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Honorific and Affiliative Uses of Dual and Paucal Number in Daakie [ptv]

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Abstract

The paper investigates number marking in Daakie (Port Vato [ptv]) in South Ambrym, Vanuatu. The language has a complex number system in pronouns, subject agreement, possessives and relational nouns, distinguishing singular, dual, paucal, and plural forms, with an inclusive-exclusive distinction for non-singular first person. As for the referential use of these number features, it is established that dual is strictly used for reference to two entities, whereas paucal forms are used for reference to a smaller number of entities, at least three and up to five or more for animates. There are two derived uses of number that indicate social meaning: The dual is used to address and talk about persons that stand in a certain in-law kinship relation to the speaker, a use that appears wide-spread but not well-reported in Oceanic languages and can also be found in Munda languages. The paucal is used to address and refer to a group that may be quite large, provided that the speaker socially affiliates with that group.

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Abbreviations

1DU.EX	first person dual exclusive
1DU.INC	first person dual inclusive
1PC.EX	first person paucal exclusive
1PC.INC	first person paucal inclusive
1PL.EX	first person paucal exclusive
1PL.INC	first person paucal inclusive
1SG	first person singular
2DU	second person dual
2PC	second person pascal
2PL	second person plural
2SG	second person singular
3DU	third person dual
3PC	third person pascal
3PL	third person plural
3SG	third person singular
COMP	complementizer (realis)
COMP.NR	non-realis complementizer
DEM	demonstrative
DNEG	dependent negation
FUT	future
IDEF	indefinite article
NEG	negation
NSPEC	non-specific
POSS	possessive marker
POT	potentialis (irrealis)
PROX	proximate
RE	realis
REL	relative marker
TR	transitivizer

1   Introduction

Oceanic languages are known for their rich systems of grammatical number (Lynch et al. 2002:35f.) All of them distinguish singular and plural, many of them have, in addition, a dual, quite a few have trial or paucal forms, and some even have a five-fold distinction (see overview in Harbour 2014).

The defining semantic feature of grammatical number is the number of referents of noun phrases, pronominals, or referential indices of predicates. Singular is used for referring to a single entity, dual for a pair of two, trial for three and paucal for some small number comparable to the English use of *several.* However, sometimes number can express additional meanings as well. The present article discusses two such additional meanings of number in the language Daakie (Port Vato [ptv]) in South Ambrym, Vanuatu. One is at least superficially related to the honorific use of plural in European languages, but it makes use of the dual for these purposes and is more or less restricted to addressing and also referring to in-laws. This use of dual appears to be quite widespread in Oceanic languages, but it is rather poorly documented. The second case is a use of paucal to refer to groups of people, presumably of arbitrary sizes, to which the speaker expresses some affiliation. This use is difficult to detect, and it has not been documented so far, to the best of my knowledge.

The relevant data on Daakie[39] come from field work starting in 2009 that resulted in a corpus of more than 15 hours of transcribed oral texts, mostly narratives and public speeches. Daakie, spoken by about 1000 speakers in the villages of Port Vato, Lalinda and Lonmei, belongs to the group of four major languages in the West and North of Ambrym. The other languages are Daakaka, (von Prince 2015), Dalkalaen, and North Ambrym, (Franjieh 2012). An early description of the languages can be found in Paton (1971), which focuses on Lonwolwol in the Craig Cove Area, now nearly extinct and replaced by Dalkalaen. The language of Southeast Ambrym, Vatlongos, differs quite drastically (Ridge 2018), and is closer related to the language of Paama and in general to the more southern languages of Epi.

2   Morphological marking of number

Daakie has four grammatical numbers: singular, dual, paucal, and plural. As usual in the languages of Vanuatu, number is morphologically expressed in combination with person, and there is an exclusive / inclusive distinction for first person. The grammatical category of number and person is expressed in the personal pronouns, in the subject agreement markers in combination with modal markers, in nominal phrases by postposed personal pronouns, and in the possessor of possessive markers and relational nouns.

The following table illustrates the forms of the free pronouns and the subject markers. Subject markers are sometimes called subject pronouns but notice that they never occur as free pronouns. They are always combined with a modal marker.

