

***Demonstrative and anaphoric reference in Daakie
(Ambrym, Vanuatu) with special focus on associative anaphors***

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The article presents an overview over the demonstrative and anaphoric devices of Daakie, a language spoken in the South of the island Ambrym in Vanuatu. It is based on extensive field work. After an introduction into the basic grammatical properties, like the person/number features with a singular, dual, paucal and plural distinction and the complex mood marking based on a realis/irrealis distinction that also extends to negation, the paper discusses the following domains: Relational and transitive nouns, including alienable and inalienable possession, the system of demonstratives with four distinctions (far distal, distal, proximate, and anaphoric) and the establishment of an indefinite article from the number word for “one” and a definite article from a proximate demonstrative. It is shown that this distinction also appears with manner adverbs. It is argued that Daakie shows a three-level definiteness distinction: bare nouns for world-unique entities, the anaphoric demonstrative for entities mentioned in the preceding discourse, and an associative, or bridging, article for entities that are related to entities mentioned in the preceding discourse. The paper discusses a number of relations that support this marking of associative definiteness.

Keywords: (Vanuatu, Oceanic, demonstratives, articles, relational nouns, associative article, bridging, indefinite article, manner adverbs)

1 Introduction

The following article gives a survey of demonstratives and anaphoric devices in Daakie, with special reference to associative articles. Daakie is a Central Vanuatu language spoken on the Southern coast of Ambrym in the villages of Lonmei, Lolonwe, Port Vato, Lalinda Pres and Lalinda SDA, as well as by small urban communities in Port Vila and Luganville. My estimate is that Daakie has somewhat above 1000 speakers; it is still learned by the children in the communities. It is also known as Port Vato, which is reflected in its ISO 639-3 code [ptv]. Daakie is closely related to the language Daakaka spoken to the West (cf. von Prince 2015), to

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Dalkalaen further to the West, and more remotely to North Ambrym (Franjeh 2012); the relation to Vatlongos (Southeast Ambrym, cf. Ridge 2019) is more distant. See also Paton (1971) for the grammatical description of Lonwolwol, a related now moribund language in the West, which also contains information about the language of Port Vato. Research on this paper is based on ongoing field work starting in 2009.

The survey here is purely descriptive. I do not compare phenomena systematically with other languages or with possible precursor stages, and I do not attempt any theoretical modelling. However, I hope that I have selected a set of facts, and presented them in such a way, that the data discussed here will be helpful for typological research and for integration into theories of demonstratives, definiteness marking, and anaphoric reference.

2 Some core properties of Daakie

Sentence (1) illustrates some core properties of Daakie.² As illustrated, the word order is SVO. Subjects agree with the predicate via a subject marker that also indicates sentence mood (here, realis, which is used for past and ongoing events and actions). Subjects don't have to be realized (in fact, most clauses do not have an overt subject). The example illustrates a serial verb construction with the verbs *mee* 'come' and *vehe* 'carry'. Daakie has prepositions (e.g. *lan* 'on'), and number can be indicated by pronouns (e.g. *temát nygee* 'demons, the demons').³

- (1) *Temát nygee la-m mee la-m vehe ngye lan sili*
demon 3PL 3PL-RE come 3PL-RE carry 3SG on path
'The demons came and carried him along the path.' (Boa3.028)⁴

Daakie has four numbers (singular, plural, dual and paucal) on subject markers and pronouns, as illustrated in (2). Notice that 3rd person singular does not have an overt subject marker. See Author (2022) for the honorific use of the dual and the use of the paucal to refer to groups the speaker affiliates with.

² I use the orthography developed in cooperation with the Daakie Lanwis Komiti and used in publications. In particular, *pw-*, *bw-* and *mw-* stands for labiovelar consonants and accent is used to denote higher vowels (*o* for [ɔ], *ó* for [o], *e* for [ɛ], *é* for [e], *a* for [a], *á* for [æ]). The short non-low vowels *o*, *ó* and *u* are realized as fronted [œ], [ø] and [y] in certain contexts, specifically after alveolar consonants, except in syllables with a non-alveolar coda. We write *dy* for [dʒ] and *ty* for [tʃ]. Voiced stop consonants in syllable-initial positions are prenasalized, and become voiceless in coda position. Long vowels are written by doubling, e.g. *té* 'person of' (from a place), *tée* 'to look'.

³ Glossing follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Person-number combinations like 3PL '3rd person plural' are used for agreement features and for pronouns, with SG singular, DU dual, PC paucal, PL plural, INCL inclusive, EXCL exclusive. Mood features are RE realis, PT potentialis, DS distal mood, RNEG realis negation, DNEG dependent negation, FUT 'future', NR non-realis. Additional terms: C complementizer, LNK linker, ASC associative, DST distal deictic, PRX proximate, DEF definite, IDF indefinite, COP copula, LOC locative, FOC focus marker, TR transitivizer, NOM nominalizer, PROG progressive, REDUP reduplication, P1, P2, P3 possessive classes 1, 2, 3.

⁴ Reference is to the position in the corpus, parts of it published in the DoReCo corpus, <http://doreco.info>, further parts to be published in the ELAR corpus, <https://www.elararchive.org>.

(2) Free pronouns and subject markers

Person	Singular	Dual	Paucal	Plural	Forms
1 excl.	<i>ngyo</i>	<i>komoo</i>	<i>kidyee</i>	<i>kemem</i>	Pronoun Subject Marker
	<i>na-</i>	<i>komo-</i>	<i>kidyee-</i>	<i>keme-</i>	
1 incl.		<i>adoo</i>	<i>adyee</i>	<i>et</i>	Pronoun Subject Marker
		<i>do-</i>	<i>dye-</i>	<i>da-</i>	
2	<i>ngyak</i>	<i>kamoo</i>	<i>kamdyee</i>	<i>kimim</i>	Pronoun Subject Marker
	<i>ko-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ki-</i>	
3	<i>ngye</i>	<i>koloo</i>	<i>kilyee/kiyee</i>	<i>ngyee</i>	Pronoun Subject Marker
	<i>-</i>	<i>kolo-</i>	<i>kiye-</i>	<i>la-</i>	

There are five basic mood markers including two irrealis markers, named potentialis and distal (cf. von Prince 2015) and two negations, and also a complex mood marker consisting of a prefix *a-* derived from the complementizer *ka* and the potentialis marker. See Krifka (2012, 2016, 2025) for discussion of the interpretation and uses of these mood markers. The subject markers are suffixed to the mood markers except for the 3rd person singular forms, which are analyzed here as bare mood markers followed by an epenthetic vowel; the mood marker and the vowel undergo changes depending on the following verb stem.

(3) Mood markers

	Marker	With 3PL	3SG
Realis RE	<i>m</i>	<i>la-m</i>	<i>me, mwe, mi, mwi, mo, ma</i>
Potentialis PT	<i>b</i>	<i>la-p</i>	<i>be, bwe, bi, bwi, bo, ba</i>
Realis negation RNEG	<i>r</i>	<i>la-re</i>	<i>tere</i>
Dependent negation DNEG	<i>n</i>	<i>la-n</i>	<i>ne, ni, no, nu</i>
Distalis DS	<i>t</i>	<i>la-t</i>	<i>te, ti, to, tu</i>
Future FUT	<i>a-+-b</i>	<i>a-la-p</i>	<i>abe, abwe, abi, abwi, abo, aba</i>

Daakie exhibits many other features that are important for the upcoming discussion. As examples (4) show, it features verb serialization to express, among others, aspect (a) and manner information (b). It also shows combinations of verbal stems to indicate result states (c, cf. also Hopperdietzel 2024 for Daakaka).

- (4) a. *La-m du la-m gone baa-len ngabwe*
 3PL-RE PROG 3PL-RE make fight-NOM still
 ‘They were still fighting’ (PAndr2.087)
- b. *La-m sóró mwe ván lamwiye*
 3PL-RE talk RE go up
 ‘They talked loudly’ (Bong8.030)

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- c. *kidyee kidye-m ta-bini s-amdyee baalip*
 1PC.EXCL 1PC.EXCL-RE cut-dead P3-2PC strong.man
 ‘We killed your leader’ (Andri.044)

We now turn to the various devices that the language offers to handle reference to entities in the background knowledge of the participants of a conversation, in the situation of the conversation itself, and in the preceding discourse.

