n-ep ip=ka-no sa ning=ip]Apo
and 3pl grandparent-PERT-1pl.EXCL 3pl=IRR.NS-IPFV MOD see=3pl

‘If only they had stayed here, then our fathers and grandfathers would have been able to see them.’ (NP190511_2_0029)

(77) *kanopwên ip Paluai ipkaliliu lak, a ippe yong kyunip lai sul o*

[kanopwên	ip	Paluai	ip=ka-liliu	lak] _{Pro}	[ya
CNTF.COND	3pl	Paluai	3pl=IRR.NS-return	go	then

ip=pe	yong	kuyu-n-ip	la	a-yi	sul	yo] _{Apo}
3pl=PFV	hear	noise-PERT-3pl	go.to	at-3sg	dry.coconut.leaf	DEM.INT

‘If only the Paluai had come back, they would have heard their noise on the dry coconut leaves.’ (LK100411_0110)

11.1.4 Adverbial subordinate clause

An adverbial subordinate clause is linked to a main clause and provides more information in the same way as an adverbial phrase would do. There are several subtypes of adverbial subordinate clauses marked by different forms. An overview is given in the table below.

Since dependent clauses are only marked by *te* and not by, for instance, different constituent order or TAM possibilities, it is sometimes very difficult to decide whether a construction consists of a main and subordinate clause or two main clauses. The distinction between main and subordinate is most likely a continuum in any case. What was said above about *te* is also true for its role in adverbial subordinate clauses: whenever a constituent slot is filled by a sequence marked with *te*, this is an indication that the slot is filled by a clause rather than a phrase. Consequently, the presence of *te* indicates that a clause should be considered as an adjunct (i.e. a subordinate clause) to another clause, rather than an independent main clause. In what follows, the various types of adverbial subordinate clauses will be discussed.

Type of clause	Semantic varieties	Form of SC marker	Form of FC marker
Temporal (relative time)	Before/After	<i>panuan te</i> 'before'	<i>ya</i> 'then/FOC' ^o
		<i>monokin te</i> 'after'	<i>ya</i> 'then/FOC' ^o
	Simultaneity, contiguity	<i>no te</i> 'just as, as soon as'	<i>ya</i> 'then/FOC' ^o
		<i>pwotnan te</i> 'when'	<i>ya</i> 'then/FOC' ^o
		<i>pêng te</i> 'when'	<i>ya</i> 'then/FOC' ^o
		<i>taim te</i> 'when'*	<i>ya</i> 'then/FOC' ^o
	Stretch of time	<i>inap te</i> 'until'*	-
Manner	-	<i>kanpwên</i> 'as if'	-
(Possible) consequence	Reason	<i>(a-)te</i> 'for, as'	-
		<i>pari ai te</i> 'because'	-
		<i>ai sa? ma</i> 'because'	-
	Consequence	<i>aronan te</i> 'consequently'	-
		<i>tangoan te</i> 'consequently'	-
		<i>longoan te</i> 'consequently'	-
	Result	<i>(te) onga</i> 'so that'	-
	Possible consequence	<i>te ... sa</i> 'lest, in case'	-
Concessive	-	<i>ma i te</i> 'but, although' [†]	<i>ma i te</i> 'but' [†]

Table 11.4 Types of adverbial subordinate clauses

* Tok Pisin loan.

^o Marking of the FC with *ya* is optional.

[†] Either SC or FC is marked, but not both.

11.1.4.1 Temporal subordinate clause

A temporal subordinate clause indicates whether one event happened 1) in sequence with, 2) simultaneous or contiguous with, or 3) during a stretch of time lasting up to another event. Temporal subordinate clauses are in fact relative clauses modifying a temporal noun. They differ from “regular” relative clauses because the main and subordinate clause do not necessarily share an argument. When the subordinate clause precedes the main clause, the two clauses are separated by the marker *ya* ‘then’.

11.1.4.1.1 Temporal sequence

Sequential relations in time between two events are expressed by *panuan* ‘before’ and *monokin* ‘after(wards)’, followed by the dependent clause marker *te*. The forms are nominal in origin; they are derived from the spatial nouns *panu* ‘front’ and *monok* ‘back, behind’. In some cases, there may be overtones of consequence or result, such as in (79): the fact the people quit eating wild bush tubers was a direct effect of yam and mami being introduced. The subordinate clause and main clause can appear in either order for *panuan*, but with *monokin*, the subordinate clause always precedes the MC. Often, but not always, the main clause is marked by *ya* ‘then’.

(78) *ipkaliliu la lopwanip panuan te pulêng teo kipe masai*

ip_S=ka-liliu la lopwa-n-ip [panuan te
3pl=IRR.NS-return go.to place-PERT-3pl before SUB

[pulêng te-yo]_S ki-pe masai]_{AdvCl}
dawn EMP-DEM.INT IRR.3sg-PFV be.clear

‘They would go back to their houses before the dawn would break.’

(LK250111_0027)

(79) *monokin te suei a mwayen teo ipei, a eppe lusim nganan*

[monokin te [suei a mwayen te-yo]_S yi=pei]_{AdvCl}
after SUB mami and yam EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=appear

ya ep_A=pe lusim [ngan-an]_O
then 1pl.EXCL=PFV leave eat-NOM

‘After mami and yam were introduced, we quit eating (them) [=wild bush tubers].’ (KS030611_1_0004)

11.1.4.1.2 Temporal simultaneity/contiguity

There are several forms that indicate co-occurrence or contiguity of events without a strong cause-effect relation (although overtones of this can be present). One of them, *taim* (‘when’, *lit.* ‘at the time that...’), is a loan from Tok Pisin. The temporal subordinate clause precedes the main clause, and again the main clause is often marked by *ya* ‘then’.

(80) *taim te imwat teo, a wope antek*

[*taim* [*te* *yi*_S=*mwat*]_{RC} *te-yo*]_{AdvCl} *ya* *wo*_A=*pe*
when SUB 3sg=be.cooked EMP-DEM.INT then 2sg=make

antek= \emptyset _O

put.away=3sg.ZERO

‘When it is cooked ready, you will put (it) away.’ (CA120211_1_0028)

(81) *taim te wong pa namwi a tamong imat tu niong*

[*taim* [*te* *wong*_{VCS} *pa* *namwi*]_{RC}]_{AdvCl} *ya* [*tama-ng*]_S
when SUB 1sg.FREE yet small then father-1sg.PERT

yi=*mat* *tu* *ni*=*ong*_O

3sg=die stay away=1sg

‘While I was little, my father died (and) left me.’ (SY100411_0005)

(82) *potnan te ngoyai iriyriy suwot a ino lèp masian*

pwotnan [*te* [***ngoyai***]_S *yi*=*tiy.tiy* *suwot*]_{RC}]_{AdvCl}
when SUB possum 3sg=REDUP.observe go.down

ya ***yi***_A=*no* *lèp* [*masia-n*]_O

then 3sg=IPFV take appreciation-PERT

‘When the possum looked down, he got happy.’ (LL010711_0032)

(83) *no re ining maloa suwot teo a nian teo ino paran palak*

[no te **yi**_A=ning [maloa-n]_O suwot te-yo]_{AdvCl}
 just.as 3sg=see reflection-PERT go.down EMP-DEM.INT

ya [nia-**n** te-yo]_S yi=no paran palak
 then stomach-PERT EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=IPFV really bad

‘As soon as he saw his reflection, he got very angry.’ (LL010711_0053)

11.1.4.1.3 Stretch of time

The Tok Pisin loan *inap* is used to indicate that one event occurred during a stretch of time up to the moment another event started; it takes a complement clause because it is a verb. This use of *inap* is not very common, however, and *inap* is encountered more often in its modal sense ‘be able’ (see Section 11.1.2.5).

(84) *wono yen yet teo inap pun te kila mwat*

wo_A=no yen yet=**Ø**_O te-yo inap pun [te
 2sg=IPFV CONT stir=3sg.ZERO EMP-DEM.INT until INTF SUB

ki_S-la mwat]_{Comp}
 IRR.3sg-go.to be.cooked

‘You keep on stirring (it) until it will be cooked.’ (CA120211_2_0035)

11.1.4.2 Manner subordinate clause

The form *kanpwên* ‘as if’ is encountered as a marker of subordinate clauses indicating manner. *kanpwên* is relatively rare in the corpus, and thus it is not certain how exactly it is used, for instance whether the presence or absence of the subordinate clause marker *te* makes a meaning distinction. In (85) there is no marking with *te*, but in (86) there is. In addition, (85) contains *kapwa* ‘if’ in addition to *kanpwên*, possibly because the verbless clause cannot be marked for irrealis. *kanpwên* describes unreal or improbable situations and maybe also the conscious act of pretending (cf. (85)). The subordinate clause, which forms the SC, always follows the main clause.

(85) *iro pei kanpwên kapwa i mumusau, ma i re pwên*

y_i _{Ai=to} $pe=i_{O_i}$ [kanpwên kapwa y_i _{VCS} [mumusau]_{VCC}]_{AdvCl}
 3sg=HAB make=3sg as.if if 3sg white.person

ma i te pwên
 but NEG

‘She acts as if she is a white woman, but (she’s) not.’ (field notes 31/08/2012)

(86) *kino pungpung youn te onga kanpwên kisuwot pung nonot te i reo i youn le pwên*

ki_A -no pung.pung you-n [te onga kanpwên
 IRR.3sg-IPFV REDUP.smell tail-PERT SUB and.so as.if

ki_A -suwot pung nonot [te [y_i te-yo]_{VCS}
 IRR.3sg-go.down smell recognise COMP 3sg EMP-DEM.INT

[y_i you-n]_{VCC}]_{Compl:O} le pwên]_{AdvCl}
 3sg tail-PERT or NEG

‘He will sniffle at the tail as though he can distinguish whether it is his tail or not.’ (LL300511_1_0085)

11.1.4.3 (Possible) consequence clause

In this section, the various ways of expressing consequence and possible consequence by a subordinate clause will be discussed.

11.1.4.3.1 Reason clause

An “implicit” reason subordinate clause is marked by either *te* or *a-te*. Below, examples are given. It could be said that the insertion of *te* or *a-te* functions like a semicolon: the clauses are loosely linked to each other, with one clause sometimes forming an afterthought to the other. The marked subordinate clause is the SC and always follows the main clause. For a stronger, more explicit reason connection between the two clauses, *pari ai te* ‘because’ will be used (see below). It is not clear whether there is a semantic difference between *te* and *a-te*.

(87) *muyou reo imaro patan yoy pwên, te no parun teo iro patan yoy*

[muyou te-yo]_S yi=ma=to pata-n yoy pwên
 snake EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=NEG₁=be top-PERT stone NEG₂

[te [no patu-n te-yo]_S yi=to pata-n yoy]_{AdvCl}
 SUB only head-PERT EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=be top-PERT stone

‘The snake is not on top of the stone; (as) only its head is on top of the stone.’
 (Game1_021012_0033)

(88) *imagat not pwên, are imala songan um pwên*

yi_A=ma=gat natu pwên [a-te yi_S=ma=la songan.um
 3sg=NEG₁=have child NEG₂ at-SUB 3sg=NEG₁=go.to marriage

pwên]_{AdvCl}
 NEG₂

‘She didn’t have children; (as) she never got married.’ (KW290611_0009)

When a speaker wants to suggest a stronger reason relation, the form *pari ai te* (lit. ‘belonging to at-3sg SUB’) is used. Below, an example is given. Again, the marked subordinate clause is SC and follows the main clause which is FC.

(89) *i repwo soan wat tole, pari ai re ipmaro pe ai min pwên*

[yi te-pwo]_{VCS} [soan wat tole]_{VCC} [pari
 3sg EMP-DEM.PROX price up.high EMP belonging.to

a-yi te ip_A=ma=to pe a-yi min pwên]_{AdvCl}
 at-3sg SUB 3pl=NEG₁=HAB make at-3sg hand NEG₂

‘This here is very expensive, because it is not made by hand.’

(Game1_021012_0164-65)

The phrase *ai sa? ma* may be a calque from Tok Pisin; it is predominantly used by younger speakers (below 50). *ai sa* literally means ‘for what’ and is used as a sort of rhetorical question to indicate the meaning ‘because’; an example is given in (90). The phrase is always followed by *ma*, probably functioning as an emphatic marker. The

second clause, marked by *ai sa? ma*, functions as SC, but there is no marker *te* to indicate a dependency relation.

(90) *lau rau reo ıla lot maut. ai sa ma nik in pwak ai lau*

[lau ta-u te-yo yi=la lot maut]_{MC1}
 fishing.net POSS-3du EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=go.to fall sink

[a-yi sa ma nik yi=an pwak a-yi lau]_{MC2}
 at-3sg what EMP fish 3sg=PRF be.stuck at-3sg fishing.net

‘Their net went under, because fish had become stuck in the net.’

(NP210511_1_0015/16)

11.1.4.3.2 Consequence clause

There are three forms that can indicate consequence. All of them are nominal in origin (from the directly possessed subclass) and can do double duty as sentential modal adverbs. The forms are *aronan* (from *arona-* ‘way’) *tangoan* (from *tangoa-* ‘effort; habit’) and *longoan* (from *longoa-* ‘habit’). When modified by the marker *te*, they introduce a consequence dependent clause, meaning ‘accordingly, consequently, as a result’. Again, the marked subordinate clause is SC and follows the main clause which is FC.

(91) *ikipe lai nganngan; tangoan te ippe rou i relo lalon sômsômu relo*

yi_S=ki-pe la a-yi nganngan [tangoan te ip_A=pe tou
 3sg=IRR.3SG-PFV go.to at-3sg food thus SUB 3pl=PFV put

[yi te-lo]_O lalo-n sômsômu te-lo]_{AdvCl}
 3sg EMP-DEM.DIST inside-PERT dish EMP-DEM.INT

‘It is probably food; accordingly, they have put it in a dish.’

(Game1_021012_0332-33)

(92) *uro pe pian. tangoan te yayui ran Yêp Ponaun tu nê m hausik Lorengau,
 Maiiau Pongap to pwalingan*

u_A=to pe [pian]_o [tangoan te yau ta-n
 2du=HAB do good therefore SUB wind POSS-PERT

Yêp Ponaun tu nê hausik Lorengau Maiau Pongap to
 Y.P. stay be.finished hospital L. M.P. be

pwalinga-n]_{AdvCl}

with-PERT

‘They used to do good (to each other). Accordingly, (when) Yêp Ponaun died at the Lorengau hospital, Maiau Pongap was with him.’ (PK290411_3_0010-12)

Result clauses are closely related to consequence clauses. The marker *onga* ‘thus, so’ is used to indicate this type of dependent clause. Its use has been extended, however, and in the present-day language it functions more like a general clause linker and filler. Some of its uses can still clearly be recognised as indicating result. The clause marked by *onga* is SC and follows the FC.

(93) *sam pe kak, te onga Alup Sauka a wong Maiau pwalingan Alup tan Kabon, urêyoppiy la net*

[sam]_s pe kak [te onga Alup Sauka a wong
 outrigger PFV overturn SUB and.so A.S. and 1sg.FREE

Maiau pwalinga-n Alup ta-n Kapon wurê=yop.piy
 M. with.PERT A. POSS-PERT K. 1pc.EXCL=fall

la net]_{AdvCl}

go.to sea

‘The outrigger overturned, so that Alup Sauka, me, and Kabon’s Alup, we fell into the sea.’ (MK060211_0034)

More often, however, *onga* is found as a linker between main clauses, indicating sequence of events (see Section 11.2.1.1 below).

11.1.4.3.3 Possible consequence clause

Another type of dependent clause indicates possible consequence, usually with apprehensive overtones. This type of clause is discussed in Section 6.5.2, because it includes the modal particle *sa*. Below, the examples given there are repeated. The marked subordinate clause is SC and follows the main clause which is FC.

(94) *ngasa pul la rai pwên, te isa yeki* [=79]

nga_A=sa pul la ta-i pwên [te yi=sa yek=i]_{AdvCl}
 1sg=MOD speak go.to POSS-3sg NEG SUB 3sg=MOD hit=3sg

‘I cannot tell him, lest he beat her.’ (WL020711_0056)

(95) *kapwa karapot nik, napunan kowau la kason nik, te isa poyak* [=80]

kapwa ka-tapot nik napunan ko_S-wau la
 if IRR.NS-smoke fish NEG.IMP IRR.1sg-move go.to

kaso-n nik [te yi=sa poyak]_{AdvCl}
 near-PERT fish SUB 3sg=MOD be.rotten

‘If they were smoking fish, it would be forbidden for me to go near the fish, lest it spoil.’ (LL030611_0026)

Sometimes, a possible consequence clause is very elliptical. Example (96) below was used as a warning to a child. What is clearly meant is ‘cover your head, lest the sun burn you!’. The dependent clause, however, is almost entirely elided, with only the marker *te* overtly expressed.

(96) *wopolpol, te sin!*

wo=polpol te sin
 2sg=cover.head SUB sun

‘Cover your head, because of the sun!’ (field notes 25/09/2012)

11.1.4.4 Concessive clause

Concessive or contrastive dependent clauses are marked by the form *ma i te* ‘but, although’. A contrastive relation (between two main clauses) can also be expressed by

the linker *ma* ‘and; but’; it is not clear whether there is a meaning difference between *ma* and *ma i te*. The clause marked with *ma i te* always follows the other clause. It seems to be able to function either as SC (as in (97)), or as FC (as in (98)).

(97) *ngagat kel pulek, ma i re kel sê rang namwi*

nga _A =gat	[kel] _O	pulêek	[ma i te	kel	sê	ta-ng
1sg=have	canoe	too	although	canoe	small	POSS-1sg

namwi]_{AdvCl}

small

‘I have a canoe too, although it is a small one.’ (052b_0304)

(98) *nian teo ipe palak tai, ma i re ima pul la rai pwên*

[nia-n	te-yo] _S	yi=pe	palak	ta-i
stomach-PERT	EMP-DEM.INT	3sg=PFV	bad	POSS-3sg

[ma i te yi=ma pul la ta-i pwên]_{AdvCl}

but 3sg=NEG₁ speak go.to POSS-3sg NEG₂

‘She got angry with him, but she didn’t tell him.’ (WL020611_0009)

11.1.4.5 Adverbial subordinate clauses: conclusions

While formation of temporal and conditional adverbial clauses is quite straightforward, other types of adverbial clauses are difficult to analyse. Often, a sequence could be analysed as either a main and subordinate clause, or as two main clauses, and the relationship between the two clauses is also not always transparent. Presence of the particle *te* in one of the clauses indicates that the relation between two clauses should be regarded as one of dependency. In addition, the form *ya* is encountered with temporal as well as conditional clause sequences.

