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Non-verbal predication in three families of Papunesia:

Teiwa, Tidore and Mian

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Abstract. This chapter describes the patterns of non-verbal predication in three distinct Papuan families, taking one representative language from each family: Teiwa represents the Timor Alor Pantar family, Tidore the North Halmahera family, and Mian the Ok family. The chapter finds the following similarities between the three languages: in all three of them, the predicative behaviour of nouns and adjectives is similar; all use the juxtaposition construction; subject pronouns are crucial for distinguishing predicates of identity from those that express inclusion, and in all of them, subjects of non-verbal predicates are encoded like the subjects of semantically monovalent verbs. In none of them, copula forms are used, and none of the languages feature a verb ‘to have’; instead, predicative possession is expressed by nominal clauses containing a possessor. As Teiwa, Tidore and Mian belong to three different language families, located hundreds of kilometers apart, the similarities cannot be explained by inheritance or contact. As such, this chapter indicates which elements in the encoding of non-verbal predicates show universal similarity and where there is variation.

1. Introduction

“Papunesia” is the region where Papuan languages are spoken: the island of Papua New Guinea with the islands in its vicinity in Indonesia and the southwest Pacific. There are approximately 860 “Papuan” languages, comprising 43 distinct families and 37 isolates (Palmer 2018: 6) in this region, and no genealogical relatedness that we can show exists between these families (Foley 1986: 3; Ross 2005: 15).

This chapter describes the patterns of non-verbal predication in three distinct Papuan families, each represented by one language. Teiwa (ISO code *twe*) (Klamer 2010a) belongs to the Timor Alor Pantar family (Klamer 2017; Holton and Klamer 2018) and is spoken by approximately 4,000 speakers on Pantar island in eastern Indonesia. Tidore (ISO code *tvo*) (Van Staden 2000) is a member of the North Halmahera family and is spoken by 26,000 speakers on Tidore island in the Moluccas in eastern Indonesia. Mian (also known as “Mianmin” or “Miyamin”, ISO code *mpt*) (Fedden 2011) belongs to the Ok family and is

spoken by 1,750 speakers in Central New Guinea.

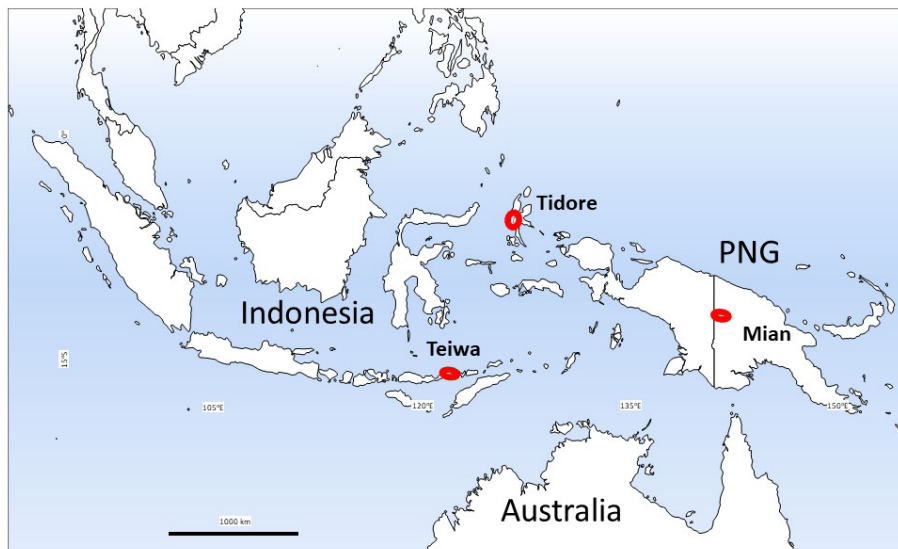


Figure 1. The geographical location of Teiwa, Tidore (Indonesia) and Mian (Papua New Guinea, PNG)

After this introductory section, I discuss non-verbal predication in Teiwa in Section 2, Tidore in Section 3 and Mian in Section 4. Each language section starts with the basics of the language's morpho-syntax and word classes (§2.1–2.2 for Teiwa, §3.1–3.2 for Tidore, and §4.1 for Mian), and is followed by subsections on non-verbal predication.

2. Non-verbal predication in Teiwa (Timor Alor Pantar family)

2.1. The basics of Teiwa morphosyntax

Teiwa has accusative alignment and is syntactically head-final: it has a preverbal subject and object, and clause-final verbs. Negations and conjunctions occur in clause-final position. Word order is rather fixed. The first clause of (1) is intransitive and illustrates subject-verb (or SV) constituent order, the second illustrates a transitive clause with subject-object-verb (or APV) order.¹

¹ Teiwa orthography follows the Latin alphabet except for <'> = ʔ, <x> = h, <q> = voiceless uvular stop.

- (1) *Qau a ta ewar mis. Mis-an a ta man pi'i.*
 good 3SG TOP return sit sit-REAL 3SG TOP grass twine
 ‘So she sits down again. Sitting she twines grass.’
 (Klamer 2010a: 25)

The grammatical relations subject and object are formally identified by choice of pronoun as well as constituent order. Pronominal subjects may be encoded with long or short pronouns (e.g., *na'an* or *na* ‘1SG’, *a'an* or *a* ‘3SG’). Both long and short pronoun types occupy the same position in the clause, preceding any adverbs that modify the predicate, and both function to express either A or S. The short pronouns are independent pronouns, not inflectional prefixes or proclitics. They generally function as the reduced, non-focused equivalent of long subject pronouns (Klamer 2010a: 165–166). In adjectival predications, however, long and short subject pronouns have different functions, and in such clauses, short pronouns cannot be replaced by long pronouns (see Section 2.5).

A transitive verb has maximally one object, which can have various semantic roles, including patient, theme, location, goal, source, recipient, benefactive, and comitative. A Teiwa object may be encoded by an independent pronoun or a verbal prefix (e.g., *na'an* or *n(a)*- ‘1SG’, *ga'an* or *g(a)*- ‘3SG’). Object prefixes index the person and number features of animate objects on the verb; subjects and inanimate objects are not indexed on the verb (Klamer 2010a; Klamer & Kratochvíl 2018).

In possessed NPs, the person and number of the possessor is indexed on the noun with a prefix, as in (2).

- (2) *Yivar ga-manak*
 dog 3SG.POSS-master
 ‘The dog’s master’
 (Klamer 2010a: 189)

Free possessor pronouns occur in addition to the prefix, and function to emphasize the possessor. A long pronoun (e.g. *ga'an* ‘3SG’) emphasizes an alienable possessor, a short pronoun (e.g. *a* ‘3SG’) emphasizes an inalienable possessor. (Possessive clauses are discussed in Section 2.4).

In NPs, the head noun or nominal compound is followed by the adjective, quantifier or demonstrative, as in (3)–(5).

(3) *Xaf uwaad*
fish big
'A big fish'
(Klamer 2010a: 26)

(4) *Qaas bag ut*
bean seed four
'Four bean seeds'
(Klamer 2010a: 145)

(5) *Uy a*
person PROX
'This person'
(Klamer 2010a: 26)

Teiwa has no morpho-syntactically marked subordinate clauses. Neither does the language make a morphological distinction between main and dependent, or finite and non-finite verb forms. It also lacks a dedicated relative clause construction. A head noun modified by a clause is marked with the focus marker *la* (see example (32b)). Clauses following a focus NP function as relative clauses, which is expected because cross-linguistically, restrictive relative clauses are typically reserved for the coding of pragmatically presupposed propositions (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 51).

There is no morpho-syntactically marked passive construction. Agent subjects may be pragmatically “back-grounded” by using the generic noun *hala* ‘others; unknown people’ as an impersonal subject (cf. Keenan and Dryer 2007: 354).²

The language makes extensive use of serial verb constructions (cf. Klamer 2010a: 312). Both verbs in a serial verb construction share the same aspect, modality, tense and polarity markers and values. Verbs used in serial verb constructions introduce additional participants in the clause, express adverbial notions, locations, and mark modality and aspect (see also Section 2.7).

² Compare ‘others gave him rice’ as the functional equivalent of ‘he was given rice’ (Klamer 2010a: 30).

2.2. Teiwa word classes

The major open word classes are nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs; there is no class of adpositions. Verbs are distinct from nouns, adjectives and adverbs: only verbs may be inflected with the realis suffix *-(a)n* ‘REAL’, which classifies the event expressed by the verb as being located or realized in the real world. This is illustrated in (6). The question in (6a) refers to whether the event of an animal dying has actually been realized. As it is not yet established as an actual fact (or believed to be so) the verb cannot take a realis marker, and a bare, irrealis verb form must be used. The affirmative answer in (6b) confirms that the event is factual and realized, and thus the verb is obligatorily marked with a realis suffix.