3 Relational (“possessive”) constructions in the nominal domain

Daakie distinguishes, like many Oceanic languages, between what Lynch et al. (2002: 40f.) call “direct” vs. “indirect” possession. As for direct or “inalienable” possession, Daakie has relational nouns for body parts, body secretions and certain kinship relations that are inflected for the possessor, sometimes with stem changes:

- (5) a. *ye-k* b. *dolo-n* c. *nar-em* d. *nur-uk*
 leg-1SG voice-3SG child-2SG child-1SG
 ‘my leg(s)’ ‘his/her voice’ ‘your child’ ‘my child’

Indirect or “alienable” possession is constructed with preposed inflected markers that distinguish between three possessum classes, roughly for house and drink-related objects, for food and animals, and for everything else. For the food/animal marker, the stem is empty (cf. Lichten-berk 2009, Franjeh & von Prince 2011, Franjeh et al. 2022 on possessive classification). The three possessive classes will be glossed as P1, P2 and P3 here.

- (6) a. *m-an em* b. \emptyset -*an kulu* c. *s-an / s-ok timaleh*
 P1-3SG house P2-3SG dog P3-3S / P3-1SG child
 ‘his/her house’ ‘his/her dog’ ‘his/her / my child’

The possessive markers are inflected like relational nouns, and presumably originated from such nouns. The following table shows the full range of forms, for the relational noun *ye-* ‘leg, track’ and the possessive markers of the three possessive classes.

- (7) Relational nouns and possessive markers

Person	Singular	Dual	Paucal	Plural	Noun / Poss. Class
1 excl.	<i>yek</i>	<i>yemoo</i>	<i>yemimdyee</i>	<i>yemem</i>	‘leg, track’
	<i>mok</i>	<i>mumoo</i>	<i>mememdyee</i>	<i>memem</i>	house, drinks
	<i>ok</i>	<i>umoo</i>	<i>ememdyee</i>	<i>emem</i>	food, animal
	<i>sok</i>	<i>sumoo</i>	<i>sememdyee</i>	<i>semem</i>	general
1 incl.	—	<i>yedoo</i>	<i>yedyee</i>	<i>yemet</i>	‘leg, track’
	—	<i>madoo</i>	<i>madyee</i>	<i>mat</i>	house, drinks
	—	<i>adoo</i>	<i>adyee</i>	<i>at</i>	food, animal
	—	<i>sadoo</i>	<i>sadyee</i>	<i>sat</i>	general
2	<i>yim</i>	<i>yemoo</i>	<i>yemdyee</i>	<i>yemim</i>	‘leg, track’
	<i>mam</i>	<i>mamoo</i>	<i>mamdyee</i>	<i>mamim</i>	house, drinks
	<i>am</i>	<i>amoo</i>	<i>amdyee</i>	<i>amim</i>	food, animal
	<i>sam</i>	<i>samoo</i>	<i>samdyee</i>	<i>samim</i>	general

Person	Singular	Dual	Paucal	Plural	Noun / Poss. Class
3	<i>yen</i>	<i>ye-loo</i>	<i>yeyee</i>	<i>yee</i>	‘leg, track’
	<i>man</i>	<i>maloo</i>	<i>mayee</i>	<i>maa</i>	house, drinks
	<i>an</i>	<i>aloo</i>	<i>ayee</i>	<i>aa</i>	food, animal
	<i>san</i>	<i>saloo</i>	<i>sayee</i>	<i>saa</i>	general

Possessive markers can be used independent of their head noun, with the interpretation suggested by their classificatory meanings, as in the following example, where the 3rd person plural possessive of the food/animal class refers to the food of the possessor.

- (8) *kingyee lon teh la-p sógo Ø-aa*
 DEM-PL in sea 3PL-PT carry P2-3PL (food)
 ‘those (animals) in the sea should carry theirs (i.e. their food)’ (Jemis4.033)

The possessives markers are also used to form linkers between nominals, which are expressed by a stem *e*, cf. (9). There is an additional possessive linker *té* referring to persons from a place, cf. (10)(a).

- (9) a. *em m-e vánmoro* b. *meleh Ø-e yaapuo* c. *tati s-e timaleh*
 house P1-LNK woman food P2-LNK man father P3-LNK child
 ‘the house of the woman’ ‘the food of the man’ ‘the father of the child’

- (10) a. *yaapuo té Jemani* b. *té Laalida*
 man LNK Germany LNK Lalinda
 ‘the man from Germany’ (Abel3.037) ‘the person from Lalinda’

As (10)(b) indicates, the linker phrase can occur without a head, with the appropriate semantics. This is also illustrated in the following example:

- (11) *mwe pwet me pin~pinin Ø-e timaleh kiye*
 RE PROG RE REDUP~roast.TR P2-LNK child DEF
 ‘he kept roasting the food of the child’ (Ib3.106)

Daakie has a class of “transitive” nouns⁵ that are similar to relational nouns but have to be followed by the possessor, as illustrated in the examples (12). These nouns generally do not refer to humans, e.g. *laasi* ‘mother’⁶ refers only to mothers of animals. Transitivity of nouns is indicated in the glosses when necessary.

- (12) a. *dóló yaapuo* b. *dili molo* c. *laasi kulu*
 voice.FR lord egg.TR namalao mother.TR dog
 ‘voice of god’ ‘egg of the incubator bird’ ‘the mother of the dog’
- d. *taali lii-byak* e. *wiri kakao* f. *miye woup*
 other.TR tree-banyan seed.TR cocoa place.TR ball
 ‘the other banyan tree’ ‘cocoa seed’ ‘soccer field’

⁵ Called “bound nouns” in Franjeh (2012); notice that they are similar to construct state nouns, e.g. in Semitic languages.

⁶ With emphatic stress and lengthening, it can also convey the meaning ‘large’, e.g. *LAAASI kulu* ‘a huge dog’.

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Non-transitive nouns can get transitivized⁷ by a morpheme *ne*, cf. (13). This morpheme serves the same role with verbs in creating transitive from intransitive verbs, cf. (14), which is the motivation for the somewhat unusual terminology here and in von Prince (2015).

- (13) a. *yoh ne pyang* b. *vanten ne vele kiye* c. *da ne ngyo*
 smoke TR fire people TR land DEM.PRX blood TR 1SG
 ‘smoke of the fire’ ‘people of this land’ ‘my blood’

- (14) *la-m du la-m téé-ne timaleh kiye*
 3PL-RE PROG 3PL-RE look-TR child DEF
 ‘They were looking out for the child’, ‘they took care of the child’ (Jemis4.012)

There are two additional relational markers, the postposed marker or suffix *en* for regular nouns and the suffix *-ri/-re/-ro* for transitive nouns. They create an expression that implies reference to an antecedent that stands in some relation to the current referent. I gloss this as ASC, for “associative”, a phenomenon we will investigate in greater detail in Section 8. Both morphemes for associative anaphors occur in the following example:

- (15) *mwe kie a-na-p syep-tale vel-ok taali-ri*
 RE say FUT-1SG-PT break-through arm-1SG other-ASC
a-ko-p mini da en
 FUT-2SG-PT drink.TR blood ASC
 ‘He said I will break off my other arm, you will drink its blood’ (Wanmei3.041)

Concluding this section, I would like to point out that the various morphemes containing *n* are historically related to the Proto Oceanic 3rd person singular possessor suffix **-ña* (cf. Franjieh 2015 for the origin of the construct suffix in North Ambrym). It occurs in relational nouns with possessor suffix like *ye-n* ‘his/her leg’, in preposed possessor markers like *s-an* ‘his/her/its’, and in associative anaphors like *da en* ‘his/her/its blood’. It is part of prepositions, for example *lon* ‘in’ derived from a relational noun *lo-* (cf. *lok* ‘my inside, heart’, *lom* ‘your inside, heart’). It may also be the origin of the transitive marker *ne* for nouns and verbs, as well as for the associative marker *-re* in transitive nouns. Furthermore, there is a deverbal nominalizer *en* or *len*, as in *notnot-en* ‘think’ → ‘thought’, *myuu-len* ‘grow’ → ‘life’.

4 Demonstratives

There are four demonstrative stems: *rok* for far-distal, *la* for distal, *lé* for proximate, and *ye* mostly for anaphoric reference.⁸ The distal stems *la* and *rok* are rare, the proximate stem *lé* is frequent, and the anaphoric stem *ye* is very frequent; I will argue that it has developed to an anaphoric definite article in Section 6. These stems can occur as independent morphemes following a noun, as in the examples (16), where only (d) is anaphoric in its context.