11.2 Combining main clauses

When two main clauses are linked, there is no marker *te* present. Moreover, there is no distinction between FC and SC for linked main clauses. The semantic types distinguished are shown in Table 11.5 below.

11.2.1.2 Same-event and new-event addition

When there is no focus on temporal succession, either *a* or *ma* is used to connect two main clauses. Usually *a* is used when the second clause somehow “logically follows” from the first one, and *ma* when this is not the case and the second clause is “unexpected”, although this does not hold across the board. This phenomenon may have led to an extension in meaning for *ma* as an emphatic marker (see Section 12.3.4.3). *ma* is mostly used to indicate a relation of contrast, discussed below. Use of a different marker for unexpected addition when there is strictly speaking no contrast relation, is attested for at least one other Oceanic language as well (cf. Lichtenberk (2009) on To’aba’ita). Clauses linked by *a* may have overtones of temporal succession, or even of a reason-consequence relation. Example (100) below shows two main clauses linked by *a*; there is a temporal succession and even a consequential relation implied as the event in MC2 (‘Stephen Pokut telling S that Ponaun arrived’) could not have happened without the event in MC1 (‘meeting Stephen Pokut’).

(100) *ngapwak tan Stephen Pokut a ipwa, “Ponaun in si”*

[ngas=pwak	ta-n	Stephen Pokut] _{MC1}	[a	yi=pwa	Ponaun
1sg=meet	POSS-PERT	S.P.	and	3sg=say	P.

yi=an	si] _{MC2}
3sg=PRF	come

‘I ran into Stephen Pokut and he said, “Ponaun has arrived.”’ (ANK020995_0013)

Examples (101) and (102) below each show two main clauses linked by *ma* without contrastive function. In each case, there is no relation between the two MCs linked by *ma*, either temporal or consequential, although there is such a relation between MC1 and MC3 in (102): the possum was cooked first and then eaten. It is most likely that *a* is used for same-event addition (and elaboration on an event, see the next section) and that *ma* indicates that the two main clauses must be seen as representing two separate, unrelated events. In some cases, the new event that is represented in the second main clause may be unexpected.

(101) *ila poyep, ma uliliu si*

[yi=la poyep]_{MC1} [ma u=liliu si]_{MC2}
 3sg=go.to afternoon and 3du=return come.down
 ‘It had become afternoon and they returned home.’ (LM190611_0006)

(102) *uapui ngoyai a ula roksi, ma ula ngan*

[u=apui ngoyai]_{MC1} [a u=la tok.si]_{MC2} [ma u=la ngan]_{MC3}
 3du=cook possum and 3du=go.to sit.down and 3du=go.to eat
 ‘They cooked possum and they went and sat down, and they went to eat (it).’
 (WL020611_0051)

11.2.1.3 Elaboration

Repetition is very common in Paluai narratives because of a discourse strategy named tail–head linkage, for which see also Schokkin (2013b). Tail–head linkage means that the last part of a clause is repeated as the first part of the next clause. ‘By repeating information, tail–head linkage gives speakers the time to process [i.e. ‘prepare’ – DS] the new chain, and addressees the time to process the information contained in the previous chain’ (de Vries, 2006, 817). Thus, the second MC of example (103) below is repeated; and MC2 and MC3 are juxtaposed without a linker (for a similar example, see MC2 and MC3 of (99) above). However, this may not count as elaboration “proper”, because in fact the repeated main clause does not give any additional information; it just repeats the information already given in the preceding clause. When additional information is given, the linker *a* is usually inserted between the two clauses, for instance between MC1 and MC2 of (103): *lêp China* is new information. This is further evidence that *a* can probably best be analysed as a same-event addition clause linker, with *ma* reserved for linking separate events.

(103) *wuipe lak a wuipe la lêp China, wuila lêpi re onga...*

[wui=pe lak]_{MC1} [a wui=pe la lêp China]_{MC2}
 1du.EXCL=PFV go and 1du.EXCL=PFV go.to take China

 [wui=la lêp=i]_{MC3} te onga
 1du.EXCL=go.to take=3sg SUB and.so

‘We went and we took China [name of a dog], we went (and) took him and so...’
(MK060211_0043)

11.2.1.4 Contrast

When there is a clear relation of contrast between two main clauses, the linker *ma* which is also used for new-event addition (discussed in Section 11.2.1.2) will be used.

(104) *ngamaakêp nganngan pwên, ma ngano akêp muyou*⁶

[nga=ma=akêp nganngan pwên]_{MC1}
1sg=NEG₁=pick.up food NEG₂

[ma nga=no akêp muyou]_{MC2}
but 1sg=IPFV pick.up snake

‘I didn’t pick up the food, but I picked up the snake.’ (Game1_021012_0510)

11.2.2 Alternatives

The disjunctive coordinator *le* connects two main clauses and can be translated with ‘or’. It indicates a choice between two options. Often, *le* is repeated after the second clause of the two it connects.

(105) *i reo, iro patan nan le iro patan yoy le?*

[yi te-yo yi=to pata-n nan]_{MC1}
3sg EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=be on.top-PERT ground

[le yi=to pata-n yoy le]_{MC2}
or 3sg=be on.top-PERT stone or

‘This (thing), is it on the ground or is it on top of the stone, or..?’

(Game1_021012_0046)

⁶ *ma* is formally identical to the first particle of clausal negation *ma-* (which occurs in combination with *pwên*). They may be diachronically related. Negation is discussed in Section 10.2.

Chapter 12 Pragmatics and discourse practices

This chapter will discuss pragmatics and discourse phenomena. Since this subject is pretty much open-ended, it will not be discussed in great detail, since this would fall well beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather, a preliminary overview will be given of striking discourse and pragmatic phenomena.

12.1 Preliminaries

Pragmatics is the subfield of linguistics which studies meaning in context, and thus language in use. Because it is engaged with the study of meaning, pragmatics is often seen as being affiliated to, or even indistinguishable from, semantics. Very succinctly, pragmatics differs from semantics because it takes into account setting and context in the derivation of meaning, whereas semantics does not. Fillmore (1976, p. 83) sees a hierarchical relation between syntax, semantics and pragmatics, in which the former encompasses form, the middle encompasses form and function, and the latter form, function and setting. Lambrecht (1994) argues strongly for a position in which syntax cannot be seen as autonomous from either semantics or pragmatics. Rather, sentence-level discourse organisation, or information structure, determines formal (syntactic and prosodic) outcomes in various ways: this may range from sentence accent, to constituent order, to the organisation of main and dependent clauses. Lambrecht brings up the term *allosentence* (1994, p. 6), which, on a par with *allophone* or *allomorph*, refers to a member of a set of semantically equivalent, but formally and pragmatically divergent sentences, such as English *My NECK hurts* vs. *My neck HURTS* (small capitals indicate sentence accent).

Although there seem to be quite a number of universal tendencies, such as a preference to place discourse-salient information in sentence-initial position, languages differ greatly in how pragmatic constraints play out formally (i.e. in morphosyntax). In what follows, some of the terminology used in this chapter will be defined first, mainly following Lambrecht (1994). Next, language-specific phenomena for Paluai will be discussed with regard to marking of definiteness and specificity, anaphoric and cataphoric reference, topicalisation and focus constructions. The subject of ‘pivot’ will be briefly touched upon. The remaining part of the chapter will go briefly into discourse

organisation beyond the sentence level, mainly discussing the case of narratives: how these are structured and how important events are singled out.

12.2 Terminology

12.2.1 *Presupposition and assertion*

One of language's primary functions (perhaps *the* primary function) is the conveyance of information from a speaker to a hearer.¹ Lambrecht (1994) discusses in detail what this transfer of information entails. What is important for the current discussion is that information has a dual nature: it 'is itself normally a combination of old and new elements' (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 51). Information 'arises by relating something new to something that can already be taken for granted' (*ibid.*). Thus, an utterance (i.e. sentence) consists of two parts: a *pragmatic presupposition* and a *pragmatic assertion*. These are defined as follows (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 52):

- Pragmatic presupposition: The set of propositions lexicogrammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered.
- Pragmatic assertion: The proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted *as a result of* hearing the sentence uttered (italics mine).²

Presupposition and assertion can roughly be equated to 'given' and 'new' information respectively, terms that are traditionally much used, but avoided by Lambrecht because of their ambiguity. What is important to keep in mind, is that the presupposition does not entail all the information the hearer possibly knows, or the speaker assumes the hearer possibly knows, but only what is relevant in the current communicative situation.

¹ Only spoken language will be taken into account in this chapter. Since Paluai does not have a writing tradition, this will pretty much cover all genres.

² Lambrecht (1994, p. 53) uses the term 'proposition' to refer to the kinds of things (situations, events, states of affairs) that are *denoted* by propositions.

12.2.2 Identifiability

Another concept important in relation to information structure is *identifiability*. An identifiable referent is ‘one for which a shared representation already exists in the speaker’s and the hearer’s mind at the time of utterance, while an unidentifiable referent is one for which a representation exists only in the speaker’s mind’ (Lambrecht, 1994, pp. 77-78). The notion of identifiability thus ties in with that of presupposed and asserted knowledge: the first is identifiable, whereas the latter is not. In many languages, identifiable referents are often marked by a grammatical category of *definiteness*, although there is no one-to-one correspondence. Below, it will be discussed how this plays out for Paluai.

The concept of identifiability also comes in handy describing a semantic category with no direct correlate in Paluai grammar, that of specificity:

One way of describing the specific/non-specific distinction in pragmatic terms is to say that a “specific indefinite NP” is one whose referent is identifiable to the speaker but not to the addressee, while a “non-specific indefinite NP” is one whose referent neither the speaker nor the addressee can identify at the time of utterance (Lambrecht, 1994, pp. 80-81).

12.2.3 Activation

The conveyance of information in natural language not only involves knowledge, but also consciousness. There are three possible states an identifiable referent could have in the consciousness of the addressee: *active*, *semi-active/accessible* or *inactive/unused*.³ When a referent is active, it is in the forefront of a person’s focus or consciousness at a particular moment. This is the case for referents currently salient in the discourse, i.e. topics (see below for more discussion of the notion ‘topic’). A semi-active referent is in a person’s peripheral consciousness; it may be a referent which has been mentioned before in the discourse, but which was backgrounded (‘deactivated’) due to intervening discourse material. Alternatively, it may be visibly present in the discourse setting and thus be deictically accessible, or be inferred from a ‘schema’. The notion of ‘schema’ (or ‘script’ or ‘frame’) has a long standing in pragmatics: it refers to a prototypical situation in which an event sequence, participants, props, preconditions and results are

³ Unidentifiable referents are, by definition, not represented in the consciousness of the addressee, since the addressee will only become aware of them as a result of the sentence in which they are introduced.

already preconceived. Scripts are culturally determined; Western scripts involve, for instance, a visit to the doctor, or going to a restaurant. Inactive referents are in a person's long-term memory, and need accentuation (by sentence stress) of the referential expression and full lexical coding in order to be introduced in the discourse and thus become activated.

12.2.4 Topic

The pragmatic category 'sentence topic' is defined as follows (Lambrecht, 1994, p. 131):

A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being *about* this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee's knowledge of this referent. (italics mine)

Sentence topics are preferably expressed by unaccented (anaphoric) pronouns or even by zero reference. Since topics are necessarily in the presupposition, their information status is active or semi-active/accessible. Many languages, however, exhibit an operation often called 'topicalisation', in which a topic constituent is moved to a canonical position, often to the left of the clause:

From a certain degree of accessibility on, it is possible in many languages to code a not-yet-active topic referent in the form of a lexical noun phrase which is placed in a syntactically autonomous or "detached" position to the left or, less commonly, to the right of the clause which contains the propositional information about the topic referent (Lambrecht, 1994, pp. 181-82).

Lambrecht (1994) mentions, however, that some topicalised constituents may also stand in a focus relation to the proposition expressed by the sentence. The function of topicalisation he defines as follows (*ibid.*, p. 161):

As I see it, the relevant function of topicalisation is not to mark an activation state of a referent but to mark the referent of an NP as a (particular kind of) *topic* in the proposition in which it is an argument and, as a corollary, to mark the proposition as being about the referent of this topic. (emphasis in original)

12.2.5 Focus

According to Lambrecht (1994, p. 207), ‘the focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable element in an utterance’. Thus, theoretically, every sentence has a part that has focus, since otherwise it would not add new information to the information already established in the discourse. Focus does not have to refer to a discourse entity (often, it does not), but can also refer to a *relation* between two identifiable entities that is newly established. Part of the sentence material in focus has sentence accent. The reverse, however, does not hold: sentence accent on a particular element does not automatically mean that it is in focus (cf. Lambrecht (1994), in particular Chapter 5). Lambrecht (1994, p. 222) distinguishes three types of focus:

1. Predicate-focus structure: unmarked topic-comment sentence type in which the predicate is in focus and topical elements (usually the subject) are in the presupposition.
2. Argument-focus structure: the focus identifies the missing argument in a presupposed open proposition.
3. Sentence-focus structure: event-reporting sentence type; the focus extends over both the subject and the predicate (minus any topical non-subject elements).⁴

Argument-focus structure can, among others, refer to what is traditionally called ‘contrastive’ focus. In many languages, however, a single sentence can be ambiguous between two or more types of focus.

⁴ ‘Predicate’, in this sense, should be distinguished from the usual sense of ‘predicate’ in this thesis. Here, the term refers to the part of the utterance that is not the S/A argument. Other arguments therefore can be part of it. In its usual sense within this thesis, the term ‘predicate’ refers to the obligatory part of any sentence, which is usually filled by a verb. In this sense, it does not include any arguments.

12.3 Information structure on the sentence level

12.3.1 Identifiability: definiteness and specificity

Because Paluai does not have a grammatical category of determiners, definiteness is not morphologically indicated. However, definiteness is seen as a pragmatic, rather than a grammatical category (see the discussion above in Section 12.2.2 and also Aikhenvald and Dixon (1998)) and thus, it is evident also in languages that lack a systematic formal expression of it. A NP can be marked as definite in the following ways:

1. By a demonstrative modifier following it (in particular the intermediate demonstrative is frequently used for this).
2. By the formative *ta-* which can attach to numerals, quantifiers and adjectives.
3. By means of a (direct or indirect) possessive construction.

12.3.1.1 Demonstrative as definiteness marker

Without a discourse context, unmarked, bare NPs are ambiguous between a definite and an indefinite interpretation. When a bare NP is mentioned in the discourse for the first time, it can be regarded as indefinite, because the speaker does not regard its referent as identifiable to the hearer.⁵ Subsequent references to the same entity will, however, be identifiable to the hearer and thus be definite. These subsequent references are usually represented by an anaphoric pronoun (see below in Section 12.3.2) or by a NP modified by a demonstrative. The latter is exemplified below.

(1a) *wuikape me lêp kun a sapul [...]*

wui_A=ka-pe me lêp [kun a sapul]_O

1du.EXCL=IRR.NS-PFV come take basket and shell.money

‘We (two) will bring a basket and shell money.’ (KW290311_0012)

(1b) *[...]kape lêp lak [...]*

ka_A=pe lêp=Ø_O lak

IRR.NS-PFV take=3sg.ZERO go

‘We will bring (it)...’ ((KW290311_0014)

⁵ Occasionally, the numeral ‘one’ is seemingly used to mark a referent as indefinite. For more, see Section 5.2.

(1c) [...]*kiro wau lêp kun teo*

ki_A=to wau lêp [kun te-yo]_O
 IRR.3sg=CONT move take basket EMP-DEM.INT

‘She will be wearing the basket.’ (KW290311_0015)

(1d) *a ip yamar ip kape ning a ip kape pwa, “pein teo, rapo ila ran narun Kireng”*

a [ip yamat]_A ip=ka-pe ning=∅_O a ip=ka-pe
 and 3pl person 3pl=IRR.NS-PFV see=3sg.ZERO and 3pl=IRR.NS-PFV

pwa [[pein te-yo]_{TopCS} tapo yi=la [ta-n natu-n
 say woman EMP-DEM.INT indeed 3sg=go.to POSS-PERT son-PERT

Kireng]_{CC}]_{CompI:O}

K.

‘And the people will see (it) and they will say, “This woman, indeed she now belongs to Kireng’s son.”’ (KW290311_0016)

Utterances (1a) to (1d) form a sequence (with deletion of some repeated material). They are from the same narrative, about the ‘bride price’ procedure. This involves the gift of a basket by the groom’s family to the bride’s family, which the bride will wear as a mark or ‘proof’ of the agreement. The basket is first introduced into the discourse in the utterance given in (1a), and is therefore in focus. To show its status as the new bit of information that this sentence provides, it receives sentence accent. In (1b) it is referred to by an anaphoric pronoun, and since it functions as inanimate direct object, the anaphoric pronoun has a zero form. In (1c), it also functions as direct object, but it is again referred to by a full NP. This is probably due to the fact that there is some material intervening between the two references to the same entity. To mark its definite status, as sentence topic and being in the presupposition, the NP *kun* is now modified by *teyo*. Development into definiteness markers is a very common grammaticalisation path for demonstratives (Heine & Kuteva, 2002, p. 4). In addition, *kun* is an important discourse entity, because it is the sign by which, in (1d), the people recognise the woman as the bride-to-be. This may be an additional reason that it is represented again as a full NP (recall from the previous section that the preferred way of referring to

topics is by unmarked anaphoric pronouns). The direct object in (1d) is elided again, but the act of ‘seeing’ refers not only to the entity *kun*, but to the entire preceding clause representing the event ‘the woman wearing the basket’. In (1d), the copula subject *pein teyo* is topicalised, which is evident from the fact that a clausal adverb *tapo* is inserted between the topicalised NP and the subject bound pronoun cross-referencing it.

12.3.1.2 Formative *ta-* as definiteness marker

This formative was discussed in detail in Sections 4.3, 4.5, 4.6 and 5.9. Only one of its functions is to mark definiteness and specificity, and this is not determined by pragmatic factors alone; for instance, the *ta-* formative is used when there is reference to the two members of a married couple or a person’s two ears, which is a pre-conceived definite subset.

12.3.1.3 ‘Anchoring’ by possessive construction

Possessive constructions can be used to ‘anchor’ newly introduced referents, since they link these to a participant already established in the discourse (who will be the Possessor in the possessive construction). This does not mean that all possessive construction have this anchoring function: they can also introduce entirely new information, whereby both Possessor and Possessee are newly introduced referents. Below, an example is given of anchoring.

(2) *monokin a wope puk kop tao; wope lêp kom puan tiok...*

monoki-n	ya	wo _A =pe	puk	[kop ta-o] _O	wo _A =pe	lêp	
behind-PERT	then	2sg=PFV	open	lime	POSS-2sg	2sg=PFV	take

[ka-m	puan	tiok] _O
CLF.food-2sg	fruit	piper.betle

‘After that, you open your lime gourd; you take your *tiok* fruit...’

