Some Aspects of Referent Mention and Discourse Organisation in Äiwoo

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Preface

This MA-thesis is written as a part of the multidisciplinary project *Identity Matters: Movement and Place*, funded by The Norwegian Research Council (NFR project no 148717). The project is a collaboration between the Ethnographic Section at The Museum of Cultural Heritage at The University of Oslo, The Institute of Pacific Archaeology and Cultural History at the Kon-Tiki Museum, and The Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies at The University of Oslo in which this thesis is submitted.

The main focus of the linguistic part of the project is documentation of and studies in the two neighbouring languages Vaeakau-Taumako and Äiwoo in Vaeakau and the Reef Islands in Temotu, the easternmost province of the Solomon Islands in the South Pacific.

I would like to thank my family and friends for being there for me, always.

Also, thanks to my father, Dyre Vaa, for improving my English, and to Kaja Brunvoll for printing.

Thanks to the participants of the Pijin colloqvium. Nao mi save lelebet pijin, tu. Nambawan! Tangiu tumas!

Many thanks to Ingjerd Hoëm for smiling and being head of the Oceania Project which funded my field trip and provided me with a research grant.

A special thanks is due to my supervisors, Åshild Næss and Even Hovdhaugen. They have been really supportive and have on several occasions dragged me back on track when I was totally lost. Thank you a million times!

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A warm thanks goes to the Akeso family for taking me under their wings during the nine weeks in Tuwo village. Thank you very much to paramount chief Kio for his sense of humour and for supporting me all the way. And to my consultants and the other kind and loving people at the Reef Islands, especially the inhabitants of Tuwo village at Ngäsinue: Wâkâlou miolo ngâgumi!

Contents

Abbreviations

?	unknown segment	NC	nominal classifier
1	first person	NEG	negation
1+2	first plus second person	NOM	nominaliser
2	second person	NONFACT	nonfactive
3	third person	NONFUT	non-future
A	transitive subject	NP	noun phrase
ABS	absolutive	O	transitive object
ART	article	OBV	obviative
ASP	aspect	P	proximal
AUG	augmented	PFV	perfect aspect
BEN	benefactive	PH	phasal aspect
CAUS	causative	PP	preposition phrase
CL	clitic	PRES	present
CLASS	classifier	PRP	preposition
CONJ	conjunction	PRT	particle
D	distal	POSS	possessive
DEC	declarative	Q	question marker
DEM	demonstrative	QT	quantifier
DIR	directional	RED	reduplication
DS	different subject	REL	relative marker
DU	dual	S	intransitive subject
ERG	ergative	SG	singular
FACT	factive	SS	same subject
FUT	future	SUBJ	subject
HORT	hortative	TA	tempus-aspect
INDEF	indefinite	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
IPFV	imperfective aspect	TOP	topic
IRR	irrealis	TR	transitive
LC	locative	VP	verb phrase
LOC	locational	UA	unit augmented
MIN	minimal	UT	utensils

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1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

The goal of this thesis is to describe how Äiwoo formally expresses different kinds of referents; how they are introduced into discourse and later, how these referents are tracked and re-mentioned. This is especially interesting since Äiwoo is a language with no articles and relatively poor nominal morphology (the only nominal morphology being possessive inflection). A question that arises is what formal tools Äiwoo uses to express referents, both in introduction and tracking of them.

In addition to a number of directional markers, deixis is primarily expressed through demonstratives and locationals, which are both used to a great extent exceeding the basic spatial deictic meaning, playing an important role in the organisation of the Äiwoo grammar.

Äiwoo, also known as 'Reefs' or 'Aŷiwo' is the language of the Reef Islands in Temotu, the easternmost province of the Solomon Islands. Äiwoo belongs to the so-called Reefs-Santa Cruz (RSC) language group. These languages were classified by Wurm (1982) as East Papuan, but recent research casts doubt on this. Haspelmath et al (2005) does not recognise East Papuan as a genealogical language family, and treats the RSC languages as a family on its own.

Äiwoo is spoken by about 8000 people on the Reef Islands, on Nendö in the Santa Cruz Islands group, and in the national capital Honiara, where a considerable amount of speakers have settled. Äiwoo is the biggest of the RSC languages, and its geographical domain seems to be expanding. This is due to overpopulation in the Reef Islands, leading to people moving out of their home islands. Some locals even claim Äiwoo is in the position of becoming Temotu's new lingua franca.

Even though Äiwoo and the other languages in the RSC group "[...] have a reputation among their neighbours for being terribly difficult, often a hallmark of Papuan languages in Austronesian-speaking areas" (Næss in prep.), speakers of the language claim that it is in fact easy to learn for their neighbours, no matter their mother tongue. They point at the relatively great expansion of Äiwoo throughout the Temotu province. An example, pointed out by one of the informants, is that of two boys who recently had moved from Austronesian-speaking Malaita to Tuwo village at Ngäsinue in the Reefs; these boys were said to speak Äiwoo nearly fluently after only some months, and in addition they had almost forgotten their native

language. This is doubtful, but still it might say something about the view of languages in the area; one is expected to put aside one's mother tongue in advantage of the new language.

The closest neighbours to the Äiwoo speakers are the Polynesian-speaking people of Vaeakau (The Outer Reef Islands) and Taumako (The Duff Islands). At low tide one can actually wade between the Äiwoo-speaking island of Ngäsinue and the Vaeakau-Taumako-speaking island of Nifiloli[1]. Despite the widespread contact between the neighbours, researchers have earlier believed that they did not know much about each other's languages. This does not seem to be true. People, and especially the males (some of whom travel considerably between the islands), know more about each other's languages than earlier believed. It is not unusual to hear them switch between Äiwoo, Vaeakau and Pijin when they communicate. What is the dominant language in such a setting is yet to find out.

It should also be mentioned that in their early days many of the elders of the islands used to speak Mota, an Austronesian language of Vanuatu, as this at the time was the province's church language, and more of a lingua franca than Solomon Islands' Pijin. The latter invaded the area more recently, and is today spoken by most inhabitants of the Reef Islands, and elsewhere in the Solomon Islands.

(Source: http://www.peoplefirst.net.sb/)

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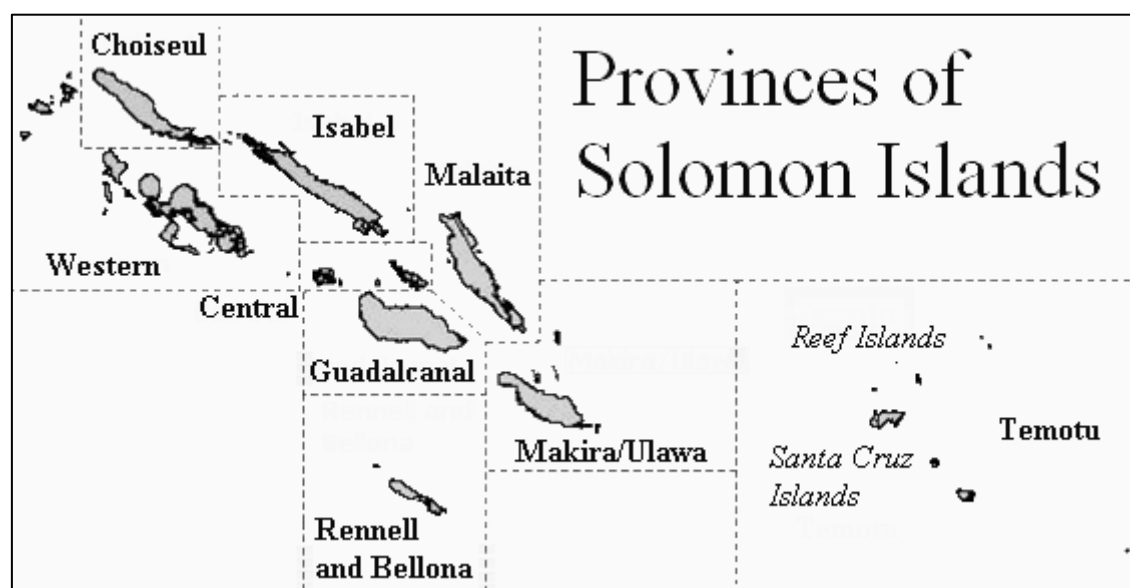
[1] The Vaeakau-Taumako language is also known as Pileni, after one of the small Polynesian outliers.

1.2   Data and Sources

The earliest written source of information on Äiwoo is Codrington (1885). The description is very brief, and the language figures under another name, namely Nifilole (which is the name of the island north of Ngäsinue) where the Polynesian Vaeakau-Taumako is spoken today.

During a period of twenty years Stephen Wurm wrote several articles on different aspects of Äiwoo (Wurm 1972, 1976, 1978, 1981a, 1981b, 1982, 1985, 1987, 1991, 1992), where he suggested that Äiwoo is the result of long-term mixing between Austronesian-speaking and non-Austronesian-speaking people. The contents of these articles are in opposition to more recent descriptions, which point in the direction of Äiwoo as an Oceanic language.

Even though they are also preliminary, Næss (2006a, 2006b) and Frostad (2006) have the most up-to-date descriptions of Äiwoo. Together they cover a much broader grammatical field than any earlier description.

The present thesis is based on both data material collected by Åshild Næss and my own material collected in the spring of 2005. During this field trip I recorded four narratives. I also made recordings of four experiments which will be described in detail below. In addition I elicited some words and sentences.

When investigating a relatively poorly described language, it is difficult to start the research with clear predictions about anything. The preliminary hypothesis of this thesis was that differences in the identifiability of referents were grammatically expressed in Äiwoo. In addition there were a few morphemes that seemed to be important to the expression of identifiability, and to information structure. It was decided that I should investigate these morphemes particularly, as a description of these elements was necessary, and the results of this investigation would either confirm the hypothesis, or fail to do so.

The narratives are recordings of four males of different ages, ranging from about 50 to 70 years. The speakers could pick the topic themselves, but were asked to make their contribution short, as the story might eventually appear in a text-book for school. Recording narratives is a very free way of collecting data, which might be a good starting point when the language under research is poorly understood, and likewise when the research questions are of a general nature. The narrative is a specific genre, with its own structuring rules, but it is thought to give data as close as ethically possible to what is ultimately preferred, namely free speech, which is a convenient way to deal with *The observer's paradox*. Furthermore

narratives give cohesive texts which are required to study and describe the reference-tracking system of a language.

Another advantage with narratives (and other genres containing sentences in a cohesive and coherent text) is that they give sentences in context. This is an important point, because people tend to have difficulties judging the grammaticality of out-of-context constructions.

The experiment was developed by myself, with the goal of getting as much data as possible describing especially how information is structured in Äiwoo; how different participants are introduced and kept track of grammatically in the discourse.

For every experimental session two speakers were sitting at opposite sides of a table. In front of and between them was placed a board in standing position, rising about 40 centimetres from the table top. The board made it impossible for speaker A to see the surface of the table in front of speaker B (and vice versa). The microphone was placed in the middle of the table beside the board. I was sitting at the end of the table controlling the tape recorder and supervising the experiment.

Toy bricks of two sizes and five colours were used, plus a small toy man and a small toy hen. During the experiment bricks were either added or removed or their positions on the table were altered; they were put beside each other or on top of each other, forming different structures and shapes. Speaker A was told to ask speaker B what happened on the table (in front of B). When speaker B explained what happened in front of him/her, s/he had to make sure that speaker A always understood what was talked about and what happened to which brick at every stage of the experiment. The experiment gave invaluable data concerning the expression of new and old referents. At the end of the session I asked speaker A (who had only heard from speaker B what was put on the table) to give a short summary of what his/her friend had seen.

The narratives and experiments were mainly transcribed and translated in the field with the help of five native speakers.

Because I was an outsider, I wasn't able to pick my own informants. The father of the family in which I stayed helped me with that task. He was given a list of criteria to follow. All in all I used 17 informants, ranging from about 20 to about 70 years of age. 15 of them were males, two of them were females. Most of them were from Tuwo, the village in which I stayed, but a couple of them were from the neighbouring village of Malubu.

To get reliable and valid data it is important to get a good spread in the age and sex of the informants. Among the 17 informants I worked with, only two were women. Still, this

must be considered to be good; as local cultural norms prohibit young unmarried men to be alone with women, especially young, unmarried ones. As a researher one has an ethical responibility. One should thus be open-minded, and live by the local ways of life as far as possible.

First of all it was important that the consultants were considered to be fluent speakers of their mother tongue. One should be aware that in some places certain people are considered to have special language skills and a profound knowledge of the language, and are thus "licensed" to talk about it. It is however not necessarily the case that such persons are the best informants; the researcher is interested in data which describe how people in general use their mother tongue at a certain point in time. "Skilled" speakers often tend to be conservative, and reject the way especially young people talk as not being proper language.

It was important that the consultants had a certain knowledge of English in order for us to communicate (although I had gained a certain level in Pijin). To be able to discuss with the consultants is important in research contexts such as this: Sometimes the native translator and the researcher do not hear the same thing on the recordings. And sometimes the translator consciously or unconsciously insists on correcting the data. This might be because the recordings present language which is considered ungrammatical or unproper.

There also turned out to be problems of a more practical nature. In general many people are afraid of microphones. This may have many effects. Sometimes the speakers hesitated when they were supposed to talk. Other times they talked with a very weak voice. This posed an extra problem in the transcription and translation work. This last point was also due to noise in the recording environment. The "recording studio" was a palm tree hut inside the village. Sounds from the surrounding environment was unavoidable, like children crying, the cackling of hens and roosters, and wind and heavy rainfall.

1.3   Organization of the thesis

This thesis contains six chapters. Chapter 1 gives the background for the present research. Chapter 2 presents necessary theoretical assumptions and considerations, both about identifiability of referents and about reference-tracking, and about demonstratives and deixis in general. The three main parts of the thesis come next; in Chapter 3 some morphemes important to this thesis are presented, and in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 the role of these morphemes in reference introduction and tracking and in information structuring is discussed.

The last part, Chapter 6, is the conclusion which will be an attempt to join all the threads from the previous chapters.

1.4 A Mini-Grammar of Äiwoo[2]

In order to be able to understand the examples in the subsequent chapters of this thesis, it is necessary to present some basic grammatical features of Äiwoo.

1.4.1 Nominals

Äiwoo has both lexical nouns and nouns derived from verbs. Typical nouns of the first type are *toponu* 'turtle', *nelo* 'sea', and *sii* 'fish'. Examples of derived nouns are *nye-ku-mo-nä* NOM-IPFV-live=CL 'place where he/she/it stays, home', *nyi-vepä* NOM-light.fish 'light fishing', *nye-bovei* NOM-smell.good 'good smell'.

Næss (p.c.) has pointed out that a plausible hypothesis is that every content word in Äiwoo can be predicates; a large number of nominals are attested with verbal affixes. C.f. the examples below:

(1)   a.   **Sime** *nyigi ku-mo   mo   gino   Nyibängä Nede.*
          Person one   IPFV-live   with   son   N.N.
          'A man was living with his son at Nyibängä Nende.'
   b.   *Ki-**sime**=to*
          IPFV-person=PH
          'It has become human'
          (Næss, p.c.)

In a. *sime* functions as a noun; it is determined by the numeral *nyigi*, and the nominal phrase is the S function argument[3] of the verb *mo* 'live'. In b. *sime* is prefixed with the imperfective

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[2] The spelling used throughout the thesis is devised by Næss in co-operation with Patric Bwakolo and John Rentz. The use of some of the letters in this orthography should be commented upon.

There are three a-sounds in Äiwoo: one open/open-mid front, written *ä*; one open back, written *a*; and one open-mid back, written *â*. There is one alveolar/palatal affricate sound which is written *j*, and one palatal nasal sound which is written *ny*.

A *w* sometimes is placed after certain consonant symbols, indicating labialisation of the preceding consonant. This is done in situations where there seem to be minimal pairs between words with and words without this labialisation.

A *w* is also put between certain vowels; this indicates a glide sound. However, it is at present uncertain whether this is phonemic.

aspect marker *ki-* and is hosting the phasal aspect clitic *=to*. It thus functions as a predicate in this clause.

However, everything functioning as an argument to a verb will be regarded as a noun in the context in question.

Nouns can be modified by other nouns, by verbs or by phrases. Often the nominalizing prefix *mi-* is attached to the modifier:

(2)   a.   *Nuwopa*   *mi-olo*

            house   NOM-big

            'The big house'

    b.   *Nuwopa*   *mi-ku-mo*   *John=kä*

            house   NOM-IPFV-live   John=CL

            'The house in which John lives'

            (Næss 2006a: 277)

The personal pronouns in Äiwoo follow the unit-augmented pattern. This system has four persons; *1ˢᵗ*, *1ˢᵗ+2ⁿᵈ*, *2ⁿᵈ* and *3ʳᵈ*; and three numbers; *minimal*, *augmented* and *unit-augmented*.

The minimal number forms simply denote the minimal quantity of persons required to use the category in question.

The augmented forms correspond to that denoted by the minimal form plus an indefinite number of participants, i.e. first person augmented denotes the speaker and an indefinite number of other participants (not the addressee); first plus second person augmented denotes the speaker and the addressee and an indefinite number of others; second person augmented denotes the addressee and an indefinite number of others. The 1. person augmented and 1ˢᵗ+2ⁿᵈ person augmented thus are equivalent to plural exclusive and plural inclusive, respectively. The third person is a general third person plural, denoting anybody except the speaker and the addressee. This corresponds to the plural category in a language like English.

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[3] The terms S, A and O (as described in Dixon 1994) denote what is thought of as three universal grammatical relations. S denote intransitive subject, A denote transitive subject, and O denote transitive object. An S-function argument is thus the single argument of an intransitive verb. An A-function argument is the subject argument (i.e. the agentive argument) of a transitive verb, and an O-function argument is the object argument (i.e. the patient or patient-like argument) of a transitive clause. These are the thematic arguments of a verb. Other arguments not taking one of these functions are non-thematic.

The unit-augmented number denotes the denotatum in the minimal forms plus exactly one more. 1ˢᵗ+2ⁿᵈ unit augmented thus denotes 'me and you and one more'. The unit-augmented forms are simply formed from the augmented forms plus the unit-augmenting suffix *-le*.

Table 1 The Äiwoo Unit-Augmented Personal Pronoun Paradigm

	Minimal	Unit-augmented	Augmented
1	*iu(nge)*	*iungo-le*	*iungo(pu)*
1+2	*iuji*	*iude-le*	*iude*
2	*iumu*	*imi-le*	*imi*
3	*inâ/ine*	*iji-le*	*ijii*

1.4.1.1 *Possessive inflection and modification*

Common in Oceanic languages is that nouns either are "[…] directly or indirectly possessed. Directly possessed nouns occur with a possessor suffix, whilst indirectly possessed nouns are unsuffixed. This structural distinction reflects a semantic distinction between inalienable and alienable possession" (Lynch et al. 2002: 37).

In Äiwoo some nouns are inflected with possessive suffixes, c.f. (3), while other nouns are modified by a possessive class marker agreeing with the possessor in person and number, c.f. (4) and (5). This class marker follows the noun. There are at least six different possesive classes; a class for food, a class for drink, a class for betelnut, a class for utensils, a class for house/land, and a general class. Many nouns can take at least two different possessive words, depending on its use in the context.

(3) a. *gisi-Ø*   b. *gisi-ji*   c. *gite[4]-i-le*
     friend-POSS.1MIN   friend-POSS.1+2MIN   friend-POSS.3AUG-UA
     'my friend'   'our friend (mine and yours)'   'their friend, the two'

---

[4] Either the 1MIN or 3MIN minimal form makes the base for all other forms which are made by possessive suffixation. Note that there sometimes are allomorphic variants of the base. E.g. *gisi* and *gite* are allomorphs of the lexeme FRIEND.

(4) a. *nuopa to*　　　　 b. *nuopa tä*　　　 c. *nuopa tä-i-le*

　　 house POSS:LC.1MIN　　 house POSS:LC.3MIN　　 house POSS:LC-

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 3AUG-UA

　　 'my house'　　　　　　 'his house'　　　　　 'their house, the two'

(5) a. *nyibä nugu*　　　 b. *nyibä nugu-mu*　 c. *nyibä nugu-mi*

　　 basket POSS:UT.1MIN　 basket POSS:UT-2MIN　 basket POSS:UT-2AUG

　　 'my basket'　　　　　 'your (sg.) basket'　　 'your (pl.) basket'

The possessive inflected noun class largely consists of inalienables, while the class of nouns modified by a possessive class marker largely consists of alienables.

1.4.2 Adjectives

The class of adjectives in Äiwoo is small. Næss (p.c.) have found two candidates, *nyibengä* 'very big' and *nuwolâ* 'old'. Contrary to other modifiers these are pre-nominal, and they do not take aspect marking.

1.4.3 Verbs

1.4.3.1 Person/number agreement

In Äiwoo intransitive verbs have subject *prefixes* and transitive verbs have subject and object *suffixes*. These affixes agree with the referent they designate in person and number following the unit-augmented pattern of the personal pronouns, c.f. Table 1 above. C.f. Table 2 for intransitive inflection and Table 3 and Table 4 below for transitive inflection.

　　 intransitive

(6) *Lâto kä toponu=kä Eeio, pato **ji**-ku-wä.*

　　 CONJ say turtle=CL okay ? 1+2MIN-IPFV-go

　　 'And the turtle said: Okay, let's go.'

　　 transitive and intransitive

(7) *Kä=nä o ji-wâ=ta nä-te-wâ-no.*

　　 say=CL INT 1+2MIN-go=HORT IRR-see-DIR-1MIN

　　 'Saying 'Let us go so I can see.''

Unit augmented number is expressed through the suffix *-le* both for intransitive and transitive verbs. In transitive verbs it comes after the other person/number suffixes.

Table 2 Intransitive subject prefixes (S-function)

	Minimal	Augmented
1	*i-*	*me-*
1+2	*ji-*	*de-*
2	*mi-/mu-*	*mi-*
3	*Ø*	*li-/lu-*

Table 3 Transitive subject suffixes (A-function)

	Minimal	Augmented
1	*-no/-nee*	*-ngo(pu)*
1+2	*-ji*	*-de*
2	*-mu*	*-mi*
3	*Ø/-gu*	*-i*

Table 4 Transitive object suffixes (O-function)

	Minimal	Augmented
1	*Ø*	*-ngo(pu)*
1+2	*-ji*	*-de*
2	*-mu*	*-mi*
3	*Ø*	*-i*

Note that the 3MIN forms (except the 3MIN A form) are zero. In (8) this is shown through an intransitive verb designating a third person S-function referent. In (9) the verb designates both a third person A-function referent and a third person O-function referent.

(8)   *La   i-nubo=to=wâ.*
       PRT:D   PFV-dead=PH=LOC:D
       '(He) died.'

(9)   *Lâto   ki-malei=jo=wâ.*
       CONJ   IPFV-look.after=PH=LOC:D
       'Then (he) looked after (it).'

When the subject referent is 3MIN and the object referent is 3MIN, the form of the 3MIN A is Ø. In any other combination the 3MIN A is *-gu*:

(10) *La   i-motula-ive-**gu-i**=to   ngä   nubatage.*
      PRT:D PFV-arrange-APPL-3MIN-3AUG=PH   PRP   road
      'He had arranged them on the road.'

Unit-augmented number is expressed through *-le*, always suffixed to the verb. In (11) David and his brother have gone out at sea fishing. David jumps into the water with his spear, diving for fish :

(11) (He was diving till he hit a fish, and the the shark came and swallowed his hand.
      That's it. But [David] was a strong man, he grabbed the shark, put it over his shoulder
      and went with it upwards.)
      *Po-mä   i-**lu**-po-mä-**le***
      come-DIR   PFV-3AUG-come-DIR-UA
      nuotaa   le   ki-wapoe=ke   mo   nyimä   botoula=kâ.
      head-3MIN   PRT:P IPFV-show.up=LOC:P and   hand-3MIN   be.off=LOC:D
      'They (David and the shark) came and came till his head showed up, then his hand
      was off.'

The verb *po* 'come' is here repeated, so that it occurs twice. Note that the first instance is not inflected with person/number markers. It is not unusual for some verbs not to be inflected when they are repeated as above.

1.4.3.2 Tense/aspect/mood
Äiwoo has two prefixes *ki-/ku-* and *i-* expressing imperfective and perfect aspect, respectively:

(12) *i-bakisi*
      PFV-run
      'he ran' (at some point)

(13) **ku-**bakisi

   IPFV-run

   'he is/was running' (for a while)

There is also another prefix, *nä-/nâ-/na-*, which expresses irrealis mood, i.e. a state or event that has not happened, but might in the future, either because it is desirable or expected, c.f. (7), repeated below as (14):

(14) *Kä=nä*   *o*   *ji-wâ=ta*   **nä-**te-wâ-no.

   say=CL   INT   1+2MIN-go=HORT   IRR-see-DIR-1MIN

   'Saying 'Let us go so I can see.''