- (16) a. *me ván ván m-oma-ne em ne yong~yong-en rok*
 RE go go RE-MANNER-TR house TR REDUP~swim-NOM FAR.DST
 ‘He went on to the bathhouse way over there’ (Andri5.024)

⁷ Called “associative construction” in Franjieh (2012: 253 for North Ambrym).

⁸ It is unclear whether there is an underlying speaker-based and addressee-based system as in Vatlongos, cf. Ridge (2020).

- b. *mwe tah-pwet rok*
RE ease.down-stay FAR.DIST
'He sat down far away' (Boa1.005)
- c. *vanten ne ot lereh la la-m sógo lamwiye mee la-m ván*
people TR place at.sea DST 3PL-RE carry.TR up come 3PL-RE go
'the people at the seaside there, they carried (it) up and went on' (PSak1.049)
- d. *na-m lehe syunguo meleh kingyee lé gon*
1SG-RE see remains.TR food 3PL PRX FOC
'I only see the leftovers of the food here' (Boa2.111)
- e. *ngale womela ye mwi syep ván mwe tangale ot lereh*
then sand/beach DEF RE grow go RE reach place seaside
'Then the sand grew and grew and reached the seaside' (Rachel2.056)
- f. *mo-nok, mwi idi volo-n bot piipili ke kolo-m vini ye*
RE-finish RE take feather-3SG stem.TR red C.RE 3DU-RE shoot.RE DEF
'This finished, he took a feather of the redhead bird (parrotfinch)
that they had shot' (Andri2.007)

The demonstratives *rok*, *la* and *lé* can have adverbial functions, whereas *ye* typically is used as an adnominal, referring to an entity that has been mentioned before.

Demonstrative stems occur more frequently in combination with a morpheme that appears as *ke-/ki-/ko-*, cf. (17)(a), which occurs independently as a realis complementizer for relative clauses (a) and complement clauses of predicates that presuppose the truth of their complement (b).

- (17) a. *kiye nga me e s-ok gie pun-en*
DEF FOC RE COP P3-1SG end.TR narrate-NOM
ke na-m longbini ka na-p pune
C.RE 1SG-RE want C.NR 1SG-PT narrate.TR
'this now is the end of my story that I wanted to tell you (Bong9.041)
- b. *la-m kiibeke ke la-m lehe sili*
3PL-RE know C.RE 3PL-RE see path
'They knew that they saw the path' (Aiben5.003)

Demonstratives with *ke-* can occur in isolation as in (17)(a) for *kiye* and (18) for *kelé*, *kela* and *korok*. Example (18)(a) is from a tour through a garden; it illustrates the free use of the proximate and the distal demonstrative, here accompanied with a pointing gesture. I gloss *kelé* as C-PRX and *kela* as C-DST but drop the complementizer C with the very frequent *kiye*.

- (18) a. *ke-lé mon mo pa a ke-la ngabwe*
C-PRX also RE carry.fruit but C-DST not.yet
'This one is carrying fruit but that one (over there) not yet' (Jemis2.070)
- b. *ko-p pwet o-ke-lé, ko-p téé-ván uu ko-rok*
2SG-PT stay place-C-PRX 2SG-PT look-go mountain C-FAR.DST
'When you stay here, you see a mountain far away.' (AevenV.079)

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One reviewer points out that it is unusual to see a demonstrative or article being derived from a complementizer, whereas there are many cases in which complementizer developed from an article (e.g. English *that*). However, notice that in the present case, the demonstrative did not develop from the complementizer; rather, the demonstrative is a combination of the complementizer and the deictic morpheme.

The demonstratives can be suffixed to the focus marker *nga* (which changes to *nge* or *ngi*) as in (19), and to the locative marker *ot* reduced to *o-* followed by the complementizer *ke* as in (20):

- (19) a. *nge-lé timaleh ke-lé kidye-m idi-mee ka ka-p ta-bini*
 FOC-PRX child C-PRX 2PC.EX-RE take-come C.NR 2SG-PT cut-dead.TR
 ‘This is the child we are bringing so that you can kill him. (Andri.042)
- b. *vot kiye me e poap gon ngi-ye Bongaa rok*
 stone DEF RE COP cave FOC FOC-DEM Bongaa FAR.DST
 ‘The stone was just the cave from Bongaa far away’ (Welakon 1.111)

The demonstratives can also be combined with the locative stem *o* (cf. *ot* ‘place’). This is illustrated in the following examples for all demonstratives, *-ye*, *-lé*, *-la* and *-rok*.

- (20) a. *mo-mane o-ke-lé, ko-m kiibele ka ko-p tii-ne lii-vih de-soo*
 RE-like LOC-C-PRX 2SG-RE be.able C.NR 2SG-PT stick-TR tree-banana NR-IDF
mee mane obwet ten de-soo o-ke-la, obwet anvu o-ke-la
 RE COP like taro true NR-IDF LOC-C-DST taro introduced LOC-C-DST
 ‘It is like here, you can stick in some banana tree, it is like some island taro there, some Fiji taro there’ (Jemis2.015,16)
- b. *lii-wikye kiye mwe pwet saa-ne Pasta Graham o-ko-rok,*
 tree-nut DEF RE stay all.the.way-TR pastor Graham LOC-C-DST
lii-wikye soo mwe pwet o-ki-ye.
 tree-nut IDF RE stay LOC-C-DEF
 ‘This nut tree is standing at Pastor Graham’s place over there far away, a nut tree (another nut tree) is standing there.’ (AivenV.012-13)

Demonstratives formed with the locative prefix *o-* always have an adverbial interpretation. This can be seen in comparing *korok*, most likely with an adnominal interpretation in (18)(b) (‘a far-away mountain’), and *okorok* ‘over there’ in (20)(b).⁹

5 Personal pronouns

We have seen in Section 4 that bare demonstratives such as *kiye* in (17)(a) and *kelé* and *kela* in (18)(a) can be used to refer to entities. The other way to refer to entities without full-fledged nominal expressions is by personal pronouns. We have seen that explicit personal pronouns don’t have to be used, especially in subject position, where their meaning is indicated in the inflection of the subject marker. They also can be dropped as objects of transitive verbs or prepositions, in which case they refer to highly salient antecedents. These cases are illustrated in the following examples:

⁹ Interestingly, place names have an adverbial meaning, as in *anap mee Ambrym* ‘I will go (to) Ambrym’. Referring to the place name itself is accomplished with the morpheme *ot* ‘place’, from which *o-* is derived, as in *vanten ne ot Ambrym* ‘the people of Ambrym’.

- (21) a. \emptyset *me mee mwe téé-ván mwe lehe timaleh kiye,*
 RE come RE look-go RE see child DEF
 \emptyset *mwe kie ka be ván ba ane \emptyset*
 RE say C.NR RE go RE eat.TR
 ‘He came, he looked, he saw the child, he said that he would eat (the child)’
 (Abel1.019)
- b. \emptyset *la-m gone mat ne em musyoo gon, \emptyset la-m pwet pán \emptyset*
 3PL-RE make.TR bad.thing TR house IDF.PL FOC 3PL-RE sleep under.TR
 ‘They made just a makeshift house, they slept in it’ (PAndr1.057)

When pronouns are used, they typically have a contrastive interpretation, as in the following example:

- (22) *woro-ló kolo-m bobo, a soo me e timaleh gon,*
 NUMBER-two 3DU-RE big but one RE COP child FOC
ngye mwe pwet lan dyung ngabwe
 3SG RE stay on mat yet
 ‘Two (children) were big, but one was only a child, he still was lying on the mat.’
 (ChAes1.004)

6 Indefinite and definite articles, and bare nominals

In this section I will defend the view that there is a fairly well-developed system of indefinite and definite articles in Daakie. To be sure, the articles are not obligatory as we observe with singular count nouns in English, but they occur with very high frequency that we can assume a high level of grammaticalization. They are different from the article prefixes, like *na-* for non-humans, that are present in other languages of Vanuatu (cf. Lynch 2001), of which there is no evidence in Daakie.

The indefinite article is derived from the number word for ‘one’, *soo*, as in many other languages. It is used to introduce a new discourse referent. The candidate for the anaphoric definite article is *kiye*, developed from a proximate demonstrative, and it is used to pick up a discourse referent that is already introduced. Both articles follow their head noun. Examples (23) illustrate these two expressions and their uses.