(LL300511_2_0015)

This sentence comes from an instruction about how to chew betel nut. The 2sg pronoun *wo* refers to an established participant, the addressee. The items *kop* ‘lime gourd’ and *puan tiok* ‘piper betle fruit’ are mentioned here for the first time. However, because they

are mentioned as Possesseees in possessive constructions, with the established participant *wo* as Possessor, they refer not to any lime gourd or *tiok* fruit, but to specific items that are (supposed to be) in the possession of the addressee. Since the speaker considers the referents of the NPs to be identifiable to the addressee, they have definite reference.

Another consideration that is relevant for this particular sentence is that *turuop* ‘chewing betel nut with *tiok* and lime’ is an important activity on Baluan Island and therefore it has a schema or script. The props needed for *turuop*, which include lime and *tiok* fruit, can easily be accessed by anyone familiar with the script. They may therefore be presupposed even before their first mention in the discourse.

12.3.2 Anaphors and cataphors

An anaphor is ‘an expression that must be interpreted via another expression (the “antecedent”), which typically occurs earlier in the discourse’ (Cruse, 2006, p. 12). Anaphoric function is often fulfilled by pronouns, demonstratives or other types of deictics. A cataphor has the same function as an anaphor, with the difference that the ‘antecedent’ occurs later in the discourse.

12.3.2.1 Pronouns as anaphors and cataphors

Once a referent is introduced into the discourse, it is predominantly referred to by 3sg anaphoric pronouns, unless it is emphasised by means of topicalisation or a focus construction. Because there is no gender marking in the pronominal system, it can be difficult to track referents of anaphoric pronouns. Consider the following sequence, which consists of lines 64-67 from Text 1 about fighting stones which can be found in Appendix II. There are three discourse participants in this sequence that are referred to by (zero or overt) anaphors: *Komou* (marked with the index *i*), *Parulabei* (marked with *j*) and *asilon sopwol te yisok sau te yila yen pwapwan teyo* (marked with *k*). *Parulabei* is first coreferenced by the suffix *-n* on *asilon*, to indicate that it is his part that got cut off. The next pronoun, *yi* (marking the A argument of the first relative clause) refers to *Komou*, who did the cutting off. The antecedent of the subsequent 3sg pronoun *yi* (marking the S of the second relative clause) changes to the cut-off piece, which is lying to the side of *Parulabei* (again referred to only by the suffix *-n*). This entire complex clause, which forms the O argument of the clause in (3c) and is topicalised and thus fronted, is the antecedent of the zero 3sg object pronoun on the verb *apek*, indicating

that it was the cut-off part that Parulabei whacked into Komou. (3d) is a bit more straightforward: the 3sg subject pronoun refers to Parulabei and the object pronoun to Komou; after that reference changes and the next subject pronoun refers to Komou, indicating that it was he who fell down the slope of Malsu.

(3a) *Komou reo isok sau Parulabei sopwol*

[Komou te-yo]_i yi_i=sok sau [Parulabei_j sopwol]_o
 Komou EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=strike cut Parulabei one.half.round
 ‘Komou struck off one half of Parulabei.’

(3b) *minak tepwo, kapwa kalak...*

minak te-pwo kapwa ka_s-lak
 present.time EMP-DEM.PROX if IRR.NS-go.to
 ‘Nowadays, if one goes there...’

(3c) *asilon sopwol le isok sau re ila yen pwapwan teo, Parulabei reo ipe apek tan Komou reo*

[asilon-_n_i sopwol [te yi_j=sok sau=Ø_k [te
 side-3sg.PERT one.half.round REL 3sg=hit cut=3sg.ZERO REL

 yi_k=la yen pwapwa-_n_j]] te-yo]_k Parulabei_j te-yo
 3sg=go.to lie side-PERT EMP-DEM.INT Parulabei EMP-DEM.INT

 yi_j=pe apek=Ø_k ta-n Komou_i te-yo
 3sg=PFV hit=3sg.ZERO POSS-PERT Komou EMP-DEM.INT
 ‘This half part of him [Parulabei] that he [Komou] struck off, which came to lie at his [Parulabei’s] side, Parulabei whacked into Komou.’

(3d) *iruk antek takau re ila lot te ila yen lalon Malsu relo*

yi_j=tuk antek takau=_i_i te yi_i=la lot te yi_i=la
 3sg=beat put.away altogether=3sg SUB 3sg=go.to fall SUB 3sg=go.to

 yen lalo-n Malsu te-lo
 lie inside-PERT Malsu EMP-DEM.DIST

‘He knocked him away altogether, so that he [Komou] fell and came to lie down inside Malsu.’

Occasionally, personal pronouns seem to be used as cataphors as well. This may mainly have a rhetorical purpose. Below, an example is shown, again from the same legend (lines 89-90):

(4a) *polpolot teo, u re ukape pe polpolot teo, won yoy re iptaneki la polpolot teo [...]*

[polpolot te-yo]_{TopO} [u]_A te u=ka-pe pe [polpolot
 song.type EMP-DEM.INT 3du REL 3du=IRR.NS-PFV do song.type

te-yo]_O

EMP-DEM.INT

‘(As for) this *polpolot*, the two that will sing [*lit.* ‘do’] the *polpolot*...’

(4b) *Kisawin, Alup Kisawin Pwaril, te i pên tan Ngat Kanawi re taman ining yoy reo, a Alup Pilan Pokut, te ukape pe polpolorin yoy reo.*

[Kisawin Alup Kisawin Pwaril [te yi pên ta-n Ngat
 Kisawin Alup Kisawin Pwaril REL 3sg daughter of-3sg.PERT Ngat

Kanawi [te tama-n yi=ning yoy]_{RC} te-yo]_A a
 K. REL father-PERT 3sg=see stone EMP-DEM.INT and

[Alup Pilan Pokut]_A [te u=ka-pe pe [polpoloti-n
 Alup Pilan Pokut REL 3du=IRR.NS-PFV do song.type-PERT

yoy te-yo]_O]_{RC}

stone EMP-DEM.INT

‘[It is] Kisawin, Alup Kisawin Pwaril, who is the daughter of Ngat Kanawi whose father has seen these stones, and Alup Pilan Pokut, who are the ones who will sing the *polpolot* of the two stones.’

The personal pronoun *u* in (4a) does not have an antecedent; its ‘antecedent’ is only mentioned in the clause following it. This requires greater processing effort on the part

of the audience, who will at first not be able to identify the individuals that *u* refers to. This may facilitate a rhetoric effect which draws the attention of the audience to the announcement that a song dedicated to the history of the two stones will be performed.

12.3.2.2 Demonstratives as anaphors and cataphors

Demonstratives were discussed in Section 4.3. For convenience, the table there giving an overview of the various demonstrative forms is repeated below.

Form	Modifies noun	Modifies pronoun	Modifies verb	Full NP (core argument)
<i>pwo</i> ‘this’	sometimes	yes	no	no
<i>yo</i> ‘that’	sometimes	yes	no	no
<i>lo</i> ‘that (far)’	sometimes	yes	no	no
<i>tepwo</i> ‘this’	yes	yes	no	no
<i>teyo</i> ‘that’	yes	yes	no	no
<i>telo</i> ‘that (far)’	yes	yes	no	no
<i>arepwo</i> ‘here’	no	no	yes	no
<i>areyo</i> ‘there’	no	no	yes	no
<i>arelo</i> ‘over there’	no	no	yes	no
<i>tarepwo</i> ‘this’	no	no	no	yes
<i>tareyo</i> ‘that’	no	no	no	yes
<i>tarelo</i> ‘that (far)’	no	no	no	yes

Table 12.1 Demonstrative paradigm

Demonstratives are deictic expressions, which, in situational deixis, ‘indicate the location of referents along certain dimensions, using the speaker (and time and place of speaking) as a reference point or “deictic centre”’ (Cruse, 2006, p. 44). With discourse deixis, demonstratives function as anaphors to refer to previously mentioned discourse participants or stretches of discourse, or they act as cataphors and refer forward. Demonstratives are used both for situational and discourse deixis. Basic demonstrative forms and forms prefixed by *te-* cannot occur as independent forms, but always modify

a noun or pronoun. The forms starting with *ta-* can occur independently and are thus often used as anaphors to entities previously mentioned in the discourse.⁶

In discourse deictic function, the proximate demonstrative is often used as a cataphor, referring forward to the immediately following stretch of discourse. This is the case in (5), where *pwapwae tepwo* ‘this story’ refers to the story immediately following this utterance.

- (5) *ngapwa kope pwapwa repwo, pwapwa pari ai pang*
- | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| nga _A =pwa | ko-pe | [pwapwae te-pwo] _O | pwapwae |
| 1sg=want.to | IRR.1SG-make | story | EMP-DEM.PROX story |
-
- | | | |
|--------------|--------|------|
| pari | a-yi | pang |
| belonging.to | at-3sg | rain |
- ‘I am going to tell this story, the story of the rain.’ (LM260511_1_0004)

The distal demonstrative, when used as a discourse deictic, is generally also used as a cataphor, in particular in the formula *temenin telo* ‘like that’, which refers to the contents of an immediately following utterance or stretch of discourse. An example of this use is sentence (6).

- (6) *upe pul me rang la remenin telo...*
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------|------|----------|-------|---------|--------------|
| u _A =pe | pul | me | ta-ng | la | temenin | te-lo |
| 3du=PFV | speak | come | POSS-1sg | go.to | like | EMP-DEM.DIST |
- ‘They (2) spoke to me as follows...’ (LK100411_0056)

The intermediate demonstrative, in its discourse deictic function, seems to have acquired evaluative and recapulative overtones: it occurs frequently at the end of a narrative, modifying the 3sg pronoun *yi*. The phrase *yi yo* or *yi teyo* has a sense of ‘Okay’ or ‘That’s it’ – see examples (7) and (8). A recapulative analysis is supported by the fact that there is most often a short pause between the phrase with the demonstrative and the main part of the utterance.

⁶ The forms starting with *a-* are only used for spatial deixis. They will not be discussed here; examples of their use can be found in Section 4.3.

(7) *i o, ningning tang o*

[yi yo]_{VCS} [ningning ta-ng yo]_{VCC}
 3sg DEM.INT view POSS-1sg DEM.INT

‘That’s it. That’s my point of view (on the matter I just discussed).’

(OL040311_0047)

(8) *i reo, pwapwaen songanum tui rea*

[yi te-yo]_{VCS} [pwapwae-n songan.um ta-ui te-ya]_{VCC}
 3sg EMP-DEM.INT story-PERT marriage POSS-1du.EXCL EMP-then

‘That’s it, the story of our marriage.’ (KM060111_0098)

Another example of the use of *yi yo* is discussed in Section 12.5.1.1.2 below, where it is used to mark the climax of a story. It indicates something like ‘there you have it’ and is in a way also recapitulative: based on what was said in the preceding discourse, things were bound to get pear-shaped, and they did.

Thus, all demonstratives (proximate, intermediate and distal) have dual roles as situational and discourse deictic markers. In discourse, they still do point, but on a more abstract level. Intermediate demonstratives draw the attention of the addressee by emphasising the element they modify and refer back as anaphors, not to an individual entity but to a stretch of discourse. This has probably led to their use as markers of definiteness (see above) and discourse topic (see below). Proximate and distal demonstratives have acquired a slightly different role as cataphors, referring forward.

There may be some instances of the intermediate demonstrative which cannot be classified as anaphors, but which modify newly introduced participants. An example, which is from line 14 in Text 1 in Appendix II, can be found below.

(9) *te yoy reo, yamat te i pari ai pusungop turê tepwo mwanen teo ipwak ai*

te [yoy_i te-yo]_{TopObl} [yamat [te y_i pari a-yi
 SUB stone EMP-DEM.INT person REL 3sg belonging.to at-3sg

pusungop ta-urê te-pwo mwanenen]_{RC} te-yo]_s
 clan POSS-1pc.EXCL EMP-DEM.PROX straight EMP-DEM.INT

yi=pwak a-yi_i
 3sg=meet at-3sg

‘As for these stones, this person who is straight from our clan encountered them.’

What is unusual about example (9) is the second instance of *teyo*, modifying *yamat* ‘person’. This discourse participant, who is an ancestor of the storyteller and sees the two stones fighting, is mentioned here for the first time. Normally, new information would not receive any kind of marking; *teyo* is used predominantly to indicate definite reference for discourse entities introduced earlier in the story. But it seems that when extra emphasis is needed or wanted, speakers can choose to use *teyo* also for new information. In this case, *teyo* may be used to indicate familiarity with a newly introduced participant. It seems that in this function it can only refer to human referents. Note that in colloquial English, a demonstrative (in this case, the proximate one) can be used in a similar fashion: ‘*I was sitting on the bus, and this girl suddenly started screaming...*’. In Paluai, its use may be a sign that some knowledge (on the part of the addressee) of the person referred to is presupposed by the speaker. Compare also Lambrecht (1994), who argues that this use of the demonstrative is typical for introduction of referents which are meant to become topics in the subsequent discourse.

The independent demonstratives starting with *ta-*, in particular the intermediate form *tateyo*, are most often attested as discourse demonstratives, referring back to an entity already mentioned before. An example is given below, again from the legend in Text 1 (lines 60-61). The demonstrative refers to the entire clause that precedes it. After that, the event is repeated again by a nominalisation. All this repetition most likely functions to emphasise the important event described by the clause in (10a) (see Section 12.5.1.1 below for a discussion of the entire narrative).

(10a) *ma ipe nengtou*

ma yi_s=pe neng.tou
 but 3sg=PFV stop.walking
 ‘But he stopped walking.’

(10b) *tareo, nengnengtou reo, ino pe*

[ta-te-yo	neng.neng.tou	te-yo] _{TopO}	yi=no
DEF-EMP-DEM.INT	REDUP.stop.walking	EMP-DEM.INT	3sg=IPFV

pe=Ø_O

do=3sg.ZERO

‘He stopped walking there.’ [*lit.* ‘That, stopping, he did.’]

Another example of the use of the intermediate *ta*- demonstrative is given below.

(11) *monokin tareo, kape pe yep*

monoki-n ta-te-yo ka_A-pe pe [yep]_O
behind-PERT DEF-EMP-DEM.INT IRR.NS-PFV make fire

‘After (all) that, we will make a fire.’ (CA120211_1_0022)

tateyo here refers to the entire discourse up to this point, which describes grating coconuts and rubbing loose sago. It can be concluded that *tateyo*, in contrast to the other demonstrative forms which modify a noun or a pronoun referring to a participant or entity, often refer to a longer stretch of discourse; to one or several events or actions.

12.3.3 Topicalisation

Topicalisation in Paluai involves fronting of a constituent to sentence-initial position. We have already seen examples of topicalisation in the previous sections. There is a fair bit of variation regarding constituents which are allowed to undergo a topicalisation operation: the core arguments S, A and O, Oblique constituents and Possessors in a direct possession construction. Adverbial adjunct phrases (modifying verbs) are not encountered in sentence-initial fronting position. Topicalised constituents are marked with the intermediate demonstrative *teyo*. The several types of topicalisation will be discussed below.

12.3.3.1 Topicalisation of S/A

Because S and A arguments already occur in preverbal position, it is often not immediately evident that they have undergone topicalisation, since there is no fronting operation.⁷ One indication that they can be topicalised, however, is that a clausal adverb

⁷ S, in this case, encompasses the subjects of verbless and copula clauses (VCS and CS) as well.

can be inserted between a topicalised constituent and the remainder of the clause. Under normal circumstances, such clausal adverbs occur in sentence-initial position. An example of S/A topicalisation is given below (adapted from (1d)).

(12) *pein teo, rabo ila ran narun Kireng*

[pein te-yo]_{TopCS} tapo yi=la [ta-n natu-n
 woman EMP-DEM.INT indeed 3sg=go.to POSS-PERT son-PERT

Kireng]_{CC}

K.

‘This woman, indeed she now belongs to Kireng’s son.’ (KW290311_0016)

Another indication that S/A arguments can indeed be topicalised, is that proper names often occur modified by the intermediate demonstrative *teyo*. Since proper names already have unique reference, there is no need to add the demonstrative as a definiteness marker. Therefore, the demonstrative probably functions as a topic marker in these cases. An example (from Text 1 – line 64) is given below.

(13) *Komou reo isok sau Parulabei sopwol*

[Komou te-yo]_A yi=sok sau [Parulabei sopwol]_O
 Komou EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=strike cut Parulabei one.half.round

‘Komou, he struck off one half of Parulabei.’

12.3.3.2 Topicalisation of O

The O argument is very frequently topicalised. When this happens, a full NP is moved from the postverbal object position to sentence-initial position. It thus precedes the A argument and the sentence has OAV constituent order. Only when the O argument refers to an animate being, there will be a trace element in the form of a bound object pronoun on the verb complex. In (14), the direct object of *lêp* ‘take’, which refers to an animate being, is fronted, whereas in (15), it is the inanimate direct object of *tipêl* ‘braid’.

(14) *a not teo, upe lêpi si suk*

a [natu_i te-yo]_O u_A=pe lêp=i_i si suk
 and child EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=PFV take=3sg come.down shore
 ‘And the child, they took him down to the shore.’ (OL200111_0040)

(15) *samin teo, koripêl la kalomwen*

[samin_i teyo]_{TopO} ko_A-tipêl=Ø_i la kalomwen
 end.of.rope DEM.INT IRR.1SG-braid=3sg.ZERO go.to handle
 ‘The ends of the twines I will braid into the handles (of the basket).’
 (AK160411_2_0024)

12.3.3.3 Topicalisation of an Oblique

Occasionally, an Oblique argument is fronted. It will leave a trace in the form of a 3sg personal pronoun, to which the preposition *a-* (which obligatorily marks non-animate obliques) is prefixed. Below is an example where the Oblique argument of the verb *pwak* ‘meet with, encounter’ is topicalised (from Text 1 in Appendix II, line 14).

(16) *te yoy reo, yamat te i pari ai pusungop turê tepwo mwanen teo ipwak ai*

te [yoy_i te-yo]_{TopObl} [yamat [te yi pari a-yi
 SUB stone EMP-DEM.INT person REL 3sg belonging.to at-3sg

pusungop ta-urê te-pwo mwanenen]_{RC} te-yo]_s
 clan POSS-1pc.EXCL EMP-DEM.PROX straight EMP-DEM.INT

yi=pwak a-yi_i
 3sg=meet at-3sg

‘As for these stones, this person who is straight from our clan encountered them.’