- (6) a. *He, min?* (**min-an*)
hey die die-REAL
‘Hey, [is it] dead?’
- b. *Hale, bai min-an tau.* (**min*)
yes pig die-REAL PRFV die
‘Yes, the pig died already/is already dead.’
(Klamer 2010a: 249)

Only verbs can take object prefixes, which encode the person and number features of animate objects. Like verbs, but unlike nouns, adjectives may be reduplicated. Such reduplication derives de-adjectival verbs, and the reduplicated form can take a realis suffix. Nouns take possessor prefixes (see Section 2.1), and both verbs and adjectives are nominalized with a possessor prefix, cf. the bare adjective *qa’an* ‘black’ in (7a) and its nominalization in (7b). Such nominalizations can be used as independent nominal expressions, (7b), and as nominal attributes, (7c). (In Teiwa, nominalized adjectives are attested much more frequently than nominalized verbs.)

- (7) a. *Mauqubar qa’an.*
frog black
‘A black frog’

- b. *Ga-qa'an.*
 3SG.POSS-black
 'The black one'
- c. *Mauqubar ga-qa'an.*
 frog 3SG.POSS-black
 'Of the [group of] frogs the black one.'
 (Klamer 2010a: 413)

Teiwa has a separate class of adverbs which is limited in size. Most adverbs express aspect, e.g. *pati* 'PROG' and *tau* 'PRFV' in (8a,b); or modality, e.g. *tab* 'truly' in (16). There are few manner and degree adverbs. Some adverbs precede the predicate, some follow it, as is usual for verb-final languages (Dryer 2007: 81). Temporal adverbs (e.g. *wad* 'today', *miaag* 'yesterday') occur at the clause boundaries. Adverbial notions are also expressed with verbs, e.g. in serial verb constructions, as *gula'* 'finish' in (8c). Some adverbs are etymologically related to verbs.

- (8) a. *A karian pati.*
 3SG work PROG
 'He is working.'
 (Klamer 2010a: 269)
- b. *A karian tau.*
 3SG work PRFV
 'He works already.' (I.e. He has started work).
 (Klamer 2010a: 270)
- c. *A karian gula' tau.*
 3SG work finish PRFV
 'He has finished working.'
 (Klamer 2010a: 269)

Teiwa adverbs do not function as predicates, and are thus distinct from nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Demonstratives (e.g. *xa'a* 'this') and deictic forms (e.g. *af'o'o* 'over there') are

found in predications, see (19) and (49), but their word class is mixed and remains largely unclear.

2.3. Nominal predicates in Teiwa

In Teiwa, the most productive construction type for non-verbal predicates is the juxtaposition construction; the language has no copular verb and non-verbal predicates are not inflected. Nominal phrases are used as predicates in stative clauses ('S(subject) is NP'); however, to indicate a change of state ('S becomes NP'), a verb is used (see below).

In non-verbal clauses, the subject precedes the predicate, and it can belong to any word class that can function as the subject of a verbal clause: a lexical NP, as *in i* 'this thing' in (9), or a pronoun, as *na'an* 'I' in (10).

- (9) *A wa "in i in baru ba nuk xa'a."*
 3SG say thing FORTH³ thing new(IND) SEQ one this.one
 'He says, "It's [a] new thing, this one.'" (Lit. '...this thing (is a) new thing this one.')

(Klamer 2010a: 214)

- (10) *Na'an uy hara', na'an uy bin.*
 1SG person orphan.without.father 1SG person orphan.without.mother
 'I am a fatherless person, I am a motherless person.'

(Klamer 2010a: 221–222)

The distinction between inclusive and identity predication is expressed by choice of subject pronoun, compare (11) with (12)–(13). The regular subject pronoun *a'an* is used in inclusive predication (11), while in identity predication, the third person pronominal subject is expressed with the pronoun *ga'an* '3SG', which normally expresses 3rd singular objects, and has developed a secondary function as a demonstrative pronoun 'that (one)'.

- (11) *A'an guru qau.*
 3SG teacher good
 'He is a good teacher.'

³ The demonstrative root form *i* marks a 'forthcoming' topic, encoding that a particular referent will become the topic of the following clause(s). This function contrasts with the topic marker *ta* which encodes non-presupposed, new topics (Klamer 2010a).

(Klamer 2010a: 222)

- (12) *Ga'an na-kon.*
3SG 1SG.POSS-shirt
'That [one] is my shirt.'
(Klamer 2010a: 136)

- (13) *Ga'an kri li'in u le!*
3SG old.man their DIST or
'That one is their ancestor over there, right?'⁴
(Klamer 2010a: 223)

As a demonstrative, *ga'an* marks a known entity, as in (14). In (14) and (15) the adverb *mo* '(be) like', appears to flag a "functive" construction; cf. Chapter 1 (Creissels, Bertinetto, and Ciucci, this volume).⁵ This construction consists of two constituents linked by the comparative adverb *mo* 'like'. It is similar to the comparative construction with the verb *daga(r)* 'appear, show, be(come) clear', compare (14) and (16). The only difference may be that in "functive" constructions with *mo*, the first constituent can be either an NP (14) or a clause (15), whereas in comparative constructions with *daga(r)*, both constituents are nominal (16).

- (14) *John a-xeran non ga'an mo g-oma' ga-sik.*
John 3SG.POSS-yell PL 3SG like 3SG.POSS-father 3SG.POSS-voice
'Those yells of John's [are] like his father's voice.'
(Klamer, fieldnotes 2012, TAS2012: 013)

- (15) *Ha ri'a-n mo uy taxaau waal.*
2SG arrive-REAL like person steal that.mentioned
'You came like a thief.'
(Sir 2016: 238)

⁴ The word *kri* refers to a respected old man or an ancestor, and also functions as a respectful title for older men.

⁵ The distribution of *mo* (alternative form *molas*) suggests that it is an adverb, but more data and research are needed to investigate the syntax of this element in detail.

- (16) *Gelas a xa'a tab ii'*
 glass PROX this truly red
 'This glass is more red.' (Lit. 'This glass [is] really red.')

dagar ga-afo'o ga'an di oxoran.
 appear 3SG.POSS-over.there 3SG only thus
 compared with that one over there.'

In (17)–(18) the pronoun *ga'an* occurs in presentative constructions; compare English 'There/here is/was (an) X'. Syntactically this is a simple juxtaposition construction.

- (17) *Uy kri nuk ga'an u, g-oqai iman raq,...*
 person old.man one 3SG DIST 3SG.POSS-child 3PL two
 'There was an old man (lit. 'that one old man there'), his children [were] two...'
 (Klamer 2010a: 235)

- (18) *Uy masar nuk ga'an ga-yit Yance.*
 person male one 3SG 3SG.POSS-name Yance
 'There was a man named John.' (Lit. 'That one man his name [was] John.')
- (Klamer 2010a: 235)

Nominal predicates are modified by adverbs, and negated like verbal predicates. For example, to negate the non-verbal predicate in (19) and the verbal predicate in (20), the same final negator *maan* 'NEG' is used.

- (19) *Xa'a ga'an xam, xa'a ga'an maan.*
 this 3SG milk this 3SG NEG
 'This is milk, this is not.'
 (Klamer 2010a: 222)

- (20) "Na riaq a min." "Maan, a min-an maan!"
 1SG fear 3SG die NEG 3SG die-REAL NEG
 'I fear he will die.' "No, he won't die!"

(Klamer 2010a: 109)

When clauses with a nominal predicate indicate a change of state ('S becomes NP'), a verb combines with the predicate nominal to become a complex predicate. This is illustrated with the intransitive deictic verb *ma* 'come (here)' in (21).⁶ In both examples, the clausal subject is *a'an* '3SG'.

- (21) ...*palanqas maan, a'an ma mosan.*
split.bamboo NEG 3SG come sword.
'... [it was] no [longer] a bamboo, it had become a sword.'
(Klamer 2010a: 223)

Finally, nominal clauses are used to express possessive relations, as in (22), where the nominal predicate is a possessed NP.

- (22) *Xu'u ga'an ni-met, xa'a ga'an ha-met*
that 3SG 1PL.EXCL.POSS-betelvine this 3SG 2SG.POSS-betelvine
'That is our betelvine, this is yours.'
(Klamer 2010a: 233)

Possessive relations are also expressed in verbal clauses. In the next section, the various ways to express possession in Teiwa are discussed in detail.

2.4. Possessive clauses in Teiwa

Possessive clauses in Teiwa do not involve a verb of possession ('have'). Instead, they are expressed by nominal clauses. A possessive nominal clause is a juxtaposition construction where the possessor is part of the nominal predicate, see (22) above. This possessive nominal predicate can be either a possessed NP, as in (23a–b), or a possessive pronoun, as in (23c). These constructions illustrate a predication type that is referred to as "inverse-possessive predication" in Chapter 1.