- (23) a. *A-na-p ka na-p pune batomo sene syebolo. Kolo-m te*
 FUT-1SG-PT C.NR 1SG-PT narrate.TR rat with kingfisher 2DU-RE cut
s-aloo vakten soo. Kolo-m te vakten kiye ne poopoo.
 P3-3DU canoe IDF 2DU-RE cut canoe DEF from papaya
 ‘I will tell the story of the/a rat and the/a kingfisher. The two cut themselves
 a canoe. They cut the canoe from papaya.’ (Makin1.002-004)
- b. *Mwe téé mwe lehe yaapuo soo. Ngyemon mwe pwet mwe pyen.*
 RE lookRE see man IDF 3SG too RE PROG RE shoot
Mwe pyangbisi yaapuo kiye, mwe kie ka ...
 RE observe man DEF RE say C.NR
 ‘He looked at saw a man. He too was shooting. He observed the man, and said...’
 (Ib2.008-10)

The following passage illustrates the use of the indefinite and definite article in a longer text. Note that the man (and indirectly his wife), their child, and the dog are introduced by *soo*. In

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the phrase *abare soo* ‘one month’, *soo* most likely is to be interpreted as a numeral. Postposed *kiye* is generally used to refer back to an antecedent, just like with the anaphoric use of the definite article in English. Anaphoric uptake can also happen with the subject marker, as in the dual *kolo-m* in line 2, referring to the man and his wife, and paucal *kiye-m*, referring to the man, the wife and their child. There is one use of proximate *kelé* with the child in the text, but notice that this occurs in direct speech, and is not anaphoric.

- (24) *yaapuo soo so-n s-an vaven, kolo-m du ván*
 man IDF with-3SG P3-3SG woman 3DU-RE PROG go
kolo-m lingi nare-loo soo me e man
 3DU-RE put child-3DU IDF RE COP male
kiye-m du abare soo, yaapuo kiye me met
 3PC-RE stay moon one/IDF man DEF RE die
ngale vaven kiye gon so-n nare-n gopon kolo-m du
 after woman DEF FOC with-3SG child-3SG only 3DU-RE stay
ván kolo-m lówe Ø-aloo niri kulu soo
 go.on 3DU-RE feed P2-3DU child dog IDF
kolo-m du ván, vánmoro kiye mwe kie ka be ván bwe kihkyeh
 3DU-RE PROG go.on woman DEF RE say CNR PT go PT wash
me ván mwe kie mane kulu kiye
 RE go RE say to dog DEF
mwe kie ka “ngyak ko-p pwet ko-p téé byen timaleh kelé”
 RE say C.NR 2SG 2SG-NR stay 2SG-NR look for child DEM.PRX
 ‘A man with his wife, the two lived on. They had a boy. After a month, the man died.
 Then the woman lived on with only her son. They took care of the child of a dog.
 They lived on, the woman said that she wanted to go wash clothes. She went and said
 to the dog, “You stay and watch out for this child” ’ (Abel1.004-010).

The definite article *kiye* is largely confined to anaphoric uses; that is, *kiye* has an explicit antecedent in discourse in the overwhelming majority of cases. It cannot be applied for entities that are part of the shared world knowledge of the participants, as e.g. English *the sun* or *the prime minister* (referring to the prime minister of one’s country). In the Daakie corpus, none of the 46 occurrences of *yaa* ‘sun’ occurs with *kiye* (in comparison, 186 of 360 occurrences of *timaleh* ‘child’ occur with *kiye*). Also, none of the 172 occurrences of *yaapuo kiye* ‘the man’, ‘the high man’ occurs with the meaning of *God*, otherwise frequently attested for *yaapuo*.

The indefinite article *soo* can also be used for mass nouns as in example (25). This is not very remarkable, as in Daakie, mass nouns can be combined with numerals to denote detached quantities of stuff (cf. Krifka 2022).

- (25) *keme-m ván keme-m uruvi we soo ke mwe pwet lon boloo muru*
 1PL-RE go 1PL-RE scoop water IDF C.RE RE stay in puddle small
 ‘We went and scooped out some water which was in the small puddle’ (LiTul.065)

Daakie also has a plural indefinite article *musyoo*, derived from the transitive noun *mut* ‘piece’ + *soo* (cf. von Prince 2017 for Daakaka). This is illustrated in (26)(a,b); cf. another use in (47).

- (26) a. *la-m arrestem Jimi Stevens mane yaapuo musyoo ne ot Santo*
 3PL-RE arrest.TR Jimi Stevens with man IDF.PL TR PLACE Santo
 ‘They arrested Jimi Stevens with some men from Santo’ (Indep.054-55)

- b. *na-p pune pun soo usili kemee tóto vaven musyoo*
 1SG-PT tell story IDF following PARTICLE group woman IDF.PL
 ‘I want to tell a story that follows a group of some women.’ (Bong1.002)

As already mentioned, Daakie differentiates between realis and irrealis moods (potentialis, distal, future and negation). In the scope of a non-realis operator, e.g. potentialis, we find that indefinites are marked with the article *desoo*, as in (27) (cf. also von Prince 2017 for Daakaka).

- (27) a. *vanten de-soo a-be mee bi idi pija en toót*
 man NR-IDF FUT-PT come PT take picture ASC probably
 ‘Some man or other will probably come and take a picture of it.’ (Jemis2.086)
- b. *ka-p idi ngyo ván, ka-p lehe lii-byak de-soo,*
 2DU-PT take PR.1SG go 2DU-PT see tree-banyan NR-IDF,
na-p puló ván-pwet lan¹⁰
 1SG-PT climb go-stay on.TR
 ‘You two should take me away, (when) you see some banyan tree,
 I will climb it and stay on it.’ (Laissa.022)

The article *desoo* is also the irrealis counterpart of the plural indefinite article *musyoo*. The following examples, from the same public speech, illustrate these two forms with the same head noun, *daa* ‘words, language’; *ti* is a transitive noun.

- (28) a. *lonlakele na-m longane daa musyoo mu du me mee*
 now 1SG-RE hear word some RE PROG RE come
 ‘Now I hear some words (= news) arriving.’ (5Days.086)
- b. *dye-p pun-ván ka ko-t longane daa de-soo ti minyeh*
 1PC.IN-POT say-go C.NR 2SG-DS hear word NR-IDF something.TR other
a-ko-p kóókóó-góló m-adyee em
 FUT-2SG-POT shut-block P1-1PC house
 ‘We announce that in case you hear different words, you should lock our house’
 (i.e. punish us) (5Days.110)

When realis *soo* occurs in a clause that is marked as non-realis, we get a wide-scope, specific interpretation. In (29), the speaker, Andri, has a particular story in mind that he wants to tell. This contrasts with nominals combined with *desoo* as in (27), which lack reference to a particular person or banyan tree.

- (29) *na-m longbini ka na-p pune s-ok pun-en soo*
 1SG-RE want C.NR 1SG-PT tell P3-1SG tell-NOM IDF
 ‘I want to tell a story of mine’ (Andri5.001)

Just as the definite article *kiye*, cf. (17)(a), *soo* can also occur as a stand-alone pronoun, without a nominal expression. For example, *soo* has an associative interpretation, as in (22) above (here, a partitive use, ‘one of them’). This is similar to other numerals, which also have a pronominal associative interpretation, as in the following example:

¹⁰ The preposition *lan* ‘on’ occurs without overt complement, which is to be interpreted as a definite pronominal reference.