12.3.3.4 Topicalisation of a Possessor

In (17), the Possessor NP *mui* ‘dog’, which would normally directly follow the Possessee NP, is fronted and marked by *teyo*. The Possessor is still marked by a *-n* Pertensive suffix on the Possessee NP *nia-* ‘stomach’. The Possessor NP *mui* ‘dog’ could be regarded as the ‘logical’ Experiencer subject of the clause, the speech act

participant that experiences the emotion ‘anger’ (brought on by the other protagonist of the story, a possum, who in this utterance is only referred to by anaphoric pronouns). The concept of ‘be/become angry’, however, can only be expressed by the formula [nia- (ASPECT) palak], with the body part *nia-* ‘stomach’ (which has to be directly possessed) as its grammatical subject. Thus, the topic of (17) is the ‘logical’ subject *mui*, while its grammatical subject is *nian*. Moreover, the anaphoric 3sg subject pronoun *yi* in the following main clause, represented by second line, refers back to the logical subject of the preceding clause, *mui*, and not to its grammatical subject, *nian*.

(17) *mui reo, nian in paran palak tai a iro ngui roui*

[mui _i te-yo] _{TopPoss}	[nia-n _i] _S	yi=an	paran	palak
dog EMP-DEM.INT	stomach-PERT	3sg=PRF	really	bad

ta-i	a	yi _i =to	ngui	tou=i
POSS-3sg	and	3sg=CONT	snarl	give=3sg

‘The dog, he got very angry with him and he ‘snarled after’ him.’ [*lit.* ‘The dog, his stomach got very bad (because) of him...’] (LL010711_0067)

Another example of a topicalised possessor, again with the body part *nia-*, is given below. Again, the logical subject *mui* is coreferential with the subject of the verb in the second clause, *mumut*.

(18) *mui reo, nian ipe rang kelkeleyek a ipe mumut*

[mui _i te-yo] _{TopPoss}	[nia-n _i] _S	yi=pe	tang	kel.keleyek
dog EMP-DEM.INT	stomach-PERT	3sg=PFV	pick.up	REDUP.turn

a	yi _i =pe	mumut
and	3sg=PFV	vomit

‘(As for) the dog, his stomach got upset and he vomited.’ (MK060211_0014)

12.3.3.5 Discourse function(s) of topicalisation

The topicalisation operation is used frequently when speakers want to emphasise a particular participant as important in the discourse. Virtually always, this will be a

discourse participant that has been introduced into the discourse prior to the topicalisation operation; it is therefore identifiable to both speaker and addressee. It is thus either active or semi-active/accessible. If a topicalisation operation occurred with a ‘brand new’ participant, this would certainly be a very marked phenomenon and would probably be done for reasons other than just emphasis (e.g. rhetorical reasons).

Topicalisation is probably more likely to occur when there is a risk of ambiguity or confusion otherwise. In the following sequence, the planting procedures for yam and mami (which is related to yam, but generally considered a lesser species) are compared. The sequence was taken from Text 2 in Appendix II (lines 21-26).

(19a) *aronan lolomêek teo, suei reo sôkôm a worou maran teo, kimwangmwang sa wat*

[arona-n	lo.lomêek	te-yo] _{Top}	[suei _i te-yo] _{TopPoss}
procedure-3sg.PERT	REDUP.plant	EMP-DEM.INT	mamiEMP-DEM.INT

sôkôm	ya	wo _A =tou	[mata-n _i te-yo] _O	ki _S -mwang.mwang
some	then	2sg=put	eye-PERT EMP-DEM.INT	IRR.3sg-REDUP.watch

sa [wat]_{Loc}
 come.up up.high

‘As for the way of planting: the mami, some you will put [into the ground] with their eyes looking up. [*lit.* ‘you put its eye, it will look come up’]

(19b) *sôkôm a worou maran teo, kila luek paye*

sôkôm	ya	wo _A =tou	[mata-n _i te-yo] _O	ki _S -la
some	then	2sg=put	eye-PERT EMP-DEM.INT	IRR.3sg-go.to

luek [paye]_{Loc}
 come.out down.below

Some, you will put [into the ground] with their eyes facing down. [*lit.* ‘you put its eye, it will go down’]

(19c) *ma ilai i ramwayen, mwayen teo woro lomêeki lai re koropun nganngan teo iro au sa wat*

ma yi_{CS}=la a-yi [yi ta-mwayen]_{CC} [mwayen te-yo]_{TopO}
 but 3sg=go.to at-3sg 3sg DEF-yam yam EMP-DEM.INT

wo_A=to lomêek=i_O la a-yi [te [koropu-n nganngan
 2sg=HAB plant=3sg go.to at-3sg SUB base-PERT food

te-yo]_S yi=to wau sa [wat]_{LOC}AdvCl
 EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=HAB walk come.up up.high

‘But when it comes to yam, you will plant it in such a way that the bottom of the tuber is facing upwards.’

(19d) *a i reo; mwayen teo iro ret la paye*

a yi te-yo [mwayen te-yo]_{TopS} yi=to tet la
 and 3sg EMP-DEM.INT yam EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=HAB grow go.to

[paye]_{LOC}
 down.below

‘That’s it. Yam usually grows down.’

(19e) *a mwayen teo kumun kisa pei, a kanen kipe ret suwot paye*

a [mwayen_i te-yo]_{TopPoss} [kumu-n_i]_S ki-sa pei ya
 and yam EMP-DEM.INT sprout-PERT IRR.3sg-come.up come then

[kane-n_i]_S ki-pe tet suwot [paye]_{LOC}
 meat-3sg.PERT IRR.3sg-PFV grow go.down down.below

‘So as for the yams, when their sprout will appear, their meat will grow downwards.’

(19f) *ma suei reo, worou maran la paye, are kanen teo iro pei sa wat*

ma [suei_i te-yo]_{TopPoss} wo_A=tou [mata-n_i]_O la
 but mami EMP-DEM.INT 2sg=put eye-3sg.PERT go.to

[paye]_{LOC} [a-te [kane-n_i te-yo]_S yi=to pei
 down.below at-SUB meat-PERT EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=HAB come

sa [wat]_{LOC}_{AdvCl}
 come.up up.high

‘But as for mami, you put their eyes downwards, as their meat usually grows upwards.’

The sequence above has two distinctly separate but equally salient discourse topics: *suei* ‘mami’ and *mwayen* ‘yam’, which are compared with each other. This environment, where two discourse entities are compared and there is much switching back and forth and thus much potential for antecedent confusion, may be a trigger for extensive use of topicalisation. In fact, these instances of topicalisation may signal a focus relation between the referent of the topicalised constituent and the remainder of the proposition (cf. Lambrecht, 1994). Remember that the material in focus does not necessarily have to be a (newly introduced) discourse participant, but can also be the relation between two already established participants. What is happening here may be an example of ‘contrastive focus’ between yam and mami: one grows upwards, whereas the other grows downwards. It is the relation between the discourse participants and the direction of growth that is highlighted and contrasted in this sequence.

Like most Oceanic languages, Paluai has basic SV/AVO constituent order. By means of topicalisation, constituent order can be changed; it becomes OAV in the case of fronted Objects and XSV/XAVO in case another constituent is fronted. This phenomenon is so pervasive in narratives that the language could possibly be undergoing a diachronic development towards a topic-prominent language, as described by Li and Thompson (1976). Other indications that Paluai may become a topic-prominent language are the lack of articles and of a Passive operation.

12.3.4 Focus

Firstly, the relation between focus and sentence accent will be discussed. Secondly, two particles, which function to foreground or highlight (part of) an utterance and could thus be analysed as focus markers, will be discussed: *ya* and *ma*.

12.3.4.1 Focus and sentence accent

We have already seen in the previous sections that sentence accent can be used to highlight part of an utterance. A pragmatically unmarked utterance has a topic-comment structure and will carry sentence accent on part of the predicate.⁸ It has, as was explained in Section 12.2.5, predicate focus. Sentences that start with an unaccented pronoun to refer to an already established referent have this structure. An example is sentence (1a) above, repeated below as (20). Here, it is the O argument that receives sentence accent, but in fact the entire predicate *kape me lêp kun a sapul* refers to new information. Elements receiving sentence accent are indicated in boldface.

- (20) *wuikape me lêp kun a sapul* [...]
wui_A=ka-pe me lêp [**kun** **a** **sapul**]_O
1du.EXCL=IRR.NS-PFV come take basket and shell.money
‘We (two) will bring a basket and shell money.’ (KW290311_0012)

Predicate focus can also encompass the verb:

- (21a) *woro pe sa?*
wo_A=to **pe** [sa]_O
2sg=CONT do what
‘What are you *doing*?’ (052b_0179)

- (21b) *ngaro nganngan*
nga_S=to **ngan.ngan**
1sg=CONT REDUP.eat
‘I am eating.’ (052b_0180)

In (21a), the personal pronoun *woro* is in the presupposition, and the actions of the referent that *woro* is referring to are in focus. Because the speaker is questioning the action, it is the verb *pe* that is accented. Alternatively, the question can be asked with

⁸ Please note that ‘pragmatically unmarked’ does not mean ‘pragmatically neutral’. In fact, it is not possible for utterances to be pragmatically neutral because they will always be interpreted against a contextual background (cf. Lambrecht, 1994).

the action *pe* also in the presupposition. This yields (21c), which is an allosentence of (21a):

(21c) *woro pe sa?*

wo_A=to pe [sa]_O
 2sg=CONT do/make what
 ‘What are you doing/making?’

In this case, we have argument focus. The relation between *wo* and the action *pe* is already presupposed; what the speaker is querying, and thus what is in focus, is the O argument of the verb *pe*. Since *pe* is ambiguous between ‘do’ and ‘make’, (21c) is more likely to be interpreted as questioning the identity of an object that the addressee is producing, rather than questioning an action of the addressee.

Most often, an utterance has argument-focus structure when it is used to express a relation of contrast. Consider the following two examples, repeated from Chapter 2:

(22) *ngamaning tareo pwên, ma i re pwapwaen iro rang*

nga_A=ma=ning [ta-te-yo]_O pwên ma i te [pwapwae-n]_S
 1sg=NEG₁=see DEF-EMP-DEM.INT NEG₂ but story-PERT

yi=to ta-ng
 3sg=be POSS-1sg

‘I didn’t see all that, but the *story* is mine.’ (YK290411_1_0030)

(23) *ngamaakêp nganngan pwên, ma ngano akêp muyou*

nga_A=ma=akêp [ngan.ngan]_O pwên ma nga_A=no akêp
 1sg=NEG₁=pick.up food NEG₂ but 1sg=IPFV pick.up

[muyou]_O

snake

‘I didn’t pick up the *food*, but I picked up the *snake* (instead).’

(Game1_021012_0510)

In these cases, the contrast is made explicit, but this is not always the case. In (22), it is presupposed that the speaker has a relation to the person that he is talking about (the utterance is from a public speech at a mortuary ceremony). The speaker specifies the relationship by explaining that he did not see events referred to in the preceding discourse, but that the story nevertheless belongs to him. In (23), the contrast relation is a bit more straightforward. It is assumed that the speaker has picked up a picture, since this utterance is part of a *Man and Tree* game (Levinson et al., 1992). So the proposition [speaker picked up *x*] is presupposed, and the identity of *x*, which is the O argument of ‘pick up’ is questioned by the other participant in the discourse (thus, *x* is in focus). He guessed that the speaker had picked up a picture with food in it. The speaker corrects this and contrasts the false proposition [*x* = food] with the correct one [*x* = snake]. This is a clear example of argument focus.

Thus, predicate-focus and argument-focus structures are attested in Paluai. The remaining focus structure, sentence-focus, may also be attested. With sentence focus, the entire utterance (except topicalised non-subject elements) refers to new information and is thus in focus. An example of a sentence-focus structure is the first line of the following utterance, repeated from (18) above:

(24) *mui reo, nian ipe rang kelkeleyek a ipe mumut*

[mui ; te-yo] _{TopPoss}	[<i>nia-ni</i>] _S	<i>yi=pe</i>	<i>tang</i>	kel.keleyek
dog EMP-DEM.INT	stomach-PERT	3sg=PFV	pick.up	REDUP.turn

<i>a</i>	<i>yi=pe</i>	mumut
and	3sg=PFV	vomit

‘(As for) the dog, his stomach got upset and he vomited.’ (MK060211_0014)

This utterance comes from an anecdote about a fishing trip. A dog that was taken aboard the canoe became seasick and vomited. This event is described in the utterance above, and apart from the topicalised NP *mui*, everything in the first line of the utterance refers to brand-new information (and, moreover, to an unexpected event). As was explained above in Section 12.3.3.4, in these cases the topicalised element is not the grammatical subject (although it is the logical subject). Thus, they fit Lambrecht’s (1994) definition of sentence-focus structures. Both the grammatical subject *nian* and the predicate *tang kelkeleyek* are new and thus in focus, but note that *nian* is anchored

by means of the pertensive *-n* suffix. Furthermore, the placement of sentence accent is the same as for an utterance with predicate focus: it lies on the predicate.⁹ The second line of (24), although part of the same utterance, is a new sentence coordinated with the previous main clause. It does not have sentence-focus structure, since it contains the 3sg bound pronoun *yi* which refers to the given element *mui*. This sentence thus has predicate focus.

12.3.4.2 *The particle ya*

The particle *ya* occurs by itself and preceded by the formative *te-*.¹⁰ By itself, it can be used to mark the focal clause of a main-dependent clause sequence, such as the apodosis of a conditional or a main clause modified by a temporal subordinate clause. See Sections 11.1.3 and 11.1.4 for examples.

In other cases, the particle *ya*, by itself, is modifying the 3sg independent pronoun *yi*. The phrase *yi ya* could be translated with ‘alright, well’. It always occurs sentence-initially and is used to highlight the clause that follows it. Below, an example is given from Text 1 in Appendix II (line 59). The clause following *yi ya* represents an important event in the story and is therefore marked. The marker also links this clause with the material that preceded it. Just before its occurrence, it is mentioned that the subject of the clause heard the noise of the two stones fighting. Line (59) represents what is ‘concluded’ based on this information.

(25) *a i a, imaret lai lopwan mangat tai reo pwên*

a	yi	ya	yi _S =ma=tet	la	a-yi	lopwa-n	mangat
and	3sg	then	3sg=NEG ₁ =move	go.to	at-3sg	place-PERT	work

ta-i	te-yo	pwên
POSS-3sg	EMP-DEM.INT	NEG ₂

‘And well, he did not go to the place of his work.’

⁹ This holds when the topicalised element *mui teyo* is regarded not as part of the sentence, but as a left-dislocated element. If *mui teyo* is considered part of the sentence, the structure has sentence accent placement which diverges from that of predicate-focus structure, since topicalised elements are also accented.

¹⁰ Paluai *ya* is homophonous to a Tok Pisin emphatic marker, but it is believed that it has its origins in Paluai and is not a borrowed form. This is mainly because it is generally not used as an emphatic marker on nouns, in contrast to its Tok Pisin counterpart.

The complex form *teya* can be used to mark sentence material (usually a discourse participant) in similar fashion. Below, an example is given (Text 2 – line 19). Again, the clause modified by *teya* forms a ‘conclusion’ to preceding material. In the ‘conceptual arch’ building up to line 19, the storyteller explains his family history. This leads to the conclusion that he is the person designated to tell this story, and this is highlighted by the use of *teya*.

(26) *te wong tepwo rea, ngaro rêk pwapwa repwo*

te	[wong	te-pwo	te-ya] _{Foc:A}	nga _A =to	têk	[pwapwae
SUB	1sg.FREE	EMP-DEM.PROX	EMP-then	1sg=HAB	tell	story

te-pwo]_o

EMP-DEM.PROX

‘So it’s *me* alright, I usually tell this story.’

teya is also encountered modifying the 3sg free pronoun *yi*. Whatever its syntactic function, *teya* is often encountered at the end of narratives and seems to have a recapitulative and concluding function similar to that of the intermediate demonstrative combined with the 3sg pronoun *yi yo* or *yi teyo* discussed in Section 12.3.2.2.

(27) *kalomêek nêem onga inêem tea*

ka _S -lo.lomêek	nêem	onga	yi=nêem	te-ya
IRR.NS-REDUP.plant	be.finished	and.so	3sg=be.finished	EMP-then

‘We will finish planting, and so it will be finished then / it will be finished alright.’ (KM190211_0037)

Although *ya* and *teya* can be translated with ‘then’ or with Tok Pisin *nau*, they do not seem to function as temporal deictics in the strict sense. They do not literally refer to a point in time. Rather, they function to highlight certain aspects of the discourse. Therefore, *ya* is analysed as a focus particle. Below, another example is given in which both *yi ya* and *teya* are attested.

(28a) *woning te inap are yep kino rer ai*

wo_A=ning te [inap a-te yep ki_S-no tet
2sg=see COMP able at-COMP fire IRR.3sg-IPFV spread

a-yi]_{Comp!O}

at-3sg

‘You will see that it is possible for fire to spread through it.’ (KM190211_0017)

(28b) *i a, ope sul yep ai rea*

yi ya wo_A=pe sulu [yep]_o a-yi te-ya
3sg then 2sg=PFV ignite fire at-3sg EMP-then

‘Alright, you will set fire to it then.’ (KM190211_0018)

12.3.4.3 The particle *ma*

Homophones of *ma* were mentioned several times previously. One functions as the first part of discontinuous predicative negation, proclitic to the negated element (see Section 10.2.2) and one functions as a clause linker indicating contrast and new-event addition (see Section 11.2.1). There is also a form *ma* which functions as an emphatic particle or perhaps a focus marker. The cases where it can be most clearly distinguished from the clause linker counterpart, is when it is used sentence-finally. This is usually the case after the question marker *ai sa* ‘what for’ (see Section 11.1.4.3) or for instance in (29).

(29) *hm, yamat ma...*

hm yamat ma
INTJ person EMP

‘My goodness, this man...’ (TP: *man ya tu ya*) (Game1_021012_0420)

In some of its sentence-initial occurrences it may also function as an emphatic marker, but these are harder to distinguish from its use as a clause linker. The following example is again from Text 1 in Appendix II (line 55).

(30) *ma pwempwem som to reyeng a isirak*

ma [pwempwem som]_S to teyeng a yi_S=sirak
EMP bird.sp one.ANIM CONT cry and 3sg=get.up

‘A *pwempwem* bird was crying, and he woke up.’

This sentence is the start of a new episode in the story (for more on the narrative structure of the story, see Section 12.5.1.1 below). There is no connection between the clause represented in (30) and the preceding clause, and thus there is no need for a clause linker. *ma* predominantly seems to fulfil the function of an emphatic/focal particle, to signal the start of a new episode.