   The enclitic *=naa/=ngaa/=(w)aa/=laa/=kaa* expresses future tense, or something habitual. The future/habitual enclitic has the same allomorphic variants as the locational enclitics which will be discussed in 3.6.1 further below.

(15) *Ki-te-kâ-no***=ngaa**.

   IPFV-see-DIR-1MIN=FUT

   'I will see it.'

   Äiwoo also has two enclitics which can be labeled *phasal aspect* markers, *=to* and *=jo*. Phasal aspect types "[…] concern the inner dynamics […]" (Dik 1997: 221) of the State of Affaires (SoA) denoted by the predicate, i.e. "[…] those aspectual distinctions which bear on the developmental phase of the SoA, in terms of beginning – continuation – end of the SoA" (Dik 1997: 225). While *=to* focuses on the start of an event, *=jo* focuses on the action of the event itself.

   Combined with the imperfective aspect prefix *ki-* it is focused upon the action or process as just started, similar to inchoative aspect:

(16) **Ki-**vängä**=to**.

   IPFV-eat=PH

   'He started eating.'

Combined with the perfective aspect prefix *i-* the reading is similar to the English 'perfect' construction; "it is used when an action has been completed, but the effects of it are still important at the time of speaking" (Næss 2006b: 17):

(17)   **I**-*wo-lâ=***to***   bwää.
       PFV-go-DIR=PH   sea
       'He has gone out to sea (and he is still out there).'

If *=jo* is combined with *ki-*, it is focused upon the ongoing process:

(18)   *Lâto*   **ki**-*malei=***jo***=wâ.*
       CONJ   IPFV-look.after=PH=LOC:D
       'Then he looked after it.'

And if *=jo* is combined with *i-*, the focus is on the action, too, but now as a finished event:

(19)   *Mo*   *nouiä* **i**-*ngä=***jo**.
       but   banana PFV-eat=PH
       'But the banana he had already eaten.'

1.4.3.3 Directionals

Äiwoo has a set of directional suffixes on verbs, expressing direction towards person. These are *-mä* 'towards 1st person', *-wâ* 'towards 2nd person' and *-kä* 'towards 3rd person'. The latter is also the elsewhere directional, expressing direction away from the first and second person in general. The directionals are suffixed preceding the person/number markers:

(20)   *Ileke*   *i-wâtoli-eopu-***mä***=jo=we*   *mi-opulo*   *nyigi* …
       now   PFV-put-too-DIR=PH=LOC:P NOM-red   one
       'Now he puts a red one [towards 1st person].'

(21)   *Ileke*   *i-wâtoli-eopu-***wâ***=jo=wâ*   *nyigi,* *ki-vädo*   *doo?*
       now   PFV-put-too-DIR=PH=LOC:D one   IPFV-look.like Q

'Now he has just put down there one [towards 2nd person], what does it look like?'

For an example of *-kä*, c.f. (22) below below.

1.4.4 Prepositions

Äiwoo has two prepositions. The most frequent is *ngä*, used with several spatial meanings, like English 'to', 'from', 'at'. The other preposition, *go,* indicates instrument, commitative, or direction towards person. C.f. the prepositional difference between (22) and (23) below.

(22)   *I-ku-wâ-kä*   **ngä**   *nelo.*
        1MIN-IPFV-go-DIR   PRP   sea
        'I go to the sea.'

(23)   *I-ku-wâ-kä*   **go**   *Mofat.*
        1MIN-IPFV-go-DIR   PRP   M.
        'I go to Mofat.'

Movement to or staying at a specific place, expressed by a place name, employs no preposition. Local nouns such as *bwää* 'sea' and *ngââgu* 'bush' neither take prepositions.

(24)   *I-ku-wâ-kä*   *Malubu.*
        1MIN-IPFV-go-DIR   M.
        'I go to Malubu.'

1.4.5 Basic word order

Since Äiwoo has person/number marking on the verb, overt arguments are not obligatory. But as in any language there are clauses with overt arguments. There is a word order which seems to be basic, based on frequency. It could be argued that word order is relatively free as it is possible to find any argument in any position other than the basic one. But then the argument is often morphologically marked, as we will see in 5.1.

Nevertheless, for intransitives the basic word order is SV:

(25)   *Lâto*   **toponu**   *ki-ngaa-e-ute-kä=nâ* ...
         CONJ   turtle   IPFV-call-up-again-DIR=LOC:D

         'So the turtle called up again ...'

For transitives it is OVA:

(26)   *Lâto*   **nuwo** *i-luwa-kä*   **toponu**   *eä*   **nupaa** *i-luwa-kä*   **lâpu**.
         CONJ   bottom PFV-take-DIR   turtle   and   top   PFV-take-DIR rat

         'The turtle took the bottom half, and the rat took the top.'

There is, though, a preference for only one overt lexical nominal phrase per verb, avoiding both lexical A and O arguments with the same verb.

2 Theoretical issues

2.1 Identifiability

Referents are ”[t]he entities or state of affairs designated by linguistic expressions in particular utterances” (Lambrecht 1994: 37). A referent is *designated* or *denoted* by a linguistic expression, for example a nominal phrase. The nominal phrase *that man* for instance is a referring expression designating an individual person (which the addressee must be able to determine).

Referents in the visible physical surroundings of the speaker and addressee, the *text-external world* (Lambrecht 1994: 36), are immediately known to both speaker and addressee. They can be designated by deictic expressions. Elements in such a context are naturally more accessible to the addressee than abstract elements and elements outside the text-external world. Referents that do not appear in the text-external world have to be mentioned indirectly by linguistic expressions in *the text-internal world* (Lambrecht 1994: 37). These expressions vary due to whether the speaker thinks that the addressee is able to get mental pictures of them or not, and how easily the speaker believes that the addressee is able to get the mental picture. A not before-evoked referent will need another linguistic expression than a referent just mentioned. I.e. identifiability of referents and the activation state (how prominent the referent is in the short-term memory) of identifiable referents control the form of its linguistic expression.[5] For instance, if Mike sees a boy hitting what appears to be that boy's dog, and later meets Pat, he could say *I saw a boy hit his dog*.? *I saw the boy hit his dog* would be strange because the boy is unidentifiable to Pat, and hence the definite form of the NP is strange. If Pat knew about the boy in question, maybe because Mike had just spoken about him, the sentence would be fine, and an indefinite NP would be strange (*?I saw a boy hit his dog*). If Mike and Pat were promenading in the park together, Mike could say *The boy hits his dog*, even though Pat was not aware of the boy in advance. The boy is now in the immediate, text-external world, and a cognitive picture of the referent comes to Pat's mind immediately when he turns his attention to the boy. Because of this immediate vicinity of elements in the text-external world, Mike could even use a demonstrative in his exclamation*: That boy hits his dog!*

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[5] The speaker normally constructs his or her sentences depending on what he or she thinks is neccessary for the addressee. There is in other words no fixed correlation between the linguistic expression and the referent. A speaker tends to build his or her sentences based upon assumption and experience.

In order to talk about formal ways of expressing different kinds of referents, the notion and definition of the cognitive category *identifiability* will be presented. The figure below, adapted from Lambrecht (1994), can be taken as the starting point.

Figure 1   **Identifiability diagram (Lambrecht 1994: 109)**
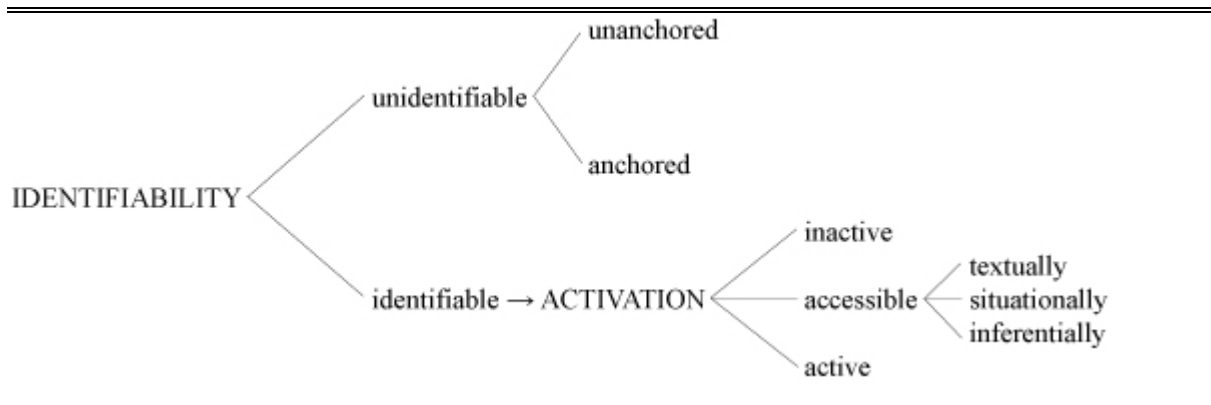
A referent might be either unidentifiable or identifiable. An *unidentifiable* referent is one which is not known by the addressee, i.e. he/she has no mental representation of it in his/her mind. When such a referent is presented it is sometimes said that it is *brand-new*. One can make a distinction between unanchored and anchored brand-new referents.

Unanchored referents are denoted by nominal phrases with no linkage to other phrases contained in the main nominal phrase, while *anchored* referents are linked to a phrase in subordination, delimiting the scope of the referent; eg. *a bus* is unanchored, while *a guy I work with* is anchored.

Identifiable referents are referents known by both speaker and addressee, both have a mental representation of the referent in their minds. An identifiable referent is in one of the three activation states inactive, accessible and active.

An *active* referent is typically "coded with an unaccented expression" (Lambrecht 1994: 106); the referent is just mentioned and is fresh in the mind of the addressee, and hence needs no further stress to avoid ambiguity. Such referents are often expressed by pronouns.

In contrast an *inactive* referent is "[…] necessarily relatively prominent prosodically" (Lambrecht 1994: 107). An inactive referent is stored in the mind of the addressee, but it is not yet denoted (used) by the speaker. C.f. the English sentence *I saw your BROTHER yesterday* (Lambrecht 1994: 107), where the addressee of course knows that he/she has a brother, but the denoted referent has not been involved in the discourse earlier (and thus a stress expresses the introduction).

An *accessible* or *semi-active* referent is a before-mentioned referent which has lost its prominent activation state, either because another referent has taken this position, or because it has been a long time since it was mentioned, so that it has started to fade in the mind of the addressee. It can be retrievable through the text, through the speech situation, or infered through other referents or events.

The degree of identifiability of a referent is expressed differently in different languages. In English unidentifiable referents are largely expressed by noun phrases where the noun is preceded by the indefinite article, e.g. *a boy*. Identifiable referents are expressed by definite noun phrases where the definite article precedes the noun, e.g. *the boy*. The term *definite* is "[r]eferring to, or characteristically indicating reference to, an identifiable individual or set of individuals" (Matthews 1997: 89).

Since other languages employ other methods to express the different degrees of identifiability it is not always fruitful to use the terms definite and indefinite. It must be stressed that Äiwoo has no articles and very poor nominal morphology. The terms definite and indefinite will thus be left out.

2.2   Reference-tracking

Matthews (1997: 313) defines reference-tracking as "[k]eeping track of the individuals referred to at successive points in a sentence, conversation, etc". This task can be performed in several ways, employing different grammatical methods.

Different languages use different methods to track referents in discourse. Though not exhaustive Comrie (1989) presents a typology of four different systems of reference-tracking which are considered to be the major ways of tracking referents in the world's languages: *gender/class indexing*, *reflexive pronouns*, *switch reference and switch function* and *obviation*.

Languages with distinctions in *gender/class indexing* usually make it possible to track the referent of a noun phrase without repetition of the overt NP. This is due to morphological markers coreferencing with the full form NP, i.e. they designate the same referent. In narratives with few participants the system might work well without more than a first-mention of the referent. If the narrative contains more referents in the same gender/class, the risk of conflict between the different referents is present. In such cases it might be neccessary for instance to use the full form NP, to ensure that the hearer does not loose track of the referent in question.

Comrie (1989: 39) gives this simple example from English:

(27)   *Beryl went to the cinema with Charles. It was the first time he had been able to persuade her to go out with him.*

In English the three nominal classes are based on gender; *masculine*, *feminine* and *neuter*. The personal pronouns agree with these classes. In the example above it is easy to always know who is the agent and who is the patient, as we know that both the noun phrase *Beryl* and the feminine class pronoun *her* designate a feminine referent. The noun phrase *Charles* and the masculine class pronouns *he* and *him* designate a male referent. It is thus easy to know which nominal phrase corefers with which pronoun.

     Reflexive pronouns are anaphoras that obligatorily corefer with an NP to their left, inside the sentence or clause. Non-reflexive pronouns often have problems with this, as the non-reflexive ones can refer to any other referent in the same person/number/gender as well.

     Comrie (1989: 40) offers these examples as an illustration:

(28)   a.   *Daphne poisoned herself.*
        b.   *Daphne poisoned her.*

In the first sentence there is no doubt who acted upon who. The reflexive pronoun in English is coindexed with the subject within the clause. In the second example the poisoned person may be anyone in the feminine gender class.

     Languages with *switch reference* systems have some kind of inflectional marking telling whether a subject is coreferential with the subject of its dependent clause, or whether it is non-coreferential. These sentences from the non-Austronesian language Harway of Papua New Guinea will serve as an illustration (SS indicates Same Subject, DS indicates Different Subject):

(29)   a.   *Ha   döyw nwg^w-ön,   bör   dwa.*
              child   rat   see-SS   run   go:PRES:3SG-DEC
              'The child saw the rat and he ran away.'
        b.   *Ha   döyw nwg^w-mön,   bör   dwa.*
              child   rat   see-DS   run   go:PRES:3SG-DEC
              'The child saw the rat and it ran away.'
              (Comrie 1989: 41)

In *switch function* systems an argument in a non-initial clause may be omitted if it is in the right syntactic function according to the pivot. The pivot is a language particular category which links together either A- and S-function or O- and S-function arguments. In an S/A pivot language (syntactically accusative) the coreferential NP must be in S- or A-function in each clause for them to be conjoined. In a language with an S/O pivot (syntactically ergative) the coreferential NPs must both be in S- or O-function. The following is an example from the Australian language Dyirbal, where sentence a. and b. are combined into c.:

(30) a. *ŋuma   banaga-nʸu*
          father + ABS$_S$ return-NONFUT
          'Father returned.'

      b. *ŋuma   yabu-ŋgu   bura-n*
          father + ABS$_O$ mother-ERG$_A$ see-NONFUT
          'Mother saw father.'

      c. *ŋuma   banaga-nʸu   yabu-ŋgu   bura-n*
          father+ABS   return-NONFUT   mother-ERG   see-NONFUT
          'Father(S) returned and mother(A) saw him(O).'
          (Dixon 1994: 10-12)

According to the S/O pivot of Dyirbal it is only possible to omit the O-function argument of the second clause. As it is omitted it has to be coreferential with the S-function argument in the initial clause, 'father'.

In languages which use *obviation* as a reference-tracking device a specific entity is selected as being of prime importance. The NP referring to this entity is morphologically marked with a proximate form. Other NPs are found in the obviative form. This marking, Comrie says "[…] applies not only to the noun phrase itself, but also to any pronouns referring to it, and also to verb morphology indexing the referent of the noun phrase in question" (Comrie 1989: 43). Comrie offers (31) from the Algonquian language Plains Cree as an example:

(31) *Mēkw ē-pimohtē-t   ispatināw   wāpaht-am,*
      while CONJ-walk-3P   hill   see-3P
      ē-āmaciwē-yit   ayīsiyiniw-a,   nāpēw-a.
      CONJ-climb-3OBV   person-OBV   man-OBV

Ēkwa	*kitāpam-ē-w*	*kitāpākan*
and.then	observe-DIR-3P	spy.glass

ē-kanawāpākanēhikē-yit	*ayīsiyiniw-a*
CONJ-look.through.spy.glass-3OBV	person-OBV

ē-nanātawāpam-ā-yit.	*Kiskēyim-ē-w*	*ayahciyiniw-a.*
CONJ-look.for-DIR-3OBV	know-DIR-3P	Blackfoot-OBV

Ēkwa	*o-paskisikan*	*pihtāsō-w;*	*mōstkīstaw-ē-w*
and.then	3P-gun	load-3P	attack-DIR-3PROX

ē-pimisini-yit.
CONJ-lie-3OBV

'While he (the Cree) was walking he saw a hill on which someone (the Blackfoot), a man, was climbing. And then he (the Cree) observed him (the Blackfoot), as he (the Blackfoot) was looking through a spy glass, as he (the Blackfoot) was looking for people. He (the Cree) knew him (the Blackfoot) for a Blackfoot. And then he (the Cree) loaded his gun and he (the Cree) attacked him (the Blackfoot) as he (the Blackfoot) lay down.'

In this short example with only two participants the tracking of the referents is simple. The proximate affix always refers to the Cree which is chosen to be the most prominent participant, and the obviative affix always refers to the Blackfoot.

This part has given a glimpse of what reference-tracking is about, and how it is performed in many languages. What is interesting is that Äiwoo actually does not employ any of the mechanisms just described. It lacks gender and noun classes, reflexives, switch reference marking and obviation. Remember also that it is a language with a poor set of nominal morphology. One of the main concerns of this thesis is to give a description of the mechanisms Äiwoo employs to track referents.

2.3 Deixis

Anderson & Keenan (1985: 259) consider as *deictic expressions* "[…] those linguistic elements whose interpretation in simple sentences makes essential reference to properties of the extra linguistic context of the utterance in which they occur". Deixis is about pointing. The word itself is derived from the root **d(e)ik* in classical Greek. The root is found in the

verb *deiknumi* 'I show, point out', and the noun *déiksis* 'proof, representation'. It is commonly used with the meaning 'reference'.

Deictics are words, affixes, particles or clitics, pointing at something in the real world (or in the narrative discourse). In a sense one can say that deictics help placing the different parts of a sentence in a context. In contrast to anaphora, deictics point out of the sentence (or the discourse) itself, to help establish a common ground between the speaker and the addressee. In other words, deixis is a part of the reference-tracking system of every language, in that it relates objects to a specific point, namely *here and now*. An implication of what is just said is that deictic expressions to a certain extent give reference to an element. An indefinite expression related to a deictic is thus more referential than an indefinite expression not specified by a deictic element.

Anderson & Keenan (1985: 277) says that "[t]he elements most commonly cited as 'deictics' are those designating spatial location relative to that of the speech event", namely the spatial deictic elements. These are also the most important deictics in this thesis. But in addition to *spatial deixis* deictic expressions are often divided into *person deixis*, *temporal deixis* and also *relativized deixis* (Anderson & Keenan 1985). In some languages there is no clear borderline between the different deixis types, especially between deicticality in space and time. Below are listed the four deixis types together with a short definition and a simple example.

Figure 2   **Deixis types (Anderson & Keenan 1985)**

Deixis type	Specifies in relation to the expression
Person deixis	The speaker or the addressee
	E.g. '*I* see *you*!'
Spatial deixis	The spatial location
	E.g. 'I want to sit *here*, not *there*.'
Time deixis	The time of an event or state
	E.g. '*Today* is a good day.'
Relative deixis	The person, place or time *relative* to some other deictic expression in the construction

Anderson & Keenan (1985: 281) say that "[a]ll languages known to us exemplify at least two distinct categories along the basic spatial deictic dimension". There is a typological distinction between the *distance- oriented* and the *speaker- oriented* systems. Distance oriented systems are focused on the speaker and make distinctions in relative distance from this speaker, such as *near* (speaker), *further away* (from speaker), and *far away* (from

speaker). Speaker -oriented systems orient their terms in relation to the speech participants. A speaker- oriented three-term system, for instance, usually will have terms denoting location *near speaker*, *near addressee*, and *away from both speaker and addressee.*

Spanish is an example of a language using a *distance-oriented three-term system*, where "[t]he basic distinctions among [the three demonstrative adjectives/pronouns] seem basically to be ones of relative distance from the *Sp[eaker]*". The Spanish demonstrative adjectives/pronouns are *este* 'close', *ese* 'farther away' and *aquel* 'remote' (Anderson & Keenan 1985: 282).

Most Austronesian and thus Polynesian languages also have a three-term system of deixis, as is the case in Samoan (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992) and the closest neighbour to Äiwoo, Vaeakau-Taumako (Næss 2004). This system makes a distinction between denoting "[…] something in the immediate vicinity of the speaker, […] something close to the addressee, [and] something situated away from both speaker and hearer" (Næss 2004: 83). In Vaeakau-Taumako the demonstratives are expressed by *ne* or *nei*, *na* and *la*, respectively; in Samoan the forms are *nēi*, *nā* and *lā*. In other words, both Samoan and Vaeakau have *person-oriented three-term systems* of deixis.

As we will see Äiwoo employs a simple two-term system. It makes a distinction between something in the relative vicinity of the speaker and something away from the speaker, either close to the addressee, or away from both.[6]

2.4   Demonstratives

2.4.1   Syntactic properties of demonstratives

Demonstratives belong to the class of deictic expressions. The main function of demonstratives is to place referents in space relative to the participants in the discourse. Äiwoo has a two-way distance-oriented deictic system. This kind of system is very common in non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages, while Austronesian languages to a large extent follow a three-way person-oriented system (Foley 1986: 75).

Based on their distribution Diessel (1999) groups demonstratives in four; pronominal, adnominal and adverbial, as well as identificational (where the demonstrative appears in

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[6] Even though the distinction between distance-orientation and person-orientation is common in the litterature, one could question how to categorise a system with only two terms. How can we really tell whether the two available terms form a distance-oriented set or a person-oriented set? Maybe the categorisation only is meaningful when the language in question has three or more terms?

copula and non-verbal constructions). Demonstratives can thus be put into four categories depending on their syntactic context: *demonstrative pronoun*, *demonstrative determiner*, *demonstrative adverb* and *demonstrative identifier*. Some languages have one single form covering all the four categories, but most languages have two or more forms (Diessel 1999: 57).

2.4.2   Pragmatic uses of demonstratives

It is not uncommon that one grammatical form has several functions.

> Demonstratives serve important pragmatic functions in the communicative interaction between the interlocutors. They are primarily used to orient the hearer in the speech situation, focusing his or her attention on objects, locations, or persons, but they also serve a variety of other pragmatic functions. (Diessel 1999: 93)

The different functions of demonstratives are schematised in the figure adapted from Diessel (1999) below:

Figure 3   **Functions of demonstratives (Diessel 1999)**
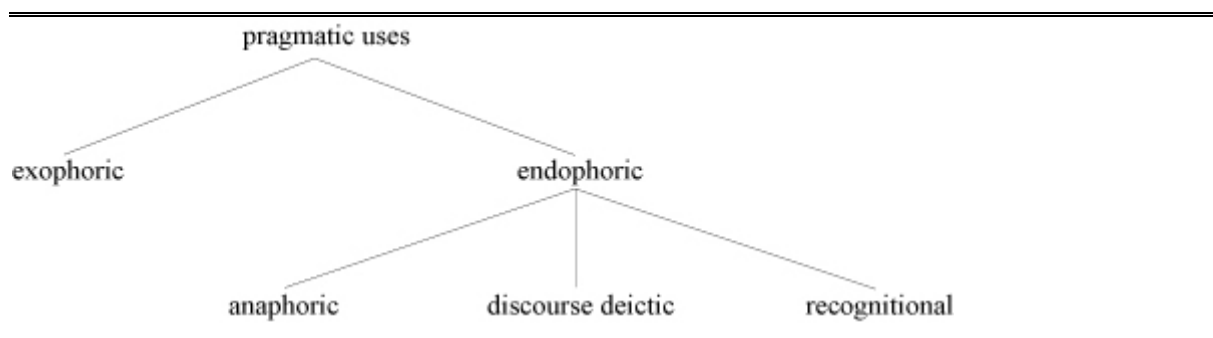
When a demonstrative points to an entity in the speech situation (in the text-external world) and relates this entity to the participants in discourse, the use is *exophoric*. All other uses are *endophoric*, and can be divided further into *anaphoric*, *discourse deictic* and *recognitional* (Diessel 1999: 93):

> "Exophoric demonstratives refer to non-linguistic entities in the speech situation; they focus the hearer's attention on persons, objects or locations in the outside world. Anaphoric demonstratives are coreferential with a noun phrase in the preceding discourse; they keep track of prior discourse participants. Discourse deictic demonstratives refer to a chunk of the surrounding discourse; they

express an overt link between two propositions. [---] In the recognitional use, demonstratives function to indicate that speaker and hearer are familiar with the referent due to shared experience" (Diessel 1999: 6).