Table 1. Number with pronouns and agreement markers

Person	Singular	Dual	Paucal	Plural	Forms
1	ngyo na-	komoo komo-	kidyee kidye-	kemem keme-	Pronoun Subject Marker
1 + 2		adoo do-	adyee dye-	et da-	Pronoun Subject Marker
2	ngyak	kamoo	kamdyee	kimim	Pronoun

Person	Singular	Dual	Paucal	Plural	Forms
	ko-	ka-	ka-	ki-	Subject Marker
3	ngye-	koloo kolo-	ki(l)yee kiye-	ngyee la-	Pronoun Subject Marker

The forms in table 1 are given in the orthographic representation proposed in Krifka (2017). In the orthographic representation, *ng* stands for /ŋ/ and *y* for /j/; notice the somewhat unusual combination /ŋj/ (*ngy-*) instead of /nj/ reported for the neighboring language Daakaka (von Prince 2015). By a general rule, short back vowels after alveolar consonants and /j/ are fronted, hence *ngyo* is realized as [ŋjø]. Vowel digraphs *oo, ee* stand for long vowels; *o* stands for open /ɔ/, closed /o/ would be written *ó*; *e* is typically realized as closed /e/, but in case the contrast to /ɛ/ is distinctive, /e/ is written as *é*, and /ɛ/ as *e*. The combination *dy* is often realized as [ⁿdʒ]. Voiced stops are prenasalized, hence *adoo* is realized [aⁿdo:].

There is one case of syncretism in the subject marker 2nd person dual and 2nd person paucal, which are both realized as *ka-*. In previous work (Krifka 2016), I assumed a distinct subject marker *kadye-* for the 2nd person paucal, but this does not occur in the corpus and could not be elicited in a stable way.

Some of the pronominal and agreement forms can be traced back to reconstructed forms of North-Central Vanuatu (Clark 2009), **nau* for 1st singular, **igo* for 2nd singular, **naia* for 3rd singular, **(k)ida* for 1st plural exclusive, **gama(m)i* for 1st plural inclusive, **gamuyu* for 2nd plural, **n(a)-ira* for 3rd plural. The 3rd person dual *koloo* is related to **rua* 'two', Daakie *lo* [lø], where /l/ was lost in *komoo* for 1st person dual exclusive and *kamoo* for 2nd person dual. The 3rd person paucal *(l)yee* in *ki(l)yee* is presumably related to **tolu* 'three', Daakie *syéé* [ʒe:]. (See also Pearce 2012, for the reconstruction of singular, dual, and plural forms of North-Central Vanuatu.)

There are five modal markers, *-m* for realis, *-re* for realis negation, *-p* for potentials, *-t* for distal and *-n* for what can be described as dependent negation, for its most typical use. This results in realis forms like *na-m* (1st person singular), *ko-m* (2nd person singular), *komo-m* (1st person dual inclusive). Notice that there is no agreement marker for 3rd person singular; the realis marker in this case is the bare morpheme *m* with an epenthetic vowel that, depending on the stem of the following verb, is realized as labiovelar *mʷ* and is followed by an epenthetic vowel *-e, -i, -o* or *-u*. It is unclear whether person/number is expressed by a zero morpheme here, or whether agreement markers without person/number features are unspecified for person and number. In the current article the glosses will not express the 3rd person singular feature. For the use of modal markers see Krifka (2016).

Number and person is also marked with relational nouns and possessives. There are three possessive classifiers with 1st person forms, *ok* (edibles and animals), *mok* (house-related objects and drinkables) and a general form, *sok*, which is used to illustrate possessives in the following table. There are several dozen relational nouns denoting relatives, body parts, and body excretions. They are illustrated with the stem *nare-*, which undergoes certain vowel changes.

Table 2. Forms of possessives and relational nouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Paucal	Plural	Forms
1	so-k nuru-k	su-moo nuru-moo	se-memdyee nare-mimdyee	se-mem nare-mem	Possessive s-class Relational noun
1 + 2		sa-doo nare-doo	sa-dyee nare-dyee	sa-t nare-met	Pronoun Subject Marker
2	so-m nare-m	sa-moo nare-moo	sa-mdyee nare-mdyee	sa-mim nare-mim	Pronoun Subject Marker
3	so-n nare-n	so-loo nare-loo	sa-yee nare-yee	Sa-a nare-e	Pronoun Subject Marker

It should be mentioned that number of actions, especially distributed actions, can be indicated with reduplication of the verb. Also, for verbs there are a number of suppletive forms that distinguish between

number of participants, for example *pwet* vs. *du* 'stay' for singular or dual subjects vs. non-singular subjects, and *idi* vs. *sógó* 'take' for singular or dual objects versus plural objects (see von Prince 2015, for similar verb pairs in Daakaka).