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- (30) *mo doko-ne we avó soo kemah gon, kiye-m tawa lan kiyee,kiye-m ane,*
 RE pull-TR fruit malay.apple one only FOC 3PC-RE cut.TR on 3PC 3PC-RE eat.TR
 (...) *kiye-m van teteh,kiye-m lehe woro-ló mon mwe saa mwe mee*
 3PC-RE go again 3PC-RE look NUMBER-two also RE float RE come
 ‘He pulled just one malay apple fruit, they cut and distributed it among them, they ate it, they went again (to the creek), they saw two again float and come’ (ChAes007-10)

Even though there is evidence for the development of a system with definite and indefinite articles in Daakie, bare nouns can also occur in both an indefinite and definite interpretation. As mentioned above, objects that are part of the shared world knowledge are referred to by bare nouns, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (31) a. *yaa mwe ván ka bo sólóo*
 sun RE go C.NR PT go.down
 ‘The sun was setting.’ (Bong3.019)
- b. *malup mwe pwet toaa*
 volcano RE PROG erupt
 ‘The volcano was erupting.’ (Saki3.004)
- c. *teh mwe ke~kahe s-an belee*
 sea RE REDUP -wash P3-3SG penis.sheath
 ‘The sea washed away his penis sheath.’ (Rachel2.031)

Bare nouns are also used to refer to kinds and to express generic sentences:

- (32) *na-m longbini na-p pune pun-en soo usilii basee soo,*
 1SG-RE want 1SG-PT tell tell.NOM IDF follow bird IDF
la-m kye s-an ih me e molo
 3PL-RE call P3-3SG name RE COP molo (namalao, megapode, incubator bird)
molo, ngye m-oma-ne tó
 megapode 3SG RE-like-TR chicken
tó, ngye mwe pwetpwet tyenem, molo, ngye mwe pwetpwet lon duít
 chicken 3SG RE live village megapode 3SG RE live in bush
 ‘I want to talk about a bird. They call it “molo”, the megapode or incubator bird. The incubator bird is like the chicken. The chicken lives in the village, the incubator bird lives in the bush’ (Andri7.001-4).

Whether a bare nominal is interpreted as definite or indefinite depends partly on the nature of the argument (cf. also von Prince 2015 for Daakaka). For example, the predicate *pwee* ‘be numerous, be plentiful’ requires indefinite subjects, cf. (33)(a). Bare objects can be interpreted as indefinite, cf. (33)(b), which has been analyzed as pseudo-incorporation by Hopperdietzel (2019) for Daakie. Verbs that are inherently transitive, such as *ane* ‘eat.TR’ vs. *en* ‘eat’, cf. (c), and verbs that are marked as transitive with the morpheme *ne*, cf. (d) and also *tée-ne* ‘look out for’ in (14), lead to an interpretation of bare noun objects as definite. Note that (c) also illustrates the definite interpretation of an empty slot after the transitivizer *ne*.

- (33) a. *vanten la-m pwee wer-en,*
 person 3PL-RE abound place-ASC
 ‘People were numerous there’ (PSak2.052)

- b. *la-m syivye buluk*
3PL-RE slaughter cattle
'They slaughtered cattle.' (Indep.142) (no cattle was mentioned before)
- c. *mwe gyeh-ne Ø-an lók muru me e kekeli gon,*
RE work-TR P2-3SG laplap little RE COP short FOC
ngale na-m doko-ne Ø mee mwe tah ma ane lók
then 1SG-RE pull-TR come 3SG sit RE eat.TRlaplap
'She made his little laplap (trad. food), just a little. Then I invited him to come, he sat down and ate the laplap.' (Aiben3.011,012)
- d. *popat mu ruume ka bu gum-ne ngyo, na-m gum-ne popat*
pig RE attack C.NR PT hold-TR 1SG 1SG-RE hold-TR pig
'The pig attacked me so that it could hold me, I held the pig' (Boa1.035)

7 Deictic manner modification

In this section we will discuss a deictic and anaphoric device that is rarely mentioned but which is quite prominent in Daakie, and presumably in other languages in Vanuatu as well. It concerns the modification of verbal predicates by manner adverbs.

Daakie expresses manner modification with a type of serial verb construction that targets the event denoted by the verb (cf. "event argument serialization", Aikhenvald 2008, and von Prince 2015 for Daakaka). This is illustrated with the predicate *yah* 'strong'. First, *yah* can occur as the main predicate, cf. (34); note the range of translations, including 'important' and 'hard, difficult'.

- (34) a. *popat kiye mwi yah ten*
pig DEF RE strong very
'The pig was very strong' (Boa1.026)
- b. *daa musyoo mwi yah me mee mwe tangale ngyo*
word PL.IDF RE strong RE come RE reach 1SG
'Some important message has reached me' (Jemae.005)
- c. *myuu-len ne vele ne ot Ambrym mwi yah*
grow-NOM TR island TR place Ambrym RE strong
'Life of the island Ambrym is hard' ('EJosis.025)

But *yah* can also occur as manner predicate, cf. (35). Note in particular that its subject marker is marked with the simple mood marker used for 3rd person singular, different from the subjects of (35)(a) and (b), because it refers to the event denoted by the verb. Also, note that manner modifiers are inflected as to mood, just like other verbal predicates. For example, in the context of a potentialis mood in (35)(b), the manner predication also shows potentialis morphology, and in the context of irrealis negation in (35)(b), the manner predication shows dependent negation morphology.

- (35) a. *yaapuo ngyee la-m idi mwi yah*
person 3.PL 3.PL-RE take.TR RE strong
'the people took it with strength' (Indep.132)

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- b. *kolo-p metu bwi yah*
 3DU-PT stand 3SG.PT strong
 ‘the two should stand strong’ (Speech2.085)
- c. *mwi lingling ne timaleh kiye, tere gumgare ni yah*
 RE put TR child DEF RNEG hold.TR DNEG strong
 ‘He put the child down, he did not hold him firmly’ (Ib3.052)

One special case of manner modification is deictic manner modification. These modifiers are based on the stem *-omi-* that shows variations with different sentence moods, reminiscent of the stem variation in neighbouring languages like Southeast Ambrym (Vatlongos), cf. Ridge (2022). The stem can carry the transitivizing suffix *-ne*, as in the following example (an episode recounting events during the fighting for independence in Vanuatu):

- (36) *la-m pare mwe seesaa m-oma-ne gele*
 3PL-RE tie.TR RE swing 3SG-manner-TR fruitbat
 ‘They tied him up, he swang like a (roosting) fruitbat’ (Indep.103)

The stem *-oma-* can also carry demonstrative suffixes, *-la* for distal, *-lé* for proximate or *-ye* for anaphoric definite; the distal stem occurs rarely. It is quite frequent in the corpus (cf. Ridge 2020 for the Vatlongos demonstrative verb *mak*, with a similar function).

The following examples illustrate this demonstrative manner construction.

- (37) a. *yee soo mwe pwet m-ome-lé,*
 tree IDF RE lean RE-manner-PRX
 ‘One tree was leaning like that’ (accompanied by gesture) (Boa1.027)
- b. *na-m téé m-ome-lé, na-m lehe e-tong~tong soo*
 1SG-RE look RE-manner-PRX 1SG-RE see NOM-light.REDUP IDF
 ‘I looked around like this, I saw a torch.’ (Abel3.093)
- c. *me ván ot kevene ot, me ván m-ome-la*
 RE go place every place RE go RE-manner-DST
 ‘It (the sea) goes to every place whatsoever, it goes like that.’ (Abel3.335)
- d. *molo me e basee soo*
 megapode RE COP bird IDF
kege mwe pwet mo loko m-omi-ye gon
 C.REL RE PROG RE walk RE-manner-PRX FOC
 ‘The megapode is a bird that walks only like this’ (i.e. does not fly) (Abel2.009)

The following examples illustrate the demonstrative manner marker in different sentence moods, to showcase its morphological variation, in the potentialis mood in (38)(a,b), the distal mood which can signal counterfactuality, cf. (c) and in the dependent negation mood, cf. (d).

- (38) a. *a-na-p mas towe b-obe-lé, a-na-p tii-ne lon too*
 FUT-1SG-PT MUST break PT-MANNER-PRX FUT-1SG-PT stick-TR in garden
 ‘I will have to break them in this way, I will stick them into the garden.’
 (Jemis2.181)

- b. *na-m deme s-ok daa gon ngiye,*
1SG-RE think P3-1SG word FOC FOC-PRX,
na-p vat-koro b-obi-ye gon
1SG-PT say-straight PT-manner-DEF FOC
'I remember my words exactly, I plan to tell them in exactly this way.'
(Aiben3.065)
- c. *mwe kie tu gum-bisi t-ose-lé*
RE say DS hold-tight DS-MANNER-PRX
'He said he would hold it tight like that.' (Welakon1.045)
- d. *kiikeye ki-nyee m-oma-ne lii-óó ke-lé, tere góló*
snake DEM-3PL RE-MANNER-TR tree-coconut C-PRX NEG.RE crawl
n-one-lé, mo rol m-oma-ne dram
3SG.DNEG-manner-PRX RE roll RE-manner-TR drum
'These snakes are like this coconut tree (i.e. bent), they do not crawl like that,
they roll (down the hill) like drums.' (comparing lava to snakes, Ib3.108)

Demonstrative manner modifiers can refer to an accompanying gesture as in (37)(a), or to other phenomena going on in the world. They often have a clearly anaphoric function, as in (39), where *momele* refers cataphorically, and *momiyé* anaphorically, to an utterance by a lisepsep (a forest spirit that speaks in a different language).