Anaphoric demonstratives are used to track referents; they refer to elements in the ongoing discourse. "[T]hey are used to track participants of the preceding discourse" (Diessel 1999: 96). In *To'aba'ita*, an Austronesian language on Malaita, Solomon Islands, an anaphoric demonstrative is used to reactivate an identifiable but not active referent, so that its referent status again becomes active.

(32)   To'aba'ita (Diessel 1999: 97)

Si	*u'unu*	*'eri*	*'e*		*lae*	*suli-a*	*te'e*	*wane*	*bia*
CLASS	story	that	it:FACT		go	about-them	one	man	and

kwai-na	*bia*	*'a-daro'a*	*te'e*	*wela,*	*wela*	*wane.*
spouse-his	and	BEN-their.DU	one	child	child	man

Wela	**'eri**	*kali*	*wela*	*fa'ekwa*	*ni*	*bana.*	*'e*	*a'i*
child	that	little	child	small	PRT	only	it	NEG

si	*tala*	*'a-na*	*kai*	*lae*	*'a-si*
NEG	be.possible	BEN-his	he:NONFACT	go	to-CLASS

kula	*n-e*	*nii*	*daa.*
place	REL-it:FACT	be.located	far

'This story is about a man, his wife, and their child, a boy. The child was very little. He wasn't able to go faraway places.'

The first sentence introduces the main participants in the story; a man, his wife and their child. The subsequent discourse continues with the child as topic. The second time the child, *wela*, is mentioned, a demonstrative *'eri* marks it, standing to the right of the noun. Later the tracking of the child is done with a third person pronoun.

Discourse deictic demonstratives point back at propositions. An example from English will illustrate:

(33)   A: Hey, management has reconsidered its position. They've promoted Fred to second vice president.

B: a. **That**'s false. (reference to proposition)

          b. **That**'s a lie. (reference to illocution)

          (Diessel 1999: 101)

We see that the demonstratives in B refer to different aspects of the meaning. In a. it is the proposition uttered which is referred to, while in b. it is the illocutionary force in A.

     Recognitional demonstratives point to referents which are not before mentioned in the discourse, but which is identifiable to the hearer. They are used adnominally, and "[…] they do not have a referent in the preceding discourse or the surrounding situation" (Diessel 1999: 105).

(34)   a.   How's **that** throat?

        b.   **That** Henry Kissinger sure knows his way around in Hollywood.

           (Diessel 1999: 107)

In a. the speaker shares with the addressee a concern for the addressee's throat. In b. the speaker and the addressee probably have talked about Henry Kissinger before; they share the same views about him. Recognitional demonstratives point at private knowledge, in the sense that speaker and addressee share the perception of the referent, gained through joint experience in the past.

3   Determiners and Deictics in Äiwoo

A determiner is described as "[a]ny of a class of grammatical units characterized by ones that are seen as limiting the potential referent of a noun phrase" (Matthews 1997: 95).

Again, it must be stressed that Äiwoo's "nominal morphology is relatively simple, with no articles, no casemarking, and no morphological number marking—with the exception of certain kinship terms and human-referring nouns" (Næss 2006a: 271), and possessive inflection. This fact makes it interesting to look into what means Äiwoo employs to delimit a potential referent of a linguistic expression.

However, it is easy to find words in Äiwoo which actually determine and thus limit the referent of the NP in question. Consider the examples below, where *sime* 'man/person' is determined by different morphemes:[7]

(35)   *dä* *sime*   'a man/someone'

(36)   *sime* *nyigi*   'a man/one man'

(37)   *sime* *dâu*   'many people'

(38)   *sime*-*du*   'all the people'

(39)   *sime* *eângâ* 'that man/the man'

From these examples it is tempting to conclude that Äiwoo at least has numerals and quantifiers in addition to demonstratives, which all determine the referent in question.

Further, in Äiwoo both verbs and nouns can be preceded by *le* and *lâ* and followed by =*Ce* and =*Câ*. As will be argued for, both pairs are clitic, and they have a basic deictic function in addition to several other functions.

This chapter will provide a thorough presentation of the main formal characteristics of the *dä* morpheme (c.f. 3.1), the *du* morpheme (c.f. 3.2), the numeral 'one' *nyigi* (c.f. 3.3), the *dâu* morpheme (c.f. 3.4), and the demonstratives (c.f. 3.5).

Then the deictic morphemes *le*/*lâ* and =*Ce*/=*Câ* will be presented and discussed (c.f. 3.6); their distribution and basic function will be considered.

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[7] Remember that a noun can be modified by other lexemes, both nouns and (nominalised) verbs. It can also be modified by a possessive word. Modifiers are always postnominal, except for the adjective candidates mentioned in 1.4.2, which are prenominal. The determiners never intervene between a noun and its attribute.

3.1 The *dä* morpheme

The *dä* morpheme has a wide distribution; it can both appear before and after nouns, and it can appear after verbs.

In the first examples below, *dä* is placed prenominally. In (40) *dä* is placed in front of an S-function argument, *nyilebiäi* 'group of people', giving the reading 'some people'.

(40) *Kâla   nââ,   sime   mi-doo=wâ,   **dä**   nyilebiäi*
      that   language   people NOM-like that=LOC:D QT   group

      ki-lu-pu-väpe   kä=nä   nââ   sime   mi-nânga
      IPFV-3AUG-?-tell   say=CL   language   people NOM-DEM

      *ba   wagu-i=gu   ä   **dä**   nyilebiäi kä-i=lä   i-ngo-kä-i.*
      NEG   say-3AUG=NEG   and   QT   group   say-3AUG=CL PFV-hear-DIR-3AUG

      'That statement, some people tell that the statement was not said, and other people said they heard it.'

In (41) *dä* appears in a PP designating a location; after the preposition *ngä*, preceding the noun *nyowä* 'place' in the embedded NP. The reading of the PP is 'to a certain place', meaning that they went on to yet another place, in contrast to the place they had just left (as they are walking from place to place collecting fish):

(41) *Lu-po-kä-le=naa   ngä   **dä**   nyowä, lâ   nyibä nogo-i-le*
      3AUG-go-DIR-UA=FUT   PRP   QT   place PRT:D basket POSS-3AUG-UA

      bipu=kâ …
      full=LOC:D

      'They went on to a certain place, then their basket was full …'

In (42) *dä* appears in an adjunct[8] phrase denoting a temporal expression; preceding the noun *nyidâbu* 'day', giving the reading 'once upon a time (lit. some day)'.

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[8] Matthews (1997: 8-9) defines *adjunct* as "[a]ny element in the structure of a clause which is not part of its nucleus or core. E.g. in *I will bring it on my bike tomorrow*, the nucleus of the clause is *I will bring it*; the adjuncts are *on my bike* and *tomorrow*".

(42) **Dä**   nyidâbu,   toponu mo   lâpu   lâ   ki-li-mo-le=to=wâ.

QT   day   turtle   and   rat   PRT:D   IPFV-3AUG-live-UA=PH=LOC:D

'Once upon a time, the turtle and the rat were living together.'

In the next example, *dä* appears postnominally, at the end of the NP. The sentence is taken from the beginning of a narrative. In (43) *dä* appears at the end of the O-function argument *poile*, giving the reading 'any pig (for us)'. This is one of two examples in the material where *dä* only appears post-nominally. It should be added that native speakers judge this configuration to be perfectly acceptable.

(43)   *I-li-tokoli-waabo-le=nâ*   *lâto*   *kä=nä*   *poi-i-le=dä*[9]

PFV-3AUG-sit-idly-UA=LOC:D   CONJ   say=CL   pig-3AUG-UA=QT

ku-wâpuna-mu=nâ.

IPFV-feed-2MIN=LOC:D

'While they were sitting down he said to him: Do you feed **any** pig (lit.: do you have any pig)?"

The other example presenting *dä* post-nominally only is the one in (44) below. Here the *dä* enclitic is attached to the postverbal A-function argument *ibesiji*:

(44)   *Däjelâ*   *le*   *i-wâluwoli-wâ*   *ibesi-ji=dä=ne,*

something   PRT:P   PFV-put.down-DIR   friend-1+2MIN=QT=LOC:P

kele   *ki-to=wâ*   *ngä*   *nyi-enge.*

here   IPFV-exist=LOC:D   PRP   NOM-DEM:P

'Something has been put down by my friend here, they are here.'

If we assume that A-function arguments in their basic position are internal to the VP[10], then it is reasonable to believe that in these examples *dä* is an enclitic appearing at the right border of

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[9] The form *poile* pig:POSS:3UA 'their (the two of them) pig', including both participants, is here claimed by the informant to be used for politeness reasons. Since the clause is a direct speech quotation the expected form would have been the 1+2MIN, but it is the 3UA form which is used. This might be due to mixing between direct and indirect speech.

[10] This assumption is based on what can be called the VP-internal analysis, where the thematic arguments of a verb (hence, arguments in S-, A- or O-function) is thought to be internal to the phrase where the verb is the head. This is because there are grammatical factors which distinguish thematic arguments from non-thematic ones, making them obligatory, either lexically, morphologically or pragmatically. This should thus be reflected structurally.

the VP (and not at the NP border). We see that *=ne* (which will be argued to be an enclitic in 3.6.1 and 3.6.3) also has taken this position. It could be that *dä* here actually is encliticised to the NP, but there is in fact not attested any example where *dä* is attached to the verb when an A-function argument follows it. This strengthens the assumption that it operates at the VP border.

Now consider the following examples without any A-function argument following the verb. *dä* appears on the verb complex, after the person/number suffixes and the directionals; c.f. (45) below, where it appears at the end of the imperfective verb complex *kiemolämä* '(it) stays inside':

(45)   …   *mo*   *sii*   *mi-laki*   *le*   *ki-e-mo-lämä=**dä***
                but   fish   NOM-small   PRT:P   IPFV-?-stay-inside=QT

        ngä   *nupanubulâ*   *mi-laki.*
        PRP   pool   NOM-small

        '…a small fish stayed inside a small pool.'

In (46) *dä* is placed at the end of the irrealis mood verb complex *nätekäile* 'they (3UA) would see', after the directional *-kä* and the person number markers *-i* 3AUG and *-le* UA.

(46)   *Lâto*   *ki-li-amole-ngengäle=nâ[11]*,   *kä-i-le=nä*
        CONJ   IPFV-3AUG-look-around=LOC:D   hope-3AUG-UA=CL

        ngamaa   *nyie*   *nä-te-kä-i-le=**dä**.*
        if   fire   IRR-see-DIR-3AUG-UA=QT

        'So they looked around, hoping to find a fire burning somewhere.'

In (47), again, *dä* appears at the end of the verb complex, after the directional *-kä* 'to 3rd person/elsewhere', but before the negative enclitic *=gu*.

(47)   *Ginubonu*   *i-bou*   *go*   *sime*   *mi-li-dami*
        G.   PFV-afraid   because   people   NOM-3AUG-different

---

[11] As the actual agentive referent is two persons one would expect a UA *-le* marker on this verb. It is possible that it has been elided due to rapid speech combined with the fact that the last syllable of the preceding morpheme is *le*.

> *ba   ki-te-waabonyi-kä=**dä**=gu   deu   nâ-o-kä*
> NEG   IPFV-see-only-DIR=QT=NEG   before   IRR-go-DIR
>
> *ngä   nye-ku-mo=nâ.*
> PRP   NOM-IPFV-stay=LOC:D
>
> 'Ginubonu was afraid because he wasn't seeing (any) strangers go to his place of stay in the past.'

The examples in (45) – (47) leaves no doubt that *dä* also attaches to the VP.

We now have seen *dä* appearing prenominally, postnominally or postverbally, where at least the postponed morphemes probably are clitic. There is however another possibility where it appears *both* prenominally *and* postnominally. In (48) *dä* appears both directly preceding and following the noun *ipe* 'old woman' in the AP headed by *mo*, giving the reading 'one of the old women':

(48)   *I-mo=to=wâ*   *i-lile,*   *i-lile*   *mo*   ***dä***   *ipe=**dä**.*
          PFV-live=PH=LOC:D PFV-marry PFV-marry with   QT   old.woman=QT
          'He stayed and he married, he married *one of the old women*.'

In (49) *dä* appears preceding and following *itabu* 'day' in the temporal AP. The phrase is translated with 'one day', in the beginning of the sentence:

(49)   ***Dä***   *itabu=**dä**,*   *nyibä i-vili-i-le*   *dâu*   *väkä.*
          DÂ   day=DÂ   basket PFV-weave-3AUG-UA many   few
          '*One day*, they wove some baskets.'

In (50), too, two occurrences of a *dä* morpheme are present in a PP. The first one precedes the core noun *nyenaa* 'tree' in the NP; the second one appears after the modifying *miolo* 'which is big':

(50)   *Li-mele-kä-le*   *ngä*   ***dä***   *nyenaa*   *mi-olo=**dä**.*
          3AUG-fly-DIR-UA   PRP   QT   tree   NOM-big=QT
          'They flew to *one of the big trees*.'

Note that when a noun is modified by some element this is always the case; *dä* occurs at the end of the phrase, and never directly after the noun itself. In these examples it is thus reasonable to believe that *dä* is enclitisised to the right border of the phrase.

Finally, informants report that *dä* can appear *both* preceding a noun *and* combined with the VP. This is however not attested in the material. The closest candidate for such a construction is the example in (44) further above, or the one in (51) below. Both contain the overt argument *dädjelâ* 'something':

(51) **Dä**jelâ   le   ko-to-mä=**dä**=ne.
      something   PRT:P   lie-DIR-DIR=QT=LOC:P
      'Something is lying out here.'

In (51) above =*dä* is placed after the directional *-mä* on the verb. And the first syllable in the S-function argument *däjelâ* 'something' is indeed the syllable *dä*. But since **jelâ* is never attested alone it is unwise to conclude that *däjelä* actually is an NP consisting of the determiner *dä* and the core noun **jelâ*. It might however be the case that such an analysis once would have been appropriate and that the two words later have evolved into the word 'something' with a frozen *dä* in front, c.f. the discussion about *dä* as an indefinite pronoun in 4.1.1. See also 3.6.3 for an acoustic analysis of *däjelâ*.

Whether the prenominal and the postnominal and -verbal *dä* actually are the same morpheme can be questioned. However, they probably are. First, we have seen that they always denote a referent, no matter whether it is attached to the verb or to the argument designating the referent in question. And second, native speakers claim that we deal with the same word. Due to the wide distribution of *dä*, it thus will be analysed as a clitic. See also 3.6.3 for an acoustic account.

Note that all nouns determined by *dä* introduce a new referent, and that it in most cases can be glossed with 'some', delimiting the scope of the referent. It can thus be analysed as a *quantifier*, c.f. 3.7. The function of *dä* will be discussed more thoroughly in chapter 4.1.

Ross (p.c.) says that it is always difficult to know with a monosyllabic morpheme whether it is descended from a particular form or whether the similarity is due to chance. However, *dä* looks similar to the Proto Oceanic **ta*. This morpheme was "an indefinite common non-human article" (Lynch et al 2002: 71). We will see in 4.1 that *dä* is found mostly with non-human referents. Lynch et al (2002) infer that **ta* was always prenominal. As for *dä*, we have seen that prenominal placement only is one of three possible placements.

3.2 The *du* morpheme

While *dä* generally can be translated with 'some', there is another morpheme, *du*, which generally is given the translation 'all'. Just like *dä* it can attach to the right of a noun. In (52) *du* appears at the right end of the A-function argument *sime* 'people', quantifying this referent, giving the reading 'everyone/(all) people'.

(52) *Lâ wâmu-woli=jo ngä ny-ângâ,*
   PRT:D leave-down=PH PRP NOM-DEM:D

   *lâto dâbu dâu eângâ ku-wevä sime-**du**.*
   CONJ day all DEM:D IPFV-visit people-DU

   'He leaves it there then everyday people come and see it.'

In (53) *du* is attached to the second verb in the clause in question, *nyigi* 'one', which functions to determine the O-function argument *poido* 'wild pig':

(53) *Da-ku-wâ-laki-kä mo gino-i-le   lilu=kâ   lu-po-ute-mä=to,*
   ?-IPFV-go-small-DIR and son-3AUG-UA two=LOC:D 3AUG-go-back-DIR=PH

   *poi-do   ki-ägile-i-le=ne   nyigi-**du**.*
   pig-wild IPFV-carry-3AUG-UA=LOC:P   one-DU

   'Soon their two sons arrived, each of them was carrying one pig.'

In (54) *du* appears at the end of the non-thematic argument *dekuluwo* 'bird', followed by the locational enclitic *=ke*.

(54) *Lâ deu=kâ, tepeka   ki-tokoli-epu käsä=nä*
   PRT:D before=LOC:D flying.fox IPFV-sit-too like=CL

   *dekuluwo-**du**=ke.*
   bird-all=LOC:P

   'A long time ago, the flying fox was also sitting down, like every other bird.'

In (55) *du* is attached to *mimebulâ* 'which is yellow' which modifies the core noun *nuwosinäile* 'their types'.

(55) *I-vitoli-eopu-mä=jo=wee*   *de-ki-kine*   *mi-nyigi*   *eä*   *nuwosinä,*
PFV-put-again-DIR=PH=FUT   NOM-IPFV-same   NOM-one   and   type

nuwosinä-i-le=nâ   *nyigi* *mi-mebulâ-du*   *ileke.*
type-3AUG-UA=LOC:D   one   NOM-yellow-all   here

'He puts here again the same things, same, and the types, their types are same (are all the same yellow).'

The material contains no example where *du* appears prenominally. But the postnominal position is very similar to that of the postnominal *dä*. It attaches to the rightmost element of the NP, to the border of the nominal phrase, c.f. (53) and (55). Otherwise it attaches directly to the noun itself, before other clitics, c.f. (54).

Just like *dä*, *du* appears following verbs too. In (56) *du* is attached to the right end of the intransitive verb *iwovälâ* '(he) searched thoroughly':

(56) *Le*   *temotu*   *ki-to=wa*   *Nyiwoo=ke*   *liluwai enge*
PRT:P   island   IPFV-exist=LOC:D   N.=LOC:P   small   DEM:P

i-wovälâ-du.
PFV-search-DU

'All the small islands in the Reef Islands were thoroughly searched.'

Just as with *dä*, the verbal *du* determines the argument, and the phrase *le temotu kitowa Nyiwooke liluwai enge* 'the small islands in the Reef Islands' is quantified to designate '**all** the small islands in the Reef Islands'.

In (57) *du* is attached to the end of the transitive verb *ngâ* 'eat', before the locational enclitic *=nâ*:

(57) *I-ngä*   *i-ngä*   *wâle-eke*   *lâ*   *i-ngâ-du=nâ*
PFV-eat   PFV-eat   ?-fast   PRT:D   PFV-eat-DU=LOC:D

lâ   *ku-bakisi-kä=nâ.*
PRT:D   IPFV-run-DIR=LOC:D

'He hurried up and ate it, and when he finished eating he ran on.'

There is no overt O-function argument in this clause. Remember that verb forms with zero-inflection designate third person minimal referents. The speaker has in the previous clause

introduced a basket of fish, and in (57) *du* quantifies this referent. The reading of the verb thus is 'he ate everything/all'.

Now consider the example in (58) below. Here *du* is attached to the transitive verb *luwa* 'take'. Contrary to *dä*, it appears before the directional *-kä*:

(58)   *Ngaa   tepekoula   ku-luwa-**du**-kä=jo.*
       so   things   IPFV-take-DU-DIR=PH
       'She did all the chores in the house.'

Bybee (1985) says that the more relevant an element is to the stem, the closer to the stem it appears. *The Relevance Principle* states that "[a] meaning element is *relevant* to another element *if the semantic content of the first directly affects or modifies the semantic content of the second*" (Bybee 1985: 13). Bybee (1985) also outlines the following figure, which present the relevance an element of one expression types has to another element. The further to the left, the more relevant the elements are to eachother:

Figure 4   Bybee's (1985) Continuum of Expression Types

lexical   ---   derivational   ---   inflectional   ---   free grammatical   ---   syntactic

◄──

greater degree of fusion
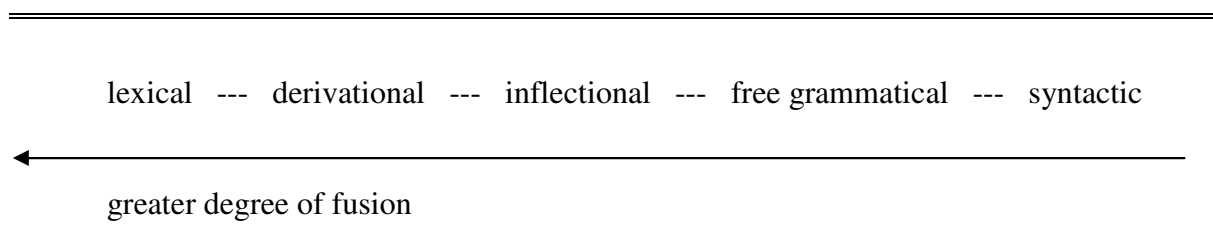
The example in (58) thus excludes an analysis where *du* is an enclitic; it is not possible for a suffix to appear after a clitic element (i.e. a free grammatical expression).

Næss (p.c.) suggests that *du* actually is a verbal root meaning 'to finish'. The verb complex *i-ngä-du* PFV-eat-finish (c.f. (57)) then might be analysed as a nuclear layer serial verb construction, which can be described as two (or more) verbs which "[...] act like a grammatical unit in several respects: other morphemes can not intervene between them, and affixes and clitics must come before or after the whole set of verb stems [which] share the same inflectional markers" (Frostad 2006:77). The verb construction then might be glossed as '(it) finished eating', meaning that everything was eaten. The reading 'all' thus might come from the basic meaning of the verb; to finish eating something can in many contexts mean 'to eat all of it/everything'.

We have seen that *du* can appear inside a verb complex, directly following the first verb in the complex. It can also be the core predicate in the clause itself:

(59) *Mo*   *ki-te-kä-i=lâ*   *dena-ile*   *lâ*
      but   IPFV-see-DIR-3AUG=LOC:D   food.POSS:3UA   PRT:D

      *ku-**du**-ngâpo=nâ.*
      IPFV-finish-by.itself=LOC:D
      'But they could see their food disappear by itself.'

We should be on relatively solid ground when we say that *du* in fact is an intransitive verb which states something about its argument. This verb can be the main predicate of a clause, c.f. (59), predicting that something comes to an end; or it can be a part of a nuclear layer serial verb, c.f. for instance (57). Basically, what this verb predicts is the quantity of a referent; i.e. *du* can be said to be a verbal quantifier.

3.3 The numeral *nyigi*

Consider the example in (113) below, where the noun *sime* 'person' is determined[12] by *nyigi* 'one' which is postposed to the noun. Numerals in Äiwoo frequently act as attributes to the right of the core noun.

(60) ***Sime nyigi***   *ku-mo*   *mo*   ***gino***   *Nyibängä Nende.*
      man   one   IPFV-live   with   son.POSS:1MIN   Nyibängä Nende
      'Once a man was living with his son at Nyibängä Nende.'

Postposition of 'one' and other numerals to the nominal head is not uncommon in Oceanic languages (Lynch et al. 2002:39).

In Äiwoo the numeral often appears following the main verb, while the noun it determines is preverbal. Consider (61) below, where the core noun of the nominal phrase *nyibä* 'basket' is in its unmarked preverbal position, while *nyigi* 'one' follows the verb:

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[12] *Determine* here only implies that the numeral limits the referent designated. It does not imply a certain part of speech of the determiner itself.

(61) *Lu-pwa-le=naa,*   *nyibä bipu-eopu*   ***nyigi,***

     3AUG-go-UA=FUT   basket be.full-too   one

     'They went on until another basket was full,'

In (113) the numeral looks like an element with the characteristics of an article or another formal determiner. In the example in (61), the the noun and the determiner are subparts of a discontinuous phrase, whose elements determine the same referent, taking one functional role. According to Fanselow (1988) languages with discontinuous NPs often have rich agreement morphology. It is not uncommon that the determiner of a split-NP takes another form than it would have in a non-split NP. Consider the German example below:

(62) German (Fanselow & Ćavar 2002:93)

    a. *Er* *hat* <u>*kein*</u> <u>*Geld.*</u>

       he has no money

    b. <u>*Geld*</u> *hat* *er* <u>*kein-es/*kein.*</u>

       money has he no

       'He has no money.'