All person/number features occur in the recorded corpus.[40] The form indicating 3rd person singular is most frequent (>7000 tokens), which is to be expected, especially in a corpus consisting mostly of narratives. Notice that this form is also formally unmarked, as it is expressed only by the bare modal marker. 3rd person singular not only refers to single persons other than speaker and addressee, and to entities, but also to events in event-related serial verb constructions, as in the following example, with a 1st person subject and an event-related serial verb marked by the bare realis marker *mu* expressing 3rd person singular.

(1) *na-m*   *longane*   *mu*   *wuo*
     1SG-RE   feel   RE   good
     'I feel / felt good.' (EJosis.048)

3PL occurs with more than 2000 tokens and 1SG with slightly less than 2000 tokens. The next frequent cohorts are 2SG and 3DU with more than 800 tokens, followed by 3PC with more than 400 tokens. 1DU.EX, 1DU.IN, 2DU, 1PC.EX, 1PC.IN, 1PL.EX, 1PL.IC and 2PL occur with between 100 and 200 tokens, and 2PC is the rarest form, occurring with about 50 tokens. These numbers show in particular that dual and paucal forms are actively used in the language.

Even compared to other languages of Vanuatu, the number system of Daakie is remarkably rich. Pearce (2012) discusses the person and number systems of languages of Vanuatu. She concentrates on the distinction between singular, dual and plural; the frequency of the use of trial or paucal forms in these languages is unclear. Among those languages, she discusses various patterns of syncretism. In Daakie, there is just one such syncretism, between the relatively rare form 2DU and the rarest form 2PC. Even this syncretism only holds for the subject markers, and not for the free pronouns, possessives or relational nouns.

3   Basic uses of dual, paucal and plural

Data elicitation with sentences whose subjects were modified by number words made it clear that dual has to be used with subjects referring to two entities, that paucal can be used with subjects referring to three to five entities, and that plural can be used starting with subjects referring to five or more entities. I elicited these sentences with four speakers as a paradigm. The purpose of the elicitation was to determine the use of number forms with a more random and casual presentation of sentences and of descriptions of visual stimuli. However, from my experience with the language I would not expect to get results much different than the current elicitation method. Examples of various person/number combinations follow.

(2) *timaleh*   *soo*   *mwe*   *pwet*   *pán*   *em*
     child   one   RE   stay   under   house
     'A / one child was in the house.'

(3) *timaleh*   *woro-ló*   *kolo-m*   *pwet / du*   *pán*   *em*
     child   number-two   3DU-RE   stay   under   house
     'Two children were in the house.'

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[40] The transcribed audio or audiovisual corpora will be made available in the PARADISEC collection.

(4)   *timaleh*   *woro-syee*   *kiye-m*   *du*   *pán*   *em*
       child   number-three   3PC-RE   stay   under   house
       'Three children were in the house.'

(5)   *timaleh*   *woro-vyet*   *kiye-m*   *du*   *pán*   *em*
       child   number-four   3PC-RE   stay   under   house
       'Four children were in the house.'

(6)   *timaleh*   *woro-lim*   *kiye-m / la-m*   *du*   *pán*   *em*
       child   number-five   3PC-RE / 3PL-RE   stay   under   house
       'Five children were in the house.'

(7)   *timaleh*   *molop-syeh*   *??kiye-m / la-m*   *du*   *pán*   *em*
       child   number-six   3PC-RE / 3PL-RE   stay   under   house
       'Five children were in the house.'

(8)   *timaleh*   *songavi*   *la-m*   *du*   *pán*   *em*
       child   ten   3PL-RE   stay   under   house
       'Ten children were in the house.'

All of the examples above had animate subjects. Similar elicitations were done using inanimate subjects. With those subjects, singular agreement is accepted as an alternative if the subject refers to two or more entities.

(9)   *vyoh*   *woro-ló*   *kolo-m / me*   *pwet/du*   *lon*   *aróówóó*
       coconuts   number-two   3DU-RE / RE   stay   in   basket
       'Two fresh coconuts were in the basket.'