⁶ The deictic verb *ma* 'come (here)' is used frequently with a variety of different functions that developed through a process of grammaticalization (Klamer 2010a; 2010b).

- (23) a. *Ga'an ha-kon.*
 3SG 2SG.POSS-shirt
 'That [one] is your shirt.'
- b. *Kon ga'an ha-kon.*
 shirt 3SG 2SG.POSS-shirt
 'That shirt is your shirt.'
- c. *Kon ga'an hax.*
 shirt 3SG 2SG.POSS
 'That shirt is yours.'
 (Klamer 2010a: 202)

Possessive pronouns like *hax* in (23c), often occur in nominal clauses with a subject constituent containing a demonstrative pronoun *xa'a* 'this (one) (PROX)' or *xu'u* 'that (one) (DIST)', see (24), where the subject is focus-marked with *la*.

- (24) *Xu'u la hax / gax.*
 that FOC 2SG.POSS 3SG.POSS
 'That is yours / his, hers.'
 (Klamer 2010a: 203)

The possessive NPs in (25) illustrate that the possessive pronoun *gax* 'his/hers' functions just like a possessed noun, compare (25a–b). In (25c), it combines with another possessed noun. The subject (possessor) here is the generic noun *hala* 'other(s)' that is also used as impersonal subject (see Section 2.1).

- (25) a. *Hala gax.*
 other 3SG.POSS
 'Someone else's'
- b. *Hala ga-tarau.*
 other 3SG.POSS-language

that something exists in or at a certain location, and the relationship between the two arguments is interpreted as one of containment or possession. Overall, the use of a verb of existence in expressing relations of possession is very common in Papuan and Austronesian languages of the region. For example, in the Timor Alor Pantar family to which Teiwa belongs, it occurs in Adang (Robinson and Haan 2014: 234), Kaera (Klamer 2014: 113), Nedebang (Schapper 2020: 79) and Reta (Willemsen 2021: 179); it occurs in the languages of the North Halmahera family, including Tidore (see Section 3), and it is also attested in the Austronesian languages Kambara (Klamer 1998: 151), Indonesian (Adelaar and Himmelmann 2005: 235), Tsou (Adelaar and Himmelmann 2005: 271), Seediq (Adelaar and Himmelmann 2005: 312), Kimaragang (Adelaar and Himmelmann 2005: 411), and Karo Batak (Adelaar and Himmelmann 2005: 544).

2.5. Adjectival predicates in Teiwa

Adjectival predicates express property concepts ('S is Adjective'). Clauses with adjectival predicates are structurally identical to clauses with nominal predicates – they have no copular verb and the subject precedes the predicate. The subject can be a pronoun, (29) or an NP, (30).

- (29) *Na'an qau.*
 1SG good
 'I'm satisfied / I have enough.'
 (Klamer 2010a: 224)

- (30) *Kri Titing tua' tau.*
 old.man Titing old already
 'Mr Titing is already old.'
 (Sir 2016: 374)

Adjectival predicates are distinct from verbal predicates in that they do not take a realis suffix, compare grammatical (31a) with ungrammatical (31b) (Klamer 2010a: 116–121). In contrast, (31c) shows the adjective used as a nominal modifier in an NP.

- (31) a. *Mauqubar la qa'an.*

frog FOC black

‘A frog that is black’⁸

(Klamer 2010a: 413)

b.* *Mauqubar la qa’an-an.*

frog FOC black-REAL

‘A frog that is black’ (constructed from field notes, cf. Klamer 2010a: 120)

c. *Mauqubar qa’an.*

frog black

‘A black frog’

(Klamer 2010a: 413)

Adjectives used as modifiers are prosodically distinct from adjectives used as predicates. In (32a), *yas* ‘bad’ is an adnominal modifier, and the phrase has one intonation contour. In (32b), *yas* is a predicate, and the subject and adjectival predicate are separated by an intonational break: the intonation rises on the final element in the subject NP *xu’u* ‘that’, and is low again on the predicate.

(32) a. (– –)

Wat yas

coconut bad

‘A bad coconut’

b. (– ↘) (–)

Wat xu’u yas

coconut that bad

‘That coconut is bad.’

(Klamer 2010a: 224)

⁸ *La* ‘FOC’ seems to function as a relative clause marker here, but its distribution is different from that of a relative clause marker, see Klamer (2010a: 409–415) for discussion.

Adjectival predicates can be modified by adverbs, like verbal predicates (see Section 2.2). In (33), the adverb *bo* ‘maybe’ is used, and in (34) the aspectual adverb *yed* ‘still; not yet (PRSP)’.⁹

- (33) *A wa: “Ha’an i bunar bo?”*
 3SG say 2SG FORTHC drunk maybe
 ‘He said: “Are you perhaps crazy (lit. drunk)?”’
 (Klamer 2010a: 225)

- (34) *Bif yed sam si a tewar tau.*
 child PRSP small SIM 3SG walk PRFV
 ‘The child is still small [but] he walks already.’
 (Klamer 2010a: 225)

Clauses indicating a change of state (‘S becomes Adjective’) use the verb *ma* ‘come’, just like those with nominal predicates (compare (21) above):

- (35) *...yir aga’ ma siis.*
 water all come dry
 ‘... [and] all the water has become dry.’
 (Klamer 2010a: 226)

Adjectival predicates can be modified for degree by an adverb, as in (36).

- (36) *Gelas a xa’a tab ii’*
 glass PROX this truly red
 ‘This glass [is] really red.’
 (Klamer 2010a: 26)

However, degree modification is also expressed as in (37), where the subject is expressed twice: by the noun *bif* ‘child’ and by the short pronoun *a* ‘3SG’. This encoding expresses

⁹ Aspectual words like *yed* which encode both the notions ‘still’ and ‘not yet’, are found in languages across the globe (Persohn 2025). When *yed* modifies atelic predicates (e.g. *yas* ‘be bad’, *sam* ‘be small’, *wan* ‘exist’) it tends to precede the predicate and translate as ‘still’; when it modifies telic verbs (e.g. *aria* ‘arrive’, *karian* ‘work’) it tends to follow the predicate and translate as ‘not yet’; examples are in Klamer (2010a).

attenuation of the predicate *sam* ‘small’, which gets the reading ‘rather small’. The contrast can be seen by comparing (37) below and (34) above, and in (38a–b). (38c) shows that a long subject pronoun *a’an* ‘3SG’ cannot be used in this context.

- (37) *Bif yed a sam si tewar tau.*
 child PRSP 3SG small SIM walk PFV
 ‘The child is still rather small [but he] walks already.’
 (Klamer 2010a: 225)

- (38) a. *Yaf xa’a uwaad.*
 house this big
 ‘This house is big.’
- b. *Yaf xa’a a uwaad.*
 house this 3SG big
 ‘This house is rather big.’
- c.* *Yaf xa’a a’an uwaad.*
 house this 3SG big
 ‘This house is rather big.’
 (Klamer 2010a: 225–226)

Note that the position of the short pronoun in modified adjectival predicates is next to the predicate and following the adverb in (37). This is different from its position in verbal clauses, where it precedes the adverb.

2.6. Predicates expressing quantification in Teiwa

Numeral and other quantifiers function as attributes and predicates, compare (39)–(40). When quantifiers are used predicatively, the subject is expressed twice: by an NP (*biar kriman* ‘children’) and (in case of a quantity larger than one) the third person plural pronoun *iman* ‘they’.

- (39) *Biar kriman raq*

child small two
 ‘Two children’
 (Klamer 2010a: 226)

- (40) *Biar kriman iman raq*
 child small 3PL two
 ‘Two children’ (lit. ‘[The] children they [are] two.’)
 (Klamer 2010a: 226)

The subject of the quantifier predicates can also be expressed twice, with a possessive NP and the pronoun *iman*, (41a). In (41b), it is even expressed three times: with an NP, the pronoun *iman* and the additional third person singular short pronoun *a*. In this context, the plural pronoun *iman* can also be omitted (42). Note that *a* is a singular pronoun while the subject here is plural. The short singular pronoun *a* appears to function to explicitly signal the predicative use of the numeral.