12.4 Pivot

The term ‘pivot’ specifies with which arguments an omitted argument can be coreferential in coordinated main clauses. English, for instance, has an S/A pivot condition, which means that ‘if an S or A slot is left blank in any clause, then the omitted argument is understood to be identical with the S or A argument of the previous clause’ (Dixon, 2012, p. 201). For Paluai, the term is not readily applicable, since the S/A argument always has to be cross-referenced on the verb and cannot be elided, also not when two coordinated clauses share the S/A argument. Paluai does not have a passive operation (in which an underlying O argument is promoted to A), which is usually explained in terms of feeding a pivot. The lack of a passive may be explained by the fact that ellipsis of S/A arguments is not allowed.

There are some restrictions on the antecedents of pronominal arguments other than S/A. A peripheral argument (which will always be referred to with an anaphoric 3sg pronoun) is not allowed to be coreferential with the O argument of a preceding coordinated clause. Along the same lines, a peripheral argument of a relative clause is not allowed to be coreferential with the S/A argument of the matrix clause. Therefore, these arguments have to be promoted to O through the use of an applicative derivation (see Section 8.3.2), in order to be allowed coreferentiality with preceding S/A or O arguments.

12.5 Discourse organisation at the paragraph level and beyond

This section will focus in particular on the structure of narratives, i.e. monologues. Of course, conversation is also organised beyond the sentence level, but since the present study focused predominantly on collecting data in the form of narratives, relatively little is known about discourse organisation and negotiation of meaning in spontaneous conversation. This remains an area for further study.

Narratives come in various genres, which are organised and structured differently. The data set of narratives consists of traditional legends, anecdotes, procedural texts, family histories, children's stories and expositions about a particular theme. Most narratives consist of three parts: an introduction, a body and a coda. In the introduction, the storyteller usually introduces him/herself and explains the reason or motivation for telling the story. In particular in the case of traditional legends, which are clan property, the speaker will elaborate on his line of descent (all legends were told by men) to make it clear that he is entitled to tell the story. Anecdotes usually contain much less introduction, in particular when narrated in the company of people who were present at the events (and who thus are presupposed to be familiar with them). The body of the narration will contain the story proper, usually divided into several episodes. Below, two cases will be discussed in more detail: one of a legend, and one of a procedural text. The coda will give a summary and a conclusion, and in the case of a legend, it will usually link the events that occurred in a distant past to the present. Often, this will clarify the *raison d'être* of the story. This can for instance be a moral prescription, or an explanation why a certain state of affairs is as it is.

12.5.1 Structuring of narratives: two examples

When narrating a sequence of events, a narrator has several devices at his or her disposal to structure the narration, in order to make it more accessible for the audience. In particular with legends and other highly conventionalised genres, there are a number of formulas that are frequently used. In what follows, two narratives (one a legend and one procedural) will be discussed in more detail.

12.5.1.1 The story of Parulabei and Komou

This story can be found in its entirety in Appendix II. It is a traditional legend about two chiefs, Parulabei and Komou, the latter of whom broke a taboo. As a result, they end up

fighting, turn into stones, and Parulabei hits Komou so that he rolls downhill and is forgotten.¹¹ The narrative consists of an introduction (lines 1-20), the story proper (lines 21-80) and a coda (lines 81-91). The story proper consists of seven episodes. Events are narrated more or less in chronological order, with some foreshadowing and background information thrown in.

12.5.1.1.1 The introduction

In the introduction, the storyteller introduces himself and goes on to say that before one can start to tell a traditional legend, one first has to explain its origin (*lit.* ‘hit its road’ – line 4). He then continues to introduce himself and his lineage, and explains how he is connected to the story of the two stones: it was his direct ancestor who saw them fighting (line 15). In line 19, he emphasises his entitlement by using a focus clause with the marker *teya*: ‘So it is ME who usually tells this story.’ The introduction ends in line 20 with the prescribed formula *pwapwa teyo ila temenin telo* ‘the story goes like this’. The distal demonstrative *telo* functions as a cataphor for the discourse to follow.

12.5.1.1.2 The narrative proper

Legends occurring in a distant past are always introduced with the formula *palosi teyo ilak*, which is comparable to the English ‘once upon a time’ (line 21). From this line onwards, the temporal setting changes: from the here-and-now of the speech event, the present day, to the temporal setting of the narrative, ‘long ago’. The narrative is divided into seven episodes, which can be summarised as follows:

1. Lines 21-25: sketching the background; explaining why people had to do fishing at night, foreshadowing of events to come: ‘one day, things went awry’ (line 25);
2. Lines 26-37: introduction of the two protagonists, and description of how things went sour; this ends with the sun coming up just as the group is about to go down into the crater of the extinct volcano (climax, line 37);
3. Lines 38-48: description of the fight that erupts between Parulabei and Komou;

¹¹ Legends are not always easy to analyse, since they often contain supernatural events and unpredictable plot twists. It is, for instance, not clear whether the two chiefs turn into stones as a result of Komou breaking a taboo, or this happened for some other reason.

4. Lines 49-54: short digression giving some background on Lalau Alipul, who witnessed the stones fighting;
5. Lines 55-60: description of how Lalau Alipul gets up (change of discourse topic marked by *ma*), and while walking in the bush, hears the stones fighting. A crucial moment is when he stops walking; this is marked by *yi ya* and repetition;
6. Lines 61-73: description of the climax of the fight (marked with *ma* in line 68) and the speech that Parulabei gives to Komou afterwards;
7. Lines 74-80: wrap-up, description of how Lalau Alipul understands that this is an extraordinary event, and how he acts accordingly.

The transition from one episode to the next is usually specified by a discourse marker that functions on the paragraph level: there is either a device indicating the climax of the current subsection or a marker signalling the start of a new episode, or both. Often, change between episodes is also marked by a change in main participants, or a change in spatial or temporal setting (cf. Farr, 1999).

Episode 1, which is setting the stage, ends with a clear forewarning of things to come. Immediately following, the two protagonists are introduced. It is clear that Parulabei is the sensible one, who tries to convince Komou that it is time to stop fishing. Komou, however, disagrees, and Parulabei gives in to him.¹² This is an important event, marked by the focalising particle *yi ya*. When the group continues fishing, Komou realises that Parulabei is right, and he orders the group to pack up their things and go. They hurry back to their village, but it is too late: when they arrive at the edge of the crater and are about to go down, the sun comes up. This is the climax of the first part of the story and the catalyst for events to come, and thus the event is marked by *yi yo*, indicating something like ‘well, there you have it’.

This is followed by a description of the quarrel and fight that erupted between the two chiefs, and the mention that they are (turned into) two big stones. This scene is left aside for a while from line 49 onwards, when another important character is introduced: Lalau Alipul, the ancestor of the storyteller. There is a bit of an exposition about how Lalau Alipul sharpens his knife before he goes to sleep, the function of which is not entirely clear. The discourse topic changes again (marked by *ma*) from line 55 onwards, when Lalau Alipul gets up and hears the tremors and sounds of trees breaking, caused

¹² Parulabei’s initial mistake in giving in to Komou may explain why they are both turned into stones.

by the fighting stones. Lines 59-61 indicate crucial events: Lalau Alipul stops walking in order to listen to the stones. This is marked by the focus particle *yi ya* in line 59, and by repetition of his actions in line 61. Then, he witnesses what happens next: Komou knocks off part of Parulabei and Parulabei reacts by whacking the knocked-off part into him, making him roll down the slope of the crater. In line 68, the particle *ma* is once again used, indicating a change of discourse topic: Parulabei addresses a speech to Komou, explaining to him that in the future, Komou will lie down in the crater forgotten and overgrown with moss and weeds, but Parulabei will stay on top and people will come visit him and clear him of weeds. This speech is rendered by direct quotation. The remaining episode, which starts after Parulabei's speech ends in line 74, tells us how Lalau Alipul realises that this is a very important event, and so, instead of going to his garden, he returns home and tells the story to his family.

12.5.1.1.3 The coda

Lines 81-91 wrap up the story and provide a conclusion. The temporal setting changes back from the time of the narrative to the present, with the words *minak tepwo* 'nowadays'. The storyteller repeats the speech that Parulabei gave to Komou and gives the reason for the story's existence in line 83: the story explains why people do not go and see Komou (and thus only hear of him in a story), but they do go and see Parulabei. The reason clause is marked by the particle *ma*. The storyteller concludes by indicating that the story of the two stones has been turned into a *polpolot*, a traditional song type (see Section 1.4.2.5), and he gives the names of the two women who will perform the *polpolot*. The story concludes with the formula for ending a stretch of discourse: *inêm* 'it's finished'.

12.5.1.1.4 Participants and props

Participants are distinguished from props because they play an active role in the story, whereas props mainly fulfil a supportive role (Farr, 1999). The story involves three participants: Parulabei, Komou and Lalau Alipul. There are also the people that went fishing together with Parulabei and Komou, but they do not play an active role in the story and are only referred to with the 3pl pronoun *ip*. They are therefore not considered participants. There are several other props in the story, such as 'the dawn' (introduced in line 22), and 'their fish' (line 34). The dawn does play an important role, since it is

the catalyst for the events unfolding, but since it is not a sentient being it is regarded a prop rather than a participant. Most props, such as ‘their fish’ are only mentioned once and thus play a very minor role in the story.

12.5.1.2 *Planting yam and mami*

The second text that can be found in Appendix II is a procedural text about how to plant yam and mami. The introduction to this narrative is much shorter, only the first two lines, and there is virtually no coda except for the last line showing the formula *inễm*. The narrative can be divided into three paragraphs:

1. Lines 3-20: preparatory work;
2. Lines 21-30: comparison of different planting procedures for yam and mami;
3. Lines 31-40: instruction of how to wind the yam vines onto stalks.

The sequence of events is largely chronological, except for the second part where yam and various types of mami are compared with each other, which is largely a-temporal.

Because it describes a hypothetical event, virtually the entire narrative is cast in irrealis. Most of the time, second person singular is used, which is not marked for irrealis, but other persons and numbers show an irrealis prefix. There are some conditional clauses, such as in line 28, and a few apprehensive clauses, such as in line 36-37. These refer to procedures that have to be followed in order to avoid an undesired result (i.e. development of seed tubers, or wilting plants because of the sun).

Because both *suei* and *mwayen* are the discourse topic of the second paragraph, and because they are compared with each other, there are many instances of topicalisation in this section. *suei* ‘mami’ is topicalised in line 21, followed by *mwayen* ‘yam’ in line 23. Probably to emphasise the fact that she is still talking about yam, the speaker again topicalises *mwayen* in 24 and 25. In 26, she switches to mami once more, and so it is *suei* that is again topicalised.

12.5.1.2.1 Participants and props

Because this is a procedural text which is meant to instruct, there is only one participant or group of participants: the planter or planters, referred to by the 2sg pronoun *wo* or, once, by the 1pl inclusive pronoun *tap* (line 3). There are, however, many props in the

story, for instance *suei* ‘mami’, *mwayen* ‘yam’, *yêpin kanei* and *yêpin nanaop* ‘leaves of particular plant species’, *lik* ‘carrying bag’, *sapon kei* ‘herbs’, *nganngan* ‘tuber (*lit.* ‘food’)', *nop* ‘mound’, *kap* ‘bamboo stake’ and *sin* ‘sun’. A prop left implicit is *samel* ‘knife’, for instance to cut the herbs, but it is quite clear from the story that one would need such an instrument. This procedural text adheres quite nicely to the observation made for this genre by Farr (1999) who mentions that scripts for procedural texts require them to be very precise in their description, whereas a description of, for example, planting in another type of narrative would receive much less detail.

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Appendix I. Table of Recordings

Code	Genre/subject	Speaker(s)	Length (h:)m:s
052b*	Elicited conversation, plus some spontaneous conversation	2 male, 20-30	14:08
AK160411_1	Procedure (grass skirts)	Female, 40-50	01:39
AK160411_2	Procedure (coconut leaf baskets)	Female, 40-50	03:05
ANK020995*	Anecdote (meeting Ton)	Female, ?	01:42
BK040311	Short speech about customs	Male, 50-60	05:59
CA120211_1	Procedure (frying sago)	Female, 40-50	05:01
CA120211_2	Procedure (coconut oil)	Female, 40-50	04:31
Game1_021012	Picture matching task	2 male, 50-60 and 60-70	42:36
Game2_021012	Picture matching task	2 male, 50-60 and 60-70	22:01
Game1_280812	Picture matching task	2 female, 40-30	16:14
Game2_280812	Picture matching task	2 female, 40-30	13:53
Game3_280812	Picture matching task	2 female, 40-30	25:08
Game4_280812	Picture matching task	2 female, 40-30	26:16
KS030611_1	Traditional legend (yam and mami)	Male, 80-90	07:12
KM040311	Short speech about customs	Male, 50-60	03:48
KM050995*	Anecdote (walking trip)	Male, 30-40	02:38
KM060111	Procedure (making gardens)	Male, 50-60	10:12
KM190211	Procedure (bride price ceremony)	Male, 50-60	04:53
KW290311	Procedure (choosing bride)	Male, 40-50	03:25
KW290611	Traditional legend (snake and eagle)	Male, 40-50	07:42

LK100411	Traditional legend (Casta reef)	Male, 30-40	15:19
LK250111	Traditional legend (two stones)	Male, 30-40	08:59
LM190611	Traditional legend (man carried away by spirits)	Male, 40-50	06:33
LM240611	Family history	Male, 40-50	07:55
LM260511_1	Traditional legend (rain)	Male, 40-50	07:22
LM260511_2	Procedure (conch shell)	Male, 40-50	02:30
LL010711	Children's story (dog and possum)	Female, 30-40	11:41
LL030611	Anecdote (Alim)	Female, 30-40	13:22
LL300511_1	Children's story (dog's tails)	Female, 30-40	10:49
LL300511_2	Procedure (betel nut)	Female, 30-40	04:56
MK050311	Procedure (tree bark baskets)	Female, 40-50	03:56
MK060211	Anecdote (fishing trip)	Female, 40-50	04:51
MK220995*	Anecdote (gardening)	Female, 20-30	00:49
MS250311	Traditional legend (Koleyep)	Male, 50-60	09:41
NP210511_1	Traditional legend (coconut)	Male, 40-50	06:09
NP210511_2	Anecdote (hunting trip)	Male, 40-50	08:06
NS220511_1	Traditional legend (rain)	Male, 50-60	06:41
NS220511_2	Family history	Male, 50-60	04:10
NK290311_1	Procedure (planting yam and mami)	Female, 40-50	03:30
NK290311_2	Procedure (ceremony for girl)	Female, 40-50	03:01
NP190511_2	Traditional legend (Mapou)	Female, 70-80	05:15
NP220611_1	Procedure (planting yam and mami)	Female, 60-70	03:12
NP220611_2	Family history	Female, 60-70	02:06
NP260511	Procedure (food taboo)	Female, 60-70	02:34
OBK040311	Semi-structured conversation about	3 male, two 50-	16:48

	customs	60, one 60-70	
OL040311	Short speech about customs	Male, 60-70	05:31
OL200111	Family history	Male, 60-70	11:39
OL201210	Family history	Male, 60-70	16:31
PN100411	Traditional legend (fishing with net)	Male, 50-60	04:42
PK290411_1	Public speeches	All male, 40-70	03:59
PK290411_3	Public speeches	All male, 40-70	09:04
SY100411	Procedure (mourning ceremonies)	Male, 50-60	05:32
SP190311	Procedure (mourning ceremonies)	Male, 50-60	12:43
WL020611	Traditional legend (gardening)	Female, 30-40	05:45
WL020711	Children's story (two brothers)	Female, 30-40	12:44
YK290411_1	Public speeches	All male, 40-70	05:49
YK290411_2	Public speeches	All male, 40-70	04:47
Total			07:53:45

* Recording made by Ton Otto

Appendix II. Texts

Text 1. Parulabei and Komou (8 min 59 sec)

This story was told on 25 January 2011 by Lalau Kanau (ca. 40 years old) of Loye village. His clan is Munukut. The story is a traditional legend about two chiefs, Parulabei and Komou, who are fighting because Komou broke a taboo (fishing at sunrise). It is unclear whether the two protagonists turn into stones because this taboo was broken or not, but they do. Parulabei eventually hits Komou and causes him to roll down into the crater of the extinct volcano, Malsu, where he will lie among the bushes and will get overgrown by weeds and moss. Komou is thus punished for breaking the taboo. Parulabei, however, stays put on top of the mountain so people can go and visit him. Parulabei is shown in the picture below the story.

- (1) *Wong tepwo nirasip, ngayong Lalau Kanau.*

[wong	te-pwo	panurasip]	vcs	[ngaya-ng	Lalau Kanau]	vcc
1sg.FREE	EMP-DEM.PROX	first		name-1sg.PERT	Lalau Kanau	

Me here first, my name is Lalau Kanau.

- (2) *Pwapwa reo, i puron te rapkape rêk e?*

[pwapwae _i	te-yo]	vcs	yi	[puron	[te	tap _A =ka-pe	têk=Ø _O]	rc]	vcc
story	EMP-DEM.INT	3sg	thing	REL	1pl.INCL=IRR.NS-PFV	tell=3sg.ZERO			

e

TAG

The story, it's a thing we tell, right?

- (3) *Mai re rapkasa rêk la mangsilan pwên.*

ma i te	tap _A =ka-sa	têk=Ø _O	la	mangsilan	pwên
but	1pl.INCL=IRR.NS-MOD	tell=3sg.ZERO	go.to	meaningless	NEG

But we cannot tell (it) just for nothing.

(4) *Te rapkaro yek salan la masayen palosi, a monokin a tapkape ro poposek.*

te tap_A=ka-to yek [sale-n_i]_O la masayen palosi
 SUB 1pl.INCL=IRR.NS-HAB hit road-PERT go.to clear past

a monoki-n ya tap_A=ka-pe to pwapwasek=Ø_O
 and behind-PERT then 1pl.INCL=IRR.NS-PFV HAB speak.out=3sg.ZERO

For us usually we clarify its history [*lit.* ‘road’] first, and afterwards we will tell (it).

(5) *Wong tepwo, wong Lalau Kanau.*

[wong te-pwo]_{VCS} wong [Lalau Kanau]_{VCC}
 1sg.FREE EMP-DEM.PROX 1sg.FREE Lalau Kanau

Me here, I am Lalau Kanau.

(6) *Tinang teo i Alup Nareng, i pari Parioi, Um Dan Sikai.*

[tina-ng_i te-yo]_{VCS} yi [Alup Nareng]_{VCC} yi_i [pari Parioi]
 mother-1sg.PERT EMP-DEM.INT 3sg Alup Nareng 3sg belonging.to Parioi

wumwa ta-n Sikai]_{VCC}
 house POSS-PERT Sikai

My mother is Alup Nareng, she is from Parioi, the house of Sikai.