When the NP is split, the quantifier has to take another form than if it had appeared in its non-basic prenominal position. This implies that numerals always should take person/number inflection when appearing after the verb, and never do it when they appear directly after the noun. Since 3MIN referents are zero-inflected on verbs, *nyigi* is not a good candidate when looking for numerals with person/number inflections. However, a couple of other numerals are attested postposed to the noun, with person/number marking:[13]

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[13] There are also cases where the numeral is the only predicate in the clause, appearing with verbal marking, such as in the example below, where *lilu* 'two' is inflected with a person/number prefix:

Sipe   *li-**lilu.***
daughter.POSS:3MIN   3AUG-two
'She had two daughters (lit. Her daughters were two).'

A possible reason for the inflection is that there are not other lexeme functioning as the main predicate, i.e *lilu* here fills the verbs function, as it is the only predicate present.

(63) *I-ku-mo*   *mo*   *tumo*   *mo*   *iso*

      1MIN-IPFV-stay   with   father:POSS:1MIN   with   mother:POSS:1MIN

      eä   *ginuwou*   **_li-lilu_**.

      and   brother:POSS:1MIN   3AUG-two

      '"I'm staying with my father, with my mother, and my two brothers."'

It is probably better to say that the determiner, in this case the numeral, is a verb. This analysis is plausible since the determiner often occurs with a person/number prefix. This analysis goes well with Næss (2006a), who proposes that almost any lexical element can function predicatively and hence take verbal marking. The fact that numerals sometimes behave more like verbs (in that they often are inflected with verbal morphology) is a common feature in Oceanic languages, also outside western Melanesia (Lynch et al. 2002:39). The determiner, at least in examples as those in (61), thus occurs in what seems to be a serial verb construction.

Frostad (2006) describes after Van Valin & La Polla (1997) two kinds of serial verb constructions (multi-verbal constructions where no conjunction intervenes between the verbs) in Äiwoo; the *nuclear layer serial verb construction* and the *core layer serial verb construction*. In the former the verbs is attached to each other acting like a single grammatical unit. In the latter each of the verbs have their own inflectional marking, and "they must share at least one argument, and peripheral elements, such as PPs" (Frostad 2006: 82). In other words; in the former construction the verbs in question together form the predicate as one phonological word in the nucleus; in the latter construction, the verbs constitute their own nuclei inside the same core, i.e. they are heads of their own VPs, in subordination to the main VP.

In the constructions in question (contrary to those in Frostad (2006)), there are often a locational enclitic attached to the first verb, before the numeral. In clauses with an overt post-verbal argument in its non-basic position (i.e. in A-function), the locational enclitic, if present, always follows this argument (that is a reason why the locational is analysed as an enclitic attaching to the element at the right phrase border), c.f. (44) above. In cases where the numeral appears after the main verb the locational is attached to the verb, before the numeral:

(64) *Wagi, deu   wagi,   **ipe**   lâ   ku-mo=to=wâ*   ***nyigi***.

      once   before once   woman   PRT:D IPFV-live=PH=LOC:D one

      'Once, long ago, there was a woman.'

If we assume that a locational defines the right border of the VP/core (as will be proposed in 3.6.1), then the constructions in question cannot be serial verb constructions. It is thus reasonable to believe that the numeral is outside the VP.[14]

Van Valin & La Polla (1997) describes a clause as syntactically layered. The inner layer is the nucleus, which is where the predicate is situated. The next layer is the core, which contains the nucleus and the arguments of the predicate in it. The outer layer is the periphery which in addition contains non-obligatory elements, i.e. adjuncts. "It is important to recognize that the nucleus, core, periphery and clause are syntactic units which are motivated by [...] semantic contrasts" (Van Valin & La Polla 1997: 28). That is not to say that the layered structure of the clause is fixed. A noun might sometimes be a part of the nucleus of a clause, e.g. noun incorporation, and in nuclear serial verb constructions two or several verbs are contained in the same nucleus. It is common in many languages that a semantic argument of the verb is outside the clause. In English, for instance, question words appear in a clause-initial position. And similarly, non-WH NPs or PPs can also occupy this position. Van Valin & La Polla (1997: 36) offers the following English sentences as examples: ***That book*** *you put on the table*, ***This magazine*** *you put on the shelf*, and ***To Dana*** *Pat gave a new watch*. The reasons for movement of phrases out of the core are thought to be pragmatically motivated.

If the numeral basically functions as a verb, we must analyse the constructions in question as *multi-clause* constructions, i.e. clauses without conjunctions between them. There need not be any problems with this, as verbs are inflected with person/number marking which tracks an active referent (c.f. 4.5). This referent neccessarily has to be the same referent as the one in the previous clause, unless the inflection on the verbal numeral shows another person/number than the (other) verb.

The choice of analysis will probably not have a profound impact on the conclusion of the present thesis, which primarily tries to link grammatical form with discourse function.

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[14] Notice that any argument appearing in a non-basic position after the verb comes after the locational, if present:

i) *Lâto   i-päi-woli-kä=nâ*   *läge   nyigi.*
    then   PFV-throw-down-DIR=LOC:D   skin   one
    'And he threw down a banana skin.'

ii) *Nogona   dâbu   dâu=iâ*   *ki-wâpunâ=na*
    POSS:3MIN   day   every=DEM:D   IPFV-feed=LOC:D
    lâ   ebugi   eângâ.
    PRT:D   ebugi   DEM:D
    'For, the boy, every day he feeds this Ebugi.'

Arguments in a non-basic post-verbal position can thus syntactically be analysed as adjuncts, that also goes for the post-verbal determiner.

Numerals are not only used attributively or as verbs. Consider (65) which is from an experiment where a person tells about the toy bricks put in front of him:

(65) *Ileke   i-wâtoli-eopu-wâ=jo=wâ   **nyigi**, ki-vädo   doo?*
now   PFV-put.down-again-DIR=PH=LOC:D one   IPFV-like   Q
'Now he has just put down there one, what does it look like?'

Here the class of the referent is known, the speaker can identify the toy bricks as his interlocutor explains that one by one they are put down in front of him. The speaker questions one new instance of this class of referents, the core noun itself being omitted; *nyigi* functions referentially, but with the meaning minimally specified. Matthews (1997: 299) says about pronouns that they are elements "[...] of a class whose members typically form noun phrases whose meaning is minimally specified".

However, pronouns usually are anaphoric, i.e. they point back at an identifiable referent. Referents designated by *nyigi* alone are unidentifiable, i.e. the class type is denoted, but not a certain entity.

In Vaeakau-Taumako as well, *hai* 'one' can appear pronominally:

(66) *ko-i   tuku-ange   po   sikuai loa   **hai**   i   mua   ne.*
TA-3SG   say-DIR   QUOT put   EMPH one   LOC   place   DEM
'He said: "Put one over here".'

Such use is typical for indefinite articles. From the examples above (e.g. X1), we can see that *nyigi* is used in such a way. Chapter [about introducing unidentifiable referents] will discuss this further.

3.4 The *dâu* morpheme

There is another word which has the same distribution as *nyigi*, namely *dâu* 'many'. *dâu*, which basically quantifies a noun, is found to the immediate left of the noun, as in (67):

(67) *Nuopa   **dâu**   ngä   numä eângâ elââ-du.*
house   many   PRP   village DEM:D big-all
'All of the houses in the village are big'

It also appears following the verb; c.f. (68):

(68) …*ä*   *li-tei,*   *li-tei,*   *sii*   *wâ-nubo-wâ-i=lâ*   ***dâu****=kâ.*

      and   3AUG-fish   3AUG-fish   fish   CAUS-die-TR-3AUG=LOC:D

      many=LOC:D

      '… and they fished and fished and killed a lot of fish.'

In (68), *dâu* semantically determines the preverbal noun *sii* 'fish', but just like the numerals it is likely that *dâu* is a verb, as it takes verbal inflection; c.f. *mi-li-dâu* NOM-3AUG-many 'a lot of people', and (70) where it is inflected with the irrealis prefix *nâ-*. *dâu* appears in a multi-clause construction above. Notice the distal locational enclitics which are attached to both verbs in this construction.

      Also in (69) below *dâu* appears postverbally, while the noun *nyibä* 'basket' has preverbal placement. Here *dâu* is modified by *väkä* 'very', appearing to its right.

(69) *Dä*   *itabu=dä,*   *nyibä i-vili-i-le*   ***dâu***   *väkä.*

      QT   day=QT   basket PFV-weave-3AUG-UA many   very

      'One day, they wove some baskets.'

dâu is considered a verb for the same reasons as *nyigi*. This becomes even clearer from the example below, where it carries verbal inflection:

(70) *... go*   *sii*   *nâ-togulo-naa*   *nâ-**dâu**.*

      because   fish   IRR-hit-FUT   IRR-many

      '... so that he would catch a lot of fish.'

While *nyigi* is an intransitive verb which denotes just one entity of the class it designates, *dâu* is an intransitive verb denoting a number, meaning 'many/all'. The verbs restrict the scope of possible referents. It is a verb with quantificational features.

3.5 Demonstratives

The basic use of referential demonstratives is to pick out entities in the text-external world. Diessel (1999) says about such exophoric demonstratives that they

> [...] focus the hearer's attention on entities in the situation surrounding the interlocutors. They have three distinctive features: first, they involve the speaker (or some other person) as the deictic center; second, they indicate a deictic contrast on a distance scale [---]; and third, they are often accompanied by a pointing gesture (Diessel 1999: 94).

Demonstratives in Äiwoo follow a two-way distance-based pattern. There are thus proximal and distal variants of the demonstratives. As indicated in 2.4.1 above, Äiwoo employs different word forms in syntactically different contexts. However, many of them are based on the demonstrative base *enge* P or *(e)ângâ* D. We will first look at the distributional properties of the demonstratives described in 2.4.1.

3.5.1 Demonstrative pronouns

In Äiwoo a demonstrative can be the head of an NP, and thus function as a pronoun. Such demonstrative pronouns are formed from a demonstrative base and a nominalising prefix. In (71) two demonstrative pronouns appear. In the first clause the proximal demonstrative base *enge* is combined with the nominalising prefix *nye-*, denoting a place. In the second clause the same nominalising prefix is attached to the distal demonstrative base *(e)ângâ*. The readings thus literally are 'this place' and 'that place', respectively:

(71)　*Ji-ki-wäämo*　　　　*kele*　*ngä*　***nye-enge*,**
　　　1+2MIN-IPFV-start　here　PRP　NOM-DEM:P
　　　ji-ki-wäpoulâ　　　*kâlâ*　*ngä*　*naa*　*ngä*　***nye-ângâ*.**
　　　1+2MIN-IPFV-finish　there　PRP　end　PRP　NOM-DEM:D
　　　'We will start here at this point, and we will finish at that point there.'

3.5.2 Demonstrative determinatives

In Äiwoo, demonstratives which function as deictic determinatives are in apposition to the noun, and appear phrase finally. The example in (72) is taken from a narrative about a rat, a turtle and a banana tree. The rat has climbed the tree to get some ripe bananas. The turtle

repeatedly asks for the rat to throw down a banana, but it only throws down banana skins. In the first sentence below the turtle threatens to push the tree down. The next sentence states that it actually did so. Notice how the demonstratives are used:

(72) *nemaa ki-do=wâ,*   *nyâ-nou*   **enge**=*ke*   *ki-bapo-no.*
       if   IPFV-what=LOC:D   tree-banana   DEM:P=LOC:P   IPFV-push-1MIN
       '…if you keep doing that, I'll push **this banana tree** down.'
       Lâto   *luwa-kä*   *toponu=kä,*
       CONJ   take-DIR   turtle=CL
       ilâ   *nyâ-nou*   **eângâ**=*kâ,*   *luwâ-kä=nä*
       DEM:D   tree-banana   DEM:D=LOC:DIST   take-DIR=CL
       'So the turtle did, **that banana tree**, he did this,'

The demonstrative determinatives appear to the right of the noun they modify. In the first sentence the demonstrative is used exophorically, it places the tree in space relative to the speaker (the turtle); the proximal form *enge* is used stating that the tree is close to the turtle, c.f. the English translation 'this tree'. In the next sentence the banana tree is designated by the distal form of the demonstrative, *eângâ*. This sentence is not a citation (as the previous one) and the speaker probably does not use the proximal form simply because he is not close to the tree (the story takes place in an unspecified place).

       It is here difficult to tell whether the speaker in the last sentence use the demonstrative to locate the tree relative to the deictic centre, or to mark an anaphoric reference. However, the last hypothesis is most plausible, as we later, in 4.4, will see that the demonstratives frequently are used in this function.

       Demonstrative determinatives are not inflected, but there are clitic variants of them. They have the same distribution as their strong counterparts. Compare (73) and (74):

(73) *Ilâ*   *de-ku-wânyinyi-lâoo-nyilâ*   *dâbu*   *dâu=**iâ***.
       DEM:D   NOM-IPFV-do-always-?   day   all=DEM:D
       'That's what he does every day.'

(74) *Lâ*   *wâmu-woli=jo*   *ngä*   *ny-ângâ,*
       PRT:D   leave-down=PH   PRP   NOM-DEM:D

lâto	*dâbu*	*dâu*	***eângâ***	*ku-wevä*	*sime-du.*
CONJ	day	all	DEM:D	IPFV-visit	people-all

'He leaves it there then every day people come and see it.'

The material contains more examples like the ones above. There does not seem to be any semantic difference between the full form and the clitic variant.

3.5.3 Demonstrative adverbs

Diessel (1999: 5) says that "[a]dverbial demonstratives are usually distinguished from pronominal and adnominal demonstratives". In his material based on 85 languages there are only a handful where the adverbial demonstratives have the same form as those used pronominally or adnominally. In Äiwoo, too, the demonstrative adverbials have distinct form, differing from the other demonstrative forms, *kele* 'proximal' and *kâlâ* 'distal', c.f. (75) and (76), respectively:

(75) *lu-paavee=kâ*   *mo*   *Daniel=kâ*   *inâ*   *sime*   *cathechistie*   *nyigi*

        3AUG-teach=LOC:D   and   D.=LOC:D   3MIN   people   cathechist   one

        kele   *Ngäsinue=ke.*

        DEM:P   N.=LOC:P

        'They taught, and Daniel was a cathechist here in Ngäsinue.'

(76) *Wilson Tokode*   *le*   *ku-wo-ule-mä=to=we*

        W. T.   PRT:P   IPFV-come-across-DIR=PH=LOC:P

        go   *ku-mo*   ***kâlâ***   *Ngäälo=kâ.*

        because   IPFV-stay   DEM:D   N.=LOC:D

        'Wilson Tokode then came over because he stays (there) at Ngäälo.'

Note that the formal difference between the proximal and the distal form is the same vowel alternation as in the other demonstratives and deictic forms; *e* marks proximity and *â* marks distance.

3.5.4 Demonstrative identifiers

A demonstrative identifier occurs in nonverbal clauses, and "[…] function to identify a referent in the speech situation" (Diessel 1999: 5). ("They are usually considered demonstrative pronouns, but many languages distinguish ordinary demonstrative pronouns from demonstratives in copular and nonverbal clauses." (Diessel 1999: 5)

Consider the examples below:

(77) **Ilâ**   *nye-ku-wagu-wâ-no*   *lâ*   *ginou.*
      DEM:D NOM-IPFV-tell-DIR-1MIN   PRT:D   son:1MIN
      '[His mother said:] That's what I told you, son.'

(78) *Ba*   *ki-la-mä-i=dä=gu*   *ku-nugo=nge*   *guwo*
      NEG   IPFV-give-DIR-3AUG=QT=NEG   IPFV-to.1MIN=LOC:P some
      Mo   *i-li-läve*   *sii=ke*   *go*   *wâ-bukai-tokâ-no*
      but   PFV-3AUG-catch   fish=LOC:P   because   CAUS-drive-DIR-1MIN
      nga   *nupo* *nogo-i,*   **ilâ**   *ki-lopâ*   *doo=wâ.*
      PRP   net   POSS-3MIN   DEM:D IPFV-talk   what=LOC:D
      'Why don't they give me anything? They caught fish because I drove them into their net', that's what he was saying.

The example in (77) is nonverbal, while the clause in question in (78) contains a verb. In both examples *ilâ* functions predicatively, making anaphoric reference to earlier events; in (77) what the boy's mother told him, and in (78) the preceding citation. *ilâ* thus makes an anaphoric reference to a specific event earlier in the discourse.

These words often function resumptively and are translated freely with expressions such as 'that's it' and 'that happened'. They are also used to start a verbless clause, or to predicate an event expressed by a verb.

Consider, too, the next examples. In (79) *ilâ* is at the very end of the sentence, and its English translation is 'that's it'. Here, too, it is a resumptive comment on its own, stating that what just was told actually happened.

(79) **Lâ**   *nupaa* *näkenaa*   **ilâ**.
      PRT:D end   story   DEM:D
      'That's the end of the story (lit. the end of story, that's it).'

In (80) the sentence starts with *ilâ*, functioning as a predicate in the verbless clause, and pointing back at the previous event. The latter demonstrative then is used discourse deictically.

(80) **Ilâ**   *nupwaa*   *lopâ*   *nogo*   *Daniel*   **ilâ**.
      DEM:D end   talk   POSS:3MIN   D.   DEM:D
      'That's the end of Daniel's story, (that's it).'

The demonstrative identifiers occur relatively frequently in the material, where it is an important tool in the organisation of the discourse.

3.6 Deictic particles and clitics

3.6.1 The *=Ce/=Câ* enclitics[15]

Äiwoo has a pair of morphemes, *Ce* and *Câ*, which both attach to verbal and nominal elements. Consider the example below, taken from one of the experimental sessions described in 1.2. A toy brick is put in front of person B. Person A cannot see this, and he asks his interlocutor what is put down.

(81) A: *Mo*   *doo*   *la*   *i-vitolio-eopu-wâ=jo=wâ?*
           but   Q   PRT:D   PFV-put.down-too-DIR=PH=LOC:D
           'But what else does he put there?'
      B: *I-vitoli-eopu-mä=jo=we*   *de-ki-kine*   *mi-nyigi* …
           PFV-put.down-too-DIR=PH=LOC:P   NOM-IPFV-same   NOM-one
           'He put here again the same things …'

Ce and *Câ* are deictic, following a two-way distance-oriented system, where the speaker thus is the point of reference. The proximal-distal distinction is expressed through alternation in vowel sound; *e* indicates proximity, and *â* indicates distance. This vowel alternation is visible throughout the deictic system in Äiwoo, c.f. demonstratives in 3.5. In (81) we see that speaker A, who does not have the toy bricks in front of him, uses the distal version *=wâ* of the

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[15] As we will see, there are several allomorphs of the locational enclitics, the difference being in the quality of the consonant. Here the informal symbol *C* stands for any of these consonants. The '=' symbol indicates that we deal with a clitic element, as will be argued for subsequently.

locational to indicate that the thing he asks about is not in his proximity. In speaker B's answer, a proximal version =*we* is used, indicating that the new toy brick is put down in his proximity.[16]

Example (81) shows the deictic morpheme pair with verbal hosts. But they also attach to nominal hosts, as (82) and (83) show. In the two sentences in the first example, the morphemes are attached to the nominal *nyenyigi*, showing the difference in location relative to the speaker:

(82) A: *Ilâ*   *ki-to-lâ-vesi*   *ngä*   *nye-nyigi=kâ?*

           DEM:D IPFV-stay-DIR-still   PRP   NOM-one=LOC:D

           'Do they stay in the same order?'

      B: *Ba,*   *ki-so-vesi*   *ngä*   *nye-nyigi=ke*   *mi-olo*

           NEG   IPFV-stand-still   PRP   NOM-one=LOC:P   NOM-big

           mo   *mi-laki=iâ.*

           and   NOM-small=DEM:D

           'No, the big one and the small one stand in the same place.'

The elicited sentences in the next example, too, clearly show the spatial difference between the proximal and the distal version of the enclitic:

(83)   a.   *Pe-Tuwo=ke*   *ki-lu-vängä*   *nenu*   *mo*   *sii.*

           NOM-T.=LOC:P   IPFV-3AUG-eat   coconut   and   fish

           'People (here) from Tuwo eat coconuts and fish.'

    b.   *Pe-Tuwo=kâ*   *ki-lu-vängä*   *nenu*   *mo*   *sii.*

           NOM-T.=LOC:D   IPFV-3AUG-eat   coconut   and   fish

           'People (there) from Tuwo eat coconuts and fish.'

=*Ce* P[ROX] and =*Câ* D[IST] will in the following be labeled *locationals* as they (as shown) basically indicate spatial location.

=*Ce* and =*Câ* are considered clitics due to their free distribution compared to affixes. Furthermore, these locationals do not carry their own stress (they are weak), nor change the stress pattern of their hosts, c.f. 3.6.3 for a short acoustic account. There are not attested any

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[16] Notice that this also is expressed through the directional inflections in the two verb complexes; -*wâ* indicates direction towards 2nd person, and -*mä* indicates direction towards 1st person.

strong counterparts to these locationals. Zwicky (1977) use the term *bound words* for clitics which do not have any non-clitic counterparts; i.e. which only exist as attachments to a host. This is contrary to the =*ee* and =*eâ* demonstratives, which have non-clitic, strong counterparts, *enge* and *eângâ*.[17]

Notice that the morphemes in the examples above have different initial consonants. There are five allomorphs of each morpheme, depending on what is its host:

Table 5   **Locational Allomorphic Forms**

Allomorph	Attaches to
=*nge*/=*ngâ*	1MIN -*no*, 1+2MIN -*ji*,1+2AUG -*de* and 3MIN -*gu* person markers
=*(w)e*/=*(w)â*	2MIN -*mu*, 2AUG -*mi* and 1AUG -*ngopu* person markers, and the phasal enclitics =*to* and =*jo*
=*le*/=*lâ*	3AUG -*i* person marker
=*ne*/=*nâ*	UA -*le*, the third person directional -*kä*, the negation enclitic =*gu*, 3POSS forms, and bare stems of some verbs
=*ke*/=*kâ*	other; these are the elsewhere forms (FUT =*(C)ââ*, some bare stems, and postverbal A NPs)

The examples are many throughout the thesis.

If there is a phrase internal argument following the verb (assuming that thematic arguments are internal to the VP), i.e. in A-function, the enclitic uses this as its host. C.f. (84) where =*kâ* is attached to the A-function argument *Ginubonu*:

(84)   *Siguwâu*   *eve*   *lâ*   *i-te-kä-gu-i*

       young.boy   three   PRT:D   PFV-see-DIR-3MIN-3AUG

       Ginubonu=kâ *bââ*   *de-vaa-eopu=kâ*   *nulä*

       G.=LOC:D   not   NOM-close-too=LOC:D   neck.POSS:3MIN

       mo   *nyiiwo* …

       but   war

       'When he saw these three young boys Ginubonu did not think of anything else but war ...' (Repeated from (143))

Otherwise, if no overt A-function argument is present postverbally (in basic position), the locational attaches to the end of the verb complex, as shown in the examples above.

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[17] The clitic variants of the demonstratives can further, following Zwicky (1977), be categorised as so-called *simple clitics*, which means that they have exactly the same distribution as their strong counterparts. Note also that, in between the simple clitics and the bound words are the *special clitics*; they have non-clitic counterparts, but a different distribution.

In an NP the enclitic attaches to any modifying element to the right of the core noun. In (85) =*kâ* is attached to the demonstrative *eângâ*, which is placed to the right of the core noun *demo* 'crab' in the NP:

(85) *Demo eângâ=kâ*   *la*   *i-mâtala=to=wâ* ...
      crab   DEM:D=LOC:D PRT:D PFV-get.ready=PH=LOC:D
      'That crab got ready ...'

In (86) =*kâ* attaches to *lilu* which appear to the right of the noun *ginuwe* 'his/her brother':

(86) *Ba*   *wâtawe=gu*   *ginuwe*   *lilu=kâ*
      NEG   long.time=NEG   brother.POSS:3MIN   two=LOC:D
      lâ   *lu-pwa-le=nâ*   *siguwâu*   *eve*   *lu-po-kä*   *ngä*
      PRT:D 3AUG-go-UA=LOC:D boy   three 3AUG-come-DIR   PRP
      nuopa *tä-i* ...
      house POSS-3AUG
      'Not long after her two brothers were gone, three young boys went to their house ...'
      (Repeated from (62))

Because of this placement, the =*Ce* and =*Câ* locationals are analysed as enclitics attaching to the right phrase border.