- (41) a. [*Uy kri nuk g-oqai*] *iman raq*.
 person old.man one 3SG.POSS-child they two
 ‘A man had two children.’ (Lit. ‘Children of a man they [are] two.’)
- b. [*Uy kri nuk g-oqai*] *iman a raq*.
 person old.man one 3SG.POSS-child they 3SG two
 ‘A man had two children.’
 (Klamer 2010a: 227)

- (42) a. *G-oqai a raq?*
 3SG.POSS-child 3SG two
 ‘He has two children?’ (Lit. ‘His children they [are] two?’)
- b. *A tab raq*.
 3SG indeed two
 ‘They [are] indeed two.’ (Lit. ‘It [is] indeed two’)
 (Klamer 2010a: 227)

Another strategy to mark quantifiers explicitly as predications is by adding adverbs, such as aspectual *un* ‘CONT’, compare (43a–b). Besides *dum* ‘many’, it is also possible to combine *un* with the quantifier *grixi* ‘some, a little, a bit’, but not with the universal quantifier *aga* ‘all’. In (44), *un* functions to mark the numeral expression as a predicate with continuative aspect.

(43) a. *masar dum*
 male many
 ‘Many males’

b. *Masar un¹⁰ dum.*
 male CONT many
 ‘There are many males.’ (Lit. ‘Males [are] being many.’)
 (Klamer fieldnotes 2011, TAS2011:335)

(44) *Wou un nuk raq qai.*
 mango CONT one two only
 ‘There are only a couple of mangos.’ (Lit. ‘Mangos [are] being only one or two.’)
 (Klamer fieldwork 2011, TAS2011:332)

2.7. Predicates expressing location in Teiwa

Teiwa lacks adpositions (see Section 2.1), and locations and directions are generally expressed by verbs (cf. Klamer 2018) or deictic words. Locational predications are generally verbal. Often, the transitive locational (spatial) verb *me* ‘be in, be at’ is used, with the theme (Figure) as subject, and the spatial location (Ground) as object, see (45) and in (46).

(45) *Qavif dum arwan me’.*
 goat much old.garden be.in

¹⁰ *Un* is an adverb marking continuative aspect (see Klamer 2010a: 124–125 for motivation of this analysis). *Un* does not function as a copula, and neither does it express a notion like ‘still’ (as in ‘there are still many males’, as opposed to ‘there are no longer any males’). For that, the aspectual adverb *yed* ‘still; not yet (PRSP)’ would be used, see footnote 10.

‘There are many goats in the old garden.’ (Lit. ‘Many goats are in the old garden.’)

(Klamer 2010a: 148)

(46) *Bo’oi nuk hafan qaas me’.*
river one village side be.in

‘There’s a river next to the village.’ (Lit. ‘A river is at the village side.’)

(Klamer 2010a: 147)

Other verbs used in clauses expressing spatial locations are transitive placement verbs such as *yia* ‘put at’, (47), or posture verbs like *tas* ‘stand’, (48).

(47) *Gula tafaag nuk hala’ luxun yia-n.*
sugar wrap one table top put.at-REAL

‘A bag of sweets [is] put on a table.’

(Klamer fieldnotes 2011, TPV2011_4:032)

(48) *Gola’ nuk hala’ miaq luxun tas.*
bottle one table white top stand

‘A bottle stands on top of a white table.’

(Klamer fieldnotes 2010, TPV2010: 037)

Deictic words include the words *afo’o* ‘over there (distant, but potentially visible)’, *ifo’o* ‘over there (distant, and invisible)’, *maraqai* ‘up’, and *yaqai* ‘down’. Illustrations where these are used as predicates are (49)–(50).

(49) *Maan, ni’in ni-qar afo’o le.*
NEG 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-rice over.there or

‘No, *our* rice is over there (distant, but potentially visible).’¹¹

(Klamer 2010a: 140)

¹¹ The disjunction *le* ‘or’ is used as a ‘softening tag’ here, to make the statement sound polite (Klamer 2010: 219–220). A similar usage is found in colloquial German.

- (50) *Uy nuk un maraqai?*
 person one CONT up
 ‘Is that person up there?’
 (Klamer 2010a: 142)

The word classes to which these deictic words belong are yet unclear. *Maraqai/yaqai* often co-occur with toponyms, as in (51)–(52), or with nouns, as in (53)–(54) (Klamer 2010a: 141). Note that they precede the noun, unlike other nominal modifiers such as adjectives and quantifiers.

- (51) *A yaqai Kalambas (me’).*
 3SG down Kalabahi be.in
 ‘He is down in Kalabahi.’ (Lit. ‘He is in Kalabahi-down.’)
 (Klamer 2010a: 141)

- (52) *A maraqai Otfai (me’).*
 3SG up Otfai be.in
 ‘He’s up in Otfai.’ (Lit. ‘He is in Otfai-up.’)
 (Klamer 2010a: 141)

- (53) *A maraqai uyan me’.*
 3SG up mountain be.in
 ‘He’s up in the mountains.’
 (Klamer 2010a: 141)

- (54) *A maraqai yaf g-om me’.*
 3SG up house 3SG.POSS-inside be.in
 ‘He’s upstairs in the house.’ (Lit. ‘He is up in the house’s inside.’)
 (Klamer 2010a: 141)

3. Non-verbal predication in Tidore (North Halmahera family)

3.1. The basics of Tidore morphosyntax

Tidore has accusative alignment. The order of simple transitive clauses is subject-verb-object, see (55). Negations follow the verb, and double negation is employed for emphasis (see (61)–(63) below). Predicates are modified with preverbal (modality) and postverbal (aspectual) adverbs; predicates are not inflected for tense, aspect or modality. Predicates can take a pronominal prefix cross-referencing the clausal subject (glossed as ACT ‘actor’), indexing its person, number, and gender on the verb. The same prefixes are used for verbal (55) and non-verbal (56) predicates. (There little if any formal similarity between subject prefixes and independent pronouns, as the forms in these examples show.)

- (55) *Una wo-hoda kamar tomzii.*
3SG.M 3SG.M.ACT-see room seven
‘[Then] he saw seven rooms.’
(Van Staden 2000: 123)

- (56) *Dadi una=ge wo-saihuu.*
so 3SG.M=there 3SG.M.ACT-captain
‘So he was/became a captain.’
(Van Staden 2000: 209)

The Tidore subject prefix is however optional and, in fact, most often absent (Van Staden 2000: 81). In Van Staden’s corpus, it occurs on one in four verbs, and on one in twelve predicating adjectives (Van Staden 2000: 79, 139).

I will refer to the subject prefixing construction as “predicative inflection” (type IIIa) to stay in line with the terminology set out in Chapter 1, while noting that the distribution of this optional and mostly absent index is markedly different from the obligatory inflection of verbs in languages like English or Latin.

Tidore personal pronouns distinguish polite and neutral forms and encode person and number in all forms while gender is encoded in first and third person singular and plural forms. Non-human third person referents (whether singular or plural) have a separate pronoun (Van Staden 2000: 77).

Tidore possessive NPs contain an obligatory prefix that indexes the person, number, and gender of the possessor on the possessed noun, (60). The possessor pronoun or NP precedes the possessee and is grammatically optional (Van Staden 2000: 220).

- (57) *Mina mi-ngofa rimoi reke.*
 3SG.F 3SG.F.POSS-child one cry
 ‘One of her children is crying.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 258)

3.2. Tidore word classes

In Tidore, verbs, nouns and adjectives are distinct categories: verbs and nouns cannot be attributes, while adjectives typically are attributive. Unlike verbs, adjectives cannot be nominalized by means of the prefixation of a nasal prefix (the “*N*-prefix”), and unlike nouns, they can be nominalized by means of the *ma*- prefix. Also, verbs must be nominalized first before they can be input to causativization while adjectives can be causativized directly (Van Staden 2000: 134–137). Tidore has two “demonstratives” =*ge* ‘that’ and =*re* ‘this’, which typically occur in the final position of an NP, and are formally related to the demonstrative pronouns *ngge* ‘that one’ and *nde* ‘this one’ (Van Staden 2000: 196, 272–273). Tidore also has a closed class of items referred to as “locationals”, comprising the seven members =*re(na)*, ‘here’, =*ge(na)* ‘there’, =*ta* ‘over there’, =*tai* ‘seaward’, =*tina* ‘landward’, =*tau* ‘upward’ =*tahu/tau* ‘downward’. They form part of a larger class of spatial deictics, but their categorial status is difficult to determine (Van Staden 2000: 157–158). They have none of the properties typically associated with verbs, e.g. they cannot be nominalized; and they also differ from the category of adverbs. The “locationals” can be prefixed with *ka*- to derive a set of locational predicates (Van Staden 2000: 162), see Section 3.6.

3.3. Nominal predicates in Tidore

For non-verbal predication, a combination of “juxtaposition” and “predicative inflection” strategies is used (Section 3.1). Of the types of predicative inflection strategies distinguished in Chapter 1, Tidore uses type IIIa. In nominal predicates, predicate inflection may function to express an explicit distinction between inclusion (58a) and identity predication (58b). However, as prefixing is always optional, inclusion can also be expressed by simple juxtaposition (58c).