- (39) *mo sóró m-ome-lé, mwe kie ka, "svei mase, na ngahe témate uu-oo"*
RE talk RE-MANNER-PRX RE say C.NR [lisepsep language]
bili ke mwe kie m-omi-ye, vanten ten mo longane
when C.RE RE say RE-MANNER-DEF, man real RE hear
ke lisepsep mwe pwet peete mo-nok
C.RE bush.spirit RE stay close RE-finish
'He spoke this way, he said, "...", when he spoke so, the true man heard the bush spirit be close to him' (JoAlvi096-7)

However, quite often the reference of manner demonstratives is unclear, and might be only to an image that the speaker has in his or her mind, as in (40). It also appears to be used as a hesitation marker (cf. also Ridge 2020 for Vatlongos).

- (40) *yaa mwe van lan-tan m-omi-ye mo-nok*
sun RE go to-ground RE-MANNER-DEF RE-finish
'The sun had gone down (like that).' (Aiben8.048)

This concludes our survey of the category of manner predications, with special reference on deictic manner predicates. We now turn to the case of associative anaphora.

8 Associative anaphora

Definite noun phrases may refer to entities that do not have an explicit antecedent but refer to entities that are only indirectly related to such explicit antecedents. This phenomenon has been called "bridging" (Clark 1977), "implicit focus" (Garrod & Sanford 1982), "associative anaphora" (Löbner 1985, Kleiber 1993) and "indirect anaphor" (Schwarz-Friesel 2007). (41) is an illustrative example; the possessive in *its door* explicitly refers to the house mentioned in

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the first sentence, but the definite nominal *the door* does this only implicitly, and is an instance of an associative anaphor.

(41) *At the creek there stood a little house. Its door / The door was shut.*

Associative anaphora are frequent in texts. Fraurud (1990) found in corpus studies based on English that about 36% of all definite NPs are associatively anaphoric. There are studies of increased processing costs involving eye-tracking (Garrod & Terras 2000) and event-related potentials (Burkhardt 2006), cf. also Zhao (2014) and Hou et al. (2018) for overviews.

Languages differ in the way how they handle this type of anaphoric reference. German, for example, prefers to leave it implicit and just use the definite article, cf. the translation of the English example below in (42) reporting my own judgement.

(42) *Beim Bach stand ein kleines Haus. [?]Seine Tür / Die Tür war geschlossen.*
at.DEF creek stand.PSTIDF small house POSS.3SGdoor DEF doorstand.PSTclosed

For human referents, the possessive appears to be preferred in German, as well as in English, cf. (43).

(43) *An der Bar stand ein alter Mann. Seine Nase / ^{??}Die Nase war blutig.*
at DEF bar stand.PSTIDF old man POSS.3SGnose DEF nose was bloody
'At the bar there was an old man. His nose / ?? The nose was bloody.'

Bislama, on the other hand, appears to prefer the explicit indication with a possessive:

(44) *Klosap long riva wansmol haos i stap.*
close.to at creek IDF small house FIN stay
*[?]Doa / *Doa emya / Doa blong hem i stap sat.*
door / door DEF / door POSS 3SG FIN stay shut

Turning to Daakie, we observe that the typical way to express (41) is by the postponed article *en* and, for transitive nouns, the suffix *-re/-ri* that we already encountered in (15) above. Consider the following constructed and confirmed example:

(45) *Berae bulu woo em kekeli mwe pwet.*
near hole creek house small RE stay
*[?]S-an bokorap / ^{??}Bokorap / *Bokorap kiye / Bokorap en mo kóókóó.*
P3-3SGdoor door door DEF door ASC RE shut

Notice that the Bislama *doa blong hem* 'its door' can be interpreted either as the regular possessive *san bokorap* 'his/her door', or as the associative definite *bokorap en* 'its door, the door (of something mentioned before)'. This is one of the many cases in which the creole language is less explicit than the vernacular language.

This function of *en* was recognized already in Paton (1971: 15), who states that "it can be added to nearly all nouns which do not otherwise take a suffix". Paton describes it as applying to body parts (listing only internal body parts) but also many other cases with a vaguely possessive meaning (like *canoe – its paddle*, *garden – its fence*, *village – its chief*, *woman – her husband*). Von Prince (2015: 161) mentions it as indicating a non-human third person possessor in Daakaka. Franjeh (2012: 244ff.) identifies a "cross-referencing" suffix *-n* in North Ambrym but only discusses it as part of possessive constructions. Here, I will present evidence that *en* is an associative article in Daakie. Specialized articles for associative anaphors are known from other languages. In his overview, Himmelmann (2001) identified a

“possessive” article in Indonesian (-*nya*), Uralic and Turkic languages as well as Amharic. Huehnergard (2012) discusses the possessive article in Semitic, and Haiduck (2014) identifies an associative article *-ne* in Balinese.

It should be stated that nominals with the associative marker *en* need not be definite. In (46)(a,b), *en* is followed by the indefinite article *soo*. However, if not marked in this way, nominals with the associative article are interpreted as definite.

- (46) a. *A vanten ngyee la-m du tyenem kiye. La-m du ván ván.*
 and person 3PL 3PL-RE stay village DEF 3PL-RE stay go go
Yaapuo en soo mwe kie ka bo ván Taasa.
 man ASC IDF RE say C.NRPT go North.Ambrym
 ‘And the people stayed in the village. They stayed and went on. One of them said that he would go to North Ambrym.’ (Bong3.009,010)
- b. *Nani woro-ló kolo-m ku~kuo mee, kolo-m ku-kuo mee m-ome-lé,*
 goat NUMBER-two 3DU-RE REDUP-run come, 3DU-RE REDUP-run come RE-MANNER-PRX
bul en soo mane popat en soo
 male ASC IDF with female ASC IDF
 ‘Two goats came running, they came running like this, one male and one female’
 (Jenap2.054-056)

Also, the *-ri/-re* form of transitive nouns need not be definite, as in the following example:

- (47) *ka leng musyoo ka laasi molo de-soo kemyah*
 C.NR time some C.NR mother.TR namalau NR-one only
a-be mee be e dili-ri bwe woro-ló, weri-syee
 FUT-PT come PT COP egg-ASC PT.3SG NUMBER-two NUMBER-three
 ‘If some time there should be only one incubator bird mother, it can happen that there are two or three eggs of her.’ (Abel2.017)

One important issue with associative definites is the semantic relation that the anaphoric item bears to its antecedents. In order for associative definites to work, they must rely on a well-established, stereotypical relation, like e.g. the one between a house and its door. It works less well between a house and a bench; (48) is slightly off or suggests a conversational background in which it is assumed that houses regularly come with benches. Notice that this holds both for the possessive and for the associative definite.

- (48) *At the creek there stood a little house.*
 a. *Its door / The door was red.*
 b. *?Its bench / ??The bench was red.*

In the following, I will investigate the relations we find in the corpus of Daakie. I will give examples both with the associative article for regular nouns *en*, and with the marker for transitive nouns *-re/-ri/-ro*.

The most prominent relation is the **partitive**, where the associative refers to a part of the antecedent. Reference is made to integral parts (Simons 1987) that has a constitutive role in building up the total entity, like body parts. While human and animal body parts are typically denoted by relational nouns (e.g. *y-ek* ‘my leg(s)’, *vel-ok* ‘my hand(s)’, *mer-ok* ‘my eye(s)’), inner body parts are denoted by non-relational nouns and can carry the associative article *en*. This is illustrated for *vovyoh* ‘heart’ in (49)(a) and *da* ‘blood’ in (b); the latter example also illustrates the relational noun *vel-ok* ‘my hand(s)’, and the associative use of the transitive noun *taasi* ‘one (of two or more)’.