(7) *Tamong teo i Kanau, Kanau Kanawi.*

[tama-ng_i te-yo]_{VCS} yi [Kanau Kanau Kanawi]_{VCC}
 father-1sg.PERT EMP-DEM.INT 3sg Kanau Kanau Kanawi

My father is Kanau, Kanau Kanawi.

(8) *I pari Parilou, Munukut sêk paye.*

yi_i [pari Parilou Munukut sêk paye]_{VCC}
 3sg belonging.to Parilou Munukut half.long down.below

He is from Parilou, the lower half of Munukut [*located lower on the mountain*].

(9) *Um turê reo, urê, urê mwat.*

[wumwa ta-urê te-yo]_{VCS} wurê wurê [mwat]_{VCC}
 house POSS-1pc.EXCL EMP-DEM.INT 1pc.EXCL 1pc.EXCL bandicoot

Our lineage, we are like the bandicoot.

(10) *Urê mwat, la are ipkape arei rurê la mwoyai.*

[wurê]_{VCS} [mwat]_{VCC} la a-te [ip_S=ka-pe arei [ta-urê]_E la
 1pc.EXCL bandicoot go.to at-SUB 3pl=IRR.NS-PFV say POSS-1p.EXCL go.to

mwoyai]_{AdvCl}

peace

We are like the bandicoot, so they will call us peaceful.

(11) *Pwapwa reo ngapwa korêk tepwo...*

[pwapwae te-yo]_{TopO} nga_A=pwa ko-têk=Ø te-pwo
 story EMP-DEM.INT 1sg=want.to IRR.1sg-tell=3sg.ZERO EMP-DEM.PROX

The story I am going to tell now...

(12) *Pwapwa repwo i pari ai yoy re ngayan Parulabei, a yoy nisip te ngayan yoy Komou.*

[pwapwae te-pwo]_{VCS} yi [pari a-yi yoy te ngayan-n
 story EMP-DEM.PROX 3sg belonging.to at-3sg stone REL name-PERT

Parulabei a yoy ni-sip te ngayan-n yoy Komou]_{VCC}

Parulabei and stone other-one.INANIM REL name-PERT stone Komou

This story is about a stone which is called Parulabei and another stone which is called Komou.

(13) *A yoy reo, i mare kapwa sip pusungop te iro Paluai repwo re kapwa som yamasen te ipwak ai pwên.*

a [yoy_i te-yo]_{TopObl} yi ma=te [kapwa sip pusungop_j [te
 and stone EMP-DEM.INT 3sg NEG₁=SUB if one.INANIM clan REL

yi_S=to Paluai]_{RC} te-pwo] te [kapwa som yamase-n_j
 3sg=be Paluai EMP-DEM.PROX SUB if one.ANIM person-PERT

[te yi_s=pwak a-yi_i]_{RC} pwên
 REL 3sg=meet at-3sg NEG₂

These stones, it is supposedly not the case that there is a member of any clan on Baluan Island who encountered them.

- (14) *Te yoy reo, yamat te i pari ai pusungop turê tepwo mwanen teo ipwak ai*

te [yoy_i te-yo]_{TopObl} [yamat [te yi pari a-yi pusungop
 SUB stone EMP-DEM.INT person REL 3sg belonging.to at-3sg clan
 ta-urê te-pwo mwanenen]_{RC} te-yo]_s yi=pwak a-yi_i
 POSS-1pc.EXCL EMP-DEM.PROX straight EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=meet at-3sg

As for these stones, this person who is straight from our clan encountered them.

- (15) *Yamat te ipwak ai yoy reo, i reo i apuong, apuong te ngayan Lalau Alipul.*

[yamat [te yi_s=pwak a-yi yoy te-yo]_{vcs} yi te-yo
 person REL 3sg=meet at-3sg stone EMP-DEM.INT 3sg EMP-DEM.INT
 yi [apua-ng]_{vcc} [apua-ng [te ngayan
 3sg great.grandparent-1sg.PERT great.grandparent-1sg.PERT REL name-PERT

Lalau Alipul]_{RC}]_{vcc}

Lalau Alipul

As for the person who encountered these stones, he is my great-grandfather; my great-grandfather who is named Lalau Alipul.

- (16) *Lalau Alipul leo irou Ngat Kanawi.*

[Lalau Alipul te-yo]_A yi=tou [Ngat Kanawi]_O
 Lalau Alipul EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=give.birth.to Ngat Kanawi

This Lalau Alipul begot Ngat Kanawi.

(17) *Ngat Kanawi irou Kanau Alipul liliu.*

[Ngat Kanawi]_A yi=tou [Kanau Alipul]_O liliu
 Ngat Kanawi 3sg=give.birth.to Kanau Alipul again

Ngat Kanawi begot Kanau Alipul again.

(18) *Kanau Alipul leo ipe rou Lalau Alipul le wong tepwo Lalau Kanau.*

[Kanau Alipul te-yo]_A yi=pe tou [Lalau Alipul le
 Kanau Alpul EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=PFV give.birth.to Lalau Alipul or

wong te-pwo Lalau Kanau]_O
 1sg.FREE EMP-DEM.PROX Lalau Kanau

Kanau Alipul begot Lalau Alipul or [that is to say] me here, Lalau Kanau.

(19) *Te wong tepwo rea, ngaro rêk pwapwa repwo.*

te [wong te-pwo te-ya]_{Foc:A} nga_A=to têk [pwapwae te-pwo]_O
 SUB 1sg.FREE EMP-DEM.PROX EMP-then 1sg=HAB tell story EMP-DEM.PROX

So it is me who usually tells this story.

(20) *A pwapwa reo ila remenan telo.*

a [pwapwae te-yo]_S yi=la temenin te-lo
 and story EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=go.to like EMP-DEM.DIST

And the story goes like this.

(21) *Palosi reo ilak, a ip yamat nisopwol leo, ipto pei si sopwol suk tepwo ai peinan net.*

palosi te-yo yi=lak ya [ip yamat ni-sopwol
 past EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=go.to then 3pl person other-one.half.round

te-yo]_{TopS} ip=to pei si sopwol suk te-pwo a-yi
 EMP-DEM.INT 3pl=HAB come come.down one.half.round shore EMP-DEM.PROX at-3sg

peinan net
 making.of sea

A long time ago, the people who are dead now [*lit.* 'the people on the other side'], they used to come down to the seaside here, to do fishing.

(22) *Ma i re napunip teo i pulêng, te ipkaro pe mayai net teo.*

ma i te [napu-n-ip te-yo]_{TopVCS} yi [pulêng]_{VCC}
 but taboo-PERT-3pl EMP-DEM.INT 3sg daybreak

te ip_A=ka-to pe mayai [net te-yo]_O
 SUB 3pl=IRR.NS-HAB make be.quick sea EMP-DEM.INT

But it was forbidden for them to do it at daybreak [*lit.* 'their taboo was the daybreak'], so they used to do the fishing quickly.

(23) *La are kapwa net teo kipepwên, a ipkaliliu la lopwanip panuan te pulêng teo kipe masai.*

la a-te kapwa [net te-yo]_S ki-pepwên ya
 go.to at-SUB if sea EMP-DEM.INT IRR.3sg-be.finished then

ip_S=ka-liliu la lopwa-n-ip [panua-n te [pulêng te-yo]_S
 3pl=IRR.NS-return go.to place-PERT-3pl front-3sg.PERT REL dawn EMP-DEM.INT

ki-pe masai]_{AdvCl}
 IRR.3sg-PFV be.clear

When the fishing would be finished, they would go back to their place before the day would break.

(24) *A ip aronanip temenan teo, ipan pe ai pêng naringiai re ilak.*

a [ip arona-n-ip temenin te-yo]_{TopO} ip_A=an pe=Ø
 and 3pl procedure-PERT-3pl like EMP-DEM.INT 3pl=PRF do=3sg.ZERO

[a-yi pêngi naringiai te yi=lak]_{AdvCl}
 at-3sg day many REL 3sg=go

These procedures they have followed for many days that went by.

(25) *Ma pêng sip teo, ippe pe kasiek.*

ma [pêngi sip te-yo]_{TopObi} ip_A=pe pe=Ø kasiek
 but day one.INANIM EMP-DEM.INT 3pl=PFV do=3sg.ZERO not.well

But this one day, things went awry. (lit. ‘they did (it) incorrectly’)

(26) *Iplak te ipto pe ner a yamat te ngayan Parulabei reo, iro ning are panu reo iro masai.*

ip_S=lak [te ip_A=to pe [net]_O] a [yamat te ngayan -n
 3pl=go SUB 3pl=CONT make sea and person REL name-PERT

Parulabei te-yo]_{TopA}

Parulabei EMP-DEM.INT

yi=to ning [a-te [panua te-yo]_S yi=to masai]_{Compl:Obl}
 3sg=CONT see at-COMP place EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=CONT be.clear

They went to do fishing and the person whose name was Parulabei, he saw the sky getting lighter.

(27) *A ipe pe pwaypwayei raip.*

a yi_A=pe pe [pwai.pwayei]_O [ta-ip]_E
 and 3sg=PFV make REDUP.fast POSS-3pl

And he hurried them up.

(28) *Ipwa, “Rapkamaleu,” ipul la ran yamar i re ngayan Komou reo.*

yi_A=pwa [tap=ka-maleu]_O yi=pul=Ø la [ta-n yamat yi
 3sg=say 1pl.INCL=IRR.NS-hurry 3sg=speak=3sg.ZERO go.to POSS-PERT person 3sg

te ngayan-n Komou te-yo]_E

REL name-3sg.PERT Komou EMP-DEM.INT

He said, “We should hurry,” he told the person who was named Komou.

(29) *Ipwa, “Rapkamaleu, re panu ro masai o.”*

yi_A=pwa [tap=ka-maleu te panu to masai yo]_O
 3sg=say 1pl.INCL=IRR.NS-hurry SUB place CONT be.clear DEM.INT

He said, “We should hurry, because the sky is getting light.”

- (30) *ma Komou reo ipwa, “Pwên, pulêng teo imala siei sonean papwên.”*

ma [Komou te-yo]_{TopA} yi=pwa [pwên
but Komou EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=say NEG

pulêng te-yo yi=ma=la siei sonea-n pa-pwên]_O
daybreak EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=NEG₁=go.to tear near-PERT yet-NEG₂

But Komou said, “No, the day is not about to break yet.”

- (31) *I ya, Parulabei reo ino yauyau wot tai o.*

yi ya [Parulabei te-yo]_{TopS} yi=no yauyau wot [ta-i]_E
3sg then Parulabei EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=IPFV bend go.level POSS-3sg

yo
DEM.INT

Well, Parulabei gave in to him.

- (32) *A ipno ru pe net lak lak lak.*

a ip_A=no tu pe [net]_O lak lak lak
and 3pl=IPFV stay make sea go go go

And they continued fishing (for a while).

- (33) *Ma Komou reo ipwa kining nonot te nuanan te pulêng teo iro masai me a ipe pwa, “Kay, rap.”*

ma [Komou te-yo]_{TopA} yi=pwa ki-ning nonot [te nuanan
but Komou EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=want.to IRR.3sg-see understand COMP truth

te pulêng te-yo yi=to masai me]_{Compl:O} a yi_A=pe pwa
REL daybreak EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=CONT be.clear come and 3sg=PFV say

[kay tap]_O
okay 1pl.INCL

But Komou, he was about to understand that indeed dawn was approaching, and he said, “Okay, let's go.”

(34) *Ippe nê̄m net a iplê̄p kaip nik.*

ip _A =pe	nê̄m	[net] _O	a	ip _A =lê̄p	[ka-ip	nik] _O
3pl=make	be.finished	sea	and	3pl=take	CLF.food-3pl	fish

They stopped fishing and took their fish.

(35) *Ipno ro rer a rer a rer a ret.*

ip _S =no	to	tet	a	tet	a	tet	a	tet
3pl=IPFV	CONT	move	and	move	and	move	and	move

They walked and walked.

(36) *Ma no nansê̄ te ipto pwa kawau worup la Malsu, are panu raip teo lalon Malsu reo...*

ma	no	nan-sê̄	[te	ip _S =to	pwa	ka-wau	worup	la	Malsu] _{AdvCl}
but	only	piece-small	SUB	3pl=CONT	want.to	IRR.NS-walk	descend	go.to	M

[a-te	[panu	ta-ip	te-yo] _{TopVCS}	[lalo-n	Malsu
at-SUB	village	POSS-3pl	EMP-DEM.INT	inside -PERT	Malsu

te-yo]_{VCC}]_{AdvCl}
EMP-DEM.INT

But when they were almost about to go down into Malsu (since their village was inside Malsu [the crater of the volcano])...

(37) *... Ipto pwa kaworup lak a panu reo ipe wot masai, a i o.*

ip _S =to	pwa	ka-worup	lak	ya	[panu te-yo] _S	yi=pe
3pl=CONT	want.to	IRR.NS-descend	go	then	place EMP-DEM.INT	3sg=PFV

wot	masai	a	yi	yo
go.level	be.clear	and	3sg	DEM.INT

(When) they were about to go down into the village, the sun came up. There.

- (38) *Iwot masai re onga nopok pe wot pei rau lapanan i pwo.*

yi_S=wot masai te onga [nopok]_S pe wot pei
3sg=go.level be.clear SUB and.so argument PFV go.level come

[ta-u lapana-n]_E yi pwo
POSS-3du chief-PERT 3sg DEM.PROX

The sun came up, and so an argument was developing between the two chiefs here.

- (39) *Nopok te ipei reo, ipei moyengan Parulabei a Komou.*

[nopok [te yi_S=pei te-yo]_{RC}]_S yi=pei [moyenga-n Parulabei
argument REL 3sg=come EMP-DEM.INT 3sg-come middle-PERT Parulabei

a Komou]_E
and Komou

The argument that came up, it came up between Parulabei and Komou.

- (40) *La are Parulabei reo ipul la rai a ipwa, “Pwên, a ngan pul nipêng...”*

la a-te [Parulabei te-yo]_{TopA} yi=pul=Ø la [ta-i]_E a
go.to at-SUB Parulabei EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=speak=3sg.ZERO go.to POSS-3sg and

yi=pwa [pwên a nga=an pul ni-pêngi]_O
3sg=say NEG and 1sg=PRF speak other-time

Because Parulabei spoke to him [Komou] and said, “No, I have said another time...”

- (41) *“Le ngan pul nirasip, te ngapwa, ‘Pulêng to masai o...’*

le nga_A=an pul panurasip [te nga_A=pwa [pulêng to masai]_O yo]
or 1sg=PRF speak first SUB 1sg=say daybreak CONT be.clear DEM.INT

“I have told you before, I said, “The day is breaking...””

(42) “*Womaro yong pwên.*”

wo_A=ma=to yong=∅_O pwên
 2sg=NEG₁=CONT hear=3sg.ZERO NEG₂

“(But) you weren't listening (to what I said).”

(43) *Onga upe pe kulkulu.*

onga u_A=pe pe [kul.kulua]_O
 and.so 3du=PFV make REDUP.quarrel

And so they were quarreling.

(44) *Kulkulu re upe reo, kulkulu ipei lak lak lak a ipei la nin.*

[kul.kulua [te u=pe=∅]_{RC} te-yo]_{TopS} [kul.kulua]_S yi=pei
 REDUP.quarrel REL 3du=make=3sg.ZERO EMP-DEM.INT REDUP.quarrel 3sg=appear

lak lak lak a yi_{CS}=pei la [nine]_{CC}
 go go go and 3sg=appear go.to fight

The quarrel that they had, it went on and on and on and it became a fight.

(45) *Te upe nin te paran koroan.*

te u_A=pe [nine te paran koroan]_O
 SUB 3du=make fight REL really violent

They had a fight that was really violent.

(46) *A u yamat teo, u re u tinawayen yoy taywêp, u yoy taywêp te upe nin.*

a [u yamat te-yo]_{VCS} u te u [tinawayen yoy ta-yuêp]_{VCC}
 and 3du person EMP-DEM.INT 3du REL 3du huge stone DEF-two.INANIM

[u yoy ta-yuêp te u=pe nine]_{VCC}
 3du stone DEF-two.INANIM REL 3du=make fight

And those two persons, they were two huge stones, two stones that fought.

(47) *A kila nel le iro areo, murin.*

a ki_{CS}-la [neli [te yi=to a-te-yo]_{RC} murin]_{CC}
 and IRR.3sg-go.to rope REL 3sg=be at-EMP-DEM.INT broken

The vines that were there would turn out to be snapped.

(48) *Kila kei re iro areo onga, pôrin.*

ki_{CS}-la kei [te yi=to a-te-yo]_{RC} onga pôrin]_{CC}
 IRR.3sg-go.to tree REL 3sg=be at-EMP-DEM.INT and.so broken

The trees that were there would turn out to be broken.

(49) *Uno pe lak lak lak a mamarounip palosi...*

u_A=no pe=Ø_O lak lak lak a mamarou-n-ip palosi
 3du=IPFV make=3sg.ZERO go go go and way-PERT-3pl past

They were doing (this) for a long long time, and (according to) the ways of those before...

(50) *Yamat te ngayan Lalau Alipul le irou Ngat Kanawi a Ngat Kanawi ipe rou tamong teo...*

yamat [te ngaya-n Lalau Alipul] [te yi=tou Ngat Kanawi]
 person REL name-PERT Lalau Alipul REL 3sg=give.birth.to Ngat Kanawi

a Ngat Kanawi yi=pe tou tama-ng te-yo]
 and Ngat Kanawi 3sg=PFV give.birth.to father-1sg.PERT EMP-DEM.INT

(like) this man whose name was Lalau Alipul, who gave birth to Ngat Kanawi and Ngat Kanawi gave birth to my father...

(51) *Pasin taip palosi reo konan ip ngan kein mangat to kanenip o.*

[pasin ta-ip palosi te-yo]_{VCS} [konan ip=ngan kei-n
 way POSS-3pl past EMP-DEM.INT such.as 3pl=eat magic.herbs-PERT

mangat to kane-n-ip yo]_{VCC}
 work be body-PERT-3pl DEM.INT

The ways of those before were such that they ate stimulating herbs to help them work.

(52) *Ma kilot wot patpat, wosave iro mari la pian te pwên.*

ma ki_S-lot wot patpat wo=save yi_S=to mari la pian
 and IRR.3sg-fall go.level bed 2sg=know 3sg=HAB be.asleep go.to good
 te pwên
 SUB neg

And when he [Lalau Alipul] would go lie down in bed, you know he did not sleep too well.

(53) *A in sok samel lai are ipe mari o.*

a yi_A=an sok [samel ta-i]_O a-te yi=pe mari
 and 3sg=PRF sharpen knife POSS-3sg at-SUB 3sg=PFV be.asleep
 yo
 DEM.INT

And he had already sharpened his knife when he went to sleep.