3.6.2 The *le* and *lâ* particles

The *le* and *lâ* particles appear relatively frequently in Äiwoo in a number of seemingly different contexts. They appear in front of verbs, as in (87) below (preceding an intransitive verb):

(87) ...   *lâ*   *ki-li-vängä=to=wâ.*
              PRT:D   IPFV-3AUG-eat=PH=LOC:D
      '... and they ate.'

They also appear in front of nouns, e.g. in (88), where *lâ* appears preceding the S-function argument *ipe eângâ*. It seems to mark a contrast; the people opening the oven found an old woman instead of the fish they expected to find:

(88) *Lâto   nyopwa=eââ   ku-upwee-usi=to=wâ*
      CONJ   oven=DEM:D   IPFV-open-again=PH=LOC:D

      mo   ko-lamä=to=wâ   ***lâ***   *ipe*   *eângâ,*
      but   lie-DIR=PH=LOC:D   PRT:D   woman   DEM:D

      sii   ki-baa=to.
      fish   IPFV-not.be=PH
      'When they opened the oven, only the old woman was inside instead of the fish.'

In the next example, (89), it precedes the O-function argument *ebugi eângâ*:

(89) *Nogo=nâ*   *dâbu   dâu-iâ*   *ki-wâpunâ=nâ*
      habit.POSS:3MIN=LOC:D   day   every-DEM:D   IPFV-feed=LOC:D

      lâ   *ebugi   eângâ.*
      PRT:D   ebugi   DEM:D
      'For, the boy, every day he feeds this ebugi (a kind of fish).'

In (90) it comes before a clause adverb, i.e. an expression not being in one of the core functions of the verb, the temporal expression *pevaiokâ*:

(90) *Ngaa* ***lâ***   *pevaio=kâ,*   *lâ*   *ku-wagu-kä=jo*
      so   PRT:D   morning=LOC:D   PRT:D   IPFV-speak-DIR=PH

      go   *mi-li-dâu=kâ.*
      PRP   NOM-3AUG-many=LOC:D
      'So in the morning, he spoke to the rest.'

In the last example, (91), *le* precedes an adjunct, the locative expression *Tuwoke*[18].

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[18] Note that in Äiwoo locative expressions consisting of place names are not preceded by prepositions.

(91)   *I-ie-mä*   *le*   *ki-â-to-mä=to=we*   *Nganotä=ke*

       PFV-go.up-DIR   PRT:P   IPFV-paddle-in-DIR=PH=LOC:P   N.=LOC:P

       le   *Tuwo=ke,*   *lâ*   *ki-ââ-to=jo=wâ*

       PRT:P   T.=LOC:P   PRT:D   IPFV-smell-DIR=PH=LOC:D

       nye-bovei   *naanogo*   *sii.*

       NOM-smell.good   POSS:3MIN   fish

       'He paddled in through Nganota here in Tuwo, then he smelled the nice smell of baked fish.'

Note that, in the material at hand, *le* and *lâ* do not occur in front of A-function arguments.

The *le* and *lâ* morphemes have a relatively free distribution compared to inflections, which morpho-syntactically are bound to a specific kind of base. There does not either seem that they carry their own stress, c.f. 3.6.3 below. Hence, *le* and *lâ* are bound words.

In contrast to the locationals there are no allomorphs of *le* and *lâ*; they always appear in the same form, and will here be labeled particles. *Particle* is a conception which often is used to describe uninflected, short and sometimes clitic words (Matthews 1997: 267).

Furthermore, these particles seem to be deictic. First, *le* and *lâ* show the vowel alteration which is typical of other deictics in Äiwoo. And second, the forms often seem to congrue with deictic locationals and demonstratives in the clause in which they appear; c.f. the examples above and 3.6.4 further below.

3.6.3   Acoustic analysis of the bound words

Lexical stress is a notoriously difficult thing to describe, much because there does not seem to be any universal acoustic correlate to it. "All languages have various mechanisms for highlighting some parts of spoken utterances" (Harrington & Cassidy 1999: 111). For instance, a rise in pitch of the fundamental frequency is in some languages a cue for a heavy syllable. In Äiwoo, the pitch is more or less constant regardless of the weight of the syllable.

However, what seems to be a more universal acoustic correlate to stress is a rise in intensity.[19] In Äiwoo, the best way to measure stress acoustically is to analyse the intensity patterns. In Figure 1 and 2 below are combined spectrograms/intensity scales for the

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[19] *Intensity* is instrumentally measured in decibel (dB) and correspond to the summed energy values of a specific frequency band (c.f. Harrington & Cassidy 1999).

utterances *Däjelâ le kotomädäne* and *Dä ibe eângâ lâ kumotowâ*. Note that none of the peaks in intensity concur with the particles *le* and *lâ*, nor the locationals *=ne* and *=wâ*.[20] Although extensive acoustic analyses of the recordings is yet to be done, this seems to be the basic pattern for both the deictic particles and the locationals.

Note also that the intensity peaks neither concur with the enclitic *dä* in Figure 5, nor the prenominal *dä* in Figure 6. However, a peak does concur with the first syllable of däjelâ in Figure 5, supporting that *dä* in this case is an integrated part of that word.

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[20] The acoustic analyses and calculations are performed with PRAAT, c.f. http://www.praat.org/.

Figure 5   **Spectrogram (0-5000 Hz) and Intensity scale for the utterance** *Däjelâ le kotomädäne***.**
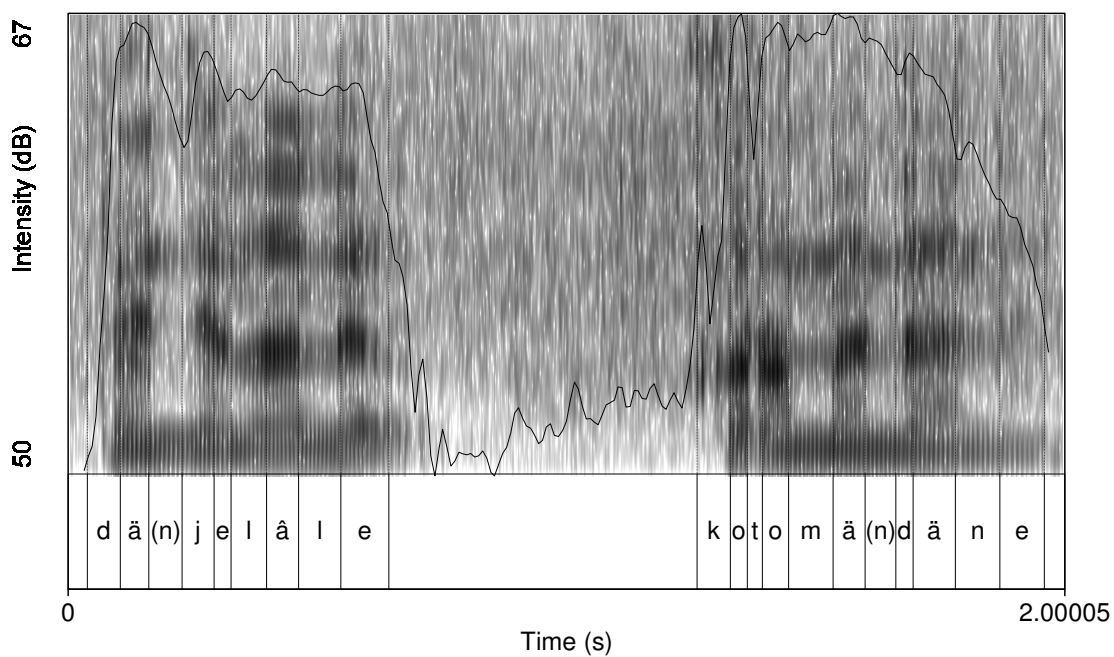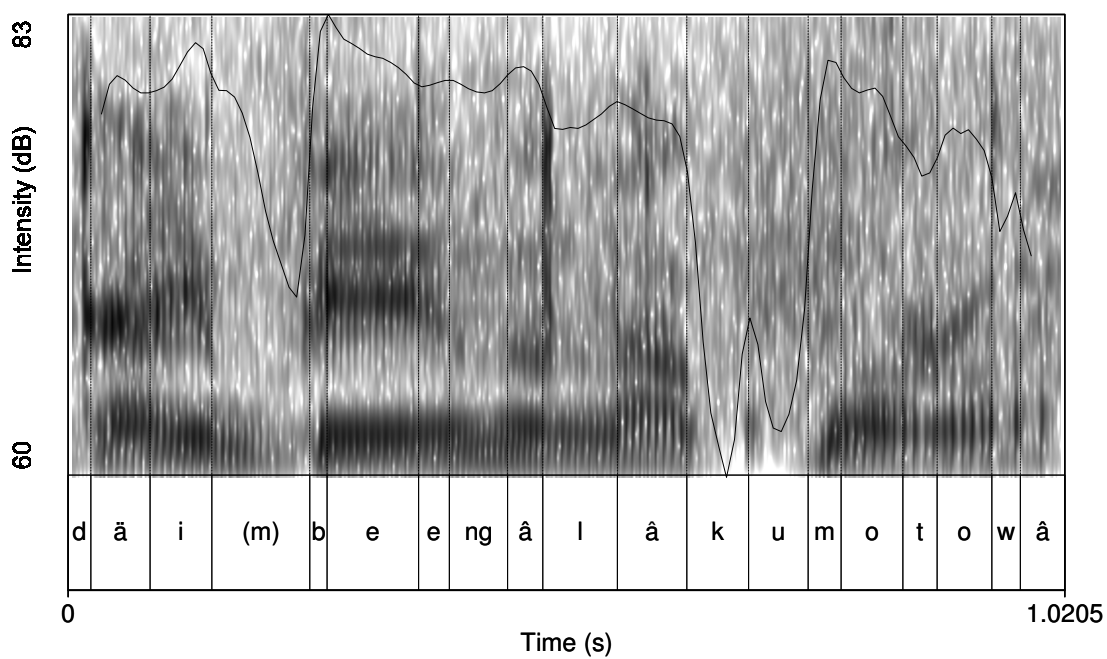

Figure 6   **Spectrogram (0-5000 Hz) and Intensity scale for the utterance** *Dä ibe eângâ lâ kumotowâ***.**

3.6.4 Combination of the deictic particle and the locational enclitic

As will be seen in **Error! Reference source not found.** a deictic particle and a locational enclitic often appear in combination. That is, a particle precedes a phrase and an enclitic follows a phrase, so that a part of the clause is demarcated by a particle to the left and a locational to the right; c.f. (92):

(92) *Temaale* **lâ** *ku-basiki=to=wâ,* *demo* **le** *ki-tokoli=ke.*
needlefish PRT:D IPFV-run=PH=LOC:D crab PRT:P IPFV-sit=LOC:P
'The needlefish ran, the hermit crab sat there.'

This example contains two clauses. What can be seen here is that the particle and the enclitic have the same deictic value. The verb in the first clause is preceded by *lâ* and followed by *=wâ*, both in their distal form. The verb of the second clause is preceded by *le* and followed by *=ke*, both in their proximal form. A deictic congruence between the particle and the enclitic is nearly always the case.

There are however examples where the particle and the enclitic do not agree:

(93) *...eâmo* **le** *ki-ââ-e-usi-mä=nâ.*
and PRT:P IPFV-pull-up-again-DIR=LOC:D
'... then he pulled it up again'

(94) *mo* *ny-ângâ* **le** *ki-äpi-to-kä=nä* *tosi* *ki-vaabe=nâ.*
and way-DEM:D PRT:P IPFV-push-in-DIR=CL husk IPFV-beat=LOC:D
'and she pushed the husk she was beating into it'

(95) **Le** *li-â-to-le=nâ* *Nenubo.*
PRT:P IPFV-paddle-in-UA=LOC:D N.
'They landed at Nenubo'

Examples like these are very rare and may be due to poor transcription or simply to errors made by the speaker. However, one cannot dismiss them as such before more data is considered. The present thesis will not discuss these constructions further.

In **Error! Reference source not found.** we will see that the particles and locationals just described coordinates chunks of information in certain ways.

3.6.5   Other word forms based on *lâ*

NPs in Äiwoo are conjoined with *ä* or *mo* (c.f. *toponu mo lâpu* 'the turtle and the rat' in (42)). Furthermore, Äiwoo employs other conjunctions, joining clauses or sentences, making independent coordinate constructions. The word forms seem to be based on the distal demonstrative particle *lâ*, namely *lâto*, *lâtowâ*, *lâtowaa* and *lâmo*. They can appear both in front of verbs and nouns, and are very often the first element in a sentence or a clause.

Consider (96). This example consists of two clauses, the former has *lâto* in initial position:

(96)   **lâto**

(Then one day, he went down at night, he went on and reached them, and the people there were going night fishing. They fished with a net called ponebi.)

Lâto	*ku-lu-pwa=to=wâ,*		*mo*	*ina*	*i-pu-kä.*
CONJ	IPFV-3AUG-go=PH=LOC		but	3MIN	PFV-go-DIR

'When they went, he went with them.'

The preceding sentences presuppose that the people are going out fishing with a certain net. The second clause asserts that the protagonist joins them. It seems that *lâto* coordinates the sentence in (96) with the previous sentence.

The sentence in (97) also seems to be related to the preceding ones. The previous sentences describe through the citation that the protagonists (the needlefish and the crab) are going to race. Then (97) asserts that they actually are preparing for the race. *lâtowâ* is the second word in the beginning of the first clause:

(97)   **lâtowâ**

(He said 'Good. Let us start. So I will count, I will say, one, two, and when I reach three we run.')

Ngaa	*lâtowâ*	*li-mâtala-ngege-le=nâ,*	
so	CONJ	3AUG-be.ready-immediately-UA=LOC:D	

kä	*temaale=kä*	*i-ku-wäämo=wâ.*	*Mâtala.*
say	needlefish=CL	1MIN-IPFV-start=LOC:D	be.ready

'So they got ready, and the needlefish said, 'I will start. Be ready.''

Note here that *lâtowâ* is preceded by *ngaa* 'so' which probably also can be analysed as a kind of conjunction. We thus have two words following eachother which function to conjoin the in (97) with the previous one.

The main clause in (98) below consists of a core layer serial verb construction with an S/A-function argument, *iu* 'I', initially. *lâtowaa* appears after this argument, before the first verb. Note that the clause denotes an event that the protagonist promises will happen *in the future*:

(98) **lâtowaa**

(So there was magic in that place where the woman was collecting shells. Then one day, after they had breakfast, (the man) said, 'Wife, I'm going to the bush', and she said ...)

Ee,	*päko,*	*iu*	**lâtowaa**	*i-ki-ipo-oli*
yes	alright	1MIN	CONJ	1MIN-IPFV-go-down

i-ku-potaa	*nuwâdâ*	*nä-nä-ji.*
1MIN-IPFV-look.for	shell	IRR-POSS-1+2MIN

'''Yes, alright, I will go down to the sea and look for shells for us''.'

The example in (99) is a sentence also containing two clauses. *Lâmo* appears initially in the first clause, in front of the verb:

(99) **lâmo**[21]

(So they got ready, and the needlefish said, 'I will start. Be ready. Here I go, one, two, three!')

Lâmo	*li-luw-ee-le*	*lâ*	*ku-lu-pwa-le=to=wâ.*
CONJ	3AUG-jump-up-UA	PRT:D	IPFV-3AUG-go-UA=PH=LOC:D

'Then they jumped up and went off.'

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[21] There is another form, *eâmo*, who also is translated 'and/and then/then', c.f. the example below:

Eâmo	*i-waamokee-ute*	*lâ*	*ku-basiki=kâ,*	*i-wä*	*i-wä*	*i-wä …*
then	PFV-start-again	PRT:D	IPFV-run=LOC:D	PFV-go	PFV-go	PFV-go

'Then he started running again, he went and went and went …'

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We can note two things about the words in question: First, they seem to be conjunctions which join clauses and sentences, note the English translations: *then*, *when*, *so*, etc.

Second, every clause where one of these words are employed, seems to be uttered as a fact: The clauses in question often appear to assert something which is strongly presupposed in the preceding sentences. (96) asserts that the protagonist actually goes out with the people fishing, after presupposing that something like that will happen. They are statements with what seems to be a factive reading.

It is not unlikely that conjunctions in question actually are the *lâ* particle hosting one or more of the inflections and enclitics described in this thesis. Furthermore, it is probably right to say that these conjunctions are verbal in that they appear with what probably is verbal morphology (i.e *=to* PH, *lâ=to, lâ=to=wâ, lâ=to=waa*; *=wâ* LOC:D, *lâ=to=wâ*; *=waa* FUT, *lâ=to=waa*). I.e the conjunctions described here formally are verbs whose function is to conjoin clauses and sentences.

This is especially evident from (98) where the last part of *lâtowaa* probably is the future enclitic; here the clause in question denote an event which will happen *in the future*. Every time this word form is employed, it occurs in a clause denoting a future event. It is interesting, though, that the future marking is carried by the deictic word and not by the verbs in the clause.

In the above examples the coordinators thus are based on the distal *lâ*. These forms are by far the most frequent, but there are also attested a variant based on *le*, namely *leto*, which strengthens the assumption that we deal with word forms with a deictic particle as a base:

(100) **leto**

(Then one day, they went to the bush, to the garden where they worked. And his wife collected food ...)

*... **leto***	*ku-lu-po-ute-mä-le*	*ngâ*	*nuumä=ke*
CONJ	IPFV-3AUG-go-back-DIR-UA	PRP	village=LOC:P

'Then they went back to the village.'

Supporting the assumption that also conjugations are used to express distance we see in (100) that *nuumä* 'village' hosts a proximal locational enclitic. Furthermore, the verb is inflected with the directional *-mä*, which indicates direction towards 1st person. This indeed indicates that the village is chosen as the deictic centre, and thus a proximal variant of the conjugation is employed.

3.7 Summary

Äiwoo is a language with no formal articles. Still it has several morphemes which function to delimit the scope of the possible referent. They function as quantifiers and numerals, where the former can be defined as "[a]ny word or expression which gives a relative or indefinite indication of quantity" (Matthews 1997: 305), and the latter can be defined as a word "which gives a precise and absolute indication of quantity" (Matthews 1997: 251).The quantifiers in Äiwoo are *dä*, *du* and *dâu*.

The *dä* morpheme has the reading 'some'. It can either be prenominal or postnominal, or both pre- and postnominal. It can also be postverbal. The postnominal and postverbal versions are enclitics, attaching to the right border of the phrase in which they occur. While the other quantifying words can take verbal inflection, and thus formally are classified as verbs, *dä* is possibly the only morpheme which can formally be classified as a quantifier.

The *du* morpheme determines a referent with the quantifying meaning 'all, every'. It attaches both to nominal and verbal elements. Contrary to *dä*, it can appear with verbal inflection. When appearing in a verb complex, it is thus reasonable to analyse it as part of a complex verb stem in a nucleus layer serial verb construction; it occurs before directional suffixes and other verbal inflection.

The *dâu* morpheme can be glossed 'many, all', and it often functions to determine a noun. It can appear with verbal inflection and is formally a verb. It has the same distributional characteristics as numerals; if it is not the main predicate itself, it is either postposed to the noun or appear after the main verb in the clause.

Also numerals show this distribution. They are also formally verbal; they frequently take verbal inflection, and can be the only predicate in a clause.

The four main types of distributionally different demonstratives all differ in form in Äiwoo. However, except for the adverbial demonstratives, *kele* and *kâlâ*, and the demonstrative identifiers, *ile* and *ilâ*, they are based on the same demonstrative roots, *enge* and *eângâ*, denoting proximal and distal spatial location relative to the speaker, respectively. The demonstrative identifier is anaphoric or discourse deictic, and often functions resumptively.

=Ce and *=Câ* are locationals; they function to locate events or referents in space relative to the speaker, following a two-way distance-oriented system. They are bound words,

which means that they have a free distribution; they attach at the right border of both NPs and VPs; they are weak, and they do not have any strong counterparts.

Also *le* and *lâ* are bound words. These have neither have stress of their own, and they appear both in front of NPs and VPs, thus marking the left border of the phrase. *le* and *lâ* are deictic, and they often appear in constructions together with the locationals. With a few exceptions, *le*/*lâ* and the locational correlate in deictic form when they co-occur in a construction. *le* and *lâ* can be called deictic particles as their form do not change no matter the phonological context.

4 Referent-introduction and -tracking in Äiwoo

In general, referents are introduced by overt NPs and tracked by person/number marking on the verb. The overt NPs can either contain pronouns/demonstrative pronouns (if the referent in question is part of the text-external world), or common nouns.

Once a new referent is introduced, it is important that the addressee can keep track of it in the ongoing discourse. It is in the interest of the speaker that the referents he or she is talking about are identifiable to the addressee. In a normal speech situation it is important that the addressee always knows who is the agent and who is the patient (or some other role) of every event.

Matthews (1997) describes reference-tracking as "[k]eeping track of the individuals referred to at successive points in a sentence, conversation, etc" (Matthews 1997: 313). In this thesis the definition of reference-tracking is re-shaped to mean *re-mention of an identifiable referent*. Depending on what kind of tracking tool is used in the tracking of referents, the tracking system can be divided into affixal mention-tracking, pronominal mention-tracking and lexical mention-tracking (derived from DuBois's (1987) terms on different ways of designating referents). Since Äiwoo has very little nominal morphology, and since it does not employ any of the tracking mechanisms in Comrie's (1989) typology, it necessarily has to employ overt NPs when there is a potential conflict of referents, i.e. when the referents in question have the same person and number. This chapter seeks to give a grammatical description of NPs designating referents of various cognitive stages at the identifiability scale, i.e. both NPs introducing "new" referents, and NPs tracking "old" ones (lexical mention-tracking).

However, even though the chapter focuses on NPs in Äiwoo, it will also briefly give a description of pronominal and affixal mention-tracking, so that the three main mention types are treated.

4.1 Unidentifiable referents - *dä*

Chapter 3.1 gave a systematic presentation of the distribution of the *dä* morpheme. What was not commented on that point is that *dä* always seems to appear with expressions designating unidentifiable referents; it appears in the introduction of brand new referents. C.f. (40), (43)

and (51) repeated as (101), (102) and (103) below. In (101) a controversy has arisen whether the protagonist of the story, a woman, used explicit language or not.

(101) *Kâla   nââ,   sime   mi-doo=wâ,   **dä** nyilebiäi   ki-lu-pu-väpe*
       that   language   people NOM-Q=LOC:D   QT group   IPFV-3AUG-?-tell
       kä=nä   nââ   sime   mi-nânga   ba   wagu-i=gu
       say=CL   language   people NOM-DEM   NEG   say-3AUG=NEG
       *ä   **dä**   nyilebiäi   kä-i=lä   i-ngo-kä-i.*
       and   QT   group   say-3AUG=LOC:D   PFV-hear-DIR-3AUG
       'That statement, some people deny that that statement was not said, and other people said they heard it.

Here the two similar A-function arguments, *dä nyilebiäi*, designate two groups of unidentifiable referents participating in the debate. What is important here is the controversy concerning whether the woman swore or not, and not exactly *who* participated on each side of the debate. Note the English translations 'some people' and 'other people'.

Wurm (1985) describes *dä* as a prefix with the following meaning:

[A] part of something larger or more comprehensive (but another part or portion than one already referred to); another (amongst several) (occurs only as part of a phrase [...]; functions mainly as a noun class prefix) (Wurm 1985: 10).

There is certainly something in this description; *dä* determines the class of referents, and thus denote "a part of something larger or more comprehensible". And further, in the second mention of *dä nyilebiäi*, "another" referent than the one just mentioned is designated. However, Næss (2006a) argues against the existence of noun classes in Äiwoo, and the present thesis suggests that *dä* is a quantifier.

Consider (102). Remember that it is taken from the first part of a story about two brothers, Mapolu and Leinga. After the introduction of the brothers and their wives, the story tells about Mapolu approaching Leinga posing a question whether he has pigs for sale:

(102) *I-li-tokoli-waabo-le=nâ   lâto   kä=nä   poi-i-le**dä***
       PFV-3AUG-sit-idly-UA=LOC:D   CONJ   say=CL   pig-3AUG-UA=QT

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ku-wâpuna-mu=na.

IPFV-feed-2MIN=LOC:D

'While they were sitting down he said to him: Do you feed **any** pig (lit.: do you have any pig)?''

Mungale has no specific pig in mind, he wonders whether Leinga has any pig at all. The referent is clearly unidentifiable; the exact reference is not necessary.