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- (49) a. *a-bwi idi mangki kiye mee,*
 FUT-RE take monkey DEF come
s-aa mal ke tobo a-ba ane vovyoh en
 P3-3PL chief C.RE big FUT-PT eat.TR heart ASC
 ‘He brought the monkey, their king ate its heart.’ (Ilsong5.033)
- b. *ko-p ta~tale vel-ok taasi-ri,*
 2SG-POT REDUP-cut hand-1SG one-ASC
mwe te taasi-ri, bi mini da en
 RE cut one-ASC, POT drink.TR blood ASC
 ‘Cut one of my wings off, after you have cut it off, drink its blood’
 (in a fable, spoken by a bird) (Wanmei3.045-46)

Integral parts of plants, on the other hand, are denoted by transitive nouns. as in examples (50); in (d), a description of a scene after a volcano eruption, *merah* ‘spear’ is not used as a regular term for ‘stem’ (this would be the noun *botbaa* ‘stem, trunk of a tree’) but as a metaphor, and hence has to be associated with *en*.

- (50) a. *lii-yee ke-lé s-an ih me e lii-vovoum (...)*
 tree-wood C-PRX P3-3SG name RE COP tree-vovoum
kiye lo-ro ngyee mwi ti~tisi a-bi myuu teteh mon.
 DEF leaf-ASC 3PL RE REDUP-fall.down FUT-PT grow again too
 ‘This tree is called “Vovoum” (canoe tree).
 This, its leaves have fallen down, they will grow again’ (Jemis2.001,003)
- b. *na-m lehe lii-matebe kingyee ye mi myuu, na-m lehe*
 1SG-RE see tree-blackpalm C-3PL DEF RE grow 1SG-RE see
ke-la mwe pan a na-m lehe pwesegi-ri soo me sesetop
 C-DST RE branch and 1SG-RE see branch.TR-ASC IDF RE broken
 ‘I see the black palms here grow, I see that one is branching,
 and I see that one of the branches is broken.’ (Jemis2.079,082)
- c. *ko-m lehe tóó soo mwe pwet, a dumuo-ro mwe pwet*
 2SG-RE look cane IDF RE stay and top-ASC RE stay
 ‘You see, one cane remained, and its top remained’ (Ib1.060)
- d. *ko-m lehe lii-óó kingyee ye, saka ko-n lehe lo-ro de-soo,*
 2SG-RE see tree-coconut C.3PL DEF C.NEG 2SG-DNEG see leaf.TR-ASC NRE-one
merah en gon mwe pese-pwet momele
 spear ASC FOC RE stick-stay RE-this.way
 ‘You see these coconut trees, you could not see one single leaf, you could
 only see their bare stems’ (AevenV.075)

Parts of other things can also be denoted by *en*, as in the following example from a translation:

- (51) *mwe lehe em muru soo, mwe sengave bokorap en*
 RE see house small IDF RE open door ASC
 ‘She saw a small house, she opened the door.’ (DornR.032)

As a special case of partitivity, I mention reference to parts that are defined by the shape of an object, like the top or the front, as in (52) describing a person holding a child on his back:

- (52) *mu gum-gare*.TR *mwe pwet lan divih en, mo loko kolom mee tyenem ng-iyē*
 RE hold-tight RE stay on back ASC RE walk 3DU-RE come village FOC-DEF
 ‘He kept (the child) closely to his back, he walked, the two came to the village’
 (Ib3.068)

A clear type of partitivity is reference to the members of a group, as illustrated in (53). In (a), reference is made to a male group member, in (b) to one of two children, in (c) to the firstborn vs. secondborn of a pair of siblings, and in (d), in a more abstract way, to a part of a group.

- (53) a. *vanten ngyee la-m du tyenemkiye, yaapuo en soo mwe kie ka ...*
 people 3PL 3PL-RE stay village DEF man ASC one RE say C.RE
 ‘and the people stayed in the village, one man of them said, ...’ (Bong3.008-9)
- b. *s-aloo timaleh koloo kolo-m du ván,*
 P3-3DU child 3DU 3DU-RE PROG go
notnot-en soo me mee lan timaleh en kege mer-an mwe téétéé
 think-NOM IDF RE come on child ASC C.RE eye-3SG RE see
 ‘Their two children lived on, a thought came to the child whose eyes could see’
 (Apia.034) (context: the other child is blind)
- c. *s-an ván-moro mwi lingi s-aloo timaleh woro-ló*
 P3-3SG woman-old RE put P3-3DU child NUMBER-two
 ‘His wife gave birth to two children.’ (Andri2.005) (...)
tamo en mwe kie ka bo pólo,
 firstborn ASC RE say C.NR PT climb
tato en mon mwe kie ka ngye mon bo pólo
 secondborn ASC too RE say C.NR3SG too PT climb
 ‘The firstborn said that he would climb, the second born too said that
 he, too, would climb. (Andri2.021-2)
- d. *masolo kingyee ye, di-ri ngyee lam du la-m kuo lon teh*
 fish C-3PL DEF some-ASC 3PL 3PL-RE PROG 3PL-RE run in sea
 ‘these fish, some of them move in the sea’ (Ilsong4.005)

We find reference to parts of **events**, as in (54), a rendering of a storyboard about a three-day competition.

- (54) *wobuong ne ta woup mo-nok, domame e wobuong ne woro-ló en*
 day TR kick ball RE-finish today RE COP day TR NUMBER-two ASC
 ‘the day of soccer finished, today is the second day’ (Lafet_Abel.006)

There are plenty of cases in which in which the associative marker is not used in a strictly partitive way. For example, we find the use of *en* to refer to the **inhabitants** of a place (a, b), a spirit associated with a place (c), or the traditional laplap food of a celebration (d).

- (55) a. *punen soo usilii vele soo, vanten en ngyee la-m pwee*
 story IDF about island IDF, man ASC 3.PL 3PL-RE plenty
 ‘a story about an island, the people on it were plentiful’ (Bong6.001)

[DEMONSTRATIVE & ANAPHORIC REFERENCE IN DAAKIE]

- b. *sipa mane biibilen kiyee Lalida, timaleh en kiyee kiye-m mee*
 thanks to brother 3PC Lalinda child ASC 3.PC 3PC-RE come
 ‘Thanks to the brothers and sisters of Lalinda, their children have come.’
 (Jema.073)
- c. *istri ne malop ke-lé, vanten en s-an ih nge Velvel*
 history TR volcano C-PRX person ASC P3-3SG name COP Velvel
 ‘As for the story of this volcano, it’s man (spirit), his name was Velvel.’
 (Ib3.006)
- d. *ka la-p koko byen en lók en,*
 C.NR 3PL-PT compete for eat laplap ASC
na-m deme nyak a-ko-p e mone tiri.kekevene
 1SG-RE think 2SG FUT-2SG-PT COP in-front everyone
 ‘If you had competed for eating the laplap of it, I think you would have
 been in front of everyone’

As for (55)(b), from a public speech held by a former judge and church elder at an event where the people from neighbouring villages had come to Port Vato, one could be inclined to read *timaleh en* in (b) as referring to the children of the people from Lalinda. However, this is implausible, as the children are already included in the address *biibilen* (from reduplicated *bii-* ‘together’ and the nominalizer *-(l)en*). Rather, *timaleh*, as well as *biibilen*, are to be understood as an endearing address to the people from Lalinda. In fact, *en* is not used to express associative reference via the **kinship** relation; this is generally expressed by relational nouns (e.g. *nare-loo* ‘child of the two’) or by a possessive (*s-aloo timaleh* ‘child of the two’). This does not apply to “kinship” relations of animals, however; we find the transitive nouns *laasi* ‘mother’ and *niri* ‘child’ in associative uses:

- (56) a. *popat me ván, nar-en ngyee la-m ván, me vehe yo ván,*
 pig RE go child-3SG 3PL 3PL-RE go RE carry knife go
mwe te soo, mwe te niri-ri soo
 RE cut IDF RE cut offspring-ASC IDF
 ‘the pig went away, its children went away, he took out the knife, he cut one,
 he cut one of its sucklings’ (Bong9.025)
- b. *dye-t kiikuu tenok, ngale laasi-ri mu kuoli-mee mwi ling-tahe*
 1PC-DS dig.out finish, then mother-ASC RE return-come RE put-repeat
 ‘After we have finished digging out (the eggs), their mother comes back
 and lays again’ (Abel12.023), description of the *namalao* (megapode bird).

We have seen that associatives can refer to the inhabitants of a given location: conversely, they can also refer to the location that entities inhabit, as in (57). Here, *wer-en* has likely developed from *ot* ‘place’, a regular, non-transitive noun; in (57)(b) it qualifies the same noun, *ot*.