The examples above involved agreement between an overt subject and the subject marker of the verbal predicate. Number marking within a noun phrase appears to be more flexible. The plural marker *ngyee* can be used in case just two entities are involved, as in (10). After recording it was judged that *koloo* 3DU would have been better than *ngyee*, but *ngyee* was accepted as well. In the example, *tere* is the 3rd person singular form of the realis negation *-re*, and *ne* is the form of the dependent negation *-n* when not attached to a subject prefix.

(10)   *a*   *ye-n*   *ngyee*   *te-re*   *wese*   *ka*   *ne*   *loko*
       but   leg-3SG   3PL   3SG-NEG   be.able   COMP.NR   DNEG   walk
       'but his legs could not walk' (Apia.009)

Animate subjects that refer to two entities always trigger dual agreement in the texts of the corpus. This is less strict for the choice of paucal or plural. There are cases in which reference to the same entities vary in the texts, as in the following example, where reference switches from 3rd person paucal to 3rd person plural.

(11)   *kiye-m*   *téé-van*   *lehe*   *timaleh*   *soo*   *(…)*
       3PC-RE   look-go   see   child   one

       la-m   *seseat-góló*   *timaleh*   *ki-ye*
       3PL-RE   decorate-cover   child   DEM-PROX
       'They looked and saw a child. (…)
       They decorated this child' (Andri1.036,038)

For impersonal reference, which corresponds to impersonal passive in English, only 3rd person plural can be used. Consider the following example:

(12) *siti*   *ke*   *tobo*   *ne*   *ot*   *Jemani*   *la-m*   *kie*   *Berlin*
      city   REL   big   TR   place   Germany   3PL-RE   call   Berlin
      'the big city of Germany they call / is called Berlin' (Abel3.398)

Furthermore, with non-referential subjects there is no nominal plural marking. In the following example, the subject is *vanten* 'person', not *vanten ngyee*.

(13) *ko-m*   *van*   *Laalida*   *vanten*   *la-m*   *dyanga*
      2SG-RE   go   Lalinda   person   3PL-RE   lack
      'You went to Lalinda, there were no people' (Jack1.047)

This concludes the short overview of the regular, or denotational, properties of number marking in Daakie. We now turn to the use of number marking to indicate aspects of social meaning.

4   Honorific use of dual

There are well-known instances of grammatical number and person markings that cannot be solely explained by reference to a given number of entities. Number and person marking often carries with it social meaning, in addition to their referential core semantics.

A well-known case is the use of plural for honorific purposes (Joseph 1987 for Indo-European languages; Agha 1994 for the larger issue of honorification). French uses 2nd person plural for honorific address to a single person; German uses 3rd person plural for this type of address. Typically, this form is used to address adult strangers and persons that do not belong to family, friends, or colleagues.

(14) *Avez*   *vous*   *une*   *cigarette?*
      have.2PL   2PL   IDEF   cigarette
      'Do you (singular, honorific) have a cigarette?'

(15) *Haben*   *Sie*   *eine*   *Zigarette?*
      have.3PL   3PL   IDEF   cigarette
      'Do you (honorific) have a cigarette?'

In orthography, the honorific use of 3rd person plural in German is distinguished from the non-honorific use by capitalization. As is well-known, the highly unusual non-distinction of number in the 2nd person in current standard English is due to the replacement of 2nd person singular *thou* by the honorific use of 2nd person plural *you*. The honorific use of pronouns coincides with other markers of honorification, like the use of title and family names instead of given names.

Interestingly, we find a kind of social use of number in Daakie as well. But in Daakie, it is the dual that is used for this purpose, and it is not applied for strangers, but for in-laws that stand in a taboo relation to the speaker. Also, it is not only used to address a person, but also to refer to a person in the 3rd person.

A case of this use of dual can be seen in the following example, which was recorded during the ceremony that is performed five days after the death of a person. The extended family, friends and acquaintances come together for this occasion, at which the nuclear family of the deceased person hands out sums of money to the extended family, including in-laws. The ceremony happened in 2014 and was recorded on video; the episode shows Wili Santo, all by himself walking up to the master of ceremony, who hands him some money.

(16) *motlo*   *Wili*   *Santo*   *ka-p*   *mee*
      uncle   Wili   Santo   2DU-POT   come

      kidye-p   *tene*   *sa-moo*   *tuutuu*   *mane*   *kamoo*
      1PC.EX-POT   pay.out   POSS-2DU   grandparent   with   2DU
      'Father-in-law Wili Santo, you come and we pay out your grandfather to you' (5Days.029)

Honorific uses of dual are not restricted to second person. In the following example from a narrative, a place is described where a person named Maika lives. I made sure that reference was to only one person, and that the speaker stands in an in-law-relationship to that person. Nevertheless, this reference to Maika is expressed with the dual, this time with the 3rd person dual.