(58) a. *Una=ge* *wo-kolano.*
 3SG.M=there 3SG.M.ACT-king
 ‘He is (a) king.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 86)

b. *Una=ge* *kolano.*
 3SG.M=there king
 ‘He is the king.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 86)

c. *Una=ge* *kolano ua.*
 3SG.M=there king NEG
 ‘He is not a king.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 232)

A further restriction on Tidore predicate inflection is that only simple predicate nouns can take a subject prefix; i.e. phrasal nominal predicates must occur in the juxtaposition construction. In (59a) the predicate is a noun, has a subject prefix, and is followed by an (adjunct) prepositional phrase. In (59b) the predicate is an NP containing a numeral and a modifying PP. This predicate cannot have a subject prefix, as indicated in (59b).

(59) a. *Ona* *range* *yo-kolano* *toma Arab.*
 3PL three 3N.ACT-king LOC Arab
 ‘The three of them (lit. ‘they three’) are kings in Arabia.’

b. *Ona* *(*yo-)kolano* *range* *toma Arab isa.*
 3PL (3N.ACT-)king three LOC Arab landwards
 ‘They are three of kings from Arabia.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 86)

Tidore possessive NPs contain a prefix that indexes the person, number, and gender of the possessor, see (57) above. Such possessed NPs can also be used in predications, as in

(60). Possessed predicates can be modified like any other (verbal or non-verbal) predicate, e.g. with the aspectual adverb *rai* ‘already’ following the predicate in (60).

- (60) *Mina mi-ngofa rai bolo yang?*
 3SG.F 3SG.F.POSS-child already or not.yet
 ‘Has she got children?’ (Lit. ‘She [there are] her children already or not?’)
 (Van Staden 2000: 252)

Verbal (61) and non-verbal (62) predicates are negated with the same negator *ua* following the predicate. Double negation is employed for emphasis, with the additional negator *kama* preceding the predicate, (62). This negator can also occur without *ua*, for example in combination with the negative adverb *yang* ‘not yet’ (see (78)–(79) below).

- (61) *Mina mo-cako ngofa=ge ua.*
 3SG.F 3SG.F.ACT-hit child=there NEG
 ‘She does not hit the child.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 232)

- (62) *Una kama kolana ua.*
 3SG.M NEG king NEG
 ‘He was not a king.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 255)

Examples (63)–(64) express existence with a non-inflected nominal predicate preceded by a topic (Van Staden 2000: 2016). Such constructions may function to express possession (without using a possessive prefix).

- (63) *Mina kama pakean ua.*
 3.SG.F NEG clothes.MLY NEG
 ‘She did not have clothes.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 216)

- (64) *Fola=ge ngora biasa ua.*
 house=there door normal NEG
 ‘That house does not have a normal door.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 249)

Existence may also be expressed with the existential verb *sema* ‘to be, exist’, (65)–(66), and such constructions can also be used to express possession, (67).

- (65) *Sema magi malofo...*
 be/exist soup two
 ‘There are two (kinds of) soup...’
 (Van Staden 2000: 453)

- (66) *Salma mo-hoda sema mansia dofu.*
 Salma 3SG.F.ACT-see be/exist people.MLY many
 ‘Salma saw that there were many people.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 238)

- (67) *Mina sema ngofa rai.*
 3SG.F be/exist child already
 ‘She already has children.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 249)

To express possession, the nominal predicate constructions mentioned above are used more often than the constructions involving the existential verb *sema*.

3.4. Adjectival predicates in Tidore

Adjectival predications occur in “juxtaposition” or “predicative inflection” constructions. In most cases, juxtaposition is used (68), while it is optionally possible to mark adjectival predicates for their subject, (69).

(68) *Ngofa kene=ge.*
 child small=there
 ‘The child is small.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 138)

(69) *Mina (mo-)gau.*
 3SG.F 3SG.F.ACT-tall
 ‘She is tall.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 216)

Adjectival predicates are modified by post-predicate adverbs just like verbal predicates, e.g. with the aspectual adverb *rewa* ‘not anymore’ in (70). Adjectival predicates are modified for degree with adverbs like *lau* ‘too’, (71).

(70) *Tima=ge gode rewa.*
 Tima=there fat not.anymore
 ‘Tima is no longer fat.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 139)

(71) *Nau-nau ngge wo-hoga lau.*
 RDP~male 3NH.there 3SG.M.ACT-stupid too
 ‘That boy is very stupid.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 209)

Adjectives can be nominalized with the prefix *ma-*, and can be used predicatively in the juxtaposition construction, compare (72a–b). With the inflected adjectival predicate in (72a), a quality or temporary property of the subject referent is expressed, while the nominal *ma-* form in (72b) indicates a more permanent property in an identity predication (Van Staden 2000: 87, 263). Unlike other nominal predicates, however, *ma-* nominalizations cannot occur in the predicate inflection construction.

- (72) a. *Gina ngge yo-haso.*
 goods 3NH.there 3N.ACT-heavy
 ‘Those goods are heavy.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 87)
- b. *Gina ngge (*yo-)ma-haso.*
 goods 3NH.there 3N.ACT-NMLZ-heavy
 ‘Those goods are (the) heavy ones.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 87)

Adjectives can also undergo conversion to nouns and be possessed, and the resulting expression is ambiguous between a possessed NP and a clause with a nominal predicate, as both possible translations of (73a) show. When a deadjectival noun is derived with nominalizing *ma-*, this expresses a more permanent property, compare (73a–b).

- (73) a. *Mina mi-jang.*
 3SG.F 3SG.F.POSS-beautiful
 ‘Her beauty’ or ‘She has beauty.’ (Lit. ‘As for her, [there is] her beauty.’)
 (Van Staden 2000: 250, 266)
- b. *Mina ma-jang*
 3SG.F NMLZ-beautiful
 ‘She is a beauty.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 266)

In comparisons, two NPs are connected by the nominal *gate* ‘manner’, as in (74).¹² The source does not provide a grammatical analysis of this construction. It may be that *gate* has a “functive/similative” flagging function (see Chapter 1).

- (74) *Mina mi-jang=ge gate mansia biasa ua*
 3SG.F 3SG.F.POSS-beautiful=there manner people.MLY ordinary.MLY NEG

¹² In this particular example, the source glosses *gate* as a verb or adverb (‘like’), but elsewhere in the grammar it is glossed as a noun (‘manner’), as it is glossed here.

‘Her beauty was not like ordinary mortals.’

(Van Staden 2000: 136)

- (75) ...*ona sodo ena paha gate=be silet*
3PL until 3NH sharp manner=which razor.MLY
‘[...] they (do it) until it is sharp like a razor.’

(Van Staden 2000: 471)

3.5. Predicates expressing quantification in Tidore

Numerals (both with and without numeral classifiers) and other quantifiers also occur predicatively using the juxtaposition construction, (76). Pauses occur after *nau-nau* ‘RDP-male’ and *fayaa* ‘woman’, and not after *ngofa* ‘child’, indicating a predicative reading of the following numeral (cf. the translation).

- (76) *Siti N. se Jafar S. ngge=ge ona na-ngofa nau~nau*
Siti N. and Jafar S. there=there 3PL 3PL.POSS-child RDP~male

ngaruha se fayaa ngaruha.
CLFI.four and woman CLFI.four

‘Siti N. and Jafar S., their boys were four, and their girls were four.’

(Van Staden 2000: 165)

Numeral quantifiers also modify nouns in nominal predications, (77).

- (77) *Mina mi-gau meter=moi se senti nyagi-rora.*
3SG.F 3SG.F.POSS-tall meter.MLY=one and centimeter.MLY ten-six
‘Her length is one meter and sixty centimeters.’

(Van Staden 2000: 136)

Quantifier predicates can be modified by adverbs, such as the negative adverb *yang* ‘not yet’, (78). The latter combines with the negator *kama*, which has scope over the predicate: in (78) it negates the presence of people as such, in (79) the quantity of the people present.

(78) *Kama mansia dofu yang.*
 NEG people.MLY many not.yet
 ‘There are not yet many people (present).’
 (Van Staden 2000: 236)

(79) *Mansia kama dofu yang.*
 people.MLY NEG many not.yet
 ‘There are people, but not yet many.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 236)

Like adjectives, non-numeral quantifier predicates can take a subject prefix, (80). They can also be nominalized with *ma-* and then be used as nominal predicates, (81)

(80) *Jadi fika ngge yang ona yo-polu ena yo-dofu~dofu*
 so.MLY ash 3NH.there there 3PL 3N.ACT-collect 3NH 3N.ACT-RDP~much

ona yo-igo
 3PL 3N.ACT-sieve
 ‘So this ash, they collect a lot of it (lit. ‘they collect, it is a lot’), they sieve it.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 473)

(81) *Carita=re ena rai ua, ma-dofu*
 story.MLY=here 3NH already NEG NMLZ-much
 ‘This story/explanation is not finished yet, there is a lot (to be told).’
 (Van Staden 2000: 150)

The source does not contain a systematic description of non-numeral quantifiers used predicatively.