The speaker of (103), taken from one of the experimental sessions, explains to his friend what has just been put in front of him. The speaker describes it as 'something', as he never before has seen anything like the toy-brick put in front of him. Here =*dä* is clitisised to the verb complex:

(103) *Däjelâ   le   koto-mä=**dä**=ne.*
       something   PRT:P lie-DIR=QT=LOC:P
       'Something is lying out here.'

The referent is unidentifiable to the addressee, who is not able so see what lies in front of his interlocutor. However, the referent certainly is identifiable to the speaker, as it lies in front of him and thus is part of the text-external world.[22]

An important observation is that *dä* is not compatible with person names. The examples in (104) below are judged ungrammatical (or in best cases strange) by native speaker:

(104) a.   **John le ki-peke=dä*.*
               J.   PRT:P   IPFV-pass.by=QT
       b.   *?John=**dä**   le   ki-peke.*
               J.=QT   PRT:P   IPFV-pass.by
       c.   ?**Dä**   John   le   ki-peke.*
               QT   J.   PRT:P   IPFV-pass.by
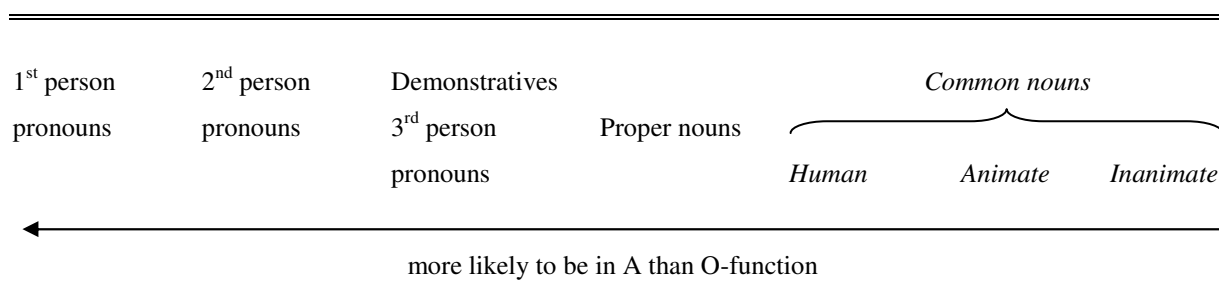   'Some/another John is passing by.'

As *dä* is considered a quantifier and often marks unidentifiable referents, it is not strange that it cannot easily combine with person names, which typically designate very specific identifiable referents.

There are, however, examples where *dä* determines a referent also determined by a demonstrative. Demonstratives are typically used with identifiable referents. This will be commented upon in 4.4.2.

Interestingly, in the data at hand, *dä* is typically found with brand-new referents which do not become discourse topics. In (101) the referents determined by *dä* in the expression *dä nyilebiäi*, just mean 'someone, some group'. These referents are not topics of the subsequent story. The two expressions are just subjects in the two clauses asserting that someone claimed that abusive language was said, and that someone claimed that abusive language was not said. In (102) *dä* determines *poile* designating 'pig'. This expression is in O-function and is never to become an acting agent of the discourse. The same is to be said about the referent in question in (103): *däjelâ* 'something' is presented and described by the speaker, but it never becomes an agent of the discourse.

Actually, *dä* is seldom found determining human referents; such referents, following *The Nominal Hierarchy* (c.f. Table 7 below), are most likely among the common nouns to be in A-function rather than O-function, and thus to become topics. *dä* is only attested once in the introduction of a main protagonist of a story, c.f. 4.4.2; in (135) *dä* determines a referent in A-function. This, however, is a special case. Among all the examples in the material, this is the only example containing a thematic argument determined by *dä* in A-function. Cross-linguistically, expressions designating non-identifiable referents are avoided in A-function. This insight is formulated by Du Bois (1987: 823) in the generalisation "Avoid lexical A's".

Figure 7   The Nominal Hierarchy (Dixon 1994: 85)

1st person pronouns	2nd person pronouns	Demonstratives 3rd person pronouns	Proper nouns	Common nouns		
				Human	*Animate*	*Inanimate*

←——————————————————————————————————

more likely to be in A than O-function

In clauses where *dä* is encliticised to the verbal phrase, the designated referent is a part of the argument structure of the verb. There are no examples in the material where a VP-cliticised *dä* determines anything other than a thematic argument. If there are no overt

arguments in the clause, the reading is based on a generic ontological-category noun, such as 'person', 'thing', 'place', 'time', 'manner', etc.; e.g. English *someone*, *something*, etc.; c.f. (111) further below.

Note that when the word *däjelâ*, meaning 'something', is an argument of a verb, the verb still always hosts =*dä* in the material at hand (even though it semantically seems to be redundant); c.f. (103) and (44).[23]

When *dä* appears both at the start and the end of the NP, the meaning is somewhat different, c.f. the English translations 'one of the old women', 'one day', 'one of the big trees'. This time, too, the referent is unidentifiable. But it is unidentifiable *anchored*; i.e. the referent of the NP in question is contained in an identifiable class of referents. C.f. (48), repeated as (105) below.

(105) *I-mo=to=wâ*   *i-lile,*   *i-lile*
       PFV-live=PH=LOC:D   PFV-marry   PFV-marry

       mo   ***dä***   *ipe=**dä**.*
       with   QT   old.woman=QT

       'He stayed and he married, he married *one of the old women*.'

In this example, the addressee is expected to know that there is a group of older women in the village (like in any village) where the story takes place. The referent designated by *dä ipedä* is unidentifiable, but still constrained to be one of the entities inside this group.

4.1.1 *dä* and indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are very often derived from a base. There are two main types of such bases in the world's languages: *interrogative pronouns* and *generic ontological-category nouns* such as 'person', 'thing', 'place', 'time', 'manner', etc. The number word *one* may also be a base for the indefinite article, such as Norwegian *en/et* (Haspelmath 1997: 26). In the data which the present thesis is based upon, there are no examples where *dä* occurs together with an interrogative, but there are many examples where it occurs with a noun.

Persian is one language where indefinite pronouns are derived from a noun belonging to a generic ontological category:

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[23] A hypothesis is that *däjelâ* 'something' (c.f. (103)) has evolved to become an indefinite pronoun from *dä* and **jelâ* 'thing'. In Wurm (1985) there is a listing *dyela* (note that *dy* in Wurm's orthography corresponds to *j*, and that *a* corresponds to *â*) which is described as a noun meaning 'a collective of things'.

(106)   Persian (Haspelmath 1997: 27)

kas-i	'someone'	lit. 'a person'
čiz-i	'something'	'a thing'
(dær) yek ǰâ-yi	'somewhere'	'(at) one place'
yek-vaɣt-i	'sometime'	'one time'
yek towr-i	'somehow'	'one manner'

It should be mentioned, however, that Haspelmath (1997: 27) points out that the indefinite marker *-(y)i* also appears in ordinary indefinite nominal phrases, such as *ketâb-i* 'a book'. There might be nothing special with the examples in (106) containing generic ontological nouns. "They are perhaps not indefinite pronouns at all, but ordinary indefinite noun phrases that Persian uses to express what many other languages express by means of indefinite pronouns" (Haspelmath 1997: 27-28).

Anyway, there are languages where a marker of indefiniteness and a generic ontological noun have been grammaticalised into an indefinite pronoun. English is a good example, c.f. the translations in (106) above.

The Western-Nilotic language Longo has an indefinite suffix. This marker can be used with all kinds of nouns (also generic ontological ones):

(107)   Lango (after Haspelmath 1997: 57)

ŋàt-ɔ́rɔ́	*òjwàtò*	*òpíò*
person-INDEF	3SG:hit:PFV	Opio

'Someone hit Opio.'

Similar to Persian, Äiwoo has what seems to be standardised equivalents to indefinite pronouns where an indefiniteness marker is affixed to a generic ontological-class noun (c.f. Haspelmath 1997).

In English the indefiniteness markers *some-* and *any-* are combined with *-body/-one*, *-thing* and *-where*, and thus make up the indefinite pronouns *someone/somebody*, *something*, *somewhere*, *anybody/anyone*, *anything* and *anywhere*. Some languages have several series of indefinite pronouns appearing in different functions. Haspelmath (1997: 2) abstracts nine different functions. These are listed below with an illustrating example from English containing an indefinite pronoun from one of the classes *some-*, *any-*, and *no-*.

(108) a. specific, known to speaker:

Somebody called while you were away: guess who!

b. specific, unknown to speaker:

*I heard **something**, but I couldn't tell what kind of sound it was.*

c. non-specific, irrealis:

*Please try **somewhere** else.*

d. polar question:

*Did **anybody** tell you anything about it?*

e. conditional protasis:

*If you see **anything**, tell me immediately!*

f. standard of comparision:

*In Freiburg the weather is nicer than **anywhere** in Germany.*

g. direct negation:

***Nobody** knows the answer.*

h. indirect negation:

*I don't think that **anybody** knows the answer.*

i. free choice:

***Anybody** can solve this simple problem.*

Haspelmath (1997) says about the knowledge of the speaker that "the speaker may or may not be able to identify the referent of the indefinite pronoun. This classification [between known to speaker and unknown to speaker] applies only to specific phrases, in which identifiability of their referents is presupposed" (Haspelmath 1997: 45).

Now, consider equivalent constructions in Äiwoo (unfortunately, the material does not give examples of all nine types):

(109) specific, unknown to speaker

*Däjelâ   le   koto-mä=**dä**=ne.*

something   PRT:P   lie-DIR=QT=LOC:P

'**Something** is lying out here.'

(110) nonspecific, irrealis

a. *Lâto   ki-li-amole-nyengäle=nâ,   kä-i-le=nä*

CONJ   IPFV-3AUG-look-back.and.forth=LOC:D   hope-3AUG-UA=CL

ngamaa	*nyie*	*nä-te-kä-i-le=dä.*
if	fire	IRR-see-DIR-3AUG-UA=QT

'So they looked around, hoping to find a fire burning **somewhere**.'

b.
Mo	*vili*	*lengaa*	*dä*	*ny-mona-naa,*	*ki-tokoli,*	*ä*
but	parrot	?	QT	NOM-time-?	IPFV-sit	

dä	*nyi-mona-naa*	*ki-tokoli*	*ä*	*ki-täve.*
QT	NOM-time-?	IPFV-sit	and	IPFV-hang

'But the parrot, **sometimes** it sits, and **sometimes** it sits and hangs.'

(111) indirect negation

Idoo,	*ba*	*ki-la-mä-i=dä=gu*	*ku-nugo=nge*
why	NEG	IPFV-give-DIR-3AUG=QT=NEG	IPFV-POSS:1MIN=LOC:P

'Why didn't they give me **anything**?'

(112) direct negation

Ba	*i-te-kä*	*sime=gu.*
NEG	PFV-see-DIR	people=NEG

'Nobody saw him.'

The expression in (109) is what Haspelmath (1997) would call *specific, unknown to speaker*; the referent is in the text-external world of the speaker (but not of the addressee), and is thus identifiable. Still, he is not able to identify it as anything he knows. The examples in (110) are *irrealis, nonspecific*; they are expressions designating referents which are neither identifiable to the speaker, nor the the addressee. The identification of these referents are of no importance either. (111) contains an indirect negation; i.e. the negation is not expressed through any argument designated by *dä* (corresponding to a pronoun), but through a negated clause with scope also over the argument. As Äiwoo does not seem to have any equivalents to negative pronouns, in (112) the generic noun *sime* 'person' is employed as the S function argument in a negated clause to give the reading 'nobody'.

From these examples it can be seen that where English has three different markers, Äiwoo employs only one, namely *dä*. Haspelmath (1997: 28) says that "there are many cases where combinations of a generic ontological-category noun plus an indefiniteness marker have been grammaticalised sufficiently to qualify as real pronouns" and points at *somebody* versus *some body* in English. With basis in the material at hand it is difficult to tell whether *dä*

can combine freely with any noun (designating any referent). However, there are attested several examples possibly classifiable as indefinite pronouns, c.f. *däjela* 'something', *däsime* 'someone', etc.

With these exceptions it is probably wrong to state that Äiwoo actually has indefinite pronouns, as *dä* not only combines with generic ontological-class nouns, but with any noun. As suggested for Persian, these are NPs used "[...] to express what many other languages express by means of indefinite pronouns" (Haspelmath 1997: 27-28).

4.2 Unidentifiable referents - *nyigi*

nyigi 'one' is often used in the introduction of unidentifiable referents. Consider the following examples where *nyigi* determines the noun *sime* 'person, man'.

(113) **Sime nyigi**   *ku-mo*   *mo*   **gino**   *Nyibängä Nende.*
     man   one   IPFV-live   with   son.POSS:1MIN   Nyibängä Nende
     'Once a man was living with his son at Nyibängä Nende.'

(114) *Deu-mana*   **sigiläi nyigi** *ki-li-e-mo-le*   *mo*   **siväle**.
     before-very   man   one   IPFV-3AUG-?-live-UA   with   wife.POSS:3MIN
     'A long time ago there lived a man and his wife.'

In (113) and (114) *nyigi* is to the immediate right of the noun. This is not the case in the next two examples:

(115) *Ki-tapo-tokä*   *ngä*   *nuopa* *mo*   **ipe**   *le*   *ki-tokoli-lämä=ke*   **nyigi**,
     IPFV-enter-DIRPRP   house   and   womanPRT:P   IPFV-sit-DIR=LOC:P   one
     'At entering a house, an old woman was sitting,'

(116) *Wagi, deu   wagi,* **ipe**   *lâ*   *ku-mo=to=wâ*   **nyigi**.
     once   before   once   woman   PRT:D   IPFV-live=PH=LOC:D   one
     'Once, long ago, there was a woman.'

Regardless of what analysis one prefers, (c.f. 3.3), both constructions introduce unidentifiable referents and are translated into English with the indefinite article; 'a man, a woman, an old

woman', etc. The semantics of sentences such as those in (113) and (114) are the same as for those in (115) and (116). However, it is not unlikely that there are pragmatic differences between the two construction types, following the general assumption that two different forms never have exactly the same content.

The examples we have seen so far show *nyigi* appearing with human/animate referents only, referents which are likely to become topics in discourse. Haspelmath (1997: 183) notes that "[...] 'one' is usually restricted to use as an indefinite determiner or an indefinite pronoun of the ontological category 'person'". This is in contrast to *dä* which mostly appears with referents lower on the Nominal Hierarchy. However, there are also attested inanimate referents introduced with *nyigi*.

In (117) the nominal phrase *nyânou nyigi* designates a referent unidentifiable to the addressee. And in what follows, the tree trunk becomes a topic. That is only possible if the trunk is identifiable, at least to the speaker.

(117) *Lu-po-kä-le,* *nyânou* **nyigi** *i-te-kä-i-le* *ki-ko.*
3AUG-go-DIR-UA banana.tree.trunk one PFV-see-DIR-3AUG-UA IPFV-lie
'As they went, they saw a banana-tree trunk lying there.'

The referent in (118) designated by *läge nyigi* is unidentifiable to the addressee, too; the exact reference of the bananas in the tree is of no importance to the story. They are unidentifiable to the speaker as well.

(118) *Lâto* *i-päi-woli-kä=nâ* *läge* **nyigi**.
CONJ PFV-throw-down-DIR=LOC:D skin one
'And he threw down a banana skin.'

In (119) *nuumä nyigi* introduces a village, brand-new to the addressee. The village is at the time of utterance unidentifiable to the addressee. However, it is identifiable to the speaker, who mentions the village many times in the story. This is in other words a classic instance of a specific referent.

(119) *Ilâ* *vaakä Nuwoluwo=kâ,* **nuumä** *ki-tokoli-ngämi* **nyigi**.
DEM:D close N.=LOC:D village IPFV-sit-by.it one
'Close to Nuwoluwo there was a village.'

Another reason for employing *nyigi* is obviously when the speaker just wants to mention the exact entity of the referent, which might be the simple reason for the use in (118).

4.2.1 *nyigi* as an indefinite article

Actually, *nyigi* functions remarkably as a so-called indefinite article. It is not uncommon in the world's languages that the numeral 'one' has been grammaticalized into a marker of indefiniteness (c.f. Croft 2003: 254). Both *dä* and *nyigi* are found to introduce unidentifiable referents. The difference between them is shown in the possibility of the respective referents to become discourse topics. Hence, *nyigi* is not normally used designating non-specific referents, common to fully evolved indefinite articles in other languages.

In Äiwoo's closest neighbour Vaeakau-Taumako the numeral *thai* 'one' has developed into a marker of indefiniteness, c.f. (120):

(120) *Ko   lek-age   ki   **thai**   nonohine.*
       PFV   go-DIR   PRP   INDEF old.woman
       '(She) went to an old woman.'
       (Næss 1998: 21)

Hovdhaugen (p.c.) has pointed out that especially in the Nupani-dialect of Vaeakau-Taumako *(t)hai* 'one' is employed as an equivalent to the non-specific singular article *e*; i.e. *thai nonohine* equals *e nonohine* 'a (non-specific) old woman'.

The development of the numeral 'one' into a marker for singular-indefinite nouns is common in many languages, and is attested in Austronesian ones as well. It is also a hallmark of Creole languages (Givón 1981: 35), and in Solomon Islands Pijin, where *wanfala* is the numeral 'one':

(121) *Man   ia   hem-i   kaikai wanfala   pawpaw.*
       man   the   he-SUBJ   eat   one   papaya
       'The man eats a papaya.'

4.3 Inactive referents – bare nouns

Sometimes the nominal phrase consists of a (non-determined) bare noun only. Consider the examples below. The sentence in (122) is the first sentence in a fable explaining why the heron does not wade far out at sea. It tells something about the nature of herons as such. Here the bare noun *ikâ* 'heron' is employed in preverbal S function:

(122) *Dä   nyi-mowa,   **ikâ**   lâ   ki-e-mo=to=wâ.*
     QT   NOM-time   heron   PRT:D   IPFV-?-live=PH=LOC:D
     'Once upon a time, the heron was living.'

The referent must be said to be identifiable as every speaker should be expected to know what a heron is;[24] in this example the referent is represented by one instance of the members of the class. Generic referents generally are identifiable to everyone, which is also expressed in the English translation with a definite NP, 'the heron' (in the English example the NP designating this referent can be said to be generic but definite). This is a typical example of an *inactive* referent; it *is* identifiable to the addressee, but it is not before mentioned by the speaker.

     The example in (123) is taken from a story about a race between a needlefish and a crab. The part before (123) tells about the needlefish racing as fast as it can, until it gets exhausted. The noun *nyigile* 'its tail' is inflected for third person minimal possession, and the antecedent is the needlefish, which is one of the two main protagonists of the story.

(123) (Then he (the needlefish) started running again, he went and went and went, oh, no.
     The needlefish was running out of breath.)
     *Ngaa **nyigile**   ki-ngângo-epu=to,*
     so   tail.POSS:3MIN   IPFV-stiff-again=PH
     'His tail was getting stiff …'

This is also an identifiable referent; it is accessible through what is known about needlefish in general: they all have a tail. Because of this common knowledge we can say that the referent of *nyigile* is *inferentially accessible*.

     There seems to be a preference in Äiwoo for no more than one overt argument per clause. However, in (124) (repeated from (26) above) there are two clauses both containing an

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[24] The heron is a common specices in the bird fauna of the Reef Islands. At low tide it is often seen wading, looking for food inside the lagoon.

overt O- *and* an overt A-function argument. The postverbal A-function arguments, *toponu* 'turtle' and *lâpu* 'rat', and the preverbal O-function arguments *nuwo* 'bottom' and *nupaa* 'top':

(124)   (As they (the turtle and the rat) went, they saw a banana-tree trunk lying there. They cut it in half.)

Lâto	**nuwo**	*i-luwa-kä*	***toponu***	*eä*	***nupaa***	*i-luwa-kä*	***lâpu***.
CONJ	bottom	PFV-take-DIR	turtle	and	top	PFV-take-DIR	rat

'The turtle took the bottom half, and the rat took the top.'

The rat and the turtle are the only protagonists in the story, and can both be considered to designate active referents. In (124) they are overtly mentioned as the S-function arguments of a clause each. Since the person/number inflections alone cannot track the referents in this situation (both are 3MIN), overt NPs containing bare nouns have to be employed.

The arguments *nuwo* 'bottom' and *nupaa* 'top' are not before mentioned, and are introduced in O-function. Still they have to be counted as *situationally accessible*; a tree has been cut in two, and every tree which has been cut in two necessarily has a bottom part and a top part. In the English translation the identifiability of these referents are expressed through definite NPs.

4.3.1   Bare nouns and semi-transitives

In the examples in the preceding paragraph all the overt arguments were identifiable referents, and they were expressed by a definite phrase in the English translation. All these arguments appeared in their basic position in Äiwoo; S- and O-function arguments preceding the verb (c.f. (122) – (124)), and A-function arguments following it (c.f. (124)).

Now, consider the examples below; they all contain verbs that Næss (2006b: 16) labels *semi-transitives*. Semi-transitives are semantically transitive verbs and come with an overt 'object' argument (i.e. a patient argument). The objects are not cross-refered on the verb which only has intransitive person/number marking. The person/number marking refers to the S-function argument, while the object argument is unmarked on the verb. The verbs in (125)-(127) have intransitive marking only refering to the agent:

(125)   *Ki-vängä*   ***sii***.
         IPFV-eat   fish

'He ate fish.'

(126) *Ngaa ile=to=we,   lenge=ke*
    so   ILE=PH=LOC:P   now=LOC:P

    *ikâ   ki-vängä=kâ   **sii**,*
    heron   IPFV-eat=LOC:D   fish

    ä   näbilou   *ngââgu,   ilâ   de-do-ipe=kâ.*
    and   lizard   bush   DEM:D NOM-what-?=LOC:D

    'So now, these days the heron eats fish, and lizards in the bush, and things like that.'

(127) *ku-wâ-nubo   **sii**   ä   ki-päkilää   **nuwâdâ**.*
    IPFV-CAUS-dead   fish   and   IPFV-collect shell

    '…and kill fish and collect shells.'

Contrary to transitive verbs, the NPs representing objects are postverbal for semi-transitives. What these nouns have in common is that they designate generic referents. But in contrast to the generic nouns in the superordinated paragraph, these are not represented by a single instance from its class. These nouns refer to the whole concept of fish, lizards and shells. Expressions which are uniquely identifiable to the addressee, such as generic NPs, which entail the whole class of certain referents, "[…] often entail certain constraints on their grammatical coding" (Lambrecht 1994: 87). These constraints are expressed through subject marking, only, and a word order different from that of normal transitive constructions.
The only reading of the 'object' argument of a semi-transitive is a generic reading. The construction type is preferred when the object is not a specific instance of the class designated.

    Consider the examples below for a comparision:

(128) *Nuopa-ee   i-lââ   John.*
    house=DEM:P   PFV-build   J.

    'John built this house.'

(129) *Ki-lâwââ   nuopa.*
    IPFV-build   house

    'He builds houses (for a living).'

(Næss p.c.)

In the first example the reading of *nuopa* 'house' is specific and even definite. This is further expressed through the demonstrative determining the noun. Note also that in constructions with semi-transitive verbs there are no attests of such definite phrases. In the second example, the reading of *nuopa* is non-specific. Actually, most semi-transitive verbs have a transitive counterpart for use when one wishes to talk about a specific object (Næss 2006b: 16).

Note also that if there is a locational enclitic present in such constructions, it mostly is found to appear on the verb complex, before the object (c.f. (126)). This is, based on the data at hand, contrary to what seems to be the rule in transitive constructions with a postverbal argument in basic position, where the locational always attaches to this argument.

Thus, one can say that the functional specific – non-specific contrast is expressed through the formal transitive – semi-transitive contrast in Äiwoo.

4.4 Accessible and active referents – demonstratives

There are many examples where a demonstrative is not used with its basic, exophoric function. In these examples they do not refer to elements in the text-extenal world. This paragraph will discuss non-exophoric (i.e. endophoric) use of demonstratives in Äiwoo.

4.4.1 Demonstratives and Theme Shift

Demonstratives appear more often when several referents are introduced in the discourse. (We have seen examples of such in To'aba'ita; c.f. (32)) Consider the sentences in (130) below. It is taken from a story about a mother and her two children. In this passage, the children are looking for fire, but they find something else, namely a giant.

(130) *Ki-amole-kä, ki-li-amole-kä-le mo de=ee ba nyie=gu.*
IPFV-look-DIR IPFV-3AUG-look-DIR-UA but this=DEM:P NEG fire=NEG

Dee pesikimapolâ, lâ ki-li-bakisi-le=to=wâ.
It giant PRT:D IPFV-3AUG-run-UA=PH=LOC:D

*Pesikimapolâ **eângâ** i-luwee,*
giant DEM:D PFV-jump.up

lâ   ku-pongi-gu-i-le=to=wâ,

PRT:D   IPFV-chase-3MIN-3AUG-UA=PH=LOC:D

kä=nä   nä-ngä-gu-ii-le.

want=CL   IRR-eat-3MIN-3AUG-UA

'They looked at it, but it wasn't a fire. It was a giant, so they ran. The giant jumped up and chased them, wanting to eat them.'