- (57) a. *mwi ili lii-vih kiye, me mee, mwi ili bulubuu en*
 RE dig tree-banana DEF re come RE dig hole ASC
 ‘He dug for the banana tree, he came, he dug out its hole’ (Abel8.037-8)
- b. *temát di-ri ngyee la-m ván la-m baabap ne ot wer-en*
 demon other-ASC 3PL 3PL-RE go 3PL-RE destroy TR place LOC-ASC
 ‘The other demons destroyed the place of it.’ (Bong2.124)
 (description of lava field)

The set of examples (58) illustrates the use of an associative in relation to **products** that come from an entity, like a plant or an animal. In (a) reference is made to the edible parts of a fruit. Examples (b) and (c) show reference to the fruits of a tree and the eggs of a bird. In (d), the speaker refers to the monetary value of objects.

- (58) a. *la-m bá obwet ne elup mu wuo, me e meleh en mu bo*
 3PL-RE plant taro with plant.stick RE good RE COP food ASC RE big
 ‘They say they plant taro with a planting stick well, its food is then plenty’
 (Jemis2.275-6)
- b. *līi-wikye kiye mo pa, we-re mo góóte*
 tree-almond DEF RE carry.fruit, fruit.TR-ASC RE abound
 ‘The sea almond tree is carrying fruit, the fruits are plenty.’ (Andri10.016,017)
- c. *molo me e basee soo kege mwe pwet~pwet lon duut gon.*
 namalao RE COP bird IDF REL RE REDUP-stay in bush FOC
ngye tere e mane basee kingyee la
 3SG NEG.RE COP with bird C.3PL DST
ngye mo longbini ka bi lingi dili-ri,
 3SG RE want C.NR PT put egg-ASC
be mas kii be kii pán yee, ngale bi lingi dili-ri
 PT MUST dig 3SG.PT dig under tree then PT put egg-ASC
 ‘The incubator bird is a bird that stays only in the bush. It is not like those other birds. When it wants to lay its egg, it must dig under a tree and then put the egg. (Abel2.005-008)
- d. *ti-ri¹¹ musyoo ngi-ngyee lé me e sóg-ok ngyee gon mon*
 thing PL.IDF FOC-3PL PRX RE COP belonging-1SG 3PL FOC too
kiye na-re wilingi mani en
 DEF 1SG-RE.NEG count money ASC
 ‘All these things are my possession, I do not count the money of it (i.e. its worth)’
 (Jemae.105-6)

Examples (59) illustrate reference to **entities related to an event** that was mentioned before. In (a), *en* marks a person that refers to the actor (the playing of music). Notice that the clause it appears in is to be understood as free indirect discourse from the perspective of a character of the narration, which explains why this form is used instead of the definite *vanten kiye* that would refer to the antecedent *vanten soo*. In (b), reference is made to the product of an activity (music – the playing of the music), in (c), to an instrument for an activity, and in (d) and (e) to the place and the scheduled time of an event.

- (59) a. *vanten soo mwe ple mu wuo, vanten en nge be?*
 person IDF RE play RE good person ASC FOC who
 ‘One person played very well, who is that person?’ (ChAes1.062-63)

¹¹ The transitive noun *ti* ‘thing’ occurs independently, e.g. in *vakeka soo ti minyeh* ‘airplane IDF thing.TR other’, ‘another airplane’. The form *tiri* expresses the concept of ‘something’.

[DEMONSTRATIVE & ANAPHORIC REFERENCE IN DAAKIE]

- b. *mwe ple musik mane timaleh kiye ván*
 RE play music with child DEF go.on
mwe kiibeple ple en mu wuo ke mu wuo
 RE think play ASC RE good C.RERE good
 ‘He was playing music with the child,
 he thought that the playing was very good’ (ChAes1.053)
- c. *la-m tibyek ván, la-m sógó, la-m vovo aróówóo,*
 3PL.RE try.hard go.on 3P-RE carry.TR, 3PL.RE weave basket
alonlakele aróówóo en mwi dyanga
 and now basket ASC RE lack
 ‘They worked hard, they took (the wild yams), they weaved baskets,
 nowadays we don’t have such baskets anymore.’ (Boa2.041-2)
- d. *baasi ne s-an vaven ti-tisii, ngye mwe pwet taali ot en*
 bone TR P3-RE woman REDUP-fall 3SG RE stay other.TR place ASC
 ‘The bones of his wife fell down, and he stayed at the other side of it
 (the place where they fell down).’ (Saelas.054)
- e. *bwiya mo longbini ka da-p ván da-p koót-ne s-an too.*
 rail.bird RE want C.NR 1PL.INC go 1INC.PL-PT clean-TR P3-3SG garden
la-m lingi wobuong en monok.
 3PL-RE put time ASC COMPL
 ‘The rail wanted that they (we) go to clean the garden.
 They had determined the date. (Ilson.008-9)

The following examples cannot easily be sorted into categories. (60) refers to the news from a previously mentioned fight, and (b) to the photograph taken of a tree.

- (60) a. *na-m longtó-pelakte ka daa en bo soaa a-na-p kuoli*
 1SG-RE listen-follow C.RE word ASC PT emerge FUT-1SG-PT return
 ‘I listened whether words from it would come out, then I will return’
 (JPaul.046)
- b. *na-m leheli-matebe kingyee ye mi myuu, na-m lehekelamwe pan (...)*
 1SG-RE see tree-blackpalm DEF-3PL DEF RE grow 1SG-RE see DST RE branch.out
vanten de-soo a-bwe mee bi idi pija en toot
 person NR-IDF FUT-PT come PT take picture ASC probably
 ‘I see these black palms grow, I see that one branch out, one man will probably
 come and take a picture of it’ (Jemis2.084-086)

I conclude with some final remarks on *en* and *-ri*. The antecedent of the associative does not have to be introduced by a linguistic expression. (61) is from a transcript of how to prepare *ya*, a fruit of a liana. The speaker did not mention this word before the recording started.

- (61) *na-m te-kuu-kuu wili-ri, ngale na-m gone mwe pyang van*
 1SG-RE cut-REDUP-remove skin-ASC then 1SG-RE make RE fire go
mwe menok na-m ut-kuu na-m lip-ne we en
 RE done 1SG-RE scoop-remove 1SG-RE pour-TR water ASC
 ‘I cut off the skin, then I make fire, when it is done, I scoop it out,
 I pour out the water’ (Ya.001-3)

As for the syntactic position, the associative article follows the noun immediately, even if there is additional material in the noun phrase. However, *en* can occur with a nominal phrase that does not contain a noun, as in the free relative in (62). In the story, three boys were introduced, and the three are now getting named; in the immediate context, the first was just named.

- (62) *ke mu du to en s-an ih me e Melip*
 REL RE stay behind ASC P3-3SG name RE COP Melip
soo mwe e kekeli en, sa-n ih nge Wakon
 one RE COP small ASC P3-3SG name COP Wakon
 ‘the one who is second of them, his name is Melip,
 (the) one who is small(est) of them, his name is Wakon’ (Jenap1.006)

In Section 3 it was mentioned that *en* is also a deverbal resultative nominalizer, e.g. *pun* ‘narrate’, *pun-en* ‘story’.¹² It is conceivable that the two uses are related; if *pun* (transitive *pune*) denotes events, then *pun-en* can be interpreted as the referring to objects that are associated to these events as their product.

9 Conclusion

The aim of this article was to present the range of deictic and anaphoric devices that Daakie makes use of. We considered various constructions including relational nouns, transitive nouns, and possessives, the four-way distinction among demonstratives, the development of an anaphoric definite article from one demonstrative, the development of an indefinite article from the number word for ‘one’, and the use of overt pronouns and null anaphora. We have also looked into a largely undescribed phenomenon, deictic manner adverbials. And we have discussed the phenomenon of associative, or bridging, anaphors in greater detail, including the semantic relations that sponsor such anaphoric relations. Altogether, Daakie appears as a language that makes anaphoric relations, and the different types of anaphoric relations, more explicit than many other languages.

The web of anaphoric relations that we find in texts and conversations is hugely important for natural-language communication, but it is also a complex research topic. For this research, it is critical to have corpora with annotations of reference chains that include the type of these chains, like the one proposed by the RefIND guidelines of the Multi-CAST project (Schiborr et al. 2018, Schnell 2022). But it is also important to see the range of anaphoric means that is available in a language as a toolkit with instruments that work together to knit this web of anaphoric references. This article was meant to present the tools available to one particular, underdescribed language.

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¹² One reviewer pointed out that *pun en* in (59)(b) can be alternatively analyzed as nominalization, ‘the playing’.

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