3.6. Predicates expressing location in Tidore

Tidore employs the preposition *toma* ‘LOC’ to express non-human recipients and locations, (82), and *soma* ‘with’ to express non-human instruments and comitatives, (83). (The source glosses this as a verbal item ‘ADD’, I have changed this here to prepositional ‘with’). Prepositional phrases in Tidore are used as adjuncts in verbal clauses and they are

used as predicates with the juxtaposition strategy. In (85) with the PP with *toma*, the order is Figure-Ground (“plain-locational predication” in terms of Chapter 1). In (83) and (84) the PP with *soma* ‘with’ expresses a possessive relation. This is thus an example of the “comitative-possessee” strategy in terms of Chapter 1. Prepositional phrase predicates can be modified with aspectual adverbs, e.g. *moju* ‘still’ in (82) or *yang* ‘not yet’ in (84).

(82) *Mina toma fola moju.*

3SG.F LOC house still

‘She is still at home.’

(Van Staden 2000: 85)

(83) *Ngori soma akal.*

1.SG.N with brains

‘I have brains.’ (Lit. ‘I am with brains.’)

(Van Staden 2000: 85)

(84) *Mina soma raa yang*

3SG.F with husband not.yet

‘She does not have a husband yet.’ (Lit. ‘She is not yet with husband.’)

(Van Staden 2000: 249)

Prepositional phrases in predications cannot be marked for their subject, i.e. they do not occur in “predicative inflection” constructions because they are phrasal constituents (cf. Section 3.1). This is illustrated by the ungrammatical prefix *yo-* in (85).

(85) *Ona (*yo-) [toma fola=tai] ua*

3PL 3N.ACT- LOC house=seaward NEG

‘They are not at the seaward house.’

(Van Staden 2000: 209)

The Tidore closed class of “locationals” (see Section 3.2) is prefixed with *ka-* to give a set of locational predicates (Van Staden 2000: 162).¹³ Just like all other predicates, locationals can be negated or otherwise modified by means of adverbs. The examples in (86) illustrate the predicate use of locationals and their modifications with the negation *ua* ‘NEG’, and the adverbs *rai* ‘already’, *lau* ‘too’ and *jaga* ‘often’.

- (86) a. *Mina mo-ka-tina ua*
 3SG.F 3SG.F.A-PRED-landward NEG
 ‘She is not there (in a landward direction).’
- b. *Mina mo-ka-tina rai*
 3SG.F 3SG.F.ACT-PRED-landward already
 ‘She is already there (in a landward direction).’
- c. *Mina mo-ka-tai lau*
 3SG.F 3SG.F.ACT-PRED-seaward too
 ‘She is too often in a seaward location.’
- d. *Mina jaga ka-tina*
 3SG.F often.MLY PRED-landward
 ‘She is often in a landward location.’
 (Van Staden 2000: 162)

4. Non-verbal predication in Mian (Ok family, Trans New Guinea)

4.1. The basics of Mian morphosyntax and Mian word classes

The unmarked constituent order in Mian is subject-object-verb. Constituent order is flexible, but the verb must always be clause-final. It can only be followed by the negative enclitic =*ba*, and/or an illocutionary clitic which marks sentences such as declarative =*be*, interrogative =*a*, quotative =*bo*, and so on.

Nouns, verbs and adjectives are separate word classes, and Mian also has classes of postpositions and adverbs. Most nouns are assigned one of four genders: masculine (M),

¹³ The locationals are “not true verbs as they have none of the properties typically associated with verbs, e.g. they cannot be nominalised, but they do not belong to any other category either. [... They] can be the finite main predicate in the clause” (Van Staden 2000: 162).

feminine (F), neuter 1 (N1), and neuter 2 (N2). Gender is not marked on the noun itself but on determiner enclitics in the NP, as illustrated in (87). Case is not marked.¹⁴

- (87) *Naka=e* *éil=o*
man=SG.M pig=SG.F
'The man's sow'
(Fedden 2011: 170)

Mian has hardly any nominal morphology. The only suffix is the pluralizer *-wal*, which is restricted to proper names, kin nouns and dyads. Mian dyads include lexemes such as *dum* 'father and child (of either sex)', and *dab* 'siblings of same sex'. Mian dyads are formally close to nouns but have some separate morpho-syntactic properties (Fedden 2011: 95–99).

In possessed NPs, the possessor precedes the possessee, as shown in (87); possession is not marked morphologically.

The pronominal affixes on the verb indicate grammatical relations in a clause. They index the person, number, and for 3rd person, also gender of subjects. A few verbs are lexically specified to index these same features for their object; most verbs are not (Fedden 2011: 260–265, 2019; 2022). In addition to the argument affixes, which work on a nominative-accusative basis, Mian has a set of classificatory prefixes on verbs involving the handling or manipulation of objects. The prefixes classify a verbal argument according to semantic criteria such as biological sex or shape, and they function on an absolutive basis (Fedden 2011: 260–269; Corbett, Fedden, and Finkel 2017).

The verb has two slots for TAM suffixes which are on either side of the subject suffix slot. The pre-subject slot is filled by various tense, aspect, and mood markers; the post-subject slot can only be filled by tense markers. Mian distinguishes between final and medial verbs. Final verbs occur at the end of independent sentences or in the final clauses of clause chains, and can be inflected for various categories, e.g. imperfective aspect *-b*, realis modality *-n*, and tense, e.g. remote past *-s*. Medial verbs are verbs in non-final clauses in clause chains and can be inflected for co- or disjoint reference of the subject in the succeeding clause in combination with sequentiality or simultaneity of events (Fedden 2011: 102).

¹⁴ Mian is a tone language, and the domain in which different tonal melodies operate is the prosodic word as a whole (Fedden 2011: 6–7, 46–84). In Mian orthography, phonemic tone is indicated by diacritics on vowels, and any word without a diacritic has low tone. By convention, tones over diphthongs and the pharyngealized [a^h], written as <aa>, are written over the first character, e.g. *éil* 'pig', *táang* 'flint, lighter'.

Verbs inflected for aspect can take a suffix *-in* to form a deverbal noun, for example the perfective and imperfective nominals *fuēla-nam-in* [bathe.PFV-PFV-VN] ‘(instance of having a) bath’ and *fua-m-in* [bathe.IPFV-IPFV-VN] ‘(activity of) bathing, of having a bath’ (Fedden 2011: 104).

Mian adjectives follow the noun they modify. They can also occur in a headless NP, in which case the determiner encodes the gender of the omitted noun.

Mian adjectives are formally very similar to common nouns (Fedden 2018: 118). Both categories are without inflectional morphology and both can function as the predicate in non-verbal clauses. Both can take the suffix *-an* which productively derives intransitive denominal and deadjectival verb stems that encode a change of state (see (108) and (109) below). Such verb stems can then be regularly inflected (Fedden 2011: 108). The difference between nouns and adjectives is that nouns are lexically specified for gender while adjectives are not.

Adverbs in Mian are a small class with about two dozen items. They can be distinguished from adjectives in that they cannot modify nouns and cannot be followed by a determiner. Adverbs function to modify verbs, specifying certain aspects or properties of an event, as in (88). Adverbs tend to occur immediately before the verb they modify.

- (88) *Naka=e* *hebmamsâb* *wen-b-e=be.*
 man=SG.M fast eat.IPFV-IPFV-3SG.M.SBJ=DECL
 ‘The man is eating fast.’
 (Fedden 2011: 121)

It can be hard to distinguish adverbs from verbs or verb stems, as both can occur before other verbs: verbs often occur in serial verb constructions. However, none of the adverbs can be inflected or derived as a verb (Fedden 2011: 123).

In Mian, the notions of existence and location are expressed with the existential verb *n/bi-bl-* ‘be there, exist, stay, live, remain’ (Fedden 2011: 333, 378), illustrated in (89)–(91). (Bare *fab* means ‘where’, *fatnamin* ‘what’ from *fab-na-m-in* ‘where-do-IPFV-VN’ is a derived verbal noun; Fedden 2011: 391–396.)