The first verbless clause in the second sentence introduces the giant. The second clause in the same sentence asserts that the two children start to run. In the first clause in the third sentence the giant is mentioned again through an overt NP. This NP contains a noun, *pesikimapolâ* 'giant' and a distal version of the demonstrative determiner, *eângâ*. It is especially common in languages without a definite article that a before-mentioned referent is determined by a demonstrative (Diessel 1999: 98). The demonstrative does not here place the referent in space. Rather it functions to stress the identifiability of the referent, changing its status from accessible to active.

Since the referents in (130) are of different number, the shift could probably be expressed through person/number marking on the verb alone. The demonstrative here probably functions to emphasise this shift in theme.

The demonstrative in (130) is used anaphorically; "[a]naphoric demonstratives are coreferential with a noun or noun phrase in the previous discourse. They refer to the same referent as their antecedent" (Diessel 1999: 95). Anaphoric demonstratives are thus important tracking devices as they "[...] are used to track participants of the preceding discourse" (Diessel 1999: 95), activating and thus bringing them back to front in the short term memory.

Now consider (131), partly repeated from (63). It is taken from a story about a girl who lives with her mother and father and two brothers. One day when her family are away, three young boys arrive. In the second sentence the girl is mentioned by a noun determined by a short form of the distal demonstrative: *silaki=ââ*:

(131) *Mi-ku-mo   mo   iie   ngä   nye-e*

       2AUG-IPFV-stay   with   who   PRP   NOM-DEM:P

       i-evä-kä   siguwâu   evee.

       PFV-ask-DIR   boy   three

       I-wâ-usi-kä   silaki=ââ   kä=nä

       PFV-say-again-DIR   girl=DEM:D   say=CL

I-ku-mo		*mo*	*tumo*			
1MIN-IPFV-stay		with	father:POSS:1MIN			

mo	*iso*		*eä*	*ginuwou*		*li-lilu.*
and	mother:POSS:1MIN		and	brother:POSS:1MIN		3AUG-two

Mo	*silaki=ââ*	*i-vääpi-kä*	*Mo*	*imi=e*	
and	girl=DEM:D	PFV-ask-DIR	But	2AUG=DEM:P	

mi-ku-mo		*nyâ?*
2AUG-IPFV-stay		where

'"With whom are you staying here?" asked the three young boys. The girl answered "I'm staying with my father, with my mother, and my two brothers". Then the girl asked "But where are you staying?"'

The referent denoted by *silaki=ââ* in the second sentence is accessible (it is mentioned before) and is the only expected 3MIN participant. The potential risk for the addressee to confuse the main referents is thus minimal. A hypothesis is that the demonstrative here marks contrast between the two referents. In the next sentence, too, a demonstrative determines the noun designating the girl. Again, that the speaker wants to contrast the girl from the other mentioned referents seems most plausible. Either way, referents marked with a demonstrative are identifiable.

In the examples with endophoric demonstratives seen so far, it is the distal variant which appears. This is by far the most frequent form in anaphoric use, and it suggests that the distal variant is the neutral form.

But there are examples where the proximal form appears as well. In the second sentence in (132) the S-function argument consist of *sime* determined by *enge*. The child of a spirit (a *sulu*) is curious about the people in a village nearby his home. He sneeks with them when they go fishing:

(132) (And the people were going fishing again, he went right away and went with them. They went and fished, they fished and caught a lot of fish, then they went back.)

Lu-po-ute-mä-mää	*nga*	*nuumä,*	*le*	*ki-li-epave=ke,*
3AUG-go-back-DIR-?	PRP	village	PRT:P	IPFV-3AUG-cook=LOC:P

mo	*ina*	*ki-baa.*	*Wo-ute-kä*	*go*	*isä.*
but	3MIN	IPFV-not.be	go-back-DIR	PRP	mother.POSS:3MIN

Sime **enge** *li-epave* *sii=kâ …*

people DEM:P 3AUG-cook fish=LOC:D

'They went back with him to the village, and while they cooked, he was gone. He went back to his mother. The people cooked the fish.'

In (132) the active status shifts rapidly between the boy and the people. The inflections on the verbs indicate who does what, still the overt NP *sime enge* 'the people/this people' is employed. The demonstrative here probably marks a contrast; the boy does one thing, while *the people* do another. Why the proximal variant of the demonstrative is used, and not the distal, is hard to tell. A suggestion is that it marks a spatial contrast, i.e. that the proximal form is used to mark the deictic centre; the people stay at this centre, while the boy moves away from it.

In the first sentence in (133) *gilaki* 'boy' is determined by *enge*, and in the second sentence *enge* determines *silaki* 'girl', both NPs in S-function:

(133) *Ä* *gilaki* **enge**=*gu=ne* *i-pu-mä* *kä=nä* *nä-te-kä.*

and boy DEM:P=NEG=LOC:P PFV-come-DIR want=CL IRR-see-DIR

Mo *baa=to=wâ.* *Go* *silaki* **enge** *i-pu-waapwa=to.*

but not.be=PH=LOC:D Because girl DEM:P PFV-go-?=PH

'And the boy came, because he wanted to see her. But it was too late. The girl had gone.'

A similar explanation as for that in (132) can be given to explain why the demonstratives appear in (133); there is a shift between the two participants in the discourse. This is especially important to mark here, as the participants have the same person/number and hence have potentially conflicting referents.

In Vaeakau-Taumako, too, demonstratives are used to mark a shift in topic, or as Næss (2004: 88) says about the demonstrative *la* "there is a fairly strong tendency for *la* to be used to mark switches in subject or topic; that is, *la* frequently occurs when a previously mentioned entity which has not been the subject/topic of the previous clause(s) is the subject/topic of a new clause":

(134) *Io-ko* *lua* *meme-ana* ***la*** *e* *lavaki*

CONJ-TOP two child-3SG.POSS DEM TA disappear

ngina	*ko-i*	*kina.*	*Io-ko*	*thau*	*tugane* **la**	*ko*	*fulo.*
because	TA-3SG	eat	CONJ-TOP	pair	brother DEM	TA	run

La-ko	*fūfulo*	*na,*	*Ko*	*te*	*pakola* **la**	*ne*	*ila* …
3DU-TA	RED.run	DEM	TOP	ART	giant DEM	TA	look

'And his two children were gone, because he had eaten them. And the brother and sister ran. They ran and ran, and the giant looked.'

4.4.2 *dä* and demonstrative

We have seen that *dä* generally occurs with unidentifiable referents and that demonstratives marks identifiable referents. Now consider the example below where *ibe* 'old man' is determined by both *dä* and *=eâ*:

(135) **Dä** *ibe***=eâ** *lâ* *ki-o-mo=to=wâ.*
　　　 QT　　old.man=DEM:D　PRT:D　IPFV-?-live=PH=LOC:D
　　　 'Once upon a time an old man was living [lit. An old man was living].'

This is the introduction of a man in a story. The referent's status is at present unidentifiable, and one would not expect a demonstrative in such a circumstance (many native speakers also find it strange). Demonstratives function to identify known referents, which is opposite of the *dä* morpheme's basic function.

　　　Lambrecht (1994: 83) might have an explanation to this when he says that even though morphologically definiteness is a question of yes or no, the concept is not that clear-cut cognitively. Therefore sometimes one finds determiners in "unexpected" situations. He gives the English example sentence *I met {this/a guy} from Heidelberg on the train* and says that *this guy* signals an intention to add more information about the referent, while *a guy* does not express such an intention. The determiner in question Lambrecht refers to as "indefinite this". This is exactly what is the case in examples such as (135) above, or (136) below, which both appear at the start of a narrative, presenting referents which both become main topics in their respective stories.

(136) (The story that I am going to tell you is a story from Tahua, in the Duff Islands. In the Duff Islands, there were a lot of spirits. So this story is about the centipede.)

Ibe=eâ	*mo*	*ipe=eâ*		*lâ*	*ki-li-e-mo-le=to=wâ* …
man=DEM:D	and	woman=DEM:D		PRT:D	IPFV-3AUG-?-live-UA=PH=LOC:D

'A man and a woman were living there …'

As in (135) the nouns in (136) introduce unidentifiable referents; they are first mentions of the man and the woman. Here the nouns are not preceded by *dä*, but they both host a distal demonstrative, *ibe=eâ mo ipe=eâ*. Also in this example it is likely that we have to do with the "indefinite this".

Another reason for the employment of the demonstratives could be that the referents actually are identifiable, as the story which the example is taken from undoubtedly is well known to the people of the Reef Islands. This could thus very well affect the way the speaker choose to present the story.

4.5   Affixal mention-tracking

When a new referent is introduced by a thematic NP (basically in S- or O-function), it is normally cross-referenced by a person/number affix on the verb. Once a referent is introduced, the discourse often continues without overt NPs; the agreement on the verb tracks the referents in question. Consider the example below.

(137)	*Dä*	*nyi-dâbu,*	*toponu*	*mo*	*lâpu*	*lâ*	*ki-li-mo-le=to=wa.*
	QT	NOM-day	turtle	and	rat	PRT:D	IPFV-3MIN-live-UA=PH=LOC:D

Li-mo-le=nâ,	*lâto*	*kä*	*toponu=kä,*
3MIN-stay-UA=LOC:D	CONJ	say	turtle=CL

Ji-nâ-wâ-ta	*ji-na-savele*	*ngä*	*nyige*	*nelo.*
1+2MIN-IRR-go-HORT	1+2MIN-IRR-stroll	PRP	end	sea

Lâto	*ki-li-pwa-le=to=wâ.*
CONJ	IPFV-3MIN-go-UA=PH=LOC:D

'Once upon a time, the turtle and the rat were living together. They were staying there, and then the turtle said: "Let's go for a stroll along the beach." Then they went.'

In the first sentence the NP *toponu mo lâpu* is the S-function argument of the intransitive verb *mo* 'live', which is inflected for person/number with the 3MIN prefix *li-* and the UA suffix *-le*. These affixes cross-reference the NP which designates the referent, the turtle and the rat.

Once the referent is introduced, it is tracked with verbal inflections, which inherit the person/number features of the referent; c.f. the first clause in the second sentence where the verb *mo* is inflected for 3MIN+UA. There is no overt NP present.

Then the turtle says something. An overt NP is used to signal the change in referent, from *both* the turtle *and* the rat to *only* the turtle. It has the form of a bare nominal, *toponu*. This is the only way to track and activate the turtle and not the rat. The verb *kä* 'say' has no overt marking, as the 3MIN form in Äiwoo normally is zero. In the citation in the second sentence there is no overt NP either. The verbs are inflected with the 1+2MIN marker. The turtle is talking about himself and the rat, both parts of the text-external world. Pronouns and pronominal inflections in 1st and 2nd person (and 1st+2nd person) are typical instances of person deixis, referring to the speaker and/or the addressee.

In the third sentence the story continues with the verb *pwa* 'go' which is inflected with the 3MIN prefix and the UA suffix. There are only two protagonists introduced in the story, and the participants designated thus have to be exactly those two, the rat and the turtle.

In the story where (137) is taken from, tracking of participants is relatively simple, as there are only these two main participants. In stories with many referents, the activation level of the referents necessarily changes throughout the story, and thus tracking gets more complicated. When the number of referents increases, the potential for conflicting referents increases, too.

4.6 Pronominal mention-tracking

Sometimes a referent is mentioned by a pronoun in addition to the verbal person/number markers on the verb.. As the personal pronouns and the person/number markers follow the same unit-augmented pattern, the pronouns do not add any semantic information to the clause.

Consider the following example, where two sisters are chased by a giant. On the run, to distract it, they throw baskets of fish at it:

(138)   (They (the two sisters) ran on, the basket of fish that was nearest, they lifted it up and threw it (at the giant).

Le   *ki-a-luwâ=nä=ne*   *le*   *ki-vängä=ke*

PRT:P   IPFV-ʔ-take=CL=LOC:P   PRT:P   IPFV-eat=LOC:P

mo   ***jiile***   *lâ*   *ki-li-bakisi-le=nâ.*

but   3UA   PRT:D   IPFV-3MIN-run-UA=LOC:D

I-bakisi-le	*i-bakisi-le,*	*nyopu,*	*mo*	***inâ***	*wâleeke=ke*
PFV-run-UA	PFV-run-UA	far	but	3MIN	hurry=LOC:P

sii	*eângâ*	*i-ngä-eke-nyi=nâ*
fish	DEM:D	PFV-eat-fast-TR=LOC:D

op-ee,	*lâ*	*ku-bakisi-kä,*	*i-bakisi-kä*	*i-bakisi-kä,*
jump-DIR	PRT:D	IPFV-run-DIR	PFV-run-DIR	PFV-run-DIR

vaa-kä	*ngâgo-i-le=nâ.*
close-DIR	to-3AUG-UA=LOC:D

'While it was busy eating, they ran on. They ran on and on, far off, but he hurried up and ate the fish quickly and jumped up, he ran on again, on and on, and came close to them.'

Since the pronouns do not add any new semantic information, there is probably a pragmatic reason for the employment of the pronouns. Here the pronouns seem to emphasise and thus mark a contrast between the participants, c.f. the first sentence: when it (the giant) ate, *they* (the two women) ran off. And in second sentence: while they were running, *he* hurried to eat to catch up with them.

Consider now this next example:

(139)	*Lâto*	*kä=nä,*	***iumu***	*täve-ta*	*mo*	***iu***	*i-ki-mele-ta.*
	CONJ	say=CL	2MIN	hang-HORT	but	1MIN	1MIN-IPFV-fly-HORT

'So he said, 'You keep hanging, but I'm flying away.''

Here, too, the verb inflections designate the referents. Still the pronouns are present. In this pronominal mention, too, the pronouns seem to mark the same kind of contrast as in the example further above.

In the material at hand most of the pronouns occur in direct speech, as is the case in (139). Independent pronouns in Oceanic languages very often "[…] are used in citation and function as noun phrases" (Lynch et al. 2002: 35). In many cases they probably are of contrastive use. And overall it seems people tend to use more pronouns in direct speech, i.e. when the referents in question often are in 1st or 2nd person, and parts of the text-external world.

4.7 Summary

Both numerals and quantifiers are frequently used to determine nouns in the introduction of new referents in Äiwoo. With *dä* (which formally can be analysed as a quantifier) as an exception they all probably are verbal. *Nyigi* often introduces protagonists of a story, that is, referents becoming major discourse topics.

The quantifier *dä* 'some' is very often found in the introduction of unidentifiable referents, but it is seldom found with human referents (which show a preference for *nyigi*). Since the referent of an expression determined by a quantifier is lower on the identifiability scale, (i.e. the exact quantity, and hence the exact identity of the referent, is not known) than a referent of an expression determined by a numeral, the former is normally not used in the introduction of discourse topics (protagonists). This explains, too, why human referents becoming discourse topics are mostly introduced by expressions determined by the verbal numerals, and not the quantifier.

Pragmatically, both *nyigi* and *dä* show features common for indefinite articles and indefinite pronouns in other languages. However, as *dä* seems to productively determine any noun designating any referent, it is probably not a good idea to label the words it determines indefinite pronouns. But it is a marker for unidentifiable referents. Without *dä*, if a bare noun alone designated the referent, this referent would probably be identifiable. As we have seen bare nouns designate inactive and accessible referents.

While *nyigi* always introduces referents unidentifiable to the addressee, but identifiable to the speaker, *dä* also often introduces referents which are unidentifiable to both addressee and speaker. The formal distinction corresponding to these cognitive differences is in the literature referred to as the specific – non-specific distinction. The difference between *nyigi* and *dä* reflects what kinds of referents are introduced by them: For a referent to become a topic, it is required to be identifiable, at least to the speaker. Otherwise the speaker could not track this referent in the subsequent discourse.

When *dä* is found both at the start of an NP and and as an enclitic, the reading of the determined noun becomes somewhat different: The expression in question then designates a specific referent among an identifiable group of referents.

The *du* morpheme which probably basically is a verb also often appears in the introduction of brand new (i.e. unidentifiable) referents, attached to the verb complex or to the noun designating the referent. This is the case when all the referents of a certain group of referents are mentioned.

Demonstratives in Äiwoo are used in expressions designating identifiable referents, both in the text-external and the text-internal world. Often they are found to mark a contrast between activated referents. Diessel (1999) says that:

> [w]hat all anaphoric demonstratives have in common is that they do not just continue the focus of attention; rather, they indicate the antecedent is not the referent that the hearer would expect in this context (i.e. the most topical NP) (Diessel 1999: 99).

The demonstratives are thus important tools in the tracking of referents in Äiwoo, emphasising something unexpected. Äiwoo has no rich reference-tracking system; it relies largely on the person/number markings on the verb. Sometimes this alone is not enough, and a demonstrative is employed. This is supported by Diessel (1999) who says that in some languages "[a]naphoric demonstratives are used when reference tracking is somewhat problematic" (Diessel 1999: 99).

Sometimes a demonstrative determiner is found in expressions also determined by *dä*, which is found with unidentifiable referents. The reason for this is not fully understood, but it is likely that this is an instance of a pragmatic use of demonstratives known as "the indefinite this".

The formal transitive – semi-transitive alternation of verbs expresses the functional difference between non-generic and generic referents. Almost every transitive verb in Äiwoo has a semi-transitive counterpart. When an Äiwoo speaker wants to designate a generic object referent, the semi-transitive version of the verb is used. A generic subject cannot be designated in this way. When that is said, subjects are prototypically referential and to the left in The Nominal Hierarchy.

5 Information structure

Basic word order in Äiwoo is SV/OVA. Often a clause comes without any overt argument at all, since the person/number markings on the verb tracks the referents in question, c.f. 4.5. But sometimes a full form NP is required; this is when a new referent is introduced into the discourse, as seen in the previous chapter, or when it is necessary to mention it explicitly for other reasons, for instance when there is a shift in theme or when there is a need to mark a contrast between referents. Sometimes this is expressed through non-basic word order, or explicit marking of elements, c.f. 5.1.

The deictic particles and the locational deictic enclitics are found to participate in several constructions, marking chunks of information.

This chapter will focus on some ways these basically deictic elements participate in the structuring of information in Äiwoo.

5.1 Non-basic argument position

It was shown above that the deictic particle *lâ* could appear preceding a noun. We have also seen that a demonstrative can modify a noun, probably to mark a contrast. Consider the following examples ((140) and (141) repeated from (88) and (89) above). In this example *lâ* precedes the S-function argument *ipe eângâ* 'the old woman'. This argument is placed after the verb, contrary to the basic preverbal position of S function arguments:

(140) *Lâto*   *nyopwa=eââ*   *ku-upwee-usi=to=wâ*
     CONJ   oven=DEM:D   IPFV-open-again=PH=LOC:D

     mo   *ko-lamä=to=wâ*   **lâ**   *ipe*   *eângâ,*
     but   lie-DIR=PH=LOC:D   PRT:D   woman   DEM:D

     sii   *ki-baa=to.*
     fish   IPFV-NEG=PH

     'When they opened the oven, only the old woman was inside instead of the fish.'

In (141) *lâ* precedes the O-function argument *ebugi eângâ* 'the ebugi'. O-function arguments are expected in preverbal position, but here it appears in a non-basic post-verbal

position.

(141) *Nogo=na*   *dâbu   dâu-iâ   ki-wâpunâ=na*
       habit:POSS:3MIN=LOC:D   day   every-DEM:D   IPFV-feed=LOC:D

       lâ   *ebugi   eangâ.*
       PRT:D   ebugi   DEM:D

       'For the boy, every day he feeds this Ebugi.'

In (142) the NP *ipe eangâ* 'the old woman' is the O-function argument of the verb *luwa* 'take' in one clause and also the O-function argument of the transitivised verb *wânubo* 'kill' in the next. The argument is placed between the two verbs and preceded by *lâ*.

(142) *... i-luwa-tokä,*   *wâ-ki-ee,*   *eâmo*
       PFV-take-DIR   CAUS-IPFV-up and

       luwa-kä=nä ***lâ***   *ipe*   *eangâ*   *i-wâ-nubo-wâ ...*
       take-DIR=CL   PRT:D old.woman   DEM:D   PFV-CAUS-die-TR

       '... he took and lifted it (the fish) out (of the oven) and then he killed the old woman ...'

In equivalent sentences where the joint argument is in A-function and appears preceding the first verb, *lâ* is missing; c.f. the example in (143). The sentence has two joint arguments where the A-function argument precedes the first verb, and the O-function argument appears between the verbs. There is no particle present.

(143) *Singedâ*   *wa-kä=nä*   *maniok*   *wâ-i-e-kä*
       girl   take-DIR=CL   cassava   CAUS-PFV-go.up-DIR

       ngä   *nuwo*   *nyenaa.*
       PRP   root   tree

       'The girl took the cassava and put (it) by the tree root.'

The NPs preceded by *lâ* in all these examples have a non-basic syntactic position. The fact that all the arguments in question are modified by a demonstrative is also interesting; note that the demonstrative has the same deictic form as the particle, i.e. distal.

As shown in 4.4, demonstratives determine identifiable referents. These are referents which the hearer is able to pick out, either because they are part of the text-external world, or because they are mentioned before in the discourse and thus are activated in the short term memory of the addressee. As seen in 4.4.1, demonstratives mark shift in theme. This is often necessary for the speaker to stress. There might thus be a connection between word order, marking by *lâ*, and demonstrative use, all expressing divergence from basic information structure.

There is one attest of the proximal version of the particle and the demonstrative in a non-basic position in the material. Contrary to the other examples, in (144) a noun in A-function is surrounded by a particle and a demonstrative:

(144)   ***Le***   *sime*   ***enge***   *buk*   *i-päi-woli*   *ngä*   *floor.*
          PRT:P   person DEM:P book   PFV-throw-down   PRP   floor
          'This person here threw a book down on the floor.'

The A-function argument appears in front of the verb contrary to the basic postverbal position. We thus know that all argument-functions can take a special position in the clause, and that both the proximal and the distal variants of the particle participate in the marking of such an unexpected argument configuration.

The example in (144) is elicitated through stimulus taken from a series of video clips, showing different persons doing different things.[25] There are two things to note here: First, the persons in the clips are immediately identifiable as they are members of the text-external world. It is thus appropriate with demonstrative marking, as the referent is identifiable. Second, as new persons constantly appear in these clips, it is likely that the speaker wants to express the contrast between these referents, which might also be an explanation for the demonstrative marking.

5.2 Presentational constructions

The first sentence in a story does not normally predicate anything about its argument (it is no topic-comment sentence). Its primary task is to introduce the referent designated by the argument, rather than commenting upon it as if it actually already was a topic. Topic referents

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[25] The video clip stimulus kits are developed by the Max Planck Institute of Psycholinguistics. For a description of the elicitation tests, c.f. Frostad (2006: 5).

demand a certain accessibility; the more accessible the referent, the more suitable it is as topic (Lambrecht 1994:165), c.f. *The Topic Acceptability Scale* in Table 6 below.

Figure 8   The Topic Acceptability Scale (after Lambrecht 1994:165)

active   most acceptable

accessible

inactive/unused

unidentifiable/brand-new anchored

unidentifiable/brand-new unachored   least acceptable

Consider the following example (with an additional scene-setting adverbial as an extra topic). Here the referents of the S-function argument are lexically expressed, and thereby pragmatically activated. The function of the sentence is to introduce the referents, making them discourse-active and ready to be tracked and designated by other means:

(145) *Dä   nyi-dâbu,   toponu mo   lâpu   **lâ**   ki-li-mo-le=to=**wâ**.*
      QT   NOM-day   turtle   and   rat   PRT:D   IPFV-3AUG-live-UA=PH=LOC:D
      'Once upon a time, the turtle and the rat were living together.'

Note that the verb is both preceded by a deictic particle, *lâ*, and hosting a locational enclitic, *=wâ*; this is always the case in such sentences.

Now consider (51), repeated below as (146). Remember that it is taken from one of the experimental sessions, where the speaker continuously has to explain to his partner what has been put onto the table. The purpose of many of these sentences is to present brand-new referents:

(146) *Däjelâ   **le**   ko-to-mä=dä=**ne**.*
      something   PRT:P   lie-DIR-DIR=QT=LOC:P
      'Something is lying out here.'