(17) *mwe*   *pwet*   *mwi*   *pyen*   *van,*   *berop-ne*   *woo*   *Lap*
      RE   stay   RE   shoot   go   close-TR   body.water   Lap

      o-kege   *Maika*   *koloo*   *kolo-m*   *du*   *weren*
      place-REL   Maika   3DU   3DU-RE   stay   where
      'He kept shooting and so on, close to the lake Lap, the place where Maika lives' (IB2.006-007)

In the honorific uses of plural in French and German, there is a syncretism of addressing a single person or a group of persons; in either case, *vous* or *Sie* has to be used when addressing a group of persons that contain persons for whom these pronouns of address would be appropriate. What happens in Daakie when addressing such a group?

Interestingly, honorific uses of the dual appear not to be restricted to referring to single persons. In the following example, also from a narrative, a speaker addresses a group of persons that may include persons of respect.

(18) *Mwe*   *kie*   *ka,*   *A-ka-p*   *téétéé*   *wobuong*   *a-bwe*   *songavi*
      RE   say   COMP   FUT-DU-POT   look.out   day   FUT-POT   ten
      'Look out (after him) till he is ten.' (JPaul.071)

However, we have noticed a syncretism in the subject marker between 2nd person dual and paucal. The form *a-ka-p* could have been glossed as 2nd person paucal as well. When we look at the choice of pronouns in such cases, we find that paucal pronouns are used. This is illustrated in the following example from the funeral speech:

(19) *s-ememdyee*   *sipa-en*   *me*   *venok*   *saane*   *kamdyee*
      POSS-1PC.EX   thank-NOM   RE   go   towards   2PC

      byen   *ke*   *ka-m*   *mee*   *ka-m*   *ling=gongone*   *s-amdyee*   *tuutuu*
      because   COMP   2DU/PC-RE   come   2DU/PC-RE   put=make.good   POSS-2PC   grandfather
      'Our thanks go towards you all because you all came to put to rest your grandfather' (5Days.004-005)

Here, the ambiguous agreement forms *ka-m* (2nd person dual / paucal) are used, together with the paucal pronoun *kamdyee* and the possessive *samdyee*; the group addressed contains in-laws, as we have seen in (16).

The final example, from the same funeral speech, shows that reference to one's own group is possible with a dual exclusive first person, *komoo*. The construction non-singular pronoun + *sen* is a partitive, singling out one or possibly more elements of the group referred to by the pronoun. Verbal agreement is with the simple realis form, indicating 3rd person singular. The speaker appears to refer to the group that he belongs to with an honorific dual, possibly because of the presence of addressees to which the speaker stands in honorific relation to.

(20) *komoo*   *sen*   *mu*   *muet*   *lon*   *taem*   *ke*   *da-m*   *gone*   *sakbiilen*
      1DU.EX   other   RE   die   in   time   COMP   1PL.INC-RE   make   feast
      'One of us died at the time when we made a meeting' (5Days.062)