- (89) *Fàb* *bi-Ø-o=ne?*
 where stay.IPFV-IPFV-3SG.F-SBJ=CQ
 ‘Where is she?’
 (Fedden 2011: 393)
- (90) *Fatnàmin* *yē* *bi-Ø-e=ne?*
 what there stay.IPFV-IPFV-3SG.N1.SBJ=CQ
 ‘What is there?’
 (Fedden 2011: 396)
- (91) *Imen=e* *yē* *bi-Ø-e=be.*
 taro=SG.N1 there stay.IPFV-IPFV-3SG.N1.SBJ=DECL
 ‘There is a taro (tuber).’
 (Fedden 2011: 396)

4.2. Nominal predicates in Mian

The most productive construction type for non-verbal predication in Mian is the construction where the non-verbal predicate is followed by the “predicator” enclitic =*o*, which signals the predicative status of the non-verbal constituent (Fedden 2011: 371). In the source, the enclitic =*o* is not described as a pronominal or verbal element, but as a form flagging that its non-verbal host functions as a predicate. I categorize it as a predicative inflection construction (type IIIa).

Non-verbal predicates can consist of a pronoun or noun (including proper names and deverbal nouns), an adjective, an adverb or a quantifier. An example of a nominal predicate followed by the “predicator” clitic =*o* is (92).¹⁵ Just like clauses with finite verbs, non-verbal clauses are marked with illocutionary force enclitics, e.g. =*be* ‘declarative’ in (92)–(93), and =*a* ‘yes-no question’ in (94). If the referent of the subject is known from the context, it is commonly left out, as in (93). No element in this utterance refers to the entity about which the predication is made. The predicator enclitic =*o* is not always used. In questions it is absent, (94).

¹⁵ An editorial suggestion that this enclitic could be analysed as a realis marker would go against the analysis in Fedden (2011), and is not adopted here. Mian does have a realis marker, but a different one: *-n~Ø*.

(92) *Iliba=e til=o=be*
 PN=SG.M dog=PRD=DECL
 ‘Iliba is a dog.’
 (Fedden 2011: 372)

(93) *Til=o=be.*
 dog=PRD=DECL
 ‘(It’s) a dog.’
 (Fedden 2011: 372)

(94) *Til=a?*
 dog=Q
 ‘(Is it) a dog?’
 (Fedden 2011: 372)

If the non-verbal predicate term ends in a vowel, =*o* is usually left out, even in non-interrogatory contexts. However, occasionally =*o* is put in even under these circumstances. Compare more frequent (95) with less frequent (96); both have the same meaning:

(95) *Naka=be.*
 man=DECL
 ‘It is a man.’
 (Fedden 2011: 372)

(96) *Naka=o=be.*
 man=PRD=DECL
 ‘It is a man.’
 (Fedden 2011: 372)

Non-verbal predications commonly express inclusion (97), or identity (104).

(97) *Nē Bikene=i unáng=o=bo.*
 1SG Bikene=PL.AN woman=PRD=QUOT

ge *baas-s-o=a*
 say.PFV say.PFV-DS.SEQ-3SG.F.SBJ=MED
 ‘“I am a woman of the Bikene (people)” she said, and then someone else...’
 (Fedden 2011: 372)

In identity predication, when the predicate term is a proper name or kin term (including dyads), the order of the subject and predicate is inverted, and the subject must follow the predicate, compare grammatical (98a) with ungrammatical (98b). In identity predications where the subject is a pronoun, it must be an emphatic one (formed with the suffix *-ta* ‘EMPH’, Fedden 2011: 130–131)), compare grammatical *nē-ta* in (98a) with ungrammatical *nē* in (98c). (Emphatic pronouns function to express contrastive focus (Fedden 2011: 229, 231–232)). Note that the lack of predicative marking on *Kasening* is not due to the utterance being a question, or the host *Kasening* ending in a vowel. This makes (98a) a juxtaposition construction.

- (98) a. *Kasening* *nē-ta=be*.
 Kasening 1SG-EMPH=DECL
 ‘I’m *Kasening*.’ [with contrastive focus on *I*]
- b. * *Nē* *Kasening=o=be*
 1SG *Kasening*=PRD=DECL
 Intended: ‘I’m *Kasening*.’
- c. * *Kasening* *nē=be*
 Kasening 1SG=DECL
 Intended: ‘I’m *Kasening*.’
 (Fedden 2011: 373)

Possession can be expressed predicatively by using a possessive pronoun as a nominal predicate. Possessive pronouns include *nēmi* ‘mine’, *kēbmi* ‘yours’, and *nelemî* ‘mine alone’, *kelebmi* ‘yours alone’, etc. (see Fedden 2011: 132). Examples (99)–(101) are illustrations; in (99)–(100) the subject is overt, in (101) it is not. Note that (99)–(100) illustrate “inverse-possessive predication” as defined in Chapter 1. Lacking a predicative marker =*o*, these are juxtaposition constructions.

(99) *Táang ēle nēmi=be.*
 flint DEM.PROX.SG.N1 mine=DECL
 ‘This lighter is mine.’
 (Fedden 2011: 374)

(100) *Ēle nēmi=be.*
 DEM.PROX.SG.N1 mine=DECL
 ‘This (one) is mine.’
 (Fedden 2011: 132)

(101) *Nēmi=be.*
 mine=DECL
 ‘It is mine.’
 (Fedden 2011: 374)

A different type of possession in Mian is the “comitative-possessee” strategy for plain-possessive predication (see Chapter 1). Such constructions use a predicate where the semantic head noun is inflected with a suffix *-sa* ‘with’, see (102)–(103). The suffix *-sa* is distinct from the comitative postposition *baka* ‘with’, and is analysed in the source as a suffix deriving an adjective from a noun (Fedden 2011: 93). If the form derived with *-sa* is indeed adjectival, as the source suggests, it is worth noting that this adjectival predicate does not take the “predicator” =*o*, unlike other adjectival predicates in Mian (Section 4.3).

(102) *Unáng=o amún-sa=be.*
 woman=SG.F belly-with=DECL
 ‘The woman is pregnant.’ (Lit. ‘The woman is with belly.’)
 (Fedden 2011: 374)

(103) *Nē am-sa=be.*
 1SG house-with=DECL
 ‘I have a house.’ (Lit. ‘I am with house.’)
 (Fedden 2011: 374)

Non-verbal clauses are negated like clauses with a finite verb with the negation clitic =*ba*. This clitic attaches directly to the predicate, no enclitic =*o* is used. The following examples show the negation of nominal predications expressing identity (104) and possession (105).

- (104) *Yeye yō yāi=ba=bo.*
 no DEM.DIST.N2 wound=NEG=QUOT
 ‘No, that is not a wound.’
 (Fedden 2011: 375)

- (105) *Táang ēle kēbmi=ba=be. Nēmi=be.*
 flint DEM.PROX.SG.N1 yours=NEG=DECL mine=DECL
 ‘This lighter is not yours. — It is mine.’
 (Fedden 2011: 375)

Unlike negated verbal predications, where another negation clitic =*mo* can attach to the constituent immediately preceding the predicate, as illustrated in (106), the additional negation enclitic is not allowed in negated non-verbal clauses.

- (106) *Nē mén=o=mo ol-êb un-∅-i-bio=ba=be.*
 1SG string.bag=PL.N1=NEG PL.RESID.O-take.PFV go.PFV-IRR.NANPL-1SG.SBJ=DECL
 ‘I didn’t carry the string bags.’
 (Fedden 2011: 158)

Pronouns that are the nucleus of negated non-verbal predications first have to be derived into “negative pronouns”, with the negative suffix *-kob* (Fedden 2011: 133–134). The negative suffix *-kob* is one of the suffixes that attaches to the bound pronoun series. (Another example is the emphatic suffix *-ta* mentioned above). Pronoun forms negated with *-kob* only occur in the predicate of non-verbal clauses. The negative pronoun is followed by the negation enclitic =*ba*, see (107).

- (112) *Ē wéng=o dót afet=o=be.*
 3SG.M word(s)=N2 very different=PRD=DECL
 ‘His words are very different.’ (I.e. from what somebody claimed.)
 (Fedden 2011: 123)

Adverbs are a small class with about two dozen items in Mian (Fedden 2011: 121–124). Predicates with an adverbial nucleus are reported to occur in constructions with the “predicator” =*o* and illocutionary force markers, (113)–(115).

- (113) *Ē buk ki-m-in=o fiab=o=be.*
 3SG.M book read-IPFV-VN=N2 slow=PRD=DECL
 ‘He reads slowly.’ (Lit. ‘His book reading is slow.’)¹⁶
 (Fedden 2011: 123)

- (114) *Fút ēle misim=o=be.*
 tobacco DEM.PROX.SG.N1 for_free=PRD=DECL
 ‘This tobacco is a treat.’
 (Fedden 2011: 123)

Adjectival predications can also occur with the enclitic =*na* ‘too’ instead of the predicator =*o*. This enclitic expresses that the subject has the predicated property in addition to possible other properties see (115)–(116). This construction is only used with adjectives.