(54) *A in sarek lak to pwoyon patpat.*

a yi_A=an satek=Ø_O lak to pwoyo-n patpat
 and 3sg=PRF put.into=3sg.ZERO go be under-PERT bed

And had put (it) under the bed.

(55) *Ma pwempwem som to reyeng a isirak.*

ma [pwempwem som]_S to teyeng a yi_S=sirak
EMP bird.sp one.ANIM CONT cry and 3sg=get.up

A *pwempwem* bird was crying, and he woke up.

(56) *Isirak a iro au wot sal ken teo.*

yi_S=sirak a yi_S=to wau wot sale ke-n te-yo
 3sg=get.up and 3sg=CONT walk go.level road leg-PERT EMP-DEM.INT

He got up and he was walking along this little track.

(57) *iro au wor a ipe yong tukuanu lapan taymou re uro pe nin.*

yi_S=to wau wot a yi_A=pe yong [tungua-n-u lapan ta-yumou
3sg=CONT walk go.level and 3sg=PFV hear tremor-PERT-3du chief DEF-two.ANIM

[te u_A=to pe [nine]_O]_{RC}_O
REL 3du=CONT make fight

He was walking and he heard a tremor of the two chiefs who were fighting.

(58) *Iyong are uro ret mut nel, uret pông kopup a kei iro pôpôr.*

yi_A=yong [a-te u=to tet mut neli u=tet pông
3sg=hear at-COMP 3du=CONT walk break rope 3du=walk popping.sound

kopup]_{Compl:Obl} a [kei]_S yi=to pô.pôt
bamboo and tree 3sg=CONT REDUP.break

He heard them noisily breaking vines and bamboo, and trees were breaking.

(59) *A i a, imaret lai lopwan mangat tai reo pwên.*

a yi ya yi_S=ma=tet la a-yi lopwa-n mangat ta-i
and 3sg then 3sg=NEG₁=walk go.to at-3sg place-PERT work POSS-3sg

te-yo pwên
EMP-DEM.INT NEG₂

And well, he did not go to the place of his work.

(60) *Ma ipe nengtou.*

ma yi_S=pe neng.tou
but 3sg=PFV stop.walking

But he stopped walking.

(61) *Tareo, nengnengtou reo, ino pe.*

[ta-te-yo neng.neng.tou te-yo]_{TopO} yi=no pe=Ø_O
DEF-EMP-DEM.INT REDUP.stop.walking EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=IPFV do=3sg.ZERO

He stopped walking there. [*lit.* ‘That, stopping, he did.’]

- (62) *Ma i re imaru mapwai la are kapwa u lapan teo, uro pe pun kuluan sa, le upe pun ninen sa pwên.*

ma i te	yi _A =ma=tu	mapwai	la	[a-te	kapwa	[u	lapan
but	3sg=NEG ₁ =stay	know	go.to	at-COMP	if	3du	chief
te-yo] _{TopA}	u=to	pe	pun	[kulua-n	sa] _O	le	u=pe
EMP-DEM.INT	3du=CONT	make	INTF	quarrel-PERT	what	or	3du=make
					INTF		
[nine-n	sa] _O] _{Comp1:Obl}	pwên					
fight-PERT	what	NEG ₂					

But he did not know what exactly the two chiefs were apparently arguing or quarreling about.

- (63) *Ma aronan te ula pe nê m nin o, a ipe yong lai poposekan kamou o:*

ma	arona-n	[te	u _A =la	pe	nê m	[nine] _O	yo] _{RC}
but	procedure-PERT	REL	3d=go.to	make	be.finished	fight	DEM.INT
a	[yi _A =pe	yong	[la	a-yi	pwapwasek-an	kamou] _O] _{RC}	yo
and	3sg=PFV	hear	go.to	at-3sg	speak.out-NOM	speech	DEM.INT

But (from) the way in which they concluded their fight, and (what) he heard from their talking:

- (64) *Komou reo isok sau Parulabei sopwol.*

[Komou	te-yo] _{TopA}	yi=sok	sau	[Parulabei	sopwol] _O
Komou	EMP-DEM.INT	3sg=strike	cut	Parulabei	one.half.round

Komou struck off one half of Parulabei.

- (65) *Minak tepwo, kapwa kalak...*

minak	te-pwo	kapwa	kaç-lak
present.time	EMP-DEM.PROX	if	IRR.NS-go.to

Nowadays, if one goes there...

(66) *Asilon sopwol le isok sau re ila yen pwapwan teo, Parulabei reo ipe apek tan Komou reo.*

[asilo-n sopwol [te yi=sok sau=Ø [te yi=la yen
side-PERT one.half.round REL 3sg=hit cut=3sg.ZERO REL 3sg=go.to lie

pwapwa-n]_{RC}]_{RC} te-yo]_{TopO} [Parulabei te-yo]_A yi=pe apek=Ø
side-PERT EMP-DEM.INT Parulabei EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=PFV hit=3sg.ZERO

[ta-n Komou te-yo]_E
POSS-PERT Komou EMP-DEM.INT

This half part of him [Parulabei] that he [Komou] struck off, which came to lie at his [Parulabei's] side, Parulabei whacked (it) into Komou.

(67) *Iruk antek takau re ila lot te ila yen lalon Malsu relo.*

yi_A=tuk antek takau=i_O [te yi_S=la lot [te yi_S=la yen]
3sg=beat put.away altogether=3sg SUB 3sg=go.to fall SUB 3sg=go.to lie

lalo-n Malsu te-lo]
inside -PERT Malsu EMP-DEM.DIST

He knocked him away altogether, so that he [Komou] fell and came to lie down inside Malsu.

(68) *Ma ila lot lak a Parulabei reo ipe arei la suwot tai la remenan telo:*

ma yi_S=la lot lak a [Parulabei te-yo]_{TopA} yi=pe arei la
EMP 3sg=go.to fall go and Parulabei EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=PFV say go.to

suwot [ta-i]_E la temenin te-lo
go.down POSS-3sg go.to like EMP-DEM.DIST

He fell down, and Parulabei spoke to him as follows:

(69) *“On suwot, a wope la lopwan te lumlum kipe nengo.”*

wo_S=an suwot a wo_S=pe la lopwa-n [te lumlum
2sg=PRF go.downwards and 2sg=PFV go.to place-PERT REL moss

ki-pe neng=o]_{RC}
 IRR.3sg-PFV climb=2sg

“You have gone down, and you will become a place where moss will grow on you.”

(70) *“Leut kipe ret pwono, a ip lau kasa ro ning muyom pwên.”*

[leut]_A ki-pe tet pwon=o_O a [ip laue]_A ka-sa to ning
 weed IRR.3sg-PFV grow be.covered=2sg and 3pl people IRR.NS-MOD HAB see

[muya-m]_O pwên
 skin-2sg.PERT NEG

“Weeds will cover you, and the people will not be able to see your skin.”

(71) *“Ma wong, wong kope ro wat.”*

ma [wong]_S wong ko-pe to wat
 but 1sg.FREE 1sg.FREE IRR.1sg-PFV be up.high

“But I, I will be up high.”

(72) *A ip laulau karo au kasông; ipkaro rou malalông, lapan a sayo.*

a [ip lau.laue]_S ka-to wau kaso-ng [ip_A=ka-to tou
 and 3pl REDUP.people IRR.NS-HAB walk near-1sg.PERT 3pl=IRR.NS-HAB put

[malala-ng]_O lapan a sayo
 clearness-1sg.PERT chief and ordinary.man

“And all the people will come near to me; they will clear me [of weeds etc.], chiefs and ordinary men.”

(73) *“Kiru au ma kikunawayut patung. Monokin a kisirak liliu a kipe ret lai rare ipwa kila ai.”*

ki_S-tu wau ma ki-kunawayut pata-ng monoki-n ya
 IRR.3sg-stay walk and IRR.3sg-take.rest on.top-1sg.PERT behind-PERT then

ki-sirak liliu a ki-pe tet la a-yi ta-te-yo yi=pwa
 IRR.3sg-get.up again and IRR.3sg-PFV move go.to at-3sg DEF-EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=want.to

ki-la a-yi
IRR.3sg-go.to at-3sg

“(Someone) will come and take a rest on top of me. Afterwards, he will get up again and he will go to that which he wants to go to.”

(74) *Lalau Alipul leo iyong nê̄m kamou rau, nopok tau reo, a ining nê̄m nin tau*

[Lalau Alipul te-yo]_{Top:A} yi=yong nê̄m [kamou ta-u
Lalau Alipul EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=hear be.finished speech POSS-3du

nopok ta-u te-yo]_O a yi_A=ning nê̄m [nine ta-u]_O
argument POSS-3du EMP-DEM.INT and 3sg=see be.finished fight POSS-3du

Lalau Alipul finished hearing their speech, their argument, and he watched their fight until it was over.

(75) *A imaret la lopwan mangat tai reo pwên.*

a yi_S=ma=tet la lopwa-n mangat ta-i te-yo pwên
and 3sg=NEG₁=walk go.to place-PERT work POSS-3sg EMP-DEM.INT NEG₂

And he did not go to his work place.

(76) *Pari ai re puron te ining teo i puron paran poun, te puron puleau sip.*

pari a-yi te [puron [te yi=ning=Ø] te-yo]_{VCS}
belonging.to at-3sg SUB thing REL 3sg=see=3sg.ZERO EMP-DEM.INT

yi [puron paran poun te puron puleau sip]_{VCC}
3sg thing really new REL thing unusual one.INANIM

Because (of) this thing that he had seen, it was a really new thing, a very unusual thing.

(77) *Ma in, sê yamat naringiai ining yoy re in pe nin, a iyong sê ngolan yoy, le pwên.*

ma in [sê yamat naringiai]_A yi=ning [yoy te [yi_A=an pe [nine]_O]_{RC}]_O
don't.know who person many 3sg=see stone REL 3sg=PRF make fight

a yi_A=yong sê [ngola-n yoy]_O le pwên
 and 3sg=hear small [language-PERT stone or NEG

I don't know whether a lot of people have seen stones that had a fight and heard a little of the stones' language, or not.

(78) *Ma i re apuong te narun Alipul leo, ining pun te i mare kapwa i pwapwa mangsilan pwên, a imala kanum tai pwên o.*

ma i te [apua-ng te natu-n Alipul te-yo]_{Top:A}
 but great.grandparent-1sg.PERT REL son-PERT Alipul EMP-DEM.INT

yi=ning pun [te yi ma=te kapwa yi pwapwae mangsilan
 3sg=see INTF COMP 3sg NEG₁=SUB if 3sg story meaningless

pwên]_{Compl:O} a yi_S=ma=la kanum ta-i pwên yo
 NEG₂ and 3sg=NEG₁=go.to garden POSS-3sg NEG₂ DEM.INT

But my great-grandfather, who was the son of Alipul, he clearly saw that it was not as if this was a meaningless story, and (so) he did not go to his garden.

(79) *A ipe liliu a ililiu la um tairê.*

a yi_S=pe liliu a yi_S=liliu la wumwa ta-irê
 and 3sg=PFV return and 3sg=return go.to house POSS-3pc

And he went back, went back to their house.

(80) *Ililiu la um tairê a ipe la rêk pwapwaen la raip pusulop tairê.*

yi_S=liliu la wumwa ta-irê a yi_A=pe la têk [pwapwae-n]_O
 3sg=return go.to house POSS-3pc and 3sg=PFV go.to tell story-PERT

la [ta-ip pusungop ta-irê]_E
 go.to POSS-3pl clan POSS-3pc

He went back to their house and he told the story to his family.

(81) *Minak tepwo, pwapwa reo ipe ro lalon Paluai, are Parulabei a Komou reo upe nin palosi re ilak.*

minak te-pwo [pwapwae te-yo]_S yi=pe to
 present.time EMP-DEM.PROX story EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=PFV be

lalo-n Paluai [a-te [Parulabei a Komou te-yo]_{Top:A}
 inside-PERT Paluai at-SUB Parulabei and Komou EMP-DEM.INT

u=pe [nine]_O palosi [te yi=lak]_{RC}]_{AdvCl}
 3du=make fight past REL 3sg=go

Nowadays, this story has been known on Baluan, about how Parulabei and Komou fought a long time ago.

(82) *Kamou reo Parulabei iarei suwot tan Komou reo, minak tepwo i nuanan.*

[[kamou te-yo]_{Top:O} Parulabei yi=arei=∅ suwot [ta-n Komou]_E
 speech EMP-DEM.INT Parulabei 3sg=say=3sg.ZERO go.down POSS-PERT Komou

te-yo]_{VCS} minak te-pwo yi [nuanan]_{VCC}
 EMP-DEM.INT present.time EMP-DEM.PROX 3sg truth

The speech that Parulabei made to Komou, nowadays it is true.

(83) *Komou reo, no pwapwaen teo re ripto yong, ma pari ai re tapmaro ning muyan pwên.*

[Komou te-yo]_{TopPoss} [no pwapwae-n te-yo]_{TopO} [te tap=to
 Komou EMP-DEM.INT only story-PERT EMP-DEM.INT REL 1pl.INCL=HAB

yong=∅]_{RC} ma [pari a-yi te tap_A=ma=to ning
 hear=3sg.ZERO EMP belonging.to at-3sg SUB 1pl.INCL=NEG₁=HAB see

[muya-n]_O pwên]
 skin-PERT NEG₂

Regarding Komou, it is only his story which we usually hear, because we do not see his skin. [i.e. we do not go and look at him]

(84) *Parulabei iro wat a rapto au ai a rapto ning muyan.*

Parulabei yi_s=to wat a tap=to wau a-yi a tap_A=to
 Parulabei 3sg=be high and 1pl.INCL=HAB walk at-3sg and 1pl.INCL=HAB

 ning [muya-n]_O
 see skin-PERT

Parulabei is high up and we go to him and see his skin.

(85) *A rapto kunawayut patan a rappe ro ret lai rare rappa kala ai.*

a tap_s=to kunawayut pata-n a tap=pe to tet
 and 1pl.INCL=HAB take.rest on.top-PERT and 1pl.INCL=PFV HAB move

 la a-yi ta-te-yo tap=pwa ka-la a-yi
 go.to at-3sg DEF-EMP-DEM.INT 1pl.INCL=want.to IRR.NS-go.to at-3sg

And we take a rest on top of him and we go whatever we intend to go to.

(86) *Pwapwa reo iyen Paluai la remenan de ino rok a ino rok a ino rok a ino rok au me me me me me me.*

[pwapwae te-yo]_s yi=yen Paluai la temenin [te yi_s=no
 story EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=lie Paluai go.to like SUB 3sg=IPFV

 tok a yi=no tok a yi=no tok a yi=no tok wau
 stay and 3sg=IPFV stay and 3sg=IPFV stay and 3sg=IPFV stay move

 me me me me me me]_{RC}
 come come come come come come

This story has been on Baluan so that it stayed and stayed and stayed for a long long time...

(87) *A monok pun tepwo a Lapanin Lapanin Solok ipe me sukeleyeki la polpolot.*

a monoki pun te-pwo ya [Lapanin Solok]_A yi=pe me
 and behind INTF EMP-DEM.PROX then Lapanin Solok 3sg=PFV come

 sukeleyek=i_O la polpoloti
 turn.around=3sg go.to song.type

Until recently, Lapanin Solok turned it into a *polpolot* [traditional song type].

(88) *Ipe me pei la polpolor, onga...*

yi_A=pe me pe=i_O la polpoloti onga
 3sg=PFV come make=3sg go.to song.type and.so

He has made it into a *polpolot*, and so...

(89) *Polpolot teo, u re ukape pe polpolot teo, won yoy re iptaneki la polpolot teo...*

[polpolot te-yo]_{TopO} [u]_A te u=ka-pe pe [polpoloti te-yo
 song.type EMP-DEM.INT 3du REL 3du=IRR.NS-PFV do song.type EMP-DEM.INT

won yoy [te ip_A=tanek=i_O la polpoloti te-yo]_{RC}_O
 history stone REL 3pl=create=3sg go.to song.type EMP-DEM.INT

(As for) this *polpolot*, the two that will sing [lit. 'do'] the *polpolot*, the history of the stones which was turned into a *polpolot*...

(90) *Kisawin, Alup Kisawin Pwaril, te i pên tan Ngat Kanawi re taman ining yoy reo, a Alup Pilan Pokut, te ukape pe polpolorin yoy reo.*

[Kisawin Alup Kisawin Pwaril [te yi pên ta-n Ngat Kanawi
 Kisawin Alup Kisawin Pwaril REL 3sg daughter POSS-PERT Ngat Kanawi

[te tama-n yi=ning yoy]_{RC}_{RC} te-yo]_A a [Alup Pilan Pokut]_A
 REL father-PERT 3sg=see stone EMP-DEM.INT and Alup Pilan Pokut

[te u=ka- pe pe [polpoloti-n yoy te-yo]_O]_{RC}
 REL 3du=IRR.NS-PFV do song.type-PERT stone EMP-DEM.INT

[It is] *Kisawin, Alup Kisawin Pwaril*, who is the daughter of *Ngat Kanawi* whose father has seen these stones, and *Alup Pilan Pokut*, who are the ones who will sing the *polpolot* of the two stones.

(91) *Inêm.*

yi_S=nêm
 3sg=be.finished

It's finished.



The stone Parulabei, with (from left): Lalau's son, Maiiau Keket, Lalau Kanau and Lalau's wife Lorna.

Text 2. Planting yam and mami (3 min 30 sec)

This story was told on 29 March 2011 by Ninou (45 years old), daughter of Ngat Selan of Lipan village and married to Kireng Wari of Pumbanin. It is a short procedural text about planting yam and mami. Making a garden involves a lot of communal effort. Before planting can commence, the men will go and clear a patch of forest for a garden (*apaput*). They will remove the large trees and set fire to the remaining vegetation after it is sufficiently dry. Then the smaller branches will be removed (*antek yut*). After that the women will come in to remove remaining leaves and small branches (*arariyek*) and sweep the garden patch clear of debris (*sisiyek*). Finally, the men will come in again to make mounds for planting the tubers (*kururupa*). Planting yam and mami is surrounded by many taboos and procedures. There is a special verb (*lolomêek*) to refer to planting yam and mami, as opposed to a general verb (*pat*), used to refer to planting everything else. The text skips the garden preparation phase and goes straight to the planting phase. Only women are allowed to plant yam and mami. Often, the owner of the garden will ask several kinswomen to assist. They will receive cooked food (*nauwenan*) in return.

- (1) *Wong Ninou. Ninou parian Kireng teo.*

[wong]_{VCS} [Ninou Ninou paria-n Kireng te-yo]_{VCC}
1sg.FREE Ninou Ninou wife-PERT Kireng EMP-DEM.INT

I am Ninou. Ninou, the wife of Kireng.