Which kinds of persons should be addressed with the honorific plural? It is primarily used for in-laws, that is, the mother-in-law and the father-in-law. By extension, it is also used for the sisters of the mother-in-law and the brothers of the father-in-law, due to the complex kinship system of Ambrym (Deacon 1927, Rio 2007, von Prince 2015). In this system, the preferred wife of a male ego is his father's father's daughter's daughter's daughter. As the male ego is nominally identified with his son's son, his daughter's daughter and their kin (except the mother) will be addressed with the honorific dual as well. This also holds for the in-laws of a male ego's sister. The following diagram from the Daakie dictionary (Krifka 2017) gives the terms in Daakie and delineates the three taboo groups mentioned above. It also indicates the persons that are (potential) wives of a male ego's grandfather or grandson and the brother of one's daughter's daughter, to which a male ego entertains a joking relationship (in the sense of Radcliffe-Brown 1940:195–210).
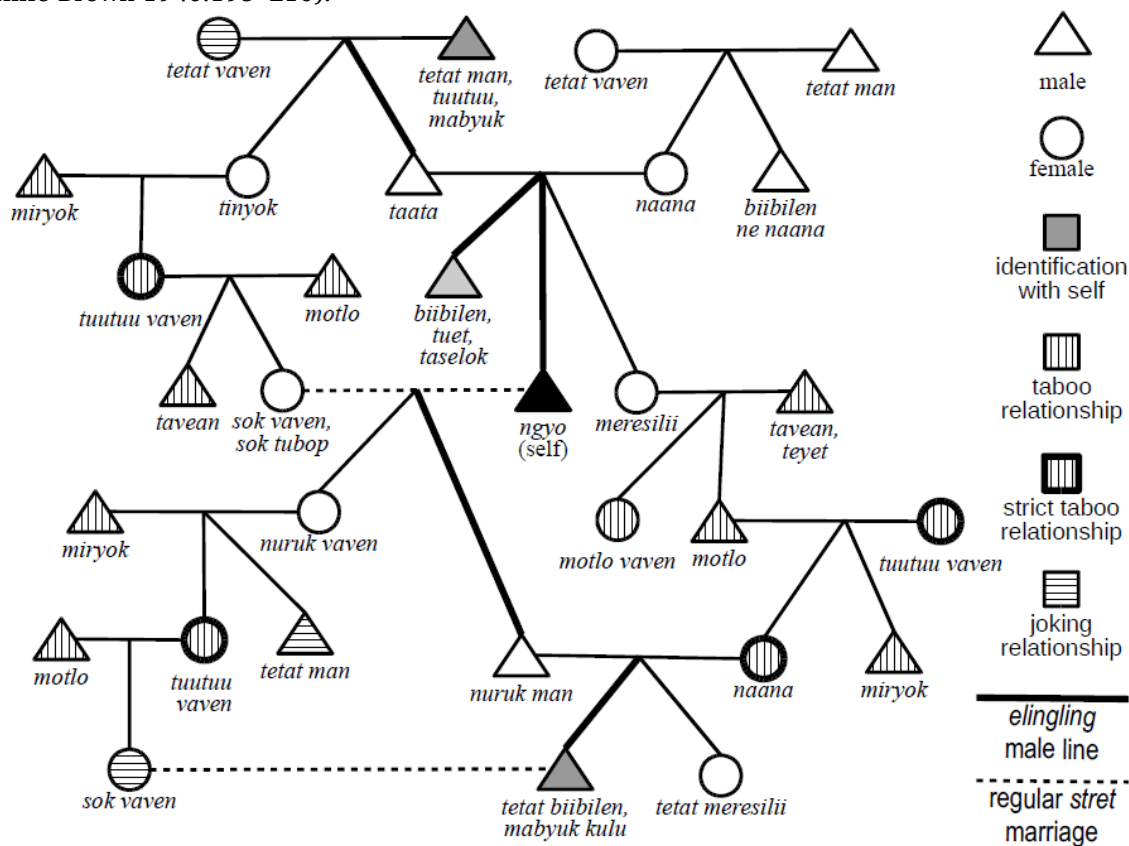

Figure 1. Kinship system and kinship terms of Ambrym.

© 2017, Manfred Krifka (Daakie Dictionary).

The honorific use of dual for Oceanic languages has been documented. Ray (1917:287) reports that in Lifu (New Caledonia: Loyalty Islands), married women were addressed with a dual pronoun. Ray (1926:79) states that in Nengone (New Caledonia: Loyalty Islands) the dual marker *no* is used to express "respect". Dixon (1988:53) reports that in Boumaa Fijian the 2nd person dual is used for in-laws, whereas the 2nd paucal is used to address brother or sister of the opposite sex or an elder sibling of the same sex, and 2nd plural is used to refer to the village chief or to other persons of high respect (Schmidt 1988:71). Hafford (2014:60) observes that in Wuvulu (Papua New Guinea: Admiralty Islands), in-laws

are addressed by the 2nd person dual pronoun. According to him, this is motivated by expressing "the idea that the listener is equal to two people."

For Polynesian, the use of dual pronouns for honorific purposes is reported very early for Samoan as a form to address chiefs (Turner 1861:340). Turner reports: "The first time I had this applied to me I was riding, and thought it must mean me and my *horse*, and did not feel at all complimented by the classification"; this shows that the dual of respect in Samoan is clearly not restricted to in-laws. For Tuvaluan see Besnier (2000:389), who also observes that this use can be found in Tikopia and Mota. Besnier describes the conditions as follows: "Use the dual number of number with pronouns of all persons, but particularly the second person, in social contexts where the social identity of participants is given greater prominence than their personal identity. The most prototypical context in which the honorific dual is used is in formal oratory." This corresponds to the honorific dual in Daakie as in (16), where it is used in the setting of a public speech, to refer to an in-law that has a formal role in this setting.