- (115) *Wan ēle ilem=na=be.*
 bird DEM.PROX.SG.M red=too=DECL
 ‘This bird is also red (in addition to some other colour(s)).’
 (Fedden 2011: 373)

¹⁶ In the grammar, *fiab* is analysed as belonging to the class of adverbs (Fedden 2011: 121–124), but is variously glossed as adjective ‘slow’ or adverb ‘slowly’ (e.g., Fedden 2011: 115, 123, 388). This may suggest that conversion adverb-adjective may occur. Given that the subject of (113) is a nominalization ‘his book reading’, the predicate nucleus *fiab* may also be analysed as (having converted into) an adjective.

- (116) *As=e milil eka teke=na=be.*
 tree=SG.N1 black and long=too=DECL
 ‘The tree is black and also tall.’
 (Fedden 2011: 373)

Fedden (2011: 373) suggests that this enclitic is possibly derived from the verb stem *na* ‘do’. Historically, adjectival predicates may thus have been part of a verbal construction (‘Subject does Adjective’), and the complementary distribution of *=na* and the “predicator” *=o* might be an indication that *=o* has a verbal origin. At present, *=na* in adjectival predications cannot be inflected like a verb, so constructions employing it are analysed as non-verbal by Fedden (2011: 373).

Adjectival predicates are negated like nominal predicates, with the negator *=ba*, (117). Like nominal predicates, they do not occur with the additional negation enclitic *=mo*.

- (117) *Nē monî=o sūm=ba=be.*
 1SG.POSS money=N2 big=NEG=DECL
 ‘I don’t have much money.’ (Lit. ‘My money isn’t big.’)
 (Fedden 2011: 375)

4.4. Predicates expressing quantification in Mian

The class of quantifiers in Mian comprises *homòn* ‘many, much’, *alukûm* ‘all, every, each’ and *alik* ‘all, every, each’, plus the numerals. The source contains one example with a quantifier that is used predicatively and marked with the predicator enclitic *=o*:

- (118) *Dót homòn=o=be*
 very many=PRD=DECL
 ‘(There are) very many.’
 (Fedden 2011: 213)

Mian has numerals for ‘one’ ‘two’ and ‘three’ (where ‘three’ is a complex form containing the form for ‘two’) (Fedden 2011: 144). In (119) a numeral is part of an NP. Numerals can be used predicatively only when they occur together with the function (or “light”) verb *ke* ‘do’, as in (120). (The other function (“light”) verb of Mian is *ge/ga* ‘say’.) Mian light verbs combine with a coverb or “host” to form a complex intransitive predicate

(Fedden 2011: 323–326). Thus, the complex predicate in (120) consists of the light verb *ke-* ‘do’ and the coverb *asumâtma* ‘three’, and the literal translation of this construction provided by the source is ‘they are three’.

- (119) *Unáng=i* *asumâtma(=i)*
 woman=PL.AN three(=PL.AN)
 ‘Three women’
 (Fedden 2011: 145)

- (120) *Ī* *asumâtma* *ke-n-ib=a* *tlanhaa-b-io=be*
 3PL three do-SEQ-2/3PL.AN.SBJ=MED play-IPFV-2/3PL.AN.SUBJ=DECL
 ‘The three of them are playing.’ (lit. ‘They are three (and) they are playing.’)
 (Fedden 2011: 145, 326)

In sum, in the analysis of Fedden (2011), light verbs incorporate numerals to form morphologically complex intransitive verbs that are used predicatively.¹⁷

4.5. Predicates expressing location in Mian

Locations are expressed with verbal predicates and a locational adjunct (see Section 4.1). The locational adjuncts in such verbal constructions can be simple constituents like directionals (121)–(122) or nouns (123), but they can also be postpositional phrases as shown in (124), with the postposition *wāt* ‘across’ that encliticizes to its complement (Fedden 2011: 234). The verbal predicate in the examples given here is the existential verb *n/bi~bl-* ‘exist, stay, live, remain’, but expressions of locations can also involve other verbs, such as the location verb *daa* ‘abide’, handling verb *-fā* ‘put’, and the posture verb *māa* ‘stand up’ (Fedden 2011: 234, 239–242).

- (121) *Fatnàmin-fela*¹⁸ *tablaséb* *unáng=i* *īwat* *bl-Ø-ib=e?*
 how.many white.man woman=PL.AN there.across stay-IPFV-IPFV-2/3PL.AN.SBJ=CQ
 ‘How many white women are over there?’
 (Fedden 2011: 397)

¹⁷ This analysis would not align with an analysis that Mian light verbs are (pseudo-) copulae, as suggested by one editor.

¹⁸ This construction is calqued from Tok Pisin *hamaspela* ‘how much/many’ (Fedden 2011: 397).

(122) Fàb? *īwat* *bi-Ø-e=be*.
 where there.across stay.IPFV-IPFV-3SG.M.SBJ=DECL
 ‘Where?’ ‘He’s over there.’
 (Fedden 2011: 393)

(123) *Kōbo* *memâlo* *bib* *bi-aamab-eb*
 2SG.M today village stay.IPFV-IRR.NANPL.SBJ-2SG.SBJ
 ‘Are you going to stay in the village’

bleka *damib* *un-aamab-eb=a?*
 or garden go.PFV-IRR.NANPL.SBJ-2SG.SBJ=Q
 or go to the garden today?
 (Fedden 2011: 150)

(124) *Naka* *mak=e* *Goloka=wāt* *biaan-e=a...*
 man some=SG.M Goloka=across stay.IPFV.SS.SIM-3SG.M.SBJ=MED
 ‘While some man lived across in Goroka, he...’
 (Fedden 2011: 368)

Postpositional phrases in Mian consist of a noun (or NP) without a determiner and one directional postposition, and they typically occur immediately before the verb. Mian postpositional phrases are adverbial adjuncts that encode a variety of semantic functions, such as situating an event in space or time, or specifying an instrument involved in an action. Postpositional phrases in Mian are always syntactically optional.

5. Concluding remarks

In all three languages discussed in this chapter, the predicative behaviour of nouns and adjectives is similar.

The juxtaposition construction is used in all three of them: in Teiwa it is the only pattern available, in Tidore it is the most productive and most frequently occurring pattern, while in Mian it is a minority pattern, predicate inflection being the majority pattern.

In all three languages, it is the (choice or presence of) subject pronouns that plays a crucial role in distinguishing predicates that express identity from those that express inclusion.

Subjects of non-verbal predicates are encoded like the subjects of semantically monovalent verbs.

None of the three languages uses copula forms in non-verbal clauses – this is also a common strategy in Austronesian languages.

None of the languages has a possessive verb ‘to have’. Instead, all three languages express predicative possession by nominal clauses containing a possessor. In addition, Teiwa and Tidore also use clauses with an existential verb to encode possession (a feature also commonly found in Austronesian languages), while Tidore and Mian also express possession using non-verbal predicates with a “comitative-possessee” strategy.

Finally, Teiwa, Tidore and Mian belong to three different language families, and are located on islands that are many hundreds of kilometers apart. Given their genealogical and areal distance, the similarities in how they express non-verbal predicates cannot be attributed to inheritance, or to contact between the languages. By presenting data from three unaffiliated languages from under-represented regions, this chapter may contribute to our knowledge about which elements in the encoding of non-verbal predicates show universal variation, and which parts are cross-linguistically common.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 = 1st, 2nd, 3rd person
A = agent-like argument of transitive clause
ACT = actor
AFFIRM = affirmative
AN = animate
APPL = applicative
CLF = classifier
CONT = continuative
CQ = content question
DECL = declarative
DEM = demonstrative
DIST = distal
DISTR = distributive
DS = different subject
DU = dual
EXCL = exclusive
FORTHFC = forthcoming/future topic
FOC = focus
F = feminine
GPST = general past
IPFV = imperfective
INCL = inclusive
IND = Indonesian loan word
IRR = irrealis
LOC = locational adposition
M = masculine
MED = medial
MLY = Malay loan word
N = neutral (Tidore)
N1 = neuter 1 (Mian)
N2 = neuter 2 (Mian)
NANPL = not animate plural

NEG = negator/negation
NH = non-human
NMLZ = nominalization
OBL = oblique
P = Patient-like argument of transitive clause
POSS = possessive
PFV = perfective
PL = plural
PRED = predicate forming affix (Tidore)
PRD = predicator (Mian)
PROG = progressive
PROX = proximal
PRSP = prospective
Q = question
QUOT = quotative
RDP = reduplication
REAL = realis
RESID = residue class
S = Single argument of intransitive clause
SBJ = subject
SEQ = sequential
SG = singular
SIM = simultaneous
SS = same subject
TAG = tag
TOP = topic
UNCERT = adverb marking uncertainty
VBLZ = verbalizer
VN = verbal noun

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