In this example, too, the verb is preceded by a deictic particle and hosts a locational enclitic. Here the proximal versions of the particle and the locational are employed. This is probably

due to the situation where the thing put in front of the speaker is in his immediate vicinity, as opposed to the addressee, who is not able to see what is placed in front of the speaker.

The next example presents another referent, brand-new to the addressee. Note the difference in deictic form in these two examples. In (146) the referent is part of the speaker's text-external world, hence the proximal form of the particle and the locational. In (147) the referent presented is situated in another time and place, hence the distal variants in front of and following the verb:

(147) *Dä*   *ibe=ea*   ***lâ***   *ki-o-mo=to=wâ*.

       QT   old.man=DEM:D   PRT:D IPFV-?-live=PH=LOC:D

       'Once upon a time there was an old man (Lit. An old man was living.)'

In the last two examples the existence of a certain thing (c.f. (146)) and a certain person (c.f. (147)) is asserted. This is typical for presentational sentences.

Note also the use of stative verbs in these presentational constructions: the intransitive, *ko* 'lie' and *mo* 'live'. Such verbs are often employed in sentences asserting the existence of referents.

5.3 Deixis in subordinating constructions

In the first clause in (148) below the distal variant of the deictic particle, *lâ*, precedes the verb *itekägui* '(he) saw (them)'. The clause ends by the distal locational *=kâ* attached to the A-function argument.

(148) *Siguwâu*   *eve*   ***lâ***   *i-te-kä-gu-i*

       young.boy   three   PRT:D PFV-see-DIR-3MIN-3AUG

       *Ginubonu=**kâ*** *bââ*   *de-vaa-eopu=kâ*   *nulä*

       G.=LOC:D   not   NOM-close-too=LOC:D   neck.POSS:3MIN

       mo   *nyiiwo* …

       but   war

       'When he saw these three young boys Ginubonu did not think of anything else but war,'

Here the first clause is subordinate to the second one. The whole sentence is a proposition where the assertion is expressed in the second clause. The presuppositional content of the first clause is thus topical in relation to the second one. In the English translation, as a sign of the dependency, the dependent clause starts with 'when'. A hypothesis is that *lâ* and *=Câ* mark this non-asserted, *topical* information, which thus is *backgrounded* in contrast to the new information asserted. Matthews (1997:33) says that events that are backgrounded are

> [t]reated, presented, or marked as subsidiary. E.g. in a narrative, events are backgrounded if they are subsidiary to the main story; in the structure of a sentence subordinate clauses are backgrounded, or tend to present backgrounded information; and so on. By analogy with 'foregrounded'.

Also in (149) below a preclausal particle and a clause final locational appear, both in the distal deictic form. Here the protagonists are on their way filling up baskets with fish. They walk from one place to another collecting fish which they put in baskets, and when a basket is filled up, it is put down and left behind.

(149) *Lu-po-kä-le=naa*   *ngä*   *dä*   *nyowä,*
       3AUG-go-DIR-UA=FUT   PRP   QT   place
       lâ   *nyibä*   *nogo-i-le*   *bipu=kâ* ...
       PRT:D   basket   POSS-3AUG-UA   full=LOC:D
       'They went on to a certain place, then their basket was full …'

This sentence, too, contains two clauses. But this time both assert something, and none of them are subordinate to the other. *Temporally*, however, the second one is necessarily ordered after the first one; the basket is filled up as a result of the two protagonists's moving to another place. The second clause, including the preverbal S-function argument, is here bracketed with a deictic particle and a locational.

There is a difference in the placement of the particle in the two examples above. The clauses in question both have a preverbal argument in its basic position. In (148) the particle occurs after the O-function argument *siguwâu eve* 'three girls', directly preceding the verb in the first clause. In (149) it precedes the S-function argument in the second clause. (In the first example the particle and the enclitic thus create some kind of domain consisting of the verb

and its A-function argument. In the latter example the verb and the S-function argument are inside the domain.

Both examples contain two clauses denoting a SoA. One of the SoAs is subordinated in the sense of Cristofaro (2003):

> Subordination will be regarded as a particular way to construe the cognitive relation between two events, such that one of them (which will be called the dependent event) lacks an autonomous profile, and is construed in the perspective of the other event (which will be called the main event) (Cristofaro 2003:2)

In the translation of (148) the dependent clause starts with 'when'. In (149) the main event denoting the (temporally indirect) effect of the dependent starts with 'then' in the English translation. These words indicate backgrounding and foregrounding of events. One should be careful about putting too much in translations, but following Cristofaro (2003) "one may assume that translations preserve not only the semantic content, but also the communicative organization of a sentence" (Cristofaro 2003: 41). A translation *is* thus considered a good a point of departure.

Consider the following example, where all the three main SoAs are surrounded by a particle and a locational:

(150)   **Lâ**   *i-bi-i=**lâ***   **le**   *ku-po*   *ngä*   nyopwa=**ke**
        PRT:D   PFV-bake-3AUG=LOC:D   PRT:P   IPFV-?   PRP   oven=LOC:P

        mo   *ijii*   **lâ**   *ku-lu-pwä*   *ngââgu=**kâ***
        and   3AUG   PRT:D   IPFV-3AUG-go   garden=LOC:D
        'While it was baking, still in the oven, they left to the garden'

The first event describing the baking of the fish, is presented by a verb only, which is preceded by a particle and hosts a locational clitic, both in the distal version.

The second clause describes the fish as being in the oven; here the verb is preceded by a particle, and a prepositional phrase follows the verb. At the end the enclitic occurs. In this clause both the particle and the enclitic are in the proximal version. The proximal form here might express spatial position; the oven is situated in the same village as the story is being told, in the relative proximity of the speaker. In other words, a spatial contrast is expressed between this SoA and the others denoted in the sentence.

The last clause, describing the protagonist's leaving for the garden, contains a verb preceded by the particle, then following the verb is a locative noun which hosts the enclitic. Here the particle and the enclitic appear in the distal version again. Note that the S-function argument is outside the domain created by the particle and the enclitic.

It is difficult to tell why all three clauses are demarcated. Either the marking is purely deictic, or the speaker wishes to express that the information in all clauses are equally important; all three clauses in fact denote asserted SoAs. The fish was *baking*, it was *in the oven*, the people *left to the garden*.

Next, consider (151), repeated from (92) above, denoting two events, both marked with particles and enclitics. The S-function arguments, *temaale* 'needlefish' and *demo* 'crab', are outside the domain created in both clauses:

(151) *Temaale*   **la**   *ku-basiki=to=wâ,*   *demo* **le**   *ki-tokoli=ke.*
       needlefish   PRT:D IPFV-run=PH=WÂ   crab   PRT:P IPFV-sit=LOC:P
       'The needlefish ran, the hermit crab sat there.'

Here, too, there is a contrast between the marking of the events; the first one employs distal marking, while the second one employs proximal marking. In (151) the events are temporally appositional; they happen at the same time, and both are assertions equally important; one of them is not dependent of the other. The only difference is that the markers formally express a difference in spatiality (as suggested for (149)). The second clause describes the hermit crab still sitting at a certain point, which can be seen as the deictic zero point; thus the proximal marking. The first clause describes the needlefish moving away from this zero-point, thus the distal marking.

Together, a particle and an enclitic mark a chunk of information which stands in contrast to the surrounding part of the sentence. This chunk can both be a phrase or a whole clause. In this respect, the deictics in question resemble devices used in what Reesink (1994) calls "domain-creating constructions". In the non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages he has examined, these constructions mark among other things temporality, condition, reason, cause and contrast, functions which all imply subordination (Reesink 1994:14). Although more research is needed, these functions seem to apply well to what can be called deictic delimitation constructions in Äiwoo.

5.4 Tail-head linkage (THL)

A characteristic of the Äiwoo narrative is the frequent repetition of elements; arguments or (parts of) clauses. Consider this typical example of an Äiwoo narrative:

(152) *Ngaa*   *lâ*   ***ki-tâulâ-eagâ=to=wâ****.*
      so   PRT:D   IPFV-float-quiet=PH=LOC:D

   I-tâulâ=kâ*,*   *lâto*   *luwa-kä*   *päbu=kä,*   *nede*   *i-waamâ,*
   PFV-float=LOC:D   CONJ   take-DIR   clam=CL   mouth   PFV-open

   lâto   *i-melie-usi=jo=wa.*
   CONJ   PFV-let.go-again=PH=LOC:D

   Ikâ   *lâto*   *ki-dâ=to=wa,*   *uule=kâ*
   heron   CONJ   IPFV-drift=PH=LOC:D   slow=LOC:D

   mo   *lâ*   ***ki-dâ=kâ****.*
   but   PRT:D   IPFV-drift=LOC:D

   I-dâ=kâ*,*   *lâ*   *i-deto=to*   *ngä*   *nye-lägä=kâ,*
   PFV-drift=LOC:D   PRT:D   PFV-wash.up=PH   PRP   NOM-dry=LOC:D

   lâto   *ki-ko=kâ*   *mo*   *lâ*   *ki-mibiou=kâ.*
   CONJ   IPFV-lie=LOC:D   but   PRT:D   IPFV-rest=LOC:D

   'He floated quietly. He floated, and then the clam opened its mouth and let him go again. Then the heron started drifting, he drifted slowly. He drifted, then he washed up in a dry place, and he lay there and rested.'

In (152) some verbs appearing in one clause are repeated in the next. The verb *tâulâ* 'float' appear in both the first and the second sentence. In the first sentence it is inflected with imperfective aspect marking and is a part of the complex verb construction where *eagâ* 'quiet' is the second verb, modifying the first one. At the end of the complex the phasal aspect clitic *=to* and the distal locational *=wâ* are attached. The second occurrence of the verb is inflected with perfective aspect only, and the distal locational enclitic is attached to it. As the repetition no longer is an assertion, but rather is presupposed, it now is topical to the new information which follow.

The same thing happens again later, when the verb *dâ* 'drift' is repeated. In the first clause it is inflected with imperfective aspect marking, and in the reiteration it is inflected

with perfective marking. Both host the distal locational enclitic =*kâ*. This evidently is a way of structuring and organizing the information.

Note that a locational always seems to be present in such circumstances. Exactly what the function is, is hard to tell, but it no doubt plays a role in the structuring of the chunks of information, and possibly also functions as a connection between the co-referential events.

This method of structuring information is an areal feature of both Papuan and Austronesian languages of New Guinea and its surrounding islands; it is a special way of structuring information, called tail-head linkage. "Tail-head linkage (THL) is a way to connect clause chains in which the last clause of a chain is partially or completely repeated in the first clause of the next chain" (Vries 2005:363).

In the next example, (153), a whole clause is repeated, with the prepositional phrase adjunct.

(153) *Ku-lu-poula=na*   *lâto*   **ku-lu-po-lamä**   **ngä**   **nuumä=ke**.
       IPFV-3MIN-quarrel=LOC:D   CONJ   IPFV-3MIN-come-DIR PRP   village=LOC:P

       I-lu-po-lamä   **ngä**   **nuumä=kâ**
       PFV-3MIN-come-DIR   PRP   village=LOC:D

       lâto   *i-wâgu=jo*   *go*   *Daniel=ka.*
       CONJ   PFV-report=PH   PRP   D.=LOC:D

       'They were quarreling till they came out into the village. When they came into the villiage, then they reported to Daniel.'

The first sentence ends with the clause *lâto kulupolamä ngä nuumäke*, while the first clause in the next sentence is *ilupolamä ngä nuumäkâ*. The difference is the aspect marking on the verb; in the first instance it is inflected with imperfective aspect, while in the second it is inflected with perfective aspect. And, at the end of the first clause, the proximal locational =*ke* is attached to *nuumä*. In the reiterated clause, the distal variant =*kâ* is attached to the noun. The proximal form of the first clause in question probably expresses that the event happened in the relative proximity of the speaker, namely the same village. This cannot be the case in the second clause, where the locational rather points back at the event in the previous clause, linking the two together.

Consider yet another example:

(154) *Ä*   *i-lu-mo-ka-naa*   *li-school*   **dâlo**   **lilu**.

       and   PFV-3MIN-stay-DIR=FUT   3MIN-school   year   two

       Dâlo   ***lilu=kâ***   ***i-lu-po-ute-mä***.

       year   two=LOC:D   PFV-3MIN-go-back-DIR

       Lâto   ***i-lu-po-ute-mä=kâ***   *lâto*   ***ki-li-paavee***

       CONJ   PFV-3MIN-go-back-DIR=LOC:D   CONJ   IPFV-3MIN-teach

       le …   *Ngäsinue,*   *ki-vaave*   *Ngäsinue,*   *ilâ.*

       PRT:P   N.   IPFV-teach   N.   DEM:D

       I-lu-paavee=kâ   *mo*   *Daniel=kâ*

       PFV-3MIN-teach=LOC:D   and   D.=LOC:D

       inâ   *sime*   *cathechist=ie*   *nyigi*   *kele*   *Ngäsinue=ke.*

       3MIN   man   cathechist=DEM:P   one   here   N.=LOC:P

       'And they stayed and learnt for two years. After two years they returned. When they returned they taught here at Ngäsinue, they taught at Ngasinue, that's that. They taught, and Daniel was cathechist here in Ngäsinue.'

Here every sentence is linked to the previous one. The first part of the second sentence is a reiteration of the temporal expression in the first sentence, *dâlo lilu* 'two years', the difference between the two being that a distal locational *=kâ* is present in the repeated chain. Then the second sentence continues with the verb complex *ilupoutemä* 'they returned'. This is repeated in the first clause of the next chain: *ilupoutemäkâ*. Again the repeated element hosts a distal locational. The second clause in the third sentence contains a verb complex *kilipaavee* 'they were teaching' which is repeated in the following chain. Note here that there is a clause between the two linked chains. Thus, *it does not have to be the last element of the first clause and the first element of the second clause which is repeated*. Also, as we have seen above, *the first clause may be partially or completely repeated*.

       Vries (2005) says that there is great variation in THL in languages: "When the final clause contains nominals, they may be included in the recapitulation and sometimes nominals are inserted in the head clause that do not occur in the tail clause. Occasionally the last two clauses are recapitulated. And sometimes the penultimate clause is repeated instead of the last clause" (Vries 2005:364).

       A similar pattern as the one just described in Äiwoo is found in Vaeakau-Taumako. Consider this excerpt from a Vaeakau-Taumako narrative:

(155) *Lui   thau   avaga la-ko   nohonoho   **na**,*

DU   pair   marry   3DU-TA   RED.live   DEM

a   nohine-ana   ko   hei   tama.

ART   wife-3SG.POSS   TA   make   child

'There was a couple who lived together, and the wife got pregnant.'

*Ko   hei   tama   **na**,   io-ko   lha-ko   nōnoho   **na**,*

TA   make   child DEM   CONJ-TOP   3DU-TA   RED.live   DEM

'She got pregnant, they lived for a while,'

*ko   hanau-ia   **na**   e   tagata.*

TA   birth-TR   DEM   ART   man

'and she gave birth to a boy.'

*Ko   hale-gia   hale-gia   **na**   ko   metua.*

TA   care-TR   care-TR   DEM   TA   grow.up

'(The child) was taken care of and grew up.'

***Na**   ne   metua   te   memea   tagar-ana   **la**   **na**,*

DEM   TA   grow.up   ART   child   man-3SG.POSS   DEM   DEM

'When this boy-child had grown up,'

io-ko   hina-na   ko   hei   tama   oki.

CONJ-TOP   mother-3SG.POSS   TA   make   child again

'his mother got pregnant again.'

*Hei   tama   **na**,   io-ko   mha-na   ē,*

make   child DEM   CONJ-TOP   father-3SG.POSS   ē

'She got pregnant, and his father, eh,'

a   te   matu-ana   ko   mate.

CONJ   ART   husband-3SG.POSS   TA   die

'her husband died.'

(Næss 2004:90)

Throughout this example clauses are chained together. Compare the last clause of the first sentence with the first clause of the second one. *ko hei tama* is repeated only with the addition of a demonstrative at the end in the chained clause *ko hei tama na*. Hence, there seems to be a similarity in use of deictics in the neighbouring languages; the demonstrative *na* in Vaeakau-Taumako and the locational *=Câ* in Äiwoo.

We have seen that the locational enclitic participates in THL in Äiwoo. A locational is always attached to a chained clause. The chained clause is a repetition of a previous clause (or parts of it), and is thus never an assertion itself. In the previous chapter we saw that the locational enclitic and the deictic particle in some cases marked unasserted information, i.e. background information/dependent clauses/topical information. The THL constructions give us another reason to hypothesise that the deictics (here the locationals) mark given information. This is also the case when the locationals are used with its basic spatial deictic function; then the referent or event is located in space and is a part of the text-external world, which also implies something "given".

5.5   Summary

Beside the basic denotation of spatial location, the deictic elements participate in several constructions, covering a range of different functions.

The deictic particle is found to mark arguments in a non-basic position. When an argument appears in a non-basic position, a contrast to constructions with basic word order is expressed. It is unknown whether a deictic particle can mark an argument in its basic position.

The deictic particle also appears in front of the verb in presentational constructions. Mostly the distal form *lâ* is employed. An exception is when the proximal location of the referent in question is close to the deictic centre; in such contexts *le* is employed.

In so-called Tail-head linkage (THL) constructions, an enclitic locational is attached to the non-asserted (presupposed) repeated part. The locational is thought to mark topical, non-assertive information.

The exact function of the marking of clauses as seen in these examples is puzzling. The formal markings probably cover several different functions which may have to do with subordination; topicality, backgrounding, and temporality. Spatial contrast also seem to be marked. In any case, the marking of the information in the clauses signals a contrast to clauses without this marking.

6 Conclusion

6.1 Summary of the findings

This thesis has been concerned with how Äiwoo expresses the cognitive category of identifiability formally. In other words, the thesis has both discussed how Äiwoo introduces referents in discourse, and also how it tracks the referents. The thesis has also been concerned with the information structure in Äiwoo, and especially discussed how deictic elements play a part in this structuring.

It is maybe not fruitful to talk about the functional categories definiteness and specificity in Äiwoo. That is because the language lacks morphemes whose main purpose is to mark such categories. For instance, many languages have special definite, indefinite and specific articles. Äiwoo does not.

Still, it is useful to note what Lambrecht (1994) says about the correlation between identifiability on one hand and definiteness on the other:

> An important grammatical correlate of the cognitive distinction between identifiable and unidentifiable referents is the formal distinction made in many languages between DEFINITE and INDEFINITE noun phrases. The grammatical category of definiteness is a formal feature associated with nominal expressions which signals whether or not the referent of a phrase is assumed by the speaker to be identifiable to the addressee (Lambrecht 1994: 79).

Lambrecht (1994) also stresses that this correlation is not a fixed one. That is why the label definiteness is avoided in the present description of Äiwoo.

In the introduction of brand-new referents, i.e referents which are unidentifiable to the addressee, Äiwoo employs the numeral *nyigi* to designate a specific, and mostly human, referent. If the referent is non-human and thus less likely to become a discourse topic, the quantifier *dä* is normally employed. *dä* determines both specific and non-specific referents.

While the numeral *nyigi* resembles an indefinite singular article, the verb *dâu* 'many, all' is used to determine indefinite plural referents. *nyigi* and *dâu* have the same distributional characteristics; they are either postposed to the noun or follow the main verb.

du 'every, all', which probably basically is a verb, is employed to determine all the referents of a certain group.

These quantifying lexemes are verbs, with one exception: *dä* is a bound word and the only pure quantifier. A loose hypothesis is that it might have developed from the POc non-human indefinite article **ta*.

The identifiability of objects is also coded in the formal transitive—semi-transitive distinction. Overt O-function arguments basically appear preceding the transitive verb which has the person/number marking suffixed to the verb. The corresponding argument of a semi-transitive follows the verb which is prefixed with intransitive person/number marking. The object of a semi-transitive has a generic reading, where the exact and specific designation of the reference is avoided. When an O-function argument appears with a transitive verb, the referent is identifiable. Semi-transitives can never be used when referents are tracked.

Äiwoo has a relatively poor reference-tracking system. In fact it does not employ any of the systems of Comrie's (1989) typology of reference-tracking, described in 2.2. Person/number inflection on the verb is the main tracking tool. But very often these inflections alone are not enough. To switch between referents in active status, Äiwoo makes use of full form NPs with demonstrative determiners. The demonstratives thus signal a shift in discourse topic. They are used anaphorically to track already identifiable participants.

An NP with only a bare noun designates and thus makes active an inactive referent or an accessible referent which is textually, situationally or inferentially accessible. Bare nouns are often possessive inflected. The referents are thus textually accessible, the antecedent being mentioned before.

Deixis plays an important role in the organisation of information in Äiwoo.

The locational particle *le/lâ* can appear both in front of NPs and VPs. It marks arguments in non-basic position; the unexpected position of the argument is thus overtly expressed by this particle.

Presentational constructions are constructions whose function is to introduce a new referent important to the discourse, rather than asserting something about the referent. These constructions consist of an intransitive existence verb and an overt S-function argument. A deictic particle precedes the verb, following the argument.

Together the deictic particle and the locational are employed to demarcate whole or certain parts of a clause. They function as domain creating devices in so-called domain-creating constructions. The domains created reflect subordination in several ways, marking temporality, backgrounding, contrast, etc.

Repetition of information is in other words important in the Äiwoo narrative; an event which is asserted in one clause often is repeated as a topic in the next. Besides locating

elements in space relative to the deictic zero-point, the locational enclitic *=Ce/=Câ* is employed in THL constructions, where it marks the part of the clause which is repeated in the second of the two linked clauses.

Also the demonstrative identifier *ile/ilâ* is important in the organisation of the discourse in Äiwoo. It often functions resumptively as an anaphora or a discourse deictic, pointing back at an argument or an event in the previous sentence. The demonstrative identifier is also found as the predicate in verbless clauses.

Clauses are found to be conjoined by a set of conjugations probably based on the deictic particle *le/lâ*: *lâto*, *lâtowâ*, *lâtowaa*, *lâmo*, *leto*. These preclausal words seems to be hosting verbal inflections/enclitics, and thus probably expresses tense and aspect relations between the clause they conjoin.

Although the distal versions are the ones most frequently employed in all the discourse organising constructions described, proximal versions sometimes appear. This is probably when the speaker has a special wish to make explicit the proximity of the referents or events in question.

As the classification of the Reefs-Santa Cruz languages in general still is uncertain, it is important to investigate these languages to get closer to a classification as either non-Austronesian or Oceanic. In that respect, this thesis may have cast some light on topics important to solve the question. A loose speculation has been made whether Äiwoo *dä* has developed from the POc non-human indefinite article **ta*.

It has also been shed light upon Äiwoo's relationship with the closest neighbour language, the Polynesian Vaeakau-Taumako. And there are some similarities between them: In Äiwoo the numeral *nyigi* 'one' is used much as an indefinite article, particularily for human referents. In Vauekau-Taumako the numeral *thai* 'one' has developed into an indefinite marker.

In Äiwoo demonstratives are used to mark a shift in topic. This is also the case in Vaeakau-Taumako.

In Äiwoo the deictic locational enclitics are employed in THL to mark the old, non-asserted information. In Vaeakau-Taumako a demonstrative is employed in the same function.

When this is said, there are also differences. First, as opposed to Äiwoo, Vaeakau-Taumako has a number of articles. Hovdhaugen (2006: 17) lists twelve. And second, the deictic systems are different in the two languages. Äiwoo follows a two-way distance-oriented pattern, which is most common for non-Austronesian languages, while Vaeakau-Taumako follows a three-way person-oriented one, common amongst Austronesian languages.

Overall, some light has been shed upon how reference-tracking in a language with only a few formal tracking tools is handled. Furthermore, examples on how referents on different stages of the cognitive identifiability scale are mentioned in a language with almost no nominal morphology have been presented. The thesis has given ideas about how deictic elements can be employed in the discourse organisation of a language.

6.2 Further researh

This thesis has aimed to give an overview of how Äiwoo mentions referents in different identifiability states. While this aspect has been relatively thoroughly investigated, the second aim, to identify the use of deixis in discourse organisation, has only been touched upon. It would have been interesting to put the insights presented here into a broader theoretical framework concerning topic and focus. As we have seen, the locational is employed marking topical information. A hypothesis is that the deictic particle is employed as a focus marker. We have seen it marking arguments in unexpected, non-basic positions. The deictic particle is also found preceding the verb in presentational constructions, where the existence of a referent, designated by the predicate, is asserted. Furthermore, the domain creating constructions, employing both the deictic particle and the locational, express some kind of subordination. Subordination can be linked to backgrounding and foregrounding of information, which again can be compared with topical and focal information.

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