For the languages of Vanuatu, honorific use of dual was identified by François (2005:9) for Mwotlap and by von Prince (2015) for Daakaka, the closest relative to Daakie. The use is similar for Daakie, mainly restricted to in-laws. This also holds for the closely-related language of North Ambrym (Franjieh 2012), where other kinds of indirectness with in-laws has been reported. For South Efate, Thieberger (2009) reports that older speakers remember an honorific use of dual and plural.

The honorific use of dual appears to be quite wide-spread in the Oceanic subfamily, as it occurs in Melanesia and in Polynesia. It is a sociolinguistic feature that is either of considerable age, or it has developed independently from each other in subbranches of the Oceanic languages under comparable linguistic and cultural conditions.

There is evidence that parallel developments of that feature are indeed possible. The honorific use of dual is reported in one other language family as well: the Munda languages of India that belong to the Austroasiatic languages. Choksi (2010) provides a rather detailed description for Santali (see also Anderson 2015). According to Choksi, Santali speakers use the 2nd person dual to refer to one's parent-in-laws and the elder siblings-in-law. Partly due to language reforms that introduced a standard written version, the dual was extended to persons of respect in general (corresponding to the use of plural in Indo-European and Dravidian languages in India), and also to refer to respected individuals in the 3rd person. For another description of honorific use of dual in Munda, see Petersen (2014) for Kharia. In Kharia, 1st, 2nd and 3rd person can be used to signal honorification, which extends in the case of 3rd person also to plural referents; this applies to kin but is also extended to show respect in general. Petersen also points out that in Mundari, where dual is not used as honorific, married women are referred to with a dual, signaling their married status (similar to what Ray (1917) reported for Lifu). In general, the dual is used to signal the role that is assigned to the married women.

We have to distinguish the honorific use of dual from other uses in which it expresses inclusivity (Cysouw 2005). In Kilivila, the dual inclusive is used as a polite address (Senft 1986:53); this is a form of expressing affiliation with the addressee. It does not seem to be restricted to addressing taboo relatives.

Why is the dual used to express respect? Hafford (2014) proposes that 2nd person dual expresses that the addressee counts as two people, and therefore is considered more important or powerful. This is plausible and can also explain the use of plural to express respect in other languages. However, we should ask: Why use the dual and not plural (or paucal)? In contrast to these numbers, dual would express a kind of "limited" importance. This is certainly not what is expected from an honorific marker.

One could argue that the use of dual for honorifics does not express limited importance, but rather that the person referred to is a single person. In a sense, dual is a kind of "augmented singular." In many stories, two agents act in parallel as a small group, and obviously are conceived of as a unit. So, the use of dual might play a double role: to express higher importance, while still conveying a notion of singularity.

An alternative to the augmentation theory of the use of plural was proposed by Joseph (1987) and Agha (1994). The use of plural adds a measure of indirectness, as formally, the addressee includes "other" persons as well. The indirectness is motivated by a desire to avoid blunt direct reference to the person. The dual can be used in this situation because, while being more indirect than the singular, it achieves this by a minimal semantic extension.

A more specific version of indirectness was proposed by Peterson (2014) for the use of dual in Kharia. According to Peterson, direct and sole reference to a taboo relative is avoided, in favor of a dual reference that nominally includes another person to which no taboo relation exists. This other person would be the husband when addressing a married woman. In the case of referring to an in-law relative, the other person would be one's spouse who comes from the in-law family. So, when a male speaker addresses his father-in-law by the 2nd person dual, this would nominally include the speaker's wife. In this way, direct sole reference to the father-in-law is avoided, and by use of the dual, the connection of the father-in-law (here by way of the speaker's wife) is expressed. Notice that this scenario explains why this form of honorific is used especially for in-laws, and not for honored persons in general.

5 Affiliative use of paucal

After having looked into an unexpected use of dual, we now turn our attention to the affiliative use of the paucal. There is evidence that the paucal is not just used for a group of people or things of a relatively small number, roughly comparable with English *a couple of* or *several.* Crowley (1982) reports for Paamese that paucal is used in a comparative way. According to him, when there is the need to refer to a smaller and a larger group of people, then the paucal is used for the smaller group, and the plural for the larger group. He gives, as an example, referring to one's patrilineage within a family with the paucal, and to the people of the whole village with the plural.

It appears to me that it is not the comparative size that matters here, but rather that the speaker identifies with his own patrilineage more closely. I became aware of this use when I worked with Abel Taho on a translation of a children's Bible (Krifka and Taho 2013). He insisted on using the paucal for the group of Jesus and his followers, like the twelve apostles or the attendees of the Sermon on the Mount. Consider the following example from that text, referring to Jesus and the apostles:

(21) | *Jisas* | *mane* | *s-an* | *vanten* | *kiyee* | *kiye-m* | *loko* | *kiye-m* | *van.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jesus | with | 1POSS-3SG | man | PC | 3PC-RE | walk | 3PC-RE | go |

'Jesus and his men walked on.'

S-an	*vanten*	*kiyee*	*kiye-m*	*lehe*	*sowe*	*ke*	*Jisas*	*mwe*	*gone*
1POSS-3SG	man	PC	3PC-RE	see	what	COMP	Jesus	RE	make

'His men saw what he had done.'

Kiye-m	*longane*	*daa*	*kevene*	*ke*	*Jisas*	*mwe*	*kie,*
3PC-RE	hear	word	all	COMP	Jesus	RE	say

byen	*ka*	*kiyee*	*mon*	*a-kiye-p*	*kie*	*mane*	*vanten*	*ngyee*
for	COMP.IR	3PC	too	FUT-3PC-POT	say	to	man	3PL

'They heard all the words that Jesus said, in order that they too should say them to the people.'

The people around Jesus are referenced by the 3rd person paucal throughout, in contrast to the people to whom they should preach, who are marked by the plural.

Other occurrences of paucal that can be verified as being used for referring to a large group are evident in speeches. For example, they occur in the funeral speech. The speaker uses paucal to refer to their own group, the family of the deceased, and to the guests that came from outside, a large group of at least fifty persons.

(22) *kidye-m*   *kye*   *kamdyee*   *byen*   *doma*
      1PC.EX-RE   call   2PC   because   today

      a   *bu*   *dumuo*   *kidye-m*   *longbini*   *kidye-p*   *kie*   *sipa-en*
      and   POT   first   1PC.EX-RE   want   1PC.EX-RE   say   thank-NOM
      'We called you because of today and first we want to say thanks.' (5Days.001-002)

Another case of this use of paucal comes from the story about the human sacrifice, where the narrator consistently refers to the people of his own village using the paucal, and to the people of the other group with the plural.

(23) *kiyee*   *Lonbelaa*   *kiye-m*   *van=du*   *lon*   *s-ayee*   *emee,*   *kiye-m*   *kie*
      3PC   Lonbelaa   3PC-RE   go=stay   in   3POSS-3PC   meeting.house   3PL-RE   say

      ka   *a-dye-p*   *mas*   *seseat=golo*   *timaleh*   *desoo*   *ke*   *me*   *mesaa*
      COMP.IR   FUT-PC.INC-POT   must   decorate=cover   child   NSPEC   COMP   RE   clean
      'They (from) Lonbelaa, they went and stayed in the meeting house, they said that we must decorate a child from head to toe that looks clean' (Andri1.031)

The question arises how paucal can acquire this affiliative use, where it expresses that the speaker identifies with the group of people referred to. I would like to suggest that this comes about as follows: When the paucal is used to refer to a large group of people, this is made with a form that is appropriate for a smaller group, and hence it marks it as a smaller group than it actually is. A small group is less intimidating than a large group, as its smaller size makes it less likely to inflict violence. The groups one belongs too, like one's extended family, are also less intimidating. This makes it plausible that the paucal can be used to refer to such entities when the speaker wants to show affiliation with them. This is similar to the wide-spread affective use of diminutives (cf. Juravski 1993). While there is no diminutive morphology in Daakie, there is evidence for the affective use of smallness. For example, in the song about the redhead bird (*bot piipili*), one line refers to *sok vaven kekeli* 'my little woman', clearly in an affective way.

This concludes our discussion of seemingly abstract number features that can acquire social meanings—of respect and distance in the case of dual, used to refer to a single person; and of affiliation and closeness in the case of paucal, used to refer to a larger group of persons.

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