- (2) *Ngapwa kopoposek aronan lolomêek te rapto lolomêek.*

nga_A=pwa ko-pwapwasek [arona-n lo.lomêek [te tap_S=to
1sg=want.to IRR.1sg-speak.out procedure-PERT REDUP.plant REL 1pl.INCL=HAB

lo.lomêek]_{RC}]_O

REDUP.plant

I am going to tell about the planting procedure according to which we plant yam and mami.

- (3) *A taim te rappwa kalolomêek o, woriu pit palsi.*

a taim [te tap_S=pwa ka-lo.lomêek yo]_{RC} wo_A=tiu
and time REL 1pl.INCL=want.to IRR.NS-REDUP.plant DEM.INT 2sg=collect

pit=Ø_O palosi

be.close=3sg.ZERO past

When we are going to plant yam and mami, you will first put (them) together.

- (4) *Suei kila ai napukun sip, mwayen kila ai napukun sip.*

[suei] _S	ki-la	a-yi	[napukun sip] _{LOC}	[mwayen] _S
mami	IRR.3sg-go.to	at-3sg	heap one.INANIM	yam

ki-la	a-yi	[napukun sip] _{LOC}
IRR.3sg-go.to	at-3sg	heap one.INANIM

The mami will go onto one heap, the yams will go onto one heap.

- (5) *A woruptup.*

a	wo _S =tup.tup
and	2sg=REDUP.cover

And you cover [them].

- (6) *Worou pokpok yêpin kanei, kila paye.*

wo _A =tou	[pokpok yêpin kanei] _O	ki _S -la	[paye] _{LOC}
2sg=put	fern.species leaf chestnut	IRR.3sg-go.to	down.below

You will put a *kanei* leaf; [it] will go on the ground.

- (7) *Monokin, worou suei suwot kôn a wope lêp yêpin nanaop a worou lak to kôn.*

monoki-n	wo _A =tou	[suei] _O	suwot	kô-n	a	wo _A =pe
behind-PERT	2sg=put	mami	go.downwards	on.top-PERT	and	2sg=PFV

lêp	[yêpin nanaop] _O	a	wo _A =tou=Ø _O	lak	to	[kô-n] _{LOC}
take leaf	tree.species	and	2sg=put=3sg.ZERO	go	be	on.top-PERT

Afterwards, you put the mami down on top and you will take a *nanaop* leaf and put (it) on top [of the mami].

- (8) *I reo pari ai re kipe pe... mwayen teo, le suei reo, kipe arei pal kumun, a wope lomêek.*

[yi te-yo]_{VCS} [pari a-yi te ki-pe pe [mwayen
 3sg EMP-DEM.INT belonging.to at-3sg SUB IRR.3sg-PFV make yam

te-yo] le [suei te-yo]_A ki-pe arei pal [kumu-n]_O ya
 EMP-DEM.INT or mami EMP-DEM.INT IRR.3sg-PFV bite break sprout-PERT then

wo_A=pe lomêek= \emptyset _O]_{VCC}
 2sg=PFV plant=3sg.ZERO

This is because the yam or mami, when they sprout, you will plant (them).

- (9) *Ila ai mwayen pulek temenin teo, wolêp pulek yêpin kanei, yêpin pokpok, yêpin kanei menengan teo.*

yi_{CS}=la a-yi [mwayen]_{CC} pulêek temenin te-yo wo_A=lêp
 3sg=go.to at-3sg yam too like EMP-DEM.INT 2sg=take

pulêek [yêpin kanei yêpin pokpok yêpin kanei menengan te-yo]_O
 too leaf chestnut leaf fern.species leaf chestnut big EMP-DEM.INT

For yams, it is the same. You also take this big *kanei* leaf.

- (10) *Woangek palsi suwot paye; wope rou mwayen lak to kôn.*

wo_A=angek= \emptyset _O palosi suwot [paye]_{LOC} wo_A=pe tou
 2sg=spread.out=3sg.ZERO past go.downwards down.below 2sg=PFV put

[mwayen]_O lak to [kô-n]_{LOC}
 yam go be on.top-PERT

You spread (it) out on the ground; you will put the yams on top of it.

- (11) *A wope lêp yêpin nanaop; worou la patan.*

a wo_A=pe lêp [yêpin nanaop]_O wo_A=tou= \emptyset _O la [pata-n]_{LOC}
 and 2sg=PFV take leaf tree.species 2sg=put=3sg.ZERO go.to on.top-PERT

And you will take a *nanaop* leaf; you put (it) on top (of the yams).

(12) *Woruptup, ma pêng tarulêp tu wot nê.*

wo_S=tup.tup ma [pêngi ta-tulêp]_S tu wot nê
 2sg=REDUP.cover and day DEF-three.INANIM stay go.horizontally be.finished

You cover them, and three days (have to) go by.

(13) *Wope lêp, onga wope lêp lik.*

wo_A=pe lêp=Ø_O onga wo_A=pe lêp [lik]_O
 2sg=PFV take=3sg.ZERO and.so 2sg=PFV take carrying.bag

You will take (them), and take a carrying bag.

(14) *Wolêp lik a wolêp sapon kei nangin pari lalon kanum, wolêp yêpin môkei.*

wo_A=lêp [lik]_O a wo_A=lêp [sapo-n kei nangin pari
 2sg=take carrying.bag and 2sg=take top-PERT tree smell.of belonging.to

 lalo-n kanum]_O wo_A=lêp [yêpin môkei]_O
 inside -PERT garden 2sg=take leaf plant.sp

You take a carrying bag and you collect fragrant herbs for inside the garden, you take môkei leaves.

(15) *Yêpin ip môkei, a pwalingan kowei poron nik, kowei pang.*

[yêpin ip môkei a pwalinga-n kowei poro-n nik
 leaf 3pl plant.sp and with-PERT plant.sp skeleton-PERT fish

 kowei pang]_O
 plant.sp rain

Leaves of môkei, together with kowei poron nik and kowei pang.

(16) *Wolêp nêmnêmti, putpuron teo nêmnêmti, onga wope lêp; wope san lalon lik tao.*

wo_A=lêp [nêmnêmti put.puron te-yo nêmnêmti]_O onga
 2sg=take all REDUP.thing EMP-DEM.INT all and.so

 wo_A=pe lêp=Ø_O wo_A=pe san=Ø_O [lalo-n lik
 2sg=PFV take=3sg.ZERO 2sg=PFV cut=3sg=ZERO inside-3sg.PERT carrying.bag

ta-o]_{LOC}
POSS-2sg

You take all the herbs; you take (them) and you chop (them) inside your carrying bag.

- (17) *Wolêp lik onga wope lak onga wope lêp suei; wolêp yokosek.*

wo_A=lêp [lik]_O onga wo_S=pe lak onga wo_A=pe lêp
2sg=take carrying.bag and.so 2sg=PFV go and.so 2sg=PFV take

[suei]_O wo_A=lêp yokosek=Ø_O
mami 2sg=take mix=3sg.ZERO

You take the bag and you will go and take the mami; you mix (them) [with the herbs].

- (18) *Suei a mwayen a kila lalon lik teo.*

[suei a mwayen]_S ya ki-la [lalo-n lik te-yo]_{LOC}
mami and yam then IRR.3sg-go.to inside -PERT carrying.bag EMP-DEM.INT

The mami and yam will go into the bag.

- (19) *Wope yen antek, woantek la ai nop onga wopwa wololomêek onga*

wo_A=pe yen antek=Ø_O wo=antek=Ø_O la [a-yi
2sg=PFV PROG put.away=3sg.ZERO 2sg=put.away=3sg.ZERO go.to at-3sg

nop]_{LOC} onga wo_S=pwa wo=lo.lomêek onga
mound and.so 2sg=want.to 2sg=REDUP.plant and.so

You will be distributing (them), you distribute (them) to the mounds. You are about to go planting, and...

- (20) *Nganngan te kapwa wolomêek teo kiro pung nangin sapon kei reo, nangin paran mwalolon, te onga kipe sa pei la paran pian.*

[nganngan [te kapwa wo_A=lomêek=Ø_O]_{RC} te-yo]_A ki-to pung
food REL if 2sg=plant=3sg=ZERO EMP-DEM.INT IRR.3sg-HAB smell

[nangin sapo-n kei te-yo nangin paran mwalolon]_O
 scent.of top-PERT tree EMP-DEM.INT scent.of really fragrant

[te onga ki_S-pe sa pei [la paran pian]_{Adv}]_{AdvCl}
 SUB and.so IRR.3sg-PFV come.up appear go.to really good

The food that you will plant, it will smell the scent of the plant tops, the very fragrant scent, so that it will come up very well.

- (21) *Aronan lolomêek teo, suei reo sôkôm a worou maran teo, kimwangmwang sa wat.*

[arona-n lo.lomêek te-yo]_{Top} [suei_i te-yo]_{TopPoss} sôkôm
 procedure-PERT REDUP.plant EMP-DEM.INT mami EMP-DEM.INT some

ya wo_A=tou [mata-n_i te-yo]_O ki_S-mwang.mwang sa [wat]_{Loc}
 then 2sg=put eye-PERT EMP-DEM.INT IRR.3sg-REDUP.watch come.up up.high

As for the way of planting: the mami, some you will put [into the ground] with their eyes looking up. [*lit.* ‘you put its eye, it will look come up’]

- (22) *Sôkôm a worou maran teo; kila luek paye.*

sôkôm ya wo_A=tou [mata-n_i te-yo]_O ki_S-la luek
 some then 2sg=put eye-PERT EMP-DEM.INT IRR.3sg-go.to come.out

[paye]_{Loc}
 down.below

Some, you will put [into the ground] with their eyes facing down. [*lit.* ‘you put its eye, it will go down’]

- (23) *Ma ila ai i ramwayen, mwayen teo woro lomêeki la ai re koropun nganngan teo iro au sa wat.*

ma yi_{CS}=la a-yi [yi ta-mwayen]_{CC} [mwayen te-yo]_{TopO} wo_A=to
 but 3sg=go.to at-3sg 3sg DEF-yam yam EMP-DEM.INT 2sg=HAB

lomêek=i_O la a-yi [te [koropu-n nganngan te-yo]_S yi=to
 plant=3sg go.to at-3sg SUB base-PERT food EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=HAB

wau sa [wat]_{LOC}AdvCl
 walk come.up up.high

But when it comes to yam, you will plant it in such a way that the bottom of the tuber is facing upwards.

(24) *A i reo. Mwayen teo iro ret la paye.*

a yi te-yo [mwayen te-yo]_{TopS} yi=to tet la [paye]_{LOC}
 and 3sg EMP-DEM.INT yam EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=HAB grow go.to down.below

That's it. Yam usually grows down.

(25) *A mwayen teo kumun kisa pei, a kanen kipe ret suwot paye.*

a [mwayen_i te-yo]_{TopPoss} [kumu-n_i]_s ki-sa pei ya
 and yam EMP-DEM.INT sprout-PERT IRR.3sg-come.up appear then

[kane-n_i]_s ki-pe tet suwot [paye]_{LOC}
 meat-PERT IRR.3sg-PFV grow go.down down.below

So as for the yams, when their sprout will appear, their meat will grow downwards.

(26) *Ma suei reo, worou maran la paye, are kanen teo iro pei sa wat.*

ma [suei_i te-yo]_{TopPoss} wo_A=tou [mata-n_i]_o la [paye]_{LOC} [a-te
 but mami EMP-DEM.INT 2sg=put eye-PERT go.to down.below at-SUB

[kane-n_i te-yo]_s yi=to pei sa [wat]_{LOC}AdvCl
 meat-PERT EMP-DEM.INT 3sg=HAB appear come.up up.high

But as for mami, you put their eyes downwards, as their meat usually grows upwards.

(27) *Ma worou suei suwot paye, a kanen kipe pei la menton.*

ma wo_A=tou [suei]_o suwot [paye]_{LOC} ya [kane-n]_s ki-pe pei
 EMP 2sg=put mami go.down down.below then meat-PERT IRR.3sg-PFV appear

[la menton]_{Adv}
 go.to many

So when you plant mami facing downwards, then its meat (tubers) will become plenty.

(28) *Ma kapwa worou maran sa wat, a kanen teo kipe sa pei wat a kipe pei la no tupun.*

ma	kapwa	wo _A =tou	[mata-n _i] _O	sa	[wat] _{LOC}	ya	[kane-n _i
but	if	2sg=put	eye-PERT	come.up	up.high	then	meat-PERT
	te-yo] _S	ki-pe	sa	pei	[wat] _{LOC}	a	ki _S -pe
	EMP-DEM.INT	IRR.3sg-PFV	come.up	appear	up.high	and	IRR.3sg-PFV appear
	la	[no	tupu-n] _{Adv}				
	go.to	only	grandparent-PERT				

But if you plant it facing upwards, then its meat will grow upwards and it will only turn into seed tubers [*lit.* ‘grandparents’].

(29) *Ma aronan pun teo worou luek, maran ngangan teo kisuwot liliu luek lalon lem paye.*

ma	[arona-n	pun	te-yo] _{Top?}	wo _A =tou=∅ _O	luek	[mata-n
but	procedure-PERT	INTF	EMP-DEM.INT	2sg=put=3sg.ZERO	come.out	eye-PERT
	ngangan	te-yo] _S	ki-suwot	liliu	luek	[lalo-n
	food	EMP-DEM.INT	IRR.3sg-go.down	again	come.out	inside -PERT
						hole
						down.below

But (according to) the right way of how you put (it), the ‘face’ of the tuber has to go down away from you into the hole.

(30) *Are kanen teo kipe pei la pian.*

[a-te	[kane-n	te-yo] _S	ki-pe	pei	[la	pian] _{Adv}] _{LOC}
at-SUB	meat-PERT	EMP-DEM.INT	IRR.3sg-PFV	appear	go.to	good

So that its meat will come up well.

(31) *Wolomêek nê m onga, raim te wosôpui onga kumun teo kipe sa wau la wat.*

wo _A =lomêek=∅ _O	nê m	ong a	taim	te	wo _S =sôpui	ong a
2sg=plant=3sg.ZERO	be.finished	and.so	time	REL	2sg=cover.hole	and.so

[kumu-n_i te-yo]_s ki-pe sa wau la [wat]_{LOC}
 sprout-PERT EMP-DEM.INT IRR.3sg-PFV come.up move go.to up.high

You finish planting (it), and when you cover the hole its sprout will come up and grow high.

(32) *Taim te kisa pei onga wope lêp kap.*

taim te ki_s-sa pei onga wo_A=pe lêp [kap]_O
 time REL IRR.3sg-come.up appear and.so 2sg=PFV take stalk

When it comes up, you will take bamboo stalks.

(33) *Wola san kap onga wope yiniek la ai onga wope pang nou rea.*

wo_A=la san [kap]_O onga wo_A=pe yiniek= \emptyset _O la [a-yi_i]_{LOC}
 2sg=go.to cut stake and.so 2sg=PFV erect=3sg.ZERO go.to at-3sg

onga wo_S=pe pang nou te-ya
 and.so 2sg=PFV feed central.stick EMP-then

You go and cut stalks and you will erect (them) at [the places where the yams are growing] and you will lead the yam vines onto them.

(34) *Wo pang nou a kumun teo kisa yop lêp ip kupwen kap teo.*

wo_S=pang nou a [kumu-n_i te-yo]_A ki-sa yop lêp
 2sg=feed central.stick and sprout-PERT EMP-DEM.INT IRR.3sg-come.up jump take

[ip kupwe-n kap te-yo]_O
 3pl branch-PERTstalk EMP-DEM.INT

You lead [them] and the vines will grow along the stalks.

(35) *Wope weiek lak to paran kap, are kiro wat.*

wo_A=pe weiek= \emptyset _{IO} lak to [pata-n kap]_{LOC} [a-te ki_S-to
 2sg=PFV coil=3sg.ZERO go be stick-PERT stalk at-SUB IRR.3sg-be

[wat]_{LOC} AdvCl
 up.high

You will coil (them) to the stems of the stalks so that they are high up.

- (36) *Kiro ret wat, pari ai re kisa suwot lalon ponat a sin teo kipe rap nê m ai ponat a ponat kipe kô k...*

ki _S -to	tet	[wat] _{LOC}	pari	a-yi	te	ki _S -sa	
IRR.3sg-HAB	grow	up.high	belonging.to	at-3sg	SUB	IRR.3sg-MOD	
suwot	[lalo-n	pwonat] _{LOC}	a	[sin	te-yo] _S	ki-pe	tap
go.down	inside	-PERT	soil	and	sun	EMP-DEM.INT	IRR.3sg-PFV shine.strong
nê m	a-yi	[pwonata] _{LOC}	a	[ponat] _S	ki-pe	kô k	
be.finished	at-3sg	soil	and	soil	IRR.3SG-PFV	heat.up	

They should grow up high, because if they would stay down on the ground and the sun would shine strongly onto the soil and the soil would heat up...

- (37) *A kipe run maran nganngan tao, a nganngan tao isa ro ret la pian pwên.*

a	ki _A -pe	tun	[mata-n	nganngan	ta-o] _O			
and	IRR.3sg-PFV	boil	eye-PERT	food	POSS-2sg			
a	[nganngan	ta-o] _S	yi=sa	to	tet	[la	pian] _{Adv}	pwên
and	food	POSS-2sg	3sg=MOD	CONT	grow	go.to	good	NEG

And it would burn the buds of the yam plants, and then your tubers are not able to grow well.

- (38) *Ma woroui ro wat a poyon teo kiro masai (wope ro rou malalan la pian), a kipe ret la no pian.*

ma	wo _A =tou=i _O	to	[wat] _{LOC}	a	[pwoyo-n	te-yo] _S	ki-to		
but	2sg=put=3sg	be	up.high	and	under	-PERT	EMP-DEM.INT	IRR.3sg-CONT	
masai	wo _A =pe	to	tou	[malala-n] _O	[la	pian] _{Adv}	ya	ki _S -pe	tet
be.clear	2sg=PFV	CONT	give	clearness-PERT	go.to	good	then	IRR.3sg-PFV	grow
la	[no	pian] _{Adv}							
go.to	only	good							

But you put it up, and if the underground is clear (you will clear it nicely), then it will just grow very well.

(39) *A monokin a kila lom, a wope ngan tea.*

a monoki-n ya ki_S-la lom a wo_A-pe ngan= \emptyset _O
and behind-PERT then IRR.3sg-go.to be.ready and 2sg-PFV eat=3sg.ZERO

te-ya

EMP-then

And afterwards, it will become ready for harvesting, and then you will eat (it).

(40) *Inêm.*

yi_S=nêm

3sg=be.finished

It's finished.



Garden magic: cutting up herbs which will be mixed with yam or mami